

# IN SEARCH OF A HAVEN AND SEEKING FORTUNE: THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF OTTOMAN ARMENIAN MIGRANTS IN BRITISH-OCCUPIED EGYPT (1882-1914) (PART I.)<sup>1</sup>

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## AN ABSTRACT OF THE PAPER

When referring to economic activities in Egypt, most historians highlight the role played by other non-Muslim minorities, namely, Greeks and Jews, while passingly mentioning the fact that Armenians were at most neighborhood shopkeepers – a term used by the British Agent and Consul-General, Lord Cromer.

This paper reconstructs the multi-layered economic ventures of Ottoman Armenian migrants in British-occupied Egypt. In stark contrast to the early nineteenth century, when they figured principally as high government employees, the new immigrants, comparatively larger in number, but still constituting a small proportion of the total Egyptian population, eventually featured prominently in the many segments of the Egyptian economy though not, to be sure, massively in agriculture, but certainly evident in the services sectors, as restaurateurs, medics, lawyers, architects, photographers, journalists, jewelers and, more modestly, craftsmen, mechanics, tailors, and shoemakers. They even ventured into an economic realm which, at the time, was regarded as a European/Western preserve, namely industry, represented by their great successes in cigarette production for local and international consumption.

## INTRODUCTION

Much of the growing literature on Armenians in modern Egypt tends to shed light, almost exclusively, on early nineteenth century notable figures who served under Muhammad 'Ali and later under Khedivial governments or foreign control. Moreover, when referring to economic activities in Egypt, most historians highlight the role played by other non-Muslim minorities, namely, Greeks and Jews, while passingly alluding to the fact that Armenians were at most neighborhood shopkeepers – a term used by the British Agent and Consul-General, Lord Cromer. In his article "The Transformation of the Economic Position of the *Millet*s in the Nineteenth Century," Charles Issawi, for example, merely alludes to the economic role played by a rising Ottoman Armenian minority in Egypt during the British occupation. Other economic and labor historians, among them Roger Owen, Joel Beinin, and Zachary Lockman,

do not allot more than a passing reference to them as well. It was this fact, among others, not strictly academic, that drove me to investigate the economic role of the Armenian community in Egypt and conclusively verify whether it was as insignificant as the preceding authors, including Cromer, have suggested or demonstrate that it was more varied, more complex, and more rooted in the various segments of the Egyptian economy, even spilling beyond it, and becoming involved in a broader, world economy as was the case with tobacco and photography.

In my attempt to reconstruct the reality of Armenian socio-economic life in Egypt, and very much like a jigsaw puzzle, I gathered bits and pieces of information from a multiplicity of tapped and untapped, primary and secondary sources, mainly in English, French, Armenian, and Arabic, encompassing periodicals, almanacs, memoirs, and other archival materials. Apart from their usefulness in re-conceptualizing the role of the Armenian minority in Egypt, these sources could conceivably be employed to unravel the multifarious aspects of modern Egyptian and broader world history.

#### A. Arabic Sources

Traditionally, Armenians and their history have rarely been attributed much importance in Arabic historiography. Fortunately, however, both interest in the Armenians and writing about them have recently experienced marked advances, in particular in Egypt. In 2014, for example, Cairo University established a Center for Armenian Studies, to be followed soon after by the University of Damanhur. Quite apart from the political implications of the establishment of these centers, this development has resulted in the appearance of a string of academic publications devoted to the study of the Armenian past in Egypt's modern history. This interest is best exemplified by the on-going work of the prominent new Egyptian historian Muhammad Rif'at, who, even before the establishment of the Center for Armenian Studies at Cairo University, had already authored two books in a new historiographic venture meant to re-introduce the role of the Armenian community into the historical record. Both books, respectively *Tarikh al-Jaliya al-Armaniyya fi Miṣr: al-Qarn al-Tāsi* 'Ashar (History of the Armenian Community in Egypt: The Nineteenth Century) and *al-Arman fi Miṣr* (Armenians in Egypt, 1896-1961) represent a major breakthrough on account of their systematic recourse to the utilization of archival governmental records and files relating to Armenian individuals who were employed in Egyptian government service or in many of its authorities.

#### B. Armenian Sources

Owing to the laborious and systematic efforts of the personnel of the National Library of Armenia in Yerevan, a large number of Armenian primary sources are being digitized and hence are becoming more and more easily

accessible for researchers and historians interested in all aspects of Armenian history. Among the Armenian sources that are currently available online were memoirs, periodicals, and almanacs. In terms of memoirs, I mainly relied on the retrospectively-written accounts of the two “Yervants,” namely, Yervant Aghaton and Yervant Odian, both of whom fled Sultan Abdül Hamid’s oppressive policies in 1896, and eventually landed in Egypt. Apart from their many other uses, both accounts are important in terms of understanding the underlying reasons compelling Armenian emigration worldwide and to Egypt in particular. More important is the fact that they constitute an inner view of what it meant to be Armenian in Egypt and the strategies employed to achieve a modicum of success in their new country of adoption.

From the historiographical viewpoint, however, among all the Armenian sources available on the website of the Armenian National Library, the most important were the Armenian newspapers published in Egypt, for example *Arshaluys* (1899-1914) and *Miyutyun* (1912-1928). Though sometimes not available in their entirety, the recently digitized issues of the Egyptian Armenian press “...offer a wealth of information about the social, political, economic and cultural life of the past.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, without the material they incorporate about the varying socio-economic activities of Armenians in Egypt in fields such as medicine, photography, and cigarette production and consumption, this article would be virtually impossible.

### C. English and French Sources

In addition to these Armenian sources, the paper also depended on recently discovered original archival material. As Michelle T. King has rightly put it, “that which the Archive preserves and hides, the historian brings to light.”<sup>3</sup> As a history student, I was thrilled to unearth hitherto unexploited documents currently kept in the British Library and the United Kingdom National Archives relating to Onnig Diradour and his famous Cairo Photographic Store, as well as the Hadjetian Cigarette Company. These valuable sources, dating back to the years 1910-11, primarily, consist of several items of personal correspondence, balance sheets, and company records bringing to light the successful economic experiences of two Ottoman Armenian families settled in Egypt and engaged in two of the more lucrative and Armenian co-dominated sectors of the Egyptian economy, notably, those of photography and cigarette production. What is important about these documents is that they underscore the often-neglected Armenian engagement in global trade. The Diradours, for instance, through trade in photographic equipment and products drew the attention of the giant Kodak company, which in the typical aggressive capitalism of the time, bought them out in pursuit of establishing a conglomerate that had aspirations for a global empire.

French-language almanacs and directories like the *Indicateur Égyptien*<sup>4</sup> and *L'Annuaire Égyptien*<sup>5</sup> (also called the *Egyptian Directory*) were equally useful. Four issues of the two sources are available online, covering the years 1897 to 1913. Several years of the *Egyptian Armenian Almanac*<sup>6</sup> are also available online and were indispensable for my project.

Although designed exclusively for businessmen and others seeking economic opportunity in Egypt, these sources have been described as “quasi-encyclopedias.”<sup>7</sup> They are, in fact, “gold mines” for researchers on account of containing numerous advertisements and alphabetically arranged, detailed and extensive lists of a wide range of professions practiced by both indigenous and non-indigenous elements of Egyptian society, including Armenians, at a time when the country was at the peak of its economic boom. Another benefit offered by the almanacs is that they empower the visualization of the geographical spaces in which people of diverse ethnicities and vocations operated.

Here, I must add that in the course of my research I also looked into the American and British Consular Reports, which, although useful in other respects, did not yield much information regarding Armenian individual or even collective economic activities in Egypt. Nevertheless, the material involved yielded much information about the economy of which the Armenians were a part. Moreover, I would have gathered ample information about the economic performance of Armenians had the various issues of English-language periodicals like the *Egyptian Gazette* and the reports of the British Chamber of Commerce been available.

After this brief discussion of the types of primary and secondary sources consulted, my paper traces the historical roots of the advent of Armenians in modern Egypt, and then goes on to consider the complicated “push” and “pull” factors that caused the later Armenian migration. It attempts to offer a closer analysis of the Armenian role in the many segments of the Egyptian economy such as agriculture, the food industry, healthcare and medicine, transport, printing, crafts, and architecture. The last part of the paper focuses exclusively on Armenian successes in the tobacco and photography businesses, both locally in Egypt and abroad.

## ON THE ROAD TO EGYPT

The presence of Armenians in modern Egypt dates back to the early nineteenth century more or less. It coincided with the rise of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha, the new ruler of Egypt, to power. To consolidate his rule in the country and achieve his ambitious project of establishing a “modern” Egyptian state, the Pasha needed personnel to assist him in the said process. At the time, the Pasha turned his attention towards the Armenians then residing in Ottoman domains. The motivations for recruiting the latter were many. Among the

important reasons were their acquaintance with what Rouben Adalian has described as “Oriental languages and traditions” and non-affiliation with any of the major European powers<sup>8</sup> besides, of course, their historic Ottoman recognition as *Millet-i sadika*.

Initially, in the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Armenian migration to Egypt was a relatively slow and intermittent process. At first, Muhammad ‘Ali brought in a few Armenian individuals from the different parts of the Empire, namely, Istanbul, Izmir, and Aġin, among other places. The newly arriving Armenians mostly hailed from the higher echelons of Ottoman Armenian society. In Egypt, they continued to preserve, even improve, their former status by serving in the new administrative structures as bureaucrats, financial advisors, and even, ministers. Among the early arrivals in Egypt was Boghos Bey Yusufian from Izmir, who eventually held a prestigious position in the Egyptian state. For many years, he served as Muhammad ‘Ali’s Minister of Commerce. In addition to Boghos Bey, the Pasha also benefitted from the services of other Armenians like Garabed Agha Kalusdian of Van, appointed as the director of the Būlāq Customs House, and banker Yeghiazar Amirah of Aġin. Apart from these, the Pasha also depended on the expertise of Armenian agronomists, craftsmen, and traders to raise Egypt’s economic standing in the regional and global market.

By mid-century or thereabouts, the number of Armenians in Egypt did not exceed 2000, constituting the smallest non-Muslim minority of the country but possessing some economic potency.<sup>9</sup> The British agent John Bowring clearly illustrated this fact in his extensive report of 1840. He wrote that “*the Armenians, though not numerous are influential, and occupy many of the most elevated posts of government [in Egypt] ... their great acquirements in languages fit them peculiarly for the important offices of secretaries and dragomans...*”<sup>10</sup>

Naturally, realizing the accomplishments of their relatives in Egypt and perceiving Muhammad ‘Ali’s warm hospitality towards them, a number of Armenian families, ultimately, settled in the not too distant Ottoman province of Egypt, thereby joining their kinsmen residing there. Actually, this was the case with the aristocratic Nubarian and Abroyan families of Izmir. On account of their close blood ties with Boghos Bey and upon the latter’s strong recommendation, they too ended up in Egypt. Rif’at has pointed out that Boghos Bey also encouraged the migration of other Armenians from Izmir, which explains why their numbers, at first, far exceeded the number of those coming from other Ottoman provinces.<sup>11</sup>

The most famous among the early Armenian settlers of Izmir extraction was Nubar Nubarian. Like his relative Boghos Bey, he too rendered very many services to the Egyptian state. Nubar headed several Egyptian ministries such

as Public Works, Foreign Affairs, and Commerce. Added to these, at a later stage in his life, he became Egypt's three-time Prime Minister (1878-79, 1884-89, 1894-95) under both Ismā'il and, later, the British and is considered to be the founder of the Egyptian Mixed Court System.<sup>12</sup> Around 32 Armenian bureaucrats served in the Egyptian administration throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Following these early developments, Armenian immigration to Egypt gradually diminished, only to resume in the later part of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Following the intermittent migrations of the early nineteenth century and later, Armenian immigration to Egypt gained a new impetus in the closing decades of the century, particularly, after 1896, following the ambivalent policies of Sultan Abdūl Hamid II vis-à-vis the Empire's Armenian *millet*. In stark contrast to the earlier period, this time, the newcomers came from diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.<sup>14</sup>

