

Migration at the End of Empire

How has migration shaped Mediterranean history? What role did conflicting temporalities and the politics of departure play in the age of decolonisation? Using a microhistorical approach, Migration at the End of Empire explores these questions through the experiences of over 55,000 Italian subjects in Egypt during the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Before 1937, Ottoman-era legal regimes fostered the coupling of nationalism and imperialism among Italians in Egypt, particularly as the fascist government sought to revive the myth of Mare Nostrum. With decolonisation, however, Italians began abandoning Egypt en masse. By 1960, over 40,000 had deserted Egypt; some as 'emigrants', others as 'repatriates', and still others as 'national refugees'. The departed community became an emblem around which political actors in post-colonial Italy and Egypt forged new ties. These anticipated, actual, and remembered departures are at the heart of this book's ambition to rethink European and Mediterranean periodisation.

Joseph J. Viscomi is a Senior Lecturer in History at Birkbeck, University of London. He is a historian and anthropologist specialising in temporality, migration, and political processes in the Mediterranean region. Previous publications include, as co-editor, the open-access volume Locating the Mediterranean: Connections and Separations across Space and Time (2022).



Migration at the End of Empire

Time and the Politics of Departure between Italy and Egypt

Joseph John Viscomi Birkbeck, University of London







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009473408

DOI: 10.1017/9781009473415

© Joseph John Viscomi 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-009-47339-2 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-47340-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

	List of Figures	page vi
	List of Tables	vii
	Acknowledgements	viii
	Introduction: Political Membership and Historical Temporalities in the Mediterranean	1
1	Extraterritoriality and Migrant Diplomacy in Egypt, 1861–1937	33
2	Isolating Time: Civilian Internment during the Second World War	83
3	Twice without a King: Uncertainty in Postwar Egypt, 1943–1953	131
4	Becoming Refugees, 1954–1960s	176
5	'Leave Us Our Memories!': Nostalgia, Community, and the Politics of Departure	223
	Epilogue: Mediterranean Futures	263
	Bibliography	277
	Index	314

v



Figures

2.1	Map drawn by Albino Caserta. Source: ANPIE, 28.	page 84
2.2	Easter postcard, 1941. Personal collection, Loredana	
	Farina.	85
2.3	Passaro's sketch. Personal collection, Ladi Skakal.	85
2.4	Farina's sculpture, Madonna of the Internees, depicted	
	on a postcard. Personal collection, Giovanni Liciardello.	116
2.5	Caccioppo family visitation permit. Personal collection,	
	Francis Amin.	119
2.6	(a) Collection of Passaro's sketches and (b) watercolours	
	of the tents. Personal collection, Ladi Skakal.	122
2.7	Le visite più brevi sono le più gradite (Passaro).	
	Personal collection, Ladi Skakal.	123
E.1	The Casa di Riposo in the 1930s.	265
E.2	'Alexandria: An Italian Itinerary'.	266
E.3	(a) The entryway to the Casa di Riposo and (b) the bust	
	of Vittorio Emanuele III.	268
F. 4	Inside 'The Time Machine'	273

vi



Tables

1.1	1936 census data on professional makeup of Italians	
	in Egypt.	page 76
2.1	Administration of arrests and internment of Italians as	
	circulated in 1940 by British authorities.	95

vii



Acknowledgements

This book, like the story it tells, is unfinished. It is but a fleeting glimpse into a long trajectory of events and processes that touched the lives of many, and in yet unknown ways will continue to do so. It could not have reached this point without the countless voices and institutions that facilitated the debate and conversation that shaped its argument. At various stages, research and writing for *Migration at the End of Empire* have been supported by the University of Michigan, a Fulbright IIE grant to Italy, the Rome Prize in Modern Italian Studies, a Mellon-Council for European Studies Fellowship, the Scuola Normale Superiore, New York University, and Birkbeck College. It has benefitted from the assistance of archivists and librarians of whom there are too many to mention; their role has been vital to the writing of this book. Luisa Fabrizi and Maria Luisa Corapi generously provided space to think and write at the Borgo del Convento.