The Armenian migrations of the late nineteenth century were not as massive as the contemporary Arabic press suggested or as some current historians want us to believe. All in all, a relatively small number of Armenians came to Egypt in 1896, probably not in excess of 3000 individuals. The main difference this time, however, was that the newcomers arrived collectively and were classified as "refugees." Nevertheless, they were fairly well-received in Alexandria. They were sheltered on the premises of the city's Armenian Surp Boghos (Paul) Church, where they lived in tents and were cared for by local Armenian notables including members of the Abroyan, Nubarian and Tchraikian aristocratic families, women's auxiliaries, European philanthropic societies, and the Armenian Prelacy's Relief Committee.<sup>15</sup>

Upon their arrival, these newcomers featured in news headlines of the local Egyptian press. For the first time in modern Egyptian history, the Armenian presence in the country was questioned and turned into a subject of contention between those who evinced an accommodating stance and those who completely opposed it. The non-accommodating camp used the economic factor, at times in exaggerated terms, to defend their thesis. *al-Fallāḥ*<sup>16</sup> newspaper, for example, regarded the flow of Armenians as a potential threat to 'poorer' or working class Egyptians as well as to the general Egyptian economy. It seems that *al-Fallāḥ* was mostly worried about the fact that the new immigrants, added to an already inflated foreign presence, would in the long run displace the native Egyptian labor force altogether. To abort such an outcome, it called for expelling the recent refugees from the country.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the *Misr* daily<sup>18</sup> also sympathized with the Egyptian workers, who in its opinion, were in peril of total displacement by the influx of foreign elements into the country. On one occasion, *al-Ḥimāya* newspaper openly stated that even under Ottoman sovereignty "Egypt was for the Egyptians."<sup>19</sup> As it turns out, the influx of Armenians into Egypt not only caused dismay at the popular

level, but also evoked some concern among the already established Egyptian Armenians. *Miyutyun*<sup>20</sup> (Union), the mouthpiece of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU),<sup>21</sup> counselled its compatriots not to migrate to Egypt. "You will be miserable. There are no jobs here. Those arriving before you suffer from the unbearable hot weather conditions during summer and unemployment..."<sup>22</sup> Some Egyptian newspapers took quite the opposite view, stood in solidarity with the persecuted Armenians and welcomed them to Egypt. *Al-Ra'y al-'Ām* weekly,<sup>23</sup> for example, denounced the fanatical and intolerant attitude expressed by its counterparts, and *al-Ittihad al-Miṣrī*, contrary to *al-Fallāḥ*, openly called for the extension of the Egyptian government welcome and assistance to the destitute Armenians as a humanitarian gesture. The Egyptian government, however, was reluctant to aid the refugees given the pervasive anti-Armenian sentiments in the country.<sup>24</sup>

With the steady migration of Armenians to Egypt, a number of Armenian Church institutions also began taking shape in the host country. Most of the arriving Armenians belonged to the Armenian Orthodox Church. As a result, a church council that included both the religious and civil segments of the community was established in Cairo.<sup>25</sup> In 1905 the Armenian Catholic community in Egypt was also granted its own organic regulation thanks to the arduous efforts of Ya'qub Artin Pasha, himself a Catholic and a high ranking official in the Egyptian bureaucracy from 1878 until his retirement in 1906.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps, owing to Egypt's status as a *de jure* Ottoman province, no legal complications confronted most of the incoming Armenians. They continued to be treated as Ottoman subjects up to WWI. Their religious leader, the Prelate, was and served as the head of the community. Several institutions operated under his auspices including Church estates, neighborhood churches, and schools in both Cairo and Alexandria.<sup>27</sup>

The earlier Armenian migrations to Egypt, mostly voluntary, were for the most part driven by Egypt's economic "pull" factors, represented, during the reign of Muhammad 'Alī, by a steady demand for Armenians to serve in the *wālī's* expanding administrative edifice and by his ambitious economic project. Immigration, therefore, took the shape of a slow infiltration which, in terms of numbers, was hardly noticeable and provoked little reaction. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the situation was quite different. To the magnetic "pull" factors were added more compelling "push" factors, which dramatically altered the character of Armenian migration to Egypt. In addition to a general desire to evade high taxes to which Armenians appear to have been subjected in their homeland, they had to contend with rising anti-Armenian sentiments, occasioned by radical Armenian political tendencies and practices,<sup>28</sup> and, most of all, by the evolving Hamidian oppression following 1894-1896, and by what appeared to be systematic Armenian victimization.<sup>29</sup>

But why did Armenians choose Egypt in particular among many other options? In reality, Egypt had always acted as a center of gravity pulling in people of diverse social, religious, political, and economic backgrounds.<sup>30</sup> Egypt's growing work opportunities and higher standards of living encouraged people of various nationalities, including Armenians, to settle there. At the turn of the century, Egypt possessed one of the most flourishing economies in the Eastern Mediterranean owing to its rapid integration into a world economy<sup>31</sup> characterized by its "laissez-faire" economic system.<sup>32</sup>

Egypt was not only favorable for entrepreneurs seeking a fortune or workers looking for higher wages, but it also served as a haven for politically active Armenian revolutionaries agitating against the established Ottoman order. Egypt allowed individuals to more openly pursue their nationalist causes and sometimes diffuse "radical" ideas, by contrast to their own homelands, where they were unable to do so. In his retrospectively-written memoirs *Twelve Years Out of Istanbul*, Yervant Odian, himself an immigrant to Egypt, recalls that the chief Hnchak<sup>33</sup> leaders of the *KumKapi* demonstration in Istanbul,<sup>34</sup> namely, Arpyar Arpyarian<sup>35</sup> and Harutyun Jangulian,<sup>36</sup> settled on Egyptian soil in 1896. There they pursued their nationalist struggle.<sup>37</sup> Much like their Armenian counterparts, a number of Italian anarchists, Russian leftists, and Young Turks also flocked to Egypt and followed a bewildering variety of political causes.<sup>38</sup>

One ought not to forget that this rapid movement of people became feasible thanks to the major transport revolution of the mid-nineteenth century allowing individuals and families to travel from one place to another in the Ottoman Empire. Most Armenians who wished to leave the Ottoman domains had to carry their baggage and head to the Ottoman capital Istanbul, where Khedivial, Russian and Norwegian steamships awaited them.<sup>39</sup>

It is not easy to tell the exact number of Armenian migrants relocating to Egypt in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Various sources provide us with contradictory numbers. The Egyptian state censuses for the years 1907 and 1917 computed the number to be between 7747 and 12,854. These fall short of the numbers presented by the Armenian sources like almanacs, newspapers, and Prelacy Archives, which suggest that around 10,000 to 17,000 Armenians resided in the country during the same period. One thing, however, is certain: the number of Armenians in Egypt at the outbreak of WWI could not have exceeded 20,000.<sup>40</sup> Even so, they had a role in the Egyptian economy much larger than their small number suggests.

#### TOWARDS A BROADER OVERVIEW OF ARMENIAN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN EGYPT (1882-1914)

In his book *Modern Egypt*, the British Consul-General of Egypt, Sir Evelyn Baring, more famously known as Lord Cromer, wrote rather dismissively that

the small Armenian community in Egypt consisted "... for the most part of shopkeepers."<sup>41</sup> Though he did not say so explicitly, Cromer was implying that their economic role, if not petty, was too insignificant to merit great attention. The image which Cromer conjured was, in fact, incorrect as the incoming Ottoman Armenian migrants and refugees had already penetrated into the secondary and tertiary sectors of the Egyptian economy. It is true that very many of them were involved in the more popular professions such as tailoring and shoemaking among others, but it should also be pointed out that others worked in more sophisticated fields including medicine, engineering, architecture, photography, and cigarette production, thus catering to the needs of both the lower and the upper echelons of Egyptian society. Notwithstanding, therefore, their small numbers in Egypt, Armenians, in fact, figured at all levels of the economic ladder. This section of the paper means to provide a broader and more detailed panorama of Armenian economic ventures in the new adoptive homeland and shed light on some important, but usually overlooked, aspects of Armenian economic activity at the dawn of the twentieth century.

#### THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN BUSINESSES IN CAIRO AND ALEXANDRIA

How were the Armenian businesses organized and geographically distributed in Cairo and Alexandria? Did Armenians have their own commercial or residential quarter in either of these two cities? Were they ghettoized or not? Most of the incoming Armenians, even though some of them had rural backgrounds, were heavily concentrated in the two cosmopolitan cities of Egypt, namely, Cairo and Alexandria. A smaller number of Armenians appear to have lived in the non-cosmopolitan and rural governorates of Lower and Upper Egypt. The Egyptian state censuses and those of the Armenian Prelacy, in the period extending from 1896 to 1947 show that around 53.35% of all Armenians lived in Cairo, 39.35% in Alexandria, and 7.3% in all the remaining parts of Egypt.<sup>42</sup> Armenians lacked a distinct "Armenian Quarter" so to speak. 'Ali Mubārak's monumental work *al-Khṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya* published in 1882 attests to this fact.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, an article about Armenians in Egypt appearing in the Marseille-based *Armenia*<sup>44</sup> newspaper in 1894 maintained that Armenians lived among other peoples be they "Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Syrians, or Italians."<sup>45</sup> Hence, borrowing Gudrun Krämer's terminology, Armenians were not "ghettoized" or "segregated" in Egypt. In other words, using the terms of Krämer, it can be confidently stated that Armenians in the country never "moved out of place" for they were not confined to a 'place' to begin with. Of course, this did not prevent them from having their areas of residence close to their workplaces or in the neighborhood of communal institutions such as Armenian churches and schools. Just to give a concrete example, this happened

to be the case in Bayn al-Surayn Street in Cairo, where several Armenian shops and businesses existed in proximity to the Surp Asdvadzadzin (St. Mary's) Church and Cairo's Armenian Prelacy.<sup>46</sup>

Generally, Armenian businesses were located in either of the two cities' more central economic quarters. In Cairo, they were found in the following streets: Bayn al-Surayn, Müski, Azbakiyya, 'Abdin, and Clot Bey, among other places. Armenian businesses in Alexandria were mainly situated in Sherif Pasha Street and 'Attārīn Mosque Street. The probability of finding a larger number of Armenians practicing similar professions in a single location was higher in the larger and more specialized market places such as Suq al-Kantu in Cairo,<sup>47</sup> where several Armenian restaurant owners, photographers, shoe sellers, and leather traders existed side by side. Clearly, Armenians preferred to have their shops in the more cosmopolitan and prestigious districts of Cairo or Alexandria partly to increase their chances of benefitting from the presence of tourists as well as wealthy and middle class Europeans.<sup>48</sup> It is noticeable that several Armenian firms, at least those in Cairo, overlooked fashionable hotels like the Shepheard's Hotel and important institutions such as the Imperial Ottoman Bank and the British barracks (in Qaṣr al-Nil).<sup>49</sup>

## ARMENIANS IN THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY

### *Agriculture and Landownership*

Secondary sources shed some light on the earlier agricultural activities of Armenians in Egypt during the rule of Muhammad 'Ali, while their later accomplishments in that field remain overwhelmingly ignored.

Starting from the 1820s, a number of Armenian agricultural experts from Anatolia and Cyprus were invited to Egypt to assist Muhammad 'Ali in the introduction of new crops to expand the country's agricultural output. Initially, the Pasha attempted to boost the production of indigo in his domains. That is why he resorted to the assistance of some Armenian agronomists to help in its planting in Egypt. These men were commissioned to cultivate better varieties of indigo brought from Cyprus, Kaiseri and other places. But, with the flow of cheaper Indian indigo, its production dramatically diminished and was eventually abandoned. In the 1830s, perhaps with a view to having an expanded role in the market, the Pasha strained to boost the cultivation of opium in Egypt. To meet this goal, a number of Armenians were brought from Smyrna, the center of opium production in the Ottoman Empire, to work on land devoted exclusively to this crop. At the beginning, their efforts proved to be successful as the country produced around 15,000 to 20,000 uqa<sup>50</sup> of opium, but by the 1840s, the number, suddenly dropped because of its "imperfect" quality.<sup>51</sup> Another Armenian, Yusuf Effendi al-Armanī is also credited for having

introduced Maltese tangerines into the country; at a later stage that fruit, simply known as "Yusuf Effendi", was widely consumed in Egypt.<sup>52</sup>

Generally speaking, unlike affluent Greeks, and some Syrian families for that matter, Armenians usually abstained from investing in agricultural land ownership. Some plots of land acquired by Armenians in Egypt were granted as gifts to high-ranking Armenian civil servants working under Muhammad 'Ali's and later Khedivial governments. Hardly any Armenians thought of purchasing agricultural property. In case they did, the area bought did not exceed a few hundred *feddans*, the smallest being eight *feddans* or even less. Only the aristocratic Nubarian family steadily accumulated lands over an extensive period of time as a result of generous donations and successive purchases. As a matter of fact, during the rule of Isma'îl, the Nubarians held around 2944 *feddans*, gifts received from the Khedive.<sup>53</sup> Nubar's son Boghos continued his father's legacy by purchasing more lands. In 1898, he was almost the only Armenian who bought land, around 2007 *feddans*, belonging to al-Da'ira al-Saniyya.<sup>54</sup> In the main, properties acquired by Armenians fell in the districts near Cairo or Alexandria.<sup>55</sup>

It is obvious, from the preceding, that Armenians, unlike for example their Greek counterparts, were not much involved in cotton cultivation, its ginning derivative or sale. Still a few Armenian agronomists like Boghos Nubar and Yervant Aghaton put in much effort to improve Egyptian agricultural endeavors. Apparently on account of his father's possession of vast agricultural fields, Boghos Nubar studied agricultural and mechanical engineering in France and Switzerland. Upon graduation and after his return to Egypt, he embarked on a series of agricultural projects meant to introduce agricultural mechanization into the country. Indeed, the year 1898 proved to be an eventful year in his lifelong career. That year, he had a major hand in the creation of the first Egyptian agricultural body, known as the Khedivial Agricultural Society, and served on its board as its vice-president for many years. In the same year, and thanks to his ingenious intellectual talents and mechanical skills, he commenced the construction of the "Nubari" steam plowing machine. Although its use did not spread in Egypt, it nevertheless generated considerable professional recognition. It was first displayed in the Egyptian section of the Paris Exposition in 1900. With this self-made invention and in contrast to reliance on animal power, Boghos intended to increase the efficiency of agricultural production by plowing more lands in a relatively shorter period of time. Actually, this new technology had the capacity of plowing around 1980 square meters per hour or, to put it differently, approximately two hectares per day.<sup>56</sup> It soon gained the close attention of French agricultural scientists and became a subject constantly discussed in the meetings of the Paris-based French Academy of Agriculture. In 1902, with much appreciation and in recognition of Nubar's

"modernizing" endeavors, the Academy, upon the recommendation of French agricultural engineer Maximilian Ringelmann,<sup>57</sup> awarded the "Olivier de Serres"<sup>58</sup> gold medal to Boghos, the foremost agricultural inventor of the year.<sup>59</sup> At a later stage, Boghos was also invited to join the Agricultural Mechanics and Irrigation committee of the Société Nationale d'Agriculture de France as a foreign member.<sup>60</sup> In addition to his plowing machine he, in 1905, after many years of experimentation, also launched a special new type of cotton crop, which became known as Nubari cotton. It had "... *a more vigorous growth, the foliage being heavier than in the other kinds.*"<sup>61</sup> Soon after, Nubari cotton together with other varieties of Egyptian cotton like Mit Afifi and Yoannovitch were planted in French Algeria and Tunisia and for a while in the United States.<sup>62</sup> But, much to the regret of the US Department of Agriculture, the Nubari crop failed to acclimatize to Arizona's climatic conditions.<sup>63</sup> Nor did it displace other Egyptian varieties. Nevertheless, Nubar's pioneering role as an agricultural expert was not overlooked. In 1905, on behalf of the Egyptian state, he participated in the founding meeting of the International Agricultural Institute in Rome sitting at the same table as delegates from the British Empire, Belgium, France, Italy, Romania, Netherlands, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Denmark.<sup>64</sup>

The memoirs of Aghaton, entitled *My Life's Memoirs*, also attest to the role and contribution of a French-educated Ottoman Armenian agricultural engineer in Egypt, who once held the agricultural inspectorship of the Anatolian and Rumelian provinces of the Empire.<sup>65</sup> Like Boghos Nubar, Aghaton had also acquired his necessary expertise at the prestigious École Nationale d'Agriculture in Grignon in 1880. In late August 1896, following the Ottoman Bank incident and the mounting anti-Armenian sentiment in Ottoman territories,<sup>66</sup> Aghaton defected to Paris, where he already possessed close connections with a number of Armenian families including the famous Nubarians. Due to difficulties finding permanent employment in France, Aghaton, subsequently relocated to Egypt upon Nubar's suggestion.<sup>67</sup>

As a new but well-educated immigrant to Egypt, Aghaton in no time began a successful career. He gained the respect of both Armenian and Egyptian elites and formed close relations with other local agricultural specialists. Together with like-minded Egyptian agronomists, Aghaton laid the foundations for the Egyptian Agricultural Syndicate, which he headed for a number of years and in about 1909 was declared its honorary president.<sup>68</sup> By 1912, eight out of a total 147 members subscribed to the Syndicate were Armenians.<sup>69</sup> Boghos Nubar also supported the Syndicate, which, he hoped, would assist the Egyptian peasants in having access to cheaper seeds and fertilizers as well as mechanical equipment to boost their productivity.<sup>70</sup> Aghaton gained even more fame by dint of his French-language articles on a multiplicity of agricultural topics like

cotton growing and irrigation matters published in the *Bulletin de L'Union Syndicale des Agriculteurs d'Égypte*.<sup>71</sup> First, he was appointed by Boghos Nubar as his land inspector; subsequently, he became general supervisor of the lands belonging to the widow of Takvor Pasha Hagopian. Then, he was invited to work as inspector in the vast lands of Prince Ḥusayn Kāmel, the second son of Khedive Ismā'il and later Sultan of Egypt, and was paid £E 25 for his services. His name was also circulated by word of mouth among aristocratic circles. Then, upon Prince Ḥusayn's recommendation, his brother Prince Ibrahīm and his sister Princess Niyamet also appointed Aghaton as an inspector for their farms in Egypt, earning him an income of £E 100 per month. Ultimately, former Egyptian PM Riyāḍ Pasha and Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī II relied on Aghaton to administer their lands in Aswan, where sugar cane and cotton were planted.<sup>72</sup> The *fellah* in Egypt barely used chemical fertilizers. Aghaton, however, deviated from the norm. By utilizing chemicals like Nitrate and Super Phosphate, two crucial plant nutrients, he contrived to increase the fertility of the soil. At first, he experimented with these substances in the cotton and wheat fields of Boghos Nubar. Then, encouraged by the dramatic increase in the crop yields, he applied them on a larger scale including on Riyāḍ Pasha's lands.<sup>73</sup> Aghaton's land experiences were also reflected in his Armenian-language writings appearing in *Miyutyun*. As a result of his continuing interest in the agricultural life of the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, he wished to convey, through his writings, the benefits of introducing new agricultural techniques among Armenian peasants laboring in the ancestral lands, whom he, as a devotee of modernity, described as "backward" and "ignorant" people, relying on wasteful methods of agriculture and land rotation.<sup>74</sup>

Although Armenians in general tended to veer away from the agricultural sector, there were one or two instances in which the opposite was the case. The British Consular Report of 1904 notes that two out of a total of 67 students studying at the Egyptian School of Agriculture were Armenians, an exceptional fact given that members of the community avoided enrolling in state-run technical institutions where Arabic was the official language of instruction. Had the names of these students been mentioned, it would have been possible to trace their future career paths.<sup>75</sup>

## **Services**

### *Food Industry and Hotel Services*

Much the same as any group of migrants leaving their ancestral homeland, Ottoman Armenians settling in Egypt carried with them their professions, traditions, and customs to their new destinations. Apart from other types of Armenian-owned shops, bakeries, cake shops, restaurants, cafés, and hotels were also on the list of Armenian businesses in Egypt. Cake shops and

restaurants, in particular, played a significant role in preserving the newcomers' ancestral culinary heritage, but also appealed to local Eastern tastes as well as those of the large Ottoman constituency in the country. By means of food, therefore, Armenians contributed to cultural interaction and exchange. A certain Armenag Baldjian, originally from the Ottoman capital, revived homeland traditions by specializing in the Istanbul *çörek*,<sup>76</sup> especially, prepared for the Easter season, and sold other kinds of sweets like *lokum* (Turkish delight), *Revani* (an Ottoman Turkish desert), *Acibadem* (almond cookies), and the *Tavuk Göğsü* (a Turkish milk pudding with shredded chicken breast), one of the delicacies served to Ottoman monarchs in the Topkapı Palace.<sup>77</sup> In addition to these, popular European sweets like biscuits, cakes, *patte d'amande* (a confection made from sugar and almond) and *marron glacé* (chestnut candied in sugar) were also prepared by Baldjian in his shop in Cairo's Clot Bey Street, assisted by skilled Armenian assistants.<sup>78</sup> Besides preparing sweets in Egypt, other Armenians imported them directly from various Ottoman cities. A certain Boghos Ohanian was well-known for importing to Cairo more than 30 kinds of Turkish sweets from the Ottoman port-city of Izmir.<sup>79</sup> A visitor to the Armenian-owned "Stambol" grocery shop in Cairo also may have purchased the famous Hacı Bekir<sup>80</sup> brand of *lokum*.<sup>81</sup>

Solely or in partnership with other Armenians or locals, new Turkish-style restaurants also emerged in the different quarters of the Egyptian capital as well as in Alexandria. M. Latchinian and A. Kosatlı ran a restaurant in Wijhat al-Birka Street in Cairo, well-known as an entertainment zone in the Egyptian capital.<sup>82</sup> Probably owing to the spread of the food business in this particular street, other Armenian-owned restaurants having similar menus also came into being, in the process creating a degree of competition between contending Armenian restaurants. Karnig Dadurian and Megerditch Kalusdian opened the *Kebab Royal Restaurant*,<sup>83</sup> to be followed by Restaurant 'Abbās of Shahrighian and Palamudian, making *tandır kebabı* (cooked from lamb pieces), *işkembe çorbasi* (a type of soup cooked in Istanbul made from tripe), and the *paça* (a dish of boiled cow or sheep parts).<sup>84</sup> Much the same as in Cairo, Armenian restaurants in Alexandria also cooked a wide variety of Anatolian foods. Restaurant Nor Tar (New Century), for instance, advertised that it prepared a large number of Istanbul dishes,<sup>85</sup> whereas the Arevelian (Oriental) Restaurant, formed through the partnership of Garabed Dirhemdjian and Sarkis Husaynidjian, sold the Turkish *döner* made from meat cooked on a vertical spit.<sup>86</sup>

Other than *kebab*, some Armenians, as in the case of Andon Reshduni and his Hnchak comrade Vahakn, broke away from the norm by serving the eggplant *dolma* (stuffed eggplant) in their restaurant in Alexandria.<sup>87</sup> However, rather surprisingly, almost none of the sources mention the names of Armenian

shops preparing the famous *bastırma*, which, later on, became widely consumed. Their preparation of Turkish foods and sweets must have attracted foreigners and local customers alike eager to try these new foods. Of course, it should not be forgotten that cooking such dishes was also a clear indication of the unchanging eating habits of Armenians expelled from their ancestral homeland, who, in the process, were acting as carriers of Ottoman Turkish culture as mediated by their cuisine.