At Michigan, Dario Gaggio and Andrew Shryock witnessed this project change extensively as it developed, and they helped me make sense of and then incorporate those transformations in the structure of the book. Long after I left Michigan, Dario's critical eve has continued to guide and enhance my writing. The book has been shaped, too, by the perspectives of Pam Ballinger, Joshua Cole, and Alessandro Portelli. I would like to thank Sandro who agreed to make time for me as I struggled to comprehend the relationship between the disparate source materials that I brought together in this story. When I was based briefly at NYU, I benefitted from the vibrant community around the Center for European and Mediterranean Studies. Not only did I learn from conversations with Fred Cooper, Filip Erdeljac, Stefanos Gerolanos, Zac Lockmann, Sara Pursley, and Larry Wolff but also from the brilliant students in my MA seminars who helped me think (and rethink) the central problems tackled in this book. Since I arrived at Birkbeck College in 2018, my students have continued to enhance my understanding of migration and migrant histories; they are not thanked often enough. They also have taught me to appreciate the subtleties of historical

viii



Acknowledgements

ix

argumentation and illustrated for me the importance of drawing connections between events and processes. I have benefitted immensely from colleagues at Birkbeck, many of whom read and commented on chapter drafts. I am particularly thankful for input and advice from Fred Anscombe, David Feldmann, Kat Hill, Julia Laite, Eleni Liarou, Jessica Reinisch, Jan Rueger, Tanya Serisier, Hilary Sapire, and Frank Trentmann.

Discussing work in progress at conferences, workshops, and seminars has given me the opportunity to share ideas and iron out parts of Migration at the End of Empire. I am especially thankful for invitations to present at the Italian and Mediterranean Colloquium at Columbia University, Università della Calabria, the Institute of Historical Research in London, SOAS's Middle East Seminar, Italian-German Historical Institute in Trento, Rutgers University-Newark, Wolfson College at Cambridge, and the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. Conversation and debate in all these contexts fed back into the writing of this book. I am especially thankful for conversations that took place at the Mediterranean Mobilities workshop in Bologna, organised by Gabriele Montalbano, and the conference on Italy and the Suez Canal in Turin, organised by Barbara Curli. I'm grateful to Michael Watson and Liz Friend-Smith at Cambridge University Press for taking on this book enthusiastically and for their patience to see it through in difficult times. The anonymous reviews have strengthened the book in numerous ways, as have the many anonymous reviewers who have taken my research and writing in new directions. Parts of Chapters 1 and 4 draw on materials that I have modified from 'Mediterranean Futures: Historical Time and the Departure of Italians from Egypt, 1919–1937', The Journal of Modern History, 91 (2019): 341–379, and 'Leaving Egypt: Rethinking 1956 through Italian Departures' in Barbara Curli (ed), Italy and the Suez Canal, from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Cold War: A Mediterranean History (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), with permission from Chicago University Press and Palgrave Macmillan, respectively.

This book could not have been written without the generosity of friends and colleagues. Angelos Dalachanis and Annalaura Turiano have been exceptional research and writing partners, and this book would not have been completed without their insights. I am grateful for Amr Kamal's incisive and careful reading of the full manuscript. Mayte Green-Mercado and Erica Moretti have both been steadfast in their reading, commentary, and critique as the writing process endured longer than anticipated. Mayte helped me to think about how the periodisation of early-modern and modern Mediterranean worlds has shaped the book's analysis. The book's engagement with time and temporality has



x Acknowledgements

been strengthened by extended discussions with Matthew Champion, Fernando Esposito, Stefanos Geroulanos, Axel Korner, and Sara Pursley. Many others have helped me untangle knots along the way. For that, I thank Tobias Becker, Naor Ben-Yehoyada, Manuel Borutta, Filippo de Vivo, Khaled Fahmy, Beatrice Falcucci, Carlotta Ferrara degli Uberti, Rosario Forlenza, Fernanda Gallo, Pascale Ghazaleh, Sarah Green, Will Hanley, Michael Herzfeld, Maurizio Isabella, Fabrice Jesné, Munira Khayyat, Massimo Laterza, Leo Lucassen, Andrea Mammone, Jessica Marglin, Brigitte Marin, Gabriele Montalbano, Efty Mylona, Rim Naguib, Zeljca Oparnica, James A. Palmer, Costantino Paonessa, Alessandro Pes, Marta Petricioli, Carl Rommel, Lucie Ryzova, Mark Seymour, Tom Stottor, Amir Syed, Olivia Sheringham, Nik Wachsmann, and Konstantina Zanou. Each has contributed to this book in a meaningful way. Maria Robles Gila has read every word of this book (several times) and heard its arguments rehearsed at all hours. I am eternally grateful for her feedback and support: this book is also hers.

A thread that runs throughout *Migration at the End of Empire* explores how uncertainty shapes the experience of historical time at different conjunctures. I thank the many people who shared with me their own experiences of uncertainty; their voices echo throughout these pages. I wrote this book during uncertain times, and I thank all those who have offered their support as our own senses of continuity were – and continue to be – challenged. My parents and sister helped provide me with a sense of creativity to understand the problems before us and to construct durable solutions. As we face ever more unpredictable and uncertain times, I am grateful to have by my side Maria and Teo. I thank them both for their patience, and I dedicate this book to them as we move together into the future.