As in other parts of the Ottoman Near East, the number of cafés and hotels was also on the rise in Egypt. According to the official British census of 1907, around 4203 people were involved in this male-dominant business in Cairo, while it was half that number (2338 people) in Alexandria.<sup>88</sup> In the midst of continuous migration to Egypt, Armenians, of both genders, also started setting up their own cafés and hotels in the above-mentioned cities. The Armenian Café (known as Qahvet al-Arman) in Cairo's Ezbek street was among the first and most popular cafés established by Armenians in Egypt as early as 1891 or even before,<sup>89</sup> to be followed by numerous others starting from the early twentieth century. Cafés formed an integral part of the developing Egyptian public sphere.<sup>90</sup> The Grand Café Chicha in Cairo, run by Karnig Sirunian, acquired fame for serving the hookah, mocha, coffee, and spirits to its customers, who may have been deprived of these pleasures in local Egyptian coffeehouses.<sup>91</sup> Sirunian relied on his nationals to run his shop; he appointed Arshag Adjemian director of the café and S. Sarkissian as the accountant.<sup>92</sup> Revealing their renowned entrepreneurial inclinations, some Armenians preferred to adopt Europeanized names for their cafés with the intention of attracting more Europeans in addition to their local clients. This holds true for the Cairo Café and Bar Aida, owned by Lutfian in Cairo. In addition to spirits, it also included different kinds of mezes on its menu.<sup>93</sup> This is also true for Café Central d'Abdine (owned by a certain Budakian) and the celebrated Café Riche (belonging to a Madame Sirunian in Cairo, probably a relative of Karnig).<sup>94</sup>

Besides cafés, Armenians also owned hotels in Egypt, of a second or a third class level, as Odian noted and the French almanac of 1904 has confirmed.<sup>95</sup> The naming of hotels after certain Ottoman cities in Anatolia (probably the names of areas where their proprietors came from) reflects Armenians' attachment to their homeland and mirrors their deeply embedded nationalist sentiments. For example, one comes across names like Hotel Trebizond (owned by a certain M. Kevorkian in Alexandria), Hotel Samsun overlooking the Sea in Alexandria and Hotel Armenia (owned by Sarkis Bulbulian) in Cairo.<sup>96</sup> Owing to the dramatic growth of tourist traffic in Egypt, Armenian hotel keepers, as in the case of the café owners, were also inclined to adopt Western names like Marie Boghossian's Hotel du Louvre.<sup>97</sup>

### *Health Care and Medicine*

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Armenians also occupied a prominent position in the fields of medicine and pharmacology in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, several members of the Shashian dynasty of Istanbul, for instance, served as the personal physicians to various Ottoman sultans.<sup>98</sup> Likewise, in Egypt some Armenian physicians and pharmacists in addition to a few midwives and nurses made their appearance in the fields of medicine and healthcare, beginning in the early twentieth century; they were self-employed or found employment in foreign medical institutions. Many of them carried their profession with them, while others gained their medical expertise through studying abroad and then coming to Egypt. Back then, Armenians aspiring to hold a degree in any field relating to the medical sciences attended universities either in Europe or in the United States. But when such options were unavailable, they studied instead at the Medical School of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, now the American University of Beirut), one of the oldest, Western-style medical institutions in the Ottoman Empire. The Armenians' virtual inability to use the Arabic language meant they could not study in the Egyptian Medical School, Qaṣr al-'Aynī.

In fact, practicing medicine in Egypt was rather attractive for Armenian physicians trained in Western institutions, having in mind that the country lacked a well-established medical corps and because most well-to-do Egyptians refused "... to seek treatment at state-sponsored hospitals..."<sup>99</sup>

Armenian physicians constituted about 0.6% of the total numbers of working Armenians in Egypt.<sup>100</sup> They were not organized into a union similar to the Armenian Medical Association of Constantinople founded in 1912.<sup>101</sup> In light of the documents consulted, it can be stated that the majority of Armenian physicians in Egypt worked either as dentists or doctors of internal medicine. Some of the dentists mentioned in the almanacs and newspaper advertisements included, Drs. George Evliyan,<sup>102</sup> Bedros Nicotemos,<sup>103</sup> Vahram Yaqubian,<sup>104</sup> Hovsep Vanlian,<sup>105</sup> Keledjian, and Kh. Demirdjian. Drs. Garabed Pashayan Khan,<sup>106</sup> Yetvart Arsharuni,<sup>107</sup> H. Gurunlian, A. Manugian, A. Gulmez,<sup>108</sup> and S. Ezekyelian<sup>109</sup> practiced internal medicine. Dr. Esther L. Jacobian was the only female Armenian physician in Egypt treating female patients in her gynecological clinic in Cairo.<sup>110</sup>

As for their work possibilities, Armenian doctors in Egypt had several career options. They could open their own private clinics in Cairo or Alexandria (which was usually the case), treat patients in missionary-run dispensaries or in privately-owned pharmacies (most of the times belonging to their nationals) or work in hospitals. Based on the available examples, it appears that when Armenian doctors opened private clinics, they did so in the central districts of Cairo or Alexandria. Drs. Kh. Demirdjian, V. Yaqubian, and Keledjian,

incidentally all of them dentists, had their clinics in the vicinity of the Shepherd's Hotel, and must have been more regularly visited by foreigners than fellow nationals or Egyptians.<sup>111</sup> As an editorial published in the *Cairene Nor Or* (New Day)<sup>112</sup> newspaper reveals, an Armenian patient in Egypt usually opted for the services of a European rather than an Armenian physician considering the former as more "credible" and "trustworthy,"<sup>113</sup> despite the fact that the latter may have graduated from internationally acclaimed western institutions. By contrast, working class Armenians chose to visit Armenian physicians and dentists, who were probably less costly and on certain week days offered free consultation sessions for their "poorer" nationals in line with the dominant trend prevailing in Istanbul.<sup>114</sup>

On top of their regular clinic hours, some doctors like Arsharuni and Pashayan spent their afternoons in the Tokatlian Pharmacy in Alexandria, where patients could also consult Greek or Jewish doctors.<sup>115</sup> Dr. A. Manugian also allocated some of his free time to healing patients visiting the Pharmacy d'Afrique, owned by an Armenian, again in Alexandria.<sup>116</sup>

In Egypt, Armenians also ran pharmacies; among them were the Khatchadurian brothers, owners of the Constantinople Pharmacy, and Boghos Hagopian, owner of the Anglo-Egyptian Pharmacy (founded in 1904).<sup>117</sup> In addition to selling European and American readymade drugs, as most pharmacists of the time did, they, too, prepared medicine based on French and British pharmacopoeia.<sup>118</sup> As far as one can tell from British Consular Reports, to do so they must have been licensed chemists in line with the Egyptian Pharmacy Law of 1904, which prohibited non-licensed chemists from running pharmacies or preparing drugs.<sup>119</sup>

Other than working in their own clinics or in pharmacies, some physicians such as Dr. Abkar Dermarkarian, a graduate from the SPC Medical School in 1902, worked in the eye department of the British-run Old Cairo Medical Mission performing "... over a thousand eye-operations..."<sup>120</sup> Similarly, Dr. Garabed Uzunian, immediately after his graduation from the SPC, was employed in the American Mission Hospital in Cairo for four years (1905-1909) and then became a medical officer in the Sudan Condominium government (1909-1913).<sup>121</sup> Based on the scant material available, one can infer that Dr. Missak Shamlian also proved to have a brilliant medical career in Egypt. Graduating from the Medical University in Lausanne, he returned to his country of adoption, where he served in Asyut's American Hospital prior to becoming the official physician of Cairo's water company.<sup>122</sup>

Besides serving in foreign institutions, some Armenian physicians also found employment in local governmental hospitals. Dr. George Ekmekdjian worked at the Egyptian and Sudanese military hospitals for decades.<sup>123</sup> Of importance also was Dr. B. Seropian, a graduate from the Medical School of Paris

University. He arrived in Cairo as late as 1907 with his French wife Jeanne Dubuc, incidentally also a graduate of the same institution and a practicing midwife. After 12 years of service in the French capital, Seropian was commissioned by the Egyptian Ministry of Public Instruction to prepare medical textbooks for use in Qaṣr al-'Ayni hospital. Why Seropian was chosen for this task in particular is a question that still requires further examination.<sup>124</sup> At the same time, and up to WWI, Seropian contributed medical articles to *Miyutyun* on a multiplicity of topics including typhus, malaria, and other prevalent diseases of the time, this way raising health awareness among his nationals in Egypt and in the Armenian-inhabited Ottoman provinces, where the publication was circulated.<sup>125</sup> Seropian also allocated some of his time to his patients, who frequented his and his wife's shared home/clinic in Cairo.<sup>126</sup>

Given the high infant mortality rates, midwives were also indispensable in British-occupied Egypt. Delivering children and diffusing public health awareness was among a midwife's primary duties. We do not know how many Armenian women actually studied in the School of Midwifery in Egypt created by Clot Bey in 1831-1832 under the patronage of Muhammad 'Ali.<sup>127</sup> It is, however, most likely that a certain Mary Boghos, a practicing midwife, attended that school.<sup>128</sup> According to the *Egyptian Directory* of 1913, in addition to Boghos, there were three other Armenian midwives in Cairo.<sup>129</sup> The School of Midwives and Nurses, which came to be known as such after 1898, was more under British direction than, for instance, with the Qaṣr al-'Ayni school. At a later stage, at least two Armenian women, namely, Rosa Kulundjian and Yeranuhi Aladjadjian, were trained as nurses in the SPC School of Nursing. Graduating in the years 1908 and 1910 respectively, they practiced their profession at the Victoria Nursing Home in Cairo.<sup>130</sup>

### **Insurance Firms**

Starting in the nineteenth century, several British insurance companies began expanding throughout the vast British Empire and establishing new branches in the different parts of the globe, including the Ottoman domains, where generous capitulations were granted to foreign individuals and institutions. In 1865, the Phoenix Assurance Company and the Sun Fire Office set foot in Istanbul, with the purpose of selling insurance policies against fire, a threat from which the imperial city had frequently suffered. Contrary to their expectations, these companies gained only a small number of clients during their early years of operation.<sup>131</sup>

Despite earlier setbacks, American fire and life insurance companies began to grow and eventually established subsidiaries in the various districts of the Ottoman capital as in other parts of the Empire. Later, particularly in the late 1890s and 1900s, a number of European insurance firms came into being,

usually run by non-Ottoman citizens. Nevertheless, and as conveyed by the contemporary Istanbul-based Armenian press, numerous Armenians served as the general agents, directors, inspectors or representatives of these companies. It is rather difficult to identify the real reasons for the success of Armenians in this particular field. It is likely, however, that they benefitted from their modern education as well as linguistic skills. A certain Simon Kayserlian, first became the executive director of the French L'Union Insurance Company in Istanbul,<sup>132</sup> and at a later stage of his life, he was appointed the firm's general director in Turkey and Bulgaria.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, in addition to its foreign personnel, the New York Life Insurance Company appointed a certain A. Tchuhadjian as the general inspector for its main office in Turkey.<sup>134</sup> The Balkan Life and Fire Insurance Company, which had its headquarters in Sofia, made use of the skills and abilities of Arshag Undjian and A. Gureghian, acting as the firm's agent and inspector respectively.<sup>135</sup> Likewise, K. Fredian was commissioned to act as the representative of La Phoenix Autrichien Insurance agency in the Ottoman Empire,<sup>136</sup> and S. Manugian held the directorship of the Bulgaria fire insurance firm.<sup>137</sup> It is noteworthy that much the same as in the Ottoman capital, in the early twentieth century, branches of the above-mentioned insurance agencies also made their way into Egypt. In fact, in 1902, according to estimates of the French almanac *Indicateur Égyptien*, out of a total of 135 insurance firms functioning in Alexandria and 79 in Cairo, three were managed by Armenians in the former and two in the latter. Generally speaking, the companies administered by Armenians in Egypt did not seem to be connected to the ones in Istanbul. The Rossia agency (based in St. Petersburg) formed the only exception; its agents or inspectors in the Ottoman capital, Izmir and Cairo at the turn of the century were Armenians, A. Hurmuz, M. Morukian and Ohan Dervishian respectively.<sup>138</sup> In his turn, Mihran Khan Kalfayan, originally from Istanbul, perhaps benefitting from his position as the Persian consul in Alexandria, acted as the general representative of the Dutch Salamander Fire Insurance Company<sup>139</sup> until his death in 1913.<sup>140</sup>

What is more important is that Henri Bey Demirdjian, once active in Egypt, started a series of business initiatives including the general agency of both branches of L'Urbaine Insurance Company in Cairo and Alexandria, while leaving the Port Said branch to a Frenchman called Gustave Riche.<sup>141</sup> At a later stage, Demirdjian even became the president of the General Union of International Insurance Companies in Egypt.<sup>142</sup> By 1907 other insurance firms also came to rely on Armenians in managing their state of affairs in Egypt. For instance, Armenag Beylerian and M. Guesserian assumed the general agency of La Sécurité and Union de Paris insurance companies in Alexandria.<sup>143</sup> Added to these, an individual carrying the family name Ohanian acted as the vice

general representative of the American Mutual Life Insurance Company in Cairo.<sup>144</sup>

### **Transport**

Armenians exhibited a keen interest in the Egyptian State Railways from its inception in 1853. At first, in view of their close relations with the cream of Egyptian society, the highest administrative ranks in the Railways seemed to be reserved for several of the Armenian notables residing in Egypt. Nubar Nubarian was the first to preside over all the public transport and railways in Egypt from 1857 to 1858, to be followed by his son Boghos, who was appointed as the national director of the railways from 1867 until 1879. Sometime later, Armenians reappeared as railway directors particularly, from 1886 until 1898. Takvor Pasha Hagopian (1886-1888), Ya'qub Artin (1888-1891) and Boghos Nubar for a second time (1891-1898) were in charge of the Egyptian railways. Armenians alongside Greeks and Italians occupied other administrative positions in the Alexandria tram company as ticket vendors, telegraph officers or inspectors.<sup>145</sup> Karnig Tchekukdjian, the vice-president of the Alexandria Tramway and Ramleh Railway companies, a position he held for around eight years, is reputed to have employed around 300 ticket vendors from among the newly arriving Armenian refugees. Their pay was so abysmally low that they were driven with others to go on strike, as happened in 1908.<sup>146</sup> A similar incident also occurred three years later in 1911. The *Near East*, in fact, reported that in Alexandria alongside Egyptian, Greek, Italian, and Austrian workers, Armenians, "... of whom there is an appreciable proportion in the service of the company..." also joined the strikers.<sup>147</sup>

### **Printing**

Generally speaking, Armenian involvement in printing activities dated back to the late eighteenth century with the publication in 1794 of *Aztarar* (Intelligencer), the first Armenian language periodical, in Madras, British India, where a prosperous and vibrant Armenian minority existed.<sup>148</sup> This was to be followed by other pioneering Armenian publications in different parts of the globe, including the Ottoman Empire. In fact, in the nineteenth century, Istanbul was already transformed into what can be described as an Armenian cultural center with the establishment of numerous printing houses and periodicals there. This legacy was passed on at a later stage to Egypt, itself undergoing what is generally known as the *nahḍa* and a print revolution.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Armenians flocking to Egypt, mostly involuntarily, experienced what can be described as a 'mini' Renaissance pioneered by such immigrant intellectuals as Mary Beylerian,<sup>149</sup> Odian, and Smpad Purad, who moved to Egypt in the mid-1890s.<sup>150</sup> Soon after

their arrival, Armenian journalism in Egypt experienced a dramatic growth, partly occasioned by the revocation of Egypt's censorship law of 1881 and by the prevalence of what has been described as Egypt's liberal moment.<sup>151</sup> In direct or indirect consequence of these developments, up to WWI around 27 Armenian printing houses came into being in both Cairo and Alexandria, which published around 173 books, some of them translations into Armenian of English-language plays and novels such as Shakespeare's *Othello* and several Sherlock Holmes' novels.<sup>152</sup> As far as one can judge, the printing houses not only catered to the needs of the Armenian community, but also met the demands of other ethnic groups including Arabs, Greeks, and Europeans given the multi-language printing facilities they offered.<sup>153</sup> Aside from printing houses, around 43 Armenian daily, weekly and monthly political, literary and satirical periodicals made their appearance. Among these were *Nor Gyank* (New Life), *Punig* (Phoenix), *Hayeli* (Mirror), *Arev* (Sun) appearing in either Cairo or Alexandria. In addition to publishing Armenian periodicals, some presses also printed magazines edited by Armenians in other languages like *Yeni Fikr* (by Diran Kelegian in Ottoman Turkish) and *La Justice* (by Levon Fehmi in French).<sup>154</sup> Martin Hartmann confirms that as early as 1899, or even before, an Armenian called Iskandar Karkur was the founder and editor of the local *al-Zira'a* magazine.<sup>155</sup>

With the exception of *Miyutyun*, most of the Egyptian Armenian newspapers and magazines were the product of individual rather than collective initiative. It was only after WWI that Armenian political parties officially began setting up their own organs in Egypt.

Judging by the short lifespan of many of the Armenian periodicals, it is apparent that a number of them suffered from lack of adequate financial resources. The more successful ones, however, served as regular advertising outlets for several renowned foreign firms, including the Syrian Sidnawi, the Jewish Stein department stores, and the American Singer Sewing Machine Company. In one of his articles, Levon Larents,<sup>156</sup> a contributor to *Azad Pem*,<sup>157</sup> commented on the early death of several Armenian publications, noting that in many instances, and newspapers in general, had meager financial means or were unable to collect subscription dues, without which no publication, in the long-run, could survive.<sup>158</sup> Ironically, positive political developments resulted in the impoverishment of the Egyptian Armenian press. Inspired by the slogan "liberty, fraternity and equality" of the Young Turk Revolution, some intellectuals such as Smpad Purad, Parsegh Shahbaz, and V. Kuchukian closed their journals and returned to Istanbul in order to experience at first hand the new age of freedom.<sup>159</sup>

### **Artisans, Craftsmen and Architects**

Despite earning their living through practicing diverse professions, the famous *Karl Baedeker* traveler handbook, the number one guidebook for European tourists visiting Egypt, chose to describe Armenians as “wealthy goldsmiths and jewelers.”<sup>160</sup> However, after the influx of new migrants, Armenians started appearing in other fields of economic activity as well. Rifāt’s estimates indicate that artisans and craftsmen constituted approximately 45.8% of the total Armenian labor force in Egypt.<sup>161</sup>

Much the same as their nationals engaged in other economic ventures, the craftsmen and artisans of diverse occupations were also scattered throughout the various districts of Cairo and Alexandria. In other words, they did not seem to have gathered in a single spot with the exception of Cairo’s *ṣaḡha* street or Alexandria’s France Street.<sup>162</sup> Apart from becoming jewelers, a considerable number of Armenians also featured as watch vendors, tailors, dressmakers, shoemakers and haberdashers. All of these Armenian craftsmen and artisans not merely served the needs of the working classes; some of them, thanks to the strategic geographical locations of their shops, succeeded in grabbing the attention of the European *haute monde* in Egypt. For example, a shoemaker called Aram had a shop facing the luxurious Savoy Hotel and was frequently visited by European customers.<sup>163</sup> Added to this, the skills of these craftsmen and artisans and their tendency to keep pace with and imitate European trends contributed to their success. The Belayan and Shishmanian tailors in Cairo claimed American tailoring styles in their workshop.<sup>164</sup> The Egavian brothers in al-Maghrabī Street in the Egyptian capital also designated themselves “American tailors.”<sup>165</sup> Some Armenian women, like other urban Egyptian women, featured in the dressmaking business, which allowed them to earn their daily living.<sup>166</sup> Thanks to the available examples, it becomes obvious that some Armenian girls chose to establish dressmaking workshops in Cairo, as in the case of the Azkabedian and the more reputed Malezian sisters.<sup>167</sup> Perhaps, owing to their cheaper prices and a product of similar quality, European residents preferred to buy their dresses from the Malezian sisters as an alternative to buying them in Paris, the center of the fashion world and the most expensive at the time.<sup>168</sup> Like dressmakers in Istanbul, the Malezian sisters familiarized themselves with the recent trends through travelling to European capitals or by using English- or French-language fashion journals and catalogues such as *The Lady’s Magazine*, *Journal des Demoiselles*, and *the Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*, which became more accessible during the British occupation of the country.<sup>169</sup> In the early twentieth century, some Armenians, like the Ariyans and the Khatchadurians, renowned for their high quality products, also featured as skilled fez makers in Cairo.<sup>170</sup>

Armenians also practiced shoemaking in Cairo and Alexandria. By that time, in addition to the large influx of European shoes into Egypt, local shoemakers had also increased the production of European-style shoes, selling them at lower prices.<sup>171</sup> To reduce financial risks, some Armenian cobblers chose to establish joint workshops in collaboration with their male siblings such as the Khatchikian and Ghazarian brothers in Alexandria and the Der Sdepanian, Kassardjian and Chahrossian brothers in Cairo. Besides repairing old shoes, they also made new ones. With the intention of gaining more fame, some Armenian cobblers also adopted French names for their shops, like *Au Soleil*, *Lion d'Or* or *Au Petit Parisien*.<sup>172</sup> As Armenian newspaper advertisements reveal, being responsive to the modern fashion trends in Egypt, Armenian tailors, dressmakers and cobblers also put ready-made European-style dresses and shoes, ties, hats and socks on display.<sup>173</sup> Just like the tailors and cobblers, Armenian watch vendors and mechanics also performed repairs along with selling brand new products. A client visiting Levon Gumushian's shop in Cairo's "main commercial hub"<sup>174</sup> Müski street, for instance, could have asked him to repair his/her watch and, when this proved to be impossible, could have bought a new one encrusted with nickel, silver or diamonds. It appears that he attempted to please all tastes and a diversity of social classes; his prices ranged from 22 to 130 piasters for nickel watches, 50 to 200 piasters for silver ones, and 120 to 2500 piasters for diamond watches.<sup>175</sup> Of course, Gumushian is just one example of an Armenian watch vendor in Cairo; there were several others as well like K.E. Selvadjian, whose shop was also situated in Müski Street.<sup>176</sup> It is also worth mentioning that back then, some watch sellers also repaired gramophones and performed jobs that in some ways seemed to overlap with the profession of the jewelers, given that the watch sellers, too, traded in less costly jewelry, earrings and rings.

Another sector in which Armenians showed mastery was repairing sewing machines, especially, at a time when the renowned American Singer brand had invaded numerous homes and tailor shops in the Middle East.<sup>177</sup> As a former employee of one of the branches of the Singer Company, conceivably in Anatolia, where most of the given company's agents were located, Sarkis Tashdjian (in Cairo) became proficient in mending machinery carrying this trademark. This earned him an extra living, for he was employed in a Greek-owned arms-repairing and modification establishment. This bit of information also indicates that not all Armenians ran their private shops, but some of them were employed by others, in this case by members of another minority group.<sup>178</sup>

According to the *Egyptian Directory* of 1913, some Armenians carried the profession of blacksmithing with them to Egypt. Two of the most prominent Armenian figures in this field were Sarkis Madjarian and Sarkis Kaikdjian, both of them specializing in the manufacturing of iron doors. What is interesting,

however, is that Madjarian even proudly advertised himself as the first importer of iron doors to Egypt in 1896, following his escape from Istanbul, where he originally practiced the same profession for more than 20 years (starting in about 1877).<sup>179</sup>

Armenians in Egypt also managed to penetrate what can be described as the fields of applied sciences and arts, like engineering and architecture. Unfortunately, the sources consulted do not contain much information about the accomplishments of such Armenian engineers, like Ya'qub Dzaghiqian, Agop Boyadjian, J. Margosoff.<sup>180</sup> One exception, however, was engineer-contractor Agop Hagopian, who moved to Egypt in 1897, where he immediately established a "workshop for mechanical repairs" in Cairo, starting in 1897. Besides various restorations, he promoted his recent invention, namely, what he described as Agopian's artesian well-system, which, it appears, had gained much fame in England and Ottoman Turkey.<sup>181</sup>

Garò Balian, a graduate from the Imperial School of Fine Arts and a scion of the famous aristocratic Balian family of Istanbul, whose members served as court architects under six Ottoman sultans for more than three generations, was one of the renowned Armenian architects in Egypt. At present, sadly, there is more literature on Balian's ancestors in Istanbul than about him. Nevertheless, there is enough information to allow us to reconstruct what was a brilliant career in Egypt.<sup>182</sup> Garò Balian's picture and his short biography, which appear in Arnold Wright's *Twentieth Century Impressions of Egypt*, attest to this fact. We know that he permanently relocated to Egypt in 1903 after residing for about seven years in Bulgaria, where he had designed a number of landmark buildings and monuments, most importantly, Sofia's Military Club and the Monument of Liberty in Roustchouk commemorating the war between Bulgaria and Serbia.<sup>183</sup>

Although a non-native young man and despite the fierce competition in Egypt, Balian participated in important architectural projects and possessed well-established contacts with local and foreign elites. During his early years in Egypt, Balian worked in the offices of Dimitri Fabricius Pasha, the Khedive's chief architect. Together they designed the buildings of several educational and commercial institutions such as the Egyptian University (later known as the King Fu'ad University) and a number of buildings owned by the Belgian Société Belge Égyptienne de L'Ezbekiyye (an urban land company). After Fabricius' death in 1907, Balian set up his own architectural office and continued his 'extraordinary' career in Egypt.<sup>184</sup> Apparently, his fame extended throughout Cairo and, especially, among leading Jewish merchants, namely, Moreno Cicurel and the Chemla brothers, who, in competition with one another, commissioned Balian to build their multi-storied emporiums in one of Cairo's main thoroughfares.<sup>185</sup> Added to these, Moïse Solomon Green entrusted the

design of three buildings to Balian.<sup>186</sup> He designed, as well, a building for the renowned cigarette producing Matossians in Cairo.<sup>187</sup> At a later stage, they commissioned him to design a kiosk for them to display their various products in the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition of Cairo in 1926.<sup>188</sup> Out of his curiosity in and passion for Islamic art, at some point in 1915 Balian even composed a 253-page book (in Armenian) published in the Egyptian capital carrying the title *Egypt and Arab Architecture*.<sup>189</sup>

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> This is the first part of my MA thesis presented to the American University of Beirut in May 2019. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Samir Seikaly, my mentor and advisor, for his continued guidance, time, support, and inexhaustible patience.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Vella, "Newspapers," in *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century History*, ed. Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, London, Routledge, 2009, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Michelle T. King, "Working With/In the Archives," in *Research Methods for History*, ed. Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2012, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Published by Stefano G. Poffandi from 1887 to 1911 (René Maunier, *Bibliographie Économique, Juridique et Sociale de L'Égypte Moderne [1798-1916]*) Cairo, 1918, p. 20.)

<sup>5</sup> Published starting from 1886.

<sup>6</sup> Published from 1914 to 1918, first in Cairo and then in Alexandria.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Luc Arnaud, "Artisans et Commerçants des Villes d'Égypte à la fin du XIXe Siècle. Une Source peu Exploitée: Les Annuaire," *Études sur les Villages du Proche-Orient XVIe-XIXe Siècles*, 2001, pp.3, 7, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Rouben Adalian, "The Armenian Colony of Egypt during the Reign of Muhammad Ali (1805-1848)," *The Armenian Review*, 1980:33, pp. 116-17.

<sup>9</sup> Adalian, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> John Bowring, *Report on Egypt and Candia*, London, 1840, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Muhammad Rif'at al-Imām, *Tārīkh al-Jāliya al-Armaniyya fī Miṣr: al-Qirn al-Tāsi 'Ashar*, Cairo, 1999, p. 80. In March 2014, the Library of Alexandria in Egypt commemorated the 170th anniversary of the death of Boghos Bey, the first Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs ("Fī Zikra Wafāt Awwal Wazīr Kharijiyyat Miṣr," <http://www.ancme.net/news/729> (accessed May 4, 2019)).

<sup>12</sup> Adalian, p. 117-33. See also Nubar Pasha's biography in French: *Memoires de Nubar Pacha*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban, 1983, also translated into Arabic.

<sup>13</sup> Rif'at, *Tārīkh al-Jāliya*, pp. 77, 428-29.

<sup>14</sup> Anne Le Gall-Kazanian, "Les Arméniens d'Égypte (XIXe-Milieu du XXe): La Réforme à L'Échelle Communautaire," in *Entre Réforme Sociale et Mouvement National: Identité et Modernisation en Égypte (1882-1962)*, ed. Alain Roussillon, Cairo: CEDEJ, 1995, p. 502.

<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Rif'at al-Imām, *al-Arman fī Miṣr, 1894-1961*, Cairo, 2004, p. 117-24.

- <sup>16</sup> *al-Fallāḥ* (1885-1908) was a political, scientific and literary weekly established in Cairo, published under the supervision of Salim and Eliās Ḥamāwī.
- <sup>17</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, p. 118.
- <sup>18</sup> *Misr* was edited by Qayṣar and Samuel Tadrus al-Minkabādī in Cairo in 1895 (Rif'at, *al-Arman*, p. 186).
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp. 119, 139-140.
- <sup>20</sup> The journal began in January 1912 as a monthly publication and continued as such until 1916. Then it became a bimonthly periodical.
- <sup>21</sup> The AGBU was founded in Cairo in 1906 through the efforts of Boghos Nubar Pasha and others (Raymond Kévorkian and Vahe Tachjian, eds. *The Armenian General Benevolent Union: One Hundred Years of History*, Cairo, Paris, New York, 2006).
- <sup>22</sup> "To the Immigrants," (Armenian) *Miyutyun*, July 1913, p. 109.
- <sup>23</sup> A literary and political weekly newspaper published in Cairo by two Lebanese brothers: Iskandar Shalhūb and Najīb al-Ḥāj from 1893 until 1908.
- <sup>24</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, pp. 119-21, 129.
- <sup>25</sup> About the Armenian *millet* see Najat Abdulhaq, *Jewish and Greek Communities in Egypt, Entrepreneurship, and Business before Nasser*, London, New York, IB Tauris, 2016, p. 59.
- <sup>26</sup> Anne Le Gall-Kazazian, "La Construction de L'Identité Arménienne dans le Contexte Égyptien (1805-1930)," in *Modernisation et Nouvelles Formes de Mobilisation Sociale, Volume II: Égypte-Turquie*, ed. M. Wiewiorka et al., Cairo, 1992, p. 70.
- <sup>27</sup> Rif'at (*al-Arman*, pp. 253, 255, 270, 272) noted that in the 1890s, 83% of Armenians held what was described as the Ottoman nationality, while only 12% were classified as locals, probably those who were long settled in the country.
- <sup>28</sup> The allusion here is to the Ottoman Bank incident in 1896.
- <sup>29</sup> To read about the Ottoman taxation policies during the 1890s, see Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Taxation and the 'Armenian Question' During the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876-1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2012:54/4, pp. 770-797.
- <sup>30</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, pp. 117-18.
- <sup>31</sup> Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010, p. 148.
- <sup>32</sup> Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, London, Methuen, 1981, p. 224.
- <sup>33</sup> One of the Armenian political parties founded in Geneva in 1887.
- <sup>34</sup> The *KumKapi* demonstration was organized by the Hnchak Party in 1890. The main objective behind it was to pressure the Sultan to implement the reforms in the Armenian-inhabited provinces of the Ottoman Empire as dictated by the 61st article of the Treaty of Berlin (1878).
- <sup>35</sup> Arpyar Arpyarian (1851-1908) was an Armenian writer and a political activist.
- <sup>36</sup> Harutyun Jangulian (1855-1915) was an Armenian political activist and a member of the Social Democratic Hnchak Party. Following his participation in the *KumKapi* demonstration, he was exiled to Acre, Palestine.
- <sup>37</sup> Yervant Odian (1869-1926) was an Ottoman Armenian satirist, who relocated to Alexandria in 1897 (Yervant Odian, *Twelve Years Out of Istanbul, 1896-1908*, Beirut, 1937, pp. 149-51).

- <sup>38</sup> Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, "Fin de Siècle Egypt: A Nexus for Mediterranean and Global Radical Networks," in *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, ed. James L. Gelvin and Nile Green, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2014, p. 89.
- <sup>39</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, pp. 117-18.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp. 241-242. By WWI, the number of Greeks in Egypt was between 56,735 and 82,658, while the Italians numbered 40,198 (Abdulhaq, p. 66).
- <sup>41</sup> Lord Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, Vol. II, London, 1908, p. 219.
- <sup>42</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, p. 244.
- <sup>43</sup> I checked the second and third volumes of 'Ali Mubārak's *al-Khiṭaṭ* (Cairo, 1969-1970), where I did not come across any Armenian street or quarter.
- <sup>44</sup> An Armenian newspaper published in Marseille from 1885 to 1921 by Megerditch Portukalian, following his expulsion from the Ottoman Empire in 1885.
- <sup>45</sup> A Traveler, "Towards Egypt," *Armenia*, November 17, 1894 and "To Egypt," *Armenia*, November 24, 1894.
- <sup>46</sup> "Impressions (In the Street)," *Lusaper*, 18 November 1905. *Lusaper* was published in Cairo from 1904 to 1908.
- <sup>47</sup> Sūq al-Kantu was located next to al-Mūsiki Street, before the Jewish Quarter (Nancy Y. Reynolds, *A City Consumed: Urban Commerce, the Cairo Fire, and the Politics of Decolonization in Egypt*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2012, p. 31).
- <sup>48</sup> Gudrun Krämer, "Moving Out of Place, Minorities in Middle Eastern Urban Societies 1800-1914," in *The Urban Social History of the Middle East, 1750-1950*, ed. Peter Sluglett, Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 2008, p. 218.
- <sup>49</sup> "Andon Tokatlian Tapissier et Décorateur," *Azad Pem*, December 8, 1908; "Do Not Lose the Opportunity," *Azad Pem*, June 15, 1907. *Azad Pem* was first published in Alexandria (1903-06) and then in Cairo (1906-07).
- <sup>50</sup> 1 uqa equals 37.5 grams (Charles Issawi, ed. *The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914: A Book of Readings*, Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, 1966, p. 517).
- <sup>51</sup> Bowring, pp. 23, 25.
- <sup>52</sup> Rif'at, *Tārīkh al-Jāliya*, pp. 121-24.
- <sup>53</sup> Rif'at, *Tārīkh al-Jāliya*, pp. 145, 147. It should be noted that Nubar was the founder of the Behera Land Company in 1881 (Gabriel Baer, *A History of Landownership in Egypt, 1800-1950*, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 68; "Aṭyān al-Nubāriyya," *al-Muqataṭaf*, Dec. 1904, p. 1070).
- <sup>54</sup> 'Ali Barakat, *Taṭawur al-Milkiyya al-Zirā'iyya fī Miṣr wa Aṣṛahu 'ala al-Haraka al-Siyāsiyya (1813-1914)*, Cairo, Dār al-Taḳāfa al-Jadida, 1977, p. 476. The total area of al-Da'ira al-Saniyya amounted to 500,000 *feddans*. Its "sale" aimed to enable the Egyptian state to repay its debts to European creditors (Samir Raafat, "Familiar Ground, the 19th Century Privatization of Daira Sanieh Doesn't Seem That Distant," *Business Monthly Magazine*, July 1997, <http://www.egy.com/historica/97-07-00.php>, accessed April 21, 2019).
- <sup>55</sup> Rif'at, *Tārīkh al-Jāliya*, p. 146. It is appropriate to note that although a leading figure in the Egyptian Ministry of Public Education, Ya'qub Artin (1842-1919) was an Armenian educator and government official and a member of the Institut Égyptien who contributed several articles to the *Bulletin de L'Institut d'Égypte*. He also authored

*L'Instruction Publique en Égypte* (1890) and *Contes Populaires Inédits de la Vallée du Nil* (1895) and had a pivotal role in creating a growing body of literature relating to landownership in Egypt. In 1883, he authored *La Propriété Foncière en Égypte*, which is a landmark publication relating to the history of private landownership in modern Egypt (Baer, p. 14).

<sup>56</sup> *Bulletin des Séances de la Société Nationale d'Agriculture de France*, 1902, pp. 671-72. In 1905, the machine was priced at 40,000 francs ("Séance du 5 Avril 1905, Présidence de M. Teisserenc de Bort," *Bulletin des Séances de la Société Nationale d'Agriculture de France*, 1905, pp. 304-05).

<sup>57</sup> As of 1887, Ringelmann (1861-1931) worked as a professor at the École Nationale d'Agriculture in Grignon. Although an agronomist, Ringelmann is also credited with coming up with a theory known as the "Ringelmann effect" in social psychology.

<sup>58</sup> Olivier de Serres (1539-1619) was a soil scientist.

<sup>59</sup> "Séance Annuelle du 17 Décembre 1902, Présidence de M. Prillieux," *Bulletin des Séances de La Société Nationale d'Agriculture de France*, 1902:62, p. 796.

<sup>60</sup> "Séance du 8 Novembre 1905 Présidence de M. Teissérènc de Bort," *Bulletin des Séances de La Société Nationale d'Agriculture de France*, 1905:65, p. 752.

<sup>61</sup> *Egyptian Agricultural Products*, Cairo, Ministry of Agriculture, 1917, p. 49.

<sup>62</sup> For the planting of Nubari cotton in Tunisia and Algeria, see "Coton en Tunisie," *Bulletin Agricole de L'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, July 1911, p. 508 and "Le Coton en Algérie et en Tunisie," *Bulletin Agricole de L'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, July 1911, p. 632. See also Thomas H. Kearney, *Breeding New Types of Egyptian Cotton*, Washington, US Department of Agriculture, 1910, p. 29.

<sup>63</sup> M.R. Fourtau, "Le Coton Égyptien Aux États Unis," *Bulletin de L'Union Syndicale des Agriculteurs d'Égypte*, November 1909, p. 199.

<sup>64</sup> *Institut Internationale d'Agriculture, Comité Permanent Mai-Décembre 1908*, Rome, 1909, p. 20.

<sup>65</sup> Yervant Aghaton, *My Life's Memoirs*, Geneva, 1931, pp. 31, 34, 85.

<sup>66</sup> On August 26, 1896, in an effort to pressure the European powers, a group of partisans of Dashnak, one of the three Armenian political parties, attacked the Bank Ottoman headquarters in Istanbul.

<sup>67</sup> The latter's son Boghos, although of a similar specialization, looked on Aghaton more as a friend than a competitor and hosted him in his house in Cairo for nearly six months.

<sup>68</sup> Aghaton, *My Life's Memoirs*, 177.

<sup>69</sup> "Liste des Membres de L'Union des Agriculteurs Année 1911," *Bulletin de L'Union des Agriculteurs d'Égypte*, January 1912, pp. 9, 11-14.

<sup>70</sup> Boghos Nubar, "Les Syndicats Agricoles en Égypte," *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, 1910:1, pp. 197, 199.

<sup>71</sup> For a comprehensive list of Aghaton's articles about Egyptian agriculture see Maunier, pp. 178-180, 182-184, 186.

<sup>72</sup> Aghaton, *My Life's Memoirs*, pp. 151-86.

<sup>73</sup> Owen, p. 40, and Aghaton, *My Life's Memoires*, p. 184.

<sup>74</sup> Yervant Aghaton, "Advice to the Villager," *Miyutyun*, August 1912, pp. 125-26.

<sup>75</sup> *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, Condition of Egypt and the Soudan 1899-1904*, London, 1905, p. 77. At the time,

Etmekdjian was a student at the Khedivial School of Arts in Egypt. He complained about Armenian indifference to the use of Arabic, a language requirement for admission into government employment (Boghos Etmekdjian, "Egyptian Armenians: The Importance of Arabic and the State-Run Schools," *Lusaper*, July 31, 1906).

<sup>76</sup> A type of sweet

<sup>77</sup> "Çörek Çörek," *Azad Pem*, April 27, 1907.

<sup>78</sup> "Worker is Needed," *Azad Pem*, August 17, 1907. In a newspaper advertisement, Baldjian expressed his dire need of two workers who would assist him in his work.

<sup>79</sup> "Amdja Boghos G. Ohanian," *Arshaluys*, November 29-December 12, 1908. *Arshaluys* was published in Cairo from 1899 to 1914.

<sup>80</sup> A popular firm in Istanbul producing *lokum* and various kinds of candies since 1777.

<sup>81</sup> "Stambol Grocery Store," *Nor Jamanagner*, December 1, 1906. *Nor Jamanagner* was published in Cairo in 1906.

<sup>82</sup> "Restaurant Montaza," *Lusaper*, April 6, 1905 (Nancy Y. Reynolds, "Entangled Communities: Interethnic Relationships among Urban Salesclerks and Domestic Workers in Egypt, 1927-1961," *European Review of History*, 2012:19/1, p. 120).

<sup>83</sup> "The Kebab Royal Restaurant," *Arshaluys*, August 21, 1912.

<sup>84</sup> "A Pleasant Surprise in Cairo," *Arshaluys*, May 14-27, 1914. A man by the name of Vartan Toros also sold *paça* ("Vartan Toros Bazar Murur" *Lusaper*, January 26, 1905).

<sup>85</sup> "Restaurant Nor Tar," *Punig*, September 28, 1901, p. 207. *Punig* was first published in Cairo from 1899 to 1901 and then in Alexandria from 1901 to 1903.

<sup>86</sup> "Oriental Restaurant," *Punig*, March 14, 1903, p. 232.

<sup>87</sup> Odian, *Twelve Years*, pp. 151-52.

<sup>88</sup> C.C. Lewis, *The Census of Egypt Taken in 1907*, Cairo, 1909, p. 170.

<sup>89</sup> Ibrahim 'Abd-al Massih, *Dalil Wadi al-Nil 1891-1892*, Cairo, 1892, p. 155; <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008895046> (accessed June 16, 2018).

<sup>90</sup> Ziad Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2011, p. 145.

<sup>91</sup> "Grand Chicha Café," *Bardez*, November 1, 1903. The name of the café also appears in the Egyptian directory of 1908. *Bardez* was published in Alexandria in 1903.

<sup>92</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien du Commerce de L'Industrie, L'Administration et la Magistrature de L'Égypte et du Soudan 1908*, Cairo, The Directory Printing Office, 1907, pp. 435, 610.

<sup>93</sup> "Café and Bar Aida," *Avel*, September 5, 1908. *Avel* appeared in Cairo in 1908.

<sup>94</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien 1908*, pp. 465, 519, 617, 1067.

<sup>95</sup> Yevant Odian, *Collection of Works*, Vol. 4, Yerevan: Haybedhrad, 1962, p. 476.

<sup>96</sup> Stefano G. Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien Administratif et Commercial 1904*, Alexandria, 1904, p. 109; "Hotel Samsun," *Lusaper*, August 16, 1906; "Hotel Trebizond," *Arshaluys*, September 10-23, 1908.

<sup>97</sup> "Hotel Louvre," *Lusaper*, March 14, 1908.

<sup>98</sup> Isabel Kaprielian-Churchill, *Sisters of Mercy and Survival: Armenian Nurses, 1900-1930*, Antelias, 2012, pp. 24-25.

<sup>99</sup> Hibba Abugideiri, *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in Colonial Egypt*, Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate, 2010, p. 90.

<sup>100</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, pp. 366-67.

<sup>101</sup> Churchill, p. 27.

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<sup>102</sup> Dr. Evliyan studied dentistry in the USA.

<sup>103</sup> Dr. Nicotemos studied dentistry in Paris and practiced it there for several years before coming to Egypt.

<sup>104</sup> Dr. Yaqubian was a graduate of the University of Maryland in the USA after obtaining his BA from the SPC in 1897 (Hratch Kestenian, "A Portrait of Armenian Student Life at the Syrian Protestant College 1885-1920", MA diss., American University of Beirut, 2015, p. 96).

<sup>105</sup> A graduate from the Medical College of Constantinople.

<sup>106</sup> A graduate from the Medical College of Constantinople in 1888. He moved to Persia following his death sentence by the Ottoman authorities, due to his support for the rising Ottoman Armenian nationalist movement. After some years in the service of the Persian Shah Mozaffar ad-Din Qajar, Pashayan went to Egypt, where he opened a clinic in Alexandria. There, he also established an Armenian school as well as a printing house. Following the overthrow of Abdül Hamid II, Pashayan returned to Istanbul and was subsequently elected as a member of the Ottoman parliament ("Doct. Pashayan Khan," *Azad Pem*, April 23, 1904).

<sup>107</sup> A graduate from the Medical University in Paris, also settled in Alexandria.

<sup>108</sup> Dr. Gulmez studied internal medicine in Germany. His clinic was located in Müski Street ("Dr. A. Gulmez," *Azad Pem*, December 26, 1906).

<sup>109</sup> Dr. Ezekyelian studied internal medicine in the USA. His clinic was located in Alexandria ("S.V. Ezekyelian," *Punig*, April 2, 1902).

<sup>110</sup> "Dr. Esther L. Jacobian," *Lusaper*, April 4, 1908.

<sup>111</sup> "Dr. Kh. Demirdjian," *Lusaper*, December 6, 1904; "Dr. V. K. Yaqubian," *Lusaper-Arev*, January 8, 1910; "Dr. Keledjian," *Lusaper-Arev*, April 5, 1910. *Lusaper-Arev* was published in Cairo from 1909 to 1913.

<sup>112</sup> *Nor Or* was published in Cairo from 1900 to 1901.

<sup>113</sup> "Our Doctors," *Nor Or*, April 21 – May 4, 1901.

<sup>114</sup> A tradition also practiced by Armenian physicians in Istanbul, who dedicated certain hours of their day to treating "poorer" patients free of charge ("Dr. A. Undjian," *Gavrosh*, August 6, 1910). *Gavrosh* appeared in Istanbul starting in 1907.

<sup>115</sup> "Pharmacy Paros," *Azad Pem*, July 29, 1905. In addition to this pharmacy, there was also Pharmacy Ararat in Cairo in Bayn al-Surayn Street owned by a certain K. Sarafian (Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien* 1904, p. 109). V. Yanopoulo was the Greek doctor visiting the Tokatlian Pharmacy and Isaac Levi was his Jewish counterpart.

<sup>116</sup> "Dr. A. Manugian," *Azad Pem*, June 27, 1906.

<sup>117</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, pp. 367-68.

<sup>118</sup> "Anglo-Egyptian Pharmacy," *Azad Pem*, April 3, 1907.

<sup>119</sup> *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1905*, London, 1906, p. 73. According to the report, 258 licensed chemists existed throughout Egypt, with the largest number in Cairo.

<sup>120</sup> "Cairo Medical Mission of the CMS," *Egyptian Gazette*, May 31, 1905; *25th Anniversary of the Armenian Students Union at the American University of Beirut* (Armenian), Beirut, Vahakn Printing House, 1933, p. 86.

<sup>121</sup> Kestenian, p. 99.

<sup>122</sup> Aguline, "A Page from Pjishg's 1914 Almanac," *Pjishg*, October 1913, p. 208.

- <sup>123</sup> "Dr. George Ekmekdjian," *Azad Pem*, September 28, 1907.
- <sup>124</sup> Naturally, as a newcomer, he was incompetent in the Arabic language, and that is why he had his works, namely, *Mabādi' 'Ilm al-Sahha* translated into Arabic by two intellectuals, Amin Taqi al-Din and Anṭūn al-Jamayyil, who were both originally from Lebanon. They co-edited the *al-Azhar* periodical in Egypt starting in 1911. Eventually, the latter became the director of the *al-Ahrām* newspaper in 1932. Another book written by Seropian and translated by al-Jamayyil was the *Mabādi' 'Ilm Waḍ'if al-A'dā' wa Tadbir al-Sahha*.
- <sup>125</sup> Suren Bartevean, *The Golden Book of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (1906-1913)* (Armenian), Cairo, 1913, p. 142.
- <sup>126</sup> "Dr. B. Seropian," *Lusaper*, December 3, 1907.
- <sup>127</sup> Abugideiri, pp. 116-17, 134, 150.
- <sup>128</sup> "Mrs. Mary Boghos," *Arshaluys*, November 17-29, 1899.
- <sup>129</sup> *The Egyptian Directory 1913*, p. 1596; [http://www.cealex.org/sitecealex/diffusion/etud\\_anc\\_alex/LVR\\_000084\\_IV\\_w.pdf](http://www.cealex.org/sitecealex/diffusion/etud_anc_alex/LVR_000084_IV_w.pdf) (accessed April 29, 2019).
- <sup>130</sup> *al-Kulliya*, December 1911, p. 62 and January 1912, p. 100.
- <sup>131</sup> Cornel Zwierlein, "The Burning of a Modern City? Istanbul as Perceived by the Agents of the Sun Fire Office, 1865-1870," in *Flammable Cities: Urban Conflagration and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Greg Bankoff et al., University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, pp. 86, 92, 97.
- <sup>132</sup> "Union Fire and Life Insurance Company," *Arevelk*, March 14, 1896. L'Union was founded in Paris in 1828. The capital of the fire insurance section of the company was around 93 million francs, while the life insurance section had a capital of 127 million francs. *Arevelk* appeared in Istanbul starting in 1884.
- <sup>133</sup> "Union," *Arevelk*, September 25 - October 7, 1899.
- <sup>134</sup> "La New York," *Arevelk*, August 26 - September 8, 1902.
- <sup>135</sup> "Balkan," *Arevelk*, July 31 - August 13, 1901.
- <sup>136</sup> "Le Phoenix Autrichien," *Arevelk*, September 7-20, 1902.
- <sup>137</sup> "Bulgarian," *Arevelk*, November 21 - December 4, 1901.
- <sup>138</sup> Stefano G. Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien Administratif et Commercial 1902*, Alexandria, 1901, p. 79; "Rossia Insurance Company," *Arevelk*, September 14-26, 1899; "Rossia Insurance Company," *Ashkhadank*, July 17-30, 1913. *Ashkhadank* was published in Izmir starting in 1909.
- <sup>139</sup> It was based in Amsterdam.
- <sup>140</sup> "Salamander L'Alliance," *Punig*, August 31, 1901; "The Newly Elected Ones," *Azad Khosk*, June 16, 1906, 121. The Salamandar insurance company had a capital of 3,125,000 francs. *Azad Khosk* was published in Alexandria from 1902 to 1908.
- <sup>141</sup> Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien 1902*, pp. 79, 239, 351, 360; *L'Annuaire Égyptien 1908*, p. 312.
- <sup>142</sup> Demirdjian was probably a French citizen, as indicated by his membership in the French Chamber of Commerce in Egypt, and acted as a wine dealer in Alexandria.
- <sup>143</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien 1908*, pp. 1025-1026.
- <sup>144</sup> Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien 1902*, p. 79; "Mutual Life Insurance Company," *Arevelk*, November 8-21, 1901.

- <sup>145</sup> Rif'at, *Tarikh al-Jaliya*, pp. 190, 192-193. In Barak, *On Time: Technology and Temporality in Modern Egypt*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2013, pp. 74, 167.
- <sup>146</sup> Joel Beinun and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile: Communism, Nationalism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882-1954*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 64. Karnig Tchekukdjian (1865-1911) moved from Istanbul to Alexandria at age sixteen, and eventually was appointed as the vice president of the Alexandria Tramway and Ramleh Railway companies. He also headed the Constitutional Ramgavar Party (founded in 1908) in Alexandria and served as the secretary of the AGBU branch there ("Obituary of Karnig Tchekukdjian, the Secretary of the AGBU Chapter in Alexandria," *Miyutyun*, February 1912, 24; "Karnig Tchekukdjian," *Azad Khosk*, June 16, 1906; Barak, p. 167).
- <sup>147</sup> "The Tramway Strikes at Cairo and Alexandria," *The Near East*, August 23, 1911, p. 364.
- <sup>148</sup> Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2011, p. 87.
- <sup>149</sup> Mary Beylerian (1877-1915) was the founder of the Armenian feminist *Artemis* periodical in Alexandria in 1902.
- <sup>150</sup> Smpad (1862-1915) moved to Cairo in 1895, where he published several periodicals until his return to Istanbul in 1908.
- <sup>151</sup> Relli Schechter, "Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882-1956," *The Arab Studies Journal*, 2002:10/11;2/1, p. 46.
- <sup>152</sup> The printing houses were owned by Sarkis Tarpinian, Yeghishe Torossian, Onnig Haleblan, K. Nazarethian and others (Suren Bayramian, *The Armenian Book in Egypt 1888-2011: A Bibliographical List*, Cairo, 2012, pp. 3-18).
- <sup>153</sup> "Printing House Askanazian," *Bardez*, June 26, 1904; "Onnig Haleblan" (Armenian), *Neshdrag*, February 1, 1908. *Neshdrag* appeared in Cairo in 1908.
- <sup>154</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, 570.
- <sup>155</sup> Martin Hartmann, *The Arabic Press in Egypt*, London, Luzac and Co., 1899, p. 44.
- <sup>156</sup> Larents (1875-1915) was originally from Samatya district. He studied at Robert College in Istanbul, and following his brief stay in the USA, he moved to Alexandria.
- <sup>157</sup> It was first issued in 1903 in Alexandria through the efforts of Odian, but it subsequently turned into the organ of the Reformist Hnchak Party in Egypt in 1906 (Suren Bayramian, *The Armenian Press in Egypt: A Bibliographical List* (Armenian) Cairo, 2005, p. 28).
- <sup>158</sup> L.L., "The Egyptian Armenian Press in 1906," *Azad Pem*, February 9, 1907.
- <sup>159</sup> Bayramian, *The Armenian Press*, p. 14.
- <sup>160</sup> Karl Baedeker, *Egypt Handbook for Travellers*, Leipzig, 1898, p. lix.
- <sup>161</sup> Rif'at, *al-Arman*, pp. 343, 345, 351.
- <sup>162</sup> The name of a street appearing in the *L'Annuaire Égyptien 1908*, pp. 1046-1047.
- <sup>163</sup> Alishan E., "Armenian Craftsmen," *Azad Pem*, January 18, 1907.
- <sup>164</sup> "Belayan-Shishmanian Company," *Nor Or*, February 21 – March 6, 1901.
- <sup>165</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien 1908*, p. 443.
- <sup>166</sup> Judith E. Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 86.

- <sup>167</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien* 1908, p. 453.
- <sup>168</sup> Alishan, "Armenian Craftsmen." Indeed, local tailors and dressmakers produced cheaper clothes than the ones imported from abroad (John T. Chalcraft, *The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863-1914*, Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 2004, pp. 113-14).
- <sup>169</sup> Nancy Micklewright, "London, Paris, Istanbul, and Cairo: Fashion and International Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 1992:7, pp. 127, 132.
- <sup>170</sup> *The Egyptian Directory* 1913, p. 1614.
- <sup>171</sup> Chalcraft, 114
- <sup>172</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien* 1908, 461, 476, 492, 539, 1109.
- <sup>173</sup> "Hampar Tavit Merchant-Tailor," *Medrag*, May 1, 1908. *Medrag* appeared in Alexandria in 1908.
- <sup>174</sup> Samir Raafat, "The House of Cicurel," *al-Ahram Weekly*, December 15, 1994, (accessed February 12, 2019), <http://www.egy.com/judaica/94-12-15.php>
- <sup>175</sup> "Levon Gumushian," *Arshaluys*, November 17-29, 1899.
- <sup>176</sup> See, "K. Selvadjian," *Punig*, September 1, 1899; *L'Annuaire Égyptien* 1908, p. 614. In fact, the shop had an advertisement in Arabic in the *L'Annuaire Égyptien*.
- <sup>177</sup> Uri M. Kupferschmidt, "The Social History of the Sewing Machine in the Middle East," *Die Welt des Islams*, 2004:44/2, pp. 201-04.
- <sup>178</sup> "Sarkis H. Tashdjian," *Arshaluys*, September 24-October 7, 1908.
- <sup>179</sup> *The Egyptian Directory* 1913, pp. xxi, xxiii.
- <sup>180</sup> *L'Annuaire Égyptien* 1908, pp. 466, 1106, 1186-1187; Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien* 1904, p. 110.
- <sup>181</sup> *The Egyptian Directory* 1913, p. xvii.
- <sup>182</sup> To learn more about the Balian, see Hagop Barsoumian, "The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul," Columbia University, PhD Diss., 1980; Alyson Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, IB Tauris, 2015. In fact, some of Garo Balian's (1872-1948) correspondence with Ahmad Shafiq Pasha, one of the co-founders of the Egyptian University, are preserved in the Special Collections of Durham University ([http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark:/32150\\_s18049g504c.xml](http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark:/32150_s18049g504c.xml)) (accessed February 13, 2019).
- <sup>183</sup> *Garo Balian: An Ottoman Court Architect in Modern Egypt: An Exhibition of Photographs of the Works of the Architect*, 23 February-24 March 1994, the Sony Gallery, Adham Center, the American University in Cairo, Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 1994, p. 4.
- <sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>185</sup> Arnold Wright and H.A. Cartwright, eds., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Egypt: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources*, London, 1909, p. 362; Samir Raafat, "The House of Cicurel," *al-Ahram Weekly*, December 15, 1994, <http://www.egy.com/judaica/94-12-15.php> (accessed February 12, 2019).
- <sup>186</sup> Samir Raafat, "Souk el Tewfikia," *Cairo Times*, October 29, 1998, <http://www.egy.com/landmarks/98-10-29.php> (accessed April 18, 2019).
- <sup>187</sup> Suren Bartevian, "Garo Balian," *Hosank*, May 22, 1912, p. 250, [http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Hosank/1912/1912\(16\).pdf](http://tert.nla.am/archive/NLA%20AMSAGIR/Hosank/1912/1912(16).pdf) (accessed April 22, 2019).

<sup>188</sup> "The Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition, Cairo," *Architecture*, September 1926, p. 143.

<sup>189</sup> The book was printed by Cairo's Zareh Beberian publishing house, (accessed April 5, 2019), [http://haygirk.nla.am/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=53646&query\\_desc=kw%2Cwrd%3A%20%D5%A5%D5%A3%D5%AB%D5%BA%D5%BF%D5%B8%D5%BD](http://haygirk.nla.am/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=53646&query_desc=kw%2Cwrd%3A%20%D5%A5%D5%A3%D5%AB%D5%BA%D5%BF%D5%B8%D5%BD). This important book is not yet digitized and hence is currently not easily accessible. At a later stage, Balian also designed the Saint Theresa Armenian Catholic Church, 'Amr Ibrahim Villa in Zamalek (in 1922), and the Egyptian Museum of Ceramics (in 1925) as well as the Armenian Orthodox Church in Zagazig. Thus, as Nairy Hampikian states, "Balian left an undeniable mark on the building heritage of Cairo" ("One Constructor, One Conservationist," *al-Ahram Weekly*, April 30-May 6, 2009, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2009/945/fe3.htm> (accessed April 12, 2019); "Photo Essay: Egypt's Armenians," <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/61405> (accessed April 12, 2019). Balian should also be remembered for designing the Ya'qubian building, one of the prestigious and opulent buildings in downtown Cairo built in the 1930s, and around which 'Ala' al-Aswany wrote a best-selling novel called *'Imarat Ya'qubian* in Arabic in 2002. In addition, Balian also served his people in the Ottoman provinces by designing the AGBU's Teachers' College in Van and its Kelegian Orphanage in Dörtöyl (Alexandretta).

ԴՐԱՄԻՏԻ ՈՐՈՆՈՒՄԸ ԵՒ ՀԱՐՍՏՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՓՆՏՈՏՈՒՐԸ. ՕՍՄԱՆՅԻ ՀԱՅ  
ՊԱՆԴՈՒԽՏՆԵՐՈՒ ՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ԴԵՐԸ ԲՐԻՏԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԵԳԻՊՏՈՍԻ ՄԷՋ  
(1882-1914)  
(Ա. ՄԱՍ)

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Պատմաբանները ընդհանրապես կը խօսին Եգիպտոսի ԺԸ. դարավերջ-Ի. դարասկիզբի յոյն եւ հրեայ փոքրամասնութիւններու ունեցած տնտեսական դերին մասին, մինչ հարեանցի կ'ականարկեն Եգիպտահայոց:

Իր գիրքին մէջ *Modern Egypt* (1908), Եգիպտոսի անգլիական տիրապետութեան ներկայացուցիչ եւ լիազօր լաւձնակատար՝ Լորտ Քրոմլը, նսեմացնելով հայոց տնտեսական դերը գրած էր, թէ հայերը մեծամասնութեամբ խանութպաններ էին:

Այս յօդածը հակադրուելով այդ տեսակէտին, լուսարծակի տակ կ'առնէ հայոց բազմակողմանի եւ կարեւոր ներդրումը Եգիպտոսի տնտեսութեան: Ի տարբերութիւն ԺԸ. դարասկիզբին, դարավերջին արդէն հայերը ո'չ միայն պետական պաշտօնեաներ էին, այլեւ՝ անոնց ճաշարանատէրեր, բժիշկներ, իրաւաբաններ, ճարտարապետներ, լուսանկարիչներ, խմբագիրներ եւ լրագրողներ, ոսկերիչներ, արհեստատուներ, դերձակներ եւ կօշկակարներ: Անոնցմէ ոմանք մինչեւ իսկ յաջողած էին մուտք գործել ծխախոտի արդիւնաբերութեան մարզ, հիմնելով բազմաթիւ գործարաններ: Այս բոլորը ամուր վկայութիւնն են Եգիպտահայութեան՝ Եգիպտոսի տնտեսութեան ունեցած բազմաբնոյթ նպաստին: