

Entangled Education

Foreign and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19-20th Centuries)

Edited by **Julia Hauser**
Christine B. Lindner
Esther Möller



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Foreword

Entangled Education: Foreign, National, and Local schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon

Ellen Fleischmann

When I began my dissertation research twenty-two years ago on the Palestinian women's movement during the British Mandate period, I had no idea how meaningful education was to the people I interviewed. Almost every Palestinian woman I talked to brought up education, whether it was in bitterness at having it denied to them, or in pride in having matriculated at a time when the opportunities were limited and attending school was hard won. At the time, I did not consider education my real "subject", but these conversations ultimately made such an impression on me that I decided to pursue the topic in my following (ongoing) research, which focuses on American Protestant missionaries' educational work with women in Lebanon in the early 20th century.

This was akin to opening a Pandora's box. The challenge of examining the multi-directional flow of cultural exchange (to paraphrase the editors in their introduction to this volume), not to mention of re-constructing the most basic historical background for this project is quite daunting. In researching the history of female education in the late Ottoman period in order to contextualize the role of the American schools, I discovered gaping lacunae and found not one holistic history that incorporated all of its constituent elements: Islamic state schools, foreign and local Christian establishments, Jewish schools, and more. Any scholar attempting to write a history of education confronts this issue. How can we make sense of the parts without the whole, or the whole without its parts? The challenge is how to both read beyond our projects and retain their specificity.¹

In April 2012, I was part of the lively audience that packed the library of the beautiful Ottoman villa housing the Orient-Institut Beirut in the Zuqāq al-Blat quarter of Beirut. We were local and foreign scholars, writers, and members of the Beirut community who were participating in an international workshop entitled "Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?" that was co-organized by the editors of this vol-

¹ Ussama Makdisi, "Concluding Remarks", unpublished paper, presented at: *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?*, Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 19–21 April 2012 (hereafter *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*).

ume.² The location for such a gathering could hardly have been more auspicious. As Jens Hanssen has written, Zuqāq al-Blāṭ was the “education quarter” that made Beirut “the school of the Arabs” in late 19th- and early 20th-century Ottoman Syria.³ Every kind of school imaginable in Ottoman Lebanese society was situated in this locale: primary and secondary schools established by the government in Istanbul; local “national” schools such as Butrus al-Bustānī’s *al-Madrasab al-Waṭaniyyab*; foreign secular schools, which included those that were part of the Paris-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle* network; American Protestant and European missionary schools; local schools sponsored by religious foundations such as the Islamic *Maqāṣid* network and the Greek Catholic Patriarchal School.⁴

How apt it was then, that this workshop provoked discussion of topics that were as richly variegated as was the educational landscape of Zuqāq al-Blāṭ at the peak of its prominence. Although the range of subject matters was eclectic, virtually every paper addressed one of the most important aspects of the history of modern education in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (and, indeed, the Middle East): the concentric connections between transnational, international and local educational movements, as situated within institutions, individuals, or ideological movements. In his keynote lecture, Benjamin Fortna highlighted the conceptual shift during the late Ottoman period, from education as something to be *imparted*, to a commodity to be *acquired*.⁵ Other presenters explored the construction of educational institutions as part of the architecture of a “Protestant missionary settler movement”, the role that gender played in heightening competition among foreign schools in the late 19th to the early 20th century, concepts of education in the late 19th century Levantine press, and how the French Mandate’s marginalization of the Shi’ites in the public school system-contributed to the definition of an alternative modernity in Shi’ah schools, to list only some of the topics.⁶

² Valeska Huber was the fourth element of this organizational team.

³ Jens Hanssen, “The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World”, in: *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: the Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, Hans Gebhardt et al, eds., Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 97), 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 148–160.

⁵ Benjamin Fortna, “Out of Empire: Education and Change in the Late Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Periods”, unpublished paper, presented at: *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. The same aspect was underlined in Ellen Fleischmann, “Contestation and Commodification: Female Education in American Protestant Mission Schools in Beirut, c. 1870–1920”, unpublished paper, presented at: *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*.

⁶ The full list of the papers presented at the *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* workshop, including those that were unable to be included in this volume, is found at Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner and Esther Möller, “Tagungsbericht *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?* 19.04.2012–21.04.2012, Beirut”, *H-SOZ-KULT* (2 June 2012), <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=4246>, (last accessed 7 May 2014). The quote is

The audience's spirited participation in the workshop revealed how profoundly these issues resonate in contemporary Lebanon. It is a truism that the influence of so many competing educational institutions – foreign, religious, governmental, private, and secular – resulted in a confused, fractured Lebanese identity. This identity, a product of “entangled education”, is – like so many others – elusive, shifting, contingent, and unstable. The history of education in Lebanon gets to core issues that have made Lebanese history so contentious, as was indicated by Ussama Makdisi's concluding remarks: what does it mean to be a cultural imperialist? How do we theorize power in different educational milieus (Ottoman power, Muslim hegemony, Vatican authority, *Maqāsid* as its own form of hegemony)? How does power work in different educational and colonial sites?⁷

The workshop and this book that is its product, reflect new scholarly trends and research on the history of education in the Middle East that have flourished within the past ten years or so. A discussion of these is beyond the scope of this brief foreword,⁸ but it bears noting, that more recent scholarship has opened up to us entirely new understandings of the fundamental role that education played in the shaping of the modern Middle East. It influenced the formation of national, gendered, and religious identities, drove reform projects on the state and local levels, produced cultural capital, and created new bonds, networks, and types of interactions among people.

Taken together, the authors' contributions to this volume represent the recent progress that has been made in the production of knowledge on the history of education in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon. We need more books such as this that piece together the shards that help us to construct the whole picture of this complex, important field.

from Maria Bashshur Abunnasr, “Impressions of New England on the Ras Beirut landscape, 1870–1920”, in this volume (p. 32).

⁷ Makdisi, “Concluding Remarks”.

⁸ As the editors point out in their introduction, most organizations have been “hitherto studied in isolation” (p. 17) with the focus on individual establishments. Some admirable studies of the Ottoman and Arab educational system point the way toward histories that move beyond the highly focused studies of individual institutions, including Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, Leiden: Brill 2001; Osama Abi Mershed, ed., *Trajectories of Education in the Arab World: Legacies and Challenges*, New York: Routledge 2011.

Introduction

Julia Hauser, Christine B. Lindner, Esther Möller

Māliṭā Karābāt (1832–1902), daughter of Protestant converts from the Armenian Orthodox church, was separated from her parents at an early age. “Adopted” by an American missionary family, she was later trained as a teacher in Jerusalem and Beirut.¹ She refined her skills at an independent school in Ḥāṣbayā that was founded by her colleague Ḥannah Wartabāt. Following this, she worked with a German Protestant organization that arrived to Beirut in the wake of the 1860 civil unrest.² To these German deaconesses who were unacquainted with the country, its languages and customs, Karābāt was an indispensable intermediary. After having worked for more than a decade as a “native teacher” at their orphanage and school for girls, Karābāt accepted a position at the British Post Office in Beirut, where she worked for the next fifteen years.³ Upon her death in 1902, Karābāt bequeathed a considerable part of her small wealth to the German school that she had helped initiate.⁴

Scion of a Sunni Muslim notable family of Beirut, ‘Umar al-Dā‘ūq (1875–1949) attended the boarding school of the organization for which Karābāt worked. Although nominally a school for girls, this socially exclusive establishment also accepted boys up to the age of ten. Alongside the sons of American missionaries, Greek merchants, European diplomats, and Ottoman bureaucrats, Dā‘ūq attended this Protestant school until his father decided to enrol him at the newly founded *al-Madrasah al-Sulṭāniyyah*⁵: a modern Ottoman secondary school for boys with a teaching staff of well-known Muslim scholars.⁶ Later in his life, Dā‘ūq joined the parents’ committee of the *Mission Laïque Française*, and served as the president for both the alumni association of the French Lazarist School in ‘Aynṭūrah and the

¹ Henry Harris Jessup, *The Women of the Arabs*, New York: Dodd & Mead 1873, 62–67, 153; Christine B. Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis 2009, 192, 231, 273.

² Jessup, *Women*, 66–67; Julia Hauser, *German Religious Women in Late Ottoman Beirut. Competing Missions*. Leiden: Brill 2015, 109–112.

³ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company 1910, 711.

⁴ Julia Hauser, “Eine vergessene Gründungsfigur. Māliṭā Kārābat (1832-1903) und die Anfänge eines protestantischen Mädchenwaisenhauses im späotosmanischen Beirut”, in: *Schule und Bildung in Frauenhand. Anna Vorwerk und ihre Vorläuferinnen*, Gabriele Ball and Juliane Jacobi, eds., Wiesbaden: Harassowitz 2016, 237-50.

⁵ “List of pupils at the Beirut boarding school up to 1886”, [1886], AKD 245, Archiv Kaiserswerther Diakonie, Archiv der Fliedner-Kulturstiftung, Kaiserswerth.

⁶ Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, 172–177; Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860–1950*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2013, 136, 194.

Jam'iyat al-Maqāṣid al-Khayriyyah al-Islāmiyyah. The former was a newly established social committee for the graduates of this famous Catholic school on Mount Lebanon, while the latter was a recently founded Islamic charitable association that managed a number of schools throughout Beirut.⁷

Born to a Greek Orthodox family, Labibah Jakhshān (1855–1920) was initially sent by her parents to the British Syrian School in Beirut, a Protestant establishment for girls catering to the local middle and upper classes.⁸ At a later stage, Labibah transferred to the French Catholic *Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition* school in Sidon. However, her wish to enter this religious order as a novice was firmly opposed by her parents. Labibah returned to Beirut to teach at the Greek Orthodox *Madrāsāt al-Thalāthāt Aqmar* until she embarked on an initiative of her own. Supported by a Greek Orthodox ladies' association and the Greek Orthodox bishop of Beirut, she founded an orphanage and girls' school under the name *Zabrat al-Iḥsān* in 1880. She later established a religious order whose primary focus was to run and maintain the new school and orphanage.⁹

Three lives, three eventful, shifting, and strikingly transnational trajectories, revealing the entangled nature of education in Late Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon. As shown by the studies brought together in this volume, these cases were far from exceptional. Educational biographies of men and women during the late 19th and early 20th centuries regularly crossed national, religious, and social boundaries. In themselves, they challenge traditional histories of education in the Ottoman Empire that described education as a reflection of an ethnically and communally segregated society and culture. In such works, the Arab cultural revival, the *Nabḍah*, was characterized as a Christian project and one that received important impulses from missionary activities in the region.¹⁰ In other works, Islamic schools were highlighted,¹¹ but often as separate endeavours that

⁷ ʿIṣām Muḥammad Shbārū, *Jam'iyat al-maqāṣid al-khayriyyah al-islāmiyyah fi Bayrūt* [The Islamic Philanthropic Society of Beirut] (1295–1421 / 1878–2000), Beirut: Dār muṣbah al-fikr li-l-ṭibāʿa wa-l-nashr 2000; Esther Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission: Französische Schulen im Libanon 1909–1943*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2013.

⁸ Henry Baker Tristram, *Daughters of Syria: A Narrative of Efforts by the Late Mrs. Bowen Thompson for the Evangelization of the Syrian Females*, London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday 1872; Hussey Burgh Macartney and Selim Kassab, *Two Stories from the Land of Promise*, London: The British Syrian Mission & Marshall Brothers 1906; Frances E. Scott, *Dare and Persevere: The story of one hundred years of evangelism in Syria and Lebanon, from 1860 to 1960*, London: Lebanon Evangelical Mission 1960.

⁹ Shereen Khairallah, *The Sisters of Men: Lebanese Women in History*, Beirut: The Institute for Women Studies in the Arab World, Lebanese American University 1996, 236.

¹⁰ See, for instance, George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban 1969 [orig. 1938], 43. This view was first criticized by Abdul Latif Tibawi, "Some Misconceptions about the Nahda", in his *Arabic and Islamic Themes: Historical, Educational and Literary Studies*, London: Luzac 1976, 304–314.

¹¹ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Islamic Education. Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems*, London: Luzac 1972.

were not connected to Christian activities.¹² The concept of Ottomanism, intended to unite the members of various faiths under a secular notion of citizenship, was interpreted as a mere governmental policy against which the nascent Arab nationalism was opposed.¹³ Moreover, missionary schools were described as “instrument[s] of political penetration” that intensified sectarian divisions.¹⁴ All in all, Ottoman Syrian society appeared as an uneasy juxtaposition of distinct religious and ethnic groups. In this context, it was hardly imaginable that Christians, Muslims, and Jews interacted in the field of education to the extent the contributions to this volume demonstrate.

Recent studies have challenged many of these assumptions. Ottoman history is no longer viewed through the prism of sectarianism, which has been revealed as a cultural construct rather than an age-old phenomenon.¹⁵ Instead, scholars have emphasized that even in the late Ottoman Empire, communal boundaries were far more permeable than hitherto acknowledged, as has been shown in both social and intellectual histories.¹⁶ No longer do studies draw a strict line between the movements of the *Nahḍah*, *Şalafīyyah*, and Ottomanism. On the contrary, they stress the degree to which these were interrelated, and more than just reactionary, movements.

The *Nahḍah* was neither an exclusively Christian phenomenon¹⁷ nor a mere copy of Western concepts, but a nuanced negotiation of local and foreign factors, thereby creating its own specific discourse on modernity.¹⁸ While taking critical notice of missionary activities, thinkers like Muḥammad ‘Abduh sought to adapt Western forms of knowledge and educational instruction in their attempts to create a self-consciously modern Islam and establish educational institutions that would compete with missionary institutions by selectively appropri-

¹² For instance, see Donald Cioeta, “Islamic Benevolent Societies and Public Education in Ottoman Syria, 1875–1882”, *Islamic Quarterly* 26: 2 (1982), 40–62, 45.

¹³ Ernest C. Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*, Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press 1973, especially 122–147.

¹⁴ Antonius, *Awakening*, 93.

¹⁵ Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, history, and violence in nineteenth-century Ottoman Lebanon*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2000.

¹⁶ Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2011; Jens Hanssen, “The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World”, in: *History, Space, and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, Hans Gebhardt et al, eds., Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 97), 143–174.

¹⁷ Tibawi, “Misconceptions”.

¹⁸ For an overview of contributions to the field of ‘Nahḍah Studies’ see Stephen Sheehi, “Towards a Critical Theory of *al-Nahḍah*: Epistemology, Ideology and Capital”, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 43 (2012), 269–298, especially footnote 1; Fruma Zachs, “Under Eastern Eyes: East on West in the Arabic Press of the Nahḍa Period”, *Studia Islamica. Nouvelle édition* 1 (2011), 159–183.

ating elements of the missions' activities.¹⁹ Ottomanism, accordingly, was not solely an instrument of state policy, but a discourse that was formed as much on the peripheries as in the metropole, by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Likewise, the nationalism asserted by Christian minorities in Bilād al-Shām was not the result of missionary interventions, but rather a radical interpretation of missionary ideals.²⁰ In all cases, the notion of appropriation steers scholars towards a middle path between the overly rosy picture of harmonious religious coexistence and its bleak counterpart, while highlighting local agency instead of the long established binary of Western action versus local reaction. The present volume hopes to contribute to this growing body of research, which goes beyond sectarian perspectives by pointing out the manifold entanglements between establishments and individuals across religious lines.

We contend that the landscape of Late Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon was marked by an exceptionally dense concentration of diverse educational establishments. Late Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon underwent a vibrant cultural revival, where changing social-political structures were reflected in the establishment of new presses, schools and social organizations.²¹ These local initiatives intertwined with a shifting Ottoman educational policy that increasingly employed education as a tool to standardize and centralize relations with its imperial subjects.²² Both were also responses to the new call for missions to the

¹⁹ Martin Strohmeier, "Muslim Education in the Vilayet of Beirut, 1880–1918", in: *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire*, Caesar E. Farah, ed., Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press at Northeast Missouri State University 1993, 215–242; Mark J. Sedgwick, *Muhammad Abdub*, Oxford: Oneworld Press 2010, 30, 61–62, 92; Umar Ryad, *Islamic Reformism and Christianity: A Critical Reading of the Works of Muhammad Rashid Rida and His Associates*, Leiden: Brill 2009, 140–148; Marco Demichelis, "Kalām viewpoints present within the debate on secularisation between F. Anṭūn and M. ʿAbduh. God's absolutism and Islām's irrationality as cornerstones of Orientalist Arab-Christian thought during the Nahḍa", in: *Proceedings of the ARAM 37th International Conference on Christian Contribution to the Arab Renaissance during the Second Millennium (15–17 July 2013)*, Shafiq Abouzayd, ed., Oxford: University of Oxford, forthcoming.

²⁰ Barbara Reeves Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press 2013, 50–77.

²¹ Numerous studies highlight the dynamism of 17th- and 18th-century cultural and intellectual activities, arguing for an earlier dating of the *Nahḍah*, including Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, Rome: École Française de Rome 1994; Akram Fouad Khater, *Embracing the Divine: Passion and Politics in the Christian Middle East*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press 2011; Carsten-Michael Walbiner, "Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth-Century Bilad al-Sham: Some Evidence From the Monastery of Al-Shuwayr (Mount Lebanon)", *Arabica* 4 (2004), 462–477.

²² Michael Provence, "Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism, and Insurgency in the Interwar Arab East", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43 (2011), 205–225; Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, 164; Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909*, London: I. B. Tauris 1998, 112–134; Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford:

“Holy Land” that emerged from the religious revivals in Europe and the United States in the 17th and 18th centuries.²³ Combined with emerging pedagogical techniques, education functioned as a central (although debated) facet of these “modern” missions. As a result, Maronite monastic printing presses, Greek Orthodox schools for girls, Sunni educational charitable services, secular national schools and foreign teacher training institutes added their unique features to this burgeoning educational milieu.

Foreign civilizing pretensions, Ottoman imperial endeavors, and diverse local visions stood in a complex, mutual relation of transfer, rejection, and appropriation. This was visible through the schools’ buildings: especially as Western organizations erected impressive buildings that commanded the landscape and convinced others of their superiority. However, many of these organizations were structurally, politically, and economically vulnerable, and exerted much less control over their schools, students, and teachers than they feigned to exercise.²⁴ Their schools were carefully monitored by the Ottoman state, which granted (or denied) licenses to foreign institutions and which created its own schools to compete with them.²⁵ They also negotiated with the local clientele, who brought with them their own history and expectations of education, and who played a far more influential role in shaping the environment of education than has been credited to them.²⁶ Lastly, foreign schools competed with each other for resources, locations, students, and teachers. Thus, the agendas developed in the metropole(s) were almost never fully implemented on the peripheral grounds, but were subject to continuous negotiation and transformation.²⁷

Oxford University Press 2002, 50–58; Selçuk Aşkin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, Leiden: Brill 2001.

²³ For an overview of this history see Eleanor H. Tejirian, and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Mission in the Middle East*, New York: Columbia University Press 2012, especially pages 69–93.

²⁴ For example, Tibawi illuminates the shortcomings of the American missions in comparison to their educational competitors as well as the discrepancies in their statistics on the number of their students, teachers, and schools for the year 1870, the final year that the mission was affiliated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1966, 179–183.

²⁵ Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 47–85; Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 111–134.

²⁶ This is poignantly emphasized in Jean Said Makdissi, *Teta, Mother, and Me: Three Generations of Arab Women*, New York: Saqi 2005, 196–197, 212–213.

²⁷ Michael Marten, “Re-imagining ‘metropole’ and ‘periphery’ in mission history”, in: *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World*, Hilde Nielsens, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie, eds., Leiden and Boston: Brill 2011, 293–316; Valarie Griffiths, “Biblewomen from London to China: the transnational approach of a female mission idea”, *Women’s History Review* 17: 4 (2006), 521–541.

Just as the divisions between foreign, Ottoman imperial, and local (Arab) schools were less marked in daily practice than they were emphasized by many contemporaries, so were social, political, and geographic boundaries blurred within the area that defined Ottoman Syria/Mandate Lebanon. Urban centres as well as rural areas along Mount Lebanon and in the Biqā' Valley were modified by shifting socio-economic realities, for which the expanding educational endeavors played an important part.²⁸ In traditional centers like Tripoli, new educational opportunities were integrated into prevailing social structures and carved into established urban layouts.²⁹ As an emerging regional centre, Beirut functioned as a nodal point for conflicting educational services: as new school buildings transformed the evolving skyline, novel modes of transport shuffled school children through the streets, and mechanical presses printed new textbooks for the ever-changing curriculums.³⁰ Rural localities had a more chequered relationship with educational services, which depended upon the seemingly arbitrary selection of sites for missionary schools, the gradual revival of monastic schools and printing presses on nearby mountaintops, and the varied degree of acceptance by local communities to absorb educational activities into their village life.³¹ But as the books, ideas, and personnel traversed these locations, an entangled web was created, one that transformed both the routes of migration and

²⁸ Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1813–1914", in: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds., Second Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996, 759–933; Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press 2007, especially 24–72; Souad Abou el-Rousse Slim, *The Greek Orthodox Waqf in Lebanon During the Ottoman Period*, Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2007 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 113); Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870–1920*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press 2004.

²⁹ Johannes Ebert, *Religion und Reform in der arabischen Provinz. Husayn al-Ġisr at-Ṭarābulusī (1845–1909): Ein islamischer Gelehrter zwischen Tradition und Reform*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang 1991; Farouk Hobloss, "Public Services and Tax Revenues in Ottoman Tripoli (1516–1918)", in: *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule: Essays in Honour of Abdul-Karim Rafiq*, Peter Sluglett and Stephan Weber, eds., Leiden: Brill 2010, 115–136; Zoe Griffith, Chris Gratien, and Kalliopi Amygdalou, "Mulberry Fields Forever: Family, Property, and Inheritance in Ottoman Lebanon", *Ottoman History Podcast*, no. 130 (18 November 2013), <http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2011/11/ottoman-lebanon-property.html>, (accessed: 5 May 2014).

³⁰ Hans Gebhardt et al, eds., *History, Space, and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 97); Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, especially 163–189; Maria B. Abunnasr, *The Making of Ras Beirut: A Landscape of Memory for Narratives of Exceptionalism, 1870–1975*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, PhD thesis 2013.

³¹ Kamal S. Salibi, *Bhandoun: Historical Portrait of a Lebanese Mountain Village*, Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies 1997; Anne H. Fuller, *Bu'arij: Portrait of a Lebanese Village*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1961; Walbiner, "Monastic Reading"; Khater, *Inventing Home*; Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1993; Slim, *The Greek Orthodox Waqf in Lebanon*.

terms of individual and collective identities, for which education increasingly became a central feature.

The power dynamics within schools were equally complex and entangled. Students navigated the various educational opportunities by attending one or more schools as a child, teaching in others as adults, and sending their own children to others still. Personal attachments to schools were strong, but complex and intertwined with communal affiliations, linguistic skills, social-economic positioning and regional location.³² Students often experienced both “traditional” and “modern” pedagogical techniques, which challenged straightforward appropriations of educational certification.³³ The same can be said for teachers, who presented themselves as living educational models, while at the same time being subject to organizational censor.³⁴ Indeed, the field of education in Ottoman Syrian and Mandate Lebanon presents itself to be “entangled” in many ways.

This book examines education in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon by bringing together analyses of organizations hitherto studied in isolation. American³⁵, French Catholic, and French secular³⁶ establishments have received the larg-

³² See Karam’s and Möller’s contributions to this volume.

³³ See Lindner’s contribution to this volume.

³⁴ Ellen Fleischmann, “The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950”, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 411–426; Christoph Schumann, “The Generation of Broad Expectations: Nationalism, Education, and Autobiography in Syria and Lebanon, 1930–1958”, *Die Welt des Islams* 41: 20 (2001), 174–205. For examples from Palestine, see Ela Greenberg, “Between Hardship and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-ruled Palestine”, *Hawwa: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 6 (2008), 284–314.

³⁵ See especially Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*; Habib Badr, *Mission to ‘Nominal Christians’: The Policy and Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and its Missionaries Concerning Eastern Churches which led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut (1819–1848)*, Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, PhD thesis 1992; Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2008; Mehmet A. Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey, eds., *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 2011.

³⁶ See Chantal Verdeil, *La Mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830–1864)*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes 2011; Chantal Verdeil, “Un établissement catholique dans la société pluri-confessionnelle de la fin de l’Empire ottoman: l’université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth”, in: *Islam et éducation au temps des réformes modernes: Systèmes scolaires et enjeux de l’enseignement au Proche-Orient et en Afrique du Nord aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Anne-Laure Dupont, ed., Paris 2007, 28–38; Jérôme Bocquet, *Missionnaires français en terre d’Islam: Damas 1860–1914*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes 2005; Jérôme Bocquet, *La France, L’Église et le Baas: Un siècle de présence française en Syrie (de 1918 à nos jours)*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes 2008; Jérôme Bocquet, “Missionnaires français et allemands au Levant: les Lazaristes français de Damas et l’Allemagne, du voyage de Guillaume II à l’instauration du mandat”, in: Dominique Trimbur, ed., *Europäer in der Levante: Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)*, München: Oldenbourg Verlag 2004, 57–75; Jennifer Dueck, “Educational Conquest: Schools as a Sphere of Politics in French Mandate Syria, 1936–1946”, *French History* 20 (2006), 442–459; Esther Möller, “Elites as the Least Common Denominator: The Ambivalent Places of French Schools in Lebanon in the Process of Decolonization”, in: *Elites*

est share of attention (often in reference to the implementation of mission and colonial initiatives from the “home country”). While recent works on mission have challenged the unidirectional flow of ideas,³⁷ the holistic, convoluted, and intertwined histories of various agents that impacted these educational endeavors, often evades analysis.³⁸ This failure is due partially to the linguistic demands that such a project entails, as well as to the limited access to primary sources and secondary literature. Sources on Western establishments are mostly written in European languages and are deposited at archives in Europe and North America. In contrast, sources on the local initiatives were written primarily in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish and are less accessible even to local scholars, as they are often held in private archives and institutions that are only just receiving adequate funding for preservation and presentation.³⁹ Furthermore, they are usually scattered throughout various institutions in the region as well as in Europe and the United States.⁴⁰ This uneven distribution mirrors larger asymmetries in the contemporary academic

and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century, Jost Dülffer and Marc Frey, eds., Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2011, 94–109; Esther Möller, “Les écoles françaises catholiques au Liban 1900–1950”, in: *Documents pour l’histoire du français langue étrangère et seconde* 45 (2010), 43–67. In recent years, French secular schools have also received some scholarly attention. See Jennifer Dueck, *The Claims of Culture at Empire’s End: Syria and Lebanon under French Rule*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010; Esther Möller, “Clientélisme, concurrence ou coopération? Les écoles de la Mission laïque française face aux écoles israélites au Liban entre 1909 et 1943”, in: *L’enseignement français en Méditerranée: Les missionnaires et l’Alliance israélite universelle*, Jérôme Bocquet, ed., Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes 2011, 149–165.

³⁷ For the missionary encounter, this has been convincingly argued by Bernard Heyberger, “Pour une ‘histoire croisée’ de l’occidentalisation et de la confessionnalisation chez les chrétiens du Proche-Orient”, *The MIT – Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3 (2003), 36–49, as well as in a number of recent studies including Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*; Khater, *Embracing the Divine*.

³⁸ One noticeable exception is Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers*.

³⁹ Three major archival projects currently under way deserve mention: the Institute of History, Archaeology & Near Eastern Heritage at the University of Balamand, the Atelier de Conservation du Patrimoine Écrit at Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik, and the Preserving Protestant Heritage in the Middle East project at the Near East School of Theology.

⁴⁰ Sarah Scalenghe and Nadya Sbaiti, “Conducting Research in Lebanon: An Overview of Historical Sources in Beirut (Part I)”, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 37: 1 (2003), 68–79; Nadya Sbaiti and Sarah Scalenghe, “Conducting Research in Lebanon: An Overview of Historical Sources Outside of Beirut (Part II)”, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 38: 1 (2004), 187–195. The recent move towards digitizing material and making them available through open-source formats is easing international access to these sources. For more on this trend see Patrick Manning, “Digital World History: An Agenda”, *Essays: Digital History Project*, <http://digitalhistory.unl.edu/essays/manningessay.php>, (last accessed 6 May 2014); Nir Shafir, “How digitization has transformed manuscript research: new methods for early modern Islamic intellectual history,” *HAZINE*, (8 November 2013), http://hazine.info/2013/11/08/digitized_manuscript_libraries/, (last accessed 6 May 2014). For an example of how these new sources can be applied, see Christine B. Lindner, “Piecing together the Fragmented History of Esther Mushriq Haddad”, *AMES E-Bulletin* 1 (January 2014), 1–3, <http://iwsaw.lau.edu.lb/publications/amews/amews-ebulletin-2014january.pdf> (last accessed 6 May 2014).

world, where dialogue between Western and non-Western scholars remains limited. The subsequent chapters attempt to grapple with these divergent threads, and in so doing reveal that local and foreign schools, urban and rural settings, traditional and modern methods, were not separated from each other, but were interconnected through both cooperation and conflict.

This volume situates itself within the burgeoning field of transnational history. In an age of increasing global interconnectedness, the long-cherished frame of national history as well as the distinction between Europe and North America as the “subject of history” and other regions of the world regions as the object of “area studies”, have come under critical scrutiny.⁴¹ Recent research has emphasized the interconnectedness and dynamics of exchange that linked Europe, the United States, and the non-European world to an extent that the idea of separate identities is no longer tenable.⁴² These studies stress the multidirectional character of cultural exchange, underlining that Europe and North America were shaped just as much by these encounters as their counterparts elsewhere.⁴³

⁴¹ Frederick Cooper and Ann-Laura Stoler, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda”, in: *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Frederick Cooper and Ann-Laura Stoler, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press 1997, 1–56; Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, “Einleitung: Geteilte Geschichten – Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt”, in: *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, eds., Frankfurt a. M.: Campus 2003, 9–49; Birgit Schäbler, “Das Studium der Weltregionen (Area Studies) zwischen Fachdisziplinen und der Öffnung zum Globalen: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Annäherung”, in: *Area Studies und die Welt: Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte*, Birgit Schäbler, ed., Wien: Mandelbaum 2007, 11–44; Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 2011.

American Studies face the unique situation of being both the locale for diverse European colonization projects and a colonial power itself. Moreover, the lingering influence of American exceptionalism has faded with the rise of American transnational studies. Major works in this area include Donald E. Pease and Amy Kaplan, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Durham: Duke University Press 1993; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1993; John Carlos Rowe, *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000.

⁴² See, among others, Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, London: Blackwell 2005; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, München: C.H. Beck 2009.

⁴³ So far, this has been shown most extensively for the British case. See, for instance, Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2002; Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006. For recent works on German colonial history that put forward a similar argument, see Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller, eds., *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, Berlin: Berlin-Edition 2002; Birthe Kundrus, *Moderne Imperialisten: Das Kaiserreich im Spiegel seiner Kolonien*, Köln: Böhlau 2003. For the French case, see Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, and Nicolas Bancel, eds., *Culture coloniale en France de la Révolution française à nos jours*, Paris: CNRS Éditions 2008; Pascal Blanchard, Sandrine Lemaire, and Nicolas Bancel, eds., *Culture impériale 1931–1961: Les colonies au cœur de la République*, Paris: Autrement 2004.

This objective presents researchers with manifest difficulties, however, as the spatial extension of the scope of inquiry renders the project of “provincializing Europe”⁴⁴ a daunting one on both the material and narrative levels. Several scholars have put forward the idea of engaging with this issue on a microhistorical scale.⁴⁵ This approach enables researchers to employ the critical potential of microhistory by submitting master narratives to critical revision through focused case studies of specific individuals, groups, or regions.⁴⁶

Transnational history prompts further inquiry and a reevaluation of the notion of modernity. For a long time, modernity was defined on the basis of the Euro-American trajectory that was generally applied as a normative category. Social differentiation and secularism were seen as its inevitable manifestations.⁴⁷ Societies outside Europe were considered backward and in need of being exposed to the genuinely Western panacea that modernity was thought to be. During the last decades, this notion of modernity has come under increasing criticism,⁴⁸

⁴⁴ See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2000.

⁴⁵ See Natalie Zemon Davis, “Global History, Many Stories”, in: *Eine Welt – eine Geschichte? 43. Deutscher Historikertag in Aachen 2000*, München: Oldenbourg 2001, 373–380. In a number of recent studies, including Davis’, biographies are explored as suitable subjects to combine micro and macro approaches. See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth Century Women’s Lives*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1995; Desley Deacon and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity*, Basingstoke: Macmillan 2010. For an important study on how transnationalism and microhistory can be applied within the Ottoman Syrian context, see Ellen Fleischmann, “‘I only wish I had a home on this globe’, Transnational Biography and Dr. Mary Eddy”, *Journal of Women’s History* 21: 3 (2008), 108–130.

⁴⁶ Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory”, in: *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Peter Burke, ed., Oxford: Polity Press 1991, 97; Carlo Ginzburg, “Mikro-Historie: Zwei oder drei Dinge, die ich von ihr weiß”, *Historische Anthropologie* 1 (1993), 184.

⁴⁷ In this regard, the writings of Max Weber on societal development are manifestations of this ideology and, after becoming influential works in their own right, popularized it. According to Weber, rationalization or “disenchantment of the world” were the main characteristics of modernization, a development that for him was inextricably tied to the emergence of Protestantism. As a consequence, Weber argued that non-Protestant regions of the world were deficient in their capacity for rationalization. See Max Weber, “Wissenschaft als Beruf”, in: *Wissenschaft als Beruf 1917/1919. Politik als Beruf 1919*, Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Wolfgang Schluchter in cooperation with Birgitt Morgenbrod, eds., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1992, 86–87; Max Weber, “Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus” [1904], in: Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie I*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1988, 17–236; Max Weber, “Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen”, in: Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie I*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1988, 237–573.

⁴⁸ For a critique of the secularization theory, see Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2003; Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2001, 14–29.

with alternative theoretical models, such as “multiple modernities”, being proposed.⁴⁹

Postcolonial studies and related endeavors have shown that modernity was very much a product of transcultural influences and negotiations. As Gurminder K. Bhambra insists, it needs to be seen in the context of the “connected histories” between different parts of the world.⁵⁰ Emphasizing this connection, however, does not mean to once again privilege the role of Europe or the West. On the contrary, as the concept of translocality makes clear, there were also ideas that circulated only between countries of the so called “Global South”.⁵¹ “Modernity” in Western Asia, for instance, was not triggered by contacts with Europe during the 19th century alone. Neither were the forms and practices introduced by Western actors entirely different nor were they novel to inhabitants of the region.⁵² If allegedly new practices could establish themselves successfully on the ground, this was because they (partially) agreed with local customs or expectations, and were – to a certain degree – supported, promoted, and changed by locals.

Although arguing on an empirical rather than a theoretical basis, this volume ties in with these recent discussions on modernity. Assuming that modernity should be made the subject of critical inquiry by looking at what contemporaries themselves understood by it,⁵³ this book raises questions about the definition of “modern education” and the roles that cross-cultural encounters played in its emergence and articulation by assuming an actor-centred perspective. What defined a “modern education” (and in turn “modern society”, “modern man”, and “modern woman”) was not imposed from outside, but rather emerged from this entangled web of encounter. However, as a particular definition of “modern education” eventually emerged as a shared “normative” definition amongst the different schools in Ottoman Syria, and especially in Mandate Lebanon, the unequal power structures that favored American and French influences cannot be overlooked.

⁴⁹ For a brief introduction to his concept, see Shmuel Eisenstadt, “Multiple Modernities”, *Daedalus* 129: 1 (2000), 1–30. “Multiple Modernities” and its suitability as a theoretical model for the Middle East was a theme of the international workshop from which this volume emerged. Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller, “Tagungsbericht *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?* 19.04.2012 – 21.04.2012, Beirut”, *H-Soz-Kult*, (2 June 2012), <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=4246>, (last accessed 7 May 2014).

⁵⁰ Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity*. The concept of “connected histories” was developed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his “Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia”, *Modern Asian Studies* 31: 3 (1997), 735–762.

⁵¹ Ulrike Freitag and Achim vom Oppen, eds., *Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers 2010.

⁵² See Lindner’s contribution to this volume.

⁵³ Frederick Cooper, “Modernity”, in: Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2005, 115.

As such, education in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon presents itself as a promising test ground for a micro-study on these very issues. This book emerges from an international workshop held at the Orient-Institut Beirut in April 2012, where junior and senior scholars from Europe, the United States, and the Middle East shared findings in a multi-lingual format. Focusing on material culture, gender, class, and religion from a comparative perspective, the participants illuminated the similarities, differences, and the manifold channels of encounter and entanglement that linked Lebanese educational establishments and individual actors during the Late Ottoman and Mandate periods (from the early 19th to the mid-20th centuries).⁵⁴

In this book, educational encounters are analysed with respect to four different aspects: firstly, the space these encounters created and in which they took place; secondly, the notions of gender negotiated and performed in them; thirdly, the impact of religion, language, and identity on (individual) educational experiences; and, finally, the students' perspectives on their schooling and qualifications.

Part One of this volume, *Experiencing Education through Architecture and Urban Space*, is concerned with the spatial dimension of the educational encounters. Most studies on education in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon concentrate on educational discourses and practices but neglect the physical environment of education.⁵⁵ Studies on the development of hybrid architectural styles, such as the triple-arched house,⁵⁶ and the emergence of Beirut as a "modern" port city, illuminate the potential of architectural and urban histories in providing a more complex understanding of modernity and its manifestation in the Ottoman and Mandate periods.⁵⁷ Competing educational pro-

⁵⁴ Unfortunately, not all of the papers presented at the conference could be included in this volume. Nevertheless, we would like to thank Ellen Fleischmann, Nadya Sbaiti, Nadia Bou Ali, Catherine Le Thomas, Boutrus Labaki, and Christian Saßmannshausen for their excellent contributions to the workshop. We also thank Benjamin Fortna for his enriching keynote speech and Ussama Makdisi for an insightful conclusion. Two contributors to this volume, Chantal Verdeil and Edward Falk, were unable to attend the conference.

⁵⁵ Notable exceptions include Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 130-164; Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut"; Christine Lindner, "The Flexibility of Home: Home and Family as Employed by the Missionaries in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860", in: *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, Mehmet A. Doğan, and Heather J. Sharkey, eds., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 2011, 33-62.

⁵⁶ Ralph Bodenstern, "Housing the Foreign: A European's Exotic Home in Late Nineteenth-Century Beirut", in: *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, eds., Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2002 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 88), 105-127; Anne Mollenhauer, "Reading Late-Ottoman Architecture: Exterior Expression and Interior Organization of Central-Hall Houses between Beirut and Latakia", in: *La maison beyrouthine aux trois arcs: Une architecture bourgeoise du Levant*, Michael F. Davie, ed., Beirut and Tours: Académie libanaise des Beaux-arts & Centre de Recherches et d'Études sur l'Urbanisation du monde arabe 2003, 115-136.

⁵⁷ May Davie, *Atlas historique des orthodoxes de Beyrouth et du Mont Liban, 1800-1940*, Tripoli: Université de Balamand 1999, 36, 70; Joseph Rustom, "L'espace urbaine de Beyrūt al-

viders were among those who shaped and reshaped the cities of Beirut and Tripoli as well as the villages and agricultural areas on Mount Lebanon and in the Biqā' Valley. Educational institutions, such as the Syrian Protestant College, were increasingly employed as geographic markers, re-defining how people not only viewed these localities, but also experienced them, as new patterns of movement were channelled towards these educational spaces.

Maria Bashshur Abunassar, in our first study, investigates the impact made by the campus of the Syrian Protestant College (now American University of Beirut) on the landscape of the Ras Beirut quarter from the late 19th to early 20th centuries. Inspired by New England college architecture, as Abunassar argues, the campus formed an enclave of Anglo-Saxon culture in the city that set off Ras Beirut from other Beirut neighborhoods.

Examining the distribution of missionary educational architecture across the urban space of Beirut in general, Michael Davie contends that foreign missions chose sites for their establishments in order to see and be seen. This allowed them to mark off their terrains as distinctively modern locales in an environment that, from their perspective, was in need of a thorough civilizing (and modernizing) mission. Drawing upon examples from primarily American and French missionary schools, Davie argues that mission location and architecture was geared towards expressions of symbolic dominance.

May Davie takes a closer look at the architecture of both local and Western schools in late 19th-century Beirut, showing that these buildings evinced a hybrid blend of "Oriental" and "Western" architectural elements. On account of the heterogeneity of actors, no uniform style for educational architecture developed. Instead, educational providers drew on different architectural types, such as military barracks or monasteries. Nevertheless, as Davie argues, this educational architecture marked itself as distinctly modern exactly because of its eclectic visual quotes.

Part Two: Gendering a Modern Education considers the multilayered notions of gender articulated in the schools of Late Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon. Since the 1990s, gender has emerged as an important focus for research within the field of Middle East Studies. Various scholars have claimed, for example, that missionary education acted as a liberating force by

Qadima et ses habitants vers 1860 à travers un registre de waqf sunnite", *Chronos* 25 (2012), 143–191. One example is the Zuqāq al-Blāt quarter of Beirut, where Sunni notables, Protestant and Maronite middle-class as well as Druze peasant families settled alongside each other. Ralph Bodenstein, "The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat: The History of an Urban Fabric", in: *History, Space, and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, Hans Gebhardt et al, eds., Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 97), 35-107, 59.

opening up new spaces of agency for local women⁵⁸ with female teachers serving as important role models.⁵⁹ Mission schools allegedly functioned as catalysts for burgeoning feminism that were harnessed by members of the nascent Arab women's movement in their articulations of gender, especially the concept of "the new woman".⁶⁰ At the same time, as Jean Said Makdisi has shown, missionary education imposed new constraints on Arab women by introducing Euro-American notions of "separate spheres" as well as race-based and cultural hierarchies.⁶¹ A critical perspective on negotiations of gender in a missionary context suggests that locals did not greet missionary concepts with undivided enthusiasm, but carefully balanced missionary ideals with their own hopes and aspirations.

The first paper of this section by Magda Nammour presents an overview of the discourse on female education that developed in the *Nahḍab* press during the late 19th century. Authors supportive of girls' education argued that women did not just have a "natural right" to be educated, but that their education was also a necessity within the emerging project of nation building. In order to formalize female education, contemporary journals looked to a number of Western countries. As Nammour shows, most authors favored a selective appropriation of Western elements instead of a wholesale rejection of local values.

⁵⁸ Uwe Kaminsky, "Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths im Ausland. Von der Evangelisation zum Bemühen um die Dritte Welt", in: *Sozialer Protestantismus im Kaiserreich: Problemkonstellationen – Lösungsperspektiven – Handlungsperspektiven*, Norbert Friedrich and Traugott Jähnichen, eds., Münster: LIT 2005, 360; Ellen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)", in: *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ed., Leiden and Boston: Brill 2006, 267.

⁵⁹ Marilyn Booth, "She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': Arabic Biographies of Missionary Teachers and their Pupils", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 427–448; Ellen Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 411–425; Carolyn McCue Goffman, 'More than the Conversion of Souls': *Rhetoric and Ideology at the American College for Girls in Istanbul, 1871–1923*, Muncie, IN: Ball State University, PhD Thesis 2002, 128–137; Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "'Dear Mother of my Soul': Fidelity Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Iran", *Exchange* 30: 1 (2001), 33–48; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888–1948*, Leiden: Brill 2002, 248–298.

⁶⁰ Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education", 280. For the larger Middle East, see Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Woman: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920–1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2003; Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1997 20, 26; Sarah Graham Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East, 1860–1950*, London 1988: Quartet Books, 198.

⁶¹ Makdisi, *Teta, Mother, and Me*. For a scholarly appraisal of Makdisi's work, see Hoda Elsadda, "A 'phantom freedom in a phantom modernity'? Protestant missionaries, domestic ideology and narratives of modernity in an Arab context", *Rethinking history* 15: 2 (2011), 209–229.

This tension between an interest in foreign notions of education and the fear of losing one's cultural heritage fuelled many local initiatives dedicated to female education, one of which is discussed in the ensuing chapter by Jamila Qusti. *Zabrat al-Ihsān*, a Greek Orthodox school for girls in Beirut, was founded in reaction to increasing missionary activities in the educational sector. Accordingly, its objective was to preserve the Orthodox Arab heritage. At the same time, this school differed from established Orthodox establishments in that it was run by and served women solely. *Zabrat al-Ihsān*, therefore, played an important role in the nascent women's movement as well as the nationalist tendencies that characterized the late Ottoman era.

Community schools, however, did not just compete with missionary schools but were also inspired by them, as Julia Hauser shows in the following article. In late 19th-century Beirut, the education of girls was justified with their future maternal duties across communities. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, a reform-minded French Jewish organization, employed this very argument in order to combat Christian missions, with whose educational concepts the first headmistress of the school was intimately acquainted through her own education at a Protestant school. Despite the currency of the argument, however, the *Alliance* school failed in attracting the community's elites who continued to send their daughters to missionary establishments for reasons of social distinction.

Part Three: Language, Religion, and Identity addresses the question of how educational institutions contributed to the transformation of society at large. For a long time, the forging of identities through language and religion was analyzed "from above". Studies focused on how both foreign states and organizations and the Ottoman state itself used educational institutions to implement norms and ideas with respect to national belonging. More recent studies have gone beyond this top-down perspective, showing that national identity was not just forged by the state, but actively from below.⁶² The articles in this section respond to this new strand of research by focusing on school agendas as much as on pupils' and communities' responses, and by considering how a school's policies concerning language and religion helped shape communitarian identities.

Edward Falk traces the development of the Jesuit mission to Ottoman Lebanon and Syria from a religious enterprise to one partly convergent with French political interests in the region. Having started out with the aim of "purifying" Eastern Catholic rites by educating the clergy, the Jesuit mission changed in the wake of the 1860 events, when the French government began to subsidize Catholic missions in the region. As French became the language of educational

⁶² See, for instance, Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*; and Fruma Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity. Intellectuals and Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Syria*, Leiden: Brill 2005.

instruction, the state of France acquired unprecedented influence on the Jesuits, thereby ‘gallacizing’ the church and considering it part of the newly evolving civilizing mission.

Chantal Verdeil’s contribution investigates the role of theatre in the Jesuit *Université Saint-Joseph* in Beirut during the late Ottoman period. She does not only display the prominent place that theatre held in the institution and its contribution to the emergence of Western style theatrical culture in the Arab world, but also focuses on the underlying pedagogical and religious aims the Jesuits wanted to promote through theatre. Fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church was emphasized most of all... sometimes until death.

Souad Slim places the schools of the Antiochian Orthodox community in Beirut within a complex, transnational web. Sponsored by the Russian *Imperial Palestine Association* in Beirut, the school’s principal, Aleksandra Czerkessova, espoused a sense of mission to educate the local Orthodox community in vernacular Arabic rather than in a foreign language. This enveloped Czerkessova and the Russian schools within a tense debate rising within the Antiochian Orthodox community, which pitted Arab nationalist leaders against their Hellenistic high clergy, who were ignorant of Arabic and out of touch with their flocks.

Language and religion were also central features of the *Jam‘iyyat al-Maqāsid al-Khayriyyah al-Islāmiyyah*, as Abdullatif Fakhoury explains in his chapter. While several of the organization’s founding members were impressed by the educational innovations they witnessed unfolding around them, they were concerned about Christian missionary efforts towards their own Sunni community. To address this problem, the *Maqāsid* established a network of “modern” schools, which did not cut off the community from its educational competition, but rather integrated its teachers and students into this innovative, local endeavor.

Part Four: “The Students Speak Back”⁶³ shifts the focus towards students’ experiences of education in Late Ottoman and Mandate times. It is our conviction that educational encounters are not unidirectional processes, but exchanges in which both sides have a say. Only recently, scholars have started to explore how students navigated, appropriated, manipulated, and/or rejected their education.⁶⁴ The chapters of this section demonstrate that students’ educational aims were not always consistent with those of their teachers, and that the trajectories they followed sometimes conflicted with the intentions of their schools.

Christine B. Lindner explores the initial stages of American missionary endeavors within the educational environment of mid-19th-century Beirut. By

⁶³ This heading alludes to Salman Rushdie’s by now classic essay, “The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance. Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures”, *The Times*, Saturday 3 July 1982, 8.

⁶⁴ Somel, *Modernization*, 242–270; Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, 178–180; Booth, “She Herself was the Ultimate Rule”; Hauser, *An Island Washed by the Crashing Waves of the Ocean?*, 213–236; Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmission*, 5–30.

tracing the educational histories of two students, As‘ad Y. Khayyāt and Raḥīl ‘Aṭā’, Lindner illuminates the diversity of educational opportunities available in the city, amongst which the American activities emerged as only one option. Lindner highlights the dialectical development of modern education in the region, while challenging the assumption that the American missionaries brought with them a coherent plan on modern education to reshape the city.

Marilène Karam examines the activities of Esther [Astir] Azhari Mūyāl, a Syrian Jewish educator, whose education and career reflect the entanglement of local and foreign influences. While a student at the American missionaries’ Beirut Female Seminary, Esther was privately tutored in Arabic and Hebrew by Muslim and Jewish teachers. Inspired with a sense of mission to “uplift” local women, she later taught at Muslim, Christian, and Jewish schools, and wrote for women’s magazines. Through this work, she merged European and local ideals of education and advocated it as a means to promote peaceful coexistence within a multi-religious society.

Esther Möller’s contribution examines former students and the connections they maintained to their respective schools and classroom peers through the founding of alumni associations. Looking at these associations offers a rare glimpse onto the expectations and experiences of pupils and parents vis-à-vis educational institutions as articulated by former students. By focusing on the associations of the secular *Mission Laïque Française* in comparison to French Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant schools during the 1930s and 1940s, Möller argues that the socio-economic perspectives offered by schools and the cultural-religious concordance between the schools and their graduates were necessary conditions for an active alumni network.

The chapters in this volume present new and original interpretations of education in Late Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon. They are intended to be read separately, as individual case studies, as well as collectively, as elements of an entangled narrative, in order to grasp the variety of education in the region. Efforts were made to include studies of different educational experiences and institutions: foreign and indigenous, Christian and Muslim, secular and religious. In this way, this book challenges the mono-focal nature of most studies. Chapters are written in English, French and Arabic, which reflects the broad scope of this history, the polyglot training of its authors and the manifold sources that were employed for these studies. However, some gaps are unavoidable.⁶⁵ As such, we see this book as a start of a conversation, not as the final statement on the topic.

We would like to thank the different organizations and individuals who, through their support, saw this project come to fruition. Professor Stefan Leder and Dr. Syrinx von Hees originally suggested that we initiate this project. The Orient-Institut Beirut graciously hosted the conference, while Mr. Ahmad Hus-

⁶⁵ Papers discussing Ottoman imperial or Shi’a schools were presented at the conference.

sein provided valuable assistance in executing it. Dr. Torsten Wollina, also of the Orient-Institut Beirut, was a thorough and supportive editor, and helped see this volume to publication. Our conference co-organizer, Dr. Valeska Huber, was instrumental in developing the project and facilitating support from the German Historical Institute London. Professor Souad Slim was consistent in her encouragement of both the conference and this publication, and assisted throughout the project. Professor Ellen Fleischmann graciously offered to write a preface to our text. Last but not least, we thank the Leibniz Institute of European History Mainz and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation in Germany for their financial support of the conference.

Transliterations from Arabic follow the Orient-Institut Beirut's transliteration system as far as articles in English are concerned. Articles in French follow a different system. For clarification, please see the volume's index, where the variations appear side by side.

Part One:
Experiencing Education
through Architecture
and Urban Space

Impressions of New England on the Ras Beirut Landscape, 1870–1920

Maria Bashshur Abunmasr

The other day my father reminded me of the rather mundane origins of this chapter on the traces of New England on the Ras Beirut landscape. On a trip back to Beirut from Massachusetts a few years ago, I visited his office in Fisk Hall on the American University of Beirut (AUB) campus. The double-pane sash windows on either side of the room struck me as jarringly out of place in the Eastern Mediterranean. My association with them immediately conjured up the frigid winters of New England that I had just left. Although the red-roofed sandstone



Fig. 1: Double sash window, Fisk Hall, American University of Beirut. Source: Photograph taken by author.

buildings of the AUB campus were built of local materials, they similarly awakened a spatial memory specific to New England. The entire campus of AUB, known originally as the Syrian Protestant College (SPC), is a composite of New England college landscapes.

SPC was born of the interrelated history of the 19th-century religious revivals taking place across the United States and the burgeoning college campus tradition. Both the Protestant missionary settler movement and the self-contained college travelled first from England to New England in the early 17th century. In 1636, alumni of Cambridge University outside London founded Harvard College near Boston. Harvard graduates established Yale College in 1701; Yale converts founded Princeton College in 1746; Yale and Princeton, in turn, were “‘mother’ colleges for their denominations, founding colleges as [Anglo-American] settlements spread west” across the United States.¹

In the same tradition, the builders of SPC strove to create a sense of historical-architectural lineage with New England. These builders were both former missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and New England college graduates. In 1863, William Thomson, acting pastor of the Anglo-American Congregation of Beirut, urged the founding of a college “at Beirut, or [...] nowhere”, with Daniel Bliss to be its first president.² Daniel Bliss was both a member of ABCFM’s Syria Mission and a graduate of Amherst College in western Massachusetts. For several decades from the mid to late 19th century, Bliss’s friendship with the Dodge family (of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation) ensured the college’s financial backing.³ In December 1866, the college opened to a class of sixteen students. For its first seven years, however, SPC’s small faculty and student body moved from one rented house to another in “an unsettled state and the College was looked upon by the natives as an experiment which might or might not succeed.”⁴ Clearly, college grounds were needed to establish a sense of stability and legitimacy.

¹ Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town*, Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press 2008, 19.

² Emphasis in the original text. “Extract from a letter written by Dr. William Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book*”, Beirut, 2 January 1863, in: *Typescript: A few reminiscences of the early days of the Syrian Protestant College*, by Rev. Daniel Bliss, First President, documentation of the founding of the SPC [annotated by Frederick Jones Bliss], n.d., 57, Box 5, Folder 1, Series 1: Daniel Bliss additions, Addendum 1, Bliss Family Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts (hereafter ASC/Amherst College). William Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book* (1859), was keenly attuned to the power of place in the making of the college.

³ Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr., *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866–1941*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1941; Brian VanDeMark, *American Sheiks: Two Families, Four Generations, and the Story of America’s Influence in the Middle East*, Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books 2012, 43–49.

⁴ *Annual Report 1877, 1877*, 34, Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon (hereafter ASC/AUB); “College Hall History”, n.d., Box A.A: 2.5.3.3.2.3, Buildings and Grounds Collection, ASC/AUB.

In this chapter, I explore the spatial expansion of SPC from 1870 to 1920 as representative of this physical interconnectedness between New England and Ras Beirut. I start with a discussion of the significance of SPC's location at Ras Beirut and then trace the evolution of its architecture of monumentality, containment, and gradual responsiveness.

Topography

Uneasy with their “college on wheels”, Daniel Bliss and his ABCFM missionary colleague David Stuart Dodge, set out to look for a permanent site.⁵ By 1868, they had enough funds to secure the first tract of land on Ras Beirut.⁶ In almost the same breath that Bliss described the site chosen as “the finest site in all Beirut if not in all Syria”, he explained that they “paid for the property far more than its market value; it scarcely had a market value. It was a home for jackals and a dumping place for the offal of the city.”⁷ Their sense that only Anglo-American eyes could see the potential of this site seems to have reinforced the missionaries' sense of their own destiny.

Ra's Bayrūt, anglicized as Ras Beirut, meaning “head of Beirut”, was the most geographically prominent and exposed part of the city. Facing northwards, Ras Beirut is defined on its western flanks by hard rocky ridges overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, from the south by sand dunes swept up by the prevailing southerly winds, and from the east by the foothills of Mount Lebanon. To the missionaries, Ras Beirut's exposure and sparse habitation presented an ideal wilderness in need of taming. Moreover, it overlooked the harbor and the old city, and offered a magnificent view of the snow-covered mountains to the east. The college's reach to the sea would in turn, be immediately visible to ships coming in and out of the port. Ras Beirut's location was quintessentially endowed with the physical and sensory qualities necessary to ensure that SPC, as a “city on a hill”, would act as a gravitational force and destination.⁸

Indeed, Ras Beirut's topography evoked the image of a model community. New England's early colleges also upheld this notion in their claim to prepare their protégés to go out and save the world. Amherst College, for example, built on an elevated site to stand above its physically mundane surroundings, cast itself as the “college on a hill”; its college seal reads *Terras irradiant*, “Let them

⁵ Daniel Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Edited and Supplemented by his Eldest Son*, New York et al.: Fleming H. Revell Company 1920, 188.

⁶ *Annual Report June 24, 1870*, 1870, 11, ASC/AUB; *Annual Reports of Board of Managers of Syrian Protestant College, 1866-67-1901-02*, n.d., ASC/AUB.

⁷ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 190–191.

⁸ The relationship between topography and ideology is also discussed in Michael Davie's chapter “Local and Western Educational Institutions in Beirut: Topographical and Symbolic Dominations”, in this volume.



Fig. 2: View of Ras Beirut, late 19th century. Source: Bonfils photograph in Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; A Brief History of the University and the lands which it serves* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958).

enlighten the land”.⁹ Bliss recalled in a letter to his former professor at Amherst, William S. Tyler:

My first impressions of Amherst College have never left me [...] What we witnessed on entering the College, was such a contrast to all that we had been accustomed to in our own previous observation and experience, that it seemed as if we had passed into another world!¹⁰

The combined force of Bliss’ Amherst past and his “imagined future” shaped SPC’s world.¹¹ Bliss chose the dramatic setting of Ras Beirut because of its topographic symbolism and its insulation from the city proper, which his Puritan mentality associated with contamination and decay.¹² Its new location on a “breezy promontory overlooking sea and surrounded with twenty-five acres of College

⁹ *The College on the Hill, Celebrating the 175th Anniversary of Amherst College, 1821–1996*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press: 1996. Contemporaneous with Amherst College, Tufts College and Geneva College in New York also defined themselves as a “college on the hill”.

¹⁰ William Tyler, *A History of Amherst College*, New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock 1895, 354. Bliss oversaw the construction of the SPC’s first buildings as he read Tyler’s History of Amherst College.

¹¹ Amy DeRogatis, *Moral Geography: Maps, Missionaries, and the American Frontier*, New York: Columbia University Press 2003, 59.

¹² Gumprecht, *The American College*, 20.

property”, gave SPC the height, expanse and distance from the old city that the missionaries desired.¹³ The acreage of the college grounds, in fact, exceeded that of the ancient intramural city of Beirut.¹⁴ Whereas the choice of Ras Beirut recalled a New England frame of mind, SPC’s architecture evinced a New England frame of reference.

SPC Architecture: Architecture of Monumentality

By 1873, four SPC buildings were completed: the College Hall, a Medical Hall, a Dining Hall, and an observatory. Like their New England prototypes, these buildings’ monumentality signified the importance attached to education.¹⁵ The first SPC building to establish the line of red-roofed, sandstone structures along the upper ridge of Ras Beirut was the College Hall. In his cornerstone laying speech on 7 December 1871, SPC’s patron and sponsor William E. Dodge of New York referred to “this beautiful situation” on which to build the campus. He described this first building as one of

commanding proportions, in accordance with plans designed by an eminent American architect; and like a city set on a hill, or as the lighthouse at the entrance of your harbour, will be one of the first objects which will meet the eye of the stranger entering your port.¹⁶

The metaphors of city and lighthouse standing for self-righteous enlightenment and leadership were immediately relevant to the landscape of Ras Beirut. At this same occasion, Bliss famously announced,

this College is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to colour, nationality, race or religion. A man white, black or yellow; Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or heathen, may enter and enjoy all of the advantages of this institution for three, four or eight years, and go out believing in one God, in many Gods, or in no God.¹⁷

While these words bespoke openness and tolerance, they were not reflected in the building they commemorated. Indeed, College Hall was an overwhelmingly massive structure intended to command its surroundings, inspiring not acceptance, but awe.

¹³ *Annual Report 1877*, 34, ASC/AUB.

¹⁴ Samir Kassir, *Beirut*, translated by M.B. DeBevoise, Berkeley: University of California Press 2010, 156.

¹⁵ Paul Veneble Turner, *Campus; An American Planning Tradition*, Boston: MIT Press 1987, 17.

¹⁶ “One Hundred Years Ago: Like the Lighthouse of Your Harbor”, *al-Kulliyah* 37: 2 (Spring 1961), 6, ASC/AUB. Full speech with reference to an “eminent American architect” (not included in *al-Kulliyah*) also printed in Robert Morris, *Freemasonry in the Holy Land*, New York: Masonic Publishing Company 1872, 236.

¹⁷ Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; A Brief History of the University and the Lands which it Serves*, Beirut: Khayat’s 1958, 9. Predominantly Christian in its first few decades, by 1940 the SPC’s student population grew to 1,992, of which 37% were Muslim and 10% Jewish. Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 333.

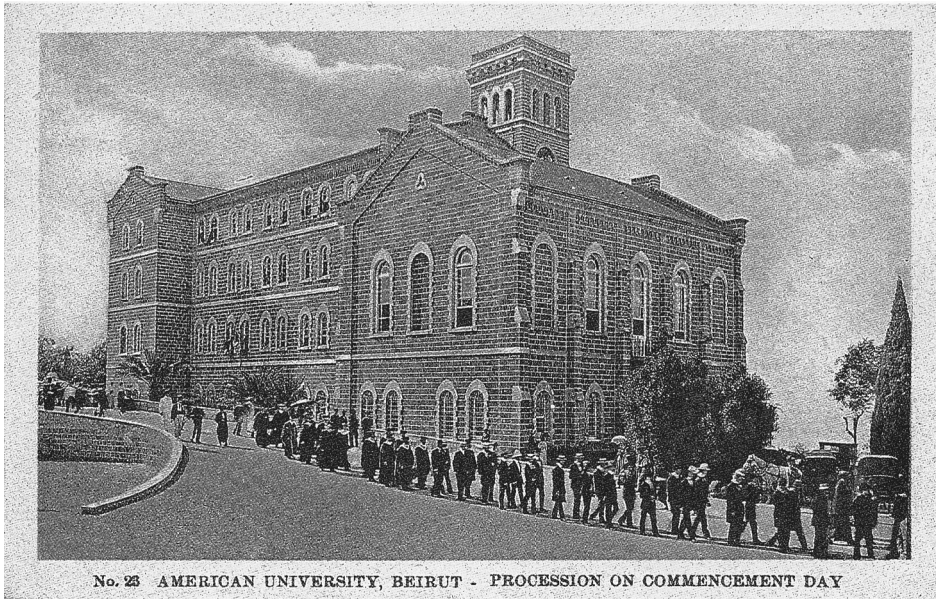


Fig. 3: College Hall, American University of Beirut. Source: Fouad Debbas Collection.

In its colossal scale, College Hall followed a trend established by New England's oldest colleges. Harvard's first building was the largest structure in the 17th-century English colonies and Princeton's Nassau Hall, the earliest "all in one" college prototype, was the largest building in 18th-century New England.¹⁸ SPC's College Hall, also an "all in one" building, accommodated most of the college's needs, housing classrooms, library, chapel, faculty rooms, and the Prep School. Like Princeton's Nassau Hall, College Hall was fronted by a green space, yet another feature repeated across New England campuses. In fact, the word "campus", a landscape type now inseparably associated with college grounds, was first used in reference to this area in front of Nassau Hall.¹⁹ The open green north of College Hall set it back from the ridge, giving it a north-south axis to complement its predominant east-west alignment. College Hall dominated Ras Beirut's promontory and came close in scale to the Grand S rail (1853), "the largest building in Ottoman Beirut".²⁰

¹⁸ Turner, *Campus*, 47.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁰ Jens Hanssen, "Your Beirut is on my Desk: Ottomanizing Beirut Under Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909)", in: *Projecting Beirut: Episodes in the Reconstruction of a Modern City*, Peter Rowe and Hashim Sarkis, eds., Munich: Prestel 1998, 48. In 1889 the Ras Beirut lighthouse (*man rah*) was replaced by "a taller lighthouse because the 'newly built houses had obstructed the view from the port to the lighthouse.'" Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Si cle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 2005, 91 footnote 29.



Fig. 4: Henry Dawkins, Nassau Hall, print from 1764 engraving. Source: Rare Books Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



Fig. 5: College Hall overlooking vista of Mediterranean. Source: Special Collections and Archives/ Jafet Library – American University of Beirut.

The blueprints of College Hall are signed: “GEO. B. POST Architect 120 Broadway New York”.²¹ This was not George E. Post, SPC’s first professor of surgery, but his first cousin, who was a rising star on the New York architectural scene. In 1870, George B. Post had just completed the *Equitable Life Assurance Building*, known as the first “Elevator Building”, which set the skyscraper trend in New York City.²² Post’s work on New York skyscrapers found its expression in the height of SPC’s College Hall.

College Hall’s most pronounced feature was its clock tower. Regulating the hours of the SPC students’ day, it rang eleven times: first at 6:15 A.M. and last at 5:30 P.M.²³ Referred to by locals as “*Bināyat al-Sā‘ab*” (“Building of the Clock”), its bell structured the time of the whole Ras Beirut neighborhood, well beyond the walls of the college. In 1874, it was still the only clock tower in Ras Beirut, and the second in all of Beirut. The first clock tower belonged to the Anglo-American Church, located closer to Beirut’s old city.²⁴ A few years later, several more clock towers sprouted up around Beirut: at Université Saint-Joseph, the Grand Sérail, the railroad station, and the French Hospital. Indeed, Beirut’s clock towers predated their proliferation throughout the provincial cities of the Ottoman Empire by a quarter of a century, for it was only in 1901 that the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II decreed the building of clock towers in every town and city to commemorate his silver jubilee.²⁵ College Hall’s tower, however, boasted a distinct geographic, and hence authoritative, advantage over the others. Situated high on the promontory of Ras Beirut, its time could be read by telescope from as far as the mountains.²⁶ In the 1930s, the renovators of the tower followed the advice of Muḥammad Barbīr, then Timekeeper of Beirut and Imām of

²¹ George B. Post, *Blueprints of College Hall*, n.d., Physical Plant Department, Corporation Yard Building, American University of Beirut (AUB), Beirut.

²² By the end of his career, “G.B. Post and Sons” was one of the “largest and busiest (firms) in the country” and was part of the eight-person architectural team (including Louis Sullivan, Richard Hunt, and Charles McKim) for the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago of 1893. Post designed buildings of significant prominence such as the *New York Times Building* and the *Prudential Life Insurance Company Building* in New York City. Winston Weisman, “The Commercial Architecture of George B. Post”, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31: 3 (October 1972), 176–177.

²³ Aleksandra Majstorac-Kobiljski, *Learning to be Modern: American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto, 1860–1920*, New York: City University of New York, PhD thesis 2010, 109.

²⁴ Copeland argued that this was to ensure that local inhabitants would have “a better appreciation of the value and punctuality and uniformity in time.” Robert M. Copeland, “A Sesquicentennial History of the Community Church of Beirut, 1823–1973”, Beirut: Community Church of Beirut 1974, 13.

²⁵ Mehmet Bengü Uluengin, “Secularizing Anatolia Tick by Tick”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42: 1 (February 2010), 20. Hanssen also discusses the clock tower of the Grand Sérail erected in 1898, which boasted four clock faces, two with Arabic and two with Latin numerals. See Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, 246.

²⁶ “College Hall: Oldest Building on AUB Campus”, *AUB Bulletin* 12: 17 (April 19, 1963), 3, ASC/AUB. The site-specific visibility is also discussed by Michael Davie in his chapter in this volume.



Fig. 6: Johnson Chapel center of the college row, Amherst College. Source: Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College.

the ‘Umarī Mosque, who asked that the clock be raised above the bell since he relied on it for the call to prayer.²⁷

Another feature of American collegiate design that resonated on the SPC campus was the axial alignment of the buildings in a so-called “college row.”²⁸ The “college row” first appeared at Yale College and was copied with slight variations on several other campuses.²⁹ For example, Amherst’s “college row” comprised its first three buildings, where a square clock tower positioned Johnson Chapel at the centre and commanded its “view over the surrounding countryside.”³⁰ Rising above the tree line, Johnson Chapel’s tower defined Amherst’s skyline just as College Hall’s tower distinguished Ras Beirut’s. With the completion of the Medical Hall to its east and the Ada Dodge Memorial Hall to its west, College Hall dominated the emerging east-west “college row” in axial relation to Ras Beirut.³¹

²⁷ “The Library Buildings”, n.d., University Libraries, American University of Beirut, <http://www.aub.edu.lb/ulibraries/about/Pages/buildings.aspx>, (accessed: 1 October 2012).

²⁸ Karen Van Lange and Lisa A. Reilly, *Vassar College: An Architectural Tour*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press 2004, 5.

²⁹ Turner, *Campus*, 48; Bryant F. Tolles, Jr., *Architecture and Academe: College Buildings in New England Before 1860*, Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England 2011, 112.

³⁰ “College Hall: Oldest Building”, 3.

³¹ Claude Moore Fuess, *Amherst: Story of a New England College*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company 1935, 86.



Fig. 7: Dodge Hall Tower, Bliss Street, Ras Beirut. Source: Special Collections and Archives/Jafet Library – American University of Beirut.

The Ada Dodge Memorial Hall spilled directly onto the first east-west artery of Ras Beirut, known today as Bliss Street. Dodge Hall's multiple red-tiled roofs and its high, unadorned walls zigzagged along the street, west of College Hall. Its most prominent feature was a freestanding square tower, a pseudo *campanile* that rose well above the roofline until its unexplained destruction in the 1960s. The tower guarded the college entrance and set the orientation of the oncoming pedestrian, horse-drawn, and later motorized traffic, giving the street a distinct sense of place.³² It articulated a visual focal point marking the slight elbow in Ras Beirut's main street, rendering the tower a familiar landmark to all who passed it. Dodge tower, though shorter and stouter, complemented the verticality of College Hall's tower and contributed to the extension of the townscape.

SPC Architecture: Architecture of Containment

The architectural kinship between SPC and Amherst College is perhaps most evident in the similarities of SPC's chapel, known as Assembly Hall, with Amherst College's Stearns Church. In a letter dated 31 September 1870, William Tyler wrote to Daniel Bliss of the newly designed Stearns Church. He also enclosed

³² The tower of Ada Dodge Hall no longer exists. It may have been torn down during the extensive renovation work done in the early 1960s, though no explanation has yet been found.

a photograph of its plan for Bliss to use as a model for his building of “another Amherst on the site of Ancient Berytus.”³³ While the SPC chapel was not built until 1892, the similarities in design suggest that Bliss kept Tyler’s advice in mind. Like Stearns Church, Assembly Hall featured a Gothic exterior, cruciform plan, and elaborate rose windows on three of its four arms. The interiors of both buildings conveyed an almost identical, otherworldly sense of space. In both, the unadorned walls and exposed ribs of the groin arches created a vastness of diffused colored space from the stained glass windows. To many SPC students, Assembly Hall carried an iconic significance and represented “tangible evidence of university history.”³⁴

New England college campuses also included observatories to illustrate the complementary nature of religion and science.³⁵ Williams College in western Massachusetts set the trend with the first college observatory in 1837.³⁶ SPC’s *Lee Observatory*, built in 1873, kept the clock tower’s time based on its recorded meteorological observations and star positions. SPC professors Cornelius Van Dyck and Fāris Nimr “started systematic records of meteorological data [...] and sent daily telegraphic reports to the Imperial Observatories in Constantinople and Vienna.”³⁷ Ship captains consulted its records to adjust their chronometers,³⁸ while in its local context, Maṣṣūr Jurdāq, SPC professor of mathematics, wrote that the “observatory had won the confidence of the local community.”³⁹ Indeed, so much so that the *Dār al-Fatāwā* (Muslim House of Legal Rulings) depended on the College observatory readings “to record the birth of the moon to announce start of the holy month of Ramadan.”⁴⁰

Post Hall, the most unusual of SPC’s buildings, stands to the east of College and Assembly Halls and fills in the college row to the Medical Building (also referred to as Medical Hall). Completed in 1902, its design is the work of George E. Post, the above-mentioned SPC professor of surgery, not his architect cousin.⁴¹ Possibly inspired by his cousin’s award winning Tudor design for the

³³ Berytus is the name of the ancient Phoenician settlement on the same site where Beirut is to be found today. William Tyler to Daniel Bliss, 31 September 1870, Box 1, Folder 17, Bliss Family Papers, ASC/Amherst College.

³⁴ Nabeel G. Ashkar, “Back to Assembly Hall”, *AUB Bulletin* 34: 3 (May 1992), n.p., ASC/AUB.

³⁵ Turner, *Campus*, 106.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ “Lee Observatory”, The American University of Beirut, <http://www.aub.edu.lb/tour/nojava/b12.html>, (accessed 1 October 2012).

³⁸ “Lee Observatory”, The American University of Beirut.

³⁹ “The Old Lee Observatory Building: The Beauty of AUB’s Architecture”, *Outlook* 25: 2 (18 January 2001), 4, ASC/AUB.

⁴⁰ “The Old Lee Observatory Building”, 4.

⁴¹ George E. Post was an ordained minister, a surgeon, a dentist, a botanist, and also an amateur architect. Charles A. Webster, “Post Hall”, *al-Kulliyah* 16: 2, (December 1929), 32, ASC/AUB.

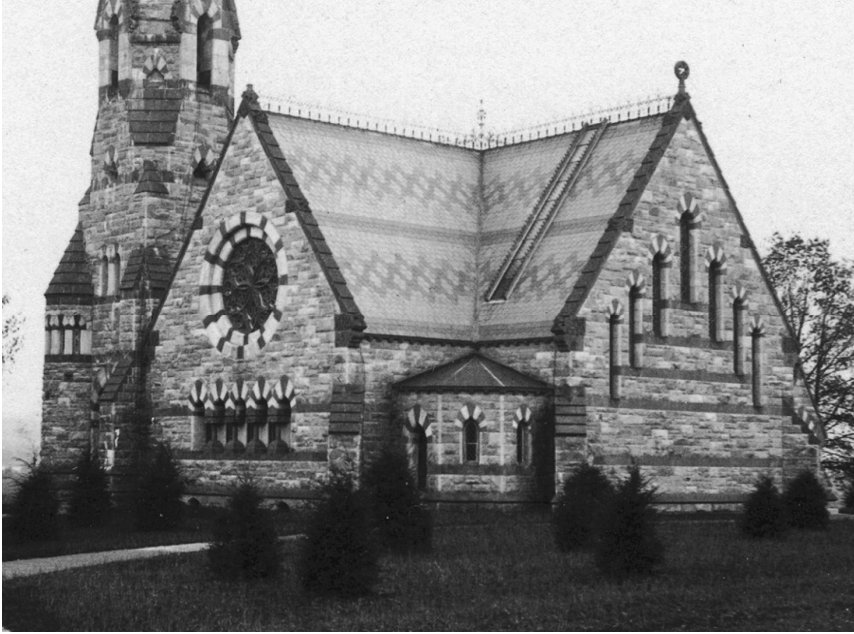


Fig. 8: Stearns Church, Amherst College. Source: Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College.



Fig. 9: Assembly Hall, American University of Beirut. Source: Special Collections and Archives/ Jafet Library – American University of Beirut.

City College of New York, George E. Post gave his imagination free reign in the design of Post Hall's machicolated towers, high citadel-like walls, and protruding waterspouts.⁴² By the late 1890s, Princeton University had already adopted a Tudor style, especially after Woodrow Wilson assumed its presidency and remarked that "we have added a thousand years to the history of Princeton by merely putting those lines in our buildings."⁴³ In the spatial context of SPC, Post Hall projected a hard-edged containment and a physical barrier to the extramural world, turning its back on Bliss Street and recalling a military, even crusader architecture. Perhaps Post chose such a design because the building was meant to preserve and protect its cabinets of archaeological, zoological, and botanical curiosities.⁴⁴ Its purpose as a showcase corresponded to that of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and the Woods Cabinet at Amherst College.⁴⁵ To SPC's medical students, however, Post Hall was remembered as the venue for their final examinations held in the confines of its tower rooms.⁴⁶

SPC Architecture: Architectural Responsiveness

The completion of Post Hall in 1902 marked the end of the Daniel Bliss Era. Henry Harris Jessup, a veteran missionary long associated with the SPC, built a model of the college in commemoration. Jessup's model perhaps best epitomizes Daniel Bliss's preoccupation with secluding the college from its surroundings, while, at the same time, evoking an impression of "respect and awe upon the students."⁴⁷ Succeeding his father, the presidency of Howard Bliss (1902–1920), ushered in a new era associated with a more liberal Protestantism, as SPC became gradually more inclusive and less isolationist towards its surroundings.⁴⁸ Howard Bliss emphasized the importance of the college's site as "so noble, so salubrious, so fitted, moreover, for an institution of learning that seeks to dissipate prejudices, widen horizons, and give a sense of the noble largesse and grandeur of the symmetrically developed life."⁴⁹ To ensure not only the view *from the college* of the

⁴² "The College of the City of New York; George B. Post architect", *The Architectural Record* (December 1905), 305–312.

⁴³ Woodrow Wilson, quoted in Turner, *Campus*, 227.

⁴⁴ Charles A. Webster, "Post Hall", *al-Kulliyah* 16: 2, (December 1929), 32, ASC/AUB.

⁴⁵ Woods Cabinet attached to Lawrence Observatory was built in 1847–1848 "to serve as a study and exhibition centre for natural history, as well as astronomical observatory and college museum." Tolles, *Architecture and Academe*, 117.

⁴⁶ Tolles, *Architecture and Academe*, 33. The SPC boasted that the collection housed at Post Hall was the third archaeological museum in the Middle East after Cairo and Istanbul.

⁴⁷ Daniel Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus: Written to his wife Abby and their four children during their visit to Amherst, Massachusetts*, Douglas Rugh, Belle Dorman Rugh, Alfred H. Howell, eds., Beirut: American University of Beirut Press 1993, 108.

⁴⁸ Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*, Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press 2011, 106.

⁴⁹ *41st Annual Report*, 1907, 4–5, ASC/AUB.

sea, but also the *view of the college* from the sea, he secured the “narrow foreground between the base of the College slopes and the seashore.”⁵⁰

The hopes that SPC would fulfill the images that Howard Bliss associated with Ras Beirut’s natural landscape were pinned to the addition of a new building. From 1910 on, the faculty and students anticipated the construction of a student centre, the West Hall. West Hall followed examples set by Harvard University’s two student centres: the Philips Brooks House for social service, charity and student religious activities, and the Harvard Union, a centre for student life and fellowship.⁵¹

SPC professor of engineering James Patch outlined before the faculty three ideals that West Hall should embody. The first mandated that the building should occupy a central position on the campus; the second that it should be welcoming from the outside as well as the inside; and the third that the building should serve student social and spiritual life.⁵² West Hall’s form realized its ideals. Situated west of Dodge Hall and behind the President’s House, its placement centred it within the westward extension of the campus. The exterior of the building welcomed students with a large covered porch and open lower terraces on either side. Inside, a spacious central hall and a grand staircase drew people in. A common room for student “intermingling” was to the right of the staircase. On the second floor were located an auditorium with a stage, a room for the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), and the office of the college newspaper, *al-Kulliyah*. The third floor had a summer roof garden, open to Bliss Street on the south and to the sea on the other side, which transformed into a covered roller skating rink in the winter. The basement boasted the first bowling alley in Beirut.⁵³

In many ways, West Hall was the antithesis of College Hall. Conceived in Ras Beirut, it was the brainchild of the young Syrian and American teachers at the college. Unlike College Hall, West Hall was intended to serve the students’ social, rather than instructional, needs. It was depicted in the college paper as “a Child of Promise”, the “meat, bones, and brains” of the campus, which manifested progressive era values in “the making of [...] strongmen and good citizens” to inculcate a sense of belonging, brotherhood and service.⁵⁴ The West Hall Brotherhood was created in 1920 to replace the previously banned YMCA

⁵⁰ Ibid., 5, ASC/AUB.

⁵¹ “Proposed New Social Building”, *al-Kulliyah* 1: 6 (July 1910), 216–219, ASC/AUB.

⁵² James Patch, “Robert H. West Hall”, *al-Kulliyah* 2: 5 (March 1911), 149, ASC/AUB.

⁵³ Patch, “Robert H. West Hall”, 147–152.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 147; Id., “West Hall”, *al-Kulliyah* 3 (January 1912) 25; Id., “Robert H. West Hall; ‘A Child of Promise’”, *al-Kulliyah* 4 (January 1913) 63; Bayard Dodge, “Life in the College and Life in the World”, *Students’ Union Gazette* (Jan-Feb 1913), 49; “West Hall History”, Box A.A: 2.5.3.3.2.3, Buildings and Grounds Collection, ASC/AUB.



Fig. 10: West Hall, American University of Beirut. Source: Special Collections and Archives/Jafet Library – American University of Beirut.

and promote inter-religious fellowship and cooperation.⁵⁵ The Brotherhood's motto stood in stark contrast to the words associated with College Hall. The caveat of Daniel Bliss's famous proclamation at College Hall's cornerstone laying ceremony in 1871 resides in its last sentence that reads, "But it will be impossible for anyone to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief."⁵⁶ In contrast, the motto of the West Hall Brotherhood emphasized a notion of common humanity and an understanding that "the realm in which we share is vastly greater than that in which we differ."⁵⁷ While College Hall embodied an architecture of monumentality, West Hall represented the greater responsiveness of the college, now turned university, to the context of its diverse surroundings.

Conclusion

From 1870 to 1920, SPC's landscape at Ras Beirut grew from a few scattered plots of garden farms on twenty acres to a campus of twenty-five buildings on

⁵⁵ The YMCA was banned by the Ottoman authorities during WWI and had not been revived in 1920. Samir Khalaf, "New England Puritanism and Liberal Education in the Middle East. The American University of Beirut as a Cultural Transplant", in: *Cultural Transitions in the Middle East*, Serif Mardin, ed., Leiden: Brill 1994, 73.

⁵⁶ Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: A Brief History*, 19.

⁵⁷ Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 300; Anderson, *The American University of Beirut*, 72.

fifty acres.⁵⁸ College Hall on the one end and West Hall on the other bookended this defining era of SPC's architectural incarnation of a New England college landscape. The old city of Beirut, in turn, responded to the expanding college by linking the old with the new. In 1909, Howard Bliss noted in a letter to his wife:

At about four o'clock the first car of the trolley line passed the College several times. The noise of the passing cars will be more or less annoying for some time. Later on we shall get accustomed to it – but more and more as time goes on we shall feel less secluded on our lovely grounds.⁵⁹

The founders of SPC may have wished to remain apart from the city on their hill, while some locals may have viewed SPC as a western expansionist scheme that ate up all the territory from the seaside to Bliss Street.⁶⁰ For the most part, however, local response accommodated the college in both temporal and spatial terms, embracing it as an integral part of *their* future. After Howard Bliss's death in 1920, 'Umar al-Dā'ūq, the mayor of Beirut, named Bliss Street in honor of the Blisses, father and son.⁶¹ Paved long before Hamra Street, Bliss Street grew out of SPC's college row to become the first east-west thoroughway of Ras Beirut, from which the subsequent north-south arteries extended.

Furthermore, the college buildings determined both Ras Beirut's cityscape from the sea and its *streetscape* from the upper side of the promontory sloping down to the college marking the visual terminus points of Abdel-Aziz, Jeanne d'Arc, and Sadat Streets. At the same time, while the missionaries intended their buildings to mark their presence in the region and embody their ideology, their college buildings became part of Ras Beirut, orienting and thickening its urban fabric in a way that missionary ideology never did.

In its origins, SPC clearly embodied a spatial memory specific to New England. However, that memory faded as the college gradually and necessarily adapted to local demands, becoming specific to Ras Beirut in "an idyllic twinship", as Samir Khalaf puts it.⁶² In its association with AUB, Ras Beirut attracted

⁵⁸ Howard Sweetser Bliss to John Finley of the University of the State of New York, Albany, New York, April 1919, Series 3, Howard Bliss, Bliss Family Papers, ASC/Amherst College.

⁵⁹ Howard Bliss to his wife [Abby Bliss], 2 July 1909, Series 3, Howard Bliss Box 1, Folder 119, Bliss Family Papers, ASC/Amherst College.

⁶⁰ 'Issam Shibārū, *'Ayn al-Mrasiyah: Ṣaḥḥab Mushriqah min Tārīkh Bayrūt wa-Dawr Waṭani Qawmi la-Yamūt*, Beirut: n.d., 201.

⁶¹ Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut*, Beirut: Khayat's 1958, 50. A few years later, the municipal committee named five streets surrounding the college after its faculty in "streetwise commemoration" of their lives. *Student Union Gazette* 1927, ASC/AUB 39. I borrow Jens Hanssen's term "streetwise commemoration" that he applies to the names the streets of Zuqāq al-Blaṭ. Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World", in: *History, Space, and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, Hans Gebhardt et al, eds., Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 97), 145.

⁶² Samir Khalaf, "Ras Beirut and the AUB: An Idyllic Twinship", in: *The Moore Collection: Franklin T. Moore Photographs (1892–1902)*, Beirut: AUB Press 2006, 12–24.



Fig. 11: View of Bliss Street in line with AUB college buildings. Source: Special Collections and Archives/ Jafet Library – American University of Beirut.

an array of other educational and cultural institutions. To many AUB students, Ras Beirut’s “University of Faisal”, the restaurant facing the main gate on Bliss Street, was the most important institution, “graduating” more Arab leaders than the college itself!⁶³ Indeed, the resultant diversity and interaction of people defined the “power of place” that is Ras Beirut today: a landscape of an idealized America for Beirutis and of Beirut for Americans.⁶⁴

⁶³ Kamāl Jirjis Rabayz, *Rizq Allāb ‘abaydik al-ayyām yā Rāʿs Bayrūt*, Beirut: al-Maṭbūʿāt al-Muṣawwarah 1986, 190.

⁶⁴ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1995.

Local and Western Educational Institutions in Beirut: Topographical and Symbolic Dominations

Michael F. Davie

The topic of Western missionary activity in the Middle East, and more particularly in Lebanon, has been considerably documented and discussed.¹ The history of the foundation and the first activities of the Syrian Protestant College have been described in Daniel Bliss' own papers² as well as by research linked to the institution;³ the same can be said about the Jesuits, the founders of the *Université Saint-Joseph*.⁴ Very often, apologetic histories describe the first attempts and difficulties in setting up an educational institution in a generally inhospitable city, and the problems encountered when the missionaries attempted to convert the reluctant local populations to their 'true faith'.

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- ¹ Henry Diab and Lars Wahlin, "The Geography of Education in Syria in 1882. With a translation of 'Education in Syria' by Shahin Makarius, 1883", *Geografiska Annaler* 65: B (1983), 105–128; Bayard Dodge, "American Educational and Missionary Efforts in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 401 (1972), 15–22; Ellen L. Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 411–426; Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002; Fatma Müge Göçek, "Ethnic Segmentation, Western Education, and Political Outcomes: Nineteenth-century Ottoman Society", *Politics Today* 14: 3 (1993), 507–538; Henri Jalabert, *La congrégation des Sœurs des Saints-Cœurs de Jésus et de Marie au Liban et en Syrie, 1853–1953. Histoire d'un siècle*, Beirut: La congrégation des Sœurs des Saints-Cœurs de Jésus et de Marie 1956; Youssef Mouawad, "L'enfance des chefs: l'éducation au collège secondaire des pères jésuites à Beyrouth (1875–1914)", in: *France-Levant. De la fin du XVIIe siècle à la première Guerre mondiale*, Bernard Delpal, Bernard Hours, and Claude Prudhomme, eds., Paris: Geuthner 2005, 191–210.
 - ² Daniel Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss. Edited and Supplemented by his Eldest son*, New York et al.: Fleming H. Revell Company 1920.
 - ³ Douglas Rugh et al., *Daniel Bliss. Letters from a New Campus written to his wife Abby and their four children during their visit to Amherst, Massachusetts, 1873–1874*, Beirut: American University of Beirut 1994.
 - ⁴ Sami Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des jésuites. 1846–1862*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq 1991; Sami Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des jésuites. 1816–1845*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq 1985; Sami Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des jésuites. 1863–1873*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq 1996; Charles Libois, *La Compagnie de Jésus au "Levant". La Province du Proche-Orient. Notices historiques*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq 2009; Anne-Laure Dupont, "Une école missionnaire et étrangère dans la tourmente de la révolution constitutionnelle ottomane. La crise de 1909 au Syrian Protestant College de Beyrouth", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 75 (2007), 39–57; Carla Eddé, *L'USJ. Portrait d'une université*, Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph 2000; Henri Jalabert, *Jésuites au Proche-Orient*, Beirut: Dar el-Machreq 1987.

During the 19th century, many Western religious institutions sent missionaries to the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean, either to the Holy Land *lato sensu* or to the main towns and villages of geographical Syria.⁵ Critical scholarly research, now in a post-modern posture,⁶ has examined the questions of cultural imperialism, acculturation, Empire, and the processes of elite formation in colonial contexts. However, the question of cultural formation and/or alienation of the local elites that graduated from American or French institutions (and to a lesser extent, Russian, Italian, and German ones) in Beirut or their attitudes towards the lesser-educated local population have only elicited cursory attention. Far more surprising, however, is the paucity of research on the actual buildings of these various missions. The identities and biographies of the architects and engineers who drew the plans, or those of the skilled masons, carpenters, or workers who built them, are still often unfamiliar. Precious little is known about the land purchases, or the reasons behind the choice of one particular plot rather than another. Finally, the history of the smaller local institutions is still very much in the dark.⁷

This chapter proposes an analysis of the locations of several important Western missionary institutions in Beirut, with the aim of measuring the degree of visual control offered by the buildings using the general topography of the peninsula. The main thrust, following Michel Foucault,⁸ is that the Western missionary institutions very often sought areas that could visually dominate the city, allowing the missionaries, voluntarily or subconsciously, to observe without being observed; the buildings themselves projected an aura of power and modernity through their architecture and their layout. In Beirut, these symbols mirrored the normative role of contemporary European barracks, prisons and schools, whose internal and external architectures were conceived so as to control and discipline both minds and bodies, while simultaneously offering visual confirmation of the state's superiority. The campus of the Syrian Protestant College projected a slightly different message, that of American openness;⁹ however, it too wished to

⁵ Diab and Wahlin, *Geography*.

⁶ Bill Ashcroft et al., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, London: Routledge 1998; H el ene Blais et al., eds., *Territoires imp eriaux. Une histoire spatiale du fait colonial*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2011; H el ene Blais, "Coloniser l'espace: territoires, identit es, spatialit e", *Gen es* 74 (2009), 145–159; Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial theory. A Critical Introduction*, Columbia: Columbia University Press 1998; Pierre Singarav elou, *Professer l'Empire. Les "sciences coloniales" en France sous la IIIe R epublique*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2011.

⁷ *Historique du Coll ege du sacr -C oeur de Beyrouth 1894–1994*, Beirut: Mutuelle des anciens  l eves et des  coles des Fr eres au Liban 1995; Naim N. Atiyeh, "Schools of Beirut", in: *Beirut – Crossroads of Cultures*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban 1970, 133–166; Pierre Corcket, *Les Lazaristes et les Filles de la Charit  au Proche-Orient 1783–1983*, Beirut: Mission des Lazaristes 1983.

⁸ See Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la folie   l' ge classique*, Paris: Gallimard 1972; *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison*, Paris: Gallimard 1975; *Histoire de la sexualit . La volont  de savoir*, Paris: Gallimard 1976; *Histoire de la sexualit . L'usage des plaisirs*, Paris: Gallimard 1984; *Histoire de la sexualit . Le souci de soi*, Paris: Gallimard 1984.

⁹ See Abunnasr's contribution to this volume.

show that it controlled the local space, time, and culture. As Beirut was considered the stepping-stone for control of the Levant and its hinterland during the second half of the 19th century, these educational institutions in the city's urban context were clearly the materialization of geopolitical stakes in the West's scramble for an invented Orient.

Educating and Overlooking

Three cases will suffice to grasp the geographical constants behind the choice of a particular topographical position: *Dames de Nazareth*, *Université Saint-Joseph*, and the American University of Beirut (Syrian Protestant College); other, smaller institutions will be mentioned when needed. The location of these institutions seems to have not been left to chance: they were mainly located in areas topographically above the city and thus visually dominated it and its surrounding countryside, as shown in figure 1.¹⁰

Dames de Nazareth. This girls' school is located on the higher of the two hills that form Beirut's peninsula (figure 2). It projects a closed, castle-like appearance, complete with crenulations and square corner towers surrounding an internal courtyard (figure 3). On nearly all sides, the natural topography slopes down, further enhancing its fortress-like physiognomy. Local architectural influences were integrated into the general plan through the use of the Levantine arch in the external corridors. Protected from the outside world by high walls, the girls were taught in French by Catholic nuns. From the upper floors, at nearly 100 meters altitude, all of the peninsula could be encompassed by the eye, together with all of the city and its recent extensions (figures 4 and 5).

Université Saint-Joseph. The site chosen was located in the city's immediate suburbs; the building's architecture closely resembled that of religious and administrative buildings prevalent in late nineteenth-century France (figure 6). A chapel, symbolically the central branch of three parallel buildings, organized the daily life of the students, and a clock above the main gate gave Western time¹¹ to the neighborhood (figure 7). Only one gate allowed entrance to the building from the street; above, windows on each floor offered views on the city while, at the back, a

¹⁰ While the Syrian Protestant College was not located on one of the highest points of the peninsula, the sheer size of its grounds and the fact that the buildings overlooked the coastal plain to the West and could be seen from the port area and from the Grand Sérail barracks, point to a clear ambition to show off the United States' recent economic and political ambitions in the world.

¹¹ 'Western Time' means the standard 24-hour day divided into equal hours and minutes starting at midnight; this measurement differed from the local religious and vernacular times, which took sunsets or sunrises as starting points for the days, the length of which varied throughout the year. Western time was imposed by the Ottomans in order to standardize time over the whole Empire.

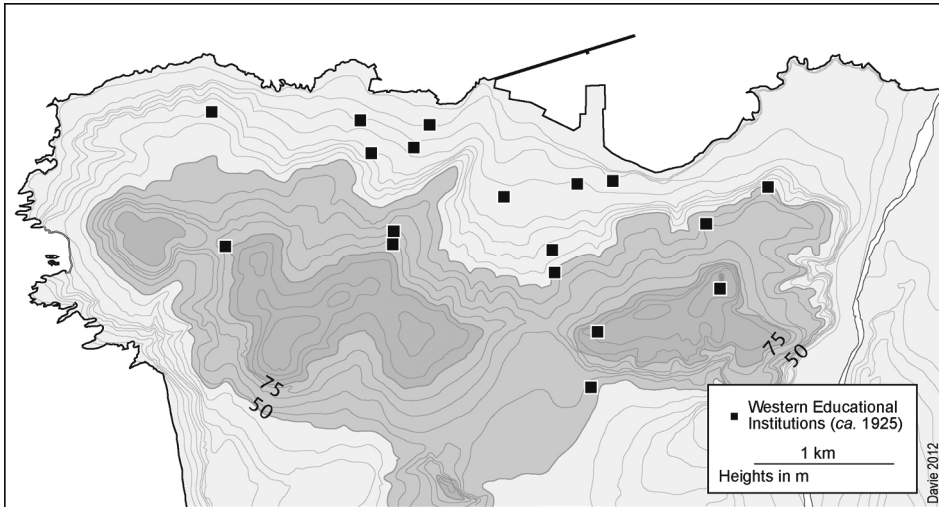


Fig. 1

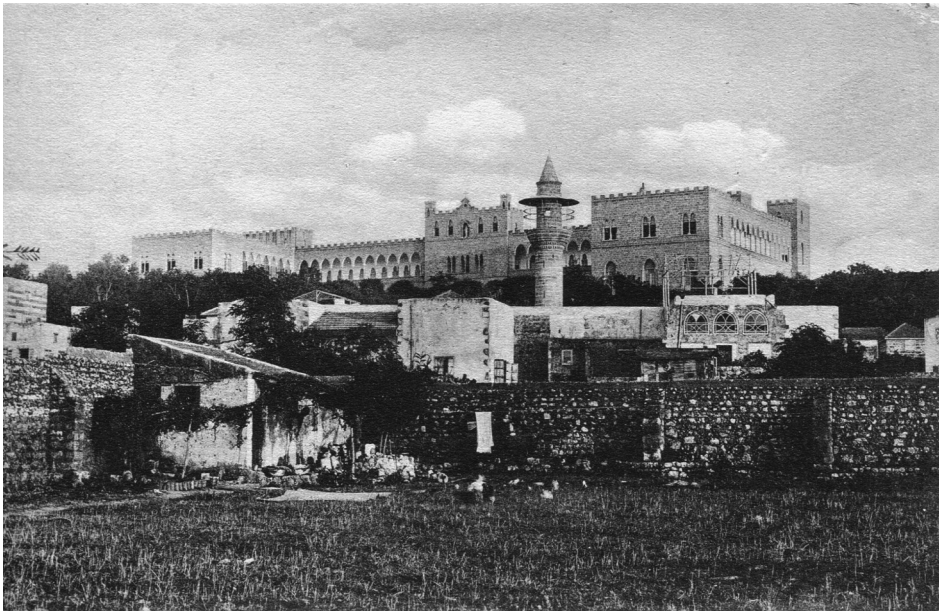


Fig. 2

closed courtyard led to workshops and the printing press. In this space, students worked almost exclusively in the French language, using educational material imported from France and being taught mainly by Jesuit priests.

Syrian Protestant College (American University of Beirut). Its vast site was distant from the city itself and from the onset was a mirror of universities in the United

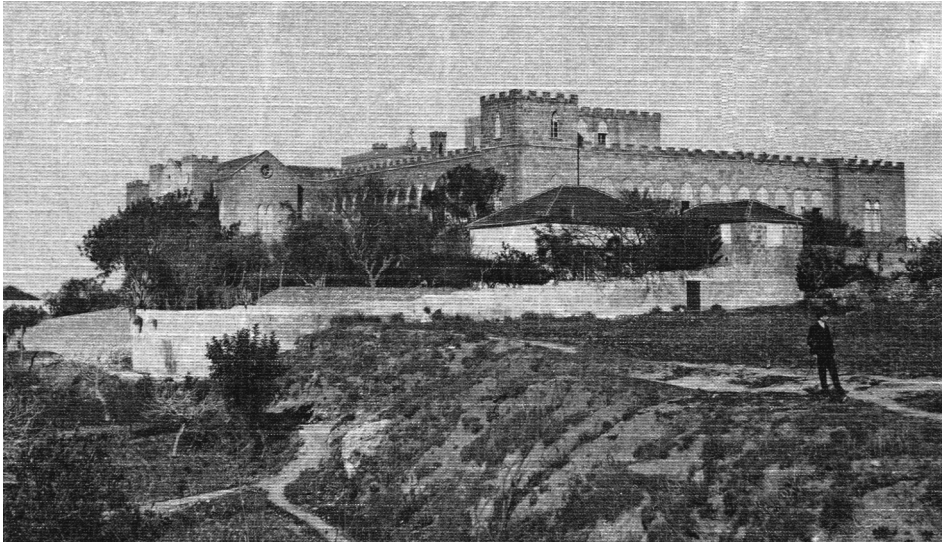


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

States: the buildings, often of British Neo-Gothic inspiration, were surrounded by vegetation, but a central cluster organized the religious and administrative aspects on the ‘campus’ – a newly introduced word.¹² The clock tower (1874) was the highest structure, offering a clear view of the peninsula and giving Western time calculated according to the astronomical observatory it contained.¹³

¹² See Abunnasr’s contribution to this volume.

¹³ Digital Documentation Centre, *Lee Observatory*, (<http://www.aub.edu.lb/tour/nojava/b12-qtvr.html>, accessed 1 October 2012); Najwa Shaheen Haffar, “The Observatory of the Stars”, *Al-Kulliyah* (1987), 8–13.

*Fig. 5**Fig. 6*

These three examples demonstrate that the educational institutions' preference for elevated sites was not coincidental: visual control was an avatar of physical or symbolic domination (figure 8). By visually controlling space, these schools adopted a basic tactical and strategic logic familiar to all military doctrines:¹⁴ to create physical and symbolic distance and a hierarchy between "us" and "them",

¹⁴ While the western educational institutions and personnel were not military, they had adopted many aspects of this military universe, such as uniforms, discipline, submission to hierarchies, territorial penetration strategies, etc. These institutions were also active in intelligence-gathering for other Western political and economic actors.

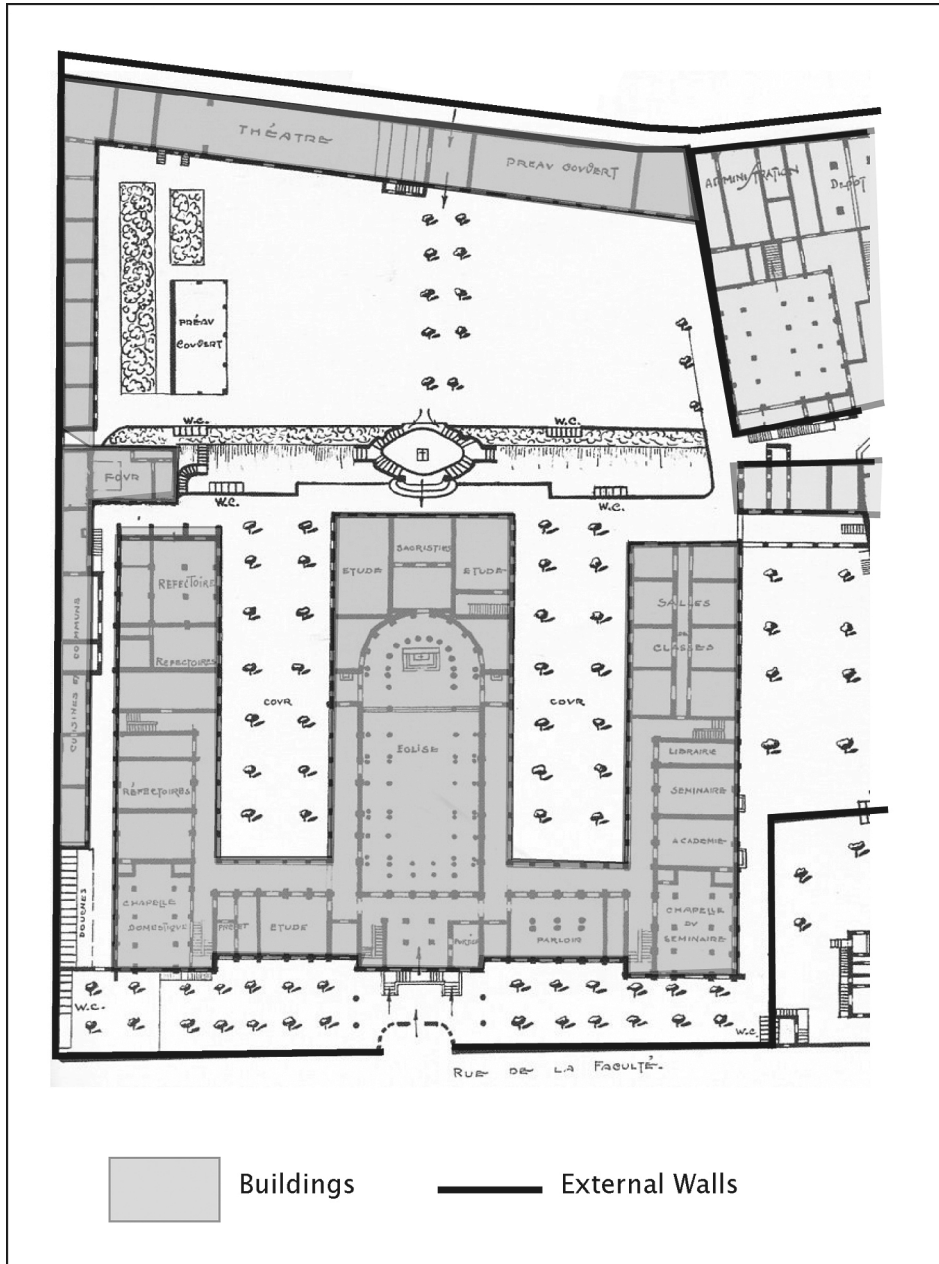


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

highlighting the cultural gap between the two categories. The western ideas and attitudes of modernity, progress, organization, culture, and cleanliness were postulated as being superior to the local ones, a point which will be developed further later on.

To understand the breadth of visual coverage from the western educational institutions, several maps were drawn using a simple calculation: the distance to an observer's horizon on a clear day is $D=(\sqrt{3,57})h$, h being the altitude in meters of the observer's eyes above sea-level.¹⁵ The maps produced by this method highlight the Foucauldian link between the educational institutions' geographical position and their symbolic domination.

The first map (figure 9) illustrates what could be seen from sea level in Beirut, as if there were no local obstacles to impede vision. The line of sight would extend to parts of Mount-Lebanon and to Jbayl to the Northeast; towards the South, South East, and South West, the promontory and the hills of Ashrafiyya and Ras Beirut blocked the view. Smaller obstacles such as the Santïyya and Karantina capes would also interrupt the view in these directions. However, limitations for an observer in the city itself were buildings and the irregular directions of the narrow streets; this would further limit what an observer could actually see; the second map (figure 10) shows the field of view actually covered by this imaginary observer.

¹⁵ Bertrand Westphal, *Le Monde plausible. Espace, lieu, carte*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit 2011.

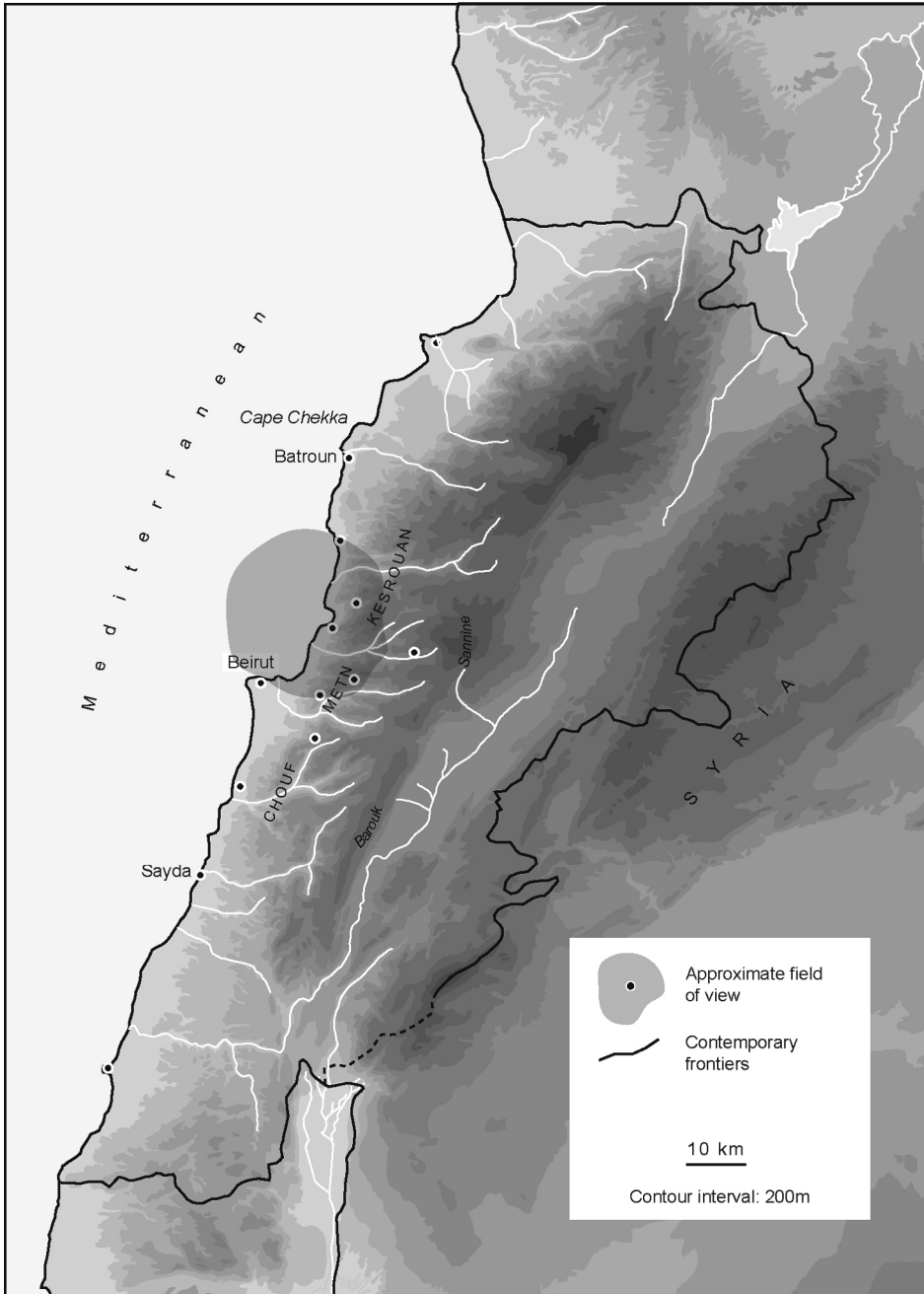


Fig. 9

The third map (figure 11) shows what an observer at the Syrian Protestant College (at an altitude of approximately 40 meters) could see: the horizon would extend until the cape of Chekka to the North, while covering the Western part of the city as well as most of the Matn district up to the crest of Jabal Sannin. Yet, anything south of the Rawsha-Quraitim-Qanṭārī line would still have been invisible behind the peninsula's two hills.

Finally, an observer at *Dames de Nazareth* school (at around 90 meters) would have been able to see all of the city, all of the Western part of the cape, all of Mount-Lebanon from Chekka to Sidon, as well as the plain of Shuwayfat and the sands in the vicinity of Mar Elias Btina (figure 12). In essence, this institution had a panoptical view of the entire city as well as the Western slopes of Mount-Lebanon.

Domination, Alterity and Modernism

Following military doctrine, the ability to visually overlook space and its constituents – including humans – is inseparable from the act of domination. 'Domination', as it is understood here, is the control of space by a particular actor; it is also a central *topos* in contemporary geography. Space offers not only visible or material forms: it also exists through its symbolic, 'invisible' functions and emotions. Understanding space – i. e. giving it 'meaning' by creating reality¹⁶– requires that its numerous components are identified, positioned, and mapped. As space is never neutral nor natural but always a social product,¹⁷ as the result of competing forces attempting to appropriate it, space is a multi-faceted and multi-scalar stake for a wide panel of actors or subjects, both for economic, ideological, and symbolic reasons.

Michel Foucault, in his seminal works on 'biopower'¹⁸ referred to the invention and evolution of, and the roles assigned to, European prisons, schools, and other institutions in their mission to subjugate and control minds and bodies. He demonstrated that the functions of teaching, imprisoning, and healing were all linked, and that the architecture of each of the buildings conceived for each particular purpose was in a way similar. In all cases, the 'inmates' (schoolchildren, criminals, or the insane) were to be observed, organized, and disciplined, so as to produce a society – in this case a 'normal', i. e., a Western bourgeois society – free of 'abnormalities'. The buildings in question were envisaged for the panoptical observation of the population; they were to symbolize this ordering of society through both their internal organization and external architectural messages.

¹⁶ Phil Hubbard et al., eds., *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, London: Sage Publications Ltd. 2009.

¹⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*, Paris: Anthopos 1974.

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, "Il faut défendre la société", *Cours au Collège de France, 1975–1976*, Paris: Seuil 1997. See above for references to Foucault's other works.

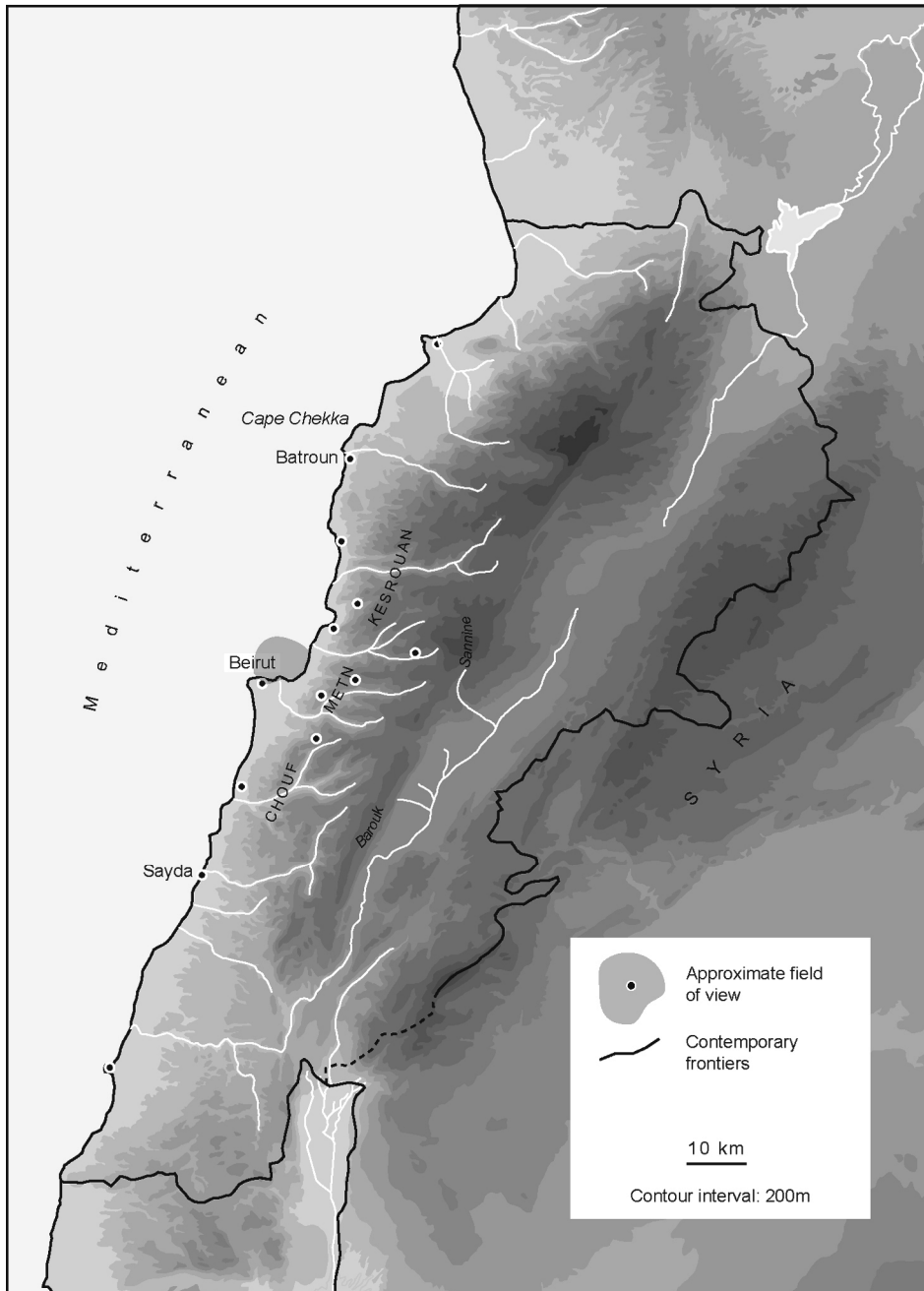


Fig. 10

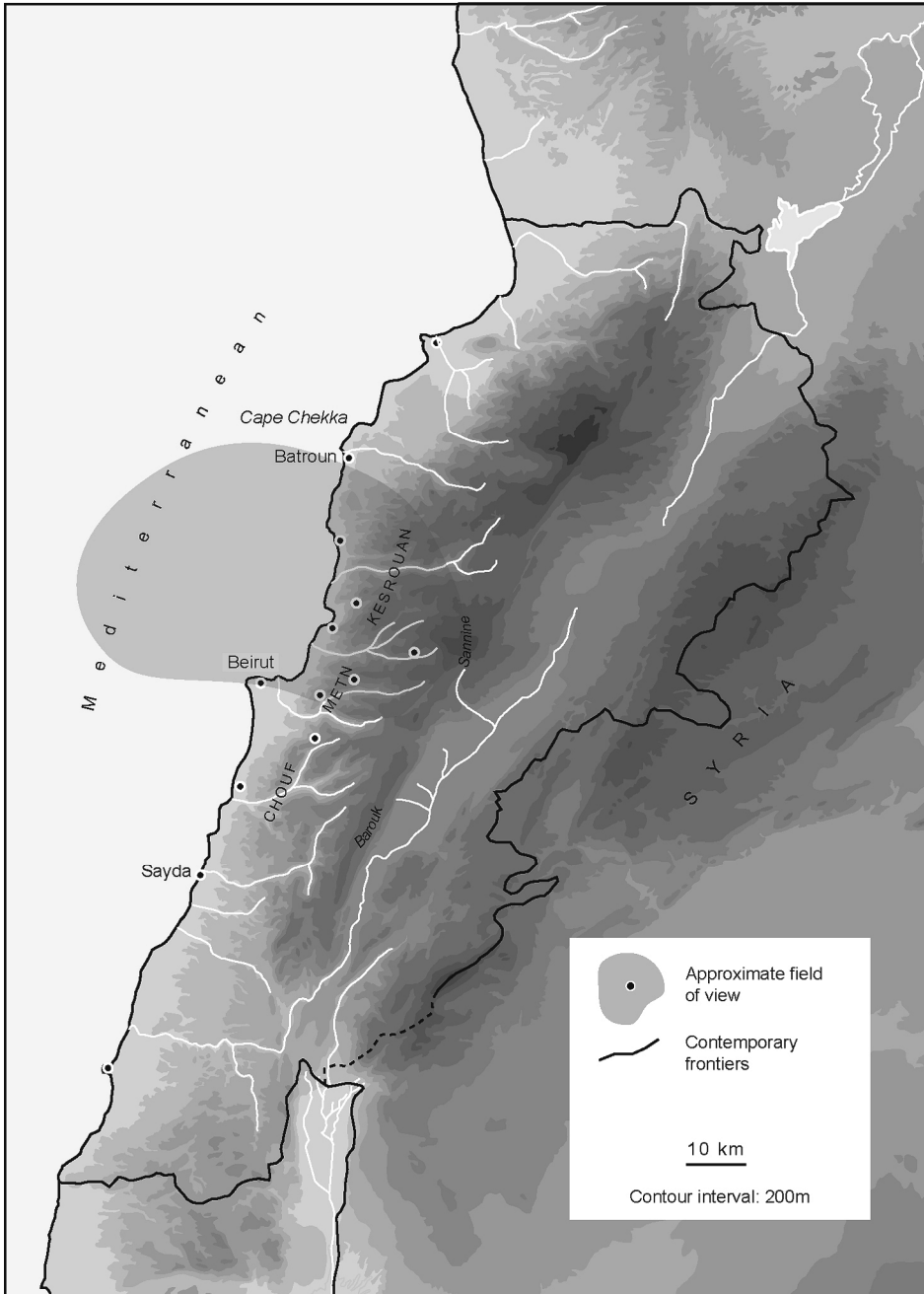


Fig. 11

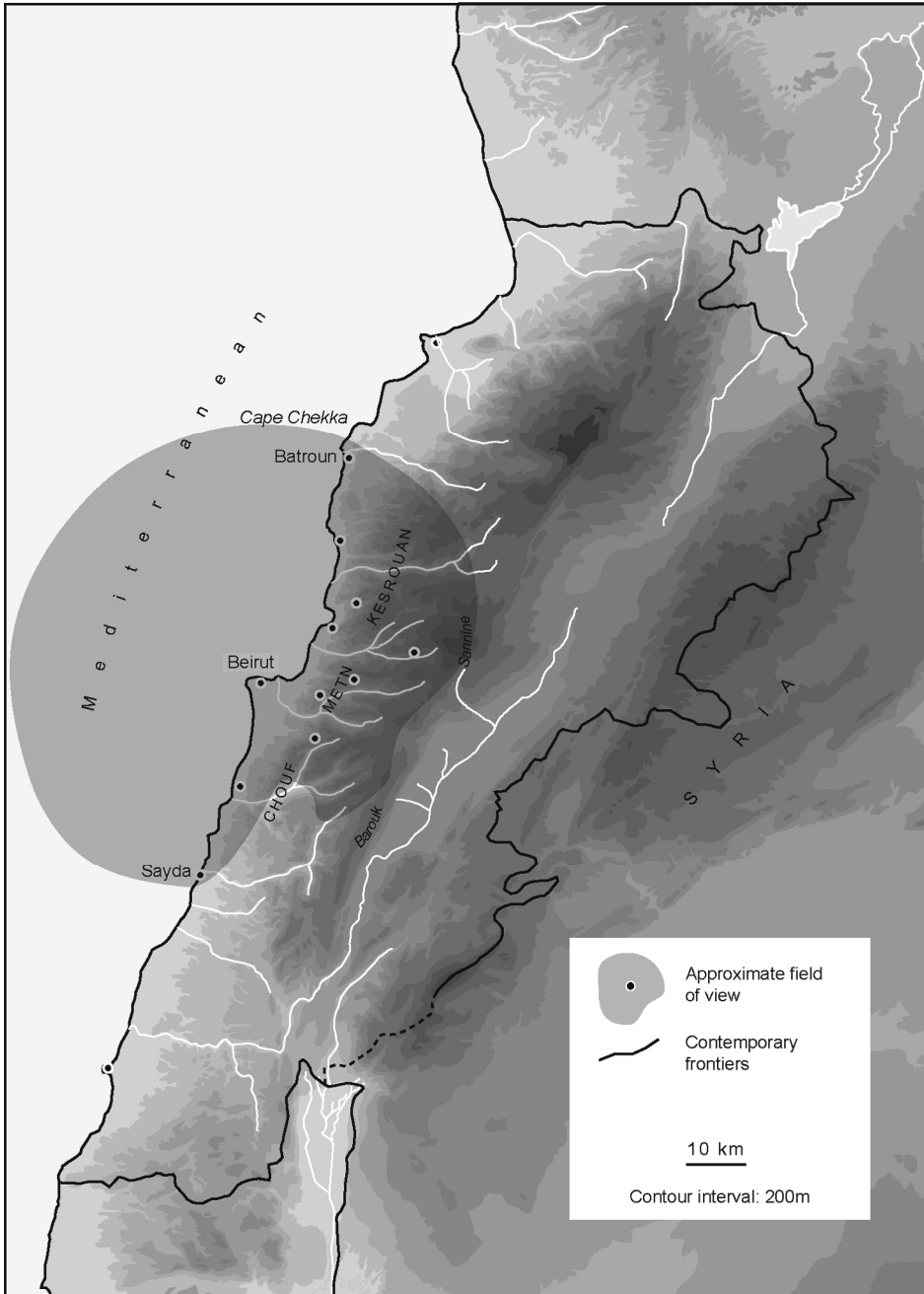


Fig. 12

To understand the symbolic meaning of (pan)optically dominating a city, the identification of the dominated is necessary, which can be extracted by examining the West's *Weltanschauung*. In a nutshell, the Enlightenment, the French and American Revolutions, the separation of state and church, the various social and socialist ideologies, and the beginnings of the welfare state, were both cause and consequence of a European- and American-centered, positivistic outlook on the World. In this context, democracy was the keyword, with every citizen of each newly-invented centralized state given similar opportunities and hopes, irrespective of his or her ethnic, cultural, or religious backgrounds. The enfranchised individual became the reference for the reformulation of society. However, this largely generous attitude had a negative side: everything and everyone had to be identified, labelled, and classified. Inevitably then, through narrow readings of pseudo-Darwinist theory, groups were to be hierarchically ranked. By comparison, non-European cultures and populations – or ‘races’ – were deemed ‘inferior’, ‘childlike’, ‘degenerate’, and requiring ‘civilizing’: this task was the “White man’s burden” (Rudyard Kipling).¹⁹ Likewise, other religions were deemed inferior to Christianity, and their believers required conversion, following narrow readings of the New Testament. Other Christian groups, such as the Orthodox, while not as ‘inferior’ as the other faiths, were also to be enticed to convert, so as to ‘return’ to the Catholics’ or Protestants’ manifest ‘true faith’.

It was in this atmosphere of self-affirmed cultural, civilizational, and religious superiority that Western educational institutions arrived in Beirut. Here, the imperial contest for the Orient met thriving local Christian, Muslim, or Jewish educational institutions, albeit ‘traditional’ and practising different pedagogical methods. Lucky children would be sent to Quranic, synagogue, or church part-time schools to learn to read and write and perhaps to prepare for a life in religious institutions. The teaching took place either in the mosque or church, their courtyards, or in a small room, with the learning of religious texts by rote being the norm.²⁰ These buildings were in the old city itself, in the souks or at the end of a narrow alley (*zuqqāq*). Other institutions, not directly linked to a place of worship, had also been opened in the city or in its immediate neighborhoods, such as the *Madrasah Thalāthat Aqmār*, founded in 1835 by the Greek-Orthodox community.

The first western educational institutions in Beirut were opened in the first half of the 19th century in rented residential buildings, very close to the local population they hoped to either religiously convert or at least to introduce to western values and ‘progress’. Both the European and American institutions had established their first schools in the souks or the immediate vicinity of the city’s walls, symbolically expressing empathy and a form of equality. This proximity was lost

¹⁹ It is useful to link these approaches with those presented in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books 1978.

²⁰ See Lindner’s contribution to this volume.

once the Western institutions decided to build their own schools away from the old city. They were built from the onset according to the latest Western hygienist norms: high ceilings, wide windows exposed to sunlight and open to fresh air, large courtyards, and open, planted spaces. The latter expressed the idea that pristine Nature (albeit domesticated by Man through his technological discoveries) would effectively purify both the environment (such as the ‘dirty city’) and the contaminated minds. The Syrian Protestant College, with its Euro-American nineteenth-century architectural styles, vividly symbolized this model, offering a re-invented and domesticated ‘natural’ environment open to all visitors.

The French missionaries had a different approach: while their buildings were adapted to modern pedagogical methods, their outward appearance signified a closed and closely-guarded environment that was only accessible through a tightly-controlled entrance; their building’s crenulations highlighted the defensive architectural vocabulary. Perhaps, these French institutions projected a sense of symbolic protection and isolation in order to protect the students from all forms of spiritual or cultural contamination and materialistic (and sexual) temptation. This architecture effectively announced that the male-dominated social value system of the outside world would be preserved in this closed environment. Here, girls would be prepared for their role as wives, mothers, and housekeepers, while boys would be taught to reproduce the norms and values of the local or western patriarchal society. These institutions were in no case hotbeds of French revolutionary discourses on *Liberté*, *Égalité* and *Fraternité*.

In all cases, the students that frequented these institutions came mainly from the city’s upper bourgeoisie. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, the church or mosque schools as well as other local ones, were considered inappropriate places to send children, especially as the local bourgeoisie had already adopted (or imitated) Western styles of living, dressing, and of socialising. The new three-arched, red-tiled house, with its glass-fronted, open central hall, surrounded by a private garden, projected a (timid) break with the previous social and patriarchal order and the rise of the nuclear family.²¹ Thanks to different vectors, both Western and Ottoman, the upper classes had adopted piped water and gas, electricity, sewers, urban planning,²² trams,²³ Western art, furniture,²⁴ funerary monuments,²⁵

²¹ Michael F. Davie, ed., *La maison beyrouthine aux trois arcs. Une architecture bourgeoise du Levant*, Beirut and Tours: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts & Centre de recherches et d’études sur l’urbanisation du monde arabe 2003; May Davie, “Genèse d’une demeure patrimoniale: la maison aux trois arcs de Beyrouth”, in: *La maison beyrouthine aux trois arcs. Une architecture bourgeoise du Levant*, Michael F. Davie, ed., Beirut and Tours: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts & Centre de recherches et d’études sur l’urbanisation du monde arabe 2003, 57–96.

²² May Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs. 1840–1940, une intégration inachevée*, Beirut: CERMOC 1996; May Davie, *Beyrouth 1825–1975, un siècle et demi d’urbanisme*, Beirut: Ordre des Ingénieurs et Architectes de Beyrouth 2001.

²³ Edgard Nammour, “Une histoire du tramway électrique de Beyrouth, à travers le bimensuel *Lisan al-Hal*”, *Chronos* 6 (2002), 173–195.

literature, and food, a taste for scientific discoveries and debates, and for new mass-produced objects from the West; its interest for all things modern, including photography,²⁶ was to be completed by going to the Western educational institutions. However, what was lacking in these institutions, all founded by religious orders, were the progressive political and gender ideals that were now thriving in the West, and new directions in democracy such as the separation of state and church. However, in the Levant, as elsewhere in European colonies and administered territories, the Catholic Church vigorously defended a conservative attitude and fought progressive ideologies such as *laïcité*. In Beirut, the Catholic Church saw some aspects of the emerging *Nabḍāh* as part of a Protestant Freemason ‘plot’²⁷ to be countered by traditional catholic values and beliefs.

The schools thus intended to project the image of a clearly superior European or ‘Western’ culture. They were indisputably part and parcel of the Industrial Revolution, which involved producing both mass-produced goods as well as their consumers, together with Western ideals, norms, and attitudes. The non-Western local culture and schooling methods could thus be easily proven ‘inferior’, as they were the clear image of a pre-industrial and thus ‘backward’ Orient. As such, the European educators thought that the old, local educational system should be swept away.

The Western educational institutions set the norm, creating among the local bourgeoisie a sense of superiority by transforming their *habitus*²⁸ through linguistic and cultural practices. In part due to the proliferation of its schools, the Western imperial system was able to create ideal intermediaries for an acceptance of the new, though neither revolutionary nor very progressive cultural norms, and, thanks to this, acquired cultural capital, the city’s – or region’s – elite could be maintained in a conservative mould, consolidating and replicating many of the original social, spatial, political, sexual, and gendered order so useful for industrial capitalism. The three schools examined previously were in effect instruments for the disciplining of the minds of the local bourgeoisie, to ultimately transform it into a consenting vector for the planned direct political, cultural and economic control of the Levant by the West. This active acceptance was encouraged by the swift enrichment of an emerging local bourgeoisie and that of the established traditional economic elites, who both felt closer to the West than to the less well-off Beirutis thanks to this strategic cultural capital.

²⁴ Nada Sehnaoui, *L'occidentalisation de la vie quotidienne à Beyrouth, 1860–1914*, Beirut: Éditions Dar an-Nahar 2002.

²⁵ May Davie, “Saint-Dimitri, un cimetière orthodoxe de Beyrouth”, *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l’Ouest* 114 (2007), 29–42.

²⁶ Fouad C. Debbas, *Des photographes à Beyrouth. 1840-1918*, Paris: Marval 2001.

²⁷ Saïd Chaaya, “Entre cosmopolitismes beyrouthin et logiques missionnaires, l’inauguration de la loge maçonnique *La Chaîne d’Union* en 1870”, *Chronos* 27 (2013), 141–167.

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Questions de sociologie*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit 1984.

However, local communities were not altogether submerged by this metaphorical ‘pioneering front’ of Western educational institutions. Far from surrendering, they sought to counter this advance, albeit with comparatively modest means. The impressive number of local schools is testimony to the successful reaction to the imported cultural order. While not rejecting the basic tenets of material modernity, these schools offered a perspective more in line with the intellectual and political needs (as well as the religious sensibilities) of the blossoming Arab *Nabḍab*. Local communities opened their schools in the neighborhoods, attracting the lower and middle classes, and were attentive to the debates centered on the political future of the Ottoman Arab provinces, in effect creating a different *habitus* for these socio-economic classes. Large-scale, standardized teaching of the upper bourgeoisie by foreign teachers in foreign languages and in massive, fortified buildings was not seen as a strategic necessity for a society still structured by ‘traditional’ social, family, and gender norms in an Ottoman Empire organized through the *Millet* system.²⁹ Furthermore, since the *Tanzimāt* reforms, official Ottoman public schools were opened in Beirut, offering a wider choice of modern educational institutions to the city’s population.³⁰

Competing Catalysts of Modernity

Four competing forces vied for the control of the city’s educational culture: traditional religious schools, local communities’ ‘modern’ schools,³¹ competing Western powers through their missionary institutions, and finally the Ottoman Empire through its *Tanzimāt* institutions.

The siting of the various Western educational institutions around the old city cannot be understood just as a simple choice of a particular plot offered on the local real estate market. By the middle of the 19th century, the institutions often had no choice but to look further afield as most of the plots closest to the city’s crumbling walls had already been purchased by the population wishing to exit from the old, cramped souks to reside in fashionable, spacious, and modern three-arched houses. Notwithstanding, the clear preference for the hill-tops must be explained.

²⁹ May Davie, *La millat grecque-orthodoxe et la ville de Beyrouth, 1800–1940: structuration interne et rapport à la cité*, Paris: Université de Paris IV La Sorbonne, PhD Thesis 1993; May Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs. 1840–1940, une intégration inachevée*, Beirut: CERMOC 1996.

³⁰ The question of the role of imperial Ottoman schools in the shaping of the ‘new’ Ottoman subject (or citizen) cannot be developed here. However, the imperial schools in Beirut also offered a competing reading of “modernity”, proposing different allegiances and identities than the local and missionary schools.

³¹ The local schools (such as those held by the Greek Orthodox community) were occasionally and belatedly helped by European powers such as imperial Russia; see Slim’s contribution to this volume.

The Western institutions clearly chose these elevated points to topographically overlook the city, perhaps reflecting military logics: how best to defend a foreign enclave in a potentially unstable or hostile area? As argued above, the buildings symbolically controlled the town and its population. In addition to creating a panoptic, they also introduced a new, imported culture and the use of an international *lingua franca*, which was neither Arabic nor Turkish. They set the tone for being ‘modern’, and those aspiring to become so had to move topographically upwards, or at least look upwards and turn their backs to the (dirty and unorganized) city.³² These Western institutions also acted as symbolic signals of the superiority of Catholicism or Protestantism in respect to the local religious denominations, even though the Western missionaries were just a tiny ‘exotic’ minority compared to the majority Sunni or Orthodox communities, and the number of small local schools was far greater than that of the Western ones. The latter could be understood as beacons on hill-tops serving to metaphorically illuminate the lower lands and populations still in the dark, or to serve as bright spotlight to attract lost flocks.

These general observations can be extended to the *Collège du Sacré-Cœur*, (Jimmayzah), the *Sœurs de Besançon* (Wādī Abū Jamīl) and the Lazarist Fathers (‘Azariyyah) (figures 13 and 14), close to the old city but not on the tops of the hills. With their high walls, Western barrack-style architecture adapted for mass education, several floors, a central chapel, and a generally closed atmosphere, they all point to a similar aim: creating a new society in accordance with the central tenets of the Industrial Revolution. Placed on a map along with all the other smaller Western educational institutions, they definitely seem to have physically surrounded the old city; at the very least, they were visually unavoidable. This topographical choice was in clear contrast with the small local religious schools, which were invisible in the city’s souks, or with the newer, though modest, local institutions embedded in the various residential neighborhoods (figure 15). By their very architecture – often converted residential units of the Beirut three-arched, tiled-roof type – these local schools signalled that they were perfectly integrated in the neighborhoods’ social *milieu*. Their aim was less to forge a new, distinct Western identity among their students, but to introduce an *aggiornamento* in the local urban, Arab, cosmopolitan way of life.

All four types of educational institutions were thus competing for the hearts and minds of the local population in their bid to impose their particular version of society; however, the definition of ‘modernity’ was never clearly addressed by the various actors. Whatever finer details may have differentiated their respective

³² This brings to mind Michel de Certeau’s idea that “[The observer’s] elevation [...] transforms him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance [...], it transforms the bewitching world by which one was possessed into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a Solar eye, looking down like a god”. Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1984, 92.

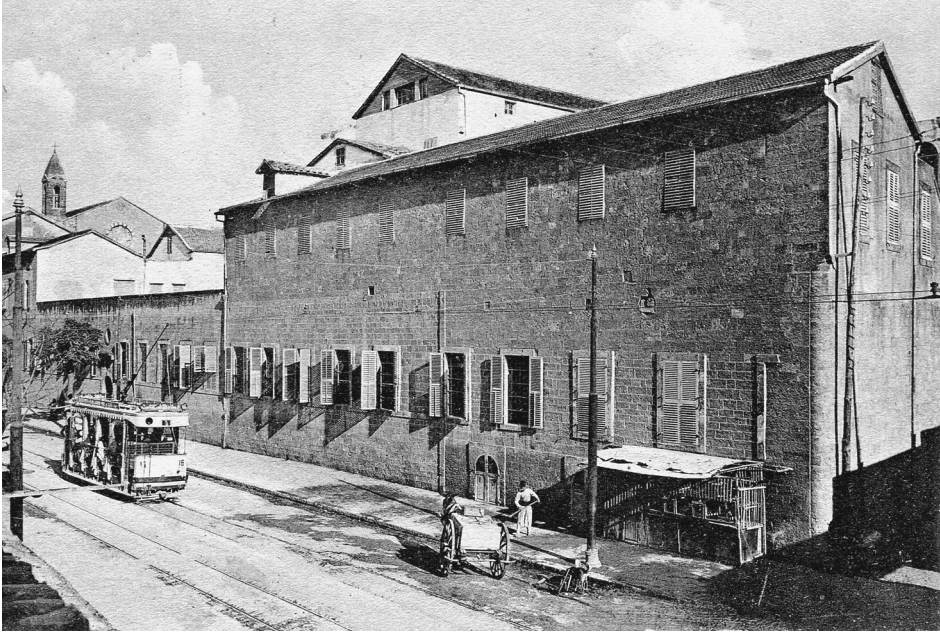


Fig. 13

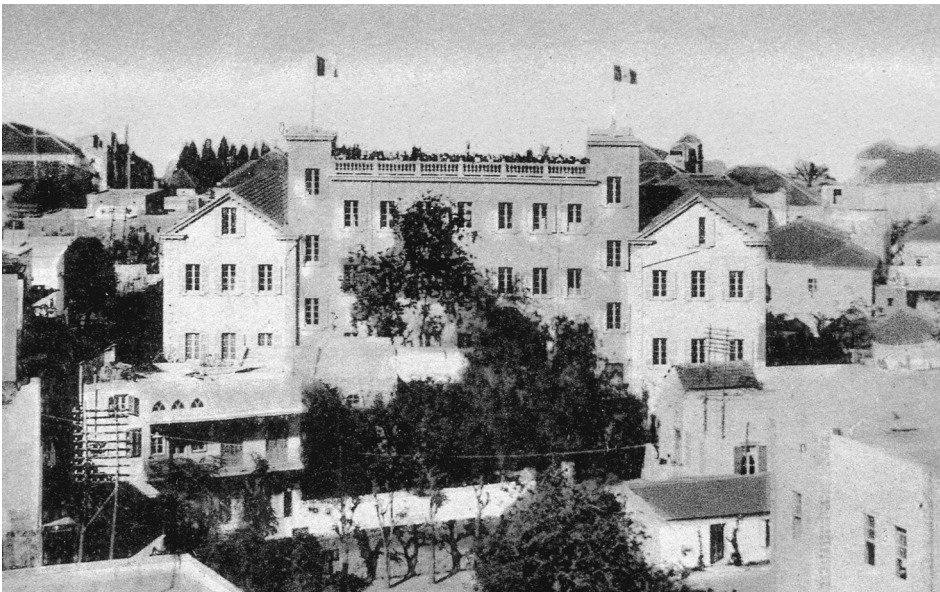


Fig. 14

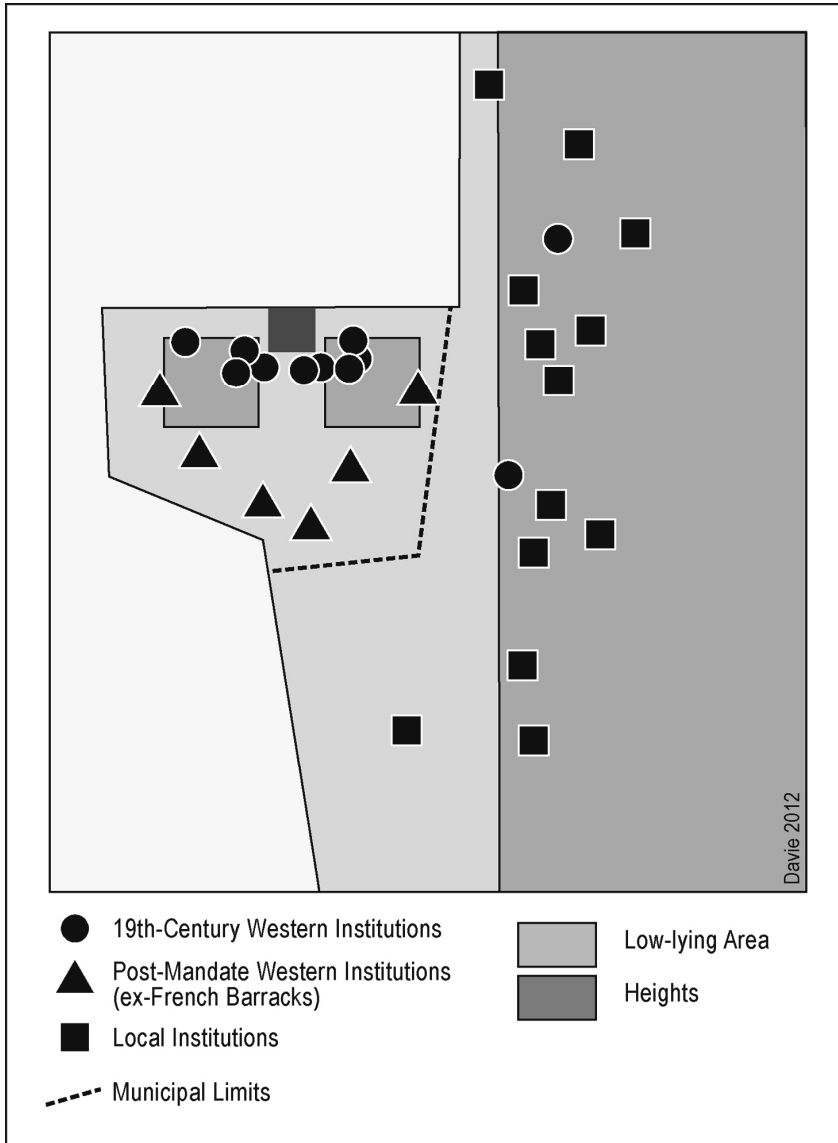


Fig. 15

interpretations of Positivism, ‘modernity’ ended up as a subtle compromise in the competition between various Christian theological orthodoxies³³ (figure 16). Far from following the complete path of what ‘modernity’ implied (making the

³³ Ussama Makdisi, “Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity”, *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), 680–713. The issue of an “Ottoman modernity” or how it was taught in the local Ottoman schools cannot be developed here.

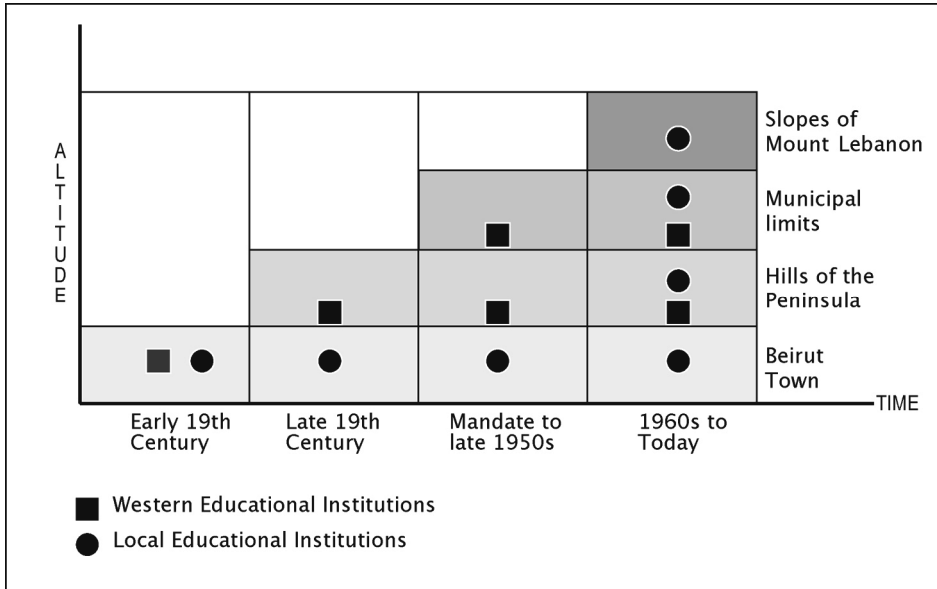


Fig. 16

individual the strategic actor in society through his or her role in a democracy open to all), they consolidated closed confessional attitudes in the local population's worldview to the point that they are still the norm today. These institutions scrupulously avoided introducing revolutionary or progressive ideals such as French *laïcité* or egalitarian citizenship from their symbolically very powerful positions overlooking the city; political modernity *à l'occidentale* was not to be exported to the Levant. In a sense, these institutions, although one of several vectors of the West's technological progress, were socially and politically very conservative. Rather than forging a new progressive-minded elite, they consolidated the traditional local power structures. In retrospective, the architecture of their institutions projected this image of a complacent and self-assured superiority useful only to a tiny minority close to the Western-controlled global economy.

Mandate and Post-Mandate Influences

The dismembering of the Ottoman Empire, the subsequent imposition of Western Mandates on the Middle East, and the 'invention' of new client states further cemented this trajectory: this was the golden age for the church-led French institutions which were thoroughly in favor of the creation of a *Grand Liban* governed by a watered-down version of republican values. Twenty-five years later, World War Two signalled the end of imperial Europe, together with the rise of the USA and its near-total control of the Middle East. As soon as Lebanon became independent, the French Mandate authorities handed over most of their army barracks to

French missionary institutions, further symbolically closing-in Beirut, but from afar. These barracks had been built during the 1920s and 1930s to physically surround the city in case of unrest, and to defend it from external actions. They had been built in strategic positions on hill-tops or along the main roads leading to the heart of the city. Handing over the military buildings (today's *Collège Protestant*, *Lycée Franco-Libanais*, *Sœurs Franciscaines*, *Saint Grégoire*, *Petit Collège de Jambour* in Verdun, *Carmel Saint-Joseph*, etc.) symbolically underlined the fact that if Lebanon was now in fact independent, the country and its capital were still regarded as a central element of the French policy of *Francophonie* and its aim to continue shaping the country's elites. The AUB played a subtler role, forming new elites that acted, by and large, as conduits for the rising US economy and policies in the Middle East.

On the other hand, the new Lebanese educational institutions reacted differently. While the Western institutions maintained their prestige, new Lebanese ones were emerging and sought symbolic presence and domination. One cannot but note that new local schools were being built on hills above the city, and *they* were the ones now observing the capital. From the late 1950s onwards, the sociological and political Mountain³⁴ was now symbolically dominating the city, the latter no longer having the monopoly of the country's economic, political, and cultural control. In the closer suburbs, small religious or secular neighborhood schools opened, 'filling in' the space between the larger Western institutions and thereby redefining public space. They did not cater for the upper bourgeoisie but were responses to the needs of the mainly rural population now flooding into the capital and constituting its main demographic and political component.

In the city itself, the Western institutions were now being surrounded and overlooked by new high-rise buildings – the epitome of liberal capitalism – and are today lost in this concrete jungle. The *habitus* of the city's upper bourgeois also changed, as the Western institutions were no longer the exclusive sources of their cultural capital and value systems. Up to a certain point at least, the French institutions were out of phase with the new post-World War Two world, as they sought to perpetuate a model that was still religion-based. A clear spatial change illustrates the symbolic shift from this cultural model of modernity to that of the US-inspired global economic model adopted by the city's upper bourgeoisie. Instead of living close to the city's centre and its port, this new economic elite chose the highest points of the city, to see better and to be better seen. By overlooking the city from their gated and protected towers and by observing while being unobserved, this new bourgeoisie now clearly projects its claim to dominate all.

³⁴ Albert Hourani, "Ideologies of the Mountain and the City", in: *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon*, Robert Owen, ed., London: Ithaca Press 1976, 33–41.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to clarify the link between the geographical position of a material object – an educational institution – and its symbolic weight. This relationship can be traced back to the Industrial Revolution in Europe; a product of rationalist and positivist thought, it led to the conquest of its periphery by economic and military means. The control of the Eastern Mediterranean required a stable foothold, and Beirut was one of the options. By a change of scale, the Western educational institutions, closely linked to their home countries' geopolitical interests, favored the areas of Beirut's peninsula that overlooked the city and its suburbs. This visual command mirrored their cultural, and, by extension, their political domination over the local 'traditional' society. Through these institutions, the local population was to be made compliant to western culture, religion, and economy, postulated as being ontologically synonymous to 'modernity'. However, the local population, though not hostile to material aspects of this modernity, chose not to follow the model of mass-produced, standardized elites, and adopted a more urban-friendly educational model, more in phase with the needs of an emerging middle-class, which finally took control of the country during the mandate and the republic. Multifaceted identities thus emerged among the city's population, all distinct from the Orientalist clichés.

The end of the mandate and the insertion of Beirut into the new regional and geopolitical context following World War Two led to the physical invisibility of the Western institutions, now surrounded by high-rise buildings, and the proliferation of local educational institutions, all striving for recognition and visibility.

These institutions now symbolically signify that the recently-settled communities in and around Beirut today control its space through a geopolitical shift: the cultural centre, as well as the local understanding of modernity, are now mainly determined by the city's periphery³⁵. Modernity, culture, and identity are now – as ever before – very 'liquid' concepts.³⁶

³⁵ Michael F. Davie, "Beyrouth, de la ville centrée à la ville retournée. Une approche de l'espace public contemporain au Liban", in: *Fonctions, pratiques et figures des espaces publics au Liban. Perspectives comparatives dans l'aire méditerranéenne*, Michael Davie, ed., Beirut and Tours: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts & Centre d'histoire de la ville moderne et contemporaine (2007), 358–384.

³⁶ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge, MA: Polity Press & Blackwell 2000; Zygmunt Bauman, *Identité*, Paris: L'Herne 2010.

Avènement d'une architecture scolaire moderne aux messages ambigus: Beyrouth, 1825–1900

May Davie

L'apparition d'une architecture scolaire à Beyrouth date du début du XIX^e siècle, quand des missionnaires américains ont fondé l'école évangélique sur le flanc de la colline qui domine la ville *intra muros*, là où allait se développer le futur faubourg de Zuqāq Al-Blāṭ. Auparavant, il n'existait pas dans cette ville de monuments spécifiques à l'enseignement, d'écoles proprement dites, dans le sens contemporain du terme.

Depuis cette date, le nombre des fondations scolaires locales et étrangères augmente considérablement et leur nature se transforme. De petites écoles de quartier (*madrasah*) à la base, la plupart deviennent des collèges (*madrasah kubrā*). Vers la fin du siècle, certaines se mettent au service de toute l'agglomération, en dispensant des enseignements supérieurs, et se font appeler *kulliyyah*.

Dans ce mouvement, l'apparition de constructions propres à l'enseignement fut un des événements urbanistiques majeurs.¹ Quoique d'abord de taille modeste et d'aspect relativement sobre, les nouvelles écoles se sont présentées comme des objets singuliers, qui ont non seulement marqué du signe de la modernité le paysage des quartiers où elles étaient implantées, mais qui ont aussi pleinement participé à leur développement. L'architecture scolaire récemment apparue a influencé et accompagné le renouveau urbain que la ville a connu durant cette période. En effet, elle est allée de pair avec l'œuvre modernisante, pour ne pas dire occidentalisante, des *Tanzimāts* et le développement économique qui a vu, simultanément, l'émergence de Beyrouth comme ville portuaire principale.² Ce qui reste pour le moins surprenant dans cette politique d'ouverture et de rapprochement culturel, ce sont les identités ouvertement affichées par quelques-unes de ces fondations, notamment celles des missionnaires occidentaux, à travers des symboles architecturaux ostensibles et au sens équivoque dans une ville où le paraître n'était pas de coutume. Les mosquées elles-mêmes n'étaient pas alors immédiatement visibles au regard de la population, étant noyées dans les souks et au départ conçues sans mise en perspective.³

¹ May Davie, *Beyrouth 1825–1975, un siècle et demi d'urbanisme*, Beyrouth: Ordre des Ingénieurs et Architectes de Beyrouth 2001, 36–39.

² Sur ce contexte, cf. May Davie, «Flux mondiaux, expressions locales, Beyrouth et son port au XIX^e siècle ottoman», *Chronos* 3 (2000), 139–172; Davie, *Beyrouth 1825–1975*, 36–39.

³ On ne pouvait effectivement apercevoir les mosquées ou tout autre monument civil à Beyrouth que si on quittait la vieille ville pour la regarder de loin, en l'occurrence de la butte al-Qanṭārī, de Ghalghūl et du chemin Saint-Dimitri. Ceci était le cas de toutes les villes voisines à cette époque.

Ces nouvelles architectures scolaires récemment inscrites dans le paysage urbain ne sont pas allées sans une transformation dans les représentations et les mentalités des populations locales; cela a entraîné une crispation des sensibilités, provoquant des conflits identitaires au sein des communautés autochtones mais aussi entre celles-ci et les institutions missionnaires, ces dernières étant justement fondées sur la conversion par le biais de la charité et de l'instruction. Les acquis de l'éducation dite «moderne» ont ainsi paradoxalement fait leur cheminement avec une compétition religieuse exacerbée, comme l'article, à sa manière, tente de le montrer. À ces points s'ajoutent les intérêts des établissements étrangers aussi influents et puissants financièrement qu'importants en nombre et en surfaces urbaines occupées; d'autant plus que la situation fut finalement consolidée à leur profit, du fait du recul forcé de l'Empire ottoman sur la scène internationale et du renforcement subséquent de l'influence étrangère à Beyrouth et dans le Mont Liban à partir de 1860.⁴

Cette contribution vise à cerner les tenants et aboutissants de ce facteur de modernité que fut l'avènement des écoles à Beyrouth, afin de saisir, le cas échéant et autant que possible, la réalité derrière le discours moderniste soutenu, le sujet se rapprochant du prisme du langage architectural des établissements scolaires autochtones et étrangers ayant vu le jour à partir du XIX^e siècle jusqu'au tournant du XX^e. Elle s'intéresse essentiellement aux modes d'implantation et aux formes extérieures de ces institutions, en tant que signes et significations à l'œuvre dans le champ idéologique et socioculturel. Elle portera donc sur les effets majeurs de ce processus de signalement tel qu'il est intervenu dans l'espace culturel étudié, tout en sachant que ce qui se joue sur le terrain symbolique traduit en réalité des mutations intervenant dans d'autres domaines, politiques et sociaux notamment.

Partant de quelques exemples concrets d'écoles et de collèges locaux et étrangers nouvellement fondés, nous nous attacherons d'abord à mettre en lumière des modes d'installation différents autant sur le plan strictement urbain que sur celui de la visibilité, c'est-à-dire les messages adressés aux autres écoles, comme à la population en général. Sachant que ces établissements sont dans leur quasi totalité religieux, nous chercherons encore à déceler le sens de cette modernité, contrainte par la variable religieuse et donc biaisée par les sous-entendus idéologiques inhérents. À sa manière, l'architecture exprime ces positionnements différents.

⁴ Sur ce contexte, voir Leila Fawaz, «The City and the Mountain: Beirut's Political Radius in the Nineteenth Century as Revealed in the Crisis of 1860», *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16: 4 (1984), 489-495; Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1994; Engin Akarlı, *The Long Peace*, London et New York: CLS & I.B. Tauris 1993.

Une éducation à l'ancienne

Dans la petite ville qu'était Beyrouth jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle, il n'existait pas d'édifices particuliers à l'enseignement, c'est-à-dire des médersas (ou *madāris* en arabe), littéralement le «lieu où l'on étudie». On trouvait ce genre de monuments dans les villes importantes, les capitales provinciales comme Damas, Alep, Tripoli et Saïda, où l'on dispensait traditionnellement un enseignement coranique et juridique. Certaines parmi ces écoles dataient même du Moyen Âge.⁵

À Beyrouth, l'enseignement coranique était dispensé par les cheikhs dans des salles annexes ou dans les cours des mosquées.⁶ Pour ce qui est des chrétiens, on sait qu'une formation religieuse était assurée par un prêtre dans un local du centre épiscopal grec orthodoxe attenant à la cathédrale Saint-Georges, une sorte de classe cléricale où l'on acceptait aussi des élèves visiteurs.⁷ Dans cette même cathédrale, un cours de religion et de morale était également dispensé aux jeunes de la communauté, après la messe du dimanche. Chrétienne ou musulmane, l'éducation était alors de type *naqli*, ce qui signifie qu'elle était basée sur la mémorisation et la répétition. Elle consistait à apprendre à lire, écrire, compter et surtout réciter par cœur le livre saint. Ce fut le cas encore chez les Pères Capucins, qui prodiguaient depuis le XVIII^e siècle une éducation religieuse aux jeunes de leur paroisse et à des enfants autochtones, maronites et arméniens catholiques.⁸

Il reste à rappeler que le savoir à Beyrouth n'était pas l'apanage seul des religieux, puisque l'enseignement profane et le savoir-faire professionnel, du même type *naqli*, se transmettaient coutumièrement de père en fils ou au sein de la famille élargie. Il arrivait aussi que des jeunes, vers l'âge de 9 ans, soient placés auprès d'un maître artisan ou d'un commerçant qui leur apprenait la lecture, l'écriture, le calcul et accessoirement la religion.⁹ En retour, le jeune servait naturellement de commis à son maître pendant la période de sa formation. Quant à la haute bourgeoisie, elle embauchait habituellement un précepteur pour instruire ses enfants, souvent un laïc. Mais il arrivait que des cheikhs et des prêtres se déplacent dans les domiciles pour cette exigence.¹⁰ Quoi qu'il en fût, toutes

⁵ Lucien Golvin, *Architecture musulmane. La madrasa médiévale*, Aix-en-Provence: Edisud 1995, 39-96.

⁶ Taha al-Walī, *Bayrūt fi al-tārīkh wa-al-ḥadārah wa al-umrān*, Beyrouth: Dār al-ʿilm li-l-muʿallimīn 1993, 206-209.

⁷ Ceux qui désiraient rejoindre le clergé régulier devaient pousser leurs études et étaient suivis directement par l'évêque qui les familiarisait à des notions de théologie et de Droit canon. May Davie, *Atlas des Orthodoxes de Beyrouth et du Mont Liban, 1800-1940*, Beyrouth: Publications de l'Université de Balamand 1999, 42-44.

⁸ Dossier *Archives de Beyrouth, Extrait d'un vieux cahier (1660-1772)*, Paris: Bibliothèque Franciscaine Provinciale des Capucins.

⁹ A. Yāqūb, «Sawt Lubnān», *Al-Kulliyah* (1923), 4-8.

¹⁰ Al-Walī, *Bayrūt*, 232-233. Voir dans ce volume l'article de Lindner sur les missionnaires américains qui ont su tirer profit de cet usage.

ces pratiques traditionnelles, pour ne pas dire informelles, se sont perpétuées jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle, longtemps après l'apparition d'un système éducatif «moderne» et des bâtiments spécifiques à l'enseignement à Beyrouth.

Ce système fait son entrée au début du XIX^e siècle, suite à l'implantation d'établissements missionnaires occidentaux qui introduisent une logique d'instruction propre, ouvrant la voie à un enseignement résolument structuré et standardisé dans ses méthodes et ses matières, et dorénavant dispensé dans un bâtiment particulier: l'école. Durant les décennies suivantes, ce savoir-faire dit «moderne» est progressivement adopté et réadapté par des institutions autochtones nouvellement fondées, transformant irrévocablement l'enseignement *naqli* traditionnel en un enseignement '*aqli*, autrement dit rationnel, soit «moderne» et donc plus approprié aux exigences de la vie à cette époque.

Tout un siècle de fondation d'écoles

La première école de Beyrouth, dans le sens moderne du terme, est l'école évangélique fondée en 1825 par la mission américaine, à proximité de son église, sur le flanc sud-ouest de la ville *intra muros*, non loin de Bāb Ya'qūb. Quelques années plus tard, une autre école évangélique ouvre ses portes sur le même site, puis d'autres encore, qui verront successivement le jour sous l'occupation égyptienne de Beyrouth, entre 1832 et 1840. En réaction, à cette même période, les communautés autochtones fondent trois écoles consacrées à l'enseignement profane et désignées par *madrasah*: une grecque orthodoxe,¹¹ une sunnite¹² et une troisième ouverte par As'ad Khayyāt, un orthodoxe converti au protestantisme.¹³ De son côté, le voyageur Gérard de Nerval nous apprend la présence, dans la vieille ville et à la même date, d'une école dirigée par une dame originaire de Marseille, Madame Carlès, précisant que c'était la seule école à enseigner la langue française à Beyrouth.¹⁴

Sous la restauration ottomane, le nombre d'écoles locales et étrangères augmente de manière accélérée. D'une dizaine en 1840, celles-ci passent à plus de 80 vers 1890 et se trouvent disséminées dans l'ensemble des anciens et des nouveaux

¹¹ Notamment la Madrasah al-Ūlā. Cf. Assad Rustom, *The Church of the City of God Great Antioch*, vol. 3, Beyrouth: Publications an-Nūr, vol. 3 1958, 186–191; May Davie, «Le couvent Saint-Georges de *Bayrūt al-Qadīmat*», *Chronos* 1 (1996), 7–31.

¹² Il s'agit de la Madrasah Hammām al-Ṣaghīr. Cf. Al-Walī, *Beyrouth*, 232–236.

¹³ Assaad Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon with the Life and Travels of Assaad Y. Kayat*, London: Madden 1847. Pour les indications bibliographiques, la transcription de As'ad Y. Khayyāt comme «Assaad Y. Kayat» sera maintenue en correspondance avec la publication originale. Pour une biographie rapide de ce personnage et une mise en perspective, cf. Youssef Mouawad, «Trois hommes et un siècle. Approches de la modernité au XIX^e siècle», dans: *Histoire, sociétés et pouvoir aux Proche et Moyen Orient*, Charles Chartouni éd., vol. 1, Paris: Geuthner 2001, 144.

¹⁴ Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient*, Paris: éd. Garnier Fr. 1851, 321.

quartiers résidentiels de la cité. Ces quelques décennies qui ont accompagné le passage de l'informel au formel pour ce qui est de l'instruction des enfants constituent un moment clé de l'histoire de Beyrouth. Elles accompagnent le départ d'un développement urbain général et sans précédent de l'agglomération.¹⁵ En parallèle, l'architecture scolaire a naturellement évolué, avec la conversion progressive des petites écoles en des ensembles caractérisés par la monumentalité, les grandes surfaces occupées et des formes extérieures particulières. Cela se trouve par ailleurs facilité par la politique de centralisation et de «modernisation» des *waqfs*¹⁶ et par la mise en exécution, vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, d'un plan d'urbanisme éventrant la vieille ville et détruisant les écoles coraniques et les écoles du dimanche.¹⁷

Au même moment, le système éducatif est progressivement rénové. L'enseignement profane et l'apprentissage professionnel ne sont plus une affaire de famille, mais celle d'institutions spécialisées offrant une formation structurée et hiérarchisée suivant le modèle importé par les missionnaires occidentaux jugé d'avant-garde. Aux programmes, des matières «modernes» sont incorporées (Littérature, Sciences, Histoire, Langues, etc.).¹⁸ Rationalisme et positivisme sont les maîtres-mots.

Les écoles, qui sont successivement apparues, présentent entre elles un air de ressemblance. Elles arborent presque toutes des traits communs caractéristiques de la nouvelle architecture beyrouthine qui fut provoquée par des dynamiques d'évolution endogènes de l'art de bâtir et par des inspirations stylistiques externes et dont le trait le plus notable est la triple arcade sur la façade principale. Certaines institutions éducatives missionnaires se sont pourtant distinguées en se retranchant derrière des murailles hautes et aveugles, tout en arborant des symboles identitaires dressés de manière ostentatoire sur leurs toitures et dans leurs cours et jardins: horloges, tours, clochers, statuaires, arbres exotiques... Autant de signes visuels pour le moins dissonants en rapport avec le message de charité et de modernité prôné par ces institutions pour justifier leur présence à Beyrouth, une ville qui avait commencé à sortir de sa propre muraille, dont les quartiers anciens et nouveaux n'étaient pas cloisonnés, et qui, de surcroît, fonctionnait encore à l'heure arabe.

Ce marquage territorial n'a cependant pas touché toutes les institutions missionnaires. Il n'a pas non plus affecté de la même manière, ni à la même vitesse

¹⁵ Davie, *Beyrouth 1825*, 36–39. Des achats de terrains *extra muros* par les nouvelles fondations scolaires apparaissent dans les archives du *waqf* sunnite, cf. Aurore Adada, *Réseaux socio-culturels et économiques à Beyrouth ottoman (1843–1909) à travers les waqfs*, Université d'Aix en Provence: Thèse de Doctorat 2009, chap. 4.

¹⁶ Pour les orthodoxes, voir May Davie, *La millat grecque-orthodoxe et la ville de Beyrouth, 1800–1940: structuration interne et rapport à la cité*, Université de Paris IV La Sorbonne: Thèse de Doctorat 1993, 244–249. Pour ce qui est des musulmans sunnites, cf. Al-Wali, *Bayrūt*, 235–238.

¹⁷ Davie, *Beyrouth 1825*, 51.

¹⁸ Davie, *La millat grecque-orthodoxe*, 249–250; Al-Wali, *Bayrūt*, 234–238.

et intensité, celles qui ont choisi ce mode du paraître. Pour démêler cette complexité, nous avons établi le tableau suivant pour classer les établissements scolaires qui sont nés à Beyrouth entre le début du XIX^e siècle et le tournant du XX^e (Fig. 1).¹⁹ Le tableau présente le nom, la localisation et la date de fondation de ces établissements, et signale la présence de symboles excentriques. Il mentionne les emplacements successifs des établissements qui ont changé de quartier pour s'agrandir ou qui sont passés d'une congrégation à une autre.

Comme le montre le tableau, cinq types ont pu être distingués, en rapport évident avec la chronologie, mais surtout en fonction de leur visibilité dans l'espace de la ville.

<i>Cible</i>	<i>Écoles de Beyrouth</i>	<i>Ouverture</i>	<i>Localisation</i>	<i>Signes extérieurs</i>
<i>Début XIX^e i</i>				
Sunnites	Écoles coraniques		Vieille ville	
Grecs Orthodoxes	École cléricale		Vieille ville (Charqiyeh)	
Capucins	École de paroisse	18 ^e s	Vieille ville	
Mission évangélique américaine	École pour garçons et filles	1825	Bāb Ya'qūb	
Mission évangélique américaine	École Mme Bird pour filles	1830	Dans sa maison, Bāb Ya'qūb	
?	École Mme Carlès	avant 1843	Vieille ville	
<i>Occupation égyptienne</i>				
<i>Libertés publiques</i>				
Mission évangélique américaine	École Mme Thomas	vers 1832	Dans sa maison	
Mission évangélique américaine	École des filles de Beyrouth Mme Smith	1835	Bāb Ya'qūb	
Mission évangélique américaine	École pour garçons	1835	Bāb Ya'qūb	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Bayrūt al-Ūlā/Trois Docteurs	1835	Vieille ville (quartier Charqiyeh)	
Privée	École As'ad Y. Khayyāt	1840	?	
Sunnites	Madrasat Ḥammām al-Ṣaghīr	1840	Vieille ville (Ḥammām al-Ṣaghīr)	

¹⁹ Ce tableau est basé sur de nombreuses sources primaires et secondaires et demeure sans doute non exhaustif. Parmi les principales références: Victor Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine. Géographie administrative*, Paris: E. Lehoux Éditeurs 1896; Naim N. Atiyeh, «Schools of Beirut», dans: *Beirut – Crossroads of Cultures*, Beyrouth: Beirut College for Women 1970, 133–166; Henry Diab et Lars Wahlin, «The Geography of Education in Syria in 1882. With a Translation of 'Education in Syria' by Shahin Makarius, 1883», *Geografiska Annaler* 65B: 2, 105–128; Al-Wali, *Bayrūt*, 228–235; Davie, *Atlas*, 48–53. Voir aussi les ouvrages commémoratifs de diverses institutions et cités plus loin.

<i>Cible</i>	<i>Écoles de Beyrouth</i>	<i>Ouverture</i>	<i>Localisation</i>	<i>Signes extérieurs</i>
<i>Restauration ottomane</i>				
<i>Réformisme, modernité</i>				
Catholique, Saint Joseph de l'Apparition	Sœurs de la Charité	1846	?	
Catholique, Lazaristes	Filles de la Charité	1849	Assūr	
Mission évangélique américaine	École des garçons	1851	Bāb Ya'qūb	
Publique ottomane	Madrasa al-ʿAskariyyah	1852	?	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Mār Jirjis	1854	Vieille ville	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Ra's Bayrūt	1854 ?	Ra's Bayrūt	
Sunnites	Mosquée Nufayrah	vers 1855	Vieille ville	
Catholique, Lazaristes	Filles de la Charité	vers 1855	Ra's Bayrūt	
Catholique, Saint Joseph de l'Apparition	Sœurs de la Charité pour garçons	vers 1856	Ra's Bayrūt	
<i>L'après-guerre druzo-maronite</i>				
<i>Apport démographique</i>				
Mission anglaise	Mission anglo-syrienne	1860	Zuqāq al-Blāt	
Catholique, Lazaristes	Filles de la Charité	1860	Assūr	×
Protestant, Prussiens	Diaconesses de Kaiserswerth	1860	ʿAyn al-Mrayseh	×
Mission catholique	École de Ghāzīr à Beyrouth	1860	Ghalghūl	
Mission évangélique Américaine	Beirut Female Seminary	1861	Zuqāq al-Blāt	×
Catholique	Saint Vincent de Paul	1861	Khandaq al-Ghamiq	
Catholique	Saint Charles	1861	ʿAyn al-Mrayseh	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasah al-ūlā li-l-Banāt	1862	Sayfi	
Privée/Sans obédience	Madrasah al-Waṭaniyyah	1862	Zuqāq al-Blāt	
Syriaques	École syriaque	1864	?	
Israélites	École Alliance Israélite Universelle	1865	Wādi Abū Jamil	
Grecs catholiques	École patriarcale	1865	Zuqāq al-Blāt	
Mission évangélique américaine	Syrian Protestant College	1866	Zuqāq al-Blāt	×
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Mār Mikhayīl	1868	Muṣayṭbeh/ Mazrā'ah	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Mār Niqūlā	1868	Rmayl	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Ra's Bayrūt	1868	Ra's Bayrūt	
<i>Les grands collèges</i>				
<i>Centralisation et pénétration coloniale</i>				
Catholique	Dames de Nazareth	1871	Achrāfiyeh	×
Privée/Sunnites	Rawḍat al Madāris	1871	Assūr	
Privée/Sunnites	Madrasa Qādiriyyah	1871	?	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Mār Ilyās	1871-72	Muṣayṭbeh	

<i>Cible</i>	<i>Écoles de Beyrouth</i>	<i>Ouverture</i>	<i>Localisation</i>	<i>Signes extérieurs</i>
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat al-Banāt	1871-72	Muṣayṭbeh/ Mazrā'ah	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Mār Niqālā li-l-Banāt	1871-72	Rmayl	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat Ra's Bayrūt li-l-Banāt	1871-72	Ra's Bayrūt	
Évangélistes Américains	Syrian Protestant College	1866	Ra's Bayrūt	×
Maronites	La Sagesse	1874	Ghābeh	
Communauté juive	Grand Collège Israélite (Tiferet Yisra'el)	1875	Achrāfiyeh	
Publique ottomane	Madrasah al-Ruchdiyyah al-Harbiyyah	1877	Hawd al-Wilāyah	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat al-Qirāt (future ZEI)	1878	Qirāt	
Sunnites	Maqāsid	1878		
Grecs Orthodoxes	Zahrat al-Ihsān	1882	Achrāfiyeh	
Mission catholique	Collège et Université Saint-Joseph	1883	Ghalghūl	×
Sunnites	Maqāsid pour filles	1883	Santiyeh	
Sunnites	Maqāsid pour garçons	1883	Sūq Bazarkān	
Publique ottomane	Kulliyyah Sulṭāniyyah / I'dādiyyah	1883	Qabr al-Wali	
Catholique	Sacré Cœur	1894	Jemmayzeh	×
Privée/Sunnites	Madrasa Adabiyya	1895	?	
Privée/Sunnites	Madrasat al-Taraqi al-Waṭaniyyah	1895	Sūq al-Sarmātiyeh	
Privée/Sunnites	Kulliyyah al-'Abbāsiy- yah / al-'Uthmāniyyah	1895	?	
Catholique	Saint-François des Capucins	1900	Ra's Bayrūt	
Catholique	Collège du Sacré-Cœur (Réouverture)	1904-1913	Rue du Fleuve	×
Publique ottomane	Maktab al-Sanāyeh	1905	Vieille ville, ensuite Ṣanāyeh	
Mission Laïque française	Lycée de Beyrouth	1907	Tabaris, rue de Damas	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Madrasat al-Salām	1906	Achrāfiyeh	
Grecs Orthodoxes	Trois Docteurs (Réouverture)	1912	Nahr	

Fig. 1 : Tableau des établissements scolaires de Beyrouth : localisation, dates de fondation et présence de symboles excentriques



Fig. 2 : École grecque orthodoxe des garçons de Ra's Bayrūt (Archives de l'évêché grec orthodoxe de Beyrouth)²⁰

Dans le genre vernaculaire, la petite école de quartier

Par chance, nous possédons trois photos de petites écoles qui ont perduré dans leur état original jusqu'en 1900 et qui nous permettent de voir à quoi ressemblaient les premières écoles de quartier de Beyrouth; il s'agit de trois écoles grecques orthodoxes des faubourgs de Ra's Bayrūt et de Muṣayṭbeh (Figs. 2, 3 et 4).

Dans la figure 2, apparaît une construction modeste, basse et de petite taille, implantée en pleine nature sur une surface relativement restreinte, sans cour ni enceinte. À l'instar des architectures domestiques qui ont vu le jour depuis les années 1830 dans les banlieues de Beyrouth,²¹ cette école est d'aspect sobre, son système constructif sommaire (quatre murs porteurs et une couverture plate), et son architecture fonctionnelle et limitée *a minima* (quelques pièces alignées). Il est clair que le pari architectural de ce genre de construction est de servir sim-

²⁰ Cette figure et les deux suivantes sont tirées de Davie, *Atlas*, 51.

²¹ <http://www.almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/900/902/MAY-Davie/maisons-I/html/> (consulté le 28 janvier 2015), et May Davie, «Traditional *Beiruti* suburban architecture in a local and regional perspective», Papier présenté au colloque international «The Mediterranean city», Université Mustafa Kemal, Antioche (Turquie), 10–12 October 2005.



Fig. 3 : École grecque orthodoxe des filles de Ra's Bayrūt (Archives de l'évêché grec orthodoxe de Beyrouth)

plement d'enveloppe aux activités scolaires, non d'adresser un message visuel aux usagers par le biais de formes extérieures ornementées.

Dans les photographies en figures 3 et 4 dont les clichés semblent avoir été pris ultérieurement, on note la manière dont ces écoles ont évolué. On aperçoit des façades plus soignées et la présence d'une toiture pyramidale à tuiles rouges.²² Hormis ces nouveautés, l'aspect de ces deux constructions scolaires est tout aussi vernaculaire que celui de l'exemple précédent et l'enjeu architectural apparemment analogue: une structure fonctionnelle et une occupation informelle de l'espace.

Il en était pareil de l'école évangélique américaine en figure 5, bien avant le développement de cette mission dans les années 1860. Quoiqu'édifié à deux étages, cet établissement semble effectivement être fidèle au même principe de construction.

²² Les tuiles rouges dites «de Marseille» sont introduites à Beyrouth dans les années 1850 et leur emploi généralisé vers 1870. May Davie, «Typologies des demeures traditionnelles au Liban», dans: *Manuel pour l'entretien et la réhabilitation de l'architecture traditionnelle libanaise*, Avignon: École d'Avignon, Équipe Corpus Levant (EUROMED) 2004.



Fig. 4 : École grecque orthodoxe des garçons de Muşaytbeh (Archives de l'évêché grec orthodoxe de Beyrouth)

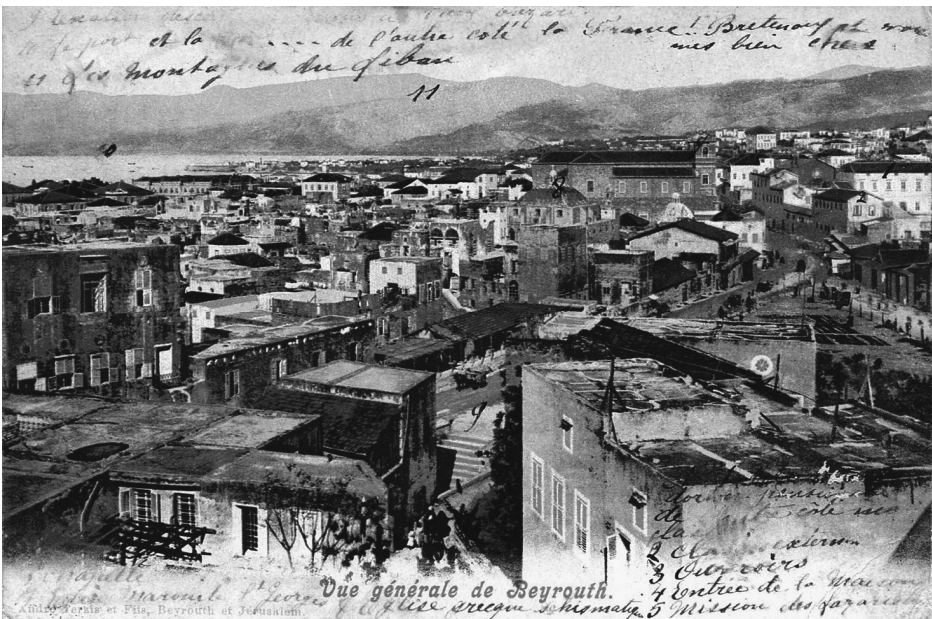


Fig. 5 : Tout-à-fait à droite et au premier plan, l'école américaine de Beyrouth à la fin des années 1850 (Davie coll. pers.)

L'école de type ottoman «moderne»

Dans les années 1850, pour répondre à la demande d'instruction d'une population en nombre croissant et suite à des directives impériales pour séculariser l'enseignement,²³ un nouveau type d'architecture scolaire apparaît: des écoles de taille plus grande et de mode d'implantation différent. L'école publique I'dādiyyah (Fig. 6) en est l'exemple le plus probant, s'agissant d'une construction de plus d'un niveau, implantée en plein milieu urbain. On peut encore classer dans cette catégorie l'école gratuite Saint-Vincent-de-Paul²⁴ ainsi que les collèges Sacré-Cœur²⁵ et Israélite²⁶, quoique ces derniers soient d'apparence bien plus sobre.

Il est remarquable que ces écoles soient généralement ornementées de la triple arcade beyrouthine sur leur façade principale. À comparer avec les modèles précédents, elles se caractérisent aussi par une certaine monumentalité, un extérieur soigné (mise en valeur des ouvertures, adjonction de frontons) et par la recherche de commodités (œils de bœuf, galeries...).

Ces écoles «modernes» présentent certes un air original dans le paysage urbain de cette période. Elles n'affichent pas moins une liaison avec le passé pour ce qui est de la forme générale du bâtiment et de sa structure. Il s'agit effectivement de constructions compactes répondant d'abord au principe de la fonctionnalité, leur composition étant concise, avec des salles de classe alignées le long d'un couloir ou autour d'un hall central. Comme les modèles qui les ont précédés, ces institutions n'affichent pas de signes identitaires ostentatoires. Ils se rapprochent cependant pour la plupart de l'architecture domestique qui apparaît à cette époque, à savoir la maison beyrouthine aux trois arcs,²⁷ qui fut également adoptée par les nouveaux bâtiments publics, les *khans* et sérails de construction récente.

²³ Les réformateurs ottomans des *Tanzimāts* avaient pris conscience de la nécessité de mettre sur pied un système éducatif détaché de la pédagogie religieuse, afin de façonner des hommes capables de gérer la modernité avec une pleine efficacité. Stanford J. et Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1977, 106–115.

²⁴ On peut voir une image de ce monument dans CSG (Collège du Sacré-Cœur), *Historique du collège du Sacré-Cœur de Beyrouth. 1894–1994*, Beyrouth: Mutuelle des anciens élèves et des écoles des Frères au Liban 1995, 27.

²⁵ Voir le livre commémoratif du centenaire de ce collège (CSG, *Historique*).

²⁶ Ce collège est une création de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, fondée par des notables israélites français et chargée, sur le modèle des missions catholiques françaises, de régénérer les juifs d'Orient (Henry Laurens, *Le royaume impossible. La France et la genèse du monde arabe*, Paris: Armand Colin 1990, 126). Cf. aussi l'article de Julia Hauser sur l'Alliance Israélite Universelle dans ce volume.

²⁷ Sur l'apparition de cette architecture beyrouthine et son influence régionale, cf. Michael F. Davie, éd., *La maison beyrouthine aux trois arcs. Une architecture bourgeoise du Levant*, Beyrouth et Tours: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts & Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe 2003.

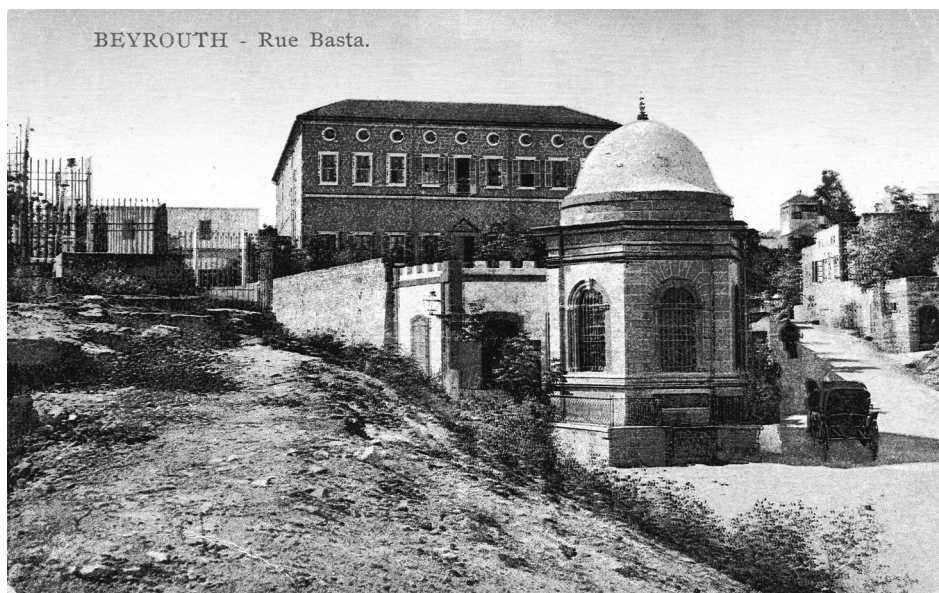


Fig. 6 : L'école l'dādiyyah, dans sa forme finale vers la fin du XIX^e siècle (Davie coll. pers.)

L'architecture scolaire pavillonnaire

Le troisième type d'établissement scolaire qui est aussi né à Beyrouth au début des années 1850 est l'architecture pavillonnaire. Il est introduit par les missionnaires américains qui se sont démarqués par une logique d'installation propre: un ensemble de bâtiments réservés chacun à une fonction scolaire précise et disposés de manière aérée dans un espace arboré, à la manière romantique anglo-saxonne.

Le prototype est évidemment celui des écoles de la mission américaine qui apparaît en figure 7; il s'agit de quatre bâtiments disposés sans hiérarchie les uns par rapport aux autres, mais autour d'un édifice qui domine l'installation, celui de l'église.²⁸ Un autre trait particulier à cet établissement est l'importance de la surface urbaine occupée, en comparaison avec la taille des parcelles des quartiers voisins et celles de la vieille ville *intra muros* par exemple (Fig. 8). Une autre originalité est la tour d'horloge aux formes néogothiques, seul élément saillant dans le paysage *extra muros* du Beyrouth de cette époque.

²⁸ Un plan est présenté dans Hans Gebhardt, Dorothee Sack, Ralf Bodenstern et al., eds., *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut – The Quarter of Zokak al-Blat*, Beyrouth: Orient-Institut Beirut 2005 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 97), 354.



Fig. 7: La mission américaine dans le secteur du Bâb Ya'qûb. (Davie coll. pers.)



Fig. 8 : Extrait de la carte du cadastre de 1931 montrant en encadré la surface occupée par la mission américaine en comparaison avec le parcellaire des quartiers voisins (Régie du cadastre, d'après les plans cadastraux établis en 1928–1930, feuille 7).

Il reste à signaler qu'avec l'apparition de ce genre d'institutions, on ne peut plus parler d'une mission, de ses néophytes et de son école, mais d'un complexe éducatif multifonctionnel attirant une population de tout horizon et comprenant séminaire, école normale, imprimerie, bibliothèque et orphelinat.²⁹ Il ne s'agit d'ailleurs plus d'une école, mais d'un collège, un véritable établissement.

L'architecture scolaire de typologie monacale

Le quatrième modèle d'établissement scolaire est apparu à Beyrouth dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle, au sein de monastères tenus par des ordres religieux européens implantés à Beyrouth, à quelques mètres de la vieille ville *intra muros*. Au plan architectural, les locaux scolaires se présentent sous la forme d'un couvent, les religieux eux-mêmes logeant, selon le cas, dans un étage ou dans un des corps du bâtiment.

Ce modèle est inspiré naturellement de l'architecture ecclésiastique européenne, mais aussi de celle des écoles de la Troisième République en France. Les prototypes sont l'école des Filles de la Charité fondée en 1860 (Fig. 9)³⁰ et celle des diaconesses de Kaiserswerth³¹ ouverte la même année (Figs. 10 et 11) respectivement dans les monastères de ces deux congrégations, avec leurs galeries construites autour d'une cour plantée, selon les impératifs de l'urbanisme hygiéniste en vigueur en Europe.³²

Comme toute architecture monacale, ces établissements sont hiérarchisés et les corps de bâtiment figés en U ou en O autour d'une cour, permettant une surveillance panoptique. Ces institutions se particularisent par leur taille imposante et leur architecture innovante en comparaison avec les bâtiments des quartiers récents de Beyrouth. Elles rappellent néanmoins le plan des ensembles religieux musulmans. Ces établissements renvoient encore aux monuments officiels ottomans modernes, notamment la caserne et l'hôpital militaire qui ont vu le jour à

²⁹ L'orphelinat accueillera, entre autres, de jeunes réfugiés des massacres de Damas.

³⁰ Albert Fauvel, *Nos religieuses dans les missions. Patriotisme et dévouement*, Lille, Paris et Bruges: Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie 1904, 23-30; Pierre Corcket, *Les lazaristes et les filles de la charité au Proche-Orient*, Beyrouth: Maison des Lazaristes 1983.

³¹ Pour une description de cet établissement, cf. May Davie, «Beyrouth au temps de la visite de Guillaume II en 1898», dans: *Baalbek: Image and Monument, 1898-1998*, Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler et Angelika Neuwirth, éd.s., Beyrouth: Orient-Institut Beirut 1998 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 69), 97-115.

³² On peut encore citer dans cette catégorie le collège du Sacré-Cœur (qui remplaça l'école de 1904, pour l'agrandir encore de manière monumentale vers 1930), celui des Dames de Nazareth ainsi que le Petit collège des Pères Jésuites. Sur l'installation des missionnaires jésuites à Beyrouth et leurs écoles, voir Sami Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des Jésuites*, vol. 1: 1816-1845, Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq 1985; Sami Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban à travers les archives des Jésuites*, vol. 2: 1846-1862, Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq 1991.



Fig. 9 : Établissement des Filles de la Charité (Davie coll. pers.)

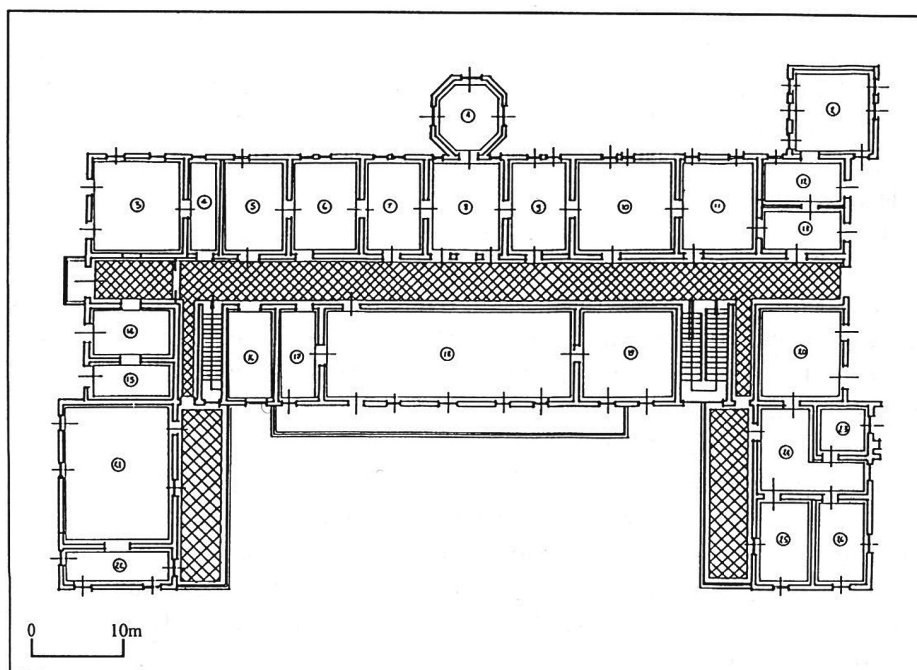


Fig. 10 : Plan de l'établissement des diaconesses de Kaiserswerth (Extrait de Masson 1995, modifié)³³

³³ Wilfried Masson, *La politique de la France à l'égard des missions catholiques et protestantes allemandes à Beyrouth, 1918-1920*, Université Lyon II: Mémoire de Maîtrise 1995.



Fig. 11 : Établissement des diaconesses du Kaiserswerth (Davie coll. pers.)

la même période³⁴ et auxquels ils empruntent par ailleurs l'ornement distinctif de l'architecture beyrouthine, en l'occurrence la triple arcade. Mais ce qui individualise réellement ces établissements, ce sont les symboles identitaires flanqués sur leur façade principale: clocher,³⁵ horloge, enceinte haute et crénelée, tour, coupole, sans compter la couverture de tuiles rouges, qu'ils seront d'ailleurs parmi les premiers à adopter sur l'ensemble de leurs monuments.

Signalons encore que les établissements missionnaires de ce genre furent prévus pour être affectés à des fonctions multiples. Ils abritaient orphelinats, pensionnats et écoles normales ainsi que professionnelles, et leur aire d'influence était l'ensemble de l'agglomération, voire plus loin encore, le Mont Liban.

Il convient enfin de noter que ce modèle organisationnel, à cheval entre l'architecture religieuse et l'architecture scolaire, a inspiré les établissements que les communautés religieuses autochtones allaient construire ou reconstruire à partir de 1880. Les collèges grecs orthodoxes des Trois Docteurs (Fig. 12),³⁶ Zahrat

³⁴ Le premier étage de la caserne est apparu en 1853 et le second en 1861, en même temps que l'hôpital militaire (Davie, *Beyrouth*, 40). Sur l'urbanisme militaire moderne né en Occident au XVII^e siècle et inspiré de l'ordre du monastère médiéval, cf. Michel Ragon, *L'homme et les villes*, Paris: Albin Michel 1995, 163.

³⁵ L'emploi des clochers se généralise à Beyrouth et dans le Mont Liban vers la fin des années 1860.

³⁶ Davie, *Atlas*, 50-54; Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1966, 181.



Fig. 12 : Le collège grec orthodoxe des Trois Docteurs (Davie coll. pers.)

al-Iḥsān³⁷ et Saint-Élie Btinā,³⁸ ainsi que le collège maronite de la Sagesse³⁹ en sont des exemples, sans toutefois que ces derniers n'aient adopté de signes extérieurs ostentatoires.

³⁷ Sur le contexte historique de la fondation de cette école, son transfert à un nouvel emplacement et le choix de sa structure architecturale proposée par le consul danois Julius Loytved, voir Davie, *La millat grecque-orthodoxe*, 211–213, 249–251; Davie, *Atlas*, 77–78.

³⁸ Davie, *Atlas*, 80–81.

Le quartier-jardin

Le dernier modèle d'établissement éducatif cerné au prisme de l'architecture est le «quartier-jardin».⁴⁰ Contrairement à tous les modèles d'implantation entrevus jusque-là, il s'agit d'une série de monuments édifiés dans un parc très étendu, à l'échelle de tout un quartier de la ville. Le quartier-jardin se différencie aussi des autres modèles du fait qu'il est affecté à des enseignements supérieurs, des universités appelées *kulliyāt*, et non plus à des écoles et à des collèges.

L'exemple le plus parlant est celui du nouveau *Syrian Protestant College*, qui est transféré en 1873 dans le quartier de Ra's Bayrūt pour en occuper tout le flanc septentrional jusqu'au bord de la mer: le *promontory*, comme l'appellait le missionnaire Daniel Bliss.⁴¹ Comme il en fut auparavant à Bāb Ya'qūb, cette installation est de type pavillonnaire. Elle comporte pareillement plusieurs corps de bâtiments à présent polarisés autour du bâtiment du Collège Hall. Il est surtout remarquable que la surface de cette institution occupe l'essentiel du quartier de Ra's Bayrūt de cette époque et que les bâtiments qui la composent soient, de surface comme de volume, environ quatre fois plus importants que les constructions résidentielles avoisinantes (Fig. 13). C'est sans compter l'aspect satellitaire de cet ensemble démesuré, puisqu'il fonctionne encore en réseau avec d'autres établissements (pensionnats, hôpitaux...) qui sont de son obédience, mais qui ont été établis dans d'autres coins de l'agglomération.

Comme il en était encore à Bāb Ya'qūb avant 1873, le pari architectural du *Syrian Protestant College* n'est pas seulement la fonctionnalité. À l'urbanisme naturaliste de tradition anglo-saxonne s'ajoute en effet le besoin de visibilité. Des décors «parlants» (tour, horloge, observatoire, décors néo-gothiques, arbres exotiques, etc.) font effectivement partie de la prouesse architecturale et urbanistique de cette fondation (Fig. 14).

En symétrie avec le *Syrian Protestant College*, on pourrait inclure dans cette catégorie l'Université Saint-Joseph des Pères Jésuites qui fut adjointe au collège préexistant et à une imprimerie pour former un ensemble de grande surface.⁴² Toutefois, par l'aspect de certains de ses monuments et la surface réduite de ses espaces verts, cet établissement emprunte bien plus à l'architecture monacale. C'est sans compter que cet ensemble était éclaté entre Ghalghūl et Ra's al-Naba'a, et ne se présentait pas comme une unité territoriale comme le *Syrian Protestant College*.

³⁹ Voir le livre commémoratif du jubilé de ce collège, *Yūbil madrasat al-Ḥikmah Bayrūt. 125 sanab*, Beyrouth [s. p.] 2000.

⁴⁰ Sur cet urbanisme qui a pris son essor en Grande Bretagne en réaction aux concentrations urbaines insalubres qui ont suivi la révolution industrielle, lire Michel Ragon, *Histoire de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme modernes*, vol. 2, Paris: Casterman 1986, 13-34.

⁴¹ Daniel Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus*, Beyrouth: American University of Beirut 1994, 25.

⁴² Kuri, *Une histoire*.

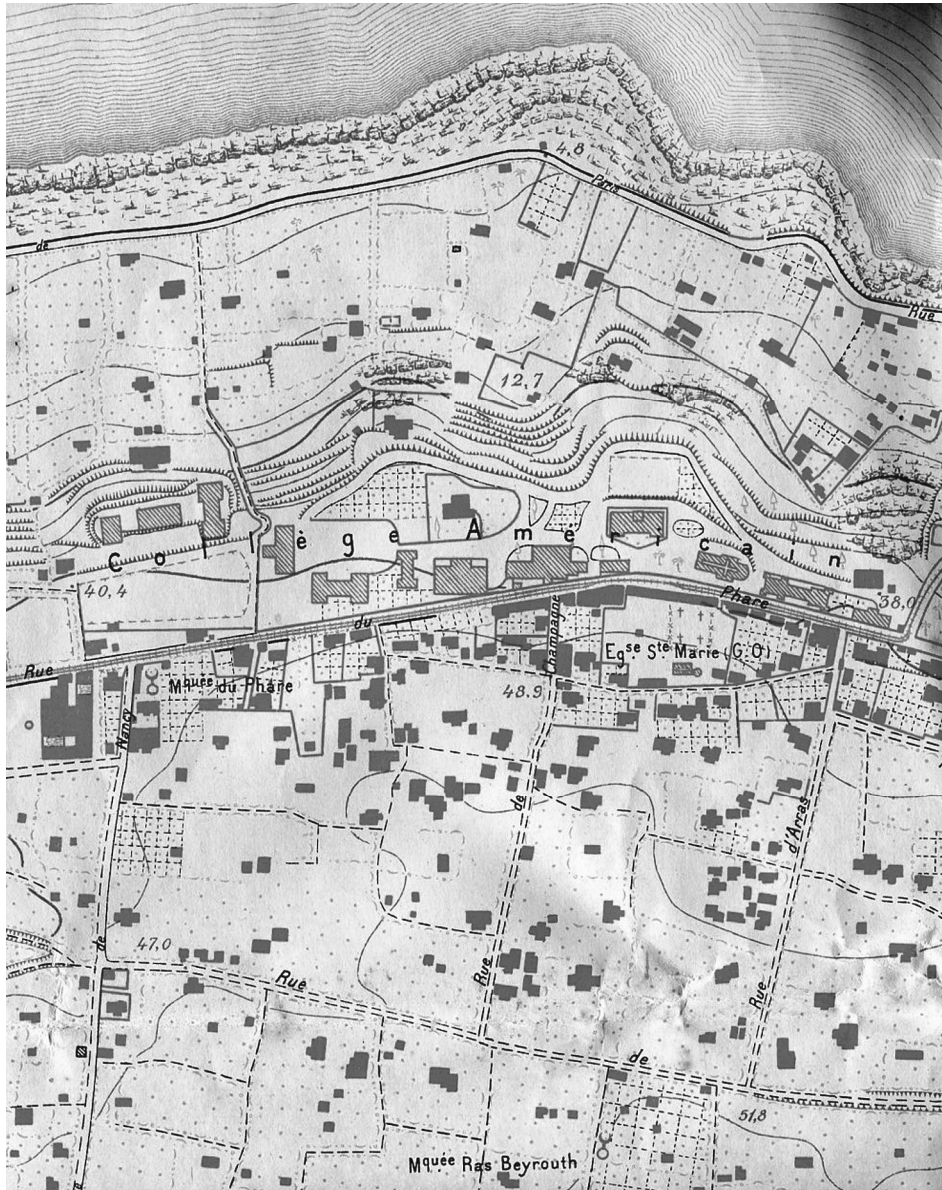


Fig. 13 : Carte de Beyrouth au 1/5 000. Troupes françaises du Levant, 1931. Les bâtiments américains apparaissent en hachuré au nord de la rue du Phare



Fig. 14 : Le Syrian Protestant College vers 1920 (Davie coll. pers.)

Signes et signifiants

Ayant comparé les établissements scolaires qui sont apparus tout au long du XIX^e siècle, nous avons retracé l'évolution de l'architecture scolaire beyrouthine. D'un modèle vernaculaire de conception spontanée, celle-ci a évolué en des créations de plus en plus élaborées, certaines installations déclinant même de vrais modèles urbanistiques.

Nous avons constaté d'emblée que la différence entre ces typologies ne correspond pas à une distance entre écoles locales et écoles étrangères ; de nombreuses institutions autochtones s'étant inspirées de modèles étrangers, à l'instar des collèges de la Sagesse et de Zahrat al-Ihsān qui ont adopté le modèle monacal. Il faut encore rappeler que les collèges étrangers n'ont pas tous eu recours à des formes distinctives pour marquer leur emprise territoriale, la visibilité n'étant apparemment pas pour eux un objectif en soi. Au contraire, la présence de marques identitaires concernait un nombre relativement restreint d'institutions et semblait plutôt avoir été fonction du contexte historique. C'est ce qui ressort du tableau en figure 1 où le changement est perceptible dès le début des années 1860, date charnière qui a transformé la donne géopolitique régionale, suite à la guerre civile entre druzes et maronites de la montagne et la consolidation de l'influence des puissances étrangères.⁴³ C'est effectivement à partir de cette pé-

⁴³ Sur ces événements et leurs enjeux, cf. les travaux de Leila Fawaz, *The City and the Mountain*, et *An Occasion for War*.

riode que commencent à se multiplier les fondations missionnaires complexes, aux fonctionnalités multiples (monastère, pensionnat, orphelinat, école primaire et collège, école technique, école normale, imprimerie, dispensaire, hôpital) et aux programmes d'enseignement ambitieux (cycles supérieur et universitaire). C'est à cette période aussi que les missionnaires commencent à affirmer plus librement leur présence à Beyrouth, comme dans le Mont Liban, et que les indicateurs identitaires éclatent au grand jour, caractérisant spécifiquement ce type d'institutions, entre autres les écoles des Filles de la Charité et des diaconesses du Kaiserswerth, le *Syrian Protestant College* et l'Université Saint-Joseph; alors qu'au-paravant ce mode de signalement n'avait pas vraiment cours.

Sous ce regard, nous pouvons regrouper nos établissements en deux grandes familles, selon des visées d'implantation distinctes:

- Des écoles et collèges aux dimensions relativement modérées et à l'aire d'influence limitée à un quartier, à une communauté ou à un secteur urbain spécifique;
- Des ensembles éducatifs multifonctionnels, aux ambitions certes religieuses mais aussi géopolitiques et régionales, marquant chacun son territoire selon une logique de signalement propre.

Quant à ces figures de signalement, nous pouvons les classer en trois groupes: les emblèmes à consonance culturelle tels que le lanterneau, l'horloge, la statuaire, le fronton triangulaire (et on peut ajouter à ce groupe les arbres exotiques du *Syrian Protestant College* comme le baobab); les références franchement religieuses, comme le clocher, la pierre à croix et l'ouverture ogivale; et enfin les symboles militaires que sont la tour, la muraille, le portail fortifié et monumentalisé, et les créneaux, autant d'ouvrages de cantonnement et de défense.

Tout prête à croire qu'en sus de leur visée civilisationnelle qui consiste en l'introduction d'une éducation d'avant-garde, à savoir celle de la culture «moderne» occidentale, les établissements de la deuxième catégorie cherchaient encore à exprimer, par le recours à des emblèmes militaires, la force et la détermination de leur mission: se battre pour ramener à la vraie foi les brebis égarées du Proche-Orient arabo-ottoman.

Il reste enfin à souligner que ces symboles qui dénotent le positionnement idéologique des institutions étrangères, sont également diserts quant aux rapports concurrents qui existaient entre elles: ils ne s'adressaient pas exclusivement aux populations autochtones et aux confessions auxquelles celles-ci appartenaient, mais également aux autres missions occidentales, qu'elles aient été ou pas d'une même obédience.⁴⁴ Ainsi, et sans vouloir généraliser, on peut dire que le système éducatif

⁴⁴ On lira ces ressentiments dans les archives des missionnaires et des institutions locales et dans des écrits sur cette époque. À titre d'exemple, Fauvel, *Nos religieuses dans les missions*; Jean Bianquis, *Les nouveaux devoirs du protestantisme français en Syrie*, Paris: Fédération Protestante de France 1926; Armand Olichon, *Histoire de l'expansion du catholicisme dans le*

moderne développait au niveau de la cité des tensions inhérentes opposant locaux et étrangers, chrétienté orientale et occidentale, chrétiens catholiques et protestants, opposant ainsi entre elles les différentes obédiences romaines catholiques – oppositions entrecoupées et emboîtées, dans lesquelles la population autochtone a été catapultée pour l’instruction de ses enfants. L’univers symbolique fut bien un des terrains de la puissance.

La modernité, entre altérité et adversité

Toute architecture, scolaire ou autre, est chargée de sens au plan sémiologique. Si elle dénote la vision que des groupes humains ont d’eux-mêmes, elle reflète aussi l’image qu’ils désirent adresser à la fois à leurs hiérarchies et à leur environnement social. Mais ces messages sont le plus souvent traversés de signifiants ambigus, car les populations qui les perçoivent les interprètent à leur manière et peuvent réagir dans un sens différent.

Il reste alors à nous interroger sur l’impact réel de cette modernité affichée et surtout sur son sens en rapport avec l’aire culturelle appréhendée, en l’occurrence celle de la ville arabe de Beyrouth dans le contexte particulier du XIX^e siècle ottoman.

Sous cette optique, il est clair que l’architecture scolaire missionnaire qui s’est développée à Beyrouth durant ce siècle témoigne tout d’abord de rencontres culturelles, impliquant des échanges de savoir-faire et d’idées et un enrichissement intellectuel réciproque indéniable. Ce rendez-vous des Beyrouthins avec les institutions éducatives occidentales a effectivement et largement entraîné un raffermissement du cosmopolitisme et du multiculturalisme de la société beyrouthine. À sa façon, il a encore favorisé la genèse de la *Nahḍa*, entre autres avancées. Sans vouloir rentrer ici dans les différentes définitions de la multi-culturalité, il apparaît bien pour Beyrouth que la population autochtone, et chaque individu à sa façon, ait trouvé une «manière de faire avec» et de tirer profit de cet environnement nouveau, en inscrivant un autre sens de l’existence que celui décliné par les missionnaires et par les autres; un genre de «bricolage», selon la métaphore de Michel de Certeau sur la multi-culturalité.⁴⁵ Ainsi, et quoique les missions aient voulu imposer chacune sa vision propre de la religion, de la morale et du monde

monde, Paris: Librairie Bloud & Gay 1936; Jean Brun, *L'école catholique au Liban et ses contradictions*, Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq 1973; Corcket, *Les Lazaristes*; Jāmīla Qustī, *Al-madrasab zabrat al-iḥsān. Kḥaṣā'iṣ al-nashāti wa-l-tatawwur min khilāl «'aqd al-jumān»*, Beyrouth: Mūṭrāniyya al-rūm al-urthūdhukī 1996; S. Chaaya, «Une mission protestante en Orient: les diaconesses de Kaiserswerth au Liban ottoman (1860–1920)», *Positions Luthériennes* 59: 2 (2011), 167–180; Isabelle et Jean-Louis Vissière, *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses des Jésuites au Levant*, Paris: Éditions Desjonquères 2004. En dernier lieu, voir Joseph Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient (1815–1848)*, Bibliothèque de l'Histoire de l'Église, Tournai: Bloud & Gay 1970.

⁴⁵ Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien*, Paris: UGE 10/18 1980.

et que certaines aient choisi de se particulariser visuellement, il faut reconnaître que la ville n'a pas pour autant évolué en secteurs isolés. Force est de constater que la ville n'a pas connu de cloisonnement ville arabe – ville coloniale – comme il en fut alors dans les villes du Maghreb par exemple – ni de partage entre quartiers arabes francophones et quartiers arabes anglophones, ni même entre quartiers riches et quartiers pauvres, et encore moins entre quartiers musulmans et quartiers chrétiens. Les écoles ont apparemment plus influencé les mentalités de certains individus et groupes que le mode de fonctionnement urbain proprement dit.

Il est important de rappeler ici que, de manière générale, la population locale ne fut pas réfractaire à la présence occidentale et à son savoir-faire, qu'elle jugeait d'ailleurs elle-même être à la pointe du progrès – et il en était de même pour les autorités ottomanes aux yeux desquelles la modernisation et la sécularisation à l'occidentale étaient le meilleur moyen de réformer l'Empire pour mettre un frein à sa décadence face justement aux visées impérialistes de l'Occident.⁴⁶ À Beyrouth, la population avait même lentement épousé des pans entiers de cette modernité dans sa vie quotidienne et sur le plan matériel, pour ce qui est par exemple du vêtir, du manger, de l'habiter et des distractions.⁴⁷ En ce qui concerne la scolarisation, la population en était tout autant requérante, étant particulièrement consciente des nouvelles opportunités de travail qui s'ouvraient aux jeunes dans les nouveaux domaines de la vie active: le droit, la médecine, le journalisme, la banque, entre autres. C'est au regard de cette situation que les écoles locales s'étaient empressées de transformer leurs enseignements, imitant le savoir-faire occidental, pleinement convaincues de sa supériorité en termes d'efficience.

Ce qui irritait en revanche les responsables civils et religieux des communautés locales était le caractère prosélytique des missions auxquelles ils étaient réfractaires. Ces missions généraient en outre chez eux un sentiment de concurrence déloyale en ce qu'elles disposaient de moyens diplomatiques et financiers considérables en comparaison avec les leurs. Le problème relevait donc bien plus du domaine religieux, qu'il ne se posait en termes culturels. De par leur état, les missions étaient toutefois incapables de dissocier ces deux champs opératoires.

Pour en revenir au thème de cet ouvrage, à savoir s'il y a eu des modernités multiples ou différentielles, selon que les populations locales aient été éduquées par certains missionnaires ou par d'autres, ou encore par des établissements locaux, nous devons remarquer, pour conclure et pour autant que l'on puisse juger,

⁴⁶ Voir Selim Deringil, *The Well Protected Domain. Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*, London: I.B. Tauris 1998, notamment pour ce qui est de l'éducation 93–134. Voir aussi Paul Dumont, «La période des Tanzimât (1839–1878)», dans: *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, Robert Mantran, éd., Paris: Fayard 1989, 459–522.

⁴⁷ Nada Sehnaoui, *L'occidentalisation de la vie quotidienne à Beyrouth, 1860–1914*, Beyrouth: Éditions Dar an-Nahar 2002.

que notre analyse nous porte plutôt à nous questionner sur le sens même du terme «modernité»,⁴⁸ tel qu'il a été exporté à Beyrouth et réapproprié par les uns et par les autres, autochtones ou étrangers. C'est dire que la question serait de savoir si on peut parler de modernité quand celle-ci est entachée de religion, c'est-à-dire quand elle trie les hommes d'après leurs croyances en cherchant à les convertir ou à imposer un mode de pensée, alors que la notion de modernité, telle qu'elle a été conceptualisée en Occident, signifiait tout d'abord l'égalité entre les hommes quelles que soient leurs croyances. Autrement dit et par extension, peut-on concilier modernisation et expansion coloniale?

Il faut dire que cette controverse se posait alors de la même manière en Europe entre adeptes du progressisme et de la sécularisation, et tenants de l'essentialisme, parmi eux, les conservateurs religieux. Le débat qui a prévalu en Occident à cette époque sur le darwinisme en fut une des émanations. Sous ce rapport, il est clair que les missions religieuses qui ont opéré en Orient étaient assurément conservatrices, de même que les institutions locales, religieuses pour la plupart, qui ont reproduit leurs visions du monde et de la société.⁴⁹ D'où la confusion entrevue dans les symboles, mêlant le culturel au religieux et même au militaire, exprimant par là bien plus le cantonnement que l'ouverture.

Vue sous cet angle, l'action des missionnaires étrangers fut au final un échec au plan religieux en raison des résistances locales. Mais il faut admettre, au plan des modes de penser, que les missionnaires qui opéraient dans un domaine aussi stratégique que l'éducation⁵⁰ ont lourdement influencé, et continuent d'influencer, les mentalités de la population locale.⁵¹ Qu'en fut-il effectivement de l'autre volet de la modernité, la modernité politique et sociale, telle que définie justement en Occident, c'est-à-dire la modernité institutionnelle basée sur le rationalisme, la science, la pensée libre, l'égalité des chances, et non plus sur les structures patrimoniales, religieuses ou familiales? Force est de constater que c'est une modernité tronquée qui a prévalu sur le terrain politique aux lendemains de la

⁴⁸ Sur ce concept, on lira Alain Touraine, *Critique de la modernité*, Paris: Fayard, Le Livre de Poche LP 19 1992; Alain Touraine, «Modernité et spécificités culturelles», *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales* 118 (1988), 497-501.

⁴⁹ Pour des exemples sur la manière dont des concepts occidentaux (tels que la nation, le nationalisme, l'arabisme...) ont été réinterprétés en Orient, voir entre autres Henry Laurens, *L'Orient arabe. Arabisme et islamisme de 1798 à 1945*, Paris: Armand Colin 1993; Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2000; Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press 2008.

⁵⁰ Tibawi, *American Interest in Syria*.

⁵¹ Thierry Hentsch, «Influence de l'Occident sur la manière de penser les rapports sociaux et la modernité en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes épistémologiques», dans: *Industrialisation, communication et rapports sociaux en Turquie et en Méditerranée orientale*, Jacques Thobie et Salgur Kançal, édés., Paris: L'Harmattan 1994, 311-322.

Première Guerre mondiale et qui a occupé le devant de la scène sous le Mandat français, donnant lieu par la suite à une république confessionnelle assise sur un nationalisme étroit et, tout compte fait, peu moderne, dans le sens à la fois normatif et pratique du terme.

Part Two:
Gendering a Modern Education

Perception de l'éducation à Beyrouth d'après la pensée écrite de la fin du XIX^e siècle

Magda Nammour

L'éducation est la source de toute évolution socioculturelle d'un peuple. Les différents écrits, quant à eux, véhiculent les pensées, rendent compte des mutations. Et combien ces dernières ont été nombreuses à Beyrouth au cours du XIX^e siècle!

La perception de l'instruction d'après la presse levantine et autres écrits est un indice capital pour l'étude de l'histoire socioculturelle de cette époque. Les premiers textes relatifs au sujet remontent à 1849. La presse beyrouthine, dès sa naissance en 1858, consacre également une rubrique à la situation sociale. On y lit des opinions relatives à la situation culturelle du pays ou à l'évolution des mœurs et des coutumes.

Du point de vue historique, les prémices de l'éducation moderne au Levant remontent au XVII^e siècle: les missions religieuses catholiques en provenance d'Europe introduisirent dans la région syro-libanaise des écoles réalisées selon la perception de l'enseignement moderne.¹ Toutefois, il fallut attendre le XVIII^e siècle pour voir les communautés levantines penser à la fondation d'écoles locales: la communauté orthodoxe, en la personne de son patriarche Sylvestre le Chypriote, prit conscience de l'importance de l'instruction. Celui-ci fonda la première école à Alep où il avait élu résidence. Suite à la situation conflictuelle entre les orthodoxes et les catholiques et le schisme qui s'en suivit, le patriarche Sylvestre transféra son siège ainsi que l'école à Tripoli. Cette école conçue avec la collaboration de la très brillante école de Patmos, fonctionna de 1727 à 1735, date à laquelle elle arrêta sa mission faute de subsides.² Du côté catholique, le premier concile des églises catholiques, le Concile de Louwayzé (1736), recommanda aux monastères et aux couvents installés dans la montagne d'ouvrir des écoles consacrées à l'éducation des enfants. L'école de 'Ayn Waraqah vit le jour au Kesrouwan, une cinquantaine d'années plus tard.³

La communauté musulmane, quant-à-elle, avait à Beyrouth des écoles coraniques depuis le XII^e siècle, écoles dans lesquelles on apprenait la religion et certaines sciences arabes telles que la grammaire et les lettres. Au XIX^e siècle, le *shaykh* 'Abd Allāh Khālid joua un rôle prépondérant dans la fondation de la

¹ Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Rome: École française de Rome 1994, 453.

² Souad Slim, «Le Rôle des écoles dans la modernité de l'Église d'Antioche», *Istina* 66 (2011), 345-346.

³ Nāṣir al-Jumayyil, *Madrasat 'Ayn Waraqah fī al-dīkrab al-mi'awīyyah al-thāwīyyah li-ta'sisibā*, Beyrouth: [s. p.] 1989, 14.

première école musulmane *nizāmiyyah* – école selon la conception moderne (école de la mosquée Al-Nāfūrah). De là sortirent des générations de penseurs qui formèrent le noyau de la *Nahḍah* intellectuelle et religieuse de la ville. Nous ne connaissons pas la date exacte de la fondation de cette première école musulmane, la seule source qui existe ne l'a pas précisée.⁴ Quoi qu'il en soit, le savoir restait l'apanage de l'élite sociale.

La conquête égyptienne, entre 1832 et 1840, marque le début de la propagation de l'instruction. Le gouverneur égyptien Ibrahim Pacha encourage l'enseignement: il fonde des écoles publiques pour l'éducation primaire dans les différentes régions du pays et dote les grandes villes d'écoles secondaires.⁵ Cette politique suscita l'intérêt des missions catholiques et évangélistes. À leur arrivée à Beyrouth, les missionnaires trouvèrent une élite intellectuelle instruite à l'école de 'Ayn Waraqaḥ – Buṭrus al-Bustānī et Faris al-Shidyāq entre autres – prête à collaborer avec eux. Une compétition ardue s'engagea entre la mission bibliste et les Jésuites, elle eut pour conséquence l'essor de la langue arabe.⁶ Ainsi, au cours de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, les bases de l'infrastructure éducative se mirent en place et, à la fin du siècle, la ville se trouva dotée de 94 écoles nationales et étrangères ainsi que de deux universités, le *Syrian Protestant College* et l'Université Saint Joseph.⁷ L'enseignement offert par les écoles étrangères joua un rôle prépondérant dans la transformation des us et coutumes des Beyrouthins car il prônait des idées et des valeurs complètement différentes des leurs.⁸

À travers des articles des journaux *Hadīqat al-akbbār*, *Lisān al-Hāl*, *al-Jinān*, *al-Bashīr*, *al-Taḡaddum*, *al-Firdaws*, *al-Maḥabba al-Ḥasna'* notamment, nous présentons la conception de l'instruction d'après la presse libanaise et autres écrits, depuis la parution du premier discours publié en 1849, à savoir le discours du *mu'allim* (maître) Buṭrus al-Bustānī, et ce jusqu'aux premières années du mandat français. Le choix de ces périodiques ne répond à aucun critère socioculturel: la page sociale étant ouverte au public, nous estimons que notre échantillon est représentatif des courants de pensée en œuvre dans le pays, indépendamment de toute appartenance communautaire.

⁴ Ṭaḥa al-Wālī, *Tārīkh al-masājid wa-l-jawāmi' al-sharīfah fī Bayrūt*, s.l.: 1393/1973, 61, 62, 78 et 101.

⁵ Abū 'Izz al-Dīn, *Ibrāhīm Bāshā fī Sūriyā*, Bayrūt: al-Matba'a al-'ilmiyya 1929, 132–150 et 311; Jūrj Āntūniyyūs (George Antonios), *Yaqzat al-'arab – tārikh ḥarakat al-'arab al-qawmiyyah*, Nassiraddine al-Asad et Iḥsān 'Abbās, eds., Beyrouth: Dār al-'ilm li-l-Malā'iyyin 1962, 103–104.

⁶ Āntūniyyūs, *Yaqzat al-'arab*, 99.

⁷ Vital Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban, Palestine: Géographie administrative statistique descriptive et raisonnée*, Paris: Ernest Leroux éditeur 1896, 60.

⁸ Magda Nammour, *Evolution de la pratique des fiançailles chez les Grecs-Orthodoxes de Beyrouth à la fin du XIX^e siècle*, mémoire de maîtrise en histoire, Beyrouth: Université Saint-Joseph, Mémoire de maîtrise 1989, 45–47.

Hormis le discours de Buṭrus al-Bustānī relatif à l'enseignement des filles, les autres discours traitant de cette question s'intéressent à l'instruction en général. Entre 1858 et 1870, la presse beyrouthine traite, par le biais de sa page sociale, des questions plutôt générales touchant à l'évolution de la ville. À partir de 1870, la situation change: l'éducation devient un sujet d'actualité. Si la majorité des penseurs plébiscitent l'instruction et mettent en valeur son rôle dans l'évolution de la famille et de la nation, nombreux sont aussi ceux qui condamnent la situation culturelle du pays, en l'occurrence le manque d'écoles nationales, et contestent aussi les cours dispensés par certains établissements scolaires. Quels sont les arguments en faveur de l'instruction? Que contestent ces penseurs? Quelles étaient leurs aspirations?

I - Arguments en faveur de l'instruction

À la lumière de différents arguments en faveur de l'instruction nous constatons qu'elle est considérée, par un bon nombre d'intellectuels du XIX^e siècle, comme un droit et une obligation.

a - Droit

Le premier texte en faveur de l'instruction que nous ayons trouvé à ce jour date de décembre 1849. Dans son discours présenté lors d'une séance publique,⁹ une quinzaine d'années après la fondation de la première école de filles, Buṭrus al-Bustānī prône l'éducation de la femme. Dans l'optique du *mu'allim*, hommes et femmes sont égaux et, par conséquent, ils ont les mêmes droits. Ainsi affirme-t-il:

Bien qu'hommes et femmes aient chacun des capacités spécifiques, ils sont égaux vis-à-vis des mêmes droits y compris le droit à l'instruction. Comme il n'existe aucune loi (shari'ah) qui empêche l'homme d'acquérir ce dont il a besoin pour poursuivre ce qu'il a fondé avec la femme ou autres tâches qu'il exécute sans elle, par conséquent, il ne doit pas exister ni des lois ni des coutumes ni aucune entrave qui empêchent la femme de jouir de ses droits dans ce domaine.¹⁰

Dans un Orient imprégné de spiritualité, le concept de droit naturel se diffusa sans entraves auprès de toutes les communautés, vu qu'il était présenté comme révélé par Dieu. Dans son discours, Buṭrus al-Bustānī reconnaît que la femme jouit de beaucoup de prédispositions naturelles et intellectuelles, et, prenant à

⁹ Discours présenté lors de la première séance de la *Jam'iyyah al-Sūriyyah* à la demande de la direction de l'époque.

¹⁰ Buṭrus al-Bustānī, «Khiṭāb fi ta'lim al-nisā'», dans: *Majmū' khuṭab 'ilmiyyah wa-adabiyyah* (majmū' khuṭab wa-abḥāth li-mu'allifin mukhtalifin amthāl al-Bustānī wa-l-Āzīji wa-ghayrihumā min a'dā' al-Jam'iyyah al-Sūriyyah al-munsha'ah 'āmm 1847), ṭubī'a fi Bayrūt fi sanawāt mukhtalifah (La seule copie accessible se trouve à la Bibliothèque orientale de Beyrouth: 162 B 1) (désormais: *Majmū' khuṭab 'ilmiyyah wa-adabiyyah*), 32.

son compte la notion du droit naturel, il revendique le droit de la femme à l'instruction:

Si le Seigneur a doté la femme de capacités intellectuelles, il ne l'a pas fait en vain. Il est inadmissible qu'il l'ait dotée de tant de qualités pour la priver de s'en servir ou de les faire fructifier. Etant donné que la femme ne fut pas créée pour être, dans ce monde, considérée comme une effigie que l'on adore ou un instrument décoratif que l'on garde soigneusement à la maison pour l'admirer, elle ne fut pas créée non plus pour être faînéante ou loquace, et affectée uniquement au ménage de la maison, à la présentation du café et des cigarettes ainsi qu'à la mise au monde des enfants, son instruction est un droit.¹¹

Refuser l'instruction à la femme est considéré par Bustānī comme une spoliation des droits que le Très Haut lui a octroyés.

Si Buṭrus al-Bustānī voit dans l'instruction une différenciation entre les sexes et prêche en faveur des plus démunies, c'est-à-dire les femmes, le missionnaire Henry DeForest voit dans l'instruction ou le manque d'instruction une question de classe sociale et réclame la propagation de celle-ci: l'apprentissage de la lecture et de l'écriture est un droit pour tout être humain, homme ou femme, riche ou pauvre,¹² prône-t-il. Selon lui, savoir lire signifie comprendre un texte et savoir déchiffrer les lettres imprimées ou manuscrites. Il est nécessaire d'apprendre aux enfants l'arithmétique et la géographie, ainsi, connaissant les bases de ces deux disciplines il devient facile de pousser les connaissances vers d'autres sciences, affirme notre conférencier.¹³

Une soixantaine d'années se sont écoulées depuis la fondation de la première école pour jeunes filles à Beyrouth. À la fin du siècle, 10,898 élèves, dont 6,762 garçons et 4,136 filles fréquentaient les écoles de la ville.¹⁴ Instruite, la femme élève la voix, fonde des revues, et aspire non seulement au droit à l'instruction mais aussi à une participation active à la vie sociale. Laisser la femme privée de ses droits est un grand tort pour la société, affirme un article anonyme intitulé «Al-Mar'ah wa-l-Rajul».¹⁵ Dans l'optique de cet article, donner à la femme ses droits – l'instruire, reconnaître qu'elle a un rôle à jouer aux côtés de l'homme et la laisser participer à remédier à ce qui ne va pas dans la société – est source de bonheur pour la famille et pour le pays. Ceux qui la privent de ces droits sont des tyrans,¹⁶ affirme la revue féministe, *al-Firdaws* dans son article intitulé «Al-Mar'ah wa-l-Rajul». Dans la même lignée des revues féministes, l'article intitulé «al-Fajr bayna 'ahadayn» évoque une action musclée, déclarant:

¹¹ Al-Bustānī, «Khiṭāb», 31–32.

¹² Henry DeForest, «Fi tarbiyat al-awlād», dans: Majmū' khuṭab 'ilmiyyah wa-adabiyah, 60–61.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban, Palestine*, 60.

¹⁵ «Al-Mar'ah wa-l-Rajul», *Al-Firdaws* 2 (1896), 18–19.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Alors qu'il ne résulte que malheur et désolation à la suite d'une guerre, celle de la libération de la femme n'a que des conséquences constructives. Elle est pour le bonheur de l'individu puisque cette confrontation entre Homme et Femme aura pour conséquence la reconnaissance des droits de chaque partie. Par l'instruction et en assumant son rôle social, la femme obtient automatiquement ses droits puisqu'il n'y a plus de raison que l'homme les lui retienne.¹⁷

Par conséquent l'éducation est plus qu'un droit, elle devient selon certains intellectuels du XIX^e siècle une nécessité et une obligation.

b – Nécessité et Obligation

Comme l'être humain dispose d'une logique, il est nécessaire qu'il développe son raisonnement, l'instruction étant le meilleur moyen lui permettant d'arriver à ses fins. De plus, il est nécessaire de dompter ses penchants et de cultiver son jugement.¹⁸ De telles opinions relatives à l'instruction circulent en cette fin du XIX^e siècle, l'instruction devenant une nécessité souhaitée par la majorité des intellectuels de l'époque qui, très souvent, la confondirent avec l'éducation.

Jurji Niqūlā Bāz fit l'apologie de la bonne éducation: elle conduit l'individu vers le droit chemin et le destine aux postes élevés. D'après Bāz, la culture a une influence considérable dans le développement et l'essor des sociétés. C'est ainsi que toute loi, toute action qui n'a pas pour fondement la culture est vaine.¹⁹ Dans son article intitulé «Māhiyyat al-^ᶜā'ilah», la revue féminine *al-Firdaws* précise: «Il est nécessaire de confier les rênes de la famille à des époux et à des épouses instruits connaissant parfaitement leurs devoirs et leurs limites; pour cela, il faut généraliser l'instruction à tous les garçons et à toutes les filles».²⁰ L'éducation est considérée comme la responsabilité primordiale de la famille. Le journal politique *al-Taqaddum* accorde beaucoup d'importance au rôle psychologique de cette dernière estimant que sa responsabilité est «d'illuminer les cœurs et de vivifier les âmes...».²¹

La responsabilité éducative de la famille est une idée très répandue chez la majorité des penseurs de l'époque qui axent leurs discours spécialement sur l'instruction des filles. L'éducation féminine est présentée comme une nécessité, imposée par l'évolution en cours:

A chaque siècle ses exigences. Nous vivons dans une période de mutation de notre civilisation, de l'industrie et du commerce. Si nous maintenons les habitudes et les idées de

¹⁷ «Al-Fajr bayna ᶜahdayn», *Al-Fajr* No. spécial (1919), 463–464.

¹⁸ Iwānī Bābādūbūlus, *Nukhbat al-adab li-tanwir al-bāb al-fityān wa-l-shabāb*, Beyrouth: al-Maᶜbaᶜāt al-waᶜaniyyah 1867, 12–15, 18–19.

¹⁹ Jurji Niqūlā Bāz, *Al-ādāb*, Baᶜabdā: al-Maᶜbaᶜāt al-ᶜuthmāniyyah 1903, 3, 13–14, 19.

²⁰ «Māhiyat al-ᶜā'ilah», *al-Firdaws* 1 (1896), 5.

²¹ «Al-Ḥuqūq wa-l-wājibāt, al-mabᶜath al-khāmis fi al-ḥuqūq wa-l-wājibāt al-nawᶜiyah, al-bāb al-awwal», *al-Taqaddum* 9 (7 février 1881), 2, col. 1–2.

nos prédécesseurs qui ne donnaient pas de place à la femme dans le monde littéraire et civil, en la considérant uniquement comme un outil créé pour satisfaire des exigences techniques, et qui, par conséquent négligeaient son éducation, nous ne suivons pas l'esprit du siècle.²²

Refuser cette instruction est donc considéré par Salim al-Bustānī comme vivre en dehors de son temps.

Ce discours basé essentiellement sur l'éducation des filles reflète la mentalité de l'époque: une société patriarcale qui accorde une grande importance au «fils», le seul considéré comme «enfant» puisqu'il est, après son père, l'unique personne capable d'assurer la prospérité matérielle de la famille, de transmettre son nom et, par conséquent, de perpétuer la continuité de la lignée. La fille, quant à elle, n'ayant pas ces privilèges, n'est pas considérée comme membre permanent et jouissant d'une part entière dans la famille qui lui donne naissance puisque, par son mariage, elle va la quitter et adopter celle de son époux: «ton fils est à toi mais ta fille ne l'est pas» dit bien le dicton populaire. La seule obligation de la jeune fille étant le mariage, la principale préoccupation des parents est de la marier le plus tôt possible.²³

Une quinzaine d'années après la fondation de la première école pour jeunes filles, la nécessité d'évoquer l'intérêt de son instruction se fait d'autant plus sentir que ce nouvel usage n'est pas apprécié par tout le peuple. Buṭrus al-Bustānī rappelle à ses auditeurs le rôle important assumé par cette dernière au sein du foyer, à savoir celui de mère, et sollicite son instruction. Le conférencier valorise cette fonction féminine considérant que le créateur l'a consacrée comme «la mère de la création». Il revendique une éducation dotée d'une attention particulière envers la fille dès son plus jeune âge afin qu'elle puisse assumer au mieux ses devoirs et obligations.²⁴ Son instruction est très importante car c'est elle qui assure l'éducation des jeunes générations et son influence dans ce domaine est considérable,²⁵ affirme-t-il.

Prenant en considération la société patriarcale de l'époque où l'homme se réservait tous les droits, Buṭrus al-Bustānī présente l'instruction de la femme comme étant une nécessité pour la promotion des hommes au savoir:

Si nous admettons que l'homme seul a droit au savoir, à la culture et à la jouissance des bienfaits de la vie, nous devons aussi admettre l'obligation de l'instruction des femmes afin qu'elle lui ouvre la voie: l'instruction ne peut se répandre à tous les hommes qu'à condition qu'elle soit répandue à toutes les femmes. De même qu'il n'existe pas de femmes cultivées dans une société d'hommes ignorants.²⁶

²² Salim al-Bustānī, «al-Inṣāf», *al-Jimān* 12 (1870), 369–370.

²³ Nammour, *Evolution*, 38.

²⁴ Al-Bustānī, «Khuṭāb», 31.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 37–38.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

Ce courant de pensée en faveur de l'éducation de la femme reconnaît à cette dernière une influence considérable tant au niveau social que familial. En 1870, Salīm al-Bustānī, le fils de Buṭrus al-Bustānī, déclare :

Le développement matériel résulte du développement culturel qui a pour base l'éducation. Le fondement de l'éducation est la femme. Elle peut être source de décadence comme source de progrès par l'influence qu'elle exerce sur l'enfant, influence qui se répercutera sur tout son comportement.²⁷

L'instruction de la femme devient une nécessité car celle-ci est reconnue en tant que mère et en tant qu'éducatrice. L'instruction permet à cette mère-éducatrice de donner une éducation de qualité à ses enfants. Ainsi assure la revue féminine *al-Firdaws* dans son article intitulé «Nazrah fi ḥālatinā» en 1896 :

Si la femme n'est pas instruite et éduquée, elle ne peut pas élever ses enfants selon les principes religieux comme le ferait une femme instruite connaissant ses devoirs religieux et temporels. Une femme cultivée éduquerait ses enfants de façon à garantir leur avenir, appréciés devant Dieu et devant les hommes.²⁸

D'autres voix féminines revendiquent aussi la nécessité de l'instruction. À travers sa présentation de la femme occidentale, Hannā Kusbānī Kūrānī, déléguée de Syrie auprès du congrès mondial de Chicago en 1893,²⁹ adresse un message aux femmes les poussant à s'instruire. Exposant ses remarques concernant la femme occidentale, elle affirme :

J'ai eu l'occasion de rencontrer la femme contemporaine dans toute sa gloire : auteur, orateur, légiste, médecin, inventeur, politicienne, présidente d'associations nationales, sociales et caritatives. Dans tous ces aspects, elle a maintenu sa douceur et sa féminité. Sa maison est propre, ordonnée et renferme les conditions de repos et de joie. Son mari est heureux et fier de la beauté, de l'éducation et de la sagesse de sa femme. Ses enfants ont des corps sains, ils sont polis et éduqués. Tout cela est dû à la bonne gestion de son temps.³⁰

Placé sous le signe de la *Nabḍa*, le XIX^e siècle ne connaît pas seulement un essor culturel, il est aussi marqué par la naissance des nationalismes. L'instruction dépasse alors la notion de droit et de nécessité pour devenir obligation nationale. Conférenciers et rédacteurs vantent les mérites de l'instruction et montrent son importance sur le plan national : acquérir le maximum de connaissances est très utile pour toute activité et d'un intérêt majeur dans les différents domaines de l'industrie, de l'agriculture, de la pharmacopée et autres. «Il s'est avéré que les peuples qui possèdent une industrie très développée sont ceux qui sont arrivés à

²⁷ Salīm al-Bustānī, «Li-mādhā», *al-Jinān* 15 (1 août 1870), 503.

²⁸ «Nazrah fi ḥālatinā», *al-Firdaws* 2 (1896), 19.

²⁹ Voir aussi la contribution de Karam dans ce volume sur la participation d'Esther Mūyāl à ce congrès dont le titre spécifique de cette année-là était «World's Columbian Exhibition».

³⁰ Hannā Kusbānī Kūrānī, *al-Tamaddun al-ḥadith wa-ta'tbiruhū fi al-sharq*, discours prononcé à Beyrouth le 26 mai 1896, al-Qāhirah: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif 1896, 19.

un haut niveau d'instruction», déclare le missionnaire américain Cornelius Van Dyck.³¹

L'éducation est la responsabilité primordiale de la famille. Ce rôle prépondérant est dû à sa considération comme laboratoire où se développent les sentiments: «Sans la famille il n'y a pas d'assiduité, la nature humaine et les distinctions sociales n'atteignent point leur aboutissement»,³² affirme *al-Taqaddum*. Selon cette optique, l'enfant occupe une place très importante puisqu'il est l'espoir des parents, celui de la famille, il est l'avenir du pays (*al-waṭan*): lui donner une excellente éducation est la «source du développement des sociétés et l'espoir du pays».³³ Suivant la même voie, la conférence donnée par un des membres du cercle culturel maronite dont l'intitulé est «Tarbiyyat al-banin fi madhhab al-muta'akhhirin» considère que par l'éducation donnée à leurs enfants, les parents exécutent un acte social fondamental, estimant que ceux qui négligent cette obligation ne sont pas dignes d'être appelés pères de famille ni d'être considérés comme patriotes.³⁴

Sur le plan général du pays, nombreux sont les auteurs de la fin du XIX^e siècle, qui identifient la famille à la patrie. Dès 1870, Salim al-Bustānī déclare: «L'organisation de la famille est la base du développement de la nation (*al-ummah*) étant donné que la solidité des liens entre les membres de la famille se répercute sur l'union entre les différents membres de la nation».³⁵ Dans cette nation la femme joue un rôle considérable: «Par sa situation de mère, la femme marque le siècle de son paraphe, elle est le bonheur de l'homme et son malheur, elle est sa fierté et sa honte. Sur la femme repose l'avenir des enfants et celui de tout le peuple»,³⁶ certifie Salim al-Bustānī.

Le journal politique *al-Taqaddum* suit la même voie. À ses yeux, la famille est l'école où l'individu fait ses premiers pas dans la société et acquiert son appartenance à la patrie. Par conséquent, ce périodique estime que la famille est la base des vertus civiques et le ciment du mérite national.³⁷ Au vu de ces considérations, l'éducation doit être, selon lui, la responsabilité primordiale de la famille

³¹ Cornelius Van Dyck, «fi ladhāt al-ʿilm wa-fawāʿiduhū», dans: Majmūʿ khuṭab ʿilmiyyah wa-adabiyyah, Beyrouth: Bibliothèque orientale de Beyrouth 1847, 6-7.

³² «Al-Ḥuquq» 2, col. 1-2.

³³ Yūsif al-Bustānī, «Khuṭbah fi al-tarbiyyah», dans: Majmūʿ khuṭab ʿilmiyyah wa-adabiyyah, Beyrouth: Bibliothèque orientale de Beyrouth 1847, 47.

³⁴ Aḥad aʿdāʾ al-dāʾirah al-ʿilmiyyah al-mārūniyyah, «Tarbiyyat al-banin fi madhhab muta'akhhirin», dans: Majmūʿ khuṭab ʿilmiyyah wa-adabiyyah, Beyrouth: Bibliothèque orientale de Beyrouth 1847, 12.

³⁵ Magda Nammour, «L'Image de la Femme occidentale dans la presse libanaise entre 1858 et 1914», dans: *Les Européens vus par les Libanais à l'époque ottomane*, Bernard Heyberger et Carsten-Michael Walbiner, eds., Beyrouth: Orient-Institut Beirut 2002 (Beiruter Texte und Studien 74), 141-173, 167.

³⁶ Salim al-Bustānī, «Umm al-dunyah», *al-Jinān* 11 (1870), 323.

³⁷ «Al-Ḥuquq», 2, col. 1-2.

et une obligation nationale majeure.³⁸ Les revues féministes suivent elles aussi cette lignée nationaliste: « nous devons savoir que le succès de notre pays dépend de notre effort et de notre assiduité dans l'instruction de nos filles et leur éducation sur des bases solides leur permettant d'être des mères exemplaires donnant naissance à des enfants qui feront l'espoir et l'avenir des nations»,³⁹ déclare la revue féminine *al-Firdaws* dans son article intitulé «Istinhād himam al-sharqiyyah».

Cette assimilation entre famille et nation reflète plus qu'une conception de la famille, elle révèle la mentalité de l'époque. En effet, la famille jouit de tout pouvoir: l'individualisme n'existe pas car l'individu n'a d'existence que par sa famille et pour sa famille. Par conséquent, les Syro-Libanais concentrent toutes leurs forces affectives et intellectuelles sur leur propre famille; elle est pour eux leur être même et leur patrie.⁴⁰ Cependant, sous l'effet de l'instruction, les intellectuels découvrirent le sens du terme «nation». En ce XIX^e siècle, marqué par les nationalismes, le concept de nation recouvrait une signification particulière et son assimilation à la famille voulait démontrer que la nation avait la même importance que la famille.

Nombreux sont les penseurs qui ont loué l'importance de l'instruction, la définissant comme un droit, une obligation et une nécessité. Les articles de presse et autres écrits analysés plébiscitent l'éducation des filles malgré les réserves émises par certains d'entre eux.

II - Positions vis-à-vis de l'enseignement dispensé

Une lecture minutieuse de certains textes a révélé plusieurs hypothèses remettant en cause les idées relatives à l'instruction en général. Nous pouvons regrouper ces articles en deux catégories, les uns s'attaquant à la mentalité de l'époque, les autres traitant plus particulièrement de la nature des écoles et de leurs programmes.

a - Attitudes vis-à-vis de la mentalité de l'époque

L'instruction pour l'instruction, pour la culture, était méconnue par la majorité du peuple qui ne voyait en l'instruction des enfants qu'un but utilitaire: accéder à un emploi bien rémunéré, à un poste de cadre. La majorité des auteurs désapprouvent cette conception intéressée de l'instruction, comme par exemple Cornelius van Dyck: «L'amour des sciences et de la connaissance est propre à une minorité de personnes. Le savoir aurait eu des répercussions bénéfiques s'il était

³⁸ «Hurs al-ʿarīf ʿalā al-maʿarīf», *al-Taqaddum* 65 (22 et 10 août 1881), 3, col. 3.

³⁹ «Istinhād himam al-sharqiyyah», *al-Firdaws* 3 (1896), 34.

⁴⁰ Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, Paris: Gallimard 1946, 216.

répandu à toute l'humanité, le moins qu'on puisse dire est qu'il libère l'esprit de l'esclavage des superstitions et des craintes futiles». ⁴¹

Il n'est pas le seul à vouloir répandre l'instruction afin que le peuple s'éloigne des superstitions. La revue *al-Maḥabba* dans son article intitulé «Madāris al-banāt» recommande l'enseignement des sciences naturelles et exactes afin que la jeune fille ne croit plus en des balivernes telles que les fantômes, le mauvais œil et la magie. ⁴² En effet, les superstitions sont abondantes dans la région et concernent tous les âges de la vie. ⁴³

Articles et conférences remettent en cause l'attitude de leurs concitoyens vis-à-vis de l'instruction des filles:

Bien que la femme soit la base de l'éducation, nous avons négligé son instruction. Combien de mères disent qu'elles n'ont appris à leurs filles rien d'autre que la lecture et la couture, car elles ne pensent ni en faire des commerçantes ni des oratrices mais seulement des filles bonnes à marier. Cette idée est fautive car la jeune fille passe toute la journée devant le miroir dans l'attente du prétendant. Une fille pareille pourra-t-elle assumer son rôle éducatif et les exigences de la vie familiale ? Non. ⁴⁴

Salim al-Bustānī remet en cause tout le système éducatif. Selon lui, l'apprentissage des langues est insuffisant s'il n'est pas accompagné d'autres matières qui développent l'intellect, telles l'histoire et ses causes, la géographie, et autres matières qui cultivent l'esprit. ⁴⁵

Certains intellectuels de la fin du XIX^e siècle désapprouvent aussi la façon de concevoir l'enfant au sein de la famille ainsi que son instruction: selon eux, il n'est pas permis aux parents de donner naissance à des enfants pour les abandonner sans soins et sans instruction. Le mariage a des exigences, il n'est pas seulement une liaison entre l'homme et la femme, ⁴⁶ affirme Salim al-Bustānī.

De son côté, *al-Taḡaddum* sollicite les parents pour qu'ils accomplissent leurs devoirs parentaux, leur rappelant que leurs obligations ne se limitent pas à l'alimentation et la satisfaction des besoins corporels de leur progéniture, que leur responsabilité est surtout éducative. Quelle que soit leur situation financière, la responsabilité des parents consiste à cultiver le jugement de leurs bambins et développer leur intellect, ⁴⁷ certifie *al-Taḡaddum*.

Yūsif al-Bustānī aussi rappelle aux parents leur responsabilité. Donnant à l'instruction et à l'enfant une dimension nationale, il considère que l'éducation est la raison d'être des nations et l'aspiration des familles. Étant donné que l'enfant est

⁴¹ Van Dyck, «fi ladhāt», 2, 7-8.

⁴² «Madāris al-banāt», *al-Maḥabba* 138 (13 octobre 1901), 605.

⁴³ Voir à titre d'exemple Béchara Chémali, «Naissance et premier âge au Liban», *Anthropos: Revue internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique* 5 (1910), 740-747 et 1072-1086.

⁴⁴ Salim al-Bustānī, «Al-ān», *al-Jinān* (20 octobre 1870), 611.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 612.

⁴⁶ Salim al-Bustānī, «Ṣawt al-ummah», *al-Jinān* 9 (1 mai 1871), 287.

⁴⁷ «Al-Huqūq wa-l-wājibāt, al-mabḥath al-khāmis fi al-huqūq wa-l-wājibāt al-naw'iyah, al-bāb al-thālith», *al-Taḡaddum* 23 (28 et 16 mars 1881), 2, col. 1-2.

une grâce céleste, il est l'espoir de ses parents, de la famille, l'avenir de la nation (*al-waṭan*) et le révélateur des aspirations de l'humanité nouvelle; par conséquent, il est du devoir des parents ou de leurs remplaçants de lui donner une excellente éducation.⁴⁸

Par la même occasion, les penseurs du XIX^e siècle condamnent aussi la conception que leurs concitoyens ont de l'instruction. «*Tarbiyyat al-banīn fī madhhab al-muta'akhhirīn*» soutient qu'il est regrettable que les parents veuillent que leurs enfants servent leur intérêt personnel au lieu de s'assurer de leur bien-être; c'est ainsi qu'ils leur imposent le choix d'un métier ou d'études dès leur jeune âge sans que cela ne corresponde aux aspirations de l'enfant, ce qui lui cause de grands préjudices.⁴⁹ En effet, dans cette société patriarcale qu'était la société syro-libanaise de l'époque, le père estimait que ses fils étaient pour lui un potentiel de travail formidable et une source de fierté.⁵⁰ Le chef de famille était le centre de toutes les décisions familiales: l'éducation et les projets d'avenir de ses enfants, tel le choix d'un métier, étaient réglés en fonction des aspirations du père.⁵¹

Le contact avec l'Occident par le biais du commerce ou de l'instruction confronta les Orientaux à une conception de la famille bien différente de la leur. En effet, la fin du XVIII^e siècle en Europe marqua la naissance de la famille nucléaire centrée sur le père, la mère et l'enfant. L'intérêt pour les ouvrages traitant de l'éducation des enfants et de l'hygiène infantile atteignit son apogée en 1866. La classe moyenne prenait conscience de la nécessité du bien-être des enfants.⁵² Cette conception était très différente de celle de la famille libanaise. Dans une étude anthropologique relative à la naissance et au premier âge au Liban, Béchara Chémali explique que l'enfant, surtout le garçon, était tout pour sa mère; en effet, la venue de bébé donnait à la femme un véritable statut au cœur de la famille. La stérilité faisait le déshonneur et le malheur de l'épouse. Sans enfants, la femme était traitée en esclave et considérée comme un être maudit du ciel.⁵³

Cependant, la façon d'éduquer était bien différente de celle administrée dans la société occidentale. Pour les Libanais, le châtement était une nécessité, la correction un complément nécessaire à l'éducation. Selon Chémali l'éducation se résumait principalement à de l'intimidation: pour tenir sage ses enfants, la mère les menaçait de toutes sortes d'êtres imaginaires comme l'ogre ou d'animaux sauvages tel que le loup.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Yūsif al-Bustāni, «*Khiṭbah fī al-tarbiyyah*», 47.

⁴⁹ Aḥad a'ḍā' al-dā'irah al-'ilmiyyah al-mārūniyyah, «*Tarbiyyah*», 15–16.

⁵⁰ Mas'ūd Dāhir, *Tārikh Lubnān al-ijtimā'i: 1914–1926*, Dār al-matbū'āt al-Sharqiyyah 1984, 228.

⁵¹ Salāh al-Din al-Munajjid, *Mudhakkarat Jurji Zaydān*, Beyrouth: Dār al-kitāb al-jadid 1968, 17.

⁵² Edward Shorter, *Naissance de la famille moderne*, traduit de l'anglais par Serge Quadruppani, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1977, 238–239.

⁵³ Chémali, «*Naissance*», 734.

⁵⁴ Béchara Chémali, «*Mœurs et usages au Liban. L'Éducation*», *Anthropos: Revue internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique* 12–13 (1917–1918), 629–630.

L'imitation aveugle du modèle occidental est largement critiquée par différents penseurs qui déplorent la situation: la plupart des parents, soutient «Tarbiyyat al-banīn fī madhhab al-muta'akhirīn», envoient leurs enfants dans certains établissements scolaires car un de leurs voisins ou de leurs parents a envoyé les siens dans cette école. Ils les inscrivent à certains cours sans prendre en considération leur situation financière. Après un certain temps ils retirent leurs enfants de l'école avant même qu'ils aient fini leur cursus, ne pouvant plus subvenir aux frais de scolarisation. L'article cité ci-dessus, désapprouve cette attitude de la part des parents face au choix de l'école car elle a des effets négatifs sur l'avenir de l'enfant.⁵⁵

Cette façon de choisir une école ou un métier devait être bien répandue à cette époque. Dans ses mémoires, Jurjī Zaydān dit qu'après avoir étudié plusieurs possibilités concernant le choix d'un métier pour leur fils, ses parents optèrent en faveur de l'apprentissage de la fabrication des chaussures européennes, métier encore récent à Beyrouth. Ils fixèrent leur choix sur cette industrie car certaines de leurs connaissances s'étaient enrichies en exerçant cette activité.⁵⁶

Si certains penseurs critiquaient la mentalité de l'époque, d'autres auront pour objet de réflexion les écoles ainsi que l'enseignement dispensé.

b – Attitudes vis-à-vis de la nature des écoles et des programmes suivis

Divers articles déplorent le manque d'écoles nationales et mettent l'accent sur l'importance à leur accorder: si les écoles étaient nationales, elles auraient donné une instruction nationale qui rapproche les esprits et les cœurs au lieu d'activer les dissensions comme le font les écoles étrangères,⁵⁷ déclare Ḥasan Bayhūm dans son article intitulé «Al-Nashū al-ḥasan». D'un point de vue historique, la fin du XIX^e siècle connaît une activité missionnaire de grande envergure caractérisée par la fondation d'écoles. Selon l'historien George Antonios, l'enseignement prodigué dans ces institutions élevait, certes, le niveau culturel du pays, il n'empêche qu'il eut un effet néfaste dans plusieurs domaines car il aggravait les dissensions communautaires, entravant ainsi toute activité nationaliste.⁵⁸

Ces divers articles d'inspiration nationaliste condamnent l'enseignement administré dans la majorité des écoles aussi bien étrangères que nationales. Ils leur reprochent l'acharnement dans l'apprentissage des langues étrangères et leur désintérêt pour la langue nationale: la revue *al-Maḥabba*, dans l'article intitulé «Madāris al-banāt», affirme que la jeune fille, après six à sept ans de scolarisation, connaît à la perfection deux ou trois langues étrangères, les sciences naturelles, les travaux

⁵⁵ Aḥad a'ḍā' al-dā'irah al-'ilmiyyah al-mārūniyyah, «Tarbiyyat», 16–17.

⁵⁶ Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mudhakkārāt*, 18–19.

⁵⁷ Ḥasan Bayhūm, «Al-Nashū al-ḥasan», *al-Taḡaddum* 88 (14 et 2 novembre 1881), 2–3, col. 1.

⁵⁸ Āntūniyyūs, *Yaḡzat al-'arab*, 164–166.

manuels (essentiellement la broderie), la musique, la danse et tout ce qui se rapporte à la civilisation moderne, mais est incapable de gérer son foyer.⁵⁹ L'acharnement pour les langues étrangères comme seul objectif d'instruction au détriment de la langue arabe est un reproche formulé par les différents penseurs envers toutes les institutions scolaires aussi bien pour jeunes filles que pour garçons: l'enfant sort de l'école nationale ou étrangère en ne connaissant ni sa langue maternelle ni un métier,⁶⁰ déplorent-ils. D'un point de vue historique, si la mission américaine a commencé par donner les cours en arabe, elle ne tarde pas à changer de politique et à les prodiguer en anglais. Les communautés locales avaient aussi leurs établissements scolaires. Dans ces écoles, la situation de la langue arabe n'était pas plus favorisée: on y enseignait avant tout le français, l'arabe ne venant qu'au second rang.⁶¹

La plupart des articles analysés dénoncent surtout la tenue des élèves: «À voir comment les plus instruites de leurs élèves passent leur temps à ajuster leurs cheveux et leur toilette, nous sommes tentés de croire que ces écoles sont des instituts pour apprendre à se parer et non pour s'instruire».⁶² Le voyageur français Gabriel Charmes, de passage dans la région syro-libanaise vers les années 1890, nous fait part des impressions de la population autochtone vis-à-vis de l'éducation administrée dans les écoles des missions. D'après son récit, les autochtones estiment qu'au pensionnat, dans les écoles des missions, filles et garçons prennent des habitudes qui ne concordent pas avec celles du pays. «...Elles nous reviennent avec des goûts de luxe que nous ne pouvons satisfaire. Les hommes, du reste, ne souffrent pas moins que les femmes de la disproportion qui existe entre l'instruction qu'ils reçoivent et la vie qu'ils doivent mener au sortir de l'école», affirmait cet autochtone. Charmes critique lui aussi l'instruction administrée dans ces écoles estimant qu'elle ne correspondait point aux mœurs, à l'état social et politique du pays.⁶³

⁵⁹ «Madāris al-banāt», 604. Parlant de l'instruction dispensée dans une des écoles des missions à Beyrouth, Gabriel Charmes dit: «...Les jeunes filles qu'on y élève appartiennent à la meilleure société de la Syrie. On leur apprend toutes sortes de choses utiles et toutes sortes de choses superflues, la grammaire et la mythologie, l'histoire et la botanique, la physique et l'archéologie, sans oublier la musique et les belles manières qui tiennent dans le programme une place importante... C'est là, en effet, il faut bien que je le dise, le défaut général de cette éducation vers laquelle tout le monde se porte en Syrie avec une ardeur si passionnée. Elle n'est point en rapport avec les mœurs, avec l'état social et politique du pays». Gabriel Charmes, *Voyages en Syrie: impressions et souvenirs*, Paris: Calmann Levy 1898, 202-203.

⁶⁰ Aḥad a'ḍā' al-dā'irah al-'ilmiyyah al-mārūniyyah, «Tarbiyyat», 18-19. Dans le même sens, le voyageur français Gabriel Charmes décrivait ainsi l'instruction dispensée dans les écoles de Beyrouth: «Le genre d'instruction qu'ils reçoivent est combiné de telle manière, qu'il ne peut faire d'eux que des drogmans de consulat ou des employés dans les administrations publiques.» Ibid., 211-212.

⁶¹ Ibid., 186, 198.

⁶² «Madāris al-banāt», Ibid., 558-559.

⁶³ Ibid., 202-205.

En effet, l'enseignement administré dans les écoles étrangères joua un rôle prépondérant dans la transformation des us et coutumes beyrouthins car il prônait des idées et des valeurs complètement différentes des leurs. Alors que les orientaux voulaient une éducation qui prêchait aux jeunes filles la docilité, l'obéissance, la soumission et le mépris des plaisirs terrestres, l'éducation reçue dans les écoles étrangères incitait – à travers l'enseignement des poètes et des romanciers romantiques – à la liberté, à l'exaltation des sentiments et à l'imagination.⁶⁴ Ces nouvelles valeurs se traduisaient par le refus des valeurs préexistantes. Ce refus touchait aussi bien les filles que les garçons: Jurji Zaydān parle de la naissance d'une nouvelle classe sociale constituée par les élèves des écoles des missions. Cette catégorie complètement différente du reste de la population se distinguait par son comportement, sa façon de penser, d'agir, de se vêtir...⁶⁵ Dans ce contexte, la nécessité de donner une instruction nationale et communautaire se fit sentir auprès de certains groupes confessionnels de Beyrouth. En 1880, deux associations de bienfaisance, la *Jam'īyyat al-maqāsīd al-khayriyyah* des Sunnites et la *Jam'īyyat Zabrat al-Ihsān* des Grecs Orthodoxes⁶⁶, fondèrent à quelques mois d'intervalle chacune leur école pour l'instruction des jeunes filles. Leur objectif était « de faire face à la culture européenne » (*muqāwamat al-ghazw al-tbaqāfi al-urūbi*).⁶⁷ À partir de 1899, un changement significatif dans les programmes de *Zabrat al-Ihsān* mérite d'être relevé. Des cours d'hygiène sont alors introduits et l'accent est mis davantage sur l'aspect technique, avec des leçons de travaux manuels ou de diction. A partir de 1909, l'économie et la gestion domestique sont enseignées avec les langues vivantes.⁶⁸

L'instruction académique ne satisfaisant pas à toutes les aspirations, certains articles souhaitent, pour la jeune fille, une éducation basée davantage sur l'aspect pratique. Les articles analysés définiront les objectifs des intellectuels de l'époque concernant cette instruction: le rôle de l'école de jeunes filles est en priorité l'éducation, l'instruction passe en second lieu. Le savoir n'est important que dans la mesure où il forme l'esprit de la jeune fille et lui facilite la compréhension des obligations imposées par une éducation vertueuse.⁶⁹ Pour atteindre cet objectif, nos penseurs définissent ainsi leurs priorités:

«L'éducation dont nous avons besoin se restreint à trois domaines qui sont la religion, la bienveillance et le savoir-vivre. L'éducation religieuse consiste à inculquer l'esprit de piété, et l'amour de la vertu, l'initiation aux pratiques religieuses, au respect des croyances

⁶⁴ Voir à ce sujet le voyageur français Gabriel Charmes: «Elevée comme presque toutes les jeunes filles de Beyrouth au couvent des sœurs de Nazareth, elle avait reçu l'éducation d'une Parisienne. Elle jouait du piano, elle avait lu les poètes et les romanciers français. On lui avait fait entrevoir, à travers les barreaux de sa cage d'Orient, un monde nouveau rempli pour elle de l'attrait qui vient de l'inconnu.» Ibid., 13–14.

⁶⁵ Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mudhakkārāt*, 27–28.

⁶⁶ Voir pour ce sujet les articles de Fakhoury et de Qusti dans ce volume.

⁶⁷ Nammour, *L'Image*, 149–150.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ «Madāris al-banāt», 558.

et à la tolérance vis-à-vis des différentes communautés loin de tout fanatisme, car la bonne harmonie est une exigence fondamentale dans ce pays. Une bonne éducation religieuse est pour la femme source de vertu et de perfection. La bienveillance éduque le caractère, cultive les dons, affermit la volonté. Ainsi la fille est sensible et aimable sans prétention, douce et affable sans débauche. Le savoir-vivre apprend à la fille la décence dans toutes les situations, le rejet de l'emphase, de la coquetterie et de la négligence. Telle est l'éducation dont nous avons besoin et que nous réclamons pour nos écoles. Nous voulons des femmes qui gèrent la maison, qui éduquent les enfants, qui s'éloignent des dépenses superflues.⁷⁰

Le discours relatif à l'enseignement marque une évolution tangible. À l'exception du discours de Buṭrus al-Bustānī intitulé «Khiṭāb fi ta'lim al-nisā'» et qui prône explicitement l'instruction des filles, les discours publiés avant 1870 concernent surtout «l'éducation des garçons» («tarbiyyat al-banin»⁷¹ et «tarbiyyat al-awlād»⁷²) ou sont d'ordre général comme «fi ladhāt al-ʿilm wa-fawā'idih»,⁷³ prônant, ainsi, l'instruction en général. A partir des années 1870, la presse insiste surtout sur l'instruction des filles pour finir par présenter, au cours de la dernière décennie du XIX^e siècle, différentes méthodes d'enseignement toutes basées sur une éducation essentiellement pratique. Ces modèles proposés s'avèrent être simplement une présentation de la conception orientale de l'instruction des filles, essentiellement fondée sur le rôle domestique de la femme.⁷⁴

L'analyse des textes présentés ci-dessus révèle non seulement une conception orientale de l'instruction de la femme, mais dévoile par ailleurs une évolution du discours relatif à la question. Une quinzaine d'années après l'ouverture de la première école de jeunes filles, l'ensemble du peuple ne devait pas être conscient de l'importance de cet acte. Le discours de Buṭrus al-Bustānī «Khiṭāb fi ta'lim al-nisā'» se charge de le faire.

Le but d'al-Bustānī était d'encourager les parents à envoyer leurs filles à l'école. Dans ce premier texte relatif au sujet connu à ce jour, al-Bustānī exaltait les bienfaits de l'éducation de la femme, estimant que l'instruction lui facilite l'exécution de ses devoirs et obligations, l'aide à éduquer ses instincts, la préserve des situations difficiles causées par l'ignorance et la colère, et qu'elle lui donne la liberté de penser et une exactitude dans le discernement. Selon al-Bustānī, la femme acquiert par le biais de l'instruction de la considération, de la dignité; ainsi elle ne sera plus considérée comme un instrument en transe, sans opinion, obligé d'obéir bon gré mal gré à la volonté de son seigneur. En revanche, elle sera apte à devenir un membre efficace pour la société.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Ibid., 561.

⁷¹ Aḥad a'ḍā' al-dā'irah al-ʿilmiyyah al-mārūniyyah, «Tarbiyyat», 1-19.

⁷² DeForest, «fi tarbiyyat», 58-61.

⁷³ Van Dyck, «fi ladhāt», 2-10.

⁷⁴ Nammour, *L'image*, 143-147.

⁷⁵ Al-Bustānī, «Khiṭāb», 35-36.

Ces idées ne concordant pas avec la conception de la femme chez ses interlocuteurs, il leur exposa les retombées bénéfiques de l'enseignement des femmes sur les enfants ainsi que sur le conjoint. Dans son optique, il était essentiel que la femme apprenne tout ce qui est indispensable à la réalisation de ses obligations spécifiques avec facilité, adresse et dévouement, tout ce qui lui permettrait d'être un membre digne d'une assemblée civilisée. Ainsi, à travers les neuf thèmes indispensables à l'instruction de la femme, al-Bustānī joignait l'enseignement académique à l'éducation pratique, comme par exemple l'apprentissage de la pédagogie et de l'histoire, sciences essentielles à toute maman.⁷⁶

Plus d'une cinquantaine d'années plus tard, l'article intitulé «Madāris al-banāt» réclame pour la jeune fille un enseignement académique très proche de celui proposé par al-Bustānī. Il recommande l'enseignement de la langue maternelle, de la pédagogie, de la gestion ménagère, de l'hygiène et des soins médicaux, et enfin celui des sciences naturelles et exactes, afin que la jeune fille ne croie plus en des balivernes. Une fois qu'elle aurait acquis ces connaissances elle pourrait apprendre une langue étrangère et les arts.⁷⁷ Cependant, l'analyse de ces textes marque un net changement en ce qui concerne l'objectif de l'enseignement de certaines matières.

Tel est le cas des langues. L'apprentissage de l'arabe restait un sujet d'actualité. Pour al-Bustānī il est important que la femme apprenne sa langue maternelle, non seulement afin qu'elle puisse s'exprimer convenablement dans sa langue et la transmettre correctement à ses enfants mais aussi parce qu'elle a une influence considérable dans ce domaine. La mère a un rôle important dans la ramification de la langue et son altération – tandis que pour «Madāris al-banāt», l'enseignement de la langue maternelle n'est pas seulement important, il est nécessaire. En effet, les écoles des missions n'enseignaient l'arabe qu'une heure par semaine: le dimanche après la messe.⁷⁸

D'un autre côté, al-Bustānī considère que l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère est utile car il met la femme en contact avec des expressions inexistantes dans la langue de son peuple et l'aide à enrichir cette langue en forgeant des expressions appropriées. Au contraire, «Madāris al-banāt» estime que l'apprentissage des langues étrangères doit passer au second plan. La position des différents rédacteurs vis-à-vis des langues étrangères a bien évolué depuis le premier article publié dans *Ḥadiqat al-akbbār*, qui considérait que leur apprentissage était une richesse pour le pays.

Au cours de la dernière décennie du XIX^e siècle, la conception même de l'enseignement marque une nette évolution: alors que, pour Buṭrus al-Bustānī, l'instruction est essentiellement académique, la femme pouvant tirer elle-même

⁷⁶ Ibid., 35–36.

⁷⁷ «Madāris al-banāt», 605.

⁷⁸ Slim, «Le Rôle», 349–350.

les conclusions pratiques dont elle a besoin, «Madāris al-banāb» et d'autres articles réclament en premier lieu l'éducation de la fille, l'instruction étant secondaire.

D'un point de vue historique, la période des *Tanzīmāt* se caractérise par la régénération de l'administration et de la justice. Cette renaissance ne pouvait avoir lieu sans l'amendement du système éducatif. Pour atteindre leur but, les réformateurs ottomans s'orientèrent vers la France. Victor Dury, ministre de l'Instruction publique de Napoléon III, avait soumis au sultan un projet de réforme de l'enseignement. En 1869, le nouveau système éducatif fit l'objet d'un règlement prévoyant sa généralisation.⁷⁹ Les *Tanzīmāt* accordèrent beaucoup d'importance à l'instruction. Des écoles élémentaires et supérieures se répandirent progressivement.⁸⁰

L'éducation féminine eut aussi sa part d'attention. Le projet éducatif de 1869 prévoyait pour la première fois l'instruction des filles avec des matières comme la couture et la cuisine, et les premières institutrices furent nommées en 1873. Sous les *Tanzīmāt*, les dirigeants s'efforcèrent de répandre l'instruction dans les provinces; en 1872 fut promulgué un décret réformant les écoles élémentaires dans les provinces.⁸¹ Valoriser l'éducation pratique pour les filles allait dans le sens de la loi votée à Istanbul. Les premiers textes concernant exclusivement l'éducation de la femme virent le jour, dans la presse beyrouthine, à partir de 1870.

Plus d'une trentaine d'années s'était écoulée depuis l'ouverture à Beyrouth de la première école pour filles par les Protestants américains (1834) et l'ouverture d'une seconde école pour filles par les Filles de la Charité (1849). Depuis lors, plusieurs promotions avaient terminé au moins leurs études primaires. Les effets de cette instruction étaient perceptibles dans la société, et il fut possible de dresser un bilan. Les différents articles révélèrent les aspirations de leurs rédacteurs face à l'instruction des filles.

III – Les aspirations des intellectuels beyrouthins de la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle

En prônant l'éducation des filles, les intellectuels de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle et du début du XX^e siècle aspiraient à une amélioration de leur qualité de vie et à une *Nahḍah* éthique et sociale. Ils espéraient que la femme instruite et sage puisse changer certaines habitudes néfastes et donner une ère nouvelle à l'Orient.⁸² Les différents rédacteurs et conférenciers estiment que la reviviscence de la vie fami-

⁷⁹ Paul Dumont, «La période des tanzīmāt (1839–1878)», dans: *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Robert Mantran, éd., Paris: Fayard 1989, 479–481.

⁸⁰ Roderick H. Davison, «Tanzīmāt», *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, vol. 10, Leiden: Brill 2002, 223.

⁸¹ «Ma'ārif», *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition*, vol. 5, Leiden: Brill 1986, 911.

⁸² Salim al-Bustāni, «Fukāhāt», *al-Finān* 23 (décembre 1871), 820.

liale est un moyen d'atteindre leur but. Donner à la femme un rôle au sein de la famille et de la société est leur premier objectif. Buṭrus al-Bustāni aborde la condition sociale en Orient, il considère que l'évolution de la famille et de la société sera très lente, voire inexistante tant que la femme ne jouira pas du respect qui lui est dû, tant qu'elle sera placée à un degré légèrement supérieur à celui de l'esclave tout en n'étant pas considérée comme épouse. «Si nous voulons réformer une société, nous devons en premier lieu instruire la femme»,⁸³ affirme-t-il.

Salim al-Bustāni partage cet avis en déclarant que l'instruction doit permettre à la femme d'assurer l'éducation, d'être prise en considération et d'être un membre actif dans la société.⁸⁴ Il affirme: «La première école que fréquente un enfant est celle de ses parents, école où il apprend au moyen d'exemples et de sagesse».⁸⁵ Vu la situation culturelle du pays, al-Bustāni constate qu'on ne peut pas tirer profit de «l'école parentale» tant que les filles n'ont pas été instruites.⁸⁶

Comme certains valorisent le rôle de la mère-éducatrice pour réformer la société, d'autres misent sur son rôle d'épouse-collaboratrice pour arriver à leurs fins: si la femme est un baromètre de la situation sociale – florissante ou décadente – il est de notre devoir de corriger notre situation sociale et de régénérer la situation de la femme en l'instruisant et en lui apprenant à apprécier la vertu et la sagesse. Comme nous savons quels sont ses devoirs, nous devons lui apprendre quels sont ses droits. Ainsi, elle arriverait à une situation dans laquelle elle pourrait être une collaboratrice et une compagne de l'homme, et ne serait plus ni sa servante ni son seigneur.⁸⁷ Pour que la femme puisse assumer son rôle d'épouse et de collaboratrice Khairallah Khairallah souhaite une instruction similaire pour les hommes et pour les femmes:

Le plus sûr moyen de rendre la femme au foyer et dans la société digne de la place d'honneur que nous réclamons pour elle, c'est de l'instruire en même temps que le jeune homme, c'est de leur donner une éducation rapprochée autant que possible. Il faut que la femme et l'homme puissent se comprendre...⁸⁸

Les différents rédacteurs estiment que par la transformation des us et coutumes, ils aboutiront à une évolution sociale. Indépendamment des articles prônant l'éducation des filles, la page sociale comprend maints écrits relatifs à la correction des mœurs. C'est ainsi qu'elle incite à la persévérance dans le travail, la sobriété, la loyauté...qualités que la mère doit inculquer à ses enfants.⁸⁹ L'élite intellectuelle de

⁸³ Al-Bustāni, «Khiṭāb», 30, 36, 40.

⁸⁴ Al-Bustāni, «Al-insāf», 369–371.

⁸⁵ Al-Bustāni, «Umm al-dunyah», 322–323.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 322–323.

⁸⁷ Wādi' Al-Khoury, «al-mar'ah », *al-Taqaddum* 111 (4 février 1884), 2, col. 3.

⁸⁸ Khairallah Khairallah, *Autour de la question sociale et scolaire en Syrie*, Alexandrie 1908, 11–12.

⁸⁹ Jurji Niqūlā Bāz, «Ta'thir al-Nisā' fi al-irtiqā'», Etude présentée dans la bibliothèque de l'association Shams al-Badr le vendredi 9 mai 1902, éditée dans la revue al-Maḥabba 171 et 172 (1902), 19.

l'époque définit ainsi les tares sociales qui empêchent l'essor de l'Orient, tares que la femme instruite est censée combattre selon Jurji Niqūlā Bāz:

Nous avons un besoin urgent d'avoir des femmes instruites afin qu'elles puissent inculquer aux jeunes la droiture, l'entraide et l'assiduité dans l'action. Qu'elles leur apprennent l'amour de la patrie et les poussent au travail qui mène à la vertu en action et en parole. Des femmes qui élèvent les aspirations des hommes à leur plus haut degré, qui éloignent de leur parler les expressions étrangères et les discours bilingues: arabo-français, ou arabo-anglais et peut-être russe, qui évitent les rassemblements et les conversations futiles. Des femmes courageuses qui combattent nos habitudes néfastes et nous éloignent d'elles, telles: l'imitation, le gaspillage, le maquillage, le décolleté, l'ivrognerie, le tabagisme, le jeu, l'égoïsme, la médisance.⁹⁰

En effet, une des caractéristiques de la société de l'époque était l'imitation du prochain, surtout ce qui venait de l'Occident. Jurji Niqūlā Bāz n'est pas le seul à réprover cette situation, nombreux sont les articles qui condamnent cela. Ainsi la revue féminine *al-Firdaws*, dans son article intitulé «Istinhād himam al-sharqiyyah», affirme:

Nous autres Orientales nous sommes diamétralement opposées aux Occidentales. Nous n'employons notre intelligence qu'à imiter l'aspect extérieur de la femme en Occident tel le costume, les bijoux et l'ameublement. Nous négligeons l'imitation de ce qui fait la richesse de l'Homme et le mène au bonheur, à savoir l'instruction.⁹¹

Salim al-Bustānī, aussi, déplore cette situation considérant que l'imitation de la civilisation porte de dures atteintes à l'éducation.⁹² Hannā Kusbānī Kūrānī joint sa voix à ses confrères pour désapprouver la situation de l'Orient qu'elle décrit ainsi:

un peuple tirailé par des courants contradictoires, un aspect européenisé sans être des Européens, un côté arabe tout en reniant leur arabité, leur costume est un mélange de vêtements européens et arabes, de même que leur façon de s'exprimer est un mélange d'europpéen et d'arabe, un peuple perdu dans l'obscurantisme de l'imitation.⁹³

Ce désir d'imiter les habitudes occidentales est aussi relevé par les voyageurs de passage à Beyrouth tel Gabriel Charmes qui fait le constat suivant: «Beyrouth s'efforce de se créer une société à l'imitation de celles de l'Europe».⁹⁴ En désapprouvant l'imitation du prochain et surtout le pastiche de la civilisation occidentale, les différents penseurs prêchent pour une société authentique et prônent un renouveau national.

A travers l'instruction de la femme, les penseurs de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle aspirent à une renaissance nationale. Cette réviviscence est concomitante de la réforme des mœurs:

⁹⁰ Ibid., 19.

⁹¹ «Istinhād himam al-sharqiyyah», 34.

⁹² Al-Bustānī, «Al-ān», 612.

⁹³ Kusbānī Kūrānī, *al-Tamaddun*, 11-12.

⁹⁴ Charmes, *Voyage en Syrie*, 153.

Lorsque notre but, c'est-à-dire l'instruction des filles, aura été atteint, la réforme de notre pays pourra se faire et nous aurons des générations ayant pour qualités l'amour de la patrie, la franchise, la liberté de penser, la bonne conduite et l'union, des générations capables d'élever le pays au stade auquel nous aspirons et que nous n'avons pas été capables de réaliser par manque de compétences.⁹⁵

Jurjī Niqūlā Bāz, féministe, auteur de plusieurs ouvrages concernant la question, fait l'apologie du rôle de la femme dans le processus du développement social et national. Pour justifier son hypothèse, il a recours à l'histoire:

Nous ne portons pas atteinte au mérite de l'homme si nous attribuons notre succès aux femmes. A voir leur influence dans notre siècle, à l'étude de l'évolution de l'homme et les causes de civilisation des peuples, nous ne pouvons que constater l'importance des femmes dans le domaine social et leur rôle évolutif. Pour cela elles doivent évoluer en premier pour que nous puissions progresser sur leurs traces.⁹⁶

La mère doit apprendre à ses enfants la langue nationale, leur inculquer l'amour de la patrie et les éduquer de façon à ce qu'ils aspirent à l'indépendance. Selon l'optique des différents articles, la renaissance nationale commence par le biais de l'apprentissage de la langue nationale: «Le premier mot qu'un enfant dit doit être en arabe et non en langue étrangère comme cela se passe».⁹⁷

Les intellectuels de l'époque veulent assurer aux filles une instruction solide leur permettant d'affermir leur volonté de lutter dans la vie aux côtés de l'homme, afin qu'ils collaborent ensemble à l'essor du pays et qu'ils le mènent ensemble au summum de la civilisation et du progrès.⁹⁸ Pour atteindre cet objectif, ils insistent sur la nécessité de procurer une éducation nationale. Présentant sa conception de l'instruction, Khairallah Khairallah assure: «Comme il est nécessaire de former dans nos écoles des syriens et non des français, des anglais et des américains de contrefaçon, il est plus que nécessaire de former en même temps des femmes syriennes».⁹⁹

A la lumière des textes analysés nous avons pu repérer les aspirations des intellectuels beyrouthins de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle à une période de mutations profondes. Ces textes analysés révèlent aussi une évolution du statut de la femme. En effet, d'un point de vue historique, grâce à l'instruction et au contact de l'Occident, le statut de la femme beyrouthine connaît une certaine évolution. Dès 1849, Buṭrus al-Bustānī estime que la femme est complémentaire de son époux, qu'elle est sa collaboratrice et qu'elle a sur lui une influence considérable. Cette perception de l'épouse collaboratrice et complémentaire est présente dans la majorité des écrits analysés. Certains font même remonter cette collaboration entre les deux époux à l'aurore de l'humanité, et comparent la famille

⁹⁵ Al-Bustānī, «Umm al-dunyah», 323.

⁹⁶ Bāz, «Ta'thir», 4–5.

⁹⁷ Alis Tassū, «Jawāb 'alā iqtirāh», al-Fajr no. spécial (1919), 430.

⁹⁸ Abillamah, «Al-Fajr», *al-Fajr* No. spécial (1919), 333.

⁹⁹ Khairallah, *Autour*, 11–12.

primitive au premier royaume démocratique: selon al-Khūrī «ce royaume jouissant d'une organisation, d'une protection et d'une reconnaissance mutuelle des droits connaissait le bonheur». ¹⁰⁰

Bien que ce discours soit identique par ses constantes – collaboration, complémentarité, confiance et amour – il marque une évolution relative à la situation de la femme au sein de la famille. Alors que dans les discours du XIX^e siècle la femme a de l'influence par son rôle de mère et d'épouse, dans les écrits du début du XX^e siècle, elle influence l'homme car elle occupe trois fonctions importantes: les fonctions de mère, de fille et d'épouse. ¹⁰¹ Ainsi, à partir de 1902, la fille devient un être à part entière dans la famille alors qu'auparavant elle n'avait de place qu'en tant que mère, la fille célibataire n'ayant aucune considération. Selon Jurjī Nīqūlā Bāz, la fille a une influence considérable dans la famille. Dès la naissance d'une fille, la femme commence à économiser pour lui garder de l'argent; l'homme commence à penser à la dot. Pour cela il se met au travail de façon assidue et devient actif. La fille a aussi une influence éducative car les membres de la famille surveillent leur langage et n'entreprennent pas en sa présence de conversations viles, et cela finit par devenir une habitude; ainsi une maison qui a une fille devient un havre d'éducation. ¹⁰² À partir du XX^e siècle, le statut de la sœur vient se joindre aux autres figures féminines de la famille. Le rôle de la sœur est de partager la joie de son frère, de lui donner son opinion et de le conseiller. ¹⁰³

Cette perception de la femme est propre à l'élite intellectuelle. Dans la pratique, la situation de la femme n'a pas suivi cette évolution de la pensée. Plus d'une cinquantaine d'années après le premier discours en faveur de l'éducation féminine, nombreuses sont les femmes qui ne jouissaient pas du respect qui leur était dû. ¹⁰⁴ Même les discours féminins traduisent cet état des choses puisque, jusque-là, la maternité reste primordiale pour elles: c'est par son rôle de mère que la femme acquiert ses droits ¹⁰⁵ et qu'elle n'assume son rôle national qu'à travers l'éducation octroyée à ses enfants. Les discours parlant du combat de la femme aux côtés de l'homme sont bien minimes.

Conclusion

Grâce à des articles de la presse levantine et autres écrits nous avons pu nous faire une idée de l'évolution des mœurs et coutumes de la société beyrouthine à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle. Nous avons aussi pu observer la mentalité de

¹⁰⁰ Al-Khūrī, «Al-mar'ah», 2, col. 2.

¹⁰¹ Bāz, «Ta'thir», 5.

¹⁰² Ibid., 9–10.

¹⁰³ Tassū, «Jawāb», 429.

¹⁰⁴ Béchara Chémali, «Mariage et noce au Liban» *Anthropos. Revue internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique* 10–11 (1915–1916), 914.

¹⁰⁵ «Mahiyyat al-^ṣā'ilah», 4–5.

cette époque, surtout celle des hommes. Par la même occasion, nous avons pu saisir l'évolution des idées relatives à l'instruction en général et à celle de la femme en particulier. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, la société beyrouthine se présente encore comme traditionnelle, bien ancrée dans son milieu méditerranéen: la bonne éducation qui veut que la femme soit au service d'autrui témoigne de cette mentalité. Cependant, l'ouverture vers l'Occident mit les Beyrouthins en contact avec des peuples qui avaient des façons d'agir, de penser et surtout une conception de la famille bien différentes de la leur. L'instruction dispensée par les écoles étrangères joua un rôle prépondérant dans la diffusion de la culture occidentale. C'est ainsi que les Beyrouthins découvrirent d'autres rôles à tenir par la femme, comme ceux de fille et de sœur qui n'étaient, jusque-là, pas reconnus par la société beyrouthine.

La perception du rôle de la mère dans le domaine de la renaissance nationale témoigne d'une évolution des idées chez les penseurs de la *Nabḍab*. Alors que les aînés voulaient régénérer l'Orient à travers le modèle occidental, les penseurs du dernier quart du XIX^e siècle perdirent la certitude de combler ce retard uniquement par l'adoption des progrès techniques, scientifiques et culturels de l'Occident. Ces derniers espéraient revivifier l'Orient par l'essor de sa langue nationale, par une éducation nationale, par l'aspiration à l'indépendance. Ce souci est un des signes de la montée du nationalisme et manifeste les prémices d'une remise en cause des objectifs de la *Nabḍab* qui fut bien marquée chez les penseurs du début du XX^e siècle.¹⁰⁶

Les articles analysés reflètent une connaissance certaine des courants de pensées actifs en France. Les notions de droit et d'égalité en sont des exemples. Ces articles prônent les idées discutées en Occident, notamment celles relatives à l'instruction de l'enfant et de son bien-être. À l'instar des Occidentaux, ils prêchent en faveur de la femme. Ils célèbrent les effets positifs d'une mère instruite et sage sur ses enfants, et sa place fondamentale aux côtés de son époux. Ils lui reconnaissent le droit au respect et à l'instruction. Placé sous le signe de la *Nabḍab*, le XIX^e siècle est marqué par la naissance des nationalismes. L'instruction de la femme qui était jusqu'alors un droit et un devoir se transforma en obligation nationale. Cependant, face à l'émancipation de la femme, l'élite intellectuelle du pays se partagea en deux courants, les uns voulant qu'elle assume sa place dans la société à travers la maternité et son rôle d'épouse, et les autres, bien que minoritaires, réclamant pour elle un rôle au sein du pays au même titre que les hommes.

Lors de l'ouverture de Beyrouth sur le monde occidental, les Beyrouthins s'adaptèrent à la nouvelle conjoncture en changeant de tenues vestimentaires et d'habitudes. Les écoles étrangères contribuèrent à l'occidentalisation de la vie quo-

¹⁰⁶ Voir à ce sujet Magda Nammour, «La perception des croisades chez Jujiy Zaidan (1861–1914)», dans: *Chrétiens et musulmans au temps des croisades entre l'affrontement et la rencontre*, Louis Pouzet et Louis Boisset, édés., Beyrouth: PUSJ 2007, 141–160.

tidienne. La situation de la femme en bénéficia: elle s'instruisit et participa à la vie sociale. Mais cette évolution ne satisfaisait pas toute l'opinion qui ressentait l'occidentalisation comme une perte des traditions et de l'identité nationale.¹⁰⁷ Plus d'une trentaine d'années après l'ouverture de la première école pour filles à Beyrouth, il devint possible à la classe intellectuelle de faire un bilan de la situation et de faire part de ses aspirations. Les articles analysés nous révèlent que dans le domaine de l'instruction, la question principale était l'éducation des filles. Selon la logique de l'époque, il était naturel que les garçons apprennent tandis que, pour les filles, cela n'était pas obligatoire voire même dangereux. Pour cela, il faut préciser le contenu de leur apprentissage. Il semble que les hommes avaient peur de cette modernité, peur que les femmes deviennent savantes et qu'ils perdent la mainmise qu'ils avaient sur elles. Ce fut paradoxalement le revers de cette modernisation.

¹⁰⁷ Kusbāni Kūrāni, *al-Tamaddun*, 11–12.

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جميلة كوستي

مستخلص

شهدت أواخر القرن التاسع عشر متغيرات هامة لأوضاع سياسية - اقتصادية، أدت إلى حصول حراك ثقافي - اجتماعي في الدول الأوروبية، فظهرت النهضة النسائية من ضمن الحركات الاجتماعية الإصلاحية الهادفة إلى إعطاء دور ناشط للمرأة في المجتمعات الجديدة. ولما كانت الدولة العثمانية تسعى إلى منع انهيار وتفكيت الإمبراطورية، سارعت إلى إصدار تنظيمات وفرمانات لمواكبة التطورات، فكان قيام جمعيات متعدّدة ومدارس متنوّعة في مختلف الأراضي، تتنافس في ما بينها على تثقيف وتعليم الإناث. في بيروت برزت مدرسة «زهرة الإحسان» منذ العام ١٨٨٠م من ضمن المدارس الناشطة في مجال تثقيف الفتيات، بغية معالجة الأمور الثقافية والاجتماعية للفتيات اللاتي في ذلك العصر. ولقد اجتمعت الرهينة والمدرسة والجمعية التي تحمل جميعها اسم «زهرة الإحسان» لتأمين التربية المسيحية عبر المأوى الدير وتأمين التعليم والتثقيف عبر المدرسة. وأما الخبرات والمهارات المكتملة للتعليم فكانت عبر الجمعية التي ساهمت في تأمين فرص تواجد وانخراط دور المرأة في المجتمع؛ هكذا شهدت الحفلات والمسرحيات ومعارض الأشغال اليدوية التي تقدمها فتيات المدرسة سنوياً ضمن نشاطات المدرسة، على المدلول الاجتماعي والتاريخي - الثقافي لارتباط الحركة النسائية البيروتية بالمؤسسات التربوية آنذاك.

المقدمة

إنّ متابعة التغيرات الاجتماعية وملاحقتها زمنياً تؤدّيان إلى معرفة كيفية انتظام المؤسسات التربوية النسائية ضمن المؤسسات الأخرى. فالمنتج الاجتماعي للتاريخ مرتبط بمواقع التجمعات الثقافية الحضارية. ولهذه التجمعات ميزات جغرافية، إثنية، خاضعة لتنظيمات داخلية مؤثرة في العناصر المكوّنة «للنسيج» الاجتماعي، وهذه العناصر تعمل بدورها على الالتقاء في ما بينها،

ومثال على ذلك تجانس القرابة والدين مع اللغة وتوافق العائلة والطبقة مع المنطقة والسلطة. انطلاقاً من هذه المقولة ومن خلال مراقبة أسباب نشأة المؤسسات التربوية وأهدافها ضمن الفترة الزمنية الواحدة، يمكن تدوين ملاحظات حول أوجه التشابه بين مختلف المؤسسات التربوية للإناث، الهادفة إلى التأثير الثقافي من خلال العناصر المكونة للمجتمع ضمن مختلف مناطق الإمبراطورية العثمانية في القرن التاسع عشر. هذا التأثير مرتبط في الأساس بالمتغيرات الخارجية المؤثرة على التجمعات الثقافية والتنظيمية.

لقد تأثرت ولاية بيروت بمختلف التحولات التي شهدتها الإمبراطورية وعلى مختلف المستويات الاجتماعية، حيث أنّ التغيرات تزامنت مع الحركة الديموغرافية لتوسع المدينة. كما أنّ نمط المعيشة في المدينة، المختلف عن القرية، والمتباين في سرعة التغيير، أدّى إلى حصول تبدل في التوجهات الفكرية بين أبناء المدينة الواحدة بحسب المستوى المعيشي. نتيجة لذلك ظهرت الجمعيات المختلفة والمتنوعة، وأخذت تتنافس في ما بينها لتحقيق العمل الخيري الهادف إلى رفع المستوى الفكري. في هذا المجال، يمكن ملاحظة إمكانية الإنتاج الفكري أو الإطار الحامي للهوية الثقافية لكل مجموعة، داخل المؤسسة التعليمية الخاصة بها، وعليه انتظمت المدارس المتعددة والخاصة بتعليم الإناث ضمن الأوضاع التعليمية والتربوية لمدينة بيروت، مما جعل لها دوراً في إطلاق الحداثة والنهضة على مختلف المستويات التنموية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية للمدينة.

١ - التغيرات الاجتماعية والتعليمية في السلطنة أواخر القرن التاسع عشر

عرفت الدولة العثمانية في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر أوضاعاً سياسية متغيرة بوتيرة سريعة، أدت إلى تغيرات إدارية داخل معظم ولايات الإمبراطورية، فتبدلت أحوال معظم السكان مع تبدل أحوال الدولة نتيجة التنظيمات والحركات الإصلاحية الجديدة. لذلك أتت فرمانات والقوانين الدستورية الصادرة بتواريخ متقطعة ومتداخلة مع فترات زمنية لحكام معينين، بمثابة «صمام الأمان» لمنع انفجار الإمبراطورية المعرضة للإنهيار والتفتت بين لحظة وأخرى. وجاءت الإصلاحات «كمحاولات بطيئة لإطالة أمد نظام اجتماعي - اقتصادي - سياسي يعجز عن

مجاهاة منظومة الدول الأوربية الرأسالية»^١. ولم تعطِ عملية «تحديث» الدولة أكثر من الاشتراعات القانونية لأن الرأسال الأوروي كان يعمل على فرز أوضاع «تلائم تسريه وقانون استثماراته ومناطق تكاثره ونموه». وقد أدى ذلك إلى سلسلة معاهدات وامتيازات أجنبية سرّعت عملية استلحاق مناطق عثمانية تحت السيطرة الأجنبية المباشرة، عن طريق إدخال مفاهيم وبت أفكار متنوعة تحت ستار التعليم وحماية الثقافات المتعدّدة. لذلك اعتُبر الخطّ الهايوني^٢ الصادر العام ١٨٥٦م «إقراراً صريحاً» بتعدّد الجماعات الثقافية داخل الثقافة العثمانية وإعطاء حقّ لكلّ جماعة اعتماد نظام تعليمي مخصوص لها^٣. كذلك أعطت التغيرات المستحدثة دوراً للطائفية في تقسيم الناس إلى «كتل بشرية تعامل على أساس انتمائها الطائفي، لا على أساس أنها رعايا السلطان»^٤ وهكذا اعترفت الفرمانات المتتالية «بشّي البطاركة والزعماء الدينين، لا كسلطات دينية وحسب، بل كسلطات مدنية أيضاً»^٥، ممّا أعطاهم صلاحية إدارة جميع أمور الطائفة.

تلاحقت التغيرات على المستوى التعليمي، فقد سرّع كل من وجود الجيش المصري في بلاد الشام (١٨٣١-١٨٤٠م) وبدء الاضطرابات الاجتماعية والطائفية في جبل لبنان بالنمو الاقتصادي - الاجتماعي والسكاني - الثقافي لمدينة بيروت. كما أنّ تولّي راشد باشا الحكم من ١٨٦٥ م إلى ١٨٧٦م، أدّى إلى نشوء الجمعيات وهو عضو في الجمعية الماسوتية (سامي عون، «أبعاد الوعي العلمي»); وسمح تولّيه حكم سوريا بأكمل «الأسس لانطلاقه اليقظة

١ سامي عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، دراسة في الفكر العربي الحديث، بيروت: منشورات المكتبة البولسية ١٩٨٦، ٢٢ و٢٣.

٢ هايون لفظة فارسية بمعنى السلطان.

٣ عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، ١٢٠.

٤ مسعود ظاهر، الجذور التاريخية للمسألة الطائفية اللبنانية، ١٦٩٧-١٨٦١، بيروت: معهد الإنماء العربي ١٩٨٤، ٢٨٠.

٥ جورج خضر و وجيه كوثرايو، المسيحيون العرب، دراسات ومناقشات، بيروت: مؤسسة الأبحاث العربية ١٩٨٦، ٦٥.

الفكرية وتمركزها في بيروت «نتيجة تشجيعه الحركات التعليمية والثقافية وتقريبه من المثقفين الوطنيين والأجانب»^٦.

وهكذا كان لوجود رجالات الدولة الساعين إلى تحديث دولتهم والمثبعين بأفكار المجتمع الأوروبي، تأثير في تطوّر النظرة العثمانية التي باتت مدركة لأهمية التعليم، كما نستقي ذلك من نصوص فرمانات المتلاحقة. فظهر في خريف ١٨٦٩م نظام المعارف العمومية الذي ينص على نوعين من المدارس: العمومية أو الرسمية والخصوصية، «الرسمية كانت تلك التي تولّت الدولة نظارتها وإدارتها، والخصوصية ما تولّت الدولة نظارتها وتركت أمر تأسيسها إلى الأفراد أو إلى الجمعيات الطائفية»^٧. وقد نصّ القانون على أن يكون مناهج الدروس فيها مصدقاً من قبل نظارة المعارف أو إدارة المعارف، وعلى جعل التربية في أصول العثمانية على نسق واحد في الأعباء دون التدخل في أصول التعليم المتعلق بأمور المعتقدات المختلفة، ثمّ سمح «بالتححرر والتحديث على النمط الأوربي»^٨. باختصار كان هم السلطنة العثمانية «إحياء الثقافة وتعزيز قومية عثمانية علمانية تتخطى الولاء الديني». حققت الدولة ما وعدت به من التنظيمات، فأنشأت مدارس ومعاهد عالية خرّجت طبقة مثقفة تسعى لتكييف الإسلام وفق المدينة الغربية وذلك لمجابهة تحدي الغرب. ولقد شملت الثقافة العثمانية تيارات دينية عدّة، أهمها وأقواها التيار السنّي، ولكن إلى جانب وجود قوى «للطائفة الأرثوذكسية» أكبر الطوائف المسيحية على صعيد الإمبراطورية^٩، وتضاف إليها طوائف نصرانية لعبت دوراً فاعلاً في تحديد هويّة الثقافات، كالطائفة المارونية في جبل لبنان. على قاعدة نظام الملل التعددي الديني، شهدت الجماعات الدينية نوعاً من الاستقلال في شؤونها الداخلية، مما جعلها تحتلّ مواقع مستقلة نسبياً بعضها عن بعض بقيادة «الشرايح الاجتماعية العليا: الشيوخ والعائلات المهيمنة ورجال الدين»، كما أعطتها إمكانية إنتاج الفكر أو الإطار الذي يحمي خصائصها ويؤمن استمراريتها كبنية

^٦ عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، ١٠٥.

^٧ أسد رستم، لبنان في عهد المتصرفية، بيروت: دار النهار للنشر ١٩٧٣، ١٤.

^٨ عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، ١٦٤ و ١١٩.

^٩ عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، ١٢١.

اجتماعية ضمن بنية عامة من المنطقة العربية المنتظمة في سلوك سياسي - اجتماعي وثقافي واحد^{١٠}، وعليه اختلفت بنية كل طائفة بحسب موقع هذه الشرائح الاجتماعية بالذات مع السلطة السياسية القائمة.

لذلك مع تحوّل النظام الإداري والضرائبي من نظام التيجار إلى نظام الالتزام، وتحوّل بعض الأراضي الإمبراطورية إلى أوقاف، توسّعت الأديرة وأضحت مراكز اقتصادية زراعية مهمة ما لبثت أن وظّفت رصيدها الاقتصادي في مجال التعليم، مثال: تحويل دير غوسطا إلى مدرسة «عين ورقة». ومنذ تلك الفترة ظهرت يقظة النهضة في التعليم لا سيما بين المسلمين الذين شكّلوا الأكثرية بين طلبة المدارس الرسمية، «في حين شهدت بقية الطوائف تثقيف رجالات الدين في الأديرة التابعة لها فكان اتجاه «دير البلمند» للطائفة الأرثوذكسية صوب التعليم العالي عام ١٨٣٩ وإقفال المدرسة عام ١٨٤٠ ومن ثمّ إعادة تأسيسها عام ١٨٩٩»^{١١}.

٢ - ارتباط المدرسة بالتجمع السكني في بيروت وبحركة النهضة النسائية

الحقيقة إنّ ظروف نشأة وحركة تأسيس المدارس تشابهت وتغايرت بين الطوائف بحسب وضع الطائفة ودور الأفراد. وأسفر تأسيسها عن الشروط المهمة «في تحويل العلم إلى ظاهرة اجتماعية»^{١٢} خاصة في بيروت حيث توحدت التطلعات النهضوية وإن اختلفت التوجّهات. فكانت النهضة التعليمية تعتمد على «ترقية الفكر العربيّ ولكن بتوجه طائفي أحياناً»^{١٣}، فاعتبرت المدرسة الوسيلة الفعالة لتمرير التطورات الفكرية والعقائدية إلى الناشئة وأيضاً من أجل تقوية شعورهم المذهبي^{١٤}. لذلك جاء تأسيس المدرسة آنذاك في مناطق توزّع أبناء الطائفة بمثابة

^{١٠} خضر وكوثرانو، المسيحيون العرب، ٦٧.

^{١١} غسان تويني، «إحلال القلب في العقل»، نص المحاضرة التي ألقاها نائب رئيس مجلس الأمانة في تشرين السنة الأكاديمية في قاعة الاحتفالات بمعهد القديس يوحنا الدمشقي، بلمند، ١٤ تشرين الأول ١٩٨٩، ٧.

^{١٢} عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، ١٤١.

^{١٣} عبد العزيز سليمان نوار، وثائق أساسية من تاريخ لبنان الحديث، ١٥١٧-١٩٢٠، بيروت: جامعة بيروت العربية ١٩٧٧، ٢٩.

^{١٤} عون، أبعاد الوعي العلمي، ١٣٦.

توزيع الأجهزة التعليمية والدينية على أماكن انتشار الطائفة؛ من هنا اختلاف مواقع المدارس وأهميتها بحسب الوضع الديموغرافي السكاني للطائفة.

فبعد أن استطاعت الإرساليات أن تحصل على دور التوجيه والمراقبة في مؤسساتها، تنهت الجمعيات المحلية إلى ذلك، فأخذت على عاتقها العمل الخيري الاجتماعي والعمل التثقيفي التربوي. من هنا انطلاقة عدد من المدارس بإسم الجمعيات المؤسسة، المؤسسة كردّ فعل على الانتشار الغربي. وفي سياق الحديث عن المدارس المحلية المشهورة في تلك الفترة، نلفت الانتباه إلى تزامن قيام كلّ من جمعية «المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية» وجمعية «زهرة الإحسان» بفتح مدرسة لتعليم الإناث: «افتتحت الأولى مدرسة سنة ١٨٨٠ بعد سنتين من تأسيسها عام ١٨٧٨»^{١٥}، أمّا الثانية فبعد أشهر من تأسيسها «في ٢٧ آذار و٨ نيسان ١٨٨٠» بينما المدرسة في ٢٧ أيلول و٨ تشرين الأول سنة ١٨٨٠^{١٦}.

إنّ الحاجة الملحة لتأسيس الجمعية وافتتاح المدرسة مجاناً لاستقبال «فتيات الملة» كانا «لزوماً للطائفة» بحسب ما تمّ ذكره في أعمال السنة الأولى للجمعيتين. نذكر في هذا السياق ظهور «الإليانس» اليهودية في هذه الفترة. إلا أنّ ثمة اختلافاً كان من حيث التلامذة، بحيث ضمت جمعية المقاصد «ما يقارب مئتي تلميذة»^{١٨} في منطقة الباشورة مقابل «اثنتين وعشرين فتاة فقيرة»^{١٩} في محلة الأشرفية، ولقد استتبت جمعية المقاصد مدرستها بثانية وبلغ عدد التلميذات مئتين وخمسين، في حين أبقت جمعية زهرة الإحسان على مدرسة واحدة.

^{١٥} حسان حلاق، بيروت المحروسة في العهد العثماني، بيروت: الدار الجامعية ١٩٧٧، ١٢٣.

^{١٦} إزدواجية التواريخ للاحية الأشهر هي نتيجة الحساب الغربي والشرقي.

^{١٧} عقد الجمان = كراس يظهر خلاصة أعمال جمعية مدرسة «زهرة الإحسان» مع تقارير حول الميزانية السنوية الخاصة بها. عقد الجمان (١٩٠٦)، ٥.

^{١٨} الفجر الصادق = كراس يُظهر أعمال جمعية المقاصد الإسلامية مع تقارير حول الميزانية السنوية الخاصة بها. الفجر الصادق (١٨٧٨/١٢٩٦)، ٨.

^{١٩} عقد الجمان (١٨٨١)، ٢.

إلا أنه بالرغم من الاختلاف، إن لناحية العدد والأعضاء المؤسسين أو لناحية غالبية العنصر النسائي لجمعية «زهرة الإحسان» ومدى ارتباطها بنشوء الرهينة فإن هذا الاختلاف يزول أمام وحدة الأسباب الداعية إلى إطلاق «مقاومة الغزو الثقافي الغربي» بعد انتقاله من جبل لبنان إلى بيروت؛ وكذلك إلى أن «أحسن وسيلة لنشر المعارف فيها تعليم الإناث منها^{٢٠}، بينما كانت تسعى سيدات الطائفة الأرثوذكسية إلى التأسيس في سبيل «تسهيل أسباب التهذيب والتعليم، صارفة عظيم العناية إلى كل ما من شأنه رفع درجة الإناث عما هي عليه إلى درجة جديرة بهن»^{٢١}، وذلك منعاً لزيادة الانحطاط واشتداد البلاء خصوصاً على الفتيات الفقيرات. «وأما الداعية الأولى» فهي الأخت مريم (جهشان)^{٢٢} بمشاركة السيدة ايميلي سرسق التي استحسنت الفكرة وألّفت الجمعية مع فريق من السيدات.

وبعد تبيان نشأة مدرسة «زهرة الإحسان» نتيجة التغيرات الاجتماعية والثقافية والإدارية والتنظيمية في مدينة بيروت، وبعد تعداد العوامل التي سمحت بظهور جمعيات مختلفة تتنافس في ما بينها على تحقيق العمل الخيري وانتشار العلم، وبعد حصول تطوّر ديموغرافي في المجتمع المدني، تم تشكيل عدد من المدارس الخاصة لتعليم الإناث، وانتظامها ضمن الأوضاع التعليمية التربوية في السلطنة العثمانية. كان الدافع الأكبر لتأسيس مدرسة داخلية للإناث تابعة للطائفة الأرثوذكسية المحافظة على خصوصيتها وتراث عقيدتها، وذلك منعاً لتغلغل الفكر الأجنبي وتحول بنات الطائفة إلى الطوائف الغربية. لذلك ارتكزت المؤسسات التربوية لتحقيق أهدافها على ثلاثة مستويات مؤلّفة من فئات اجتماعية مختلفة جمعها العنصر النسائي وربطها التوافق الزمني الجغرافي لمدينة بيروت، وهي على النحو الآتي: الجمعية والمدرسة والرهينة.

تحقق الهدف بالتناغم الاقتصادي - الاجتماعي للجمعية، وبالتعليم الثقافي للمدرسة، وبالتربية والدين للرهينة. فكانت التربية ركيزة التعليم، والمهارات كفيلاً بتأمين الدور الفاعل للعنصر النسائي في المجتمع. وحيث أن التعليم مادة إنسانية وليس مادة استهلاكية أو سلعة، كان

^{٢٠} الفجر الصادق (١٨٧٨/١٢٩٦)، ٧.

^{٢١} عقد الجمان (١٨٨١)، ٢.

^{٢٢} عقد الجمان (١٩٠٦)، ٤.

لزماً تعميمه عن طريق بناء المدارس الكفيلة بإنعاش النهضة وإعطاء المؤشر المواكب لسرعة التطور التعليمي التربوي. لذلك وعت سيدات الجمعية لدورهنّ البتاء في تثبيت دعائم تعليم المرأة كركيزة أساسية في المجتمع وأخذن على عاتقهنّ وعاتق الراهبات مسؤولية رفع المستوى التعليمي للإناث الفقيرات واليتيمات من بنات الطائفة وتحديّن معطيات الواقع التقليدي وسارعن إلى العمل على مواكبة التغيرات العصرية، وهذا ما ساهم بالإضافة إلى الأوضاع الاقتصادية في تطوير حركة النهضة النسائية.

لقد حصلت التحولات والتغيرات في نوعية العلاقات الاجتماعية وطبيعة الطرق المعيشية نتيجة احتكاك طبقة التجار بالغرب بفعل العملية الاقتصادية المتاحة آنذاك، والتي كانت محصورة بين الحكام الأتراك والإقطاعيين المحليين مع بعض الموظفين الكبار في الإدارة المحلية والمؤسسات الأجنبية. وكان دور المدن الساحلية في مجال الاستيراد والتصدير مهماً وكاد ينحصر في أيام المتصرفية في مدينة بيروت. وإذ تنلمس تكرار أسماء العائلات المسلمة السنية والمسيحية الأرثوذكسية في بيروت، في مراكز الدولة وفي شوارع المدينة كسوق سرسق وسوق ثابت وسوق بيهم وإياس، نستشفّ مداخلة العلاقات بين تلك العائلات نتيجة المكانة المميزة لكل منها وليس نتيجة إقامتها في بيروت فحسب. وما نشوء المؤسسات التربوية والتجارية سوى الدلالة على تشابه الأوضاع الاجتماعية والاقتصادية وإن اختلفت الأدوار الثقافية، فالعائلات البيروتية المسيحية (سرسق والتويني وإسترس وغيرها) والمسلمة (بيهم ورمضان وإياس والغندور وغيرها) ظهرت بمظهر الغنى المفرط والتجارات العظيمة نتيجة تأقلم وتكيف نُظُمها مع أفكار الغرب وقيمه. وكان من الطبيعي أن تكون هذه «الطائفة المتفرجة مسيحية في الأكثر ومسلمة في الأقل»^{٢٣}، فالعائلات المسلمة توجهت بتجارتها نحو الداخل السوري والمجال العثماني بينما العائلات المسيحية لعبت دور الوسيط مع تجارة الغرب.

^{٢٣} محمد عبد الجواد القاياتي، «كتاب لمحّة الشام» ٢٦، وقلت في: أحمد طرين، ملامح التغيير الاجتماعي في بلاد الشام في القرن التاسع عشر، بيروت، معهد الإنماء العربي ١٩٨٣، ١٣.

اقتضى توضيح هذه المعلومات لبيان قدرات العائلات الأرثوذكسية على المساهمة في تقديم المساعدات والإحسانات.

جمعية زهرة الإحسان، التي تديرها نساء ارتبطت أسماؤهن بأسماء العائلات الفاعلة في الدبلوماسية الخارجية بحكمها ممثلة للدولة في بيروت آنذاك^{٢٤}. لقد أدارت السيدات المدرسة والجمعية مثل إدارة المؤسسات في تلك الفترة. فبعد أن ابتدأن بتقديم «مؤن التعليم والمآكل والكساء مجاناً.

وذلك مما جمعنه من الحسنات، رُحِنَ يقدّمن الأشغال من خياطة أو تطريز وزر كشة «بأجرة متهاودة لتصرفها في سبيل البر»^{٢٥}.

ولذلك سعت الجمعية إلى إظهار اهتمام العائلات بالمدرسة، فكانت أعمالها واجهة لإبراز مراحل ومحطات تطورها. كما كانت تعبر عن الشكر للمحسنين «أفاضل الناس» وتنشر فكرة «التطوع» أو العمل من دون مقابل لتقليل المصاريف و«تكثيف» الإيرادات عبر الاستفادة من العمل المنتج. مثال على ذلك: الأشغال اليدوية و«البازار» وتمثيل الروايات ذات المدخول المهم. وقد أصبحت من النشاطات السنوية التي تعتمد عليها الإيرادات «الداخلية» وتمثل إنتاجية المدرسة أو دخلها الذاتي من خلال أعمال قائمة على تخفيف فروقات المصاريف والنفقات و«تقوية» الرصيد عبر الموارد التالية:

– التعليم: أي المدخول الناتج عن مرتبات التلميذات. ولقد ورد ذكر هذا البند على النحو الآتي: ففي سنة ١٨٨١م تمّ توضيح «قيمة مرتب التلميذات اللواتي يتعلمن عزف البيانو» والبالغة ٤٠٠ غرش عثماني، أمّا قيمة مرتب «التلميذات المقيّبات نهاراً في المدرسة فكانت ١٩٦٩ غرشاً و ٣٠ بارة»، ثمّ ما لبثت القيمة أن شملت القول عن «علم وبيانو»، وأخيراً أصبح القول عن قيمة التعليم بمفهومه المتداول والمؤشر لعدد التلاميذ. وإذا كان قسط تعليم العزف على البيانو شكّل ربع إيراد القسط المدرسي، يعني أنّ ضرورة التعليم الموسيقي

^{٢٤} من مراجعة أسماء الأعضاء والمؤسسات للجمعية والأسماء الوارد ذكرها سابقاً.

^{٢٥} عقد الجمان (١٨٨١)، ٢.

المستوحى من الغرب أصبح أساسياً في تربية الفتيات الشرقيات اللواتي رأين حظوظهن في الزواج ترتفع حتى لو كان العريس لا يفقه الموسيقى أو لا يقدرها.

– **الأشغال:** وهي القيمة الواردة من «أشغال يدوية» سواء كانت التطريز أو الحياطة أو الحياكة أو الرسم أو غيرها. وبمعنى آخر هي قيمة إنتاجية العمل القائم على استهلاك اللوازم أو المواد الأولية المؤلفة من جميع الأقمشة الحريرية والشرايط والقصب الضرورية للتطريز، ولقد كان هذا الإيراد ثابت الدخل كالتعليم والاشتراكات، وعند بيع بعض الأشغال اليدوية عن طريق اليانصيب، كان يوضع تحت بند ربح اليانصيب. ظلّ هذا النوع من النشاط «رائداً» في هذه الفترة خاصة أنّ الفتيات الشرقيات كنّ يحصلن على الجهاز من أهلن قبل الزواج، وقد شكّل هذا الجهاز المؤلف من ملابس مطرزة ثمينة مع «الدوطة» شكلاً بديلاً عن حصّة الفتاة من إرث والدها.

– **الحفلات والبالو:**^{٢٦} وهي النشاطات التي كانت تُقام في المدرسة. وقد كانت الروايات واليانصيب تُذكر في الميزانية السنوية لأعمال الجمعيات تحت بند واحد منفصل عن الحفلات التي لم تكن منتظمة كالمسرحيات واليانصيب بالرغم من تكاملها. فكان يُقام أحياناً خلال ليلة خيرية يانصيب على «شرشف»، يدخل الإيراد ضمن الحفلات وليس ضمن اليانصيب. هذا التكامل في الإيراد والتفصيل في دقّة تسجيله في بند مختلف تبررها مهارة التدقيق في حسابات الجمعية والمدرسة على حد سواء وبالتالي حسن إدارة السيدات لتلك الحسابات. فكانت حملات التمثيل المسرحي معيّنة على كل المدارس وكانت المسرحيات الأجنبية الكلاسيكية تُترجم إلى اللغة العربية، وتتدرب الفتيات على أدائها لتقديمها في سهرة آخر السنة المدرسية. وهذا ما حصر لبنان ليكون مقراً لنهضة الحركة المسرحية خلال القرن العشرين وخاصّة في الستينات، كما سمح للفتيات أن يظهن علناً على مسارح المدارس ويتابعن العمل لاحقاً في مجال الإعلام. «فالمسرحيات والقاء

^{٢٦} البالو: كلمة تعني الرقص، وهي من اللغة الفرنسية.

الخطابات ساعدت الفتيات على إخفاء حياءهنّ وشجعتهن على الظهور أمام الجمهور وبالتالي دخول معتزك الحياة ومجابهة معركة المساواة مع الرجل في ذلك العصر»^{٢٧}. بالإضافة إلى كل ذلك يمكن القول إن هذه الحفلات كانت مناسبة جديدة لقاء العائلات الأرثوذكسية والتعارف فيما بينها ضمن أطر جديدة مستودرة من الغرب.

– البازار: أي قيمة مبيع بعض الأشياء من الأعمال اليدوية التي أجزتها أيادي التلميذات أو السيدات المتطوعات إسعافاً للمدرسة وتنشيطاً للتلميذات. ولا يحمل هذا المبيع صفة «الريح» بل يدخل ضمن إطار مبيعات البازار وليس ضمن خانة «فوائد مال».

– فوائد مال: وهي قيمة الأرباح من دون أجره عمل أو أي عمل يُذكر، وكانت توضع تحت اسم «مبيوعات» أو «ريح مبيع» أو «فوائظ مال» وبشكل خاص تحت قيمة «ريح مبيع» ومن ثم تُضاف إلى «فوائظ مال».

– الأملاك: وهي كلّ قيمة ناتجة عن مردود العار أو البناء العائد ريعه إلى المدرسة. وقد حُصّصت للمدرسة أوقاف كانت تعود سابقاً إلى «وقف فقراء الروم» في مدينة بيروت. أما بالنسبة للإيرادات الخارجية فكانت تحضّل فقط من مبالغ الإشتراكات السنوية لأعضاء الجمعية ومبالغ الإحسانات.

إن التكلم عن إيرادات الجمعية، وبالتالي المدرسة، هو من باب إلقاء الضوء على معظم الاهتمامات التي جعلت من العنصر النسائي «العامل» المؤثر في إنتاجية «المردود» من الاستثمار التربوي الذي قد يفوق أحياناً مردود الأموال المنفقة في مجال الصناعة، إذ دخلت هذه الإيرادات ضمن التخطيط الإنمائي، أو شبه التخطيط لتدبير الأمور ومعالجة «تأمين توازن المصاريف»^{٢٨}. فهمة التعليم «الطائفي» آنذاك كانت شبه محصورة في إعداد الكوادر

^{٢٧} وفقاً إلى أقوال منيرفا معلوف إحدى خريجات المدرسة إحدى معلماتها فيما بعد في مقابلة معها بتاريخ ١٢ حزيران ١٩٩٢.

^{٢٨} عقد الجمان (١٨٨٩)، ٣.

الكفيلة بتبؤؤ المراكز الاقتصادية التي يشغلها القيمون على التعليم، وربطها بتطور المجتمع والتخطيط التربوي الهادف إلى التغيير المتكافئ مع التطور. وهذا التخطيط قائم على مصادر التمويل والإدارة، فكانت تعبئة الجهود وتنظيمها يصبون إلى رفع مستوى تعليم البنات والنساء، وبالتالي التنسيق بشتى الوسائل لتوجيه الخبرات والكفاءات نحو البناء التربوي الثقافي. هذا ما جعل التوجيه مدروساً وكفيلاً بتأمين حرية التزام العائلات الأرثوذكسية البيروتية بالطائفة دون الارتهان إلى الخارج، ولكن ضمن الاستفادة من الحداثة الغربية وإدخالها في صميم البنية الثقافية الإنمائية، والتي سوف تلعب دور المؤشر لعلاقات الإنتاج الجديدة والمناسبة محلياً مع متطلبات التغيير.

٣ - موقع المدرسة في المجتمع البيروتي ودور العنصر النسائي

لقد اختارت مدرسة «زهرة الإحسان» تميزها عن مختلف المدارس البيروتية الأرثوذكسية، كون السيدات هنّ من أخذن على عاتقهنّ أعمال الجمعية وكون الرهبنة اختصت بتدبير رعاية اليتيمات الداخليات. وهذا أمر لم يكن له سابق في بيروت لدى الأرثوذكس، فهذه كانت المرة الأولى التي تتأسس فيها رهبنة أرثوذكسية عاملة مرتبطة برعاية اليتيمات والتعليم، وكلّ نماذج الرهبانيات النسائية قبل ذلك هي رهبانيات متوحدات تعتمد الصلاة والتأمل. كما أنّها جعلت منذ تأسيسها، اللغتين العربية والفرنسية من ضمن المناهج الرئيسية مجاريةً بذلك مدارس الإرساليات. ونلاحظ تميزها عبر تتبع نشاطها كما ذكرنا حيث ينظم العمل بين الهيئات الثلاث:

- التعليمية: على مستوى المناهج.
- الإدارية: على مستوى الحفلات والزيارات الرسمية.
- الرهبانية: على مستوى المعارض للأشغال اليدوية.

وهذا ما سمح بانصهار مختلف الأعمال وأتاح تربية الإناث برعاية رهبنة عاملة، في سبيل إنجاح المنحى التربوي للطائفة. بذلك استطاعت إعطاء الدليل على تميزها أيضاً في إعداد الفتاة ثقافياً وتربوياً، وعلى إمكانية الإنطلاق إلى العمل الاجتماعي. وهكذا نلاحظ إنشاء بعض المتخرجات

لجمعية «البنفسجة» كدليل على ما يمكن تسميته «المردود» العملي «للإنتاج» الفكري «الموجه» بهدف تنمية الموارد الضرورية لانتقاء المستوى الثقافي المطلوب في المجتمع.

فجاءت النشاطات لإظهار مواكبة المدرسة للأمور الثقافية الحديثة موزعة كالتالي:

– على المستوى المحلي تمّ تأليف «عصبة من كرائم السيدات اللواتي يجتمعن كل أسبوع في المدرسة للقيام بأشغال يدوية لمنفعة الميتم». بمعنى آخر كان على المدرسة تأمين دور اجتماعي للإناث نظراً لأهميّة تهذيب أخلاق الإناث وتثقيف عقولهن وما ينجم عن تعليم المرأة من فائدة، إذ إنّ هذا الجنس «مدار إصلاح الكون وبه حسن نظام الهيئة الاجتماعية»^{٢٩}. في تلك الفترة كانت وظيفة المدارس تقتصر على تخريج الطالبات «في أنواع المعارف» مع نصيب كبير من الآداب واتقان «صناعة الإبرة» من خياطة وتطريز، وإلى هذا الفريق تنظر البلاد وعليه تعلق آمال المستقبل وتبني نهضة الأمة.

– على المستوى التربوي الثقافي كان التأثير بالثقافة الغربية والافتخار بحصول حفلات البالو المتشابهة مع تلك في أوروبا، مما يبرر ذكر زيارة المسيو ليشن قنصل جنرال دولة روسيا بصحبة عقيلته، وذكر فن البيانو. أما معلمات المدرسة فيبقين الذكريات الجميلة لكل الحفلات والمسرحيات لدى ذكر الشخصيات الأجنبية التي حضرت في تلك الفترة، مثل وجود الملحن الفرنسي «كميل شامبير» وهو يستمع لأناشيد المدرسة الملحنة من ميري المر، كما يعدّها «عقد الجمان» وهو كما ذكرنا عنوان لكتراس الأعمال السنوية للجمعية ويحمل الاسم كل المعاني الأنتوية للزينة النسائية: سنة ١٨٨٦ يذكر «عقد الجمان» إحضار معلمتين من مرسيليا لأجل تعليم اللغة الفرنسية. ويذكر أيضاً سنة ١٩٠٦ إحضار المعلمات من أوروبا على نفقة الجمعية «لتدريس اللغة الفرنسية وبعض العلوم» والتعاليم المنصوصة في قوانين المدرسة.^{٣٠}

^{٢٩} عقد الجمان (١٨٨٩)، ٣.

^{٣٠} مجلّة المحبة ١٢١ (١٩٠١)، ٣٣١.

– على المستوى التعليمي تركّز الاهتمام على إعطاء المرأة دوراً فعالاً في مجالي الاقتصاد والتمريض، فبعد حوالي عشر سنوات من التأسيس حصل ما يشبه القفزة النوعية نحو الترقى والتقدم بعد مرحلة النمو. استهدفت النشاطات تعزيز أوضاع يتيمات المدرسة وتحسين المستوى التعليمي الثقافي. في هذا السياق تذكر مجلة المنار عام ١٨٩٩م امتحان التلميذات في صف التمريض وهو «صف الدكتور اسكندر بارودي» مدير مجلة «الطيب» كما تذكر تعلم تدبير المنزل والاقتصاد؛ وتعود أهمية ذكر هذه المواد التعليمية للنتيجة إلى أمور التطبيب والاستشفاء ومسائل الاقتصاد.

كل ذلك يؤدي إلى إبراز دور المرأة وحضورها في المجتمع، ويهدف إلى رفع معنويات السيدات ليصبحن «قادات على مباراة أهم المدارس الداخلية في وطننا العزيز»^{٣١}، وما تكرر سرد وقائع الاحتفالات ووصفها وذكر الشخصيات سوى موضوع لفت انتباه الجميع إلى شهرة المدرسة وملاحظة القيمين عليها، بوجود السيدة فريدة طراد إلى جانب الأم جهشان، وحضور القناصل إلى جانب رئيسة الجمعية، السيدة إميلي سرسق؛ وفي هذا توزيع للأدوار الاجتماعية مما يخدم مصلحة الكل. فالأمور التعليمية والمالية للمدرسة كانت بإشراف السيدة طراد، أما الأمور التربوية والدينية للميتم بإشراف الأم جهشان، والأمور الاجتماعية والتثقيفية للمدرسة والميتم فكانت برعاية وإشراف السيدة إميلي سرسق ضمن إطار جمعية «زهرة الإحسان». كل ذلك ساهم بإظهار ثمار النجاح على مختلف المستويات نتيجة تعاون فريق العمل النسائي ضمن إطار تفعيل دور المرأة وتطويره في المجتمع البيروتي آنذاك.

إنّ تعاطف شهرة المدرسة يستدعي الانتباه إلى الهيئة التعليمية المرتبطة بنمو مدرسة «زهرة الإحسان» والتي اتخذت نحو عشرين معلمة بعضهن راهبات: «البعض من بنات اليونان والسويد وبلجيكا وفرنسا فضلاً عن الوطنيات». إنّ الاهتمام بتأمين المعلمات هو لتلبية حاجة المجتمع إلى أعداد من المتعلّات تستطيع تغطية هذه الحاجة عبر الطالبات المتخرجات والمتعاونات مع الأساتذة. وحتى إنشاء مجلات مثل مجلة منيرفا لماري يتي، وهي من خريجات

٣١ مجلة المحبة ١٢ (١٨٩٩)، ١٨٨.

المدرسة، وكانت «أول بيروتية أنشأت مجلة في بلدها»؛ وفي العدد الأوّل لمجلة منيرفا ذكر جرجي باز دخول النساء إلى عالم الصحافة وعلى غلبة الصحافيات المولودات في لبنان وبلاد عربية أخرى مثال:

- هند نوفل مؤسسة مجلة «الفنّانة» في الإسكندرية وهي أوّل مجلة نسائية في العالم العربي.
- ألكسندرا خوري افريو منشئة مجلة «أنيس الجليس».
- لوليزا حبالين منشئة «الفردوس» في مصر عام ١٨٩٦م.

بالإضافة إلى وجود ثلاث مجلات نسائية في بيروت من ضمن ست مجلات وثلاثين جريدة في الثغر. وفي نفس السياق نذكر مريم عجمي ولوليزا طعمة الدمشقية مؤسسة «المرأة الجديدة». أمّا أهمية الصحيفة النسائية في بث روح التجدد النسائي، فقد جاء على لسان سلمى صانع تلميذة المدرسة والكاتبة في مجلة «منيرفا» أيضاً.

كان تحصيل الإناث للعلم وممارسة التعليم من صميم توجّهات المدرسة، لذلك ذكرت الأعمال وضع التلميذات المتخرجات «منهتّ من لزمّن بيوتهن لإعالة والديهن، ومنهن من يعملن في المدارس الأجنبية ومنهن من بقين في المدرسة ومن هؤلاء من يتعاطين التعليم فيها بغير عوض (تعويض)... ومنهن من يطلب الدخول في الرهبانية ليقتضي العمر في خدمة الطائفة والوطن»^{٣٢}.

وفي كل سنة وبمناسبة التخرج كانت الأعمال المذكورة في «عقد الجمان» تسرد تنوع وضع التلميذات والمعلّمات، ممّا سمح بملاحظة التطور الثقافي للعصر، في النظرة إلى تعليم المرأة وفي التنوع في ذكر مهمّاتها في المجتمع على التوالي:

- سنة ١٨٨٨م، جاء الكلام على لزوم المتخرجات البقاء في البيت أو العمل في المدارس أو الدخول في الرهبنة.

^{٣٢} جرجي نقولا باز، المعرض الأسبوعي، مكتبة مدرسة زهرة الإحسان.

^{٣٣} عقد الجمان (١٨٨٨)، ١.

- سنة ١٨٩٨م، كانت ضرورة خروجهن إلى ميدان العمل وبراعتهم في التدبير المنزلي والأعمال اليدوية.
- سنة ١٩٠٤م، كانت العودة إلى ذكر تربية الأولاد ودور المرأة التقليدي، ولكن بالتلميح إلى النهضة الأدبية.
- سنة ١٩٠٥م و١٩٠٨م، ذكر الوطنية وخدمة البشرية والملة.

يعطي هذا السرد صفة المؤثر على مواكبة المدرسة لحاجات كل عصر ومتطلباته في خضم صراعات التغيرات، وعلى تأدية دورها القيادي في المجتمع لناحية تغيير الأفكار واستيعاب مستجدات العصر. ولكن كل المستجدات ما كانت لتتبن لولا وعي السيدات المؤسّسات للدور البناء الملقى على عاتقهن، فجاء الارتقاء وانتقال الفكر تدريجياً «من جيل إلى جيل».

الخاتمة

إنّ المنطق المتحكّم بتطور المدرسة كان تلبية حاجة العائلة التربوية ضمن المحيط الجغرافي المحدّد بهدف تقوية التماسك الاجتماعي وتطوير التكامل الاقتصادي بين مختلف الفئات. فعرفت سيدات الجمعية ومؤازرة الرهبنة، كيفية انتقاء الخيارات الثقافية والمهنية المناسبة لبقاء التراث والضرورية لمواكبة الحداثة. فإنّ النقاء الأهلي مع الأبناء حول المعرفة، على مستوى مسرحيات ثقافية عالمية ومُعربة، أدّى الدور التلقيني الشفهي والشعبي لشريحة اجتماعية معينة. بالتزامن مع التعليم الكلاسيكي كان التلقين لليتامى والفقراء والأغنياء متاحاً على حدّ سواء. أمّا تأمين المعلمات الأجنبية فكان يهدف إلى رفع المستوى التعليمي مواكبةً لنهضة العصر. أمّا التعليم المهني فكان يشمل معارف وخبرات ومهارات متصلة بتطبيق المعرفة والتكنولوجيا «المنتجة»، إذ استطاعت المدرسة تأمين معلّات بارعات في فن التطريز والخياطة والرسم، فدربت التلامذة وأفسحت المجال لعرض الأشغال اليدوية ضمن احتفالات صبت إيراداتها السنوية في خدمة المدرسة.

وبهذا لبتى التعليم في هذه المدرسة غرضيه الأساسيين: «توظيفي أي عمليّ وفعليّ، وإنسانيّ أي إغنائيّ وإيمانيّ»^{٣٤}. وكما استفاد البعض من أن تتبلور مهارتهن في فن الحياطة والتطريز ضمن أوقات التعليم المهني، كذلك أسهمت دروس التمريض في تعزيز دور المرأة ضمن الأسرة التي هي الخلية الأساسية في المجتمع، وحضرتها لتبؤؤ الوظائف في المستشفيات المؤسّسة حديثاً في المدينة.

الحقيقة أنّ كلّ تعمق في المضمون التربويّ يؤدي إلى تخطيط إلزامي لبلوغ التنمية الشاملة، لأنّ الخطة التربوية هي «وليدة التفاعل بين الأهداف المرجوة والواقع التربوي القائم»^{٣٥}. فمن الطبيعي ملاحظة تأثير المدرسة بواقع النظام القائم، ولكن الأهمية تظهر في مدى تأثيرها الدائم في المجتمع الثقافي، لأنّ «الكفاءة الإنسانية المكتسبة بالتربية والتدريب رأسال ثابت للشخص الإنساني بمفرده وللمجتمع بأسره»^{٣٦}. فبالإضافة إلى دور المرأة في التربية المنزلية المتكاملة مع المدرسة تبقى الثوابت التربوية لناحية نقل المعرفة والتفاعل معها عبر العلاقات الإنسانية الثقافية هي الأوفر حظاً في تحطّي المعوقات الاقتصادية وتأمين التطور الاجتماعي على مختلف المستويات.

يمثل نجاح العمل في جمعية «زهرة الإحسان» والمدرسة والرهينة فائدة كبرى على المستوى الاجتماعي، إنّ لجهة مركز «السيدات الأفاضل» أو «المعلّات الأجنبية» أو «الرهينة العاملة الاجتماعية»، أو لجهة تثقيف بنات الطائفة الفقيرات والغنيات في بوتقة واحدة متفاعلة. هذا ما نشهده من خلال مراجعة التفاعل أو الترابط القائم بين الرهينة والمدرسة والجمعية، فالتربية أرثوذكسية والتعليم تثقيفيّ والتدريب مهني، والكل يعطي مهارات وخبرات لثوابت متطورة تواكب كلّ عصر.

^{٣٤} أبو مراد مفيد، «واقع التعليم ومرجاه في لبنان: الابعاد التاريخية والدستورية»، النهار (١٩٩٢ آب ١١)، ٩.

^{٣٥} جان شرو، «أفكار حول إصلاح النظام التربوي في لبنان»، الواقع ٥: ٦ (تشرين الأول ١٩٨٣)، ١٨٩.

^{٣٦} شرو، «أفكار حول إصلاح النظام التربوي في لبنان»، ١٨١.

Mothers of a Future Generation: The Journey of an Argument for Female Education

Julia Hauser

In late 1877, Emma Rosenzweig, a young woman of Eastern-European Jewish descent, affiliated with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, a French liberal Jewish organization, addressed a letter to her unnamed “honored coreligionists” in Beirut in search for support for the establishment of a school for Jewish girls, claiming to speak on behalf of what she referred to as the local Jewish community.¹ Commencing with a quote from the Biblical book of Proverbs on “The Wife of Noble Character”,² she expounded “how much is to be praised the wisdom of Woman, who keeps chaste her household by means of her education.”³ Rosenzweig’s interpretation of this passage was certainly a liberal one, for it did not contain any direct allusions to education, instead tracing back the wife’s virtue to her impeccable character and prudent execution of her domestic duties. After emphasizing that education and belief were not mutually exclusive categories, but both given to humans by “the Supreme Being”, and directed towards one and the same aim, a “desire for the eternal”, she stressed that the education of girls was indispensable to the progress of society.⁴ With fathers being too involved in public life to see to it, or so she argued in line with the contemporary concept of “separate spheres”, mothers were the only ones who could fulfill this task: “...this is the duty of a mother, since she has the power to direct the hearts of her children like a canal directs the water of a river in the direction in which it is built.”⁵ Without being educated themselves, however, mothers could not act as educators. Hence the first modern school for Jewish girls in Beirut would edu-

¹ Emma Rosenzweig to the Jewish Notables of Beirut, draft, n. d. [before 30 December 1877], VIII e 90, Archives Liban, Archives de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris (henceforth: AAIU). Quotes from the letter, originally in French, are cited according to the author’s translation. The fact that the archives of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* contain a draft copy of Rosenzweig’s letter suggests that the *Alliance* supported the establishment of the school from the start.

² “Donnez-lui les fruits de ses mains, Et que ses œuvres la louent dans les portes”. Proverbs 31: 31.

³ Emma Rosenzweig to the Jewish Notables of Beirut.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. On the concept of “separate spheres” see Karin Hausen, “Family and Role-Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century. An Aspect of Dissociation of Work and Family Life”, in: *The German family: Essays on the social history of the family in nineteenth and twentieth-century Germany*, Richard J. Evans and William Robert Lee, eds., London: Croom Helm 1978, 51–83.

cate the mothers of future generations, thus saving them from the threat that missionary schools posed to their faith, “for these establishments aim at making the children of Israel drink a bitter water that does much harm to them.”⁶ With this powerful argument, Emma Rosenzweig justified the foundation of a Jewish school for girls in Beirut, asking her “honored coreligionists” for their support.

Rosenzweig’s letter, and the ensuing foundation of the school announced in it, was more than a brief episode in the history of a city teeming with educational activities in the late 19th century. Foreign observers often referred to late Ottoman Beirut as the “city of schools”,⁷ yet mostly confined their observations to the massive expansion of foreign establishments while disregarding the equal surge in local initiatives, or indeed the degree to which the foreign and the local were mutually entangled. This entanglement was Janus-faced, resulting in coexistence and exchange as much in competition.⁸ One crucial aspect of the latter was the struggle for hegemony with respect to new notions of gender articulated through education. The venture proposed by Rosenzweig was exemplary of both developments: the entanglement of the foreign and the local, and the quest for hegemony in and through gendered missions.

Gender was at the heart of the agendas of many missionary organizations operating in late Ottoman Syria. In contemporary Europe and America, relations between men and women of the middle class were imagined in terms of separate spheres, with men interacting with the public, while women’s sphere was the home, where they were to be the first educators of their children, and the ones to be in charge of religious practice. Paradoxically, this very model, with the moral superiority it accorded to women, served as the rationale for women’s entry into metropolitan charity as well as foreign missions.⁹ Particularly gender-segregated societies, on account of male missionaries’ restricted access to private homes, seemed to be in need of Western women’s intervention on behalf of their purported local sisters. In their quest of “saving brown women from brown men” by different

⁶ Emma Rosenzweig to the Jewish Notables of Beirut.

⁷ See, for instance, *The Treasury: A magazine of religious and current thought for pastor and people* 1 (1884), 59; Max Löhr, *Völkische Leben im Lande der Bibel*, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer 1907, 110; Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-three years in Syria*, New York: Fleming H. Revell 1910, 227; Ernst von Dryander, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing 1922, 262.

⁸ Jens Hanssen, accordingly, refers to education as “one of the most contested fields of cultural production” in late Ottoman Beirut. Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut. The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, 164.

⁹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987, 454; Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1999, 94–123; Clare Midgley, *Feminism and Empire. Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790–1865*, London: Routledge 2007, 92–122; Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers. Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 2013, 17–18.

means, yet driven by the same degree of zeal as male actors in colonial contexts,¹⁰ Western female missionaries strove to extend their agency both within and outside their own society, placing themselves above local women (as well as local men) in the imagined cultural hierarchy they embraced.¹¹ Female education became their central objective, based on the same rationale that had paved their own way into foreign missions in the first place: motherhood as womens' and hence local girls' future destination; a destination that, as Rosenzweig herself had pointed out, could only be achieved by education. In due course, various Western missions in Beirut competed with each other in these objectives.¹²

As this chapter will show, Rosenzweig was well acquainted with both Christian and innovative Jewish concepts of female education, both of which justified the latter with girls' future maternal vocation. While this would ideally have enabled her to act as a cultural translator in this respect, her hybrid position as both an insider and an outsider to the local Jewish community, a community only about to come into being in formal respects, hampered the realization of her utopia of female education, as did the class-specific nature of educational choices in late 19th-century Beirut.¹³

Experiencing Missionary Education

While Rosenzweig approached a specific local religious community, neither her initiative nor she herself were of Beirut origin. Rosenzweig came from an Eastern European Jewish immigrant family of modest means.¹⁴ Her father, Fischel Rosenzweig, a bookbinder who would later move to London, had trouble to make ends meet most of the time.¹⁵ Nevertheless, he had been determined to procure his children the best education available. From his and many of his wealthier co-

¹⁰ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", in: *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Nelson, Claudia and Grossberg, Lawrence, eds., Basingstoke: Macmillan 1988, 297.

¹¹ Jane Haggis, "White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative History", in: *Gender and Imperialism*, Clare Midgley, ed., Manchester: Manchester University Press 1998, 45–75.

¹² Julia Hauser, *Competing Missions. German Religious Women in Late Ottoman Beirut*, Leiden: Brill 2015.

¹³ According to Frances Malino, Jewish employees of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* were able to draw profit from their position "as simultaneously insider[s] and outsider[s], a foreign presence entitled to protection and a spokesperson for the fears and memories of her co-religionists." Frances Malino, "The Women Teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1872–1940", in: *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Judith R. Baskin, Detroit: Wayne State University Press 1998, 263. The case of Emma Rosenzweig, however, shows that the hybrid position of *Alliance* teachers could also work to the disadvantage of their educational endeavors.

¹⁴ Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 23 April 1874, AKD 242, Archiv der Fliedner-Kulturstiftung Kaiserswerth (henceforth AFKSK).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

religionists' perspective, this was a Western missionary one.¹⁶ Although a member of the local committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*,¹⁷ which hoped to challenge the influence of missionary organizations, Fischel Rosenzweig was relatively open towards missions, printing scientific textbooks authored by American missionaries in his press.¹⁸ As a consequence of the educational choices her father made for her, Emma Rosenzweig was enrolled at the expensive boarding school of the German Protestant deaconesses of Kaiserswerth.¹⁹ It was in this establishment that she, like other Jewish educators of the day,²⁰ gained first-hand experience of the very kind of missionary education from which she would later wish to protect her coreligionists' daughters.

Fischel Rosenzweig's commitment to his daughter's education was evidence of his reform-mindedness. Ashkenazi Jews in Europe had long deemed female education beyond an introduction to domestic skills of little import until the onset of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (*Haskalah*) in the late 18th century.²¹ Education, in a purely religious sense, had been a male domain if not an obligation. The ideal Orthodox Jewish man was to devote himself to religious studies at home and in the synagogue, while it was up to his wife to run the family business as well as the household.²² Female education, therefore, was generally limited to training in practical skills, while women's religious duties were confined more or less to informal prayer with Scripture playing little part in it. At the end of the 18th century, the Jewish reform movement whose protagonists founded the first schools for girls, brought about a change in this respect.²³ In

¹⁶ Even many members of the local committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, such as its honorary president Raphael Levi Stambouli or its secretary Henri Brasseur, sent their children to the school of the German Protestant deaconesses. See "List of pupils up to 1886", AKD 242, AFKSK. In this, they followed a wider trend in Syrian society, where female education gained increasing importance as a marker of social status. As Nammour explains in her contribution to this volume, Western models played a crucial part in the contemporary debate on female education.

¹⁷ Fischel Rosenzweig's name first appears in a list of the members of the Beirut *Alliance* committee in 1867. *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* (hereafter: BAIU) 7 (1867), 113.

¹⁸ Cornelius Van Dyck, *Uṣūl al-Kimiyya*, Beirut: F. Rosenzweig 1869. I would like to thank Christine Lindner for this reference.

¹⁹ "List of pupils up to 1886".

²⁰ See Karam's contribution to this volume.

²¹ For an overview on the *Haskalah*, see Azriel Shochat et al., "Haskalah", in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, vol. 8, Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA 2007, 434–444.

²² While apparently widespread in Eastern Europe, this form of conjugal life was less common in the German states. Robert Liberles, "An der Schwelle zur Moderne: 1618–1780", in: *Geschichte des jüdischen Alltags in Deutschland: Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis 1945*, Marion Kaplan, ed., München: C.H. Beck 2003, 55–56.

²³ For the German-speaking territories, which assumed a pioneering function in this respect, with the first Jewish schools for girls being founded in Prussia, Anhalt, and Eastern Prussia around 1800, see Mordechai Eliav, *Jüdische Erziehung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Aufklärung und Emanzipation*, Münster: Waxmann 2001, 348–361.

Eastern Europe, Jewish girls and women of the emerging middle class, freed from the duty of serious religious studies, were the first to acquire an education centering on foreign languages.²⁴ As in Western Europe, their education was frequently legitimized with reference to their future maternal duties.²⁵

It may have been these influences that prompted Emma Rosenzweig's father to enroll his daughters as well as their brother Salomon at the boarding school of the German Protestant deaconesses in Beirut. Since 1851, this organization had established schools in various cities of the Ottoman Empire with the intention of "uplifting" local girls, the mothers of future generations, through education.²⁶ Their establishment in Beirut, founded in 1862 in a period when missionary education for girls in the city saw an unprecedented expansion,²⁷ was the most exclusive Protestant school for girls in the city.²⁸ It offered an education that, while also conveying knowledge in arithmetic, history, and geography, focused on skills considered central to middle-class womanhood such as drawing, needlework, and music. Although the deaconesses assumed a critical stance towards French culture,

²⁴ Iris Parush, *Reading Jewish women: Marginality and modernization in nineteenth-century Eastern European Jewish society*, Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press 2004, 246; Iris Parush, "The Politics of Literacy. Women and Foreign Languages in Jewish Society of 19th-Century Eastern Europe", in: *Modern Judaism* 15 (1995), 192 and passim. See also Monika Richarz, "In Familie, Handel und Salon. Jüdische Frauen vor und nach der Emanzipation der deutschen Juden", in: *Frauengeschichte – Geschlechtergeschichte*, Karin Hausen and Heide Wunder, eds., Frankfurt a. M. 1992, 57–66. Generally, the rate of literacy among Jewish women in the Russian Empire was comparatively high, particularly in urban settings. Shaul Stampfer, "Gender Differentiation and Education of the Jewish Woman in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe", *Polin* (1992), 63–87.

²⁵ Simone Lässig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum. Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2004, 337–356.

²⁶ *Erster Bericht über die Diakonissen-Stationen im Morgenlande*, Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt 1853, 71.

²⁷ *Jubilat! Denkschrift zur Jubelfeier der Erneuerung des apostolischen Diakonissen-Amtes und der fünfzigjährigen Wirksamkeit des Diakonissen-Mutterhauses zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein*, Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt 1886, 128. At about the same time, Elizabeth Bowen Thompson started the British Syrian Mission in the city, while the *Filles de la Charité*, anticipating the arrival of other Catholic congregations in the decade to follow, considerably expanded their activities in female education. H. B. Tristram, *The Daughters of Syria: A Narrative of the Efforts of Mrs Bowen Thompson for the Evangelization of the Syrian Females*, London: Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday 1872, 68–94; "Lettre de M. Bel, préfet apostolique, à la Soeur N.", *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes) et des Filles de la Charité* XXVI (1861), 514; "Lettre du P. Francois-X. Gautrelet au P. Pierre Beck, Beirut, 31 Janvier 1869", in: *Une histoire du Liban à travers les activités des Jésuites*, Sami Kuri, ed., vol. 2: 1846–1862, Beirut 1991, 290–291; Luce Camuzet, *L'œuvre de Syrie des Soeurs de St-Joseph de l'Apparition*, Paris: Paillart 1931, 29–32.

²⁸ "Notes sur le Liban et la Syrie présentée par le Vicomte de Petiteville, Consul General of France in Beirut, à Mr. Flourens, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Beyrouth, Mars 1888", in: *Documents Diplomatiques et consulaires relatifs à l'histoire du Liban et des pays du Proche-Orient du XVIIe siècle à nos jours. Première Partie: Les Sources françaises. Vol. 15: Consulat général de France à Beyrouth (1883–1890)*, Adel Ismail, ed., Beirut: Éditions des Œuvres Politiques et Historiques 1978, 275.

they could not ignore the strong position of French-speaking Catholic congregations in upper-class female education in Beirut.²⁹ French, therefore, was the main language of instruction in their school.³⁰ However, additional lessons in German, of particular appeal to Ashkenazi Jews whose language was close to it, were available as well.³¹

While this kind of education seemed to open up opportunities for upward social mobility, the school's high tuition fees were intended to bar off a lower to lower-middle class clientele. Rosenzweig, nevertheless, managed to bargain for acceptance of his children on a reduced rate, arguing that they needed to learn both French and German.³² Although German was also taught at the Church of Scotland's mission school for Jews, this charity establishment, targeting a lower-class audience, did not correspond to Rosenzweig's ambitions for his children.³³ His educational choices enabled his daughter Emma to become familiar with one of the finest establishments in contemporary Beirut, as well as with a kind of gendered education she would selectively appropriate as an educator later on in her life.

Although the deaconesses' school was not a missionary establishment proper, it was characterized by a clear primacy of Protestantism. Classes in Biblical history as well as religious services and prayers were mandatory for all pupils, regardless of their creed.³⁴ Furthermore, pupils were prepared for Christian holidays, most importantly for Christmas, by having to learn passages from Scripture.³⁵ Finally, the greater part of lessons was taught by the deaconesses to whose work a sense of mission was central. In contrast to British missions in the region,³⁶ Kaiserswerth had

²⁹ See, for instance, Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff and Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 26 April 1869, AKD 242, AFKSK. Louise Kayser to Julius Disselhoff and Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 16 October 1876, AKD 242. French Protestant students increasingly shunned their school after the French defeat of 1871. Louise Kayser to Caroline Fliedner, Beirut. Beirut, 28 February 1871, AKD 242; Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff and Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 10 April 1871, AKD 242.

³⁰ Zweiter Bericht über die Diakonissen-Stationen in Beirut, am Libanon, namentlich über das Waisenhaus Zoar (1865), 26-28.

³¹ See an advertisement for the school in the newspaper *Le Nil*, 197 (13 August 1868) attached to: Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff and Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 1 September 1868, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874-1893), AFKSK.

³² According to Frances Malino, the careers of many female *Alliance* teachers would have been inconceivable, had not their mothers insisted on their formal education since their early childhood. Frances Malino, "Prophets in their own land? Mothers and daughters of the Alliance Israélite Universelle", *Nashim* 3 (2000), 56-73. Emma Rosenzweig's case shows that paternal support could be just as decisive.

³³ Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 23 April 1874, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874-1893), AFKSK.

³⁴ Pauline Schmidt to Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 30 December 1872, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874-1893), AFKSK.

³⁵ Wilhelmina Brück to Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 7 January 1865, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874-1893), AFKSK.

³⁶ Evangelizing Jews had been Britain's foremost motive for consenting to the establishment of a joint bishopric with Prussia in Jerusalem. Frederick William IV of Prussia, on the other

never officially embraced evangelization of the Jews as an aspect of their agenda. Convinced that Protestantism was superior to other faiths, however, the deaconesses were clearly intent on familiarizing Jewish pupils with Protestantism.³⁷ Hence they frequently reported home that Jewish boys and girls were, “hardly without an exception, our best pupils, in matters of religion often so uninhibited, and so attentive during Biblical instruction, that one is often tempted to forget that they are not Christian children.”³⁸

While these comments were not without ambivalence, Jewish pupils in general, and the Rosenzweig children in particular, were confronted with cultural prejudice in a wider sense at the establishment. German-speaking Jews, on account of their supposedly flawed command of German, were mocked by both pupils and teachers.³⁹ Emma Rosenzweig and her siblings, whose origin, nationality, and mother tongue evaded any clear definition and whose father’s source of income remained dubious, were considered inadequate company for their European peers.⁴⁰ Under these circumstances, Emma, whose alleged indolence was a source of complaint to the deaconesses, hardly had a chance of passing as a good pupil.⁴¹ In 1874, she left school to become engaged to Abraham Léon, a young Sephardic teacher.⁴² Instead

hand, did not support this part of the project, merely wishing to strengthen Protestant influence in the region in general. Abdullatif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800–1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1961, 57; Martin Lückhoff, *Anglikaner und Protestanten im Heiligen Land: Das gemeinsame Bistum Jerusalem (1841–1886)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1998, 42–49, 90–91.

³⁷ Here I disagree with Jean-Paul Eyrard and Georges Krebs, who contend that Jewish pupils were not exposed to proselytizing efforts at the deaconesses’ school. Jean Paul Eyrard, Georges Krebs, “Le protestantisme et la communauté juive de Beyrouth”, in: *L’Enseignement français en Méditerranée: Les missionnaires et l’Alliance israélite universelle*, Jérôme Bocquet, ed., Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2010, 127–128.

³⁸ Elisabeth Steinwender to Theodor Fliedner, Beirut, 25 Jul 1863, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK. Similarly, Lina Schorsch to Theodor Fliedner, Beirut, 12 April 1864, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK; Wilhelmina Brück to Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 7 January 1865, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK; *ibid.* Bertha Menke to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 27 May 1878, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874–1893), AFKSK.

³⁹ Louise Kayser to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 2 January 1869, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK. For similar comments, see Elisabeth Steinwender to Theodor and Caroline Fliedner, Beirut, 7 May 1862, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK; Louise Kayser to Caroline Fliedner and Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 16 September 1869, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK; Louise Kayser to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 26 September 1892, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874–1893), AFKSK.

⁴⁰ Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 23 April 1874, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK.

⁴¹ According to one deaconess, she suffered from the “most terrible laziness”. Louise Kayser to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 2 January 1869, AKD 242, Briefe aus dem Waisenhaus Zoar (1860–1873), AFKSK.

⁴² Amalie Richter to Caroline Fliedner and Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 2 June 1874, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874–1893), AFKSK. The Léons thus represented a type of couple

of being called to domestic duties, however, she went to Paris⁴³ where she was trained as a teacher at the cost of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. Founded in Paris in 1860, the very year in which the deaconesses arrived in Beirut, this organization advocated a civilizing mission to Jews worldwide to which the education of girls, the mothers of future generations, was central.

Women in the Focus of Competing Missions

Yet her encounter with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* would not have been the first time that Rosenzweig was confronted with the argument for female education she herself would come to use. The organization whose school she attended in Beirut, the Kaiserswerth deaconessate, founded its activities on a similar rationale. The deaconessate was not primarily concerned with foreign mission. Its main activities focused on the German states where it had been one of the main actors to promote women's entry into the teaching professions.⁴⁴ This daring act was justified with their allegedly natural gift for education, particularly for the education of girls.⁴⁵ Reacting to the widespread criticism of female erudition at the time, Kaiserswerth argued that girls needed to be educated not for intellectual purposes, but first and foremost for their future maternal duties.⁴⁶

In its profile as a religious community of women engaged in nursing and education, the Kaiserswerth deaconessate was not without precedents. Among other sources of inspiration, it consciously modelled itself on Catholic female congregations.⁴⁷ The oldest and most famous organization of this kind was the *Compag-*

often to be found among the staff of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, many of whose female employees married their male colleagues. Frances Malino, "Women Teachers", 252–254.

⁴³ Amalie Richter to Julius Disselhoff, Beirut, 6 February 1874, AKD 245, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1874–1893), AFKSK.

⁴⁴ James Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women. Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1988, 63.

⁴⁵ To give but one example, this argument was made in a speech held at the opening of Kaiserswerth's boarding school in Hilden. *Dritter Jahresbericht der Diakonissen-Anstalt zu Kaiserswerth am Rhein vom 1. October 1838 bis 1. October 1839*, 8.

⁴⁶ "Eröffnung des Diakonissen-Lehrhauses zu Hilden bei Düsseldorf am 6. Mai 1861", *Der Armen- und Krankenfreund* 14 (1861) 3, 103–104.

⁴⁷ Martin Gerhardt, *Theodor Fliedner: Ein Lebensbild*, vol. 1, Düsseldorf 1933, 21–23; Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte der Diakonie und Inneren Mission in der Neuzeit*, Berlin: Wichern 1962, 61; Paul Philipp, *Die Vorstufen des modernen Diakonissenamtes (1798–1848) als Elemente für dessen Verständnis und Kritik: Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wesen der Mutterhausdiakonie*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1966, 168; Ursula Röper, *Mariane von Rantzan und die Kunst der Demut: Frömmigkeitsbewegung und Frauenpolitik in Preussen unter Friedrich Wilhelm IV.*, Stuttgart: Metzler 1997, 51–52, 90; Jutta Schmidt, *Beruf: Schwester. Mutterhausdiakonie im 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus 1998, 28–30, 47–54, 92; Ruth Felgentreff, "Die Diakonissen. Beruf und Religion im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", in: *Beruf und Religion im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frank-Michael Kuhlemann and Hans-Walter Schmuhl, eds., Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2003, 199.

nie des Filles de la Charité de Saint-Vincent de Paul, founded in Paris around the middle of the 17th century. Unlike traditional Catholic orders, congregations like the *Filles de la Charité* espoused an active commitment to the world. Female education was one of their main activities, founded on a well-known rationale: girls needed to be educated in order to act as educators themselves one day.⁴⁸

In 19th-century Protestant Germany, Catholic female congregations were much admired for their use of a resource hitherto unused in the Protestant world—celibate women. The Kaiserswerth deaconessate was a deliberate emulation of this model. Founded in the Rhineland, a region in Western Prussia where Protestants were a minority compared to Catholics, it drew on a Catholic model while professing a militant anti-Catholicism. Yet these complex dynamics of appropriation and rejection could only thinly veil a striking similarity between Catholic congregations and deaconesses: both dedicated themselves to female education with a decidedly religious, if not missionary, motivation, stressing that girls had to be educated for their maternal “vocation”.

If this was true for their work in France and Germany respectively, it was even more so in the Ottoman Empire, where both the Kaiserswerth deaconesses and the *Filles de la Charité*, along with a great number of other French Catholic female congregations, established themselves in the 19th century.⁴⁹ The social position of “Oriental” women, interpreted as a mirror of society at large since the Enlightenment,⁵⁰ had long engaged Europeans’ imagination. “Oriental” women, or so they believed, were deplorable beings, subject to tyrannical husbands, polygamy, and the merciless tedium of the *harems*.⁵¹ During the 19th century, Western discourse on “Oriental” women acquired a new facet. Although blissfully ignorant of local soci-

⁴⁸ While the foundation of schools had been part of their agenda since the beginning – according to Susan Dinan, “[t]he vast majority of schoolgirls under the Old Regime was educated by them” – this branch of their work saw a rapid expansion during the nineteenth century. In Paris alone, they had 55 schools in the 1860s and 1870s. Cf. Léonce Celier, *Les Filles de la Charité*, Paris: Grasset 1929, 164, 248–250; Pierre Coste, *Les Filles de la Charité*, Paris: Desclée de Brouwer 1933, 67–103; Martine Sonnet, “Mädchenerziehung”, in: *Geschichte der Frauen. Vol. 3: Frühe Neuzeit*, Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis, eds., Frankfurt a. M.: Campus 1994, 119–150; Susan E. Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief in Seventeenth-Century France: The Early History of the Daughters of Charity*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2006, 4.

⁴⁹ Uwe Kaminsky, *Innere Mission im Ausland: Der Aufbau religiöser und sozialer Infrastruktur am Beispiel der Kaiserswerther Diakonie (1851–1975)*, Stuttgart: Steiner 2010, 26–36; Bertrand Lamure, “Les Congrégations Féminines Françaises en Terre Sainte au XIX^e siècle”, in: *France and the Middle East. Past, Present, and Future*, Michel Abitbol, ed., Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press 2004, 23–41; Claude Langlois, “Les congrégations françaises en Terre Sainte (1850–1914)”, in: *De Bonaparte à Balfour: La France et la Palestine, 1799–1917*, Dominique Trimbur and Ran Aaronsohn, eds., Paris: CNRS 2008, 231–255; Lucienne Bruno, *Les Filles de la Charité au Proche-Orient: Historique de la province 1844–1999*, Rayfoun: self-published 2004, 1–14.

⁵⁰ Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens: Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*, Munich: C.H. Beck 1998, 370–372.

⁵¹ Out of a growing body of literature, see Ruth Bernhard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2000.

ety, Western observers were positive that women's supposed oppression was due to a blatant lack of education. Outside intervention appeared to be the only remedy to "uplift" them. This did not just seem crucial for women's own sake. To missionaries, Protestant and Catholic alike, educating women and girls, the mothers of future generations, was of particular urgency for long-term missionary success in the region.

Accordingly, Eli Smith of the *American Board for Commissioners of Foreign Missions* (ABCFM), emphasized that "Females are there [i.e. in the Middle East], owing to their ignorance, the strongholds of superstition. [...] To enlighten them, is to lay the axe at the root of the tree."⁵² Sœur Gélas, Mother Superior of the *Filles de la Charité* in Beirut, pursued the same line of argument when hoping that her former pupils, "once mothers, will give their children since their earliest youth the [same kind of] education which they themselves enjoyed in their own childhood, and of which they know the importance."⁵³ Theodor Fliedner, the founder of the Kaiserswerth deaconessate, consented: "Educating the future mothers of the people provides the safest foundation for educating the people itself."⁵⁴

The *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the organization Rosenzweig belonged to, wished to counter missions by their own means.⁵⁵ Since the mid-1860s, education and professional training within the larger agenda of a civilizing mission were cen-

⁵² Eli Smith, *Missionary Sermons and Addresses*, Boston: Perkins & Marvin 1833, 166–167. For ABCFM policy and practice regarding female education in the Ottoman Empire, see, selectively, Constantia Kiskira, "Evangelising' the Orient: New England Womanhood in the Ottoman Empire, 1830–1930 [Education of Girls]", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 16 (1998), 279–295; Ellen L. Fleischmann, "'Our Moslem Sisters': Women of Greater Syria in the Eyes of American Protestant Missionary Women", *Islam and Christian Muslim Relations* 9: 3 (1998), 307–325; Ellen L. Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 411–425; id., "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)", in: *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Heleen Murre van den Berg, ed., Leiden: Brill 2006, 263–280; Christine B. Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823–1860*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis 2009; Reeves Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers*.

⁵³ "Lettre de la soeur Gélas, supérieure des Filles de la Charité à Beyrouth, à MM. les Membres du comité de l'Œuvre des Ecoles de l'Orient", *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient* 2 (1858), 19–23. In comparison to Protestant missions, there are few studies on the meaning of gender in Catholic missionary education. See, however, Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, "Modelling a Cosmopolitan Womanhood in Egypt (1850–1950). The Role of Nannies and French Catholic Girls' Schools", *Acta Orientalia* 62 (2001), 92–106; Sarah Ann Curtis, *Civilizing Habits. Women Missionaries and the Revival of French Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010.

⁵⁴ Theodor Fliedner, *Vorschlag zur Gründung einer deutsch-evangelischen Missions-Gesellschaft für das Morgenland*, Kaiserswerth: Verlag der Diakonissen-Anstalt 1857, 8. On the Kaiserswerth deaconesses' sense of gendered mission, see my published dissertation *Competing Missions. German Religious Women in Late Ottoman Beirut*, Leiden: Brill 2015.

⁵⁵ Frances Malino, "L'émancipation des femmes", in: *Histoire de l'Alliance israélite universelle de 1860 à nos jours*, ed. André Kaspi, Paris : Colin 2010, 266.

tral to the work of the *Alliance*.⁵⁶ In a programmatic speech in 1868, *Alliance* president Charles Netter outlined the Ottoman Empire as an important field of action in this respect.⁵⁷ While the men of the *Alliance* did not disapprove of colonial ambitions in Syria, adopting a colonial perspective themselves, they did not wish to cede the field to the then most powerful representatives of French culture in the region hitherto: French Catholic congregations.

Although religious mission was traditionally not practised in Judaism, the employees of the *Alliance* saw themselves as missionaries in their own right, missionaries of a secular and distinctly French cultural Judaism.⁵⁸ Their vision, as a consequence, was characterized by an entanglement of religious and secular aspects. On a discursive level, this resulted in a language resembling French Revolutionary imagery in its attempt “to systematically [use] religious language in [order to] to limit the power of the Church.”⁵⁹ Emma Rosenzweig’s allusions to the “Supreme Being” and her protestations that religion and education were not opposed to but complemented each other in both expressing a “desire for the eternal”, certainly are a case in point.⁶⁰

On a practical level, the *Alliance* appropriated aspects of missionary work, or, more precisely, missions rationale for female education, to a considerable extent. Subscribing to an equally negative view of the Orient, *Alliance* activists considered its Jewish inhabitants to be in dire need of moral, cultural, and political regeneration.⁶¹ Although the organization supported a wide range of educational establishments, schools for girls were accorded particular importance for the same reason as put forward by missions: in a family structure based on the idea of separate spheres, women were the ones to exert the most powerful influence

⁵⁶ Simon R. Schwarzfuchs and Frances Malino, “Alliance Israélite Universelle”, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds., vol. 1, Detroit: Macmillan Reference 2007, 671–675; Georges Weill, “Le discours scolaire de l’Alliance israélite universelle au XIXe siècle”, in: *L’Enseignement français en Méditerranée: Les missionnaires et l’Alliance israélite universelle*, Jérôme Bocquet, ed., Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2010, 39–56. In 1865, the *Bulletin de l’Alliance Israélite Universelle* started with a manifesto on the importance of education in “uplifting” the Jews of Arab-speaking lands. Both North Africa and Ottoman Syria were mentioned as important fields of action. *BAIU* 4 (1865), 2–11.

⁵⁷ “Rapport de M. Charles Netter sur la situation des israélites d’Orient”, *BAIU* (01 July 1868), 55–65. This would be of acute concern to *Alliance* leaders for many decades to come. “Ecoles, Œuvres d’Apprentissage”, *BAIU* (03. January 1898), 100.

⁵⁸ See the title of Elizabeth Antébi’s biographical study of several *Alliance* teachers: Elizabeth Antébi, *Les missionnaires juifs de la France, 1860–1939*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy 1999.

⁵⁹ Lisa Moses Leff, *Sacred Bonds of Solidarity: The Rise of Jewish Internationalism in Nineteenth-Century France*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2006, 172. As a consequence, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* illustrates in a paradigmatic way how the religious and the secular must be analyzed as interdependent categories. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2003, 26.

⁶⁰ Emma Rosenzweig to the Jewish Notables.

⁶¹ Aron Rodrigue, “La mission éducative (1860–1939)”, in: *Histoire de l’Alliance israélite universelle de 1860 à nos jours*, André Kaspi, ed., Paris: Colin 2010, 234–235.

on future generations.⁶² “It is with Woman that the education of a people must start, for it is her who gives a child his first lessons”, *Alliance* president Charles Netter insisted in a programmatic speech in 1868.⁶³ Relying on French as the sole language of instruction, *Alliance* schools were agents of a French civilizing mission no less than French Catholic missions.⁶⁴

Since 1872, the training of female teachers in Paris underpinned this part of their agenda. One of these seminarists was Emma Rosenzweig, who studied at the *Institution Bischoffsheim*, an establishment training Jewish girls as florists, seamstresses, and teachers, for barely more than one year, from 1876 to 1877.⁶⁵ Her curriculum would have included “physical and natural sciences, ancient history and ancient literature, geography, arithmetic, French, and English, as well as [...] Hebrew, the Bible, and Jewish history”.⁶⁶ Although the major part of *Alliance* students originated from countries where Arabic was spoken,⁶⁷ this language was not part of the curriculum. Instead, French culture and language were presented to the students as the apogee of civilization. Ideally, this would have filled them with an ardent desire to belong and, eventually, a powerful sense of mission—an attitude to which Emma Rosenzweig’s letter to her “honoured coreligionists” of Beirut testifies eloquently.

It was thus from various sides—her own education at a Protestant missionary school, her employer, and, perhaps, an indirect knowledge of Catholic missionary work—that Rosenzweig would have encountered the argument for female education she herself was to employ. Her appropriation, therefore, was not an original feat but relied on a chain of similar motives which, while difficult to disentangle, had one thing in common: the Orientalist disavowal of local efforts in

⁶² Frances Malino, “L’émancipation des femmes”, in: *Histoire*, Kaspi, ed., 263.

⁶³ “Rapport de M. Charles Netter”, 63.

⁶⁴ Paul Dumont, “Jewish Communities in Turkey during the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century in the Light of the Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle”, in: *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., New York: Holmes and Meier 1982, 227–228.

⁶⁵ Ecole Bischoffsheim, établissement d’enseignement professionnel pour les jeunes filles israélites, *Revue pédagogique (nouvelle série)* 11 (1887) 12, 582–583; Albert Navon, *Les 70 ans de l’Ecole normale israélite orientale (1865–1935)*, Paris: Durlacher 1935, 73–74; André Chouraqui, *L’alliance israélite universelle et la renaissance juive contemporaine (1860–1960): 100 ans d’histoire*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1965, 181; Joy Land, *Corresponding Lives: Women Educators of the Alliance Israélite Universelle School for Girls in the City of Tunis, 1882–1914*, Los Angeles: UCLA, PhD thesis 2006, 40–41. On Rosenzweig’s attendance, see “Note pour l’Alliance Israélite Universelle, 2^e trimestre 1876”, 18 April 1876, VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU; “4^e trimestre 1876”, 12 September 1876, VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU; “1^{er} trimestre 1877”, 16 January 1877, VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU; “2^e trimestre 1877”, 10, April 1877, VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU; “3^e trimestre 1877”, 5 July 1877, VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU; “4^e trimestre 1877” (received 17 October 1877), VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU; “J. Bloch to Isidore Loeb”, Paris, 31 August 1877, VI.E.6 a, Archives Liban, AAIU.

⁶⁶ Malino, “Women Teachers”, 257.

⁶⁷ Schwarzfuchs and Malino, “Alliance”, 674.

female education. Rosenzweig's was not the only initiative apart from Christian missions to draw on this rationale. It was also put forward by local actors such as the Muslim *Jam'iyat al-Maqāsid al-Khayriyyah al-Islāmiyyah* as well as the Greek Orthodox *Jam'iyat Zabrat al-Iḥsān*, both of which founded schools for girls in Beirut around the turn of the 1880s.⁶⁸ While stressing the perils of missionary education, they borrowed its central argument for female education in order to strengthen their own communal identities. The idea of schooling girls as the mothers of future generations, therefore, enjoyed wide currency in late Ottoman Beirut.⁶⁹

Implementing the Mission of the Alliance

Given the obvious prevalence of her argument, it might be suspected that Emma Rosenzweig found immediate support for her project. Yet the contrary was the case.

The main problem in founding a new Jewish school in Beirut was the small number of Jewish inhabitants in the city, and the internal divisions between them. Beirut did not figure among the important centres of Jewish life in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁰ Jews represented hardly more than two per cent of the overall population.⁷¹ In 1823/24, according to David d'Beth Hillel (d. 1846), a Rabbi from Vilnius who, having settled in Şafad in 1815, embarked on prolonged travels throughout the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and India in the ensuing decades, there were no more than fifteen Jewish families in Beirut.⁷² By the middle of the 19th century, the Jewish population comprised hardly 500 persons of exclusively

⁶⁸ See Fakhoury's and Qusti's contributions to this volume.

⁶⁹ This argument would continue to resonate throughout the wider region. Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow. Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine*, Austin: University of Texas Press 2009.

⁷⁰ For 1880, the *Alliance* counted 1,400 coreligionists in Beirut as opposed to 30,000 in Salonica, 25,500 in Smyrna, and 10,000 in Constantinople *BAIU* (1 July 1880), 46, 49–50; *BAIU* (3 January 1881), 73.

⁷¹ According to the Ottoman General Census of 1882/82–93, there were, all in all, 1,197 Jews (as opposed to 22,262 Muslims, 13,294 Greek Orthodox, 14,505 Greek Catholics, 342 Protestants, 242 Latin Catholics, and 86 Armenians) compared to a total population of 52,328 in the central *kaza* of Beirut. Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1985, 128–129. While these numbers may be too low as far as the Jewish community, religiously defined, was concerned (for Jews under foreign protection, not being members of the Jewish *millet*, would not have been listed here), the *Alliance* numbers are probably exaggerated in order to demonstrate the importance of the community.

⁷² *Unknown Jews in unknown lands: The travels of Rabbi David d'Beth Hillel (1824–1832)*, Walter J. Fischel, ed., New York: KTAV Publishing House 1973, 20. On the life of David d'Beth Hillel, see “David d'Beth Hillel”, *Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv*, vol. 2, Fiche 2011, 29.

Sephardic and Arab descent.⁷³ Within the next seventy years, it would see a more than a tenfold increase, largely due to Ashkenazi immigration.⁷⁴

The crucial problem of the Jewish inhabitants of Beirut was their lack of internal cohesion and solidarity.⁷⁵ On the one hand, there were tensions between Arab, Sephardic, and Franco⁷⁶ Jews and more recent Jewish inhabitants of Eastern European origin (Ashkenazi).⁷⁷ Initially, these sub-communities were organized separately according to language.⁷⁸ It was only in the 1890s that attempts were made to unify these factions under a common community leadership.⁷⁹ Public institutions, however, only evolved from the Mandate period onwards.⁸⁰ Before then, the various factions among the Jewish inhabitants of Beirut were separated by linguistic, ethnic, and liturgical boundaries, further complicated by marked socio-economic differences. While the greater part of Beiruti Jews led a precarious existence, there existed a small elite headed for decades by Raphael Levi Stambūli, a rich Arab Jewish merchant of Damascene origin.⁸¹ The members of this elite, mostly wealthy businessmen protected by European consulates, did not see themselves as members of a religious minority but rather as part of the cosmopolitan *haute volée* of Beirut. Until well into the French mandate, Jews in

⁷³ Ludwig August Frankl, *The Jews in the East*, vol. 1, London: Hurst and Blackett 1859, 221–222.

⁷⁴ In 1908, according to *Alliance* functionaries Levi and Porges who visited the city that year, the Jewish community of Beirut comprised 6,000 persons, while Karpas cites 8,108 for the whole province of Beirut on the basis of the Ottoman census records. Nathan Porges, *Bericht über die im Auftrage des Central-Comités von den Herren Rabbinern Dr. Porges-Leipzig und Professor Israel Levi-Paris unternommene Inspektionsreise zu den Alliance-Schulen im Orient*, Berlin: Deutsches Bureau 1909, 22; Karpas, *Ottoman Population*, 168–169.

⁷⁵ Tomer Levi, *The Jews of Beirut: The Rise of a Levantine Community, 1860–1930s*, New York: Peter Lang 2012, 62. I would like to thank the author for directing my attention to his recent book.

⁷⁶ Arab designation for Jews originating from Southern Europe, particularly Italy, who came to the Ottoman Empire since the end of the 17th century. One prominent Franco dynasty in Beirut was the Piciotto family, originally from Livorno, whose members filled consular positions for various European states. Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th–20th centuries*, Berkeley et al.: Blackwell 2000, 45; Yaron Harel, “The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Consuls in Aleppo”, *Turcica* 28 (2006), 233–250; Hayyim Cohen, “Piciotto”, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds., vol. 16, Detroit: Macmillan Reference 2007, 145.

⁷⁷ Simon Marcus et al., “Beirut”, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 3, Detroit: Macmillan Reference 2007, 269–271. Levi, *Jews of Beirut*, 81.

⁷⁸ In 1876, for instance, Henri Brasseur acted as head of the German-speaking Jewish inhabitants of Beirut, a post that would later be filled by Emile Franck. Henri Brasseur to the Central Committee, Beirut, 15 October 1874, I B 1, Archives Liban, AAIU, Paris.

⁷⁹ Levi, *Jew of Beirut*, 90–92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁸¹ Nissim Bondy to Narcisse Leven, Beirut, 25 April 1899, I C 1 5, Archives Liban, AAIU, Paris. For genealogical details on Raphael Levi Stambūli, see <http://www.farhi.org/genealogy/index.html> (last access 27 July 2010). For his family and their splendid Damascus residence, see <http://www.farhi.org/Documents/Maison%20Stambouli.htm> (last accessed 5 August 2010) and Gérard Silvain, *Séphardes et Juifs d'ailleurs*, Paris: Adam Biro 2001, 462–463.

Beirut did not even have a public synagogue, services taking place instead in a number of private oratories.⁸²

Education, too, was highly class-specific. Boys of the lower classes attended the *talmud torah* (Jewish elementary school) where they were given a free elementary education with a heavy emphasis on religion.⁸³ Lower-class girls, due to the reservations against female education in traditional Judaism, usually received no formal education at all.⁸⁴ Heads of rich families like Raphael Levi Stambūli and whoever else could afford it, tended to enroll their children at expensive establishments offering a Western-style education.⁸⁵ Particularly for their daughters, who, free from the duties of in-depth religious study, could dedicate themselves to secular “accomplishments” promising upward social mobility through advantageous marriages, they did not desire a pronouncedly Jewish, but rather a modern Western education—even at the cost of exposure to Christian religion. A Jewish school for girls that would have offered this kind of education without the missionary downside did not yet exist.

Since the middle of the 1860s, a number of Jews living in Beirut felt a profound dissatisfaction with this situation. As a consequence, they contacted the central committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Paris to help them establish a local committee. Yet their attempt at founding a school for boys with the help of the board in Paris failed several times.⁸⁶ As elsewhere, part of the opposition may have come from the local rabbinate, which supplemented their revenue with educating boys in the traditional *talmud torah*.⁸⁷ But resistance also came from other quarters. Members of the upper class like Raphael Levi Stambūli, then honorary president of the local committee, seemed little disposed to support the project of a modern school for all classes, or so Henri Brasseur, head of the German-speaking Jews of Beirut and secretary of the local committee, wrote to the central committee.⁸⁸ As

⁸² The first synagogue of modern times, Maghen Abraham, was only inaugurated in 1926. Kirsten E. Schulze, *The Jews of Lebanon: Between coexistence and conflict*, 2nd edition, Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press 2009, 43.

⁸³ Walter P. Zenner, “Jews in Late Ottoman Syria: Community, Family, and Religion”, in: *Jewish Societies in the Middle East: Community, Culture and Authority*, Walter P. Zenner and Shlomo Deshen, eds., Lanham: University Press of America 1982, 191–192.

⁸⁴ Benbassa, *Ecole*, 205; Yaron Harel, *Syrian Jewry in transition 1840–1880*, Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization 2010, 80.

⁸⁵ Raphael Levi, Fischel Rosenzweig, Henri Brasseur, secretary to the local committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, as well as Emile Franck, its honorary president, all enrolled their children at the expensive boarding school of the Kaiserswerth deaconesses. “List of pupils up to 1886”; “Liste der in den deutschen Klassen befindlichen Kinder”, 1897, AKD 246, AFKSK.

⁸⁶ Ariel Salomon Doubine, *L'Alliance Israélite Universelle au Liban*, [s.l.] 1990, 160–161, MS 1054, AAIU.

⁸⁷ Zenner, “Community”, 202. Harel, on the other hand, refutes this argument. Harel, *Syrian Jewry*, 87.

⁸⁸ Henri Brasseur to the Central Committee, Beirut, 15 October 1874, I B 1, Archives Liban, AAIU.

for secondary education, as Raphael Levi informed the *Alliance* board in Paris, a local rabbi by the name of Zāki Kūhin was about to found an excellent boarding establishment for boys, *Tiferet Yisra'el*.⁸⁹ Female education for girls of the lower classes was not even an issue in this debate. From this perspective, female education should remain a privilege of the elite.

There were, however, some local members of the *Alliance* sympathetic to Emma Rosenzweig's project. Foremost among them were the brothers Franck, French Jewish bankers and shipping agents⁹⁰ connected to the Rothschilds and logistically involved in the first experiments in Jewish colonization in Palestine.⁹¹ Unlike the members of the old local elite represented by Raphael Levi Stambūli, they—being European expatriates like Emma Rosenzweig but of a higher social status—felt that social reform was a pressing need. Unequivocally, Emile Franck informed the Paris committee of the *Alliance* that *Tiferet Yisra'el*, the newly founded boarding school, was simply not affordable to middle-class, let alone lower-class families. While all other religious communities and several Western nations had established flourishing schools in Beirut, Jewish boys and girls were deprived of a modern education unless their parents chose to send them to missionary establishments where their faith was at peril.⁹² To the Francks it was obvious that the Jews of Beirut had to have a modern institution of their own.⁹³

With the support of the *Alliance* and her future husband Abraham Léon, a young teacher at *Tiferet Yisra'el*, Emma Rosenzweig opened her school in June 1878.⁹⁴ At first, it was a fledgling enterprise. While *Alliance* reports emphasized its success and the praise bestowed on it by Beiruti journals, the school had only 25 pupils in its first year and its expenditures far exceeded its income.⁹⁵ Only substan-

⁸⁹ Raphael Levi to the General Committee, Beirut, 12 May 1875, I B 1, Archives Liban, AAIU. Indeed, this establishment catered to Jewish boys of the middle and upper class, where besides religious studies a wide range of subjects, including English and German, was taught, would soon come to enjoy wide renown well beyond Beirut. Schulze, *Jews*, 26. See also Karam's contribution to this volume.

⁹⁰ Ran Aaronsohn, *Rothschild and early Jewish colonization in Palestine*, Jerusalem: Rowman & Littlefield 2000, 157.

⁹¹ Antébi, *Missionnaires*, 260; Israel Margalith, *Le baron Edmond de Rothschild et la colonisation juive en Palestine*, Paris: M. Rivière 1957, 87–88.

⁹² Even by the end of the 19th century, with respect to schooling the Jewish *milla* still lagged behind all other denominations in the *vilayet* of Beirut. Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam*, London: I. B. Tauris 1998, 79, 87.

⁹³ Simon Franck to the Central Committee, Beirut, 10 August 1879, I B 1, Archives Liban, AAIU, Paris.

⁹⁴ *BAIU* (1 July 1878), 15.

⁹⁵ *BAIU* (1 January 1879), 38. Indeed, reports on annual exams at the *Alliance* school in local newspapers regularly extolled its efforts. Such reports, even while generally couched in terms of eulogy, became part and parcel of the competitive atmosphere characterizing the educational sector of Beirut from the perspective of organizational actors. See, for instance, a report on exams at the *Alliance* school in the Protestant weekly *Al-Nashrah al-Ushū'riyah* (13 April 1889), 119.

tial support from the Anglo-Jewish Committee in London, granted on a regular basis throughout the 1880s and 1890s, eased its budgetary difficulties. In 1882, when Emma, now married, moved to Aleppo together with her husband Abraham Léon,⁹⁶ the school, still little attended,⁹⁷ was briefly placed under the direction of a Protestant headmistress, Marie Faride Matzinger née Abkariyūs.⁹⁸ Only in the 1890s was it able to establish itself with greater success. At the beginning of the decade, the number of pupils had risen to 72, the majority of them non-paying. Whereas the school had long been a one-woman venture in terms of staff, it now employed a headmistress, an assistant teacher, one teacher for Arabic and English respectively, a monitress, and a domestic servant.⁹⁹ By 1898, its student body had increased threefold and its budget achieved a balanced state, although the Anglo-Jewish Association had discontinued its support. Students whose families could afford to pay the fees, however, still represented a minority.¹⁰⁰

Initially, the success of the *Alliance* school was a limited one. Whereas the lower classes took to it instantly, the leading members of the *Alliance* hesitated to send their children, continuing to prefer the more expensive establishments among missionary schools.¹⁰¹ Considering themselves representatives of the elite of a community that did not yet formally exist, they were not interested in sectarian education for their daughters. Even Emile Franck, who had so resolutely supported Rosenzweig's foundation,¹⁰² indeed even *Alliance* teachers themselves,¹⁰³ sent their daughters to the very school of the German Protestant deaconesses that Emma Leon née Rosenzweig herself had attended in her youth. Although establishments

⁹⁶ Emma Léon to Narcisse Leven, Beirut, 9 January 1881, VII E 87–94, Archives Liban, AAIU.

⁹⁷ In 1883, it had only 46 pupils. *BAIU* (2 July 1883), 37.

⁹⁸ Matzinger, daughter of Yuhannā Abkariyūs (a leading Syrian intellectual and employee at the British consulate) had likewise received her education at the deaconesses' school. "List of pupils up to 1886", number 164. On her family background, see Fruma Zachs, *The Making of a Syrian Identity: Intellectuals and Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Syria*, Leiden: Brill 2005, 219; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years*, 499; and Emile Franck to the Central Committee, Beirut, 30 March 1882,, I B 1, Archives Liban, AAIU.

⁹⁹ *BAIU* (1 January 1891), 70.

¹⁰⁰ *BAIU* (3 March 1898), 116.

¹⁰¹ According to Norman Stillman, this educational strategy was common among upper-class Jews throughout the region. For Aleppo, however, where elite families aimed at monopolizing the local *Alliance* school by objecting to the admission of charity pupils, Yaron Harel comes to a different conclusion. Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society 2003, 21; Harel, *Syrian Jewry*, 81–87.

¹⁰² "Liste der in den deutschen Klassen befindlichen Kinder", 1897, AKD 246, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1893–1908), AFKSK. Nevertheless, the Francks would not hesitate to place their own children in the service of the *Alliance*. In 1901, Emile Franck's wife asked the central committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* to accept her daughter, who had attended "all classes available at the deaconesses' school, including French, German, and music", at the seminary of Mme Isaac in Autueil. Mme Franck to Narcisse Leven, Beirut, 21 March 1901, V E 46, Archives Liban, AAIU.

¹⁰³ Sa'ada Mikhā'il to Bertha Kuhr, Bhamdūn, 17 September 1905, AKD 246, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1893–1908), AFKSK.

like the *Alliance* school and the deaconesses would conceive of each other as rivals,¹⁰⁴ a view encouraged by the fact that both schools were direct neighbors since the 1890s,¹⁰⁵ the field was in fact divided up neatly: Jewish families intent on maintaining or improving their social status would prefer Western schools for their own daughters while demanding sectarian ones for those of the lower classes, putting forward the argument of communitarian unity which they themselves chose to disregard by sending their children to the very missionary establishments they criticized. The leading members of the local committee of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* were not unique in this respect. The Sunni Muslim Bayhum family, for instance, members of which had helped found the Beirut *Jamʿiyyat al-maḡāṣid al-khayriyyah al-islāmiyyah*, likewise patronized the deaconesses' school during the 1880s.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, even in a society in which religious adherence was an important marker of identity, social rather than religious distinction was the decisive motive for educational choice-making among the members of the middle and upper classes.

Conclusion

Drawing on the foundation history of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* school for girls in late 19th-century Beirut, this chapter illustrated the journey of an argument for female education. While missions like the Kaiserswerth deaconessate or Catholic congregations availed themselves emphatically of the argument that women and girls needed to be educated in order to fulfill their alleged maternal vocation, their argument was soon taken up by exponents of other religious communities. As a consequence, it could no longer be controlled by one single party, but was borrowed and transformed by other actors intent on implementing alternative agendas. Although the language they employed might bear striking resemblances to the one used by missions, the motives behind it were often explicitly directed against those missions, foremost among which was the idea to strengthen communal identities by educating the mothers of future generations. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, critical of and yet resembling other colonial and missionary projects clearly is a case in point.

¹⁰⁴ While *Alliance* teachers continued to criticize that Jewish families preferred the “fashionable” school of the deaconessess, whose instruction they disqualified as superficial, the deaconesses complained that the *Alliance* school imperiled the existence of their own establishment. Messody Elmaleh to Narcisse Leven, Beirut, 31 October 1904, V E 43–79, Archives Liban, AAIU, Paris. Louise Kayser to Wilhelm Zoellner, Beirut, 13 September 1898, AKD 246, Briefe aus dem Pensionat (1893–1908), AFKSK.

¹⁰⁵ Eyrard and Krebs argue that the *Alliance* deliberately chose these very premises in order to compete with the deaconesses. Eyrard, Krebs, *Protestantisme*, 128.

¹⁰⁶ “List of pupils up to 1886”, no. 444, 489, 490, 499.

Despite the local currency of the argument, however, the school for girls envisaged by the *Alliance* and its emissary Emma Rosenzweig faced severe problems in the beginning. These problems were due to two main factors. First, Rosenzweig, who had been educated at a Christian missionary school in Beirut yet of foreign origin, was both an insider and an outsider to a Jewish community that was only about to come into being as such in formal respects. Secondly, education in Beirut was heavily class-specific. Affluent Jewish inhabitants and those intent on improving their social position tended to prefer Western missionary over sectarian education, a dynamic evidenced by Rosenzweig's own biography. The case of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* school for girls, therefore, shows both the entanglement of the local and the foreign and the rifts and rivalries in education in late Ottoman Beirut.

Part Three:
Language, Religion, and Identity

Lyon to Liban – Language, Nation, and Faith in the Jesuit Schools of Ottoman Lebanon

Edward A. Falk

“The Christians of Syria”, wrote Damascene Jesuit Père Georges Angélibl in 1885,

love the beauty of France, queen of the world, defender of the oppressed, holy as the sword of Charlemagne, as terrible as the Crusaders who gave the name *Frangis*, a beacon still burning, wealthy beyond comprehension, as her missionaries are in their efforts. They ask only for one thing – that France extends her empire to Syria, that her flag fly over Lebanon, and that she carry to this land, so rich in memory, the progress of civilization with the love that France holds profoundly in its heart for the Church and the pope.¹

As Angélibl’s words illustrate, the Jesuits in Ottoman Lebanon did not limit themselves to the spiritual or educational sphere, but extended their reach into contemporary Ottoman, French, and Lebanese societies and politics. These “educational encounters”² between Uniate Eastern-Rite Christian communities and the Jesuit order after the massacres of 1860 precipitated a gradual and contested evolution in national, linguistic, and religious connections between France and Uniate Christians over the succeeding decades.³ While the vicissitudes of French politics throughout the 19th century allowed for little consistency in the relationship of the Jesuit order to the French state, the alleged secularism of French Republicanism rarely impeded this cooperation. Having adopted a French identity to promote the French language and French influence in Ottoman Lebanon with the support of the French state, the Jesuits partnered with clerical and secular Maronite and Melkite elites in their educational and missionary activities, eclipsing the influence of earlier Italian missions in the process. This represents the principal bargain between the French government and the Jesuits, where teaching the French language was a means of propagating national influence and fostering allegiances among the non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire, specifically on Mount Lebanon.⁴ However, the graduates of the Jesuit schools, the *Collège de Saint-Joseph de*

¹ Georges Angélibl, *Les Massacres de Damas en 1860 par un témoin oculaire*, 1885, 104–105, manuscript, Région du Proche Orient (hereafter RPO) X, Archives de la Province de France de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves (hereafter ACJ). All translations are by the author.

² For an analysis of the phrase “educational encounters” see Lindner’s contribution in this volume.

³ In this context, Uniate refers to the churches in communion with Rome, while retaining their own liturgies and other practices (Maronite, Melkite, Chaldean, Assyrian, and others).

⁴ The French were by no means alone in this endeavor, “competing” with Russian, Prussian, British, and American national-religious institutions. Several chapters in this volume show parallel processes in American Protestant institutions. See also Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2009.

Ghazir (referred to in this chapter as the “Ghāzīr Seminary”) and the *Université Saint-Joseph* (hereafter USJ) in Beirut learned much more than just the French language. Under the dual influence of European Orientalism and French Imperialism, French and Arab Jesuits imagined and taught a new syncretistic national religious allegiance - Lebanese, French, and Catholic.⁵ This project was manifested in their pedagogy, charitable works, and political texts.

In the aftermath of the sectarian instability and violence between Druze, Christians, and Muslims in Mount Lebanon and Greater Syria in 1860, the newly-formed *Mutaṣarrifiyyah* (special administrative district) of Mount Lebanon and the *Wilāyah* (province) of Beirut became educational battlegrounds for more than a dozen national and religious groups from Europe, the Americas, and the Ottoman Empire who offered education, medical care, and relief funds in exchange for an allegiance to the religious organization and its sponsoring state. The Society of Jesus, having consciously adopted a more pronounced French character in the previous two decades, developed closer ties to the French Foreign Ministry and several government-funded Catholic charities including *L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* and *L'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient*. In time, the Jesuits came to rely on funding from the French state and these affiliates in order to continue and expand their operations through building a university and a medical school in addition to their seminary and village schools in Beirut and Mount Lebanon.⁶ As a result of these efforts and the gradual displacement of Italian-born Jesuits with French, the Jesuits came to represent French economic, social, and political interests in the Middle East. From the French perspective, insofar as the mission increased knowledge of the French language and extended French influence, their work was “eminently patriotic.”⁷

Although the French government and the Jesuits had divergent goals and measures for progress in the national endeavor, the religious order nevertheless served French national interests in the Middle East. While Jesuit fathers ostensibly taught *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (for the greater glory of God), their deliberate emphasis on French language, French history, and French culture endeared them to the French government. In spite of the latter’s occasional anti-clerical bent after the fall of the

⁵ Whereas a national project for two nations may seem at first glance oxymoronic, this chapter will show how the Lebanese identity in these schools was imagined and disciplined as French-aligned and Catholic.

⁶ See Samy F. Zaka, *Education and Civilization in the Third Republic: The University Saint-Joseph, 1875–1914*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, PhD thesis 2006. Zaka’s dissertation offers an especially useful analysis of the *Université Saint-Joseph* (hereafter USJ) medical school as a site of accommodation between Catholic missionary clericalism and Republican secularism. In this view, the Jesuits were mediators of French influence.

⁷ Noël Verney and George Dambmann, *Les Puissances Étrangères dans le Levant en Syrie et en Palestine*, Paris: Librairie Guillaumin et Cie. 1900, 99. For a more detailed study of the early decades of the second Jesuit mission to Syria leading to the establishment of the *Université Saint-Joseph*, see Chantal Verdeil, *La Mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830–1864)*, Paris: Éditions Les Indes savantes 2011.

Second French Empire in 1870, the partnership survived, and the Jesuits tailored their curriculum to suit French ambitions in the regions. Especially in the decades before the limited opening of schools by the *Mission Laïque Française* in the Levant, the tools and methods of the Jesuits made them a useful, though independent, ally of French interests abroad. The Jesuits themselves used their connections to the French government to obtain protection through Ottoman imperial *firmans* in order to open new institutions, gain special access to civil officials, and receive grants of land from Ottoman governors in Beirut and across the *Mutaṣarrifiyyah* of Mount Lebanon. At the same time, they served French policy and cultivated the next generation of Uniate clerical leaders and civil officials. In this collaboration with the French government, the Jesuits rarely compromised their aims and means, but instead synthesized a hybrid mission that served both the state's national aims and the Jesuit's religious aims. Following the model of their teachers, the students of the Jesuits created a Franco-Lebanese Catholic patriotism. Therefore, describing the schools' curriculum and mission as *either French or Catholic* cannot fully illuminate the message that the Jesuits preached or the policies they promoted.

The Jesuit schools in Ottoman Lebanon promoted an idealized vision of France and its role in the region, including the superiority of the French language, an exclusively French conception of modernity, and the imagined connection between non-Muslim Ottomans and France. These schools catered to the Maronite and Melkite populations and prioritized the teaching of French language and history over local languages and Arab, Islamic, or Ottoman histories. Finally, the scholars and teachers of the Jesuit order in Syria fostered a special conception of Lebanese history that focused on Lebanon's Phoenician, Biblical, and Crusader past.⁸ While the far-reaching consequences of this relationship within Syria as well as across the Ottoman Empire are beyond the scope of this chapter, it suffices to say that the Jesuit-Uniate relationship contributed in some part to the emerging intellectual currents of Christian particularism in the Levant during this period.⁹

Across the Mediterranean, reports on French penetration into Syrian lands and society after 1860 encouraged the efforts of the colonial lobby to colonize or occupy the Mediterranean Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire. A small group of French and Syrian Catholics promoted the idea of an historical connection between France and the non-Muslim communities of littoral Syria, which silk and

⁸ The Maronite Jesuit Fernand Taoutel's illustrated textbook from the early 20th century is a prime example of this historiographical tradition, while Asher Kaufman's *Reviving Phoenicia* explores the evolution of Phoenicianist history and its role as an imagined origin for Lebanese and Syrian Christians. See Fernand Taoutel, *Tārikh Sūriyyah wa-Lubnān wa-Filasṭīn al-muṣawwar*, Beirut: Maṭba'ah al-Kathūlikiyyah 1934; Asher Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia: In Search of Identity in Lebanon*, London: I.B. Tauris 2004.

⁹ While each Uniate church maintained separate and often contentious relations with both the Vatican and the Jesuits, these churches all sent students to the Ghāzīr Seminary and USJ, many of whom became Jesuit educators or clerical leaders within their churches.

other business interests in Marseille and Lyon were happy to second.¹⁰ The colonial lobby and its business interests ensured that the Jesuits and other French Catholic orders received funding for their efforts to educate and convert, while they, in turn, promoted French culture and influence and provided a steady stream of propaganda supporting French expansionism. In Paris and Beirut at the turn of the century, the seeds had grown and blossomed; Jesuit and Lazarist educated lay figures such as Charles Debbas, Georges Samné, Khairallah Khairallah, and Chékri Ganem¹¹ followed the models of their clerical educators by publishing books and articles, forming committees and convening conferences in support of such an endeavor.¹² These figures and their works shaped the discourse in France and the Levant surrounding littoral Syria and the “Eastern Question”.

While the concept of Jesuits from France teaching French might at first glance seem self-explanatory and uncontroversial, the evolution of the Jesuit mission to Syria from a strictly proselytarian to a national-religious endeavor was gradual and disputed. The Jesuits of earlier centuries were recruited from many nationalities until the suppression of the order in France in the late 18th century. Despite a strong French and Belgian element within their ranks, language and nationality did not seem to be relevant concerns when the focus of the mission was Latinizing the clergy and practices of the Eastern-Rite Uniate Churches, most notably the Maronites and Melkites. However, a predominantly Italian group of fathers led the return of the order to Lebanon in 1831 and remained influential at the Ghāzīr Seminary and other Jesuit residences well into the 1870s. This led Edouard Billottet, the superior of the mission in the 1850s, to remark that:

Previous knowledge of French or Italian causes defection among the seminarians. Experience tells us that students who know these languages have an easy time finding employment, so they abandon the study of Theology and Philosophy. It is for this reason we must rededicate ourselves to the teaching of Latin, the language of this college.¹³

At this point, all vernacular languages were seen as extraneous to the mission because a classical clerical education relied exclusively on Latin.¹⁴ This earlier generation of missionaries was primarily dedicated to educating seminarians who would bring the Eastern-Rite churches closer to Rome by abolishing or discour-

¹⁰ Dominique Chevallier, “Some Jesuit educators or clerical leaders within their church”, *Revue Historique* 224: 2 (1960), 276–279.

¹¹ Following Albert Hourani’s *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, I render the names of these individuals as they themselves wrote them in the Latin alphabet, wherever available. Other translations of names or titles should be evaluated in the context of the argument.

¹² These figures were prolific writers, and their pamphlets and editorials appear in journals, such as *La Revue des L’Asie Française*, *Revue de Deux Mondes*, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*.

¹³ Edouard Billottet to Joseph de Jocas, 8 June 1853, 8, RPO VIII, ACJ.

¹⁴ The liturgies of Eastern Rite churches were and still remain in Syriac, Aramaic, or Greek, depending on the denomination. Although Semitic languages were taught at the Ghāzīr Seminary, they were first introduced to USJ only with the establishment of the *Faculta Orientale* in 1904.

aging some of these churches' special privileges, including clerical marriage and the use of Syriac and Aramaic in mass. When the mission sought the realignment of the Eastern Churches towards Rome, the language of the Roman church was the most valuable. However, the 1860s witnessed a shift in mission personnel, target population, and even the language of correspondence as the Jesuit mission came to rely on the French government and French Catholic charities to finance its expansion.¹⁵

In their internal correspondence, the Jesuits of this early period show a reluctance to prioritize a secular language over the liturgical one, and only gradually did the Jesuit institutions mirror the Mediterranean world in adopting French as the *lingua franca*.¹⁶ During the controversial transition from Italian and Latin to French in the late 1840s, Louis-Xavier Abougit wrote to his provincial superior in Lyon, asking, “[w]ill the college of Ghazir remain Italian or become French like the mission itself?”, adding that “[u]nder a French rector, the subjects of all other nations will assimilate themselves to the French, as we currently assimilate ourselves through language to becoming Italian.”¹⁷ Louis Maillard supported this view in an 1848 letter: “[a]s French becomes the dominant and spoken language of the college, Italian will be relegated to a few special courses for older students proficient in French.”¹⁸ Two years later, Abougit updated the provincial superior in Lyon on the linguistic transition, noting that, while elderly Italian Jesuits continued teaching philosophy and theology in Italian at the seminary, French had become “the language of use, of which a knowledge is required in order to converse during recreation.”¹⁹ This final point is telling, as it speaks to the linguistic culture of the Ghāzir Seminary and of Jesuit institutions overall.²⁰ Even when classes were conducted in Italian and Latin, the language of conversation and recreation, which is to say acculturation and socialization, had become French. While the center of Jesuit

¹⁵ Even within the Archives of the Province of France, which might be expected to hold a more Francophone correspondence than the Roman headquarters, the linguistic evolution is clear. Whereas Jesuits in Syria during the 1830s and 1840s corresponded often in Latin or Italian, by the years 1862–1864 nearly half of the letters were in French, compared to 40% in Italian and the remainder in Latin or Arabic. From 1864 to 1869, more than 80% of letters were in French, and for the last period from 1869–1873, more than 91% of the published correspondence was French.

¹⁶ While the seminary taught exclusively Latin before the 1860s, personnel of all nationalities wrote correspondences in Italian.

¹⁷ Louis-Xavier Abougit to Jean Cambiaso, Ghāzir, 26 November, 1848, 398, Collection Prat X, ACJ.

¹⁸ Maillard, *Observations et commandations laisses au P. Supérieur du Collège de Gazir, après la visite du Collège*, n.d., 330, Collection Prat X, ACJ.

¹⁹ Abougit to Maillard, 14 May 1850, 407, Collection Prat X, ACJ.

²⁰ Verdeil comments on the parallel process of national homogenization among nuns, noting that, by 1914, 90% of the Sisters of Charity were French. Chantal Verdeil, “Travailler à la renaissance de l’Orient chrétien. Les missions latines en Syrie (1830–1945)”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 51 (2001), 3–4, 271.

higher education would not shift from Ghāzīr to Beirut or expand to include lay students for another twenty years, this development is key to understanding the institution's role in shaping Maronite and Melkite bourgeois society through elite education in the late Ottoman period. This development coincided with the shift in the office of the mission's superior. Following the tenure of Italian superior Paolo Riccadonna in the 1840s, the French contingent did not relinquish the post until their expulsion from the Ottoman Empire during the First World War.²¹

By the 1860s, French had finally supplanted Italian as the principal language of instruction at Ghāzīr and the other Catholic schools, much to the delight of the French diplomatic corps. Meanwhile, Arabic was taught alongside French in the village schools in Dayr al-Qamar, Zaḥlah, and Bikfayā.²² The French Consul, Stanislas d'Argon, comte de Bentivoglio, wrote in 1861:

In the last fifteen years, Italian has been relegated to the second rank, replaced by French as the language that all wish to learn. The Franciscans - Italian and Spanish by birth - are obliged to make the study of French as the base of their teaching, to avoid an exodus of their students to the Jesuits and Lazarists.²³

While the *Quai d'Orsay* celebrated French national and linguistic ascendancy in the mission, France's "Catholic Protectorate" over missionaries and Ottoman Christians only extended to those Catholics who were aligned with French interests. When non-French Catholic clergy, like the Vatican's delegate Ludovico Piavi, opposed French aims, and when Franciscan missionaries taught Italian, they were seen as foreign and as hostile as the Anglo-American Protestants. Piavi "has shown an unfortunate influence over ecclesiastical affairs," French Consul Salvator Patrimonio wrote in the 1880s, adding, "[i]t is my humble advice that the Government of the Republic ask the Holy See to recall Mgr. Piavi and replace him with a Frenchman. This would mark the end of Italian intrigues in Syria."²⁴ The primary concern of the consulate remained influence, and the "Catholic Protectorate" was one means of achieving it. French paranoia over British, Ottoman, Prussian, and Italian ascendancy in the educational environment of Beirut and Mount Lebanon increased in the decades after 1860, when the French partnership with the Jesuits

²¹ Auguste Carayon, *Documents inédits: Notes historiques sur cinq Jésuites massacrés au Mont-Liban en 1860*, Poitiers: Henri Oudin 1865, 107.

²² At Ghāzīr in 1868, there were 157 students in French classes across 5 levels, 156 students in Arabic classes across 4 levels, and 48 students in Latin classes across 6 levels. *Catalogue 1868: Œuvres diverses de la Maison de Ghazir*, 1868, 63–70, Collection Prat IX, ACJ.

²³ Stanislas d'Argon, comte de Bentivoglio, to Édouard Thouvenel, 18 May 1861, 156, P817, Turquie-Beyrouth XIII, Archives Diplomatiques Paris?: Correspondance Politique de Consuls (hereafter AD:CPC).

²⁴ Salvator Patrimonio to Paul Armand Challemeil-Lacour, 18 May 1883, 113–114, P825, Turquie-Beyrouth, XXVII, AD:CPC. It is of no little irony that the two most virulently anti-Italian French officials in the Ottoman Empire – Bentivoglio and Salvator Patrimonio – were themselves of Italian descent.

had substantially achieved their goal of the gallicization of Catholic education and of the Eastern-Rite hierarchy. This position of strength was reinforced and compounded by the actions of official and semi-official Catholic charities set up in the aftermath of the unrest and occupation of 1860.

In the aftermath of the 1860 Civil War, the French government partnered with *L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* and *L'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient* to open new establishments and provide subventions for existing Jesuit and Lazarist schools and orphanages. This partnership made substantial new funds available to the order, which enabled a rapid expansion in the numbers of schools and students educated therein. The French government frequently employed *Écoles d'Orient* as a channel for the distribution of funds to Lebanon and Greater Syria.²⁵ Concurrently, these newly-founded charities served the dual purpose of fundraising and public relations, leading junkets of Maronites to France, Germany, and farther afield to raise funds.²⁶ Starting in 1860, *la Foi* paid 25,000 francs annually to support the mission, alongside occasional extra sums,²⁷ while *Écoles d'Orient* paid 252,000 francs to the Jesuits.²⁸ These subsidies were dependent on the changing fortunes of the state, especially after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. However, these organizations established lines of support for the Jesuit mission that would continue well into the 20th century. These subsidies gave the Jesuits a semi-official status, and blurred the demarcation of where French policy ended and Catholic missionary action began – with unintended consequences for both parties.

This support was predicated on the notion that French, being the modern language par excellence, would engender a “modern” spirit in the populations of the Levant. The director of *Écoles d'Orient*, the future cardinal Charles Lavigerie, often served as an interlocutor for the Jesuits with the Foreign Ministry in Paris. In this capacity Lavigerie guided French delegations on tours of Catholic schools and orphanages in Lebanon, showcasing the achievements of the French expedition and occupation of 1860-1861. He also sent Arab Jesuits to Europe to continue their education and spread awareness of the missions. Speaking at a Jesuit primary school in Lebanon in 1861, Lavigerie expressed his thoughts on the French language:

²⁵ Charles Lavigerie was a director and fundraiser for the organization, working with Amédée de Damas to raise funds for Jesuit schools in the region. Financial records from Ghāzir in the mid-1860s, after post-massacre emergency funding ended to show annual disbursements from *Propagation de la Foi* of 30,000 francs (1864–1867) as well as *Écoles d'Orient*, ranging from 10 to 617 francs (academic year 1864–1865) to 99,332 francs (academic year 1865–1866), 1949, Collection Prat IX, ACJ.

²⁶ Baptistin Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur la Syrie et l'expédition française*, Paris: Gaume Frères et J. Duprey 1864, 311–312.

²⁷ De Damas to Provincial, 5 June 1864, 705, Collection Prat X, ACJ.

²⁸ Ibid.

My dear children, you are much smarter than I, for you can speak a language of which I am ignorant, as well as my own. But mine can suffice because I will tell you: this is the language of France, which is to say the language of dedication, of generosity, and of charity.²⁹

His ideas were embraced by the historian, adventurer, and Orientalist Baptistin Poujoulat, who upon visiting a missionary school in Lebanon noted that “[t]he teaching of the French language is the head of their program of study. The Christians of twelve or thirteen years know French, and it is the Lazarists and the Jesuits who taught them, teaching them at the same time to love, respect, and admire France.”³⁰ By offering a modern, scientific education in French, the Jesuits had made modernity and French education synonymous. Missionary activity in the post-1860 period was effectively nationalized through the ideals of modern education.

This is not to suggest that the Catholic missions forgot their religious aims in pursuit of national ones, although they were at odds with each other at times. While the schools opened by the Jesuits and other Catholic orders served the French political *mission civilisatrice* by teaching French, their mission and methods were at odds with the republican government’s secularist vision. And while the material gains of the Catholic orders were undoubtedly approved by French republican bureaucrats, *la Foi* also tracked the number of baptisms, conversions, seminary students, ordained Arab priests as well as seminaries and churches built, noting huge increases in all categories in the estimates of *la Foi*.³¹ As one columnist for *la Foi* wrote, “[d]o we want to civilize a country? Let us say mass. The blood of Jesus Christ speaks, shouts, pointing to heaven to the light that illuminates and the virtue that civilizes, or rather, it is itself light and virtue.”³² For the Jesuits and their allies, Catholicism, civilization, and Western modernity were both indivisible and inalienably French. Baptistin Poujoulat echoed this French Catholic view of civilization in his analysis of *L’Œuvre des Écoles d’Orient*, adding that the organization “will wrest the Christian East from ignorance, which leads to sin. *L’Œuvre* spreads the light of the Gospel, and consequently civilization follows into the regions that the light of the Gospel has illuminated.”³³ For Poujoulat, French modernity, science, and civilization were inextricably linked to French Catholicism, and they comprised the ideal means to combat this ignorance. In his account of a visit to a Catholic primary school in Lebanon, Poujoulat writes:

²⁹ Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur la Syrie*, 299.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

³¹ Baptisms of adults rose from 8,500 to 37,495, while churches and chapels increased from 450 to 3,575. These numbers should be viewed with some skepticism. They might reflect the increased subvention budget of the organization rather than a veritable expansion. *Les Missions Catholiques* XXV (1893), 136.

³² *L’Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, *Les Missions Catholiques* XXV (1893), 315.

³³ Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur la Syrie*, 301.

In many areas of Turkey, French men and women called Jesuits, Lazarists, Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul have schools filled with young Christians where the French language is taught, the Christian faith is preached, and the Western sciences are offered to their intelligence.³⁴

For the Jesuits and their allies, this trifecta was indivisible: French, Catholicism, and Western modernity were one.³⁵ Elevating Jesuit trained pupils within the hierarchy of the Eastern-Rite churches would necessarily bind them to French modernity.

Nonetheless, whereas in the earlier decades the Jesuits' primary obligation was to their Superiors in Lyon and the Vatican, their growing dependence on the French Consulate and the *Quai d'Orsay* made them a de facto arm of French policy, due primarily to their language instruction. This religious patriotism became the hallmark of Jesuit action in the late 19th century.

Both conservatives and radicals in France associated knowledge of the French language with an understanding of French culture and civilization. The colonialist and religious supporters of French education attributed to it a vast array of material and spiritual qualities. In addition to its value as a precise language for medicine and law, for which Arabic was never seriously considered, the French language, in the view of the Jesuits and their allies, was a worldview and a comprehensive system of enlightened beliefs, or, as Mathew Burrows puts it, "the key to French culture."³⁶ If a people understood the language and its attached mentality, these advocates reasoned, they would be more likely to support French influence and political ambitions. Additionally, the colonial lobby and the Jesuits shared the belief that French was the key to the modernization process. Across the French empire, administrators argued that pre-modern ideas of feudalism and tyranny would remain until French supplanted the native language.³⁷ For its advocates in the church and colonial lobby, the language had an internal logic, virtuous nature, and a unifying effect, both in the provinces of the *métropole* as well as in the territories overseas. This view was not limited to its Levantine context, but held wide sway in the Foreign Ministry and Colonial Lobby. Amédée William Ponty, Governor General in French West Africa, wrote: "Experience has taught us that Muslims who know our language are less prejudiced."³⁸ Just as colonialist statesmen like Jules

³⁴ Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur la Syrie*, 95.

³⁵ Cheikh wrote in the journal *al-Mashriq*, "the highest science is the knowledge of God, and the most noble art is the perfection of religious virtues. Without these civilization falls short, nay, it cannot be called civilization." As quoted in: Robert B. Campbell, *The Arabic Journal al-Mashriq: Its beginnings and first twenty-five years under the editorship of Père Louis Cheikh*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1972, 162.

³⁶ Mathew Burrows, "Mission Civilisatrice: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860–1914", *The Historical Journal* 29:1 (1986), 126.

³⁷ Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: the Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1997, 132.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Simon, Jules Ferry, and Charles de Freycinet equated modern education with instruction in French, the language itself became a symbol of modernity and of love for the *patrie*. Although Jesuits in the Levant were not particularly concerned with educating Muslims, teaching French to young Arab Christians would make France an alternative pole of loyalty for them.³⁹ While this would not lead directly to a legion of French loyalists, the shared and contested space of the Jesuit classroom allowed the students to imagine a hybrid Francophile, Syro-Lebanese identity. While these seeds would only grow and bloom after the turn of the century, this newly-imagined community would subvert Ottomanism and other state ideologies when these young men rose to positions of authority. More than any spiritual essence or modern nature, French was critical to the creation of an extraterritorial classroom. Loving France was a synonym for embracing civilization, and speaking the language was a crucial part of that process.

The shift of language also signified a shift in the purpose and orientation of the mission. In the second half of the 19th century, the Jesuits began to concentrate on educating the lay population, rather than recruiting and Latinizing the clergy, a task they would leave to the patriarchs in the 20th century. Instead, sciences, medicine, law, and French soon became the fundamental elements of the Jesuits' educational mission to counter Protestant influence. For lay Maronite and Melkite families, education was a marketplace, and they often chose Protestant schools for their children in order to obtain a superior secular education. While some lay students of notable or French Levantine families, especially from the Shihāb and Khāzin families, attended the Ghāzīr Seminary since its founding, lay education took precedence over seminary education. Philosophy, Theology, and above all Latin were the basis of the seminary's curriculum, but the importance of these subjects faded as lay student attendance increased. The final transformation occurred when the *Collège de Saint-Joseph de Ghāzīr* was transferred to Beirut in 1875, renamed *Université Saint-Joseph*.

Evidently, the educators at *Université Saint-Joseph* saw language education as a zero-sum game. While Arabic literature was taught at the newly founded *Faculté Orientale*, Arabic grammar was taught at village schools, and Latin was retained at the seminary, Jesuit educators did not prioritize non-French language education. An auditor of the university wrote:

There will not be much progress in Arabic: each student will be strong in French and very weak in Arabic, and, following this system, he will go into a higher class and not understand much. Or it will be the opposite; for two years, "do not learn Arabic" has been their motto, and they sit in the class without participation.⁴⁰

³⁹ The Vatican and Rome-based Jesuit leaders were more enthusiastic about educating Muslims and Jews. In Greater Syria, Jesuits were usually unwilling to waive religious requirements for non-Christian students. Non-Christians only became a sizable portion of the student body after the creation of the USJ Medical School.

⁴⁰ "Memoire sur les classes arabes", 12 August 1887, 41, Collection Prat XXVII, ACJ.

A group of teaching Jesuit friars also regarded Arabic as a “diversion” that required only a daily half hour of study.⁴¹ This mirrored their perception of Arab civilization – disordered and nonsensical. While Philippe Lefebvre, the superior general of the Jesuit mission to Syria, opined that “it would be a shame if the young Arabs did not study their language” as a point of honor, he added that “[o]ut of your love of France, your personal attachment to our dear country, you want your children to be able to express in our language the sentiments of their hearts.”⁴² This aversion, or at least reluctance, to prioritize teaching Arabic stands out as a problematic element in the Jesuit curriculum. In effect, this focus nationalized the classroom as a French space, extending the extraterritoriality of the so-called “Catholic Protectorate” and the *Règlement Organique* to the pedagogical sphere, thereby placing the schools of the Jesuits outside the Ottoman realm.

Vasa Pasha, the Albanian Catholic governor of Mount Lebanon during the 1880s, encouraged the instruction of the Turkish language in schools by offering government funding to subsidize the teachers’ salaries. Writing to the Jesuits and the French Consulate, he opined “[i]t is a deplorable illusion to think that a bit of Arabic with French or English will suffice for finding employment.”⁴³ He requested that Turkish be introduced as “a foundational element of instruction, not an accessory.”⁴⁴ In accordance with his Ottomanist political disposition, he encouraged Turkish instruction not only as a tool for upward mobility, but also as a means to further Maronite and Melkite participation in Ottoman governance and as an attempt to negotiate state centralization, which paralleled the process of education reform in the Hamidian period.⁴⁵ However, the priority of the French Government and the Jesuit order was Lebanese autonomy under Catholic rule, a decidedly decentralist, centrifugal policy. In the end, Vasa Pasha’s pleadings were not well received. In contrast to other foreign establishments, such as the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, which accepted Ottoman governmental funding, hired Ottoman bureaucrats as Turkish teachers and taught Ottoman history alongside European history, the Jesuits never embraced Turkish language education, even as they shifted towards a more secular curriculum.⁴⁶ It was only several years after opening their

⁴¹ Louis Goormachtigh, Eugène Ulmer, Casimir Lauziere, Noory, Louis Laperrière to Provincial, 31 March 1877, 1747, Collection Prat IX, ACJ.

⁴² Philippe Lefebvre, *Les Onze Premières Années de l’Université S. Joseph*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique 1886, 10–12.

⁴³ The spelling of names in this section attempts to reflect the often erratic spellings that these multi-lingual figures themselves used. Vasa Pasha is perhaps the most problematic. I make no statement in using the Turkish spelling over Albanian (Pashko Vasa) or Arabic (Wassa Basha). Vasa Pasha to Consulate, 27 August 1884, 462, P825, Turquie–Beyrouth XXVII, AD:CPC.

⁴⁴ Vasa Pasha to Consulate, 27 August 1884, 464, P825, Turquie–Beyrouth XXVII, AD:CPC.

⁴⁵ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002, 15, 164.

⁴⁶ Mayer Lévy, 2 July 1909, 113, number 8832/2, Liban XIII E, Archives of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*.

Faculté Orientale in 1902 that they began to offer Turkish as an optional course to complement the primary languages of Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic.⁴⁷ This neglect of Turkish education in the face of the centralizing efforts of the Hamidian regime and the Committee of Union and Progress (hereafter CUP) was perhaps a factor in the eventual closure and nationalization of USJ by Ottoman authorities during the First World War.⁴⁸

By the late 1850s, the Jesuits began to see the political results of their pedagogical efforts. Alexandre Bourquenoud commented on the various Christian rites, including Chaldeans, Maronites, Assyrians, and Eastern-Rite clergy being educated in Jesuit schools. He wrote, “[w]e are forming the element which one day will be called on to decide the destinies of their rites and their relations with Europe.”⁴⁹ Bourquenoud was convinced that cultivating an educated class would prove beneficial for the Jesuits’ position within the Catholic Church, due to newfound allies in the Maronite, Melkite, and Chaldean hierarchies, as well as in Lebanon’s ruling elite. Indeed, one only has to glance at class rosters and alumni associations of the seminary and the university to find the prominent Christian families of Lebanon: Shihāb, Shidyāq, Shihā, Dībās, Hilū, Iddi (Eddé), Jimayl (Gemayel), Khāzin, Khūri, Sursuq, and countless others.⁵⁰

Within a few decades, a large portion of the Melkite and Maronite clerical hierarchy were products of the French-Catholic education system, including Maronite Patriarch Ilyās Ḥwayik (Elias Hoyek), “whose attachment to France is never found wanting,” according to the manager of the consulate, Gaston-Marie-Joseph Guiot.⁵¹ While Hoyek left an indelible imprint on Lebanese politics in his thirty-three years in office, his origins as a young seminarian should not be overlooked, nor should the cadres of other young ecclesiastics who attended the Jesuit seminary alongside him. As a Jesuit superior noted at the turn of the century, “[a]mong the students who have graduated from the seminary, there are twelve bishops of various eastern churches who have completed theological studies, four others who studied philosophy at our seminary and finished elsewhere.”⁵² Bourquenoud’s

⁴⁷ Bouillon, 18 February 1903, 753, Collection Prat XXVI, ACJ. As of the 1903–1904 school year, there was still no Turkish class offered at the *Faculté Orientale*. Cheikho to Superior, 1 October 1903, 1029, Collection Prat XXVI, ACJ.

⁴⁸ Paul Mattern maintained a journal during the war years, noting with particular detail the takeover of USJ and the Medical School, the expulsion of religious “enemies” as well as the dispersal of Ottoman Muslims. This diary was copied for the French Jesuit archives by Henri Jalabert in the 1970s from the *Archives de la Curie S.J.*, Rome, “Mission de Syrie”, 2–15, RPO I, ACJ.

⁴⁹ Alexandre Bourquenoud to Provincial, 17 December 1859, 807, Collection Prat IX, ACJ.

⁵⁰ *Bulletin annuel de l'Association Amicale des Anciens Élèves de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique 1925, 1.

⁵¹ Gaston-Marie-Joseph Guiot, Gérant du Consulat Général to le Comte Colonna Ceccaldi, *Président de l'Alliance Française*, 3 June 1891, 160, P830, Turquie–Beyrouth, XXXVI, AD:CPC.

⁵² Maître, “Séminaire Oriental”, 24 August 1900, 453–454, Collection Prat XXVII, ACJ.

ambition from four decades prior had come to fruition. By the turn of the 20th century, twenty-five graduates had joined the Jesuits while another ten entered the Lazarist order.

It would be an instrumentalist, if not condescending exaggeration to think the Jesuits created these figures. Nevertheless, these students' encounters with French nationalism, Orientalism, and racial theory certainly influenced their thinking, writing, and preaching, as they fostered a parallel modernity to the contemporary *Nabḍah* and Ottomanism.⁵³

The Orientalism of the Levantine Jesuits was based on the stereotypes of Eastern ignorance, ancient enmities, and Turco-Arab fanaticism and cruelty. The Jesuits employed popular Orientalist tropes and inflammatory rhetoric to sway French public opinion, secure funding, and justify the existence of the mission. In the first place, the stated goal of the seminary was not to spread French influence, but to eradicate the corruption and ignorance of Eastern-Rite Christians. "Left to themselves", wrote one auditor, "the Eastern priests remain immobile in the narrow confines of their nationality and their rite."⁵⁴ A colleague added that Greek Melkites "know neither the alphabet, nor history, nor dogma, and as a consequence, they have no need for books."⁵⁵ The ignorance of Christian populations and their perceived suffering under the Turkish yoke were necessary conditions for French Catholic involvement. Georges Angélil, a Melkite graduate of the Ghāzīr Seminary and later its Superior, was perhaps the most extreme and demagogic Jesuit author and educator. A survivor of the Damascus massacre of 1860, his intellectual mission became proving the barbarism and cruelty of Arabs, Turks, and Islam, often in graphic language. "For the *Osmanli* [Ottomans]", he writes, "the Christians are not men, but beasts, dogs, scum of the earth."⁵⁶ In another passage, he adds, "Muslims always regard the Christian as a slave, an ignoramus, a stupid thing that drives in the mill in the place of a donkey."⁵⁷ Finally, in a rhetorical flourish he translates *kāfir* not as infidel or unbeliever, but as dog.⁵⁸ In another account, he even alleges that the *imāms* of Damascus told their congregations that "[o]ur religion authorizes to kill them, to burn their homes, to violate their daughters and wives."⁵⁹ In his writing, barbarism becomes a synonym for Islam, the Arab race, and Turkish governance. His impassioned inflammatory rhetoric is emblematic of the work of his French and Arab contemporaries, reflecting the intellectual currents at the university as well as in the mission as a whole.

⁵³ Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 9.

⁵⁴ "Rapport sur la Mission", 7 May 1880, 249, Collection Prat XXVI, ACJ.

⁵⁵ Fiorovich to Provincial, 18 January 1888, 365 Collection Prat XXVI, ACJ.

⁵⁶ Angélil, *Les Massacres*, 8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁹ Georges Angélil, *Les Chrétiens et les Musulmans de Damas en 1860 par un chrétien de Damas*, n.d., 27, manuscript, RPO XI, ACJ.

Louis Cheikho, a Chaldean graduate of Ghāzir and the *Université Saint-Joseph*, contributed significantly to the anti-Islam and anti-Ottoman discourse in the Jesuit mission. One of the most prolific scholars of the Jesuit Orientalist tradition, Cheikho began his studies at the seminary in the 1860s and taught at the university until his death in 1927. While his oeuvre shows a willingness to grapple with Islamic history and literature in the philological tradition, his correspondence and the anti-Islam discourse at USJ display a yearning for the Pre-Islamic era, while highlighting Lebanese Christian particularism and the contributions of Christians to Arab literary culture.⁶⁰ In private correspondence, he took a firm stand against Ottomanism after the CUP coup, writing, “[t]he so-called Ottomanism degenerates frequently into Islamism. And on January 23, Muslims were not content to celebrate the birth of Muhammad, they forced Christians to be as idle as them and close their shops.”⁶¹ His accounts of riots and military mobilization in 1915 frequently reflect the memory of 1860. The Jesuits and their students perceived unrest to be a manifestation of Muslim fanaticism, which would precipitate another period of sectarian violence. While Lebanon’s “long peace” lasted more than fifty years, the Jesuits and much of the Eastern-Rite intelligentsia felt only insecurity. In time, Cheikho, Angélil, and other Francophile clergymen and educators became the intellectual and political vanguard of the Jesuit order and for French interests in a newly imagined Lebanon, and their writings reflect the Orientalist intellectual currents in the Jesuit’s sectarian imagination.

Historian Talal ‘Atrissi has described the Jesuits in Ottoman Lebanon as torn between French imperial policy and Roman Catholic leadership, seeking to ingratiate themselves with France in the decades after the Jesuit order was suppressed there, while maintaining their obedience to the Vatican.⁶² However, as I have argued, the gradual gallicization of Jesuit personnel and funding ended that conflict. Thus, in the decades after 1860, the Jesuits and the French government shared a vision of French cultural and political dominance for the Middle East. This would be sustained and nurtured by Francophile Eastern-Rite priests and laity that they educated. Religious fervor and patriotism were complementary forces, and in the Jesuit Orientalist mode of thought, religion and nation were one in Lebanon. As Cheikho wrote in the Jesuit periodical *al-Mashriq*, “[religion] is the source of love of country; it gives it strength and perseverance.”⁶³ In France, latent Catholic power, even during periods of republican rule, meant there were substantial material benefits to be gained from an alliance with the

⁶⁰ Additionally, Cheikho authored numerous polemics against freemasonry, Islam, Protestantism and freethinking. See Louis Cheikho, *Un dernier écho des Croisades*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique 1906; Camille Hechaïme, *Al-Ab Lūwīs Shaykhū: mākatābū wa-mā kutiba ‘anhū*, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq 1933, 37.

⁶¹ Cheikho, n.s., 14 January 1915, 2, 6, RPO XXXVI, ACJ.

⁶² Talal ‘Atrissi, *Al-ba‘th al-yasū‘īyah wa-Mubimmat Idād al-Kukbbab al-Siyāsiyyah fī Lubnān*, Beirut: Al-wikālah al-‘alāmiyyah li-l-tawzī‘ 1987, 69.

⁶³ Campbell, *The Arabic Journal al-Mashriq*, 188.

French state. While the Rome-based leadership of the Jesuit order at times discouraged political activism by Jesuit fathers, as seen in Rome's rejection of Amédée de Damas's 1861 proposal for the formation of Catholic agricultural colonies in the Biqā^ᶜ, Jesuits from Lyons and Paris were more than happy to accept French funding and spread a fundamentally French message in the Catholic missionary schools.⁶⁴ Gallicizing the personnel of the mission only eased the adoption of a French curriculum and patriotic ideology after 1860. Finally, the dependence on French governmental and non-governmental funding made this French-dominated system difficult to change once in place.

From the perspective of the French state, the reasons for abandoning anti-clericalism in the region were clear; it was substantially cheaper to subsidise the Catholic missions than to build new *laïque* schools, while simultaneously negating a decades-long attachment of the Uniate communities to French Catholic schools. In West Africa, the French built their educational infrastructure from the ground up, staffing schools and administrations with republican bureaucrats. However, in the Levant, the French were already there, albeit in a Roman collar. The financial implications were obvious. According to Denys Cochin, a member of the French Parliament, Catholic primary schools only cost five to six francs per child annually, while *laïque* schools cost up as high as forty francs per annum.⁶⁵ Future French President Paul Deschanel, himself facing the charge of clericalism in the Parliament for his support for the missionary activity of the French Jesuits, argued the same tack, saying the switch from Catholic to secular education would be impossible, costing up to eight million francs annually to achieve the same level of access and efficacy that the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries provided.⁶⁶ While these figures were certainly tailored to suit their arguments, the fact remained. Whether or not republicans in the French bureaucracy preferred a secular mission in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, they simply could not afford it.

The Jesuits profited from this improved funding, security, and political sway without surrendering any rights or making any substantive changes in their mission and curriculum. As long as they taught French and, in the case of the medical school, gave the government nominal oversight of their faculty choices, they remained in the fold as a patriotic organization. This association between French governmental power and the Jesuit mission proved to be a detriment in later decades, undermining the latter's credibility as independent educators and moral authorities. The First World War saw the expulsion of all Jesuits of non-Ottoman citizenship, the exile of Jesuits with Ottoman citizenship to their cities of origin,

⁶⁴ Amédée de Damas, "Projet de reconstitution de la Mission de Syrie," 1861, 2011–2013, Collection Prat IX, ACJ.

⁶⁵ Joseph Aubès, *Le protectorat religieux de la France en Orient*, Toulouse: Université de Toulouse, PhD thesis 1904, 160.

⁶⁶ Verney and Dambmann, *Les Puissances*, 89; Aubès, *Le Protectorat religieux*, 160.

and the nationalization of the *Université Saint-Joseph*, the French Jesuit School of Medicine, and primary schools in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. However, in the context of 19th-century Ottoman politics, French intervention on the Jesuits' behalf was an unequivocal benefit for the order, if not for their clients. The schools of the Jesuits in Ottoman Lebanon served as vectors for the French language and culture, and consequentially for French political interests.

The connection between Uniate Christians in the Middle East and the Catholic Church is itself a Byzantine affair, due to the schisms, reunions, and ever-changing power relations throughout history. The role of France and French Jesuits in Ottoman Lebanon only complicates these issues further. While popular journalism and scholarly works can simplify and essentialize sectarian beliefs and identities in order to explain *Bilād al-Shām* and its history, further exploration of communities and their education will add complexity to our understanding of emerging hybridised identities in the late Ottoman period. Education is a valuable field for this research due not only to its role as religious and professional training for an emerging middle class, but also because schools –missionary, sectarian, and imperial – served as new social spaces for the performance of new identities, cultural inscription, and the imagining of a shared past. Whether this took the form of classes in European languages or Turkish, new conceptions of Lebanese history, or in the theatre of national anthems, flags, and ceremonies, the shared experience of education served to socialize and acculturate students into dynamic and changing sectarian communities. The Jesuits did not invent Lebanon, but their schools and graduates contributed meaningfully to the development of a particularist Christian Lebanese identity in the late Ottoman period.

Martyrs de la foi catholique, combattants de l'Église romaine: les héros du théâtre de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth (1875–1914)

Chantal Verdeil

Fleuron de la mission jésuite de Syrie, l'Université Saint-Joseph désigne un établissement composite. Elle englobe plusieurs institutions qui diffèrent par leur objet, leur statut juridique, leur niveau (primaire, élémentaire, supérieur) et les diplômes qu'elles délivrent.¹ Sa fondation remonte à l'année 1875 quand le collège-séminaire, établi par les pères de la Compagnie de Jésus à Ghazir dans le Mont-Liban, déménage à Beyrouth. Durant ce premier quarantenaire (1875–1914), l'Université Saint-Joseph comprend des classes élémentaires, un collège, un séminaire reconnu comme faculté de théologie par le Saint-Siège dès 1881, une faculté de médecine (1883) et de pharmacie (1889), une faculté d'études orientales (1902) auxquels s'ajoute en 1913 une école de droit.² A la rentrée 1877, 319 élèves y sont scolarisés, dont 89 en cours élémentaire et 42 séminaristes.³ En 1913–1914, ses effectifs ont presque triplé.⁴ Au total, 894 garçons et jeunes gens étudient à l'Université dont les bâtiments (école élémentaire, collège, séminaire) occupent d'abord l'îlot qui s'étend de l'actuelle rue Saint-Joseph jusqu'à la rue Huvelin, avant de s'établir le long de cette dernière. C'est là que s'installent les facultés de médecine et de pharmacie qui déménageront en 1912 rue de Damas pour céder la place à l'école de droit.⁵

¹ Au XIX^e siècle l'imprimerie catholique et l'observatoire de Ksara, qui ne sont pas dévolus à l'enseignement, font partie de l'Université Saint-Joseph (désormais USJ) aux yeux des jésuites.

² L'ouverture de l'école d'ingénieur, prévue pour le mois de novembre 1914, ne put avoir lieu à la date fixée en raison de la guerre. Cette école accueillit ses premiers élèves en novembre 1919. Jean Ducruet, *Faculté d'ingénierie, Livre d'or, 1919–1999*, Beyrouth: Université Saint-Joseph 1999, 12–13.

³ *Cinquantenaire de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 1875–1925*, 1925, Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique, 40–41, Région du Proche-Orient (désormais RPO) 43, IX, Archives Jésuites de France, Vanves (désormais AFSJ); Jean Ducruet, *Un siècle de coopération franco-libanaise au service des professions de la santé*, Beyrouth: Imprimerie catholique 1982, 232; Jean Ducruet, *Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, Faculté de droit, de sciences politiques et économiques, Livre d'or 1913–1993*, Beyrouth: Université Saint-Joseph 1995, 14.

⁴ Les élèves du collège sont désormais 507 (dont 182 en cours élémentaires), les séminaristes 48, les étudiants en médecine 305, les juristes 31 et les étudiants de la faculté orientale 3. Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth: Histoire et documents divers, 25 octobre 1913, 181, Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus au Liban (désormais ALSI).

⁵ Ducruet, *Un siècle de coopération*, 42–43.

Majoritairement catholiques, écoliers, collégiens et séminaristes forment le gros des effectifs. Tous ne reçoivent pas le même enseignement: une fois leur cursus élémentaire achevé, les élèves se divisent selon deux cours, l'un dit de français, l'autre dit classique (avec latin et grec); les deux cursus comprennent un solide enseignement en arabe. Les séminaristes sont invités à suivre le second avant de poursuivre leur formation en théologie et en philosophie. Différents dans l'organisation, ces cursus dispensent cependant une éducation commune.

Quel en était le contenu? Quelles idées les jésuites voulaient-ils à la fois inculquer à leurs élèves et défendre devant leurs parents? Quels héros proposaient-ils comme modèles? Pour répondre à ces interrogations, cet article propose une analyse des pièces de théâtre et autres séances données à l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth entre 1875 et 1914.⁶ Ces sources jésuites ne permettent pas vraiment de dire comment ces idées étaient perçues ou reçues par les élèves et leurs parents. On se risquera néanmoins à proposer, en conclusion, quelques pistes de réflexion en s'appuyant sur l'histoire intellectuelle et culturelle du Liban, et plus largement, du Moyen-Orient.

On sait quelle place occupe le théâtre dans l'éducation jésuite. Ceux de Beyrouth n'ont pas failli à la tradition, et très vite, une scène est aménagée dans l'enceinte de l'Université. Les élèves s'y donnent en représentation une ou plusieurs fois par an, devant un public plus ou moins large. A chaque fois, un programme indique sans donner toujours beaucoup de détails, les thèmes traités, les personnages évoqués et les idées défendues lors de ces différentes séances. Ces représentations ont contribué à la naissance du théâtre «à l'occidentale» dans le monde arabe. Mais pour les jésuites, elles ont surtout une dimension pédagogique. A travers pièces, dialogues et discours, ils indiquent à leurs élèves la voie à suivre: la fidélité à la foi catholique et romaine... jusqu'à la mort.

1. Le théâtre à Beyrouth et dans la pédagogie jésuite

Peu après le déménagement du séminaire-collège de Ghāzīr à Beyrouth et la création de l'Université Saint-Joseph, les jésuites font aménager un théâtre dans leur établissement. En 1878, «des matelots viennent dresser le théâtre»,⁷ sans doute une estrade, qui devient permanente par la suite. En 1908, une photo de la scène, paivoisée aux couleurs ottomanes et françaises, figure dans une plaquette de présenta-

⁶ Une quarantaine de programmes ont été retrouvés dans les archives jésuites à Vanves. D'abord imprimés en noir et blanc, d'un seul feuillet recto-verso parfois, ils deviennent ensuite plus élaborés: apparaissent la couleur et des dessins tandis que le papier s'épaissit, ce qui permet des pliages plus sophistiqués. Le programme de la séance intitulée *Charité*, se déplie comme un triptyque dont chacun des pans décline un des aspects: l'aumône, l'hospitalité et le pardon, *Charité*, 1910, RPO 62, Fêtes, AFSJ (désormais RPO 62, Fêtes).

⁷ «Diaire de Beyrouth, Résidence puis Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (1872-1882)», 21 juillet 1878, ALSI.

tion de l'Université.⁸ Depuis 1903, le théâtre est éclairé au gaz.⁹ Plusieurs fois par an, un public nombreux et choisi s'y presse pour assister aux représentations données par les élèves ou, plus rarement, par leurs professeurs. En 1879, pour la première fois, «tous les grands personnages de la ville» sont invités à l'occasion de la remise des prix. Les consuls de France, d'Italie, d'Espagne, de Russie, de Grèce, le gouverneur, le pacha, «l'estimateur de la douane» ainsi que le chef de la municipalité assistent à une séance dramatique intitulée *Agapit martyr de 15 ans*.¹⁰ L'Université Saint-Joseph reprend par là, après quelques années d'interruption dues sans doute au déménagement, des usages qui étaient les siens lorsqu'elle était établie, sous un autre nom, dans la montagne libanaise. Après l'installation à Beyrouth, le public devient plus urbain et plus séculier: émirs, patriarches et évêques cèdent la place aux consuls européens et aux fonctionnaires de l'Empire ottoman.¹¹ Il varie cependant selon les pièces et la langue employée: en février 1904, patriarches et évêques applaudissent la pièce donnée en arabe tandis que d'autres représentations sont réservées aux élèves seuls.¹² Pendant longtemps, le public reste très masculin: certaines invitations précisent explicitement que «seuls les messieurs sont admis»¹³ et en 1904, les pères interdisent aux élèves d'assister à une représentation donnée dans leur théâtre par «les jeunes gens du cercle de Saint-Georges» parce que les dames y sont conviées.¹⁴ Pourtant, quelques mois auparavant, ils avaient autorisé leurs hôtes à venir en famille pour une représentation dramatique en français. Le développement de l'Université (et notamment de la faculté de médecine) implique le recrutement d'enseignants laïcs qu'il serait indélicat d'inviter sans leurs conjoints et leurs enfants. En ce mois de février 1904, les jésuites avaient réservé 120 places à leurs «invités étrangers», parmi lesquels on reconnaît de nombreux Européens (professeurs de l'Université, consuls, délégué apostolique) mais aussi des familles locales – les Yārid (Yared) ou les Iddi (Eddé).¹⁵

⁸ *Université Saint-Joseph*, 1908, AFSJ.

⁹ En novembre 1903, les jésuites y installent le gaz. Les frais d'installation s'élèvent à 500 francs mais cette source d'énergie, jugée plus commode, présente moins de danger que le pétrole, et commence à être adoptée par des «maisons qui font concurrence». «Consultes de la maison de Beyrouth», 06 novembre 1903 et 01 décembre 1904», ALSI.

¹⁰ «Diaire de Beyrouth, Résidence puis Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (1872–1882)», 29 juillet 1879, ALSI; *Proclamation des résultats des examens, Séance dramatique, Agapit, martyr de 15 ans*, 1879, AFSJ.

¹¹ En août 1859, «le patriarche latin de Jérusalem, Mgr le patriarche maronite et quatre évêques de sa nation, les émirs de Ghāzīr et une foule nombreuse» assistent à la représentation donnée à l'occasion de la distribution des prix. «Diaire de Ghāzīr (résidence)», 11 août 1859, ALSI.

¹² Le 16 février 1904, «le patriarche syrien, Mgr Rahmani, Mgr Fakaki, Mgr Paul Debs» assistent à une représentation dramatique en arabe. «Diaire de l'Université Saint-Joseph», 16 février 1904, ALSI.

¹³ C'est le cas le 21 février 1882, le 6 février 1883, le 17 février 1885. *Charité*, 1910, RPO 62, Fêtes.

¹⁴ «Consultes de la maison de Beyrouth», 26 avril 1904, ALSI.

¹⁵ «Diaire de l'Université Saint-Joseph», 14 février 1904, ALSI.

Même sommaire, la scène de l'Université Saint-Joseph appartient à la vie culturelle de Beyrouth, où comme au Caire ou à Damas, le théâtre «à l'occidentale» fait son apparition dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle.¹⁶ Au Caire, les premiers théâtres sont aménagés au tournant des années 1870: le 1 novembre 1869, Isma'il inaugure le théâtre khédivial de l'opéra construit «en face du théâtre de la comédie à Azbakiyya».¹⁷ A Damas, le théâtre ouvre ses portes presque trente ans plus tard, en 1898.¹⁸ Signe de cet engouement nouveau, plusieurs associations sollicitent le droit d'utiliser la scène des jésuites; le «cercle Saint-Georges» mais aussi «des messieurs et anciens élèves»¹⁹. Sans doute s'agit-il d'amateurs, comme les élèves et les professeurs, et non de troupes plus professionnelles à l'instar de celles que l'on voit se monter à Damas et plus encore en Égypte à la fin du XIX^e siècle; mais ces dernières peuvent parfois leur prêter main forte. Ainsi en 1904, une «troupe d'artistes de Beyrouth» apporte gracieusement son concours à la séance offerte à l'occasion de la visite du Père Provincial.²⁰

Cette collaboration ponctuelle, comme les représentations dramatiques données à l'Université Saint-Joseph, illustre de façon concrète le rôle, maintes fois relevé, des missions chrétiennes dans l'apparition du théâtre «à l'occidentale» au sein du monde arabe.²¹ Les jésuites ne sont pas les seuls à proposer de tels divertissements: à l'orphelinat de garçons des Filles de la Charité à Beyrouth, «Tous les apprentis [...] sont exercés à jouer en français de petites comédies et donner des représentations dans une salle de théâtre bien aménagée.»²² Au rire, les jésuites préfèrent le sérieux et les pleurs du drame ou de la tragédie. A l'instar des premières pièces théâtrales arabes, ils accordent une large place à la musique comme au chant. Dans *Maurice* (1883), les jeunes chrétiens chantent durant les deux premiers actes et les

¹⁶ Marūn al-Naqqāsh est considéré habituellement comme l'un des premiers à avoir introduit le théâtre «à l'occidentale» dans le monde arabe avec des pièces inspirées de Molières jouées en 1847 et 1848. Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī, qui crée une première pièce à Damas en 1865, est présenté comme le fondateur du théâtre syrien. Comme Salīm al-Naqqāsh (neveu de Marūn) ou 'Adīb Ishāq, il émigre en Égypte où il poursuit sa carrière. Heidi Toelle et Katia Zakharia, *À la découverte de la littérature arabe du VI^e siècle à nos jours*, Paris: Flammarion 2003, 209.

¹⁷ Monica Ruocco, «La Nahda par l'iqtibās (1), Naissance du théâtre arabe», dans: *Histoire de la littérature arabe moderne*, Boutros Hallaq et Heidi Toelle, édés., Arles: Sindbad 2007, 151–191.

¹⁸ Ruocco, «La Nahda par l'iqtibās».

¹⁹ «Consultes de la maison de Beyrouth, 1880–1920», octobre 1885 et 2 décembre 1890, ALSI. La première fois, les pères mettent comme condition que les dames ne soient pas admises et la seconde fois, ils refusent parce que les dames sont invitées.

²⁰ «Collège secondaire 1877–1957, Fêtes 1904–1957», *L'immaculée conception, Séance offerte par les congréganistes au P. Bouillon, provincial de la province de Lyon*, 9 décembre 1904, RPO 62, Fêtes.

²¹ Eve Feuillebois-Pierunek, *Le théâtre dans le monde arabe*, <http://www.youscribe.com/catalogue/rapports-et-theses/savoirs/sciences-humaines-et-sociales/le-theatre-dans-le-monde-arabe-1525979> (consulté le 13 novembre 2012). Voir aussi Ruocco, «La Nahda par l'iqtibās», 151–191.

²² Maurice Pernot, *Rapport sur un voyage d'étude à Constantinople*, 186, cité par Jacqueline Jon-dot, *Les écrivains de langue anglaise au Proche-Orient arabe*, Université Lumières Lyon II: Thèse de doctorat 2003, 193.

soldats de la légion thébaine font de même au cours des deux suivants. Au cinquième acte, ils laissent la place à un chœur final accompagné d'un orchestre qui interprète du Bellini.²³ Dans ce cas, comme pour la plupart des séances, les maîtres de musique de l'Université (Panunzio, Bosi, Pasculi, Gianelli) comme les élèves musiciens sont mis à contribution. Acteurs et musiciens sont amateurs, ce qui explique sans doute les impressions mitigées que rapporte le journal (le diaire dans le vocabulaire de la Compagnie de Jésus) de la résidence de Beyrouth. En 1878, la pièce est «bien jouée», alors qu'après la représentation du troisième acte d'Héraclius en 1884, le Père [Salzani] note: «Tout a été bien médiocre».²⁴ Il reste que le théâtre de l'Université Saint-Joseph appartient à la vie mondaine de Beyrouth. Grâce à lui, les jésuites peuvent espérer briller devant les milieux qui le fréquentent (consuls, pachas, Européens, prélats et clercs), dont ils attendent à la fois reconnaissance et appui.

Le théâtre fait partie de la sociabilité des missionnaires et entretient le prestige de l'Université, mais il est surtout prisé pour ses vertus pédagogiques: dignes héritiers du *Ratio studiorum* toujours en vigueur dans leurs établissements au XIX^e siècle (au prix de quelques adaptations²⁵), les jésuites de Beyrouth ont volontiers recours à des exercices oraux et publics. «Tragédies», «scènes historiques», «séances dramatiques», «drame» en tant d'actes et en vers, ainsi qu'«académies» les qualifient de façon plus précise sur les programmes que l'appellation «théâtre», bien utile mais très générale et qui n'y figure pas, si ce n'est pour désigner la scène proprement dite.²⁶ Outre les représentations théâtrales (tragédie, drame...), des «séances» et autres «académies» sont organisées tous les ans, souvent à l'occasion des vœux de fin d'année, de la fête du Père Recteur ou de la présence d'un visiteur que l'on tient à honorer de façon particulière (consuls, supérieurs...). Pour les premières, les jésuites ont recours à des œuvres de circonstance, rédigées le plus souvent par des pères de la Compagnie. Peu de grands classiques dont les œuvres doivent pourtant figurer aux programmes de leurs élèves sont montés à l'Université Saint-Joseph en cette fin de XIX^e siècle.²⁷ Les jésuites leur préfèrent des auteurs moins reconnus mais dont les œuvres paraissent plus sûres au plan moral et religieux. Ils ont aussi recours à des textes adaptés au jeune âge et au genre, masculin, de leur public. *Héraclius ou l'exaltation de la Sainte Croix*, tragédie en 5 actes et vers avec chœur, a été écrite par le Père Marie-Marcel Chopin, professeur de belles lettres à l'Université

²³ *Maurice*, tragédie en 5 actes et en vers par un P. de la Compagnie de Jésus. *Charité*, 1910, RPO 62, Fêtes.

²⁴ «Diaire de Beyrouth, Résidence puis Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (1872–1882)», 29 juillet 1879, ALSI; «Diaire de l'Université Saint-Joseph», 25 juillet 1884, ALSI.

²⁵ Philippe Rocher, *Le goût de l'excellence, Quatre siècles d'éducation jésuite en France*, Paris: Bibliothèque Beauchesne 2011.

²⁶ En arabe, le mot *masrah*, utilisé aujourd'hui pour désigner le théâtre ne s'impose que dans les années 1950. On ne le trouve pas non plus sur les rares programmes en arabe conservés dans les archives de la Compagnie à Vanves.

²⁷ Ruocco, «La Nahda par l'iqtibās», 158.

en 1883-1884, qui est sans doute l'auteur du *Maurice* représenté l'année précédente.²⁸ Amin Machhūr, professeur de rhétorique à l'Université, a composé *Al-Kafārat (l'expiation)* joué en 1909.²⁹ Les jésuites de Beyrouth puisent aussi dans les pièces données dans leurs collèges de France: *Le roi des oubliettes*, joué en 1885 et *Le solitaire des tombeaux* (1887) sont de la plume d'un mystérieux P. Camille, lui aussi de la Compagnie de Jésus³⁰; *Le Lis sanglant* (1890), et *Alfred le Grand* (1894) font partie des nombreuses œuvres du Père Henri Tricard, auteur prolifique de pièces éducatives destinées aux élèves,³¹ dont le *Garcia Moreno* a vraisemblablement servi de trame pour la pièce du même titre composée par le Père Perroy, jésuite au Proche-Orient. *Tharsicius martyr*, mystère en six tableaux (1914) est dû aux Pères Charmot et de la Messuzière.³² D'autres, comme *Le dernier des Macchabées* (1884) ou *Le martyr de Saint Agapit* (1879, 1889) sont anonymes.³³ Les jésuites adaptent enfin des textes retenus en raison des idées qu'ils défendent, tout autant si ce n'est plus, que pour leurs qualités littéraires. La pièce d'Henri de Bornier (1825–1901), *La fille de Roland*, créée en 1875 à Paris avec Sarah Bernhardt dans le rôle principal, est adaptée en 1882.³⁴ En 1902, les élèves montent *Le Pater* de François Coppée (1842–1884), également académicien, dont le texte inspire aussi une séance sur le pardon en 1910. Ce drame en un acte et en vers, animé, selon son auteur, «par un sentiment très humain et la morale évangélique»³⁵, se déroule durant les journées de

²⁸ Les sources historiques de la pièce sont présentées de la même façon.

²⁹ *Al-kafārat, Māṣab nathriyyah bi-arbaʿat al-fuṣūl yatakballulabā chār wa-ghināʿ* (L'expiation, drame en quatre actes avec poésie et chants), n.d., RPO 62, Fêtes.

³⁰ *Le solitaire des tombeaux*, drame en trois actes avec prologue par le R.P. Camille de la Compagnie de Jésus, le mardi 22 février 1887, RPO 62, Fêtes; *Le roi des oubliettes*, drame en 3 actes, par le R.P. Camille de la Compagnie de Jésus, 17 février 1885, RPO 62, Fêtes.

³¹ *Le Lis sanglant*, drame en quatre actes et en vers par le P. H. Tricard, le dimanche 16 février 1890, RPO 62, Fêtes; *Garcia Moreno*, drame en trois actes et en vers par le R.P. Perroy, le dimanche 6 février 1891, ROP 62, Fêtes. Cette pièce figure dans un recueil de pièce du P. Tricard. Henri Tricard, *Garcia Moreno, drame en cinq actes et en vers*, Paris: Retaux-Bray: 1889; *Alfred Le Grand*, drame en quatre actes, en vers, par le P. Tricard, musique du P. A. Gondart, 6 février 1894, RPO 43, 2, AFSJ.

³² *Tharsicius martyr*, mystère en six tableaux par les R.P.P Charmot et de la Messuzière, Séances, *Pro Hostia, au R.P. Louis Galtier, à l'occasion de ses derniers vœux*, 1 février 1914, RPO 47, AFSJ.

³³ *Agapit, martyr de quinze ans*, Proclamation du résultat des examens, séance dramatique, 29 juillet 1879, RPO 62, Fêtes; *Le martyr de Saint Agapit*, drame en trois actes avec chœurs et orchestres, 3 mars 1889, RPO 62, Fêtes; *Inqirād dawlat al-makābiyyin, riwāyah mafjūhab tārikhiyyah dbāt khamsah fuṣūl, ḥadatha fi bayrūt arbaʿa sinin qabla al-masih* (Les derniers des Maccabées, tragédie en cinq actes, 4 mai 1884), la traduction française est moins précise que la présentation en arabe qui indique: récit dramatique et historique qui s'est déroulé à Beyrouth quatre ans avant le Messie.

³⁴ Séance dramatique, *Le fils de Roland*, par le vicomte Henri de Bornier, 21 février 1882, RPO 62, Fêtes.

³⁵ François Coppée, *Le Pater*, drame un acte, en vers, Paris: Alphonse Lemerre éditeur, 1890. Lettre de François Coppée à Monsieur Francis Magnard, directeur du *Figaro*, Paris, 19 décembre 1889, *Le Pater*, 10–11. *Le Pater* met en scène mademoiselle Rose dont le frère, abbé, a été fusillé par les Communards. D'abord assoiffée de vengeance, Rose se range bientôt à

mai 1871, ce qui lui a valu d'être interdit par la censure de la Troisième République.³⁶ Lu à Paris, *Le Pater* a été joué à Bruxelles, Londres, Genève, ainsi qu'à Beyrouth dans le collège des jésuites qui ne pouvaient que se sentir proches de ce poète parnassien, élu à l'Académie française en 1884, anti-dreyfusard notoire et membre fondateur de la ligue de la patrie française. Plus surprenant peut paraître le recours à Victor Hugo, dont les élèves ont emprunté aux *Burgraves* les dialogues d'une séance sur l'hospitalité.³⁷ Les jésuites puisent enfin dans la littérature enfantine: *Mon petit Trott*, best-seller d'André Lichtenberger publié en 1898 leur fournit l'argument d'une séance sur l'aumône en 1910.³⁸

«Académies» et autres «séances», offrent un second cadre, plus scolaire, aux performances orales des élèves. Sorte de joutes oratoires où des jeunes gens choisis rivalisent d'éloquence, elles perpétuent la tradition des académies, définie par le *Ratio Studiorum* comme «une réunion de gens studieux, choisis parmi tous les étudiants, rassemblés sous la présidence d'un préfet pris parmi les Nôtres, et se donnant pour fin de pratiquer certains exercices particuliers, relevant des études».³⁹ Mais l'académie sert aussi à désigner la séance publique d'exercices où alternent (du moins à l'Université Saint-Joseph) compliments, narrations, dialogues, poèmes, églogues, récits, élégies... et des morceaux de musique, souvent en différentes langues. Moins longs, moins ambitieux, moins littéraires, ces textes se distinguent aussi des représentations dramatiques proprement dites par leur structure: point de personnage à incarner, de lieu à figurer, ou d'époque à représenter. Elles ne forment pas un tout organique comme les pièces de théâtre, mais il arrive qu'un fil rouge relie entre eux tous les textes déclamés, et qu'à défaut d'une véritable intrigue, ils narrent aussi une histoire ou défendent un point de vue.

Les pièces de théâtre proprement dites sont plus souvent jouées devant un large public qui inclut, comme on l'a vu, les parents des élèves, des membres du clergé et des représentants des grandes puissances européennes. Plus de cent personnes, en plus des élèves, se pressent à certaines représentations, obligeant les jésuites à développer une organisation très élaborée pour s'assurer que chacun est

des pensées plus chrétiennes, accepte de pardonner aux bourreaux de son frère chéri et donne l'asile à un fédéré qu'elle sauve des mains des Versaillais.

³⁶ François Coppée; Josette Parrain, «Censure, théâtre et Commune (1871–1914)», *Le mouvement social* 79 (juin 1972), 327–342, 337.

³⁷ Il s'agit d'une pièce de 1843 qui met en scène des princes et des hommes d'armes, dont les jésuites n'utilisèrent vraisemblablement qu'un passage à la fin de la première partie: «Donc, jeunes gens, si fiers d'être puissants et forts / Songez aux vieux; et vous vieillards, songez aux morts ! / Soyez hospitaliers surtout ! C'est la loi douce / Quand on chasse un passant sait-on qui l'on repousse?». Victor Hugo, les *Burgraves*, 1843, <http://www.ebooksgratuits.com> (consulté le 15 avril 2013).

³⁸ André Lichtenberger, *Mon petit Trott*, Paris: Librairie Plon 1898. En particulier le chapitre VIII, intitulé *Le Petit pauvre*, 95–115.

³⁹ *Ratio Studiorum, plan raisonné et institution des études dans la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris: Belin 1997, 214.

assis à la place qu'il mérite.⁴⁰ Séances et académies sont en général réservées à un cercle privé, limité aux élèves et à leurs enseignants, ou à quelque hôte de marque (par exemple le recteur de l'Université ou le supérieur de la mission).

Pour les élèves, ces différents exercices constituent autant d'entraînements: Il s'agit de se former en faisant «par soi-même».⁴¹ Dans les deux cas, «on *montre* quelque chose ensemble, on se l'approprie, on le réalise ensemble».⁴² Comme le note Jean-Yves Calvez, le théâtre constitue une «remarquable pratique collective», un «moyen éducatif puissant».⁴³ Pour les élèves, ce sont avant tout des occasions de briller devant leurs maîtres, leurs condisciples ou leurs parents; en particulier par leur maîtrise de différentes langues, le français et l'arabe d'abord,⁴⁴ qui sont les deux langues employées pour les pièces de théâtre, mais aussi le latin, le grec, l'italien ou le copte, toutes des langues enseignées à l'université. Ces séances offrent enfin une façon agréable d'apprendre: «on doit proposer et varier les exercices, qui tout en étant utiles, sont aussi agréables et beaux, enjoint le *Ratio*, afin d'inciter l'esprit des académiciens au travail par le plaisir qu'ils y trouveront».⁴⁵ Exercices à la fois individuels et collectifs, émulation, plaisir d'apprendre, tels sont les piliers de la pédagogie par le théâtre définie par les jésuites et pratiquée à l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth. Les auteurs cités et les sujets abordés ne sont pas laissés au hasard, mais sont, au contraire, soigneusement choisis: «L'argument des tragédies et des comédies – qui ne doivent pas être que latines et très rares – sera sacré et pieux; il n'y aura aucun intermède sinon latin et décent; aucun personnage ni vêtement féminin n'y sera introduit», précise le *Ratio Studiorum* qui n'est donc pas appliqué dans toute sa rigueur, puisque les jésuites ont renoncé au latin et mettent en scène quelques rares personnages féminins (Jeanne d'Arc en 1910). Mais sur la question de l'argument, «fidèle et pieux», les jésuites de la nouvelle Compagnie ne transigent pas.⁴⁶ Etablissement catholique, l'Université Saint-Joseph met d'abord en scène des sujets religieux.

⁴⁰ En février 1903, 120 places sont réservées aux invités «étrangers» (i.e. extérieurs à l'Université). Diaire de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 1882–1925, 15 février 1903, ALSI.

⁴¹ Jean-Yves Calvez, «Le *Ratio*, charte de la pédagogie des jésuites», *Etudes* 3953 (septembre 2001), 210.

⁴² Calvez, «Le *Ratio*», 210.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁴⁴ Le français et l'arabe sont les deux langues principales enseignées à l'Université et étudiées par la majorité des élèves. Une minorité d'entre eux suivent le cursus dit «classique» qui prévoit aussi un enseignement du grec et du latin, indispensable selon les conceptions pédagogiques dominantes de l'époque, à une véritable formation de l'esprit.

⁴⁵ *Ratio Studiorum*, 215.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 93.

2. *Combattre et mourir pour la foi*

Les principaux récits (narrés à travers des pièces ou des académies) plongent dans un passé lointain, antique ou médiéval. Ce recours à la grande Histoire confère aux événements relatés un surplus de réalité et de véracité qui les rend plus à même d'impressionner les élèves. Simultanément, l'éloignement dans le temps et dans l'espace autorise des arrangements que les auteurs ne se refusent pas à faire dans la mesure où ils servent leurs objectifs: édifier leurs élèves.⁴⁷ Dans *Le dernier des Macchabées*, joué en 1884, l'auteur (anonyme) admet que la présence du «saint vieillard Siméon, d'Anne et de Caïphe, de Pilate comme tribun à Beyrouth, ainsi que celle d'Hérode Antipas, autre fils d'Hérode, sont des faits vraisemblables bien que de pure invention».⁴⁸ Pour se justifier, il invoque son souci de «donner par là plus d'éclat au sujet et mieux montrer le rapport avec l'avènement futur du Messie».⁴⁹ Situer l'action dans le passé donne aussi à l'auteur la possibilité d'écrire dans le français châtié qu'il veut transmettre aux élèves. A l'inverse, *Garcia Moreno*, drame contemporain⁵⁰, «a fait commettre à l'auteur plus d'un vers prosaïque, dans l'expression de certains détails matériels de la vie publique ou privée». Ce dernier est cependant prêt à le reconnaître:

Quand il s'agit d'un drame dont l'action se passe à une époque lointaine, au moyen-âge par exemple, on peut orner jusqu'à ces détails; mais en retraçant des scènes qui se passaient il y a treize ans chez un peuple civilisé, ce serait cher payé une élégance banale que de l'acheter au prix de la vraisemblance.⁵¹

Les explications de cet auteur traduisent bien le souci des pédagogues jésuites du XIX^e siècle: les valeurs morales ne s'enseignent bien que dans une langue parfaitement maîtrisée.

Dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen-Âge, les jésuites renouent avec un passé glorieux pour l'Église et la chrétienté: celui de la naissance du christianisme (de la période qui précède immédiatement son avènement aux grandes persécutions) et donc de l'Église primitive auxquels ils se veulent irréductiblement fidèles. Il s'agit également d'une époque bénie où rois et chevaliers étaient soumis au bon vouloir de

⁴⁷ Henri Tricard ne s'en cache pas à propos de *Vitus (Le Lis sanglant)*: Le drame entier s'appuie sur une base historique. Des faits qui le composent, pas un seul qui ne soit vrai en lui-même, ou dont la vraisemblance ne se fonde sur d'autres événements contemporains. Nous avons rapproché quelques dates, idéalisé le personnage répugnant de Galère, enfin jeté Vitus dans la grande lutte qui s'engage à Nicomédie pour la signature des lois de persécution. Henri Tricard, *Le lis sanglant, drame en quatre actes, en vers*, Paris: Retaux-Bray 1887, 6.

⁴⁸ *Le dernier des Machabées*, 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁵⁰ Le héros, né à Guayaquil en 1821 doit s'exiler et séjourner en France. De retour à Quito, il prend la tête du mouvement catholique et est élu Président de la République. Il lutte contre les francs-maçons et leurs «complots» avec le soutien de Pie IX. Réélu en août 1875, il «tomba sous le poignard des francs-maçons en s'écriant: «Dieu ne meurt pas !»». Henri Tricard, *Garcia Moreno, drame en cinq actes et en vers*, 1891, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁵¹ Henri Tricard, *Garcia Moreno*, drame en cinq actes et en vers, 6.

l'Église, autrement dit de ses clercs, évêques, prêtres et religieux. L'époque de la Réforme et de la Révolution française, si douloureuse pour l'Église et la Compagnie, est renvoyée aux oubliettes de l'histoire. Quand les séances traitent de sujets contemporains, c'est pour mettre en lumière les combats que mène l'Église contre des forces violentes ou obscures comme celles des communards ou la franc-maçonnerie.⁵²

De ce passé, quelles figures retiennent les jésuites? Au premier chef, des martyrs ou des combattants pour la foi: Agapit, Vitus, Maurice, Etienne, Anastase, Jeanne d'Arc, Tharsicius, Garcia Moreno, tous morts pour leur foi. De qui est-on martyr? De l'Empire romain: c'est le cas de Tharsicius d'Agapit, de Maurice, et de Vitus; plus rarement des juifs, comme pour Etienne, et plus récemment des Anglais (*Jeanne d'Arc*), des communards (*Le Pater*) ou de la Franc-maçonnerie (*Garcia Moreno*). Jamais de l'islam, absent des drames antiques et lointain arrière-plan des pièces médiévales. La plupart de ces martyrs sont des hommes, plusieurs meurent dans la fleur de la jeunesse. Agapit est martyr «de quinze ans», Vitus, est dit «le Lis sanglant», fleur blanche de «la vertu qui s'ignore» et de l'enfant innocent, qui serait «encore plus ravissant» s'il était «empourpré de sang».⁵³ Les élèves, qui ont le même âge, sont invités à partager son idéal: «Vivre pur, mourir jeune et paré du martyre!»⁵⁴ Le martyre consommé, séances dramatiques et académies hésitent entre la vengeance et le pardon. «Je vais mourir» annonce Saint Anastase devant les Perses, «mais bientôt la trompette annoncera partout votre défaite, et le Christ, aujourd'hui par ma mort outragé, demain sera vengé».⁵⁵ De même pour Saint Etienne qui se venge avant de triompher. D'autres textes suggèrent que le martyr pardonne à son bourreau et invite ses proches à faire de même. Ainsi l'héroïne du *Pater*, Rose, renonce à sa vengeance pour pardonner aux meurtriers de son frère et cache un communard poursuivi par la police.

Aux côtés des martyrs, empereurs (Héraclius, Charlemagne), roi (Alfred le Grand) et preux chevaliers (Roland), forment un second groupe de héros, souvent plus âgés, qui exaltent d'autres vertus: le courage au combat, la piété filiale (dans *Le fils de Roland*)⁵⁶ et la miséricorde (dans *Alfred le Grand*).⁵⁷ Rois, empe-

⁵² Christian Amalvi, «Légendes scolaires du Moyen-Âge au XIX^e siècle», dans: *La fabrique du Moyen-Âge au XIX^e siècle: Représentations du Moyen-Âge dans la culture et la littérature française au XIX^e siècle*, Simone Bernard-Griffiths, Pierre Glaudes, Bertrand Vibert et Odile Paris-Barubé, éd., Paris: Champion 2006, 57-69.

⁵³ Henri Tircard, *Vitus (le lis sanglant)*, Paris: Retaux-Bray 1890, VIII.

⁵⁴ Tircard, *Vitus*, VIII.

⁵⁵ *Héraclius ou l'exaltation de la Sainte Croix*, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers avec chœurs par le Père Marie-Marcel Chopin, de la Compagnie de Jésus, professeur de belles lettres à l'Université, le 26 février 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁵⁶ Ganelon s'est retiré et vit caché sous le nom d'Amaury. Son fils montre sa bravoure et sa grandeur d'âme en sauvant le fils de Roland des Saxons, mais un des Saxons le reconnaît. Un Sarrasin vient sans cesse provoquer Charlemagne: il remettra Durandal (l'épée de Roland) à celui qui le vaincra. Personne n'est capable de relever le défi, sauf le fils d'Amaury

reurs, hommes d'armes, martyrs parfois, combattent pour leur foi, contre des Saxons (Charlemagne), des Danois (Alfred le Grand), des Perses (Heraclius), des Anglais (Jeanne d'Arc), mais jamais contre des musulmans, avantageusement absents de l'Antiquité et du Moyen-Âge européen. La croisade apparaît pourtant dans *Le fils de Roland*, quand Amaury et son père Ganelon décident, à la fin de la pièce, de partir en Orient «pour chercher la mort en combattant pour Dieu».⁵⁸ Ainsi, Amaury rachète et expie la félonie de son père. Et sa mort en Terre Sainte au service de la foi achèvera sa rédemption.

Sur toutes les séances, ou presque, plane l'ombre de la mort. Mais cette mort au nom de la foi est loin d'être triste: «O mes amis la mort est une fête quelle que cruelle qu'on l'apprête quand on doit mourir pour Jésus» s'exclame Agapit avant de rendre l'âme.⁵⁹ La mort pour Dieu ravit l'âme, elle annonce le triomphe du martyr, assure son salut et lui confère la gloire: «Nous voulons mourir pour la foi, ouvrez-vous porte de la gloire»⁶⁰ chante le chœur dans *Agapit*. La musique est souvent mise à contribution pour que cette mort au nom de la foi ne sombre jamais dans la tristesse. Dans *Jeanne d'Arc*, la marche funèbre (C. Gounod) est immédiatement suivie d'une marche héroïque (Th. Dubois) qui accompagne l'apothéose finale.⁶¹

La mise en scène de ces martyrs, saints ou héros, illustre la quête des grands hommes qui saisit l'élite culturelle arabe à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Mais contrairement à Juji Zaydān ou Faraḥ Anṭūn, les jésuites ne font aucune référence au passé arabe (seule la figure d'Abdel Kader est mentionnée) ou musulman de la région.⁶² Leurs héros sont exaltés pour leurs valeurs religieuses: la foi signifie fidélité et obéissance aux commandements de l'Église et aux clercs qui les transmettent.

Cette foi que les élèves sont appelés à proclamer jusqu'au martyr est celle d'un catholicisme ultramontain. La Vierge y est à l'honneur à travers les commémorations en 1884 et en 1904 des trente ans, puis des cinquante ans de la proclamation du dogme de l'immaculée conception proclamé en 1854. En 1884, les élèves rendent hommage à la «reine conçue sans péché», «unique beauté parfaite et sans tâ-

qui gagne l'épée fameuse. Mais son père est reconnu (par le Saxon): le fils refuse l'honneur que veut lui faire Charlemagne et part en Palestine. *Le fils de Roland*, 1882, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁵⁷ La pièce célèbre un «grand roi», qui combat ses ennemis et pardonne à celui qui se repend «Vous sauvez le pays dans un combat vainqueur, / Et le Christ humble et doux triomphe en votre cœur. / Frères, louange à Dieu pour sa miséricorde ! / A vos mâles efforts, quelle palme il accorde, / quel spectacle sublime il offre à notre foi: / un grand peuple qui naît sous les mains d'un grand Roi !» Tricard, *Alfred le grand*, 160.

⁵⁸ *Le fils de Roland*, 1882, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁵⁹ *Le martyre de Saint Agapit*, 1889, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ *Jeanne d'Arc*, scènes historiques en 5 actes avec tableaux et Chœurs, fête du Recteur, dimanche 8 mai 1910 à 3h, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶² Anne-Laure Dupont, «Le grand homme, figure de la «Renaissance» arabe», dans: *Saints et Héros du Moyen-Orient contemporain*, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, éd., Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose 2002, 47-73.

che». ⁶³ En 1886, ils célèbrent Marie, patronne de la jeunesse. ⁶⁴ Plus ambitieuse, la séance de 1904 évoque la vie de la Vierge en trois temps, le passé, le présent et l'avenir, et propose, entre autres, un récit historique sur le pèlerinage à Lourdes, des apparitions aux stations des malades devant la grotte. ⁶⁵ Aux côtés de la Vierge Marie, le Pape, «pontife-roi», fait partie des figures évoquées à plusieurs reprises. En 1888, les élèves rendent hommage à Léon XIII, dont ils rappellent quelques épisodes de la vie en insistant sur ses liens avec l'Orient. ⁶⁶ En 1879, c'est son prédécesseur, Pie IX, «docteur infailible», qui avait été à l'honneur, lors d'une académie littéraire donnée à l'occasion de son cinquantième anniversaire épiscopal: les textes, en arabe, en français, en italien et en latin tissent sa vie et celle de Saint Pierre, «fondement de l'Église de J.-C. vivant en Pie IX». ⁶⁷ L'Église à l'honneur est donc celle du XIX^e siècle, héritière fidèle de l'Église primitive. C'est aussi une institution cléricale comme vient le rappeler la séance offerte aux séminaristes à l'occasion de leur première messe en 1889, qui insiste sur la «grandeur» et la «puissance» du prêtre, placé «au-dessus des anges», avant de conclure avec un dernier morceau interprété par le chœur et intitulé «À la lutte!». ⁶⁸ Cette Église est donc combattante; jusqu'au martyre?

Plusieurs séances qui retracent des passages de l'histoire sainte ou exaltent des vertus particulières, s'apparentent à de véritables leçons de catéchisme. Parmi les points du dogme qu'elles mettent en avant figure la rédemption du monde par le Christ. Elles opposent le «monde avant la venue de J.C.» bruissant des chants de guerre de Satan et des gémissements des esclaves syriens, à celui d'après «la venue de J.C.», ⁶⁹ ou encore les ailes brisées de l'âme «sans la foi» et ses élans vers l'apostolat et le martyre «dans la foi». ⁷⁰ Dans ces oppositions binaires, l'Empire romain sert de repoussoir même si les pères, convaincus des hautes vertus de l'enseignement du grec et du latin, ne peuvent le noircir complètement. Dans *Le dernier des Macchabées*, la décadence de l'Empire romain rejoint celle de la dynastie juive des Hasmonéens et annonce la venue du Messie: «Le sceptre était ainsi tombé des mains de Juda», conclut la présentation de la scène; «et dès lors, selon la

⁶³ *A Marie immaculée*, hommage de toutes les congrégations, 8 décembre 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁴ *Marie, patronne de la jeunesse*, 5 juillet 1886, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁵ *L'immaculée conception*, séance offerte par les congréganistes au Père Bouillon, provincial de la province de Lyon, à l'occasion du Jubilé de la proclamation du dogme de l'IC, n.d., RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁶ *Hommage reconnaissant de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth à sa Sainteté Léon XIII*, 1 janvier 1888, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁷ *Académie littéraire donnée à l'occasion du 50^{ème} anniversaire épiscopal de Pie IX*, 3 juin 1877, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁸ *Le Sacerdoce*, séance offerte par les séminaristes à leurs condisciples devenus prêtres, 30 juin 1889, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁶⁹ *Miserere et Te Deum*, séance offerte au R.P. Recteur le 31 décembre 1896, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷⁰ *Le vol de l'âme*, séance académique offerte au P. Recteur à l'occasion de sa fête, 26 avril 1902, RPO 62, Fêtes.

prophétie de Jacob, le messie ne pouvait tarder de venir». ⁷¹ Beaucoup de séances s'achèvent sur le triomphe de la vraie foi et de l'Église romaine qui en est la gardienne.

Les héros y sont soigneusement choisis. Souvent de noble extraction, ils sont parés de toutes les vertus: ardents défenseurs de la foi, ils sont à la fois courageux, cultivés, intelligents et bons. Issus de bonnes familles, ils pratiquent, à l'exemple du Petit Trott, une charité bien ordonnée. Leur jeune âge les met davantage à la portée des élèves: c'est surtout vrai pour les martyrs, moins pour les hommes de pouvoir qui dessinent plutôt un idéal pour l'âge adulte. Soucieux de former une élite, les jésuites mettent en scène des dirigeants mus par leurs convictions religieuses et soumis à la volonté divine.

3. *Éduquer des enfants, des garçons et des élèves*

Autant que la croix, étendard d'une Église combattante, les séances chantent «le divin enfant de la crèche», le fils de Marie, et le nouveau-né de la Sainte Famille que protège l'archange Gabriel. ⁷² Au 31 décembre, pour les vœux au Père Recteur, les chants de Noël (*Entre le bœuf et l'âne gris*, *Le grand ami viendra* (Botrel), *Berceuse de la crèche* (C. Franck), *Petit Jésus de Bethléem* (G. Doret)) ⁷³ ou encore les évocations de la crèche, dessinent un tableau plus enfantin, plus rural et plus doux où trône l'enfant Jésus. Mais même dans ce cas l'Église combattante reprend parfois l'avantage. Ainsi, la séance intitulée «Le divin enfant de la crèche» s'achève par un chant intitulé «L'enfant du régiment». ⁷⁴ Les fleurs sont aussi associées à l'enfance et au martyr, comme dans le dialogue «L'enfant et la rose», où la rose, pourtant vouée à périr, exprime sa confiance en Dieu: «Le Dieu qui nous donne la vie, ne laisse jamais sans soutien. Heureux en lui qui se confie! Il ne manque jamais de rien.» ⁷⁵

Ces textes un peu mièvres alternent avec d'autres déclamés sur un ton beaucoup plus martial, qui glorifient le martyre avec force fanfare. Peut-être faut-il voir un reflet de la diversité de l'âge des élèves, des enfants encore petits, dont l'innocence et la fragilité rappellent celle des fleurs (la rose, le lis sanglant), à de jeunes gens plus virils dont on cherche à canaliser l'ardeur au service des combats de l'Église?

⁷¹ *Le dernier des Machabées*, 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷² *Le divin enfant et la crèche*, académie de littérature arabe, 31 décembre 1888, RPO 62, Fêtes; *L'archange Saint Gabriel*, séance offerte au Recteur à l'occasion de sa fête, 29 avril 1894, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷³ Interprétées le 31 décembre 1910, à l'occasion des vœux au Père Recteur. *Charité*, 1910, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷⁴ *Le divin enfant et la crèche*, 1888, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷⁵ *Nos premières fleurs*, académie de littérature, séance offerte au R.P. Tardy, nouveau recteur de l'Université, 31 décembre 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

Université oblige, plusieurs séances évoquent la vie des élèves: la distribution des prix ou les vacances, notamment à l'occasion des cérémonies qui marquent la fin de l'année scolaire: «Qui aime le plus les vacances?» s'interroge-t-on en 1880, avant de poursuivre avec «une scène originale à toute vapeur avec refrain de mirlions» intitulée «Le chemin de fer», dont les voies n'atteignent pas encore Beyrouth à l'époque.⁷⁶ Mais les thèmes religieux ne sont jamais bien loin et il arrive qu'une séance commence sur un ton léger pour s'achever sur des considérations plus sérieuses. C'est le cas en 1908, avec une «académie» offerte en l'honneur du Père Provincial à l'occasion de sa visite. Intitulée «Sur les routes», elle évoque successivement les «touristes» (qui empruntent, cette fois, la ligne Beyrouth-Damas), les conquérants (des conquistadors aux rapides du Yang Tse où s'écrit une «page d'épopée coloniale»), puis les apôtres (du Christ en Galilée au missionnaire qui fait ses adieux à sa mère).⁷⁷ Ces petits spectacles peuvent aussi servir à justifier les choix pédagogiques du collège. En 1885, l'académie de grammaire intitulée «l'enseignement du français» porte successivement sur l'étude de la grammaire, l'étude du latin, et celle du grec.⁷⁸ L'objectif en est souligné par une citation de Lafontaine qui figure en exergue du programme: «c'est faute d'admirer les Grecs et les Romains qu'on s'égaré en voulant tenir d'autres chemins». Il s'agit de valoriser le cursus «classique» qui ne rencontre pas, aux yeux des pères, le succès qu'il mérite. En dépit des injonctions du *Ratio Studiorum* (qui privilégie le latin), le français puis l'arabe sont les deux langues les plus prisées au théâtre de l'Université. On aurait pu s'attendre à ce que le français soit davantage mis en avant par un établissement qui s'enorgueillit, à juste titre, de ses liens avec la France. De façon générale, les textes joués ou déclamés ne les évoquent pas explicitement. Nul doute que les pères savent recevoir le consul de France, lui qui les honore régulièrement de sa présence,⁷⁹ mais l'accent est davantage mis sur l'éducation religieuse. En 1888, à propos du pape, les élèves racontent le «drame d'Anagni», un des épisodes célèbres des relations exécrables qu'entretenaient la France et la papauté sous Philippe le Bel. L'année précédente, la dédicace «À la France» est en fait le titre d'une «séance polyglotte» donnée en l'honneur de l'abbé Charmetant, directeur de l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, où se succèdent des textes en latin, syriaque, copte, grec ancien et moderne, italien, arabe et français.⁸⁰ Les diaires de l'Université indiquent que les pièces en arabe alternent avec celles en français, parfois à quelques jours

⁷⁶ Distribution solennelle des prix, 1 août 1881, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷⁷ *Le divin enfant et la crèche*, 1888, RPO 62, Fêtes; *Sur les Routes*, académie offerte au R.P. Chauvin, provincial de Lyon, à l'occasion de sa visite, 8 novembre 1908, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷⁸ *Académie de grammaire, l'enseignement du français*, séance offerte au P. Recteur à l'occasion de sa fête, 1 juin 1885, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁷⁹ En 1902, elle est signalée sur le programme: «Fête du R.P. Recteur, sous la présidence de M. le comte de Sercey, consul général de France, 27 avril 1902».

⁸⁰ *À la France, le séminaire oriental de Saint-François Xavier reconnaissant*, séance polyglotte offerte à l'abbé Charmetant, Directeur de l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, 30 janvier 1887, RPO 62, Fêtes.

d'intervalle.⁸¹ Acteurs de la *Nahḍab* grâce à leur imprimerie et leurs publications, les jésuites ont volontiers recours à des traductions: ainsi, en janvier 1884, «les imprimeurs ont représenté *Agapit*, tragédie en 4 actes, traduite en arabe par le F. Elias. Elle a parfaitement réussi.»⁸² Contrairement à ce que pourrait laisser croire un nationalisme étroit dont les missionnaires seraient les promoteurs, l'Université Saint-Joseph valorise le plurilinguisme. On peut y voir un héritage de la pédagogie jésuite (où le français s'effaçait devant le grec et le latin), et une nécessaire adaptation aux conditions locales (qui imposent l'emploi de l'arabe): quoiqu'il en soit, pour les jésuites de Beyrouth, éduquer, c'est enseigner plusieurs langues. Le plurilinguisme de l'Université illustre ainsi son rayonnement et les talents de ses élèves, que les pères sont fiers de mettre en lumière.

Leurs élèves sont des garçons et la plupart des personnages mis en scène ou mentionnés appartiennent, comme eux, à la gent masculine. Outre de jeunes martyrs, des empereurs ou des rois combattants, ce sont des chevaliers, des soldats ou encore des hommes de religion (pape, évêques, saints, prêtres, missionnaires); comme si l'avenir de ces jeunes gens se réduisait à cette alternative: l'armée ou la cléricature, la guerre ou le sacerdoce. En bref, le combat militaire et spirituel pour la foi. Dans cet univers masculin, les figures féminines sont peu nombreuses. On en cherche en vain dans les pièces de théâtre proprement dites: les incarner aurait de toute façon posé d'épineux problèmes à des acteurs recrutés parmi les élèves ou les professeurs de l'établissement. Le travestissement, inhérent au théâtre, ne saurait franchir certaines limites imposées par la bienséance et la moralité, ce qui oblige parfois à prendre ses aises avec les textes que l'on met en scène. Ainsi, *Le pardon* inspiré du *Pater* de François Coppée ne représente pas Rose (pourtant elle est la sœur du curé restée vieille fille), mais un vieux serviteur du curé, plus facile à incarner. La pièce d'Henri de Bornier perd aussi son héroïne éponyme, la fille de Roland, dont les amours (impossibles donc tragiques) avec Gérard, le fils de Ganelon, constituent la trame de l'original: le titre est porté au masculin et Berthe, la fille de Roland, devient Roger, le fils. Plus d'amour exploré entre elle et Gérard, mais une amitié virile entre les deux protagonistes masculins. Seule Jeanne d'Arc fait exception: il s'agit néanmoins d'une figure féminine très virile et constamment accompagnée de personnages masculins (roi, paysans, soldats, clercs, geôliers). La femme par excellence, c'est Marie, qui fait l'objet d'un véritable culte. Dans une des séances qui lui est consacrée, les élèves font aussi le portrait de Judith et d'Esther, deux figures bibliques renommées pour avoir sauvé leur peuple. En portant le Messie, la Vierge Marie fait de même à l'échelle de l'humanité. À travers

⁸¹ Les pièces françaises sont parfois traduites en arabe, mais d'autres textes joués étaient écrits directement dans cette langue. Les pièces en arabe sont cependant plus difficiles à étudier car on en connaît le plus souvent que le titre. Elles nécessiteront donc d'autres recherches (les programmes n'ont pas été conservés, ni à Vanves, ni à Beyrouth, ce qui est le cas pour les pièces françaises).

⁸² «Diaire de l'Université», 23 février 1884, ALSI.

elle, la femme est d'abord mère, jamais épouse. Sur l'image qui illustre la séance consacrée au cinquantenaire de la proclamation du dogme de l'immaculée conception, sa féminité est dissimulée sous un ample manteau. La mère est aussi celle du missionnaire à laquelle ce dernier fait ses adieux avant de partir «sur les routes». ⁸³ À l'image de la Vierge Marie, elle accepte le destin de son fils, dù-t-il la quitter (comme c'est le cas du missionnaire) ou mourir. C'est le cas pour les «captifs libanais» d'*Héraclius*: prisonniers des Perses, ils proclament: «N'oublions pas les leçons de nos mères; Pour notre foi soyons prêts à la mort.» ⁸⁴ La femme, instrument de perversion de l'homme, fait cependant une apparition avec la figure de Salomé, sœur d'Hérode. Femme manipulatrice, elle conspire pour convaincre son frère de mettre à mort ses propres fils, Aristobule et Alexandre, «les derniers des Macchabées». ⁸⁵

4. *L'Orient et le Liban*

Dans ces différents textes, les allusions à l'actualité politique et au Proche-Orient sont rares. Une séance comporte bien une «page d'épopée coloniale» mais elle traite de la Chine; une autre met en scène Garcia Moreno, président assassiné au Pérou, très loin de Beyrouth. ⁸⁶

De manière générale, il est difficile de voir dans ces programmes des allusions à des considérations politiques. L'Empire ottoman n'est jamais mentionné en tant que tel et les musulmans brillent par leur absence. Cette situation résulte en partie du choix des textes, souvent empruntés aux collèges français de la Compagnie de Jésus. Les discours composés dans le cadre des académies ou les pièces rédigées par les pères de l'Université (comme le Père Marie-Marcel Chopin en 1883 et 1884) offrent davantage de liberté mise à profit pour évoquer l'Orient, Jérusalem, le Liban et Damas. Jérusalem apparaît à travers son évêque, Hyménée, qui aurait encouragé la conversion de Maurice. Dans *Héraclius*, la ville sainte est représentée par son patriarche qui excite le peuple au combat. Lieu de la conversion et théâtre du combat pour la rédemption (Roland), Jérusalem voit aussi la marche triomphale des armées d'Héraclius: «Au temple de Sion, tous allons sans retard / Aux chants de nos joyeux cantiques / Arborez sous nos saints portiques / Notre glorieux étendard» chante le chœur à la fin de la pièce. Le Liban apparaît aussi dans la pièce avec des captifs prêts au martyre: «Le Persan veut nous mêler à ses fêtes: / Devant son Dieu nous courber! Non, jamais! / Non, il fera plutôt tomber nos têtes / Que de flétrir nos fronts de Libanais!». ⁸⁷ Saint Maroun fait partie des personnages de la pièce

⁸³ *Sur les Routes*, 1908, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁸⁴ *Héraclius ou l'exaltation de la Sainte Croix*, 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁸⁵ *Les derniers des Macchabées*, 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁸⁶ *Sur les Routes*, 1908, RPO 62, Fêtes; *Garcia Moreno*, 1891, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁸⁷ *Héraclius ou l'exaltation de la Sainte Croix*, 1884, RPO 62, Fêtes.

mais le programme ne donne pas d'indication sur son rôle. Faut-il voir dans l'Empire perse une transposition de l'Empire ottoman auquel résisteraient de vaillants Libanais? La comparaison est tentante, mais l'Empire perse de l'Antiquité n'est pas musulman. Ce qui est clair en revanche, c'est que les Libanais sont chrétiens depuis l'Antiquité et prêts au sacrifice suprême pour rester fidèles à leur foi. Une autre séance, plus légère, met aussi en avant le caractère chrétien du Liban dont plusieurs élèves chantent les «gloires et les charmes» en 1894. Son «panorama», son «climat», sa «fertilité», sa «faune» et sa «flore» le rapprochent du «paradis terrestre» et de la «terre promise». ⁸⁸ On le voit, les thèmes retenus ne touchent guère à l'histoire récente ou à la politique, mais ils insèrent le Liban dans un espace religieux plus large. En 1887, lors de la séance offerte en l'honneur du directeur de l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, le Liban est associé au syriaque. La langue arabe, elle, est employée pour raconter «une visite au fils d'Abdel Kader», musulman populaire auprès des catholiques depuis son intervention salvatrice lors de l'été 1860. ⁸⁹ Avec Saint Jean Damascène, rare figure de l'Orient qui fait l'objet d'une séance, le monde arabe et les musulmans font leur apparition avec calife et vizir. Mais l'académie insiste davantage sur le «martyr» de la foi: c'est parce qu'il a défendu «les saintes images» que Saint Jean Damascène doit non pas mourir mais renoncer au monde pour entrer au couvent. Et ce n'est pas des musulmans qu'il reçoit ces attaques mais de l'empereur byzantin.

Grâce à son théâtre où s'alternent séances dramatiques et académies, l'Université Saint-Joseph, ses professeurs et ses élèves prennent part à la naissance d'un nouveau genre littéraire en Orient, le théâtre «à l'occidentale». En cette fin de XIX^e siècle, les textes, le plus souvent en vers, alternent avec des chants ou des morceaux de musique, ce qui sera longtemps le cas dans le théâtre arabe. Il ne s'agit pas toujours de pièces proprement dites: les jésuites recourent à de nombreux exercices oraux et publics (séances ou autres académies) et leur «théâtre» mêle longtemps des textes de natures différentes. Plus que la comédie ou la farce, qui avaient fait les grandes heures de Ghāzir, les jésuites de Beyrouth privilégient le drame ou la tragédie. Les auteurs classiques n'ont cependant pas leur faveur. ⁹⁰ Ils leur préfèrent des textes moins prestigieux mais aux valeurs morales plus sûres, qu'ils adaptent, traduisent et modifient en fonction des impératifs qui sont les leurs, comme le font les auteurs de la *Nabḍāh*.

Nouveau au plan littéraire, le théâtre l'est aussi si l'on se place sur le plan pédagogique. Il témoigne de l'importance que gardent à la fin du XIX^e siècle la pratique de l'oral, la déclamation et l'éloquence, si prisées dans la littérature arabe classique.

⁸⁸ *Gloires et charmes du Liban*, séance offerte au R.P. Provincial à l'occasion de sa visite, le 11 avril 1894, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁸⁹ *A la France, le séminaire oriental de Saint-François Xavier reconnaissant*, Séance polyglotte offerte à l'abbé Charmetant, 1887, RPO 62, Fêtes.

⁹⁰ Seules les *Fourberies de Scapin*, jouées en juin 1890, relèvent de ce répertoire. Et encore s'agit-il d'une farce. «Diaire de l'Université Saint-Joseph 1882-1895», 16 juin 1890, ALSI.

Pour les jésuites, il ne s'agit pas d'une adaptation aux goûts ou aux mœurs locales mais de celle du *Ratio Studiorum* qui continue de dicter les exercices à mettre en œuvre dans leurs établissements. Avec son imprimerie et l'éducation qu'elle dispense, l'Université Saint-Joseph est le vecteur d'une culture de l'écrit. Grâce à son théâtre, elle valorise l'oralité comme moyen d'apprendre et de faire circuler des idées, des récits historiques ou des histoires édifiantes.

Tournées vers l'Antiquité et le Moyen-Âge européen, autrement dit vers un monde chrétien ou en passe de le devenir, les séances de l'Université Saint-Joseph délimitent un espace extérieur (et étranger) au monde arabe et musulman qui est pourtant le sien. De ce point de vue, elle se montre beaucoup moins ouverte que son rival, le *Syrian Protestant College*, qui s'inscrit plus résolument dans un monde arabe encore en devenir. Elle apparaît aussi plus réactionnaire au sens premier du terme, regardant le passé plus que tendue vers l'avenir.

Îlot chrétien, l'Université Saint-Joseph est aussi un espace masculin: les élèves et leurs professeurs appartiennent tous à la gent masculine. Jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, où se dessine une ouverture vers les familles, le public est composé uniquement de «Messieurs» ou de clercs. Devant lui, les élèves glorifient des qualités attribuées aux hommes: le courage, l'ardeur au combat, la loyauté. Il n'y a quasiment pas de femmes, à part des mères, dont la Vierge Marie offre le modèle. Aux enfants, les jésuites prêchent l'obéissance à leurs parents et particulièrement à leurs mères qu'ils présentent comme les éducatrices par excellence: ce sont elles qui transmettent la foi. Le monde des adultes, celui des élites du pouvoir et de la foi, dans lequel les garçons devenus hommes sont appelés à évoluer plus tard, est quant à lui un univers masculin, dont les femmes sont totalement exclues.

Séances dramatiques et académies sont au service d'un projet éducatif essentiellement religieux. À travers les héros, les martyrs (parfois saints), les rois ou les chevaliers qu'incarnent les élèves, les jésuites exaltent la fidélité à l'Église catholique, l'obéissance à son chef, le Pape, et plus généralement la soumission aux clercs. Dieu sauveur et tout-puissant, Jésus enfant, Marie mère de tous; telle est la trinité de l'Université Saint-Joseph à la fin du XIX^e siècle, fondement d'une foi que les élèves sont appelés à professer jusqu'au martyre.

Quelle a pu être la postérité de ces discours? Les martyrs de l'Empire romain étaient vénérés dans les Églises orientales, mais la mort au nom de la foi ne fait pas partie des attributs des saints libanais contemporains: Saint Charbel et Saint Nimatullah al-Hardini incarnent à la perfection le moine oriental soumis aux règles de son ordre. Aucun des deux n'a connu de mort violente sous les coups du martyre.⁹¹ Plus que la mort, c'est en fait la fidélité (que le martyr est prêt à assu-

⁹¹ Bernard Heyberger, «Saint Charbel Makhlof, ou la consécration de l'identité maronite», dans: *Saints et Héros du Moyen-Orient contemporain*, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, éd., Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose 2002, 139-159.

mer jusqu'à la mort) qui importe. Cette fidélité fait partie des fondements du nationalisme maronite qui s'élabore à cette époque: moins mortifère, elle n'en est pas moins exaltée et défend avec acharnement l'idée d'un perpétuel attachement de l'Église maronite à l'Église catholique et romaine.

The Russian Schools in Beirut at the End of the 19th Century

Souad Abou el-Rousse Slim

Local and missionary schools have long been considered catalysts for the introduction of modernity into the Middle East. This interpretation, however, poses some problems for researchers. Some scholars have argued that modernity was the result of the shock to the 'Eastern conscience' upon the arrival of the armies of Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt (1798–1801).¹ Others believed that, with the beginning of the 18th century, modernity developed from within the 'East', starting with the first Arab printers, installed in Aleppo in 1700 by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Athanasius Dabbas and on Mount Lebanon in 1738 by the Greek Catholic deacon Abdallah al-Zakher.² In my opinion, however, a more nuanced approach is needed which takes into consideration all the multiple layers of the development of Arab modernity through dialogue and negotiation between various actors within specific local settings. This chapter will present one such dialogue, that between Russian missionaries, the Antiochian Orthodox community, and the students of Orthodox schools in Beirut during the late 19th century.

Many travelers to the Middle East witnessed the progress of modernity, especially in the city of Beirut, but did not see it in a favorable light. This was particularly true of Western foreigners' views of the nature and results of missionary schools for girls, which were considered unsuitable for the environment or milieu where these young students lived. Thus, the well-known French journalist Gabriel Charmes (1850–1886), who published widely on his travels in the Maghreb, Egypt, and the Levant, lamented that Western education would alienate women from their culture of origin. Referring to those girls who were educated at the School of Our Lady of Nazareth, he claimed that after studying the French language and learning to play the piano, they would have to return to their villages and marry their cousins who were unlikely to share the women's culture and aspirations.³

Russian schools in Beirut were part of the missionary school network and yet the results of their teaching methods differed from those which caused Charmes' lament. Instead of introducing a new, foreign definition of modernity, their teach-

¹ Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983, 49.

² Joseph Abou Nohra, "L'imprimerie du monastère St. Jean à Khonshara", in: *Quatre siècles de culture et de liberté au Liban*, vol. 2, Antoine Duwayhi, ed., Beirut: Chemaly & Chemaly 2006, 359–362.

³ Gabriel Charmes, *Voyages en Syrie: impressions et souvenirs*, Paris: Calmann Levy 1898, 278.

ing aimed to strengthen the diplomatic importance of Russia and, at the same time, strengthened the cultural and political roots of the Antiochian Orthodox community in the Arab region.⁴

The preoccupation of Russian Christians with the Holy Land and with the plight of their Orthodox Arab brethren was revived by reports of early Russian missionaries to Palestine: Bishop Porfiri Uspensky (1804–1879), Antonin Kapustin (1817–1894), and Vladimir Nikolaevich Khitrovo (1817–1894).⁵ These reports prompted a drastic increase in the numbers of the Russian pilgrims to the ‘East’ as well as a demand for Russian diplomatic protection for the two Orthodox Patriarchates of the region (Jerusalem and Antioch), not only from the Ottoman authorities, but also from the advances of Protestant and Roman Catholic proselytism.⁶ Patriarch Gregory IV of Antioch specified in a report to the Russian Church that the orthodox Christians in Lebanon counted 400,000 at the end of the 19th century, but that 120,000 had converted to other Christian denominations.⁷ As a response, the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (IOPS) was founded in May 1882 in an effort to educate and evangelize the Orthodox population.⁸

Porfiri Uspensky was the first, in 1844, to suggest the founding of a school for the children of the Arab Orthodox in Palestine. In 1849, he convinced the Russian Patriarch Cyril II to open a seminary in the *Monastery of the Holy Cross* in Jerusalem to educate the Christian Arab and Greek youth. Meanwhile, the General Consul of Russia in Beirut requested the opening of Orthodox schools in the Patriarchate of Antioch. In his opinion, no support was “more important than giving money to the foundation of Orthodox seminaries. They will gain more political weight and the church will be reinforced.”⁹

The Ottoman victory over Russia in the Crimean War (1856) not only altered diplomatic relations between the two states but also served as a turning point for Russian interest in the region. As it became implausible to reinforce Russian political influence over the Orthodox Christians directly, missionary support of

⁴ A similar situation can be observed in Bulgaria during the late Ottoman period, where American missionaries, by promoting the Bulgarian vernacular, allowed Bulgarian Orthodox to develop a stronger quasi-national identity. Eventually, this led them to demand the separation of their church from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Barbara Reeves Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press 2013, 78–107.

⁵ Vassili Nikolaevich Khitrovo, “Otchot o russkom prisustvii v Palestine”, *Palestinskii sbornik* 1 (1881), 91–112. For biographic details on Uspensky, Kapustin and Khitrovo, see Derek Hopwood, *The Russian presence in Syria & Palestine 1843–1914: Church and Politics in the Near East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1969, 35–45, 84, 100–107.

⁶ Khitrovo, “Otchot”.

⁷ Nikolai Lissovoy, *Cherkasova i shkoli Imperatorskogo Pravoslavnogo Palestinskogo Obschestva v Beyrute. Neizvestniye stranitsiotechestvennogo vostokovedeniya*, vol. 3, Moscow 2008, 3.

⁸ Hopwood, *Russian presence*, 99. As Hopwood shows, the IOPS was preceded by similar activities on a smaller scale, which are beyond the scope of this article. *Ibid.*, 33–54.

⁹ Lissovoy, *Cherkasova*, 2.

their brethren was reconsidered. The result was an increased emphasis on educational services.

Compounding the political difficulties was a conflict brewing within the Antiochian Orthodox community itself. Animosity against Greek domination of the clerical hierarchy was voiced by the Arab laity. The leaders of the Russian missions recognized this conflict, fueled by the aspirations of the Orthodox Church for autonomy.¹⁰ Early in 1885, Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich Gorvchakov, Russian Ambassador to Vienna, stated:

until now we looked at the situation of the churches of Syria and Palestine through the Greek prism, while the two patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch were full of Arab Orthodox. Outside the big cities, the liturgical celebrations are done in Arabic. Greek is not accepted, neither by the people nor by the clergy. To this day, all our donations were spent on the Greek hierarchy.¹¹

Gorvchakov assessed the situation accurately, for the Arab Orthodox of the Patriarchate of Antioch stood against their clerical hierarchy, who had revealed a lack of interest in the local communities.

In turn, through the schools that it operated, the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society played an important role in the transformation of the Orthodox community in the region. Throughout the late 19th century, it supported the arabization of the Antiochian hierarchy and community.¹²

The first school of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society was opened in 1882. Already by the end of the 19th century, more than one hundred schools were operating throughout the region. In order to manage the supervision of these schools, an inspection council was created which divided the Middle East into three jurisdictional regions: Northern Syria, Southern Syria, and Galilee. However, two enclaves stayed relatively autonomous and were directly dependent upon the council for operation. The first enclave was a collective of four schools in Judea directed by the heads of the training schools in Beit Jala. The second consisted of the IOPS schools of Beirut.

The future principal of the IOPS schools of Beirut, Maria Cherkassova, was born in St. Petersburg in 1840. Her religious tendencies encouraged her early commitment to a missionary vocation. In 1879, she traveled to Japan to teach at orthodox Russian schools for two and a half years. After leaving Japan, she met the director of the Russian missions in Palestine, Antonin Kapustin, to whom she expressed her interest in teaching at the girls' school that was recently founded in Bayt Jala. Kapustin in turn recommended her to Vladimir Nikolaevich Khitrovo, the director of the IOPS schools. Thus, instead of being employed in Beit Jala,

¹⁰ Al-Muṭrān Ilyās Qurbān, *Al-azmah al-batrarkiyyah al-anṭākiyyah 1899–1891*, Ṭarābulus: Dār al-kalimah 1979, 116.

¹¹ Anitchkov Nikolai Mikhaevich, *Utchebnie I vratchebnie zavedenia Imperatorskogo Pravoslavnogo Palestinskogo Obshestva v Syrii I Palestine*, II, St. Petersburg 1910, 4.

¹² Hopwood, *Russian Presence*, 111.

Cherkassova was sent to Beirut. Kapustin had seen in her not only the qualities of a conscientious teacher but also those of an organizer and activist. He was not wrong in his judgement of her.¹³

The Russian Schools of Beirut and their Principal

Before the founding of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, ninety-four educational institutions served almost eleven thousand students in Beirut. They included two schools run by the Russian government and directed by Konstantin Petkovich, the Consul General of Russia in Beirut.

However, Cherkassova did not like these schools and did her best to found her own. The Consul General helped her in finding the right site. This was on the slope of a hill near the city, in the area of Muṣayṭbah, where the most deprived of the Orthodox resided. A house was rented for 258 rubles yearly, and thus the society's first school in Beirut was opened in 1887. It was blessed by the Bishop of Beirut, Ghufrā'il Shātilah, who had lived for a long time in Russia and spoke Russian fluently.

The new school gained considerable acclaim, and already in its first year counted 120 students, twenty of whom could read Russian and Arabic and translate from one language to the other, as Petkovich reported home. This accomplishment was reached within only nine months and with the New Testament as the only text for instruction in Arabic and Russian.¹⁴

In the following year, the president of the IOPS Council Duke Sergey, his brother, the Grand Duke Paul, and his wife, the Duchess Elizabeth, paid a visit to Cherkassova's school, while heading for Jerusalem, and expressed their happiness and satisfaction with its work. On this occasion, the students and their teachers wore the school's official uniform and answered the visitors' questions. On the very same day, the Society's secretary Stepanov wrote to Cherkassova to thank her for the fine impression she had made on the visitors during their tour of the school. His letter included a monetary gift from the aristocratic couple: 40 francs for the servants and 200 francs to buy gifts for the children.¹⁵

Encouraged by her success, Cherkassova established a second school near the Church of St. Michael in the Mazrā'ah quarter in 1890. This new school soon counted 110 students, roughly half of the number of students at Muṣayṭbah. The priest of the parish granted moral support for the school, while the Grand Duke Paul and his family again gave financial support.¹⁶ In 1891, a third school was

¹³ 'Afifah 'Abdūh, *Tārikh ḥayāt Māriyā Aleksandrūvnā Tshirkāssūwā ra'īsāt mu'assasat al-madāris al-rūsīyya fi Bayrūt*, Beirut: Al-maṭba'ah al-adabiyyah 1912, 21.

¹⁴ Anitchkov, *Utchebnie I vratchebnie zavedenia*, vol. II, 109–110.

¹⁵ "Pismo M. P. Stepanova k Tcherkassovoi ot 21 noyabria 1888", in: *Rossia v Sviatoi Zemle. Dokumenti i materialy*, pod redaktsii N.N. Lissovoyem, I, Moscow 2000, 167–172.

¹⁶ Lissovoy, *Cherbassova*, 7.

opened near St. Nicolas Church in the quarter of Rmayl. Opening a school in this quarter was significant, for it was considered by the Russians to be the centre of the Orthodox bourgeoisie in the city. The student body in the Rmayl school soon counted 400 students taught by ten teachers. A fourth school (named “Our Lady”) was inaugurated in the Ras Beirut quarter in 1893 and served sixty girls. In 1897, upon the request of the Bishop of Beirut Ghufrāʿil Shātilah, a fifth school was founded in Rmayl quarter near St. Georges Church with 150 students, only twenty of whom were Maronites.

With the exception of the Ras Beirut school, all were located in rented, older buildings which required a large amount of repairs and refurbishment. For that reason, Cherkassova bought land in the Mar Elias quarter and ordered a new school, two-storied with a garden, to be built. The classrooms were located on the ground floor, while Cherkassova herself and two female teachers from Beirut, who had assisted her since the beginning of her adventure, resided on the first floor. To these two teachers, ʿAfifah and Asmāʿ ʿAbduh, Cherkassova left the deed of the house upon her death.

The complex also included a small church to celebrate daily prayers and the Holy Mass of Sunday. However, the local religious authorities, above all the successor of Bishop Ghufrāʿil, Gerāsīmūs Masara, did not approve of its presence.¹⁷

In 1899, the IOPS inspector Anitchkov counted five schools with twenty-one teachers serving 852 students (114 boys and 738 girls) under its authority.¹⁸ In 1912, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the IOPS, the overall number of students had reached 1,100, taught by one male and thirty-two female teachers. It is important to note that the number of students was subject to seasonal fluctuations. Usually, students would leave school for some time to help their families with the harvest, the delivery of goods, or to work on building sites in the city. It was usual for some classes to begin with hundreds of students and end up with thirty – or sometimes the opposite would be the case. Yet in Beirut, the schools managed to keep a large number of its students, due to Cherkassova’s high report with the Orthodox community.¹⁹

Her caring character was so renowned that the people of the Muṣayṭbah quarter named her “al-Māmā al-Mūskūbiyyah” (“Muskovite mother”). Once, while visiting Beirut, the renowned orientalist Kratchovsky asked some people the way to the school. Not understanding his question, they shrugged their shoulders. Eventually, one old man replied to his inquiries: “you are searching for *al māmā moskowiyya*.”²⁰

¹⁷ Aleksandr Stasevich, “XXV-letie russkikh shkol v Beirute I sluzhenia v nich M. A. Tcherkasovoi”, *Soobsbenia IPPO*, 23: 1 (1912), 76–88.

¹⁸ Anitchkov, *Utchebnie I vratchebnie zavedenia*, vol. II, 108.

¹⁹ Anitchkov, *Utchebnie I vratchebnie zavedenia*, vol. II, 113.

²⁰ I. Y. Kratchovskaya, “Kratchovsky na Livane I v Palestine”, *Palestinsky sbornik* 63: 1 (1954), 106–124.

Even today, the road along the former building of the school (now home to the Russian embassy) is still known as the “Shāri‘ al-Māmā” (“street of the mama”).

One of the reasons for her popularity was her concern for the most deprived in society, whom she strived to put back on the “track of real faith”. Her devotion, prayers, and strict respect for Orthodox fasting made a strong impression upon the Russian inspectors who came to evaluate her schools. When, in 1897, Cherkassova fell very ill, prayers were held in her schools, and masses were celebrated in the Orthodox churches to hasten her recovery. She finally agreed to be treated by an English doctor, but once healed she attributed the recovery to a miraculous intervention by the Virgin Mary.

The society Cherkassova served despite her illness was not very much appreciated by her, however; she considered it to be frivolous and superficial. The “muscovite mama” thought that the Orthodox with whom she was acquainted were ignorant and lacking in faith. In order to counteract parents’ sway over their children, Cherkassova enrolled only young children, in her bid to instill in their minds the notions of the “proper” Christian faith.

At her schools, students were taught mathematics and how to read and write Arabic and Russian. New courses, such as history and geography, were also introduced. But the greatest appreciation was garnered for instruction provided in local crafts, sewing, and embroidery. The professional training of the young girls²¹ in these skills enabled them to support their families, many of whom were deprived of their male members, due to emigration to the New World.²² After this primary education, students could financially support their families, who often, as recent arrivals to the city from rural Lebanon, were among the poorest of the Orthodox in Beirut.

The feminine tasks of household management and children’s education were a priority in a patriarchal society, where the primary function of women was maternity. Despite the onset of modernity in local society and the ensuing changes in the status of women, parents continued to ensure their daughters a trousseaux that would enable them to have clothes for many years to come. According to the canon law of the Orthodox Church, this trousseaux, together with the dowry, was usually considered a girl’s share of her inheritance.²³

The Role of Russian Schools in the Promotion of Arabic Culture and Identity

The Russian schools had a decisive influence on the promotion of the Arabic linguistic and cultural identity of their students. They fostered an awareness on

²¹ Anitchkov, *Utchebnie I vratchebnie zavedenia*, vol. II, 108–116.

²² *Ibid.*, 108–113.

²³ *Kitāb al-nāmūs al-sharīf*, Beirut: Jāmi‘at Balamand 1992, 497.

the part of the Orthodox students and on the part of their larger community, in turn. This was partly due to the contributions made by Cherkassova to the teaching of Arabic language and literature, and partly due to the support of the Russian mission for the Arabization of the Orthodox Church in the region.

Cherkassova designed an innovative method to teach the Arabic language, which was based on the fact that consonants are never pronounced without accompanying vowel sounds. From this foundation, she developed a process of teaching by linking each vowel to a consonant in a syllable and elaborated a set of Arabic sounds pitched from the lowest to the highest treble. She wrote these vowel and syllable combinations on the board and would sing them to students in a musical scale. The children would copy the scale into their notebooks and onto their small slates. These joint exercises of singing and writing would continue for three days, so that the children were soon able to recognize the letters and syllables on each page. Thus, without going through all the letters of the alphabet, the students would learn to read. And progressively, they would learn to recognize all the syllables, sounds, and letters.

In Cherkassova's estimation, a period of one month was needed for the children to be able to read any text.²⁴ The inspectors were amazed at how easily and correctly these children could read, but at the same time they observed that students could not express in their own words or provide a summary of the text that they read.²⁵ One should note that traditional methods of learning to read and pronounce the letters in Arabic were themselves complicated and difficult. However, even though the Ministry of Education in Russia acknowledged Cherkassova's method, it was never adopted by the IOPS in any of its other schools.

Another important initiative of Russian missionaries in general was to promote the history and culture of Arabic literature in their schools. Manuscript forty-one in the bishopric of Homs is a translation of the Russian Orientalist Guirgass's book entitled "A Survey of the History of Arabic Literature",²⁶ which is significant for it was used as a textbook in the Russian schools in region.²⁷ It was the first modern study on Arabic literature in either the Arab World or Europe. The translation of the work done in Homs classified Arabic literature chronologically, beginning from pre-Islamic times through the different Arab dynasties and outlining the cultural and scientific achievements of each era. Biographies of major poets, writers, philosophers, and men of science were fea-

²⁴ ʿAbdūh, *Tārikh*, 31.

²⁵ Lissovoy, *Cherbassova*, 4.

²⁶ It was translated from Russian to Arabic by Iskandar Jibrāʾil Kizmah and Jibrān Futīyyah. Another translation was done in 1890 by an Arab student named Mikhāʾil ʿAtāyā from Damascus, who traveled to Russia to continue his studies. Neither of the two versions were exact copies of Guirgass's work.

²⁷ *Catalogue of Arab manuscripts in the Greek-Orthodox dioceses of Antioch in Syria Homos, Hama, Lataqieh*, Beirut: University of Balamand, n.d., no 41, 27.

tured in the descriptions of each period. By placing this book on the syllabus, the Russian schools fostered feelings of pride in Arab accomplishments among their students, all the more so since the book was written in their own language.

In contrast to other Christian communities, Orthodox inhabitants of the region were not advised to learn a European language. In this case, it was due partially to the limited economic interest of Russia in the region, which focused entirely on securing access to certain trade routes.

Likewise, the individuals who were in charge of the IOPS Russian schools were reluctant to teach those European languages most popular in the region at the time, namely French and English, because they feared that this would encourage Orthodox students to convert to either Catholicism or Protestantism.²⁸ By encouraging students to study Arabic (as opposed to a European language), Russian schools played a major role in the development of the Arabic language and the cultural and political revival (*nahḍah*) that took place in the Arab World in the second half of the 19th century.²⁹ The IOPS schools educated a large number of seminarians, who later became leaders of the Antiochian Church and were active in the arabization of the Patriarchate. This included the bishop of Beirut Ghufrāʾil Shātilah, the Patriarch Mālātiyūs al-Dūmānī, and the bishop of Homs Athānāsiyūs ʿAṭāʾ Allāh. The graduates of Russian schools also included journalists Salīm Qabʿin, Khalīl Baydas, and Fadlallah Abū Ḥalqa as well as writers Mikhāʾil Naʿimah, Nassib Ariḍa, and Nadra Ḥaddād.³⁰

The Russian commitment to promoting the Arabic language, literature, and culture proved essential for yet another decisive transformation within the Orthodox community: the arabization of the Orthodox clergy. Upon their arrival in the region, the Russian missionaries enjoyed a warm welcome by the Patriarchate of Antioch; however, their reception in Jerusalem was much less cordial, since the monks of the Holy Sepulchre and the Greek Hellenic clergy considered them as competitors.

The Russian missionaries recognized that this difference was due in part to an emerging conflict between the Arab Orthodox laity and their Greek-speaking clergy.³¹ The conflict erupted in 1866, when the Orthodox bishop of Beirut Ieotheos died. The Orthodox of the city, especially the middle classes, demanded the nomination of an Arab bishop, sending a petition signed by 123 persons from influential Beirut families to the ecumenical Patriarch Gregory in Constan-

²⁸ Souad Slim, "Mushkilat al-lughah fi al-madāris al-rūsiyyah fi awākhir al-qarn al-ʿashrīn", in: *Rūsiyā wa-urthūdhuks al-sharq*, Qalḥāt/Al-Kūra: Jāmiʿat Balamand 1998, 115–132.

²⁹ Ḥanā Abū Ḥanā, *Dār al-muʿallimīn al-rūsiyyah fi al-nāṣirah al-saminār wa-thāʾiruh fi al-nahḍah al-ʿarabiyyah fi Filastīn*, Al-salsalat al-thaqāfa 1994, 28.

³⁰ Mitri Jurdāq, "Al-waḍāʿ al-iqtisādiyyat al-siyāsiyyat al-rūm al-urthūdhuks fi madinat Bayrūt wa-mutaṣarrifiyyat jabal lubnān, Al-jamʿia al-lubnāniyyah", University of Balamand, PhD thesis 2007, 178.

³¹ Alphonse D'Alonzo, *La Russie en Palestine*, Paris: L. Boyer 1901, 79.

tinople. A second petition followed, reiterating the Beirut community's resolve in their demand for someone from the *awlād al-ʿarab*. Their main complaint was that the previous bishop had refused to learn the Arabic language, so that his sermons were delivered in a language unknown to the community, whom he consequently failed to instruct properly.

This criticism arose during a period when the Catholic and Protestant proselytism amongst the Greek Orthodox had reached its peak. The petitioners presented the example of Protestant pastors, who, in contrast to their own clergy, studied Arabic upon their arrival in the region and used it in their sermons. The Protestants had even appointed women who could express themselves well in Arabic, to visit homes, and read the Bible aloud.

However, the signatories were not just offended by the lack of importance accorded the Arabic language and Arab clergymen in their church. They also criticized the Greek-dominated hierarchy's neglect of the educational development of their Arab flock. The schools organized and operated by the Antiochian Orthodox leadership counted only 120 students in total and were in decline. In Beirut, more and more Orthodox families thus sent their children to Protestant schools.³²

In 1869, the Patriarch of Antioch yielded to the demands of the petitioners and designated an Arab bishop for the diocese of Beirut. Although the new bishop initially refused the nomination, he eventually accepted and was ordained in 1870. Significantly, this new bishop was part of the delegation from the Patriarch of Moscow and oversaw a period of prosperity that marked Beirut in the 1870s.³³ Concurrently with his ordination, and in affirmation of the new Arab diocese, the Russian mission headquarters, hitherto under the authority of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, were relocated from Jaffa to Beirut.

When, thirty years later, Mālātiyūs al-Dūmāni was elected as the first Arab Patriarch of Antioch since 1724,³⁴ the Russian government, among others, had intervened on his behalf. This event was decisive for the Orthodox Church of Antioch's cultural and political future. Furthermore, the great champion of Arab nationalism, the Yemenite Sata^c al-Husari, argued that the Orthodox community's refusal of a Greek Patriarch in favor of an Arab one was the first step of the Arab national revolution against the Ottomans.³⁵ It is thus safe to assert that Russian schools along with Russian diplomacy strengthened the "national" Arab identity even beyond the Antiochian Orthodox community.

In this context, it becomes clear that the Russian schools of Beirut acted against the definition of modernity promoted by other European-American missionary schools as well as most locally organized schools. Could we attribute this to the

³² Jūliyā al-Rāsi, "Min arshif batrarkiiyyat Anṭākiyā wa-sā'ir al-mashriq al-rūm al-urthūdhuks fi lubnān", *Dirāsāt al-jāmi'ab al-lubnāniyyab* 26 (1997), 435–506.

³³ Mitri Jurdāq, "Al-waḍā' al-iqtisādiyya al-siyāsiyya al-rūm al-urthūdhuks, 178.

³⁴ D'Alonzo, *La Russie en Palestine*, 79.

³⁵ Sāṭa^c al-Huṣri, *Muḥāḍarāt nushu' al-fikrah al-qawmiyyab*, al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at al-risālah 1951.

different social background of the clientele of Cherkassova's schools, which were established in the poorest suburbs of Beirut? Or should we attribute it to the personality of the director, whose authoritarian character and piety attracted the attention of the inspectors? While these questions are worthy of exploration, they are beyond the scope of this article.

If we look at the level of funding devoted by foreign governments to educational institutions in the region, Russia comes last, as one article in the journal *Pal'estinski Sbornik* from 1911 stated.³⁶ It appears that through education and teaching, the European powers were defending their interests and promoting their (economic) foreign policies. With limited financial (or political or military) resources, Russia may have found itself hard-pressed to defend its interests in the region, and this could have led it to choose another approach to education, one according more respect and leniency towards local traditions and the students' mother tongue. Despite being a foreigner, like all directors of missionary schools, Cherkassova was distinguished by her emotive Arab nickname "al-Māmā". Despite criticism from several sides, she had the merit of not transforming her students into strangers in their own communities and country. Instead, she enabled them to retain and revive their cultural heritage, engage with their communities as well as society at large, and even create a new Arab identity for themselves and others.

³⁶ Nikonova, "Budgeti ministerstv inostrannich del v Zapadnoi Evrope I v Rossi na blagotvornitelnie I utchebno-vospitatelnie zavedenia v Palestine I Syrii", *Soobsbenia IPPO*, 22: 2 (1911), 229–248.

مدارس المقاصد الإسلامية في بيروت: اللغة والدين والهوية^١

عبد اللطيف فاخوري

بعد أداء صلاة المغرب من يوم الأربعاء عزة شعبان سنة ١٢٩٥ هجرية / ٣١ تموز (يوليو) ١٨٧٨ ميلادية، اجتمع خمسة وعشرون من نخبة شباب بيروت في منزل الشيخ عبد القادر قتباني في منطقة زقاق البلاط، وتدارسوا ما آلت إليه أحوال المسلمين الاجتماعية والفكرية والتربوية في بيروت مقارنةً بما وصل إليه سائر أفراد المجتمع، وتداولوا في أمرهم، فقرّ رأيهم على تأليف جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية، وتعاهدوا على العمل والإخلاص لما نذروا أنفسهم له. أما الذين اجتمعوا ودبروا أمرهم تلك الليلة المباركة فكانوا بالترتيب الأبجدي: بشير البربر، حسن بيهم، هاشم الجمال، الشيخ سعيد الجندي، خضر الحصّ، عبد اللطيف حمادة، محمود خرما، أحمد دربان، محمد دية، محمود رمضان، عبد القادر ستّو، محمود شبارو، حسن الطرابلسي، سعيد طرباه، راغب عزّ الدين، عبد الله غزّاوي، الشيخ محمد ابن المفتي الشيخ عبد الباسط الفاخوري، الشيخ عبد القادر القباني، محمد اللبايدي، حسن محّرم، مصباح محّرم، محمد أبو سليم المغريل، عبد الرحمن النعماني، الشيخ طه النصولي، وبديع محيي الدين اليافي.

أول عمل قاموا به كان انتخاب الشيخ عبد القادر قتباني رئيساً للجمعية وبشير البربر أميناً للصندوق ومصباح محّرم كاتباً للأعمال (أي أميناً للسّر)^٢.

^١ Transl.: Les écoles de la Maqāṣid al-khayriyyah al-islāmiyyah à Beyrouth: Langage, Religion, Identité.

^٢ الفجر الصادق لجمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت، أعمال السنة الأولى، بيروت: مطبعة ثمرات الفنون ١٨٧٩/١٢٩٧، ٧ و ٣٣.

التعليم قبل تأسيس المقاصد

أنشأ البابا غريغوريوس الثالث عشر [Grégoire XIII] سنة ١٥٨٤م معهد رومية، الذي خرّج عدداً من الكهنة الذين عادوا إلى لبنان وعملوا على تأسيس المدارس؛ ما جعل مجمع اللويزة المنعقد سنة ١٧٣٦م يدعو إلى إقامة المدارس في المدن والقرى والأديار الكبيرة لتعليم الصبيان فيها، ومن يتبين منهم أهليته لتحصيل العلوم يتلقّى قواعد النحو والصرف وعلم اللحن والحساب، ثم يرقى إلى العلوم العالية، كالفصاحة والفلسفة والمساحة والفلك ومبادئ الحقّ القانوني وتفسير الكتاب المقدّس^٣.

وكان من نتائج معهد رومية تعرّف الأوروبيين على تاريخ الشرق، فأقدم البعض منهم على تأسيس جمعيات علمية وتبشيرية وتجارية للعمل في المشرق. وكان المبشرون الأميركيون أوّل القادمين سنة ١٨١٩م بهدف إنشاء كنيسة إنجيلية ومدارس لتعليم الصغار، ما دفع اليسوعيين إلى الدفاع عن الكاثوليكية متوسّلين في تلك المدرسة، فتأسّست سنة ١٨٣٤م مدرسة عين طورة (عينطورة).

وجاء إبراهيم باشا محتلاً إلى بلاد الشام منذ سنة ١٨٣١م، وكان يجمع بخلفية ثقافية فرنسية تمثلت في رهطٍ من المستشارين العسكريين والمدّتين الفرنسيين، فشجّعوا أفراد الجيش على التعليم، وأنشأ الفرنسي كلوت [Clot] باشا معهد الطبّ في القاهرة، فانتسب إليه خمسة طلاب سّمّاهم الأمير بشير الشهابي لمتابعة الدراسة فيه. وقد حاول إبراهيم باشا أثناء حكمه إرساء قواعد العمل البلدي والإداري، فأسس مجلس شورى في بيروت من اثني عشر عضواً مُناصفةً بين المسلمين والمسيحيين بهدف تحقيق المساواة بين الناس دون تفریق بين الطوائف^٤.

إلا أنّ محاولات إبراهيم باشا في تطوير التعليم ونشر الوعي العامّ اصطدمت بالحوادث الطائفية التي اندلعت في الجبل سنة ١٨٤٠م إثر خروج جيشه من لبنان، واستمرت متقطّعةً

^٣ كمال الصليبي، تاريخ لبنان الحديث، بيروت: دار النهار ١٩٦٧، ١٦٤.

^٤ فؤاد مغنّب، «بيروت في عهد إبراهيم باشا المصري»، المرأة الجديدة ١٠ (١٩٢٦)، ٣٧١.

حتى سنة ١٨٦٠م عندما عمّت الفتنة الطائفية جبل لبنان، ونتج عنها الكثير من الضحايا والحراب.

ولم تغب رغم ذلك محاولات بعث الوعي الفكري والوطني، فعمل الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي والشيخ بطرس البستاني مع المبشرين الأميركيين وليم طمسن [William Thomson] وعالي سميث [Eli Smith] سنة ١٨٤٧م على تأسيس أول الجمعية العلمية في العالم العربي تهدف إلى إذكاء روح الجماعة بين الأهالي وتمتية المعرفة، متوسّلةً في ذلك العقد اجتماعات دورية يُلقَى فيها الأعضاء أبحاثاً مناسبة. وقد سُمّيت الجمعية «الجمعية السورية». يُذكر أنّ إلي سميث بعث برسالة إلى الجمعية الشرقية الألمانية أشار فيها إلى أن إنشاء هذه الجمعية تمّ بناءً على إلحاح مواطنين نُجباء راغبين بالمعرفة وأنها تعقد اجتماعاتها مرّةً كلَّ أربعة عشر يوماً لإلقاء بعض الأبحاث المُعدّة ومناقشتها، كما أنهم يدعون لإلقاء محاضرات عامة. وقد حدّد البند الثاني من دستور الجمعية الغاية من تأسيسها كما يلي: «إنها من الرغبة عموماً لاكتساب العلوم والفوائد مجرّدةً من الأمور السياسية والمجادلات الديانية، فإنها لا تتعلق بهذه الجمعية». وقد اطّلع عبد اللطيف الطيباوي في أرشيف المجمع الأميركي للبعثات التبشيرية على رسالة بعثها بطرس البستاني في ١٠ كانون الثاني ١٨٤٦م إلى إلي سميث (في أميركا) يُعلِّمُه فيها بإنشاء جمعية أدبية تُدعى «مجمع التهذيب» من أعضائها ناصيف اليازجي وأحد عشر عضواً من البروتستانت الوطنيين، والدكتور كرنيليوس فان ديك [Cornelius Van Dyck]، وهنري دي فورست [Henry DeForest].^٥ وقيل إن اسم الجمعية السورية الكامل كان «الجمعية السورية لاكتساب العلم والفنون».^٦

ويبدو أن الحوادث الطائفية عرقلت استمرارية عمل هذه الجمعية؛ ما دعا بعض المنتوّرين سنة ١٨٦٨م إلى تأسيس «الجمعية العلمية السورية» للقيام بما يجب لانتشار المعارف من علوم وفنون، «وقد تألّفت من المؤسسين إبراهيم فخري (فخري بك ابن محمود نامي الذي عيّنه

^٥ يوسف قرما خوري، «الدكتور كرنيليوس فانديك ونهضة الديار الشامية العلمية في القرن التاسع عشر»، رسالة قدّمت إلى دائرة التاريخ في الجامعة الأميركية، بيروت: دار سوراقي للنشر (دون تاريخ)، ٣٤.

^٦ يوسف قرما خوري، أعمال الجمعية العلمية السورية، بيروت: دار الحمراء، ١٩٩٠، ٣٤.

إبراهيم باشا حاكماً على بيروت) وبولس دباس، وحبیب جليخ، وحنين خوري، ورزق الله خضرا، وسليم البستاني، وسليم شحادا، وموسى حنا فريخ، إلى جانب المسلمين: حسين بيهم، وسليم رمضان، وعبد الرحيم بدران، والأمير محمد أرسلان الذي ترأس الجمعية سنة ١٨٦٨م، ليخلفه حسين بيهم سنة ١٨٦٩م. وقد ألقى هذا الأخير أرجوزةً مطوّلة في افتتاح اجتماعات الجمعية قال فيها:

حتى طفقنا في بحار الجهلِ نبح من بعد الذكاء والفضلِ
فأصبحت حالتنا بين الورى إلى وراء إلى وراء إلى وراء^٧

وكانت قد تأسست سنة ١٨٥٠م في دير الآباء اليسوعيين في بيروت «الجمعية المشرقية»^٨. ومع انتشار مدارس الإرساليات التبشيرية الأميركية والفرنسية والألمانية والإنكليزية والإيطالية، برزت بعد سنة ١٨٦٠م مدرسة أسسها المعلم بطرس البستاني سنة ١٨٦٤م عُرفت بـ«المدرسة الوطنية» وكانت غايته بذلك كما نشرت صحيفة فقير سوريا ثم جريدتنا الحجة والجنينة «لأم الشرخ وبث الوعي الوطني» ونشرت الجنان «إن المدرسة تقبل تلامذة من جميع الطوائف والملل والأجناس من دون أن تتعرض لمذاهبهم الخصوصية. كما أنها تستخدم معلمين من مذاهب وأجناس مختلفة، ناظرةً إلى كفاءتهم وحسن تقواهم واقتدارهم على التعليم»^٩.

وبيّنت المجلة برنامج المدرسة ودوام الدراسة فيها، فكانت:

لغاتنا العربية والتركية والفرنساوية والإنكليزية واليونانية واللاتينية، مع تعليم صناعة الخطّ في جميع اللغات. وعلومها هي الصرف والنحو والعروض والمعاني والبيان والبديع والمنطق والجغرافيا والتاريخ والحساب والجبر والهندسة والمساحة والطبيعات والكيمياء والفيسيولوجيا والجيولوجيا والنبات والفقهاء وفق الترجمة وصناعة الإنشاء والتأليف والخطب وحساب الزنجير.

^٧ خوري، أعمال الجمعية العلمية السورية، ١١.

^٨ يوسف سرقيس، المشرق، ج ١٢، بيروت: كلية القديس يوسف ١٩١٢، ٣٢-٤١.

^٩ الجنان ٤ (١٨٧٣)، ٦٢٧.

يضاف إليها علم آلات الموسيقى وصناعة التصوير والحفر لدى الطلب. كما كانت داخلية في جميع الساعات ليلاً ونهاراً تحت مناظرة رئيسها، وذلك بنفسه أو بواسطة نائبه والمعلمين، ولها طبيب من أشهر الأطباء، ويكون دائماً في الليل حراس يوثق بهم.^{١٠} وسوف نرى أن مؤسسي جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت فكروا في إنشاء مدرسة وطنية على مثال مدرسة المعلم بطرس البستاني.

وتبدو مدرسة المعلم بطرس البستاني مختلفة عن مدارس الإرساليات التي كان هم كل إرسالية منها الدعوة إلى معتقدها، وقد شجّعها على ذلك نظام الملل العثماني الذي ترك لكل ملة ترتيب أمور تابعيها في التعليم والتطبيب والأحوال الشخصية والدينية، بحيث أصبح لكل طائفة مدرسة ومستشفى وقوانين خاصة بها.

التعليم الإسلامي

كان التعليم لدى المسلمين في بيروت في أول الأمر قائماً على ما عُرف بالكتاتيب أو الخوجاية أو الشيخة. وهي عبارة عن غرفة صغيرة يديرها أحد الشيوخ أو النساء الذين أوتوا قليلاً من العلم، وذلك في بيوتهم أو في دكاكينهم، يلقنون فيها الأولاد مبادئ القراءة والكتابة والحساب والخط العربي^{١١}.

وكان هم بعض أصحاب الكتاتيب أن يختم الطالب القرآن الكريم، ليتناولوا «المعلوم» من الوالدين (وكان يُدفع لهم يوم الخميس، فعُرف بالخميسية) «وكانت العادة أن يجلس التلميذ أمام شيخه، فيومئ الشيخ إلى واحد من الطلاب أو اثنين أن يقفا خلف الطالب، حتى إذا تلا سورة الحمد - الفاتحة - وأتبعها بسورة البقرة إلى أن يأتي على قوله تعالى: «ختم الله على قلوبهم» خطفاً طربوشه وأسرعاً عدواً إلى منزله، ليبشراً أهله بأن ابنهم قد ختم القرآن، فتعطي لهم البشارة، ويُعاد الطربوش وقد مُلئ بالملبس والنقل»^{١٢}. وكان التلميذ يبقى تارةً في هذه

^{١٠} الحنان ٤ (١٨٧٣)، ٦٢٨.

^{١١} طه الولي، بيروت في التاريخ والحضارة والعمران، بيروت: دار العلم للملايين ١٩٩٣، ٢٠٩.

^{١٢} الكشاف (١٩٢٧)، ٢٢٤.

الكتاتيب ليتدرّج من مدرسة إلى أخرى حتى يتمّ تعليمه، وتارةً يخرج منها إذا كان أبوه يحتاجه لمساعدته في أشغاله، فيخرج ذكياً فطناً حَسُوباً كاتباً ماهراً، فيحفظ دأرتَه^{١٣}.

أوضح عبد القادر قُباني في «ثمرات الفنون» وضعيّة هذه الكتاتيب، فكتب في حَزيان ١٨٨١م أنّ المكاتب «هي جمعية أولاد تحت يد مؤدّب يعلمهم القرآن في مدّة معلومة، ثمّ يعلم في بعضها بعد ذلك صنعة الخطّ والأرقام الهندية، وحينئذ يتمّ تعليم الولد (بحسب إفادة المؤدّب ورغبة أهل الولد) ويعمل له أهله وليمة الحتمّة ويفرحون به. وإذا كان عند والد الولد إلمام أو فكر، دفع ولده إلى بعض المشايخ يعلمه الصرف والنحو وبعض مسائل الفقه، ويكون المدار على ذكاء الولد ورغبته وعدم فساد أخلاقه في حال صغره من معاشرّة فاسدي الأخلاق، فإذا كان كذلك نجب ونجح وحصل (وقليل ما هم) أو يضعه والده في حانوته لأجل أن ينفع به، وبمصادفة الشغل وتكرار العمل يحصل الولد على ما تنحصر به معرفته في العمل الذي مارسه. وإنّ من الآباء من ينتظر ولده حتى إذا قدر على النطق بالكلام بعد التهجئة (أي فكّ الحرف) يأخذه من الكتّاب مدّعياً أنه صار يعرف القراءة، فيضعه في حانوته أو في صنعته يكسب منها إذا كبر في اليوم على الأكثر نحو سبعة قروش^{١٤}.

وعن طريقة التعليم هذه وتناجها، كتب الشيخ عبد القادر المغربي يقول: «إنك إذا سألت النجار والإسكاف والحدّاد والحزّار وأمثالهم: هل تعرف أن تقرّأ؟، فيقول لك: لا أعرف. فنسأله: ألمّ يُعلّمك أبوك؟ فيقول: بل وضعني في الكتّاب، فتعلّمت القراءة ثمّ لم أوفّق إلى التعليم في المدارس الأخرى، ومع تمادي الأيام نسيْتُ ما كنت تعلّمته. والحق أنّ كلّ ما تعلّمه في الكتّاب تلاوة ألفاظٍ خاصّة هي كلمات القرآن، وقد يعتاد أحياناً على قراءتها في مصحف واحد، فلا يعود يعرف قراءتها إذا عُرِضَتْ عليه في مصحف آخر، وهو وأبوه وشيخه ينسبون ذلك إلى التقادير وعدم التوفيق، والأصحّ أن ينسب ذلك إلى طريقة التعليم وأسلوبها العقيم وضلالها القديم»^{١٥}.

^{١٣} محمد عبد الجواد القاياتي، نحة البشام في رحلة الشام، بيروت: دار الرائد العربي ١٩٨١، ٤٨.

^{١٤} ثمرات الفنون ٣٣٦ (١٨٨١).

^{١٥} عبد القادر المغربي، «بيروت»، صحيفة الإتحاد العثماني ٣٧٠ (١٩٠٩).

وأضاف: «إذا خرج من الكتابيب كلّ سنة ١٠٠ تلميذ، انحاز اثنان منهم إلى طلاب العلوم الدينية، واثنان إلى المجلات التجارية، واثنان إلى المدرسة الأميرية، واثنان أولعوا بقراءة الكتب الخرافية، واثنان أوتيا ذكاءً فطرياً، فتعلّموا القراءة الحقيقية. هؤلاء العشرة يُعدّون من الفارّين، أمّا التسعون فإنّهم يتفرّقون تحت كلّ كوكب في مهتهم وصناعاتهم، ثمّ لم يلبثوا أن ينسوا التلاوة وتأخذ نقوش الكلمات بالزوال من أذهانهم رويداً رويداً».

ولسانُ حالهم ينطبق عليه بيتا الشعر:

إنّ الرّواة بلا فهمٍ ليا حَفِظُوا مثلُ الجبالِ عليها يُحمَلُ الودعُ
لا الودعُ ينفِعه حَمَلُ الجبالِ له ولا الجبالِ بحملِ الودعِ تنتفعُ^{١٦}

وجاء وصف المجتمع الإسلامي في بيروت في الكتاب الذي أصدرته جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية بعد تأسيسها بعنوان «الفجر الصادق». فبعدما ذكرت اهتمام بقية الطوائف بالتعليم وإنشاء المدارس واستقدام معلمين بارعين، أشارت إلى أنّ الطائفة الإسلامية كانت غافلة عن ذلك مقتصرة من المدارس «على بعض زوايا محجورة مملوءة بالعفونة والرطوبة بما يضرّ بصحة الأولاد، ومن المعلمين على المشايخ العميان الذين لا نُنكر فضلهم؛ لأنّهم قاموا بواجبهم على قدر استطاعتهم، ومن الأطباء على أناس من الحلاّقين والحجّامين، وبقية محرومة من الفوائد الثابتة بالمدارس الملقبة بالعمومية؛ لأنّ مبادئ تعليمها لا توافق المشرب الإسلامي من وجوه معلومة، كيف لا وقد يُشترط في بعضها على التلامذة الخضوعُ لدين المدرسة...»^{١٧}.

إلا أنّ أوضح فكرة عن توزّع المدارس بين مختلف الطوائف غير الإسلامية وعن حالة مُسلمي بيروت نتيجتها كما كتبت «حديقة الأخبار» سنة ١٨٦٧م، فقد ذكّرت «أنّ أشهر المدارس هي مدرسة عين طورة للهربان الفرنساوية العازارية، ومدرسة عزيز اليسوعية، ومدرسة الروم في سوق الغرب، ومدرسة الداودية لطائفة الدروز، ومدرسة الأميركان في

^{١٦} المغربي، «بيروت».

^{١٧} الفجر الصادق (١٢٩٧/١٨٧٩)، ٥-٦.

عبيه، ومدرسة الروم في بيروت، ومدرسة غبطة بطريك الروم الكاثوليك، ومدرسة المعلم بطرس البستاني الوطنية». ثم قالت: «نلاحظ أن جميع هذه المكاتب بيد المسيحيين وليس عند أهل الإسلام في مدينة بيروت مدرسة متقونة للتعليم، مع أن لهم في غير مُدنٍ، مثل دمشق وطرابلس، مكاتب رشدية تكَلَّت بالنجاح، وكثيرٌ من أولادهم في بيروت يتعلّمون في مكاتب النصارى، فأتخذنا ذلك علامةً عن رغبتهم باكتساب المعارف. ولئن كانت لم تجرِ الهمة من طرفهم حتى الآن بإنشاء مكتبٍ مخصوص، ومع أننا نرى بوضع أولادهم بمكاتب المسيحيين دليلاً على توطيد الإلفة الأهلية بينها في هذا العصر السلطاني المجيد، لا تنغاضى عن أن نقول إنَّ الأليقَّ بشرف المسلمين أن يُنشئوا مكاتبَ مخصوصةً لأولادهم مثل بقية الطوائف. ولما كانت الحكومة السنّية مجتهدة بتشويقهم على إيجاد مكتب منظم اتجاه تصوّره الآن لإنشاء مكتب رشدية بمساعدة حضرة والي سورية المعظم يكون به الكفاية لتعليم أولادهم اللغات والعلوم اللازمة»^{١٨}.

وتعدّدت الشكوى بما كان يصيب أولاد المسلمين لدى بعض مدارس غير المسلمين. وذكر الشيخ عبد القادر قباني «أنَّ أحد أبناء العيال أخبر الشيخ عبد الله خالد بما يجده أبناء المسلمين في مدارس غير المسلمين»^{١٩}.

وقد أكّد هذا الواقع المفتي الشيخ عبد الباسط الفاخوري في مجالس الوعظ والتفسير التي ألقاها خلال شهر رمضان سنة ١٢٩٢هـ/١٨٧٥م في الجامع العمري الكبير (تميزاً له عن الجامع العمري الصغير في بيروت، أو جامع الدباغة، أو جامع البحر) وقد طبعت بعد ذلك بعنوان «المجالس السنّية». قال في المجلس الثالث:

«الحَدَرَ الحَدَرَ بما اعتاده جَهْلَةُ الناس في هذا الزمان، وهو أنّهم يُخرجون أولادهم من المكاتب التي يتعلّمون بها القرآن قبل إتقان تعلّمهم وتجويدهم للقرآن وقبل تعليمهم عقائد الدين وأحكام العبادات، فيذهبون بهم إلى مكاتب الأجانب عن الدين والوطن لتعليم

^{١٨} حديقة الأخبار ٤٤٠ (٢٧ كانون الثاني ١٨٦٧).

^{١٩} عبد القادر قباني، «بيروت حياتها وتحوّلاتها»، الكشاف (١٩٢٧)، ٣٠.

الحساب والهندسة وبعض اللغات وخلافها، وهذا رِضَاعٌ ثالثٌ بعد رضاع المؤدّب، وقد قيل الرضاع يُغَيِّرُ الطَّبَاع... والصبي في هذه السنّ قابلٌ لكلِّ ما يُلقى إليه، مثله مثلُ الشمع: أيّ شيءٍ عَمِلَتْ عليه طُبِعَ فيه... وأقبُح من ذلك كُلُّهُ أنّهم يضعون بناتهم الصغار في هذه المكاتب لأجل تعليمهنّ اللغات والهندسة...»^{٢٠}.

وقد أشارت «ثمرات الفنون» فيما بعد إلى أنّ بعض مدارس البلدة الداخليّة المُعدّة لتعليم الطلبة ومسيّتهم بها ذكّرت في تعليماتها أنّها عُموميّةٌ لا تتعرّض لمن هم من غير أبناء ملّتها، ولكن إذا تحقّقنا تبيّن أنّ الواقع غير ذلك وأنّ هذه التعليمات غير معمولٍ بها.^{٢١}

وفي هذا الإطار أشار محمد جميل بيهم إلى أنّ «مدارس البعثات الأجنبية استقبلت فتياتٍ جاء فريق منهنّ تقديرًا للعلم، وأقبل أكثرهنّ وهنّ من الفقيرات رغبةً بالإحسان، فما أتى على ذلك ردحٌ من الزمن حتّى بدرت تأثيرات تلك المدارس على نفوس الفتيات، وعلم بتنصير وتسفير اثنتين منهنّ، وشاع بأنّ مصير فتاةٍ من الفقيرات سيكون كذلك عاجلاً، فاضطرب المسلمون لذلك، وقرّر رأيهم على تأليف جمعية المقاصد لتعليم وتربية الناشئة من الحنّسين»^{٢٢}. نشرت جريدة «ثمرات الفنون» سنة ١٨٧٦م «أنّ مأموري جزيرة رُودس وأعيانها وتجارها وأصنافها جمعوا مبلغ ٤٦٥ ليرة عثمانية بموجب دفتر يشتمل على أسماء من تبرّع من أوّلي الغيرة والحميّة الوطنيّة ومُحبّي الخير لأجل إنشاء مدرسةٍ لأبناء الطائفة الإسلاميّة...»، فتلقّف الشيخ عبد القادر قتباني الخبر، وعلّق عليه قائلاً: «فنحُتُ أهالي بلادنا كبيروت أن يخلّعوا عن منابهم رداء العار والكسل باقتفاء أثر أهالي تلك الجزيرة، فتستغني أولادنا عن الغيّر، ونأمّنُ غوائل الأيام والحوادث، لا سيّما بإنشاء مدرسة للبنات التي هي الرُّمُّ ما يكون لعضونهنّ ممّا يختلج في الأفكار...»^{٢٣}.

^{٢٠} عبد الباسط الفاخوري، المجلس السنّيّة، بيروت: المطبعة الأدبية ١٣١٣/١٨٩٥، ٧٠-٧١.

^{٢١} ثمرات الفنون ٦٠١ (١٨٨٦).

^{٢٢} محمد جميل بيهم، المرأة في التاريخ والشرائع، بيروت: دون ناشر ١٩٢١، ٢٣٢.

^{٢٣} ثمرات الفنون ٥٤ (١٨٧٦).

أقامت جمعية المقاصد في تموز سنة ١٨٧٩م احتفالاً بحضور مدحت باشا والي سورية خطب فيه حسن بيهم أحد مؤسسي الجمعية، فذكر أسباب تأسيس الجمعية، ثم أشار إلى أن المعارف في حالة يُرثى لها، وتساءل عن المدارس والعلوم التي تُقرأ والدروس التي تُعلم، وقال: «إذا كانت هذه هي حالة الذكور، فكيف هي حالة الإناث اللواتي وسائطهنّ أقلّ، والجهلُ الواقع عندهنّ أعمّ، مع أنّ أمر تعليمهنّ ضروري؛ لأنهنّ المرثيات الأوّليات للأولاد، وعليهنّ مناط التهذيب؟... وقد هتأ الله للجمعية الآن إنشاء مدرستين للإناث يُعلم بهما القراءة والكتابة والأشغال اليدوية؛ لأنّها رأت أنّ الجهل الذي حاق بالبنات أعمّ وأنّ البدء بتعليمهنّ أهمّ...»^{٢٤}.

يمكن من خلال مسيرة جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت، ابتداءً من تأسيسها سنة ١٨٧٨م حتى الآن، توضيح أهدافها التي تندرج برأينا ضمن ثلاثة عناوين رئيسة شكّلت هواجس المؤسّسين الأوائل ثم العاملين بعدهم، وهي: الاهتمام باللغة العربية وآدابها وتراثها، وتدرّيس العلوم الدينيّة على اختلافها، وأخيراً الحفاظ على الهويّة الإسلامية ضمن الالتقاء العامّ.

أولى مؤسسو المقاصد اهتمامهم لتعليم الناشئة، مُركّزين على الاهتمام باللغة العربيّة والتراث العربي. فكان أوّل كتاب وضعه المؤسس عبد القادر قباني بالعربية للناشئة بعنوان «الهجاء لتعليم الأطفال» ويتضمّن نصائح وتعاليم دينيّة وتربوية وصحيّة ولغوية وتاريخية.

كما أنّ الجمعية، بالنظر إلى عدم وجود كتاب بين أيدي البنات، عهدت إلى الشاعر أبي الحسن قاسم الكسبي، فوضع أرجوزةً مطوّلة من ١١٤ بيتاً تتضمّن نصائح وتعليماتٍ مديّنةً وتربوية وأخلاقية ودينية للبنات وكيفية تعاملهنّ مع أهاليهنّ وأزواجهنّ وضرورة الابتعاد عن البدع والحرافات التي كانت سائدة في المجتمع.^{٢٥}

يُذكر أنّ جمعية الفنون الإسلاميّة التي أسّسها سعد عبد الفتاح حمادة وأصدرت جريدة «ثمرات الفنون» التي تولّوها فيما بعد عبد القادر قباني الذي كان عضواً في جمعية الفنون أيضاً،

^{٢٤} ثمرات الفنون ٢٣٦ (١٨٧٩).

^{٢٥} قاسم أبو الحسن الكسبي، ديوان ترجمان الأفكار، بيروت: المطبعة الأدبية ١٨٨١/١٢٩٩، ١٣٤.

هذه الجمعية اهتمت بإحياء التراث العربي، فقَدّمت عدّة مسرحيّات وطبعتُ كتباً أدبيّة تراثية لإبراهيم اليازجي وضياء الدين ابن الأثير وغيرهما، قُدّمت منها نُسخٌ مجانيّة لتلاميذ المقاصد.^{٢٦} يشار إلى أنّ غالبية مؤسسي جمعية المقاصد كانوا من المثقّفين ثقافةً عالية، كأحمد دريان، ومصباح محرم الذي درّس الحقوق ووضع قانون كتابة العدل، والشيخ سعيد الجندي خرّيج الأزهر، ومحمّد البايدي ومحمود رمضان اللذين أتما دراستهما على المفتي الشيخ عبد الباسط الفاخوري، وراغب عزّ الدين الذي تولّى القضاء الشرعيّ في بيروت.

وخلال السنة الأولى من تأسيس جمعية المقاصد افتتحت الجمعية مدرستين ابتدائيّتين للإناث ومدرستين ابتدائيّتين للذكور، وحدّدت منهاج هاتين المدرستين بأن يكون التعليم بهما منحصراً «بالقرآن الشريف والقراءة البسيطة ومبادئ الخطّ والحساب والعبادات، وأن يكون سنّ التلميذ بين ٧ و ١٥ عاماً»^{٢٧}.

وقررت الجمعية تدريس الموادّ باللغة العربية عوضاً عن اللغة التركية، وشجّعت الأساتذة على التّأليف والترجمة، وقامت بطبع كتب التدريس العربية ووزّعتها على الطلبة مجاناً^{٢٨}. وقد صادقت الجمعية في جلسة ٨ نيسان/أبريل ١٩٢١م على نظام أساسي لمدارس الجمعية حدّدت فيه درجات المدارس، فكان منها حدائق الأطفال لمن سنّه بين ٤ و ٥ سنوات، واشترط النظام أن يكون التعليم فيها باللغة العربية. وكان منها المدارس الابتدائية لمن سنّه بين ٦ و ٧ سنوات، واشترط أن يكون التعليم فيها للسنوات الثلاث الأولى باللغة العربية فقط (وتدريس الفرنسية بالسنة الرابعة).^{٢٩}

^{٢٦} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١٤ ذي القعدة ١٢٩٦/٣٠ تشرين الأول ١٨٧٩).

^{٢٧} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١١ رمضان ١٢٩٦/٢٩ آب ١٨٧٩).

^{٢٨} جهمينة حسن الأيوبي، جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت، بيروت: الجامعة الأميركية، رسالة ماجستير ١٩٦٦، ١٧٦.

^{٢٩} الأيوبي، جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية، ١٠٨.

وأولت الجمعية منذ تأسيسها اهتماماً للتراث العربي، فعندما قَدِمَ والي سورية مدحت باشا إلى بيروت أقامت له الجمعية حفلاً تكريمياً في منزل الحاج محمد بيضون في محلة الباشورة قدّمت خلاله مسرحية نائلة ملكة الحضر المعروفة بالزباء مع جذية الوضاح ملك العرب.^{٣٠} واستمرت الجمعية طيلة عملها بتشجيع التراث العربي، فعملت على تنمية فنون الخطابة بالعربية، وخصّصت جوائز تشجيعية سنوية للمجلين في ذلك. يذكر أنّ جمعية المقاصد اتّهمت بأنها وراء المنشورات التي ظهرت على جدران بيروت سنة ١٨٨١م والتي تدعو إلى مجد العرب وحُرّيّتهم.^{٣١}

وقد أدرك مؤسسو الجمعية أهمّية مصر كدولة عربية كبرى، فأرسلوا أول بعثة طلابية للدراسة في القصر العيني سنة ١٨٧٨م. وبعد تجديد الجمعية عاد مسؤولوها للاتّصال بوزارة المعارف المصرية، وتوج ذلك سنة ١٩٣٧م بزيارة قام بها رئيس الجمعية عمر الداوق وبعض الأعضاء إلى مصر، وتمّ خلالها الاتفاق مع الوزارة المصرية على تخصيص معهد كلية المقاصد بأستاذين من أصحاب المقدرة والكفاءة لتدريس اللغة العربية في الصفوف العالية، كما جرت مراجعة شيخ الأزهر للتعاون في المجال الديني (كما سيذكر لاحقاً)، واستمرّ هذا التعاون فيما بعد حتّى بلغ عدد الأساتذة المصريين المتدّين للتدريس في مدارس الجمعية سنة ١٩٦٠/١٩٦١م أربعة وثلاثين مدرّساً ومدرّسة.^{٣٢}

ويبدو اهتمام جمعية المقاصد باللغة العربية وحرصها على توحيد رؤية الشباب العرب في مختلف الدول العربية من خلال إقرارها بتدريس سلسلة «القراءة المصوّرة» في مدارسها الابتدائية أسوةً بما قرّرت وزارات المعارف في لبنان والعراق وسورية وشرق الأردن يوم كانت هذه الدول رازحةً تحت الانتدابين الفرنسي والإنكليزي، علماً بأنّ السلسلة المذكورة كانت من تأليف جماعة من الأساتذة، وقد ضمت أقوالاً وقصائد لكبار الشعراء والكتّاب العرب،

^{٣٠} ثمرات الفنون ٢١٩ (١٨٧٩).

^{٣١} زين زين، نشوء القومية العربية، ط ٣، بيروت: دار النهار للنشر ١٩٧٩، ٦٥.

^{٣٢} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (٤ كانون الثاني ١٩٣٧): بيان بأعمال جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١٩٥٧-١٩٦١)، ١٤٨-١٤٩.

أمثال أحمد شوقي، وحافظ إبراهيم، وخليل مطران، ومعروف الرصافي، وجميل صديقي الزهاوي، وأحمد أمين، ومصطفى صادق الرافعي، وساطع الحصري، ولوحات لمصطفى فروخ، والشيخ نسيب مكارم، إضافة إلى المنتبّي وأبي فراس الحمداني وعترة العبسي. كما ضمت فقراتٍ مُستلّةً من كُتب التراث العربي خاصّةً بالمروءة والوفاء والأثرة والتعاون ومساعدة الغير وعمل البرّ وأهمية العمل والأرض... إلخ.

الدين الإسلامي

أولى مؤسسو الجمعية ومن تولى إدارتها فيما بعد جلّ اهتمامهم لنشر الوعي بين المسلمين وتعليمهم أصول الدين والعبادات ورفع مستواهم الاجتماعي والاقتصادي. وكان التركيز على التعليم الديني كجزء أساسي يواكب الاهتمام باللغة العربية التي هي لغة القرآن.

وفيما بدا أنّ أحد أسباب تأسيس الجمعية كان شكوى البعض بما كان يتعرّض له الأولاد في مدارس الأجانب، كان من الطبيعي أن يلتفت المؤسسون ومن تبعهم إلى إيلاء الشأن الديني حيزاً مهمّاً من نشاط الجمعية وبرامج التدريس في مدارسها. فكان من شروط مدارس الذكور الأولى التي افتتحتها الجمعية سنة ١٢٩٧هـ/١٨٧٩م أن يكون التعليم فيها محصوراً بالقرآن الشريف وأن يُخصّص أحد المعلّمين لتعليم القرآن الشريف والعبادات.^{٣٣}

ورغم تحوّل الجمعية إلى جمعية تربوية لبنانية، فقد حافظت على خاصية اعتبار تعلّم الدين الإسلامي جزءاً من مناهجها التربوي وفاءً لمبادئ انطلاقتها الأولى؛ ذلك أنّ الجمعية انطلقت عند تأسيسها من الأوقاف الإسلامية التي كانت مُرصدة في بيروت للتعليم والتطبيب ومساعدة الفقير وتقرّر ضمّها إلى الجمعية.^{٣٤}

وتجلى حرص رئيس الجمعية المفتي الشيخ مصطفى نجا على التقيّد بشرط الواقع، فقد ذكر الدكتور عمر فروخ أنّ المفتي المذكور زاره في كلية الحرج، وسأله: ماذا تدرّس يا أستاذ

^{٣٣} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١١ رمضان ١٢٩٦/٢٩ آب ١٨٧٩).

^{٣٤} الفجر الصادق (١٢٩٧/١٨٧٩)، ٣١-٣٢.

عمر؟ أجابه: اللغة العربية والحساب والإنكليزية. فقال المفتي: اللغة والحساب نعم، ولكن الإنكليزية لا؛ لأنّ ذلك مُخالف لشرط الواقف الذي هو كتّص الشارع.^{٣٥}

وقد حرصت الجمعية على إجراء الامتحانات المدرسية بحضور الأهالي، فكان الفحص سنة ١٢٩٧هـ / ١٨٨٠م «في القرآن الشريف والتوحيد والأمور الدينية...»^{٣٦}.

وتجلى اهتمام الجمعية بالتعليم الديني الإسلامي، ولا سيّما بالعبادات. فقد حرصت الجمعية على وجود جامع بالقرب من المدارس التي تؤسسها. وهكذا بُني جامع عثمان بن عفان «ذي الثورين» في رأس النبع قرب مدرسة للمقاصد بالاسم نفسه، وبني جامع علي بن أبي طالب قرب مدرسة الفاروق في الطريق الجديدة، وجامع أبي بكر الصديق قرب مدرسة بالاسم نفسه في القنطاري، وجامع الحرج ضمن كلية الحرج، وأيضاً جامع «علم الشرق» في الأشرافية، وذلك لتعمويد التلامذة وحثّهم على أداء الصلوات، ولا سيما صلواتا الظُّهر والعصر، في الجامع.

وحثّ تاريخه، لا تزال بعض المساجد بعهددة جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت، وهي مساجد أبي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه، وسليم سلام، والحرج، والمركز الإسلامي (سبنيه)، والمركز الإسلامي (بعلمشمية).

وقد نصّ النظام الأساسي للجمعية والنظام الداخلي لسنتي ١٩١٩ و ١٩٢٠م في مادّته الثانية على أن «يُعَدَّ عضواً مشتركاً في الجمعية كلُّ مسلمٍ يلتزم بذل مبلغٍ معيّن من المال لها في كلِّ شهر وفي كلِّ سنة^{٣٧}. وكانت المادّة الأولى منه تُبيّن غرض الجمعية، وهو «قيامها بما يمكن من مصالح المسلمين المحليّة والمدنية على وجهٍ يحفظ هداية دينهم ومصالح دنياهم»^{٣٨}.

^{٣٥} عمر فزوخ، غبار السنين، بيروت: دار الأندلس، ١٩٨٥، ١٦١.

^{٣٦} الفجر الصادق (١٢٩٧/١٨٧٩)، ٣١.

^{٣٧} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (٣ كانون الثاني ١٩١٩).

^{٣٨} نفس المرجع.

وكان من ضمن اهتمام الجمعية تحفيظ القرآن الكريم وتأمين أحوال الحفظة، فقد قررت الهيئة الإدارية في ١٩١٩/١/٣م، إثر وفاة حافظ القراءات السبع الشيخ علي صادق، إرسال الشيخ عبد الحميد العيتاني إلى دمشق لتلقي القراءات السبع.^{٣٩}

ونجحت الجمعية سنة ١٩٢٢م في ترتيب مدرسة للحفظة جعلت الجمعية مركزها في جامع الأمير منذر (النوفرة)، وكان فيها ثمانية عشر طالباً يحفظون القرآن الكريم تحت تدريب وإرشاد أستاذ يعلمهم أحكام القراءات والتفقه في الدين هو الشيخ حسن مكّي.^{٤٠} ثم جعلت الجمعية راتباً شهرياً لكل حافظ. وأضافت الجمعية الى علم القراءات مبادئ الفقه واللغة العربية؛ للحاجة إليهما في فهم الكتاب العزيز وأحكام العبادات.^{٤١} يُذكر أنّ الجمعية عندما قررت سنة ١٩٢١م بناء كلية في محلة الحرج قررت تسمية أول دائرة فيها باسم الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه، وقررت بمناسبة افتتاح تلك الكلية تلاوة سيرة المولد النبوي الشريف.^{٤٢}

وحرصت الجمعية باستمرار على إحياء ذكرى المولد النبوي الشريف والاحتفال بذلك في مدارسها. وكانت إدارات مدارس المقاصد تُقيم احتفالات في المدارس بالمناسبات الدينية، كأعياد الفطر، والأضحى، والمولد النبوي الشريف، وذكرى الهجرة، والإسراء والمعراج... كما ألفت الجمعية سنة ١٩٢١م لجنة لإنشاء مستشفى إسلامي.

وكانت الكليات تعقد ندوات أسبوعية صباحية بعنوان «حديث الصباح» تذكر فيه سير علماء المسلمين وتراثهم، ويُنصّر في آخر السنة إلى إجراء مسابقة بين الطلاب حول الأحاديث المذكورة والفائدة منها، وقد كان لي شرف الفوز سنة ١٩٥٦م بالمرتبة الأولى في المسابقة المشار إليها، وكانت الجائزة كتاب «مجالى الإسلام» لمؤلفه حيدر بامات، ترجمة عادل زعيتر.

كما درجت الجمعية على تنظيم امتحان عند انتهاء المرحلة الابتدائية لنيل شهادة ختم القرآن الكريم بثلثها سنة ١٩٥٢م.

^{٣٩} نفس المرجع.

^{٤٠} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت، بيروت (٧ نيسان ١٩٢٢).

^{٤١} بيان أعمال الجمعية لعام ١٣٤١هـ، بيروت، جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١٩٢٢/١٣٤١).

^{٤٢} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (٢٨ تشرين الأول ١٩٢١).

محاربة البدع

حرصت جمعية المقاصد على رعاية المجتمع الإسلامي وتميمته على أسس من العلم ومكارم الأخلاق والجمع بين الدين والدنيا. فكانت تبني مسجداً مع كل مدرسة تأسسها، واعتُبرت وفقاً لنظام الملل العثماني المسؤولة عن تنظيم شؤون المسلمين في بيروت، للتداخل بين العقائدي الديني المقدس وبين السياسي الاجتماعي المدني.

واستناداً إلى ذلك، عين والي سورية مدحت باشا لجنة برئاسة المفتي عبد الباسط الفاخوري وإشراف النائب (القاضي) عبد الله جمال الدين للنظر والتحقيق في الأوقاف التي كانت مُصدّة للتعليم والتطبيب والمواساة وأصبحت خربةً أو متهدمة أو انعدمت التولية عليها وقتل ريعها، وقد وضعت اللجنة بياناً بالأوقاف المشار إليها، حملة عمر غزاوي إلى دمشق واستحصل على موافقة مدحت باشا لتسليمها للجمعية.

وفي شهر ذي الحجة سنة ١٢٩٧ هـ/ ١٨٨٠ م حضر إلى المحكمة الشرعية عبد الله خرما الذي كان متولياً على التُّرب المعروفة بالباشورة والسنتية والمصلى والخارجة، واعتزل من هذه التولية، وأقام حسن إسماعيل محرم رئيس جمعية المقاصد الخيرية في بيروت ناظراً على الترب للمحافظة عليها وتعهدها بالإصلاح والترميم والصرف عليها فيما عيَّنه واقفوها.^{٤٣}

ومن جهة ثانية، رأى المؤسسون مجتمعاً ساد فيه الجهل والتخلف، وانتشرت الخرافات والبدع، وعم الكسل العقلي والبلادة الذهنية والاسترخاء العقلي، وسمعوا مفتي المدينة في مجالس الوعظ في شهر رمضان ١٢٩٢ هـ/ ١٨٧٥ م يتحدث مما كان يحصل من بدع في العشر الأواخر من الشهر وما يحصل في الجنائز وبناء القبور من بدع مخالفة للسنّة المُطهّرة، وما كان يحصل في المساجد من كثرة للنائمين فيها ودخول للصبيان الصغار إليها، وكثرة الكلام والتشويش على المصلين فيها، وما اعتادوه من قيام «حَمال الربعة» بتفرقة أجزاء الشريفة حين صلاة الجمعة، فإذا كان الأذان قام الذي فرّقها ليجمع الأجزاء، فيتخطى رقاب الناس.

^{٤٣} «الوثيقة رقم ٢٧٥»، سجلات محكمة بيروت الشرعية، بيروت (١٢٩٧-١٢٩٨/١٢٩٩-١٨٧٩-١٨٨٠).

هذه البدع دفعت مؤسسي المقاصد إلى دعوة علماء البلدة ومدريسيها وخطبائها للمذاكرة في إبطال العوائد البدع المخالفة للشرع وللآداب، فعقد الاجتماع ليلة الجمعة الأولى من شهر تموز/يوليو سنة ١٨٨٠م، وتم تنظيم محضرٍ موقَّع من الحاضرين بالاتفاق على اتخاذ جميع الوسائل:

- منع خروج النساء خلف الميت وذهابهنَّ إلى المقابر، وأن يُمنَعن من الزيارة إلا في يوم السبت من كلِّ أسبوعٍ وأيام الأعياد مؤقتاً إلى أن يتيسَّر منعهنَّ من زيارتها مطلقاً.
- إبطال ضوضاء العميان أمام الجنائز، حيث إنَّ من السنة تشييع الجنازة بالصمت والتفكُّر
- لبس الأبيض بدل الأسود في الحداد.^{٤٤}

الانتماء والهوية الوطنية

بعد شهور من تأسيس جمعية المقاصد، أعلن المؤسسون عن قرارهم بإنشاء مدرسة داخلية وطنية؛ ما يعكس إعجابهم بمدرسة المعلم بطرس البستاني الوطنية، وفي خطوة رائدة تُثبت وعي المؤسسين وإدراكهم أهمية تكاتف أفراد المجتمع من كافة الطوائف، عزموا على إنشاء مدرسة داخلية وطنية وجعلها مباحةً لجميع الطوائف، ونشروا إعلاناً بذلك في تشرين الثاني ١٨٧٩م، جاء فيه:

لما كانت المدارس من أعظم وسائل نشر العلوم والمعارف، خصوصاً الداخلية التي ينم بها التلامذة لتفرغهم إلى التعلُّم ولعدم انشغالهم بما يخرج عن دائرة التدريس، فضلاً عن حسن التهذيب والتربية، كما هو مُشاهد في المدارس الداخلية،

وبما أنَّ الأمة الإسلامية ليس لها في البلاد السورية مدرسة من هذا القبيل، عزمنا جميعاً مع الاتكال على الله تعالى أن تُباشر بإنشاء مدرسةٍ داخليةٍ إذا تبين لها وجود ستين تلميذاً من أية طائفة كانت، غير أنَّ مَنْ كان من غير الطائفة الإسلامية يكون غير مكلف بالتعليم الديني، وتكون الأجرة عن السنة المدرسية خمسة عشرَ [اقرأ: خمس عشرة] ليرةً

^{٤٤} شمرات الفنون ٢٨٤ (١٨٨٠).

فرنساوية يُدفع نصفها عند الدخول والنصف الثاني عند نصف السنة من دخول التلميذ، وهذه الأجرة بدلاً عن التعليم والمأكل وكلّ ما تُقدّمه المدرسة عادةً منها إلى التلاميذ. والتعليم هو علم القرآن الشريف، والواجبات الدينية، والمعاملات الفقهية، واللغة العربية بفنونها، واللغات التركية والفرنساوية والإنكليزية، والعلوم الرياضية بأنواعها من حسابٍ وجبرٍ، والهندسة، والجغرافية، والتاريخ، وحُسن الخطّ باللغات جميعها، وتعليم النظمات والقوانين العثمانية ومسك الدفاتر التجارية، وتعليم أيّ فنٍ وأيّة لغةٍ إذا وُجد صُفّ كامل طالبٌ لذلك...^{٤٥}

واستمرت الجمعية بالحفاظ على هذا التقليد التاريخي بالعمل من أجل الوحدة الوطنية بين مختلف الطوائف والفئات بما يوّلد الألفة والمحبة والتعاون. ومن مظاهر هذا التقليد محضر جلسة الهيئة الإدارية المنعقدة في ٢٩ تشرين الأول ١٩٣٤ - أثناء رئاسة عمر الداعوق للجمعية - فقد جاء فيه حرفياً: «لما كان يوجد خمسة طلاب هم ربنه جرجي حجال، ومتري جرجي حجال، مسيحيان في مدرسة الصديق، وشهادة نقولا، مسيحي في مدرسة الفاروق، وموز جاك لزن، إسرائيلي في مدرسة الفاروق، طلبوا الالتحاق في مدارس الجمعية الخيرية، فلدى المذاكرة قرّر المجلس قبولهم، وذلك رغبةً بنشر العلوم بين أبناء الوطن الواحد».^{٤٦}

ولم تجد الجمعية غرضاً سنة ١٩٢٧م في الاستعانة بممرضات من «معهد روكفلر ليقمن» لإعداد بعض معلّمات الجمعية على كيفية تلقين الأطفال على بعض الأمور الصحيّة.^{٤٧} كما استعانت الجمعية سنة ١٩٢٧م باليس قندلفت خريجة جامعة كولومبيا، وجعلتها مديرةً لكلية

^{٤٥} ثمرات الفنون ٢٥٦ (١٨٧٩).

^{٤٦} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (٢٩ تشرين الأول ١٩٣٤)؛ الأيوبي، جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية، ١٠٧.

^{٤٧} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (٧ تشرين الثاني ١٩٢٧).

البنات ومعلمةً في أصول التربية والتعليم.^{٤٨} وكانت قد استعانت قبل ذلك بالمربية جوليا طعمة (دمشقية) لتكون مديرةً ومعلمةً للبنات، كما أشار سليم علي سلام في مذكراته.^{٤٩} وقد أدركت شخصياً هذا النهج الوطني من خلال انتساب طالبٍ معنا إلى صفّ البكالوريا الأولى وما يليها سنة ١٩٥٨م، وهو جوزف قزّي الذي كان نعم الرفيق، ولم نشعر يوماً بأيّ اختلاف بيننا وبينه. وقد أصبح فيما بعد ضابطاً كبيراً في الجيش اللبناني.

العلاقة بين الجمعية والمؤسسات التربوية المحليّة والأجنبيّة

سعت الجمعية بكافة الوسائل للانفتاح على بقية المؤسسات التربوية المحليّة الوطنية والأجنبيّة بما يؤمّن تحقيق هدفها بتنمية المجتمع، وقد سبق وتحدّثنا عن اتفاق إدارة الجمعية مع وزارة المعارف المصرية ومع الأزهر الشريف الذي كان يُرسل بعثة من الأزهريين لتدريس القرآن وأحكام الدين الإسلامي، كما وافق الأزهر على قبول بعثة من طلاب المقاصد في الكلية الشرعية لديه.

أما علاقة الجمعية بالانتداب الفرنسي فتعود إلى سنة ١٩١٨م عندما أعادت السلطة المنتدبة أملاك جمعية المقاصد المُصادرة، وسارت الجمعية في مدارسها بما يماثل النظام الذي وضعه الفرنسيون، فأصبحت اللغة الفرنسية لغةً أساسية، وقد أمّدت مستشارية المعارف في المفوضية الفرنسية جمعية المقاصد لِسنتينٍ عديدةٍ بمدرّسين ومدرّساتٍ للغة الفرنسية على نفقة الحكومة الفرنسية - وقد أدركت أحدهم الأستاذ لويس كريسو في المرحلة التكميلية - كما قدّمت الجامعات الفرنسية خمس منحٍ سنويّاً لخريجين من مدارس المقاصد، كذلك قدّمت البعثة العلبانية الفرنسية (اللايك) مدرّسين للفرنسية لمدارس المقاصد.

وكانت الهيئة الإدارية قد قرّرت سنة ١٩١٩م إرسال خمسة شبّان إلى مدرسة الكلية الأميركية لإعدادهم للعمل في مدارس الجمعية ومنحت الجمعية منحةً للمتفوقين من طلابها للدراسة في مدرسة الزراعة في حماة وفي الكلية الإسلامية (لصاحبها الشيخ أحمد عباس

^{٤٨} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١٨ أيلول ١٩٢٩).

^{٤٩} حسان حلاق، مذكرات سليم سلام، بيروت: الدار الجامعية ١٩٨٢، ١٢٣.

الأزهري) وفي جامعة باريس وفي المدرسة السورية الإنكليزية وفي كلية طب الأسنان في الجامعة الأميركية وفي مدرسة اللايك^{٥٠}. وفي أواخر الحرب العالمية الثانية قدمت بعثة سبيرس ١٦٠ كتاباً بالإنكليزية للجمعية للمطالعة، وانتدبت أستاذاً لتعليم الإنكليزية^{٥١}. وقد أدركت الجمعية أهمية الولايات المتحدة الأميركية ودورها في العالم، فأدخلت اللغة الإنكليزية كلغة أساسية في مدارسها، وبعد مفاوضة مع مسؤولي الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت حصلت سنة ١٩٤٥م على سراح يتيح لطلبة المقاصد، الذين اتبعوا برنامجاً مماثلاً لبرنامج التعليم في الصف الثاني من كلية الآداب والعلوم في الجامعة الأميركية، الالتحاق بالصف الثالث. فبدأ تعليم اللغة الإنكليزية يتقدّم على حساب التعليم باللغة الفرنسية^{٥٢}.

واستكمالاً وتعزيزاً لاتفاقات التعاون القائم بين الجامعة الأميركية ومستشفى المقاصد لتنفيذ برامج التدريب الطبي في الاختصاصات الطبية منذ العام ١٩٨٣م واعتماد الجامعة الأميركية لمستشفى المقاصد كمركز تعليمي، فقد وقعت أخيراً في تموز ٢٠١٢م اتفاقية تعاون بين الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت وبين جمعية المقاصد مُمثّلةً برئيسها أمين الداعوق تتضمن عملية تدريب الأطباء المقيمين في الجامعة وطلبة كلية الطب الذين سيتم إيفادهم إلى دائرة الطب الداخلي ودائرة الجراحة في مستشفى المقاصد اعتباراً من العام الأكاديمي ٢٠١٢-٢٠١٣م.

الخلاصة

إن تأسيس جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت كان هدفه تعليم المسلمين وترقية المجتمع الإسلامي ليلبغ مستوى أفراد بقية الطوائف، بما يعزز الوحدة الوطنية بين المواطنين بصرف النظر عن معتقداتهم وأديانهم ومذاهبهم، مع التمسك بالأخلاق الحميدة بما يُرسي أسس التعاون والمحبة والشراكة في الوطن.

^{٥٠} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (١٤ شباط ١٩١٩؛ ٩ تموز ١٩٢٠؛ ٢٩ أيلول ١٩٢٠؛ ٢٣ أيلول ١٩٢٦).

^{٥١} محاضر جلسات جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت (٢٥ أيار ١٩٤٣).

^{٥٢} جمعية المقاصد الخيرية الإسلامية في بيروت، بيان أعمال الجمعية لعامي ١٩٥٢-١٩٥٣م.

ما الذي تحقّق من أهداف المؤسّسين؟

- كان الهدف الذي أعلنه المؤسّسون في كتاب «الفجر الصادق» هو تعليم الإناث في الدرجة الأولى إدراكاً منهم لأهمية المرأة ودورها في المجتمع. وقد تحقّق هذا الهدف من خلال المدارس التي افتتحت أولاً للإناث، ثم تبع ذلك مدارس للذكور.
- اشتكى المؤسّسون من أنّ الأطباء كانوا أناساً من الحلاقين والحجامين. فعمل المؤسّسون ومن جاء بعدهم، على تخطّي ذلك بإرسال طلاب في المرحلة الأولى إلى مصر لدرس الطبّ، إلى أن حصل تأسيس مستشفى المقاصد. ولم تساعد الظروف الجمعية على إنشاء كليات للعلوم التطبيقية.
- بدا من «الفجر الصادق» أنّ المؤسّسين أدركوا أنّ تقدّم المسلمين ضروري لملاقاة التقدّم الذي أحرزه المسيحيون، وأنّ تقوية أيّ عضو ضروريّ لمناصرة جسم الوطن وللقضاء على التفرّق والتنافر بين الطوائف. وقد عملت الجمعية طيلة مسارها على بثّ هذا الأمر في مدارسها من أجل تقوية الروابط والتعاون بين الطوائف وإرساء نهج الاعتدال الذي اتبعته في مدارسها ونبت التعصّب.

Part Four:
“The Students Speak Back”

Educational Encounters between American Protestant Missionaries and the Residents of Late Ottoman Syria: One Path towards a Modern Education

Christine B. Lindner

In his 1847 memoir *A Voice from Lebanon*, As'ad Y. Khayyāt reflected upon his educational history.¹ After presenting his boyhood experiences of learning Arabic and Greek, he described his third attempt to find a teacher of the Italian language. He wrote:

Walking one day, I saw two strangers, whom I followed till I reached their house at a short distance from the town. I entered it after them. With an expression of mild benignity, one of them inquired my business. "I wish to learn your language", was my answer. The strangers proved to be two devoted, pious missionaries, the Rev. Isaac Bird, and the Rev. William Goodell, of the American Board of Mission. Good and ever kind Mr. Bird told me to come on the morrow, and bring some of my friends with me, and he would teach me.²

The scenario that an Antiochian Orthodox boy from Beirut would pursue into their house two American missionaries for their knowledge of the Italian language presents us with an enlightening view of the initial encounters between American missionaries and the residents of Ottoman Syria during the early 19th century. The presumed language of instruction (Italian), the location of study (the home), and the agent responsible for initiating contact (a young boy), force us to reconsider our understanding of missionary activities and the development of modern education in Ottoman Syria/Mandate Lebanon.³

¹ Assaad Y. Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon, With the Life and Travels of Assaad Y. Kayat*, London: Madden & Co. 1847, 14–41. For bibliographical citations, I uphold the spelling of As'ad Y. Khayyāt as "Assaad Y. Kayat" as found in the original publication.

² Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 35.

³ This chapter draws upon a recent trend within Ottoman Studies to explore students' perspectives of schools in developing a more well-rounded and complex analysis of the emergence and functioning of educational institutions. See Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002; Benjamin C. Fortna, "Out of Empire: Education and Change in the Late Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Periods", keynote lecture, *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?*, Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 19 April 2012; Chris Gratien, "Letters from Ottoman Students and Alternative Histories of Education", *Tozsuz Evrak* (25 November 2012), <http://www.docblog.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2012/11/muslim-education-ottoman-empire-students.html> (accessed 13 November 2013).

Foreign missionaries have often been designated by scholars as important agents in introducing and encouraging the development of modern education in the Middle East. Scholars have argued that educational activities were channels through which missionaries implemented pre-planned projects of colonial control and manipulation.⁴ The missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), those pursued by As'ad Khayyāṭ and discussed in this paper, are identified as founders of important institutions of modern education in Ottoman Syria. These included schools for girls such as the American School for Girls (a forerunner of the Lebanese American University), institutions of higher education such as the Syrian Protestant College (now the American University of Beirut), and presses and literacy societies that encouraged the Arabic literary revival (the *Nahḍah*) of the 19th century.⁵ In such works, the American missionaries are presented as the active agents in the encounter, paving a way for modernity in the Middle East and carving a path for American political investment in the region.⁶

While upholding this missionary-education association, other scholars have challenged the idea of a unidirectional development of modern education in the region. Some have illuminated the important role played by the local community, both Protestant converts and others, in shaping the missionaries' evangelical and educational activities, through their demands for schools, provision of space for classes, and service as teachers.⁷ Others have argued that the pursuit of education, as a medium for evangelism, resulted from the missionaries' exploratory and experimental trials in the region, from which they concluded that education functioned as a better channel of communication with the local population than direct proselytization.⁸ These studies suggest that the ABCFM missionaries initially

⁴ Brian Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools: Case Studies from the British Empire*, London: Routledge and K. Paul 1967.

⁵ George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*, London: Hamish Hamilton 1945; Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, *American Missions in Syria: A Study of American Missionary Contributions to Arab Nationalism in 19th Century Syria*, Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books 1990.

⁶ Joseph L. Grabill, "Missionary Influence on American Relations with the Near East, 1914–1923 (I)", *The Muslim World* 58: 1 (1968), 43–56; Joseph L. Grabill, "Missionary Influence on American Relations with the Near East, 1914–1923 (Conclusions)", *The Muslim World* 58: 2 (1968), 141–154; Ussama Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S.–Arab Relations: 1820–2001*, New York: Public Affairs 2010.

⁷ Jean Said Makdisi, *Teta, Mother and Me: An Arab Woman's Memoir*, London: Saqi 2005, 152; Deanna Ferree Womack, *Conversion, Controversy, and Cultural Production: Syrian Protestants, American Missionaries, and the Arabic Press, 1870–1915*, Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, PhD thesis 2015.

⁸ Mehmet Ali Doğan, "From New England into New Lands: The Beginning of a Long Story", in: *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, Mehmet A. Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey, eds., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 2011, 3–32; Cemal Yetkiner, "At the Center of the Debate: Bebek Seminary and the Educational Policy of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1840–1860)", in: *ibid.*, 63–83.

lacked a coherent educational policy and were essentially driven by direct engagement with the residents of Ottoman Syria. This is done by illuminating the missionaries' relative lack of control over the encounter and emphasizing the impact of Syrians in shaping the development of modern education.

This chapter will support the latter argument by exploring the early educational activities of the ABCFM missionaries with residents of Ottoman Beirut from the missionaries' settlement in the city in 1823 until 1860.⁹ Their work with two students, As'ad Khayyāt and Raḥīl 'Atā', will be considered specifically.¹⁰ While the experiences of these students were unique and in many ways exceptional, their educational encounters allow an assessment of the culture of education then functioning in Ottoman Beirut, as reflective of the larger Syrian region, and the position of the American missionaries within it. In this analysis, I argue that the initial phase of the ABCFM's mission was one of experimentation, exploration, and adaptation. Far from promoting a coherent vision of "modern education", the American missionaries employed a variety of pedagogical techniques that responded to the demands of their local counterparts. Their approach not only drew upon their own diverse educational experiences, but also resonated with established perceptions of education prevalent in Ottoman Syria. While it is unclear if the missionaries were aware of these commonalities, it can be argued that it was from this framework that the students and their parents viewed the missionaries' services: as new providers of established, emerging, and desired educational opportunities. Thus, the modern education that is often associated with the ABCFM missionaries developed as innovative adaptations of established practices that responded to both the foreign Americans, and local Ottoman Syrians' needs, experiences, and expectations. It was thus through these, alongside other contemporary

⁹ Whereas the first ABCFM missionaries were sent to the Middle East in 1819, a permanent station at Beirut was only founded in 1823. The year 1860 was a significant turning point for the ABCFM missionaries. The civil unrest in Mount Lebanon and Damascus resulted in intra-regional migration that altered mission operations and prompted direct Ottoman intervention and oversight of the region. More problematic for the ABCFM missionaries were the responses of "other" European and American missionaries to the crises, whose efforts are discussed in other chapters of this book. Due to this increased "competition" in the region, as well as to reductions of funding from the United States, the ABCFM withdrew from Syria in 1870 and transferred the Syria Mission to the Foreign Board of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. For an overview of the Syria Mission under both ABCFM and PCUSA see Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria: 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Works*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1966. For a study of the PCUSA's work at the Syria Mission from 1870 to 1914, see Womack, *Conversion, Controversy, and Cultural Production*.

¹⁰ An earlier version of this chapter included an analysis of a third student, Charles Smith, the child of ABCFM missionaries Eli and Maria Smith, and was presented at the conference *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?*, Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 19 April 2012.

educational endeavors, that modern education in Ottoman Syria/Mandate Lebanon emerged.¹¹

Before commencing this analysis, it is essential to outline my use of the terms “education” and “modern education”. The term “education” is defined as the transference of knowledge from one holding expertise to another. This is not bound to a specific location as it can occur at a formal institution of study (i.e. schools, universities), the location of trade (i.e. markets, workshop), religious institutions, at the home, in a public square, etc. Education, in this chapter, is held distinct from “schooling”, which relates to the process of learning within a specific setting: the school building or classroom. While schooling is often studied in relation to its development in Europe and the United States,¹² it is important to recall the long history of the *kuttāb* (pl. *katātīb*) and *madrasab* (pl. *madāris*),¹³ as well as the development of schools associated with churches and monasteries in the Middle East¹⁴ in order to grasp the full historical and cultural contexts from which “modern education” emerged in Ottoman Syria.¹⁵ Accordingly, modern education in this paper refers to a specific form and period of educational history, when education and schooling converged within specific guidelines and formats that included a formalized relation between student and teacher, defined hours of study, and the structured use of the school building/classroom. This chapter introduces

¹¹ The aim of this volume is to highlight the different paths that led to the emergence and manifestation of modern education in Ottoman Syria/Mandate Lebanon. This chapter is to be read as one of those paths, alongside and in conversation with the other chapters.

¹² For example, see the collections in Gary McCulloch, ed., *The Routledge Falmer Reader in History of Education*, Oxon: Routledge 2005; Thomas S. Popkewitz, Barry M. Franklin and Miguel A. Pereyra, eds., *Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling: Cultural History and Education*, London: Routledge 2001.

¹³ See Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994; Jonathan Berkey, “‘Silver Threads among the Coals’: A Well-Educated Mamluk of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century”, *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991), 109–125; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge: A Social History of Islamic Education*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1992; Hatim Mahamid, “Curriculum and Educational Process in Mamluk Madrasas”, *Educational Research Journal* 1: 7 (2011), 141–151; Steve Tamari, “Ottoman Madrasas: The Multiple Lives of Educational Institutions in Eighteenth-Century Syria”, *Journal of Early Modern History* (2001), 99–127; Nadia Maria el-Cheikh, “Observations on Women’s Education in Medieval Islamic Societies”, in: *Enfance et jeunesse dans le monde musulman/Childhood and Youth in the Muslim World*, François Georjeon and Klaus Kreiser, eds., Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose 2007, 57–72.

¹⁴ Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme Catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, Rome: École Française de Rome 1994, 405–478; Carsten-Michael Walbiner, “Monastic Reading and Learning in Eighteenth-Century Bilad al-Sham: Some Evidence From the Monastery of Al-Suwayr (Mount Lebanon)”, *Arabica* 51: 4 (2004), 462–477.

¹⁵ While Schumann recognizes this shared educational history, his study concentrates on the institutional history of education (what I call “schooling”), not on the broader concept of “education”. Christoph Schumann, “The Generation of Broad Expectations: Nationalism, Education, and Autobiography in Syria and Lebanon, 1930–1958”, *Die Welt des Islams* 41: 20 (2001), 174–205.

one path towards the emergence of modern education in Ottoman Syria, but I will refrain from labelling its forerunners as “traditional” or “pre-modern” in order to challenge binary essentialisms that obscure the complex and multivariate nature of modernity and its development.

I employ the phrase “educational encounter” to describe the activities that brought the ABCFM missionaries and residents of Ottoman Syria into contact with each other. In contrast to the terms “education” or “schooling”, “educational encounter” emphasizes the exploratory nature of these relationships and stresses the malleable nature of the exchange. The type, location, and means of education varied due to the limited options available to the missionaries and the specific demands voiced by students and their parents. The phrase “educational encounter” grants agency to all involved, for even if an imbalanced dynamic of power defined the relations amongst the teachers, students, and parents, they all played an important role in shaping the encounter and the nature of educational development.

The educational encounters analyzed in this chapter reflect the context of the early 19th century and focus on the exchanges when the ABCFM missionaries served as teachers to students from and living in Ottoman Syria,¹⁶ specifically Beirut and its immediate hinterlands.¹⁷ For their work, the American missionaries drew upon their diverse experiences of education in the antebellum United States.¹⁸ As free, public elementary education did not gain popularity in the United States until after the 1840s,¹⁹ the elementary level education of the male missionaries varied, even if all received training at established seminaries and colleges.²⁰ Their female colleagues also pursued the breadth of academic options available to American women at the time: private tutorials, local “common schools”, and secondary schools, but were denied entry to tertiary-level institutions.²¹

¹⁶ In other circumstances, Syrians served as teachers for missionaries and at Protestant schools. The impact of these teachers on developing modern education deserves a full study of its own.

¹⁷ This study focuses on the “Syrian Mission” of the ABCFM, which worked as far north as Aleppo and as far south as Jerusalem during this period (1823–1860). Much of their work was concentrated around Beirut, but important stations and out stations were established in al-Shūf, Tripoli, and Sidon.

¹⁸ For an interesting, comparable study on the experimental and multifaceted development of schools in the United States during the turn of the 19th century, see Kim Trolley, “The Rise of the Academies: Continuity or Change?”, *History of Education Quarterly* 41: 2 (2001), 225–239.

¹⁹ Geraldine Joncich Clifford, “Home and School in 19th Century America: Some Personal-History Reports from the United States”, *History of Education Quarterly* 18: 1 (1978): 3–34; Maris A. Vinovskis, “Family and Schooling in Colonial and Nineteenth-Century American”, *Journal of Family History* 12: 1 (1987), 19–37.

²⁰ See, for instance, the biographies of Eli Smith and Daniel Bliss. Margaret Leavy, “The Making of a Missionary: Eli Smith at Yale, 1817–1821”, *Journal of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 41: 2 (1995), 20–37; Daniel Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Edited and Supplemented by his Eldest Son*, New York et al.: Fleming H. Revell Company 1920, 26–48.

²¹ In this case, seminary refers to secondary school, not its current use of an institute for theological training. See Edward W. Hooker, *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, Late of the*

Within the Ottoman Syrian region, the Muslim majority population drew upon its long history of Islamic education, with the *katātīb* serving as a site of primary training in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the *madāris* for the secondary level training in Islamic jurisprudence and affiliated subjects.²² For Christian students, who were the main focus of the ABCFM missionaries' activities, tuition was occasionally provided by monks, nuns, and priests at churches and monasteries, particularly after the monastic revivals of the 17th and 18th centuries.²³ Private lessons and tutorials were pursued by individuals from all religious communities, especially when schools were unavailable or inaccessible due to gender, location, or financial constraints.²⁴ Apprenticeships were common channels through which education, mostly technical and not necessarily academic, was transferred.²⁵ It was from this diverse educational milieu that Syrian students encountered the American missionaries.

The locations of the following educational encounters will be considered specifically in this study. While the formal classroom and school building are essential elements of modern education, most of the encounters that will be discussed took place within the home. The use of domestic space for academic training was common to the educational practices in both the United States and Ottoman Syria. The use of the home for educational services by the missionaries was partially due to the constraints placed upon the missionaries as foreigners in the Ottoman Empire. Unable to purchase land, the missionaries employed their buildings as multipurpose spaces, conflating familial (private) with evangelical and educational (public) activities, which occasionally resulted in intimate/familial rela-

Mission in Syria, 2nd edition, Boston: Perkins & Marvin 1840, 11–14 (hereafter Hooker, *Memoir* [1840]); Loanza Goulding Benton, *A Diary and Some Reminiscences of Loanza Goulding Benton: Mrs. William Austin Benton Missionary to Syria: 1847–1869*, n.d., 3, unpublished memoir, Box 5, Folder 56, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Religion Collection, Smith College; “Study Timetable addressed ‘To Miss H. Butler’”, n.d., Box 3, Folder 9, Group 124, Eli Smith Papers, Special Collections, Yale University Divinity School Library (hereafter ES-YDS).

²² For a general introduction to these forms of education and their curriculum during the Mamluk period, see Mahmid, “Curriculum and Educational Process”, and Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*.

²³ See Walbiner, “Monastic Reading”; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 405–478; Bernard Heyberger, *Hindiyya, Mystic and Criminal, 1720–1798: A Political and Religious Crisis in Lebanon*, Cambridge: James Clarke 2013, 25–36; Akram Fouad Khater, *Embracing the Divine: Passion and Politics in the Christian Middle East*, Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press 2011, 36; Richard van Leeuwen, “Missionaries and Maronites in ‘Ayn Ṭūrâ”, in: *Eastward Bound: Dutch Venturers and Adventurers in the Middle East*, Geert Jan van Gelder and Ed de Moor, eds., Amsterdam: Rodopi 1994, 114–129.

²⁴ Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 18; Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 70.

²⁵ Philippe Fargues, “Family and Household in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cairo”, in: *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property and Gender*, Beshara Doumani, ed., Albany: State University of New York Press 2003, 23–50; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “The Economic Organization of Cities in Ottoman Syria”, in: *The Urban Social History of the Middle East, 1750–1950*, Peter Sluglett, ed., Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 2008, 108, 120.

tions between teacher and student.²⁶ The missionaries' flexible use of domestic space reveals the experimental nature of their early encounters, which both harkened back to their own experiences in the United States as well as address the constraints of their new Ottoman context, from which they gradually developed of a modern educational policy.

As'ad Khayyāt and the Paths towards Vocational Expertise

The first educational encounter presented in this study is that of As'ad Khayyāt. Already introduced at the beginning of this chapter, As'ad was born in 1811 to a family of polyglots and translators, who were members of the Antiochian Orthodox Church and middle-class residents of Beirut.²⁷ For As'ad and his family, languages served as a professional occupation so that his educational training combined the academic study of languages with the pursuit of vocational expertise.²⁸

As'ad's educational-vocational training commenced at the age of five, when a tobacconist was chosen to teach As'ad the Arabic language. Echoing the common practice of apprenticeship,²⁹ As'ad resided at the tobacconist's home and assisted in the daily chores of the tobacconist's family. Accordingly, he was initially taught the tools of the tobacco trade. It was only after his complaint that he was learning the wrong skill that the tobacconist began to impart to the young As'ad his auxiliary expertise: the ability to write Arabic.³⁰

An outbreak of the plague disrupted As'ad's residency with the tobacconist, but not his study of Arabic. Quarantine was spent at the Khayyāt household, where As'ad's uncle Yūsuf taught him how to read the Bible and the Orthodox

²⁶ See Christine Lindner, "The Flexibility of Home: Home and Family as Employed by the Missionaries in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860", in: *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, Mehmet A. Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey, eds., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 2011, 33–62. It is important to note that, during the late 19th century, the Protestant missionaries' use of domestic space for educational and religious activities was specifically criticized by the Ottoman authorities, which prompted an increase in Ottoman monitoring and regulation of mission institutions. See Emra Sahin, *Responding to American Missionary Expansion: An Examination of Ottoman Imperial Statecraft, 1880–1910*, Montréal: McGill University, PhD thesis 2011, especially chapter 2.

²⁷ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 14, 19, 23.

²⁸ As'ad Khayyāt has been the subject of two short studies: Kamal S. Salibi, "The Two Worlds of Assaad Y. Kayat", in: *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society: Volume II: The Arabic-Speaking Lands*, Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., New York and London: Holmes & Meier 1982, 135–158, and the section entitled "Note on Consul Kayat, British Consul in Jaffa" in: Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine: 1800–1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1961, 142–147.

²⁹ Fargues, "Family and Household in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cairo"; Rafeq, "The Economic Organization".

³⁰ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 17–18.

ecclesiastical texts owned by the family.³¹ For a brief period following the break of quarantine, As'ad returned to the tobacconist's workshop/home/school, where he served as an Arabic tutor to other student-residents,³² revealing yet another area through which As'ad's educational training blurred the boundaries associated with modern education: that separating teacher and student.

As'ad continued his training with the study of the Greek language, an important skill for his religious community.³³ A deacon from the island of Patmos was hired to instruct him and the nephew of the Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut in the language. The location of tuition is unknown, but not the methods of teaching. Being ignorant of Arabic, the deacon employed a variety of pedagogical techniques to teach his two students, often resorting to physical demonstration of verbs to convey their meaning.³⁴

After Greek, As'ad chose to study Italian, for this was the regional trade language at the time. His first attempts to study the language with merchants failed.³⁵ Next, he secured instruction from an Italian Capuchin monk living in a Beirut convent.³⁶ Despite the success of this tandem exchange, when As'ad taught the monk Arabic and the monk taught As'ad Italian, ecclesiastical conflicts and the proselytization efforts of the monk resulted in As'ad's departure.³⁷

Unsure of where and with whom to continue his study of Italian, As'ad later reflected that "Providence afforded me the means of gratifying my wish."³⁸ Seeing two strangers and presuming them to be foreigners and knowledgeable of Italian, As'ad followed them to inquire if they would teach him his desired language. These strangers were Isaac Bird and William Goodell, two early missionaries of the ABCFM and recent arrivals to Beirut.³⁹ Luckily for As'ad, the missionaries had recognized the regional use of Italian and studied it as a tool for

³¹ Ibid., 19–20.

³² Ibid., 21–23.

³³ Modern education in Arabic played a key role in the Arabization of the Antiochian Church and in the conflict that erupted during the late 19th century between the Greek-speaking hierarchy and the Arabic laity and clergy. See Slim's contribution to this volume.

³⁴ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 25–29.

³⁵ Ibid., 33–34.

³⁶ For a history of Capuchin work in Ottoman Syria see Salim Daccache, "Catholic Missions in the Middle East", in: *Christianity: A History in the Middle East*, Habib Badr, Souad Slim, and Joseph Abou Nohra, eds., Beirut: Middle East Council of Churches 2005, 687–712; L. Hess, "Capuchin Friars Minor", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: Robert Appleton Company 1908, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03320b.htm> (accessed 26 September 2012).

³⁷ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 35.

³⁸ Ibid..

³⁹ For more on Goodell and Bird's work see Edward Dorr Griffin Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire. Or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, New York: Robert Carter and Brothers 1876; Isaac Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands: Or, Events in the History of the Syria Mission*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication 1872; Dogan, "From New England into New Lands", 3–32.

evangelism.⁴⁰ Agreeing to his request, Isaac Bird commenced Italian instruction for As'ad and other students of varying ages.⁴¹ In addition to Italian, As'ad studied English with the missionaries Pliny Fisk and William Goodell, as well as with Mrs. Farren,⁴² the wife of his later employer, the British Consul-General.⁴³ He studied Armenian and Turkish under Dīyūnisūs Karābāt and a certain “Mr. Stephan”,⁴⁴ two early Protestants converts from the Armenian Church, while refining his Arabic grammar with As'ad Shidyāq,⁴⁵ another convert but from the Maronite church.⁴⁶ These lessons took place during his daily visits to William Goodell's home, although an attack on Beirut in 1826 resulted in As'ad's temporary residence in the missionary's house, as his parents had fled to the mountain for safety.⁴⁷ As'ad concluded his studies with the missionaries soon after, when he pursued full-time employment as a translator and merchant, and the temporary removal of the American missionaries from Beirut to Malta due to regional unrest.⁴⁸

As'ad's educational encounters reveal a number of important elements of the educational culture of Ottoman Syria during the early 19th century that served as the framework in which students and parents initially viewed the services of the ABCFM missionaries. Firstly, educational training was essentially linked to voca-

⁴⁰ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches: In Two Volumes*, Boston: Congregational Publishing Society 1872, 41.

⁴¹ The Annual Report of ABCFM's Syria Mission for 1830 states that Isaac Bird taught Italian and Arabic at his house. See Isaac Bird and George Whiting to Jeremiah Evert [Annual Report: 1830], Beirut, January 1831, microfilm, Reel 537, Syrian Mission (ABC 16.8.1), Near East Unit 5: The Near East, 1817–1919, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter ABCFM Reel 537).

⁴² No record of her first name could be found.

⁴³ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 62–82. John W.P. Farren served as British Consul-General in Damascus from 1830 until 1837. However, he resided in Beirut from 1830 to 1834 and in Damascus only from 1834 to 1837. We can assume that Assad's tenure was during the earlier period. See also Nicolas P. Cushner, “British Consular Dispatches and the Philippine Independence Movement, 1872–1901”, *Philippine Studies*, 16: 3 (1968), 501 note 1.

⁴⁴ No further information has been ascertained about this individual from outside sources.

⁴⁵ For more on As'ad Shidyāq, his relationship with the Maronite Church and with the ABCFM missionaries see Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 2008.

⁴⁶ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 35–39.

⁴⁷ This was the infamous attack on Beirut by “Greek” ships and subsequent looting by irregular troops hired by the Ottoman government during the period of the Greek War of Independence. Goodell's house was itself attacked and plundered by the irregular troops in a story retold by missionaries and As'ad. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 89–92; Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands*, 197–206; Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 36–37.

⁴⁸ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 41. As'ad is neither mentioned in Goodell's nor in Bird's versions of this event, which prompts questions about the validity of As'ad's account and his motive for including himself into the narrative to an English audience. Curiously, Cornelius Van Dyck wrote that As'ad studied under another American missionary, George Whiting. Cornelius Van Dyck, *Reminiscences of the Syria Mission from 1839 to 1850*, n.s., [1890], 14, manuscript typescript carbon copy, N.E.S.T. Special Collections, Near East School of Theology.

tional skill. For As'ad, this was language expertise. Instruction was both offered and pursued with a professional goal in mind, and occasionally resulted in mistaken skill development, as seen with the tobacconist. While his talents lay in his mastery of languages, As'ad also revealed a personal proclivity for engaging with foreigners, particularly with those who could aid him in his pursuit of this vocational goal. It is important to recognize that As'ad's educational encounters with foreigners preceded his exchange with the ABCFM missionaries. It was As'ad's ability to navigate the different linguistic channels available and emerging in Beirut, as a means to develop his vocational skills, which made his pursuit of the American missionaries and of their linguistic expertise possible.

Secondly, diverse techniques were employed for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge. As'ad's education included rote memorization of verb forms, physical demonstrations of word meanings, oral recitation of text (often without understanding of meaning), and tandem language exchange. As diverse teaching methodologies have been identified for educational instruction in the Middle East during earlier periods,⁴⁹ adaptability and experimentation can be regarded as characteristics of indigenous pedagogical techniques.

'Diverse' also describes the individuals who taught in Ottoman Syria during the early 19th century. In As'ad's case, the teachers included local residents of Beirut from different social and vocational backgrounds (the tobacconist, As'ad's uncle, the merchants), regional immigrants to the city (As'ad Shidyāq, Diyūnisūs Karābāt, "Mr. Stephan"), foreign long-term residents of the city (the Capuchin monk), and newly arrived foreigners (the ABCFM missionaries and Mrs. Farren). This assortment of instructors suggests that in the early 19th century, teaching was not considered a distinct profession, but rather a practice that could be performed by a variety of individuals with divergent skills.⁵⁰ As'ad himself eventually demonstrated this characteristic by establishing a school in Beirut in 1840 and training students as apprentices within his home, while continuing his work as translator and merchant.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Tibawi describes the teaching styles during the Abbasid period (8th to 13th centuries) as diverse, while Mahamid recognizes a similar trait in the *madāris* of Gaza during the Mamluk period (13th to 15th centuries). See Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems*, London: Luzac 1972, 23–34; Mahamid, "Curriculum and Educational Process", 148. Also see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, especially chapter 2.

⁵⁰ This contrasts with both the earlier period, for which teaching formed a profession within Islamic higher education, as well as later periods, when certificates in teaching were required by the Ottoman and Mandate governments. For the teaching profession in the Islamic tradition, see Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003, 224; el-Cheikh, "Women's Education in Medieval Islamic Societies", 58–61. For an analysis and an example of teaching certificates during the late 19th century, see Christine B. Lindner, "Labiba Kurani's Teaching Certificate (1887): Quick Studies of Protestant Heritage in the Middle East", *Theological Review of the Near East School of Theology* 34: 2 (2014), 126–131.

⁵¹ Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 211, 214.

One other important element of As'ad's educational training was that it was not determined by calendar-based deadlines or fixed terms, but rather by his ability to achieve the desired level of knowledge or skill. As'ad's curriculum was individually tailored to his abilities, but was also influenced by external forces, such as war and plague.⁵² Although occasionally suffering delays, tuition ended only when the student mastered the desired skill, although how that achievement was recognized during this period is unclear.⁵³

Finally, the location for education was, in most cases, the home or residency of the teacher. In As'ad's case, this included the tobacconist's work/home space, the Khayyāt household during quarantine, the monk's convent, and the ABCFM's multifunctional house.

Together, these elements demonstrate the flexibility, adaptability and individualization of education in Ottoman Beirut during the early 19th century.⁵⁴ In this process, the agency asserted by the student was significant and noteworthy. It was the demand of As'ad (and his parents) that forged these diverse educational encounters. In contrast, it was the ability and willingness of his ABCFM missionary teachers to respond to these demands that shaped the mission's earliest educational encounters in the region.

Rahīl 'Atā' and the Redefining of Educational Paths

The second educational encounter of this study occurred between Raḥīl 'Atā' and the ABCFM missionaries. Born in 1826 also to an Antiochian Orthodox family in Beirut, Raḥīl's experiences with the ABCFM missionaries and of education differed from that of As'ad.

Very little is known about Raḥīl, for she did not leave a memoir to reveal her thoughts on her educational encounter, as was the case with As'ad.⁵⁵ Only one cross-stitched sampler created by Raḥīl as a student has survived to be analyzed

⁵² Heyberger also emphasizes the frequent disruptions of Latin-Uniate Schools during the 18th century. Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 458.

⁵³ For advanced Islamic scholars in the Middle Ages, studies focused on achieving an *ijāza*, a certificate indicating knowledge of a particular text that was studied with a specific teacher, whereas the completion of a level within modern education is marked by passing an examination, whether written or oral. See Berkey, *The Formation of Islam*, 225; Naim Atiyeh, "The Development of Education in Lebanon", in: *Cultural Resources in Lebanon*, Beirut: Beirut College for Women 1969, 198–215; Nadya Jeanne Sbaiti, *Lessons in History: Education and the Formation of National Society in Beirut, Lebanon, 1920–1960s*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University, PhD thesis 2008, especially chapter five.

⁵⁴ Compare to a description of Medieval Islamic education, which was described as "fundamentally informal, flexible, and tied to persons rather than institutions", in Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 18.

⁵⁵ I have attempted to overcome these limitations in my chapter "Raḥīl Ata al-Bustani: Wife and Mother of the Nahda", in: *Butrus al-Bustani: Patriot, Educator, Polymath*, Adel Beshara, ed., Beirut and Melbourne: iPhoenix Publishing 2014, 49–67.

as an artefact of her experiences.⁵⁶ Accordingly, the majority of information regarding her education comes from the pens of her missionary-teachers, particularly that of her primary teacher Sarah Smith.⁵⁷ These will be employed, recognizing the limitations and distortions that these sources present.

By the time of Raḥīl's encounter, the education offered by the missionaries was becoming distinct from the educational services in Beirut through a process of formalization and institutionalization.⁵⁸ By the mid-1830s, the missionaries had established "day schools" where regular lessons were taught within designated spaces and free from tuition. They also arranged "boarding schools" within missionary households for students to refine their basic skills under the direct instruction of a missionary-teacher. Since both of these innovations played central roles in Raḥīl's encounter, they will be discussed separately in this section, as two paths towards a modern education.

Day Schools

To the best of our knowledge, Raḥīl 'Aṭā's educational encounter with the ABCFM missionaries commenced with her attendance of one of their day schools. Day schools (also called "common schools") developed due to pragmatic necessity. The first day school sprung from lessons taught to the missionaries' own children, which drew the attention of their Arab neighbors.⁵⁹ As interest and demand in "a free school established by strangers" spread, local Syrian teachers were hired to educate additional Syrian children for a few hours each day.⁶⁰ Lessons took place in rooms and courtyard gardens within the homes of the missionaries and Syrian teachers.⁶¹ Basic literacy was the focus of instruction, with more subjects added over time. The subjects offered at the day school that Raḥīl attended in 1835 included spelling, geography, arithmetic, the Bible, English, and "sacred music".⁶²

⁵⁶ Raḥīl 'Aṭā', "Sampler", [Beirut], 1838, Daughters of the Republic Faith Trumbull Museum, Norwich, Connecticut.

⁵⁷ For more on Sarah Smith see Christine B. Lindner, "Long, long will she be affectionately remembered?: Gender and the Memorialization of an American Female Missionary", *Mission and Social Sciences* 23: 1 (2010), 7–31.

⁵⁸ In this, the ABCFM mission paralleled the process of formalization within the Maronite community during the 18th century, which resulted in the founding of institutions of higher education at 'Ayn Ṭūrā in 1734 and 'Ayn Warāq in 1789. While this parallel is highlighted in Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 75–84, a more thorough analysis of the comparative relations between Maronite and Latin missions with Arab-Armenian Protestants and the Americans' missions is needed. For more on the Maronite institutions see van Leeuwen, "Missionaries and Maronites in 'Ayn Ṭūrā"; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, 405–478.

⁵⁹ *Missionary Herald* 21: 9 (1825), 271–272; *Missionary Herald* 30: 4 (1834), 127–128.

⁶⁰ *Missionary Herald* (1825), 271–272; Anderson, *History of the Missions*, 44.

⁶¹ *Missionary Herald* (1825), 271–272.

⁶² Eli Smith in Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 377.

The gathering of young children for educational instruction in basic literacy was not a concept introduced to the region by the ABCFM missionaries. As noted above, within Muslim communities, the *kuttāb* had long served as an educational space for young children,⁶³ while some Christian communities organized schools for children, such as those run by Latin-rite women in Aleppo during the late 17th century.⁶⁴ Closer to Raḥīl's encounter, As'ad Khayyāt studied with a group of children at the house of the tobacconist. Thus the practice of gathering the young for collective education was a feature of the educational culture indigenous to the region.

Originally, the ABCFM missionaries' day schools were co-educational, but in 1833 an "experiment" was pursued to create an exclusively "Girls' School".⁶⁵ Missionaries Eliza Thomson and Martha Dodge gathered some of the girls who were studying at the various day schools in Beirut into a separate class for girls.⁶⁶ The newly arrived missionary Sarah Smith assisted in teaching, and in 1834 became its primary teacher, aided by Sūzān Wartabāt, a Protestant convert with a Greek Catholic background. Two of Sarah's strongest contributions were to regulate class sessions and formalize lesson plans. The following year saw the arrival of Rebecca Williams, whose charge from the ABCFM was to manage the Girls' School with the assistance of Sarah and Sūzān.⁶⁷ The specific date of her commencement remains unclear, but Raḥīl began her studies at the Girls' School in either 1833 or 1834 at the age of seven or eight.

While the Girls' School was not the first school for girls in the region,⁶⁸ it was set apart from others by its free tuition and its location. At its start, lessons for girls were held in Eliza Thomson's room or the multifunctional garden of the Mission House,⁶⁹ which was the central location for the Americans' mission work

⁶³ Mahamid, "Curriculum and Educational Process", 145.

⁶⁴ Khater, *Embracing the Divine*, 36–37; Bernard Heyberger, "Individualism and Political Modernity: Devout Catholic Women in Aleppo and Lebanon Between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in: *Beyond the Exotic: Women's History in Islamic Societies*, Amira Sonbol, ed., Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 2005, 71–84.

⁶⁵ *Missionary Herald* 31: 3 (1835), 93.

⁶⁶ The following account is based on Eli Smith in Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 373–378, and Sarah Smith to Mrs. [Eliza] Anderson, Beirut, 11 April 1834, microfilm, ABCFM Reel 537.

⁶⁷ Eli Smith and William Thomson, "Annual Report 1835", n.s., 31 December 1835, microfilm, ABCFM Reel 537.

⁶⁸ The Girls' School has been problematically labelled "the first school for girls in the Ottoman Empire", just as Raḥīl has been mistakenly argued to be the first girl who was taught to read in Ottoman Syria. Ussama Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S.-Arab Relations: 1820–2001*, New York: Public Affairs 2010, 73; Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria: Volume I and II*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company 1910, 485. While found in earlier works, mistakes such as these appear regularly in Protestant publications in Lebanon and Syria following World War Two. One probable source for these mistakes is the memorial column described below.

⁶⁹ Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, 51. Each missionary unit (i.e. a couple, family, single person) was allocated a separate room within the shared missionary homes of the ABCFM's Syria Mission. In this case, Elizabeth Thomson's room indicates her and her husband's private

in Beirut. This resonated with the established practice of conflating home and educational spaces as it has been shown in regard to As'ad's encounter. However, in 1835 an important change took place as a classroom was erected on the Mission Compound for the specific purpose of female education. This was an important shift towards a modern education where educational activities are designated to a distinct space as opposed to employing multi-purposed rooms. The initiative was commemorated in a late 19th-century memorial column that was engraved: "site of the first edifice built in the Turkish Empire for a Girls' School-Erected in 1835 by Mrs. Tod, an English Lady of Alexandria for Mrs. Sarah L. Smith, its first teacher".⁷⁰ While possibly not recognizing the significance of this event, Raḥil identified it and stitched that her sampler was "wrought in the Bey-root [sic] Female School".⁷¹

Designating a space specifically for the education of girls was an important change in the educational experiments of the ABCFM missionaries. Educational services were initially pursued as introductory channels for the missionaries to connect with their neighbors, often in response to the demands voiced by the latter. Erecting a room specifically for educational purposes solidified the missionaries' commitment to this medium of encounter, even if its intent and role, as either auxiliary or central to evangelism, was debated amongst the missionaries and with their mission board in the United States.⁷² Furthermore, the construction of a space specifically for girls' education illuminates the missionaries' emerging perception on the necessity of women's education to reform society and increase the number of those (they believed to be) capable of true conversion.⁷³ The construction of the Girls' School room was thus a manifestation of both the missionaries' changing views on the role that education should play

room. For more on how these spaces were designated and used, see Lindner, "The Flexibility of Home".

⁷⁰ The column with this quote engraved on the base was erected in 1894 as a memorial to Raḥil, who is curiously absent in the memorial's text. Henry Harris Jessup, "Wafāt sayyidatayn fādilatayn", *al-Nashrah al-Ushū'iyyah*, (17 February 1894), 56. Only the column's base survives and is presently located on the site of the National Evangelical Church of Beirut.

⁷¹ Ata, "Sampler".

⁷² In 1836, a report on the Girls School argued that "we regard it [female education] as a most important branch of our missionary labour". "Report on the Female School", Beirut, 31 December 1836, microfilm, Reel 538, Syrian Mission (ABC 16.8.1), Near East Unit 5: The Near East, 1817-1919, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter ABCFM Reel 538). Compare to later arguments that positioned conversion, not education, as the sole objective of the mission. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Syrian Mission, Held in the September and October, 1855, on Occasion of the Visit of One of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Boston: T.R. Marvin 1856, 9.

⁷³ Henry DeForest, "Report on Education: Beirut Station", Beirut, 1850, Box 3, Folder 1, Reading Group 115, United Presbyterian Syrian Church in the U.S.A., Syria Mission, Records, 1808-1967, Presbyterian Historical Society. See Hauser's contribution in this volume for how this ideology was manifested in both foreign and local justifications for female education during the late 19th century.

within their evangelical agenda and an emerging perception on the gendering of conversion and social change.

As neither the views of Raḥīl nor those of her parents on her education are preserved in the historical records, we cannot analyze their thoughts on this development, even though Raḥīl identified the school in her sampler. However, some members of the early Syrian Protestant community did write about the education of women, including Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Raḥīl's future husband.⁷⁴ In his famous 1847 speech "Kḥiṭāb fi ta'lim al-nisā", Buṭrus argued that the education of women would benefit the women themselves, their husbands, families, and the world.⁷⁵ In a similar manner, As'ad Khayyāṭ emphasized the importance of women's education in a letter to the missionary Eli Smith in 1838 and in his 1847 memoirs, arguing that the education of women was essential for the proper development of their characters, through which they would positively influence their husbands and children.⁷⁶ Like the missionaries, Buṭrus and As'ad supported an increase in educational opportunities for girls in Ottoman Syria, not as an end in itself, but as an important means for the reformation of Arab society from within.⁷⁷

Despite the intent of the Girls' School room to carve a distinct space for female education, the room itself was located within the multifunctional Mission House where religious services were conducted, meetings held, and missionary families resided. Due to the limitations of space (and funds), the Girls' School room also served as the location for the "native female prayer meeting" and the children's Sabbath School, thus compromising its intended function as a distinct educational space.⁷⁸ Thus, the missionaries' experiment to provide a modern education for girls within a space specifically set aside for this purpose was compromised by the demands placed upon them and by the circumstances of their educational encounter.

⁷⁴ During the late 19th century, Syrian women employed the emerging periodical press to advocate for the education of women. On Greek Orthodox and Jewish women, see Quṣṭī's and Karam's contributions to this volume, respectively. On Protestant women see Deanna Ferree Womack and Christine B. Lindner, "'Pick up the Pearls of Knowledge and Adorn Ourselves with the Jewelry of Literature': An Analysis of Three Arab Women Writers in *al-Nasbra al-Uṣbu'īyya*", in: *Living Stones Yearbook 2014*, Colin South et al., eds., London: Living Stones of the Holy Land Trust 2014, 125–157.

⁷⁵ Buṭrus al-Bustānī, "Kḥiṭāb fi ta'lim al-nisā" [1849], in: *A'māl al-Jam'īyyah al-Sūriyyah*, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, ed., Beirut: American Mission Press 1852, 36–39. A full analysis of this text is presented in Nammour's contribution to this volume.

⁷⁶ Assaad Kayat to Eli Smith, Malta, 7 March 1838, ABC 60, Box 1, Folder 46, courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard University; Kayat, *A Voice from Lebanon*, 303–309.

⁷⁷ A similar argument was articulated by Syrian women, such as Astir [Esther] Azharī Mūyāl. See Karam's contribution to this volume.

⁷⁸ Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 287, 378–379. Stoddard presents a different interpretation, that the Girls School occupied a separate building on the Mission Compound. See Robert D. Stoddard Jr., *Sarab's Daughters: The Origin and Evolution of American Female Education in Syria/Lebanon – The Proud Legacy of Lebanese American University*, forthcoming.

Boarding School

Rahil's educational encounter with the ABCFM missionaries was not confined to the four walls of the Girls' School room. In 1835, she was selected by Sarah Smith to live as a boarding student and join the Smith household.⁷⁹ Under Sarah's stewardship, Rahil participated in family worship, was read to while preparing herself in the morning, and accompanied Sarah on evangelical visits.⁸⁰ After Sarah's departure (and subsequent death) in 1836, Rahil continued to reside with other ABCFM missionaries.⁸¹ This educational encounter was intimate and personal, for it blurred (or rather broke) the boundaries separating students from daughters and teachers from mothers.

At first glance, the experiment of taking boarding students into their households seems to contradict the missionaries' trend towards formalizing educational encounters through institutionalizing day schools. However, when seen against their own educational backgrounds, it becomes clear that boarding arrangements were viewed by the ABCFM missionaries as channels for the refinement of the students' knowledge and the culmination of their educational development. This mode of education was to set these students apart from those who attended day schools solely or who resided with the missionaries under different circumstances, such as temporary residence during a crisis, which led to less intimate relationships.⁸²

Many of the female ABCFM missionaries who operated boarding schools in Syria were former boarding school students themselves.⁸³ In the early 19th century, boarding schools, often referred to as "academies" or "seminaries", were important establishments of advanced education in the United States. For many men and women, they offered the highest level of education available, particularly as women were excluded from colleges.⁸⁴ While the curriculum was not

⁷⁹ Sarah intended to expand this school to include ten girls, but was prevented by her illness and death. Edward W. Hooker, *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, Late of the Mission in Syria*, 1st edition, London: The Religious Tract Society 1839, 219 (hereafter Hooker, *Memoir*, [1839]).

⁸⁰ Sarah Smith quoted in Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 233, 318; Eli Smith quoted in Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 318, 371–372.

⁸¹ Christine B. Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis 2009, 236.

⁸² Further research is needed to delineate the gendered implications of this distinction for it appears that male boarding students who were often educated in larger groups, developed less personal relationships with their teacher-parents than their female colleagues, who were educated in small "family" contexts. Conversely, educated women in Medieval Islamic society were prevented from developing the intimate bonds between teacher and student that defined male higher education during the period. El-Cheik, "Women's Education in Medieval Islamic Societies", 65–66.

⁸³ Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 18; Benton, *Diary*, 3; Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 62.

⁸⁴ Margaret A. Nash, "'Cultivating the Powers of Human Beings': Gendered Perspectives on Curricula and Pedagogy in Academies of the New Republic", *History of Education Quarterly* 41: 2 (2001), 240–241.

standardized, most seminaries offered tuition in “modern” subjects including higher level arithmetic, geography, history, natural sciences, modern and ancient languages, needlework, and music.⁸⁵

Drawing upon Sarah Smith’s own experiences, the education that Raḥil received in the Smith household was both formal and informal. Formally, Raḥil refined the academic knowledge that she obtained at the Girls’ School. Her competency in English improved, for it was the primary medium of communication with Sarah, who was not fluent in Arabic. Raḥil displayed this skill in her sampler, as the Arabic and English alphabets were stitched above an English verse.

Yet, it was her informal education that set Raḥil apart from those who only attended day schools. One of the goals of American boarding schools, both in the United States and in Ottoman Syria, was to teach young women how to apply their modern academic knowledge to their daily lives. This skill, known as “Domestic Economy”, was promoted to justify higher education for women in the United States.⁸⁶ It was the mastery of Domestic Economy that Sarah sought to instil in Raḥil. Accordingly, Raḥil was taught to never be idle, but to use each minute studying, evangelizing, maintaining correspondences, etc.⁸⁷ As a married adult, Raḥil won praise from both American and Arab audiences for her performance of Domestic Economy, particularly in her role as the matron of *al-Madrasah al-Waṭaniyyah* that was founded by her husband Buṭrus in 1863.⁸⁸ Notably, this skill was also promoted by the advocates of female education in Ottoman Syria, including Buṭrus al-Bustani, in their justifications for women’s education in the region.⁸⁹

The Sarah-Raḥil boarding school was not the only experiment of this kind by the ABCFM missionaries. During the mid-1830s, Matilda Whiting gathered five girls for her “Family School” in Jerusalem, just as the “Seminary” at the Mission House in Beirut hosted a number of boys from the small Protestant community.⁹⁰ While the male venture followed its own trajectory,⁹¹ it was the Sarah-Raḥil board-

⁸⁵ Nash, “Cultivating”; Trolley, “The Rise of the Academies”.

⁸⁶ Catharine E. Beecher, *Treatise on Domestic Economy, For the use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School*, Revised Edition, New York: Harper and Brothers 1854. This was also promoted in contemporary Europe. See Hauser’s contribution in this volume.

⁸⁷ Hooker, *Memoir* [1840], 368.

⁸⁸ Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, 120–149; Marylin Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 2001, 135–136; Lindner, “Raḥil Ata al-Bustani”.

⁸⁹ Bustāni, “Kḥiṭāb”, 33–35. Also see Hauser’s and Nammour’s contributions to this volume.

⁹⁰ A description of her school, including letters by three of the students, was included in Henry Harris Jessup, *The Women of the Arabs: With a Chapter for Children*, C. S. Robinson and Isaac Riley, eds., New York: Dodd & Mead, Publishers 1873, 57–72. For a description of the (boy’s) Seminary by one of its student see Gregory Wortabet, *Syria, and the Syrians; or, Turkey in the Dependencies. Volume I and II*, London: James Madden 1856, 68–72.

⁹¹ See George F. Sabra, *Truth and Service: A History of the Near East School of Theology*, Beirut: Librarie Antoine S.A.L. 2009.

ing school, rather than the Whiting Family School, that served as a model for subsequent female boarding schools. In 1844, a report entitled “Native Girls under Instruction in the Mission Families” was sent from Beirut to Boston outlining the missionaries’ commitment to this medium of educational encounter. The Sarah-Rahîl arrangement served as a clear, although unnamed influence on this new policy in terms of the age of student, focus on Domestic Economy, and the intended relationship between teacher and student, with the latter occupying the “middle position, between the rank of servants and that of children”.⁹² Noticeably, this quote was a slight modification of Eli Smith’s reflection on the Sarah-Rahîl relationship.⁹³

The DeForest Female Seminary,⁹⁴ which operated between 1847 and 1852, formalized this educational model further by having the students maintain a structured day of academic training, with the evenings spent in family fellowship at the DeForest’s residency in the Mission House.⁹⁵ Like its predecessor, the stated aim of the DeForest school was “to train up these girls to be industrious and neat housewives, not learned but not ignorant women, sensible, practical characters, who shall hereafter, if God bless them with His Spirit be godly mothers of well ordered families.”⁹⁶ The DeForest Female Seminary was regarded as the pinnacle of female higher education in Ottoman Syria at its time, with Rahîl’s own daughter Sârah attending as a student.⁹⁷ It eventually evolved into the American School for Girls, a well-known institution of modern education for girls in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁹⁸ Thus, American boarding school experiments provided students with a new level (and definition) of educational achievement as well as a lens through which to (re)define educated womanhood.

⁹² George B. Whiting, “Native Girls Under Instruction in the Mission Families”, Beirut, 20 March 1844, ABCFM Reel 538.

⁹³ Eli Smith quoted in Hooker, *Memoir* [1839], 279–280.

⁹⁴ Stoddard argues that this school eventually became the American School for Girls, an important institution for women’s education in Lebanon, which later merged with the Beirut College for Women, and is today the Lebanese American University. See Stoddard, *Sarah’s Daughters*.

⁹⁵ Henry A. DeForest to Rufus Anderson, Abeih, 15 August 1850, in: Jamil M. Yazigy, “American Presbyterian Mission Schools in Lebanon”, Beirut: American University Beirut, MA thesis 1964, 138–142.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁹⁷ George B. Whiting and Henry A. DeForest to Rufus Anderson, Abeih, 5 August 1850, in: Yazigy, “American Presbyterian Mission Schools in Lebanon”, Beirut: American University Beirut, MA thesis 1964, 134–135; Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, 73–96.

⁹⁸ This school was also referred to as the Beirut Female Seminary. For more on the school see Karam’s contribution to this volume; Ellen Fleischmann, “Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)”, in: *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ed., Leiden and Boston: Brill 2006, 263–280; Stoddard, *Sarah’s Daughters*.

The lack of sources limits our understanding of how Raḥīl and her parents evaluated her educational encounter, although a few hypotheses can be made. As seen above, residing in non-family households was acceptable for children, particularly if the purpose was to gain vocational experience.⁹⁹ This allows us to conclude that the incentive of Raḥīl's parents for the boarding arrangement might not have differed greatly from that of Sarah Smith: to increase Raḥīl's academic knowledge and the refinement of her household management skills. Yet, it was with the intended outcome that a disagreement emerged. Sarah viewed the encounter as an evangelical endeavor; Raḥīl's parents did not. For them, this encounter was educational and vocational. One can presume that they believed that Raḥīl was to work and learn as part of Sarah's household, but remain within the Orthodox community. This misunderstanding became evident in a conflict that broke out in 1843, when Raḥīl's mother tried to arrange for her a marriage to a man from the Antiochian Orthodox community. According to the missionaries, Raḥīl refused the marriage proposal and sought refuge with the missionaries and their colleague, the Prussian consul.¹⁰⁰ The conflict was ultimately settled by the Ottoman vali As'ad Pasha, who supported Raḥīl's individual right to choose a spouse. Soon after, Raḥīl married Buṭrus al-Bustānī, another member of the young Protestant Church.¹⁰¹

Incidentally, Raḥīl's brother Rūfā'il also joined the Protestant Church.¹⁰² He named one of his daughters after Raḥīl, while another, Emma, moved to Scotland to study medicine in the late 19th century.¹⁰³ This suggests that despite the conflict between Raḥīl's mother and the missionaries, endorsing female education was a characteristic of the 'Atā' family, just as it has been identified for the Bustānī fam-

⁹⁹ Also see Heyberger, *Hindiyya*, 25–26; Guita G. Hourani, "Blessed Rafqa: A Maronite Model in How to Love Christ, The Bridegroom of the Church", *The Journal of Maronite Studies* 3: 1 (1999), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03320b.htm> (accessed 21 June 2006).

¹⁰⁰ Eli Smith to Brother [Benjamin Smith], Beirut, 6 February 1843, Box 1, Folder 4, ES-YDS; *Missionary Herald* 39: 1 (1843), 282–284; Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands*, 354–357; Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, 134–136. This may be the conflict briefly mentioned by Farah, which he lists as involving "a Greek Antiochian girl converted to Protestantism", the American missionaries, the Ottoman vali, the American vice-consul, the Consul General, and the Greek Antiochian bishop. Caesar Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1831–1861*, London, Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies and I.B. Tauris 2000, 285, note 27.

¹⁰¹ Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, 136–137; 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf, "Rāhīl 'Atā' zawjat al-mu'allim Buṭrus al-Bustānī", *Fatāt al-sharq* 14: 1 (1919), 1–3, referenced in Marylin Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 2001, 135.

¹⁰² "Member 8", *al-Kanīṣab al-Injīlīyyah al-Waṭaniyyah fī Bayrūt: Sijill Raqm 9. Beirut. Daftār al-Kanīṣab al-Injīlīyyah* 1, courtesy of the National Evangelical Church of Beirut.

¹⁰³ "Baptism 28", *al-Kanīṣab al-Injīlīyyah al-Waṭaniyyah fī Bayrūt: Sijill Raqm 9. Beirut. Daftār al-Kanīṣab al-Injīlīyyah* 1; "Entry for 11 July 1894", *Majlat al-Kanīṣab al-Injīlīyyah al-Waṭaniyyah fī Bayrūt: 19 [May] 1848 ilā 9 [May] 1922: al-Sijill al-Awwal*, courtesy of the National Evangelical Church of Beirut.

ily.¹⁰⁴ As such, this may explain Raḥīl's participation in these early experiments in modern education in the region.

The aim of this chapter was to illuminate two of the winding paths that joined the ABCFM missionaries and their young students in Ottoman Beirut. These encounters drew upon the missionaries' own diverse experiences and needs, but also responded to the educational environment of Ottoman Syria. Instead of providing a coherent, consistent, and pre-planned educational policy, the education offered by the ABCFM missionaries was experimental in nature, adaptable to the demands of their students, responsive to the expectations of those in the region, but restricted by the circumstances they faced and their commitment to evangelism. This reveals the truly complex nature of the relationships between the American missionaries and the residents of Ottoman Syria. It also presses for a more dynamic understanding of the emergence of modern education in the region, one that takes into consideration all actors involved, the dialectical nature of this process, and the limitations placed upon both those providing and pursuing modern education. Within such a framework, the American missionaries and the education that they organized provided only one in a series of pathways for students in Ottoman Syria to follow within the complex route towards modern education in the region.

¹⁰⁴ See Nammour's contribution to this volume.

Esther Azharī Mūyāl (1873–1948): Aspects of a Modern Education in *Bilād al-Shām*

Marilène Karam

The name of “the honourable writer, the young lady Astir [Esther] Azharī¹ from Beirut”, first appeared in 1892 on the pages of *al-Fatāt*, the first Arab women’s magazine edited in Alexandria, Egypt, by Hind Nawfal (1860–1920).² Although born into an impoverished Sephardic Jewish family, Esther Azharī attended the American missionaries’ Beirut Female Seminary.³ For women like Esther, education served as an important investment and a path towards upward social mobility.

Starting in 1891, Esther devoted her life to education, making use of the diverse tools available to her to spread her ideas on women, the nation, and morality. She taught at numerous schools in Beirut, Cairo (1899–1904), and Jaffa (1904–1915). From *al-Fatāt* in 1892 to *al-Ḥasnā*’ in 1909, Esther’s name was associated with many different newspapers, journals, and magazines. She founded *al-Ā’ilab* (The Family) in Cairo, and wrote for *Ha-Herut* and *al-Akbbār* in Jaffa. Esther also translated a number of books from French into Arabic.⁴ In 1894, she married Shimūn Mūyāl, the son of a wealthy Jewish family from Jaffa, who studied medicine at Saint Joseph University in Beirut and was also active in the realms of education and literature.⁵ These experiences propelled Esther into the world of teaching, journalism, and translation, and gave her the opportunity to participate in the World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago of 1893.⁶

¹ Astir Azharī Mūyāl is often rendered in English and French publications as Esther Moyal. For this publication, I employ “Esther” in my discussion, maintaining the transliterated “Astir” for references to her publications in the footnotes. The last name, however, is always given as Mūyāl.

² *Al-Fatāt* (hereafter *AF*) (March 1893), 178. All translations are by the author.

³ Lital Levy, “Partitioned pasts, Arab Jewish Intellectuals and the case of Esther Azharī Moyal”, in: *The Making of the Arab Intellectual, Empire, Public Sphere and the Colonial Coordinates of Selfhood*, Dyala Hamza, ed., London and New York: Routledge 2014, 136.

⁴ A partial list of the books Esther translated can be found in Isaac Shamosh, “Jewish Authors in Contemporary Literature”, *Palestine Post* (14 November 1947), <http://www.jpress.org.il/publications/ppost-en.asp> (accessed 10 April 2014).

⁵ “Faculté française de médecine, 1893”, 31 July 1893, DP no. 39, Beyrouth A 337, du Consul général au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Develle, Direction politique, sous-direction du Midi, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes (CADN). Courtesy of Philippe Bourmaud.

⁶ Also known as the Chicago World’s Fair, this international exhibition celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s discovery of America. A woman’s pavilion was built for the occasion, in which women’s industries from all over the world were exhibited.

There is no clear mention of Esther between 1915 and 1948, when a journalist in Jaffa found her ill, a few months before her death.⁷ It is probable that she continued working as an educator, particularly for the education of women, with the aim that they fulfill their role as mothers in society.

Esther's life illustrates how different forms of education coexisted in Ottoman Syria and merged with local conceptions of modernity. Her case highlights the variety of education that girls and young women could receive in Beirut at the end of the 19th century. At the same time, it demonstrates that the perceptions of this education and how it was employed depended upon the woman's communal and personal experiences.

Esther's education relied on two pillars, often described according to the categories of "modern" and "traditional" education. The former referred to a form of institutionalized schooling and curriculum, as opposed to a home or parochial schooling with a private teacher of the latter. However, this dichotomy does not stand up to scrutiny.⁸ Institutionalized schooling and home schooling were both essential elements that defined the curriculum for educated women such as Esther during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They were both considered *modern* by young educated elites: modern, in the sense of a commitment to what was believed to be the progress of the homeland towards a universal civilization that was argued to be best embodied in the culture of Europe and the United States of America. In order to be *modern*, local culture had to be purified from what was considered backwards. Education was an essential instrument in this endeavor.⁹

A Multi-Oriented Education

Esther's activities and beliefs resulted from a specific social, political, and cultural background. Her early involvement in what she called "the elevation of the Oriental homeland"¹⁰ through education suggests that her early years formed a threshold for her commitment to the advancement of women.

Esther was, to a certain extent, the product of her missionary education at the Beirut Female Seminary. Since the 1860s, the Seminary instructed the daughters of the wealthy families of Beirut. It offered mathematics, history, and language

⁷ An account of this event was given in the unpublished presentation by Lital Lévy, "A Jewish woman in the Arabic Renaissance: Arabism, Judaism and Feminism in the Writing of Esther Azhari Moyāl, 1893–1914", Mill's College for Women, Oakland, California, 26 February 2006. I thank Joseph Glass for sharing this information.

⁸ Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom, Islam, the State and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002. Also see Lindner's contribution in this volume.

⁹ This argument, as presented in the press of late 19th-century Beirut, is examined in Namour's chapter of this volume.

¹⁰ Astir Azhari Mūyāl, "Al-Fatāt", *AF* (June 1893), 301–311.

classes, with a particular focus on the latter, as Esther learned at least Arabic, English, and French.¹¹ She belonged to the first generation of women to acquire this kind of knowledge. In 19th-century Beirut, girls were usually educated within their families or sometimes by private teachers. Increasingly, however, families delegated part of this task to missionary schools because their curricula met the expectations of the elites.¹² At the same time, the American mission spread an ideal of womanhood that was restricted to the roles of educators and homemakers, spouses, and future mothers.¹³

Some elements of the American mission's idealized woman were reflected in Esther's writings. First, a woman was to be a good mother. In order to fulfill her domestic duties and to maintain her relationship with her husband and family, she needed a basic education. In doing so, she raised the future citizens of the "homeland", which was perceived to be an extension of the family unit.¹⁴ In the same way, Esther's articles offered advice on how to deal with mothers-in-law¹⁵ or praised the "woman's kingdom" (*mamlakat al-mar'ah*) where no power would be stronger than a woman's smile because a smile "spreads rays of stimulation to the hearts and improves the neighbors' situation; and how could it be otherwise when the original vibrations of these rays are pure love, delicate tenderness, and constant affability?"¹⁶

Incidentally, women such as Zaynab Fawwāz or 'Ā'ishah al-Taymūriyyah, who were not trained by missionaries, had a broader concept of womanhood. Esther collaborated with Zaynab Fawwāz in the newspapers¹⁷ and shared her demands for education. However, Esther never called for equality between men and women in education or work before the 1910s. Rather, women were to be highly educated for the sake of the "homeland", a concept itself reinforced by missionary education.

¹¹ This school was an inheritor of the DeForest Female Seminary discussed in Lindner's contribution to this volume. For a full description of the Beirut Female Seminary's curriculum, see Ellen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)", in: *New Faith in Ancient Lands, Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Helen Murre-van den Berg, ed., Leiden: Brill 2006, 278–279.

¹² See Lindner's contribution to this volume.

¹³ See Ellen Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 411–425.

¹⁴ Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions", 416–422.

¹⁵ Astir Azharī Mūyāl, "Wājibāt al-Kunnah", *Anīs al-Jalīs* (henceforth *AJ*) (May 1898), 74–77.

¹⁶ Astir Azharī Mūyāl, "Mamlakat al-mar'ah, Ḥadīth fi-l-siyāsah al-manzūliyyah", *Al-Ḥasnā* (henceforth *AH*) 2: 1 (July 1909), 53.

¹⁷ See Marilyn Booth, *May her Likes be Multiplied, Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 2001, 1–34. Booth's first chapter focuses on Zaynab Fawwāz's book *Scattered Pearls on the Generations of the Mistresses of Seclusion*, which was published in 1894 and to which Esther contributed.

Esther also adopted from the missionaries an Orientalist vision of the “East”. Her remarks on the region’s backwardness coincided with the missionaries’ civilizing prejudices on a local level. In 1893, Esther wrote:

It is our responsibility toward the homeland and to its daughters to leastwise spread the spirit of effort in their hearts. This will suffice to arouse zeal and enthusiasm to reap the fruits of knowledge in the delicious gardens of science.¹⁸

In her early texts, Esther disassociated herself from this notion of a traditional “East”, while at the same time arguing that it was the duty of educated women to work for the advancement of the region into modernity.¹⁹

Esther’s education included other types of learning, which contributed to her specific notion of modernity that, while aiming at universality, adapted modernity to the local space. She studied Arabic after school with a private teacher, Muḥammad al-Bakr.²⁰ The course consisted of the recitation of the Qur’ān (*al-tajwīd*) and learning by heart the classics of *adab*.²¹ This type of education “had to combine the views of the Ancient Arabs, and a little bit of every science, that is to say, linguistic sciences and fundamental texts of the Revelation.”²² The religious tint of her studies shows how far Islam pervaded into other religious communities as a strong cultural background rediscovered within the *Nabḍah* movement. Esther’s education in Islam did not stand in the way of her loyalty to the Jewish community, but rather complemented it, for she studied the classics of Islam as part of the cultural knowledge that was emerging as a characteristic of the new elite.²³

¹⁸ Astir Azharī Mūyāl, “Riwāyah, Nānin aw al-ḥarab al-nisā’i”, *AF* (June 1893), 309.

¹⁹ See also Nammour’s contribution to this volume. Over the course of time, Esther’s vocabulary with respect to the homeland changed markedly. During the Young Turk period, she developed a notion of “the Oriental homeland” and Arab civilization. Although talking about an oriental homeland was common in the Arabic press, the “nation” it referred to was often “draped in an abstract lyricism that only found its object in the surge of speeches and did not dwell on a territorial, social or even less ethnic definition”. Leyla Dakhli, *Une génération d’intellectuels Arabes, Liban-Syrie 1908–1948*, Paris: Karthala 2009, 71. Esther’s tone contrasted with the overall tone of, for example, *Al-Hasnā*’ by her clear identification of new identities, such as Palestinians or Arab Syrians appear in her speeches and articles as early as 1912.

²⁰ See Levy, “Partitioned pasts”, 136.

²¹ The term *adab* has various (historical) meanings and connotations, ranging from a moral code of ethics to the knowledge and behavior of a refined and courteous person. For a short definition, see Francesco Gabrieli, “Adab”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 1, Leiden: Brill 1986, 176; Ira M. Lapidus, “Knowledge, Virtue and Action: The classical Muslim Conception of Adab and the Nature of Religious Fulfillment in Islam”, in: *Moral Conduct and Authority, the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, Barbara Metalf, ed., Berkeley: University of California Press 1986, 38–42.

²² Anne-Laure Dupont, *Jurji Zaydān (1861–1914): Ecrivain réformiste et éminent de la Renaissance arabe*, Damascus: Institut Français du Proche-Orient 2006, 26, 135–138.

²³ On the use and interpretation of Islamic classics during this period, see Fruma Zachs, *The making of a Syrian Identity, Intellectuals and Merchants in Nineteenth Century Beirut*, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2005, 169–173.

The third strand of Esther's education was in Hebrew. At this time, Hebrew was still considered a liturgical language that was for the most part studied only by boys in the religious *talmud-torah* schools.²⁴ However, interest in Hebrew amongst Jewish communities had increased due to diverse influences, most notably the *Haskala*. The *Haskala*, which began in Europe at the end of the 18th century, called for an integration of Jews in their environment as well as for a revival of medieval Hebrew.²⁵ It is unclear when Esther started learning Hebrew. Since her parents gave particular attention to her education, Esther might have learned it as a child, or after marrying Shimūn Mūyāl. In any case, it was only when she relocated to Jaffa that Esther started writing for Hebrew newspapers.

Esther's knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew is representative of the educated classes renewed interest in vernacular languages as mediums of modernity and civilization.²⁶ Learning Arabic and Hebrew formed the first half of this new education, while missionary education complemented them as the remaining half. The two types did not contradict each other, for they were intertwined in the negotiation of local, non-western definitions of modernity. However, there was a gap separating the missionaries' expectations of their educational efforts from the expectations of the students and their families. For young women from wealthy Beirut families, missionary education was a stepping-stone into society, rather than a tool of conversion.

After graduating from the Beirut Female Seminary in 1891, Esther joined the association (*jam'iyyah*) *Bākūrat Sūriyyah*, "the Dawn of Syria", which was a club for female alumni from several prominent schools in Beirut.²⁷ It was founded in 1880 by Maryam Makāriyūs, another former student of the seminary. The idea for the association was a western-imported social practice that was encouraged by missionaries, for it made up for the lack of higher educational institutions in the region.²⁸

There is certainly a link between Esther's membership in the *Bākūrat Sūriyyah*, her writing for *Al-Fatāt*, and her participation at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago.²⁹ However, when Esther joined its ranks and was named secretary,³⁰ *Bākūrat*

²⁴ The *talmud-torah* schools were similar to the Muslim *madrasah* in that they were parochial schools that provided elementary education in Hebrew and the religious texts.

²⁵ Pelli described the movement of *Haskala* as a Hebrew enlightenment that started at the end of the 18th century, one of the pillars of which was a revival of Hebrew. See Moshe Pelli, *In Search of Genre: Hebrew Enlightenment and Modernity*, Lanham: University Press of America 2005. For more information, see the autobiography of Eliezer Ben Yehuda, an actor of this revival in the 19th century; Eliezer Ben Yehuda, *Fullfilment of prophecy: the Life Story of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858–1922)*, Createspace Independent Pub. 2009.

²⁶ See, for example, Dakhli, *Une Génération*, 229–235, on the construction of Arabic as "a unique national language, cleared of its dialectalisms".

²⁷ Booth, *May her Likes be Multiplied*, xv.

²⁸ Samir Kassir, *Histoire de Beyrouth*, Paris: Fayard 1995, 195–214.

²⁹ Levy, "Partitioned Past", 132.

³⁰ According to Hayyim Cohen she was the secretary of the association, whereas the article in *al-Fatāt* that introduces Mūyāl is unclear about her position in the association. See Hay-

Sūriyyah seems already to be falling apart. Yet, she hoped to “revive the lost hopes, and plant the sweet branch of hope” in the association.³¹

A quick look at one of the earliest speeches of Esther at the *Bākūrat Sūriyyah* gives a glance to the worldview of a freshly graduated young woman “at the dawn of Syria”:

If I dare to venture in the art of rhetoric, although I am little accomplished in it, it is because of the need that turns the idle into a clever person, the ignorant into an erudite, and makes the feeble powerful. (...) I have noted that defamation has reached the highest degree mankind and evil could ever reach; and, as you know, it spreads with so much haste that it is not possible to keep silent about it. (...) Ladies, do forgive the violence of my words, for this is about honor and money, on which the life of humans depends, because they are the mainspring of their existence and the axis of their lives.³²

Esther’s reference to *adab* values, such as “honor” (*ird*), reflected her middle class context, where honor served as the virtue of merchants and married women who superseded the nobles of medieval Muslim culture.³³ Nevertheless, she implicitly quoted medieval authors, such as al-Kurayzī and al-Jāhiz,³⁴ thereby displaying her knowledge of historic *adab* to her peers. In other words, *adab* was a criterion of modernity for young modern women, like the members of *Bākūrat Sūriyyah*, which confirmed their role as a vanguard of their society.³⁵ At the same time, medieval *adab* was reinterpreted by the intellectuals of the *Nabḍah* and became a new tradition that superseded the cultural references of the first half of the 19th century.³⁶ This “invention of tradition”³⁷ was understood and recreated through the western lenses of civilization and renaissance.

yim Cohen, “Esther Moyal”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 12, Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica 1971–1972, 5950.

³¹ Mūyāl, “Al-Fatāt”.

³² Astir Azhari Mūyāl, “Al-tamdid bi-l-ghayr wa-aḍrāriḥ”, *AF* (July 1893), 352–353.

³³ For a description of the traditional *adab* vision of society, see Anne-Laure Dupont, “Usages et acculturation de la Franc-maçonnerie dans les milieux intellectuels arabes à la fin du 19^e siècle à travers l’exemple de Jurji Zaydan (1861–1914)”, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, [Online] 72 (2006), 31, <http://cdlm.revues.org/1175> (accessed 10 April 2014).

³⁴ Mūyāl, “Al-Fatāt”. The quotes are excerpts from the poem “al-Namimah” (The Defamation) written by al-Kurayzī (d. circa 865 AC), and from the *Kitāb bayān wa-l-tabyin*, (“The Book of Eloquence and Demonstration”) by al-Jāhiz (776–868 AC).

³⁵ Dupont, *Jurji Zaydan*, 135–158.

³⁶ Zachs, *The making of a Syrian Identity*, 169–173.

³⁷ According to the definition of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, “‘invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices [...] which seek to inculcate certain values and norms by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.” Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions”, in: *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983, 1–2.

Educating for Coexistence

Esther, who had acquired a unique set of ideas on what was to be modern in late 19th-century Beirut, transferred these ideas through her life and writings. As established above, Esther was a prolific writer and journalist. All her activities followed but one goal: to educate society in general and women in particular. Her conception of education appears to have been very broad, for she conceived of journalism as teaching by other means and to a wider audience. As a consequence, a speech addressed to students could be published in a magazine for a broader audience.³⁸ Through her publications, Esther promoted a definition of modernity that was based on moral behavior and the coexistence of communities, which was deeply inspired by the ideal of Jewish integration as well as the *Tanzimât* views of a shared Ottomanism.³⁹

Esther's activities and writings crossed the boundaries of religion and community. She taught Arabic in both local and foreign schools catering to all sectarian communities.⁴⁰ For example, the schools of the Church of Scotland mission, where Esther taught, trained local teachers in different methods of teaching languages.⁴¹ Esther was an intermediary and a link between all these schools. With other teachers, she contributed to the communication and the circulation of ideas and concepts between schools.

While Esther could not ignore the different goals of local and foreign schools, she placed emphasis on their common aspects. A striking example is the school of *Tiferet Yisrael* that was founded in 1874. *Tiferet Yisrael* was a local school but with a curriculum similar to that of foreign schools. In addition to European languages, it taught Hebrew, Arabic, and Ottoman Turkish. The school promoted theatre, an art form that was introduced to Beirut in the 1850s.⁴² Its students regularly performed to an audience of the Beiruti elite, Jews and non-Jews alike. Esther

³⁸ Astir Azharî Müyäl, "Khitâb", *AH* 1: 3 (October 1911), 24–29.

³⁹ After the *tanzimât* reforms, Ottomanism developed as a concept promoting the coexistence of all the communities in the Ottoman Empire under the banner of a common Ottoman citizenship. See Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers, Muslims, Christians and Jews in early Twentieth Century Palestine*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2010, 65–69.

⁴⁰ Among those were one of the schools of the *Jam'iyyat al-Maqāsid al-Khayriyyah al-Islāmiyyah*, which was a network of Muslim schools founded in 1878, the Jewish school *Tiferet Yisrael* of the Rabbi Zaki Cohen, and one Christian school. Shmuel Moreh and Philipp Sadgrove, *Jewish Contributions to Nineteenth Century Arabic Theatre*, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6, New York: Oxford University Press 1996, 80–81.

⁴¹ See *65th Report of the Church of Scotland's Women's Association for the Christian Education of the Jewesses* (March 1911), Bibliothèque du Défap, Service Protestant du Mission, Paris; *66th Report of the Church of Scotland's Women's Association for the Christian Education of the Jewesses* (May 1912), Bibliothèque du Défap, Service Protestant du Mission, Paris.

⁴² On the role of *Tiferet Yisrael* in the Beiruti community, see Moreh and Sadgrove, *Jewish Contributions*, 68–69; Kassir, *Histoire*, 195–214. See Verdeil's contribution to this volume for an analysis of the theatre within Jesuit schools.

selected and translated plays for the students of *Tiferet Yisrael*, while her husband Shimūn wrote a play entitled *Qurrat al-ʿayūn aw ʿalā al-bāji tadūr al-dawwāʾir* (A Consolation for the Eyes, or Calamity Overtakes the Unjust) to be performed there.⁴³

Directly addressed to her students, Esther's educational message was built on the same principles that she applied to herself: a solid literary and scientific knowledge, deep moral beliefs, and coexistence between communities. Esther interacted with people from different communities, one of whom was the Greek Orthodox Jurjī Niqūlā Bāz. After graduating from the Syrian Protestant College in 1883,⁴⁴ Bāz became a journalist and teacher in Beirut. Known as "naṣīr al-marʾah" ("the advocate of the woman"), he was a champion of women's rights to education.⁴⁵ In 1909, he founded *al-Ḥasnāʾ* (*The Beautiful*), the first magazine for women published in the Shām region, to which Esther contributed regularly. In 1946, Bāz published a speech on the work of Esther Azhari Mūyāl in *al-ʿĀlam al-Isrāʾīlī* (*The Israelite World*).

What Promotion of Education?

In a speech to the American College of Thughā,⁴⁶ Esther thoroughly encouraged her audience to memorize the "words of our poets, the proverbs of our sages", giving a particular importance to local poets. However, she also included foreign authors in the knowledge that was necessary for a woman to acquire. Hubert Lyautey, Victor Hugo, and others were recommended, because, along with local authors, they symbolized a universal culture of modernity.⁴⁷

Along the same lines, when translating Alexandre Dumas' *La Guerre des Femmes* for its "moral and educative importance", Esther merged the incipit with verses by Ibn Ḥafājah, the Andalusian poet: "(...) *Wa-l-riḥut aʿbaṭu bi-l-juṣūni wa-qadjarā / dababu l-aṣīli ʿalā lujayni l-māʾi* (When the light of dawn reflected into [the Dordogne]'s water, the stroller would believe himself in divine Heavens)".⁴⁸ In her translation, the French Dordogne echoed the Alcira river in Andalusia at the peak of Arab culture. Thus, Esther underlined the idea that both Arabic classic and modern European literatures contained the same universal essence. Together they

⁴³ Moreh and Sadgrove, *Jewish Contributions*, 80–81.

⁴⁴ Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, "The Nahda Revisited, Socialism and Radicalism in Beirut and Mount-Lebanon, 1900–1914", in: *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean: Late 19th Century until the 1960s*, Christoph Schumann, ed., Leiden: Brill 2008, 147–173.

⁴⁵ This epithet was commonly used to refer to Bāz. See ʿAnbara Salām al-Khālidi, *Jawlab fi al-dikrayāt bayna Lubnān wa-Filastīn*, Beirut: Dār an-Nahār 1997, 68.

⁴⁶ Mūyāl, "Khutāb".

⁴⁷ Astir Azhari Mūyāl, "Nahaḍnā", *AH7*: 3 (June 1912), 408–415.

⁴⁸ Mūyāl, "Riwāya", 178. For more details about Ibn Ḥafājah, see André Miquel, Hamdane Hadjaji, *Ibn Khafājah l'andalou, l'amant de la nature*, Paris: Éditions El-Ouns 2002. The French translation of the Arabic verse reads "Cependant que le vent jouait dans la ramure/ Et que l'eau argentée glissait sur l'or du soir".

should constitute the foundations of a modern Arab culture, enriched by its bright past as well as European insights. By the intercession of European literature, Esther recalled the Golden Age of medieval Islam that, if properly adapted, could lead women, and therefore their children and families, to their own renaissance (*Nabḍab*).

This concept of renaissance evolved in Esther's mind during the "new era"⁴⁹ of the Young Turks. By this time, the Mūyāl couple was settled in Jaffa, where they witnessed the growing tensions between two divergent conceptions of modern nations: one based on Hebrew and the Jewish holy land, and another based on Arabic and an Arab territorial identity. Her ideas on education henceforth took a more radical turn, and it is only at that time that she clearly distinguished herself from other Arab women educators. In 1912, she gave advice in matters of education at the association *Shams al-Birr*⁵⁰, where she wrote:

We shall take science for guidance, work for lead, uprightness for inspiration and freedom for the light the rays of which shine on home, in school and in the souks. [...] We shall light the path of [our children's] lives with science to acquire and work to master; and they shall look into it with an instinctive desire. There shall be no difference between feminine and masculine. We shall train them to resist, to be patient, to endure times of adversity. We shall give them the freedom of thought and of work, as long as their freedom does not affect the feelings and interests of others.⁵¹

Two new ideas appear in Esther's speech. The first is education for freedom, in which the Young Turk concept of "*hurriyyal*" (freedom) resonates deeply. This concept "became a code word for alternately concrete and vague hopes and expectations of technological progress, economic prosperity and social reform."⁵² The second idea is equality between men and women, which was inspired by Jewish women from Russia, Germany, and France who settled in the new colonies around Jaffa at the beginning of the 20th century and became doctors, dentists, and lawyers.⁵³ Following their example, Esther called local women to elevate their minds, not for domestic purposes, but to be active in their work and in addressing the political and social challenges then facing the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴

To summarize, Esther Mūyāl's example reflects the interaction between diverse dynamics in education on the one hand, and on the other, the way that education

⁴⁹ See Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 37.

⁵⁰ *Shams al-Birr* was founded in the 1870s by Ya'qūb Şarrūf (1852–1927) and Fāris Nimr (1856–1951) as a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). In 1912, Esther addressed the women's section of the association. For more details, see Dupont, "Usages et acculturation".

⁵¹ Mūyāl, "Nahaḍnā", 414.

⁵² Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 37.

⁵³ On Jewish women's activities in the Zionist movement, see Vincent Vilmain, *Féministes et Nationalistes? Les femmes juives dans le sionisme politique (1868–1921)*, Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, PhD thesis 2011. On the popular representations and the myth of women pioneers in the Zionist imagination see Isabell Lacoue-Labarth, *Femmes féministes dans la communauté juive de Palestine avant 1948*, Paris: L'Harmattan 2012, 15–72.

⁵⁴ Astir Azhari Mūyāl, "Fatāt Filastīn", *AH* 3: 2 (November 1911), 70–74.

reinforced the integration and adaptation of education to its local environment by way of the circulation of ideas and interactions between the communities. Nevertheless, in the second decade of the 20th century, Esther's efforts to create a local non-missionary modernity were faced with a growing contradiction between an Arab promotion of modernity and a Jewish one: both of which were at the heart of Esther's commitment. These contradictions could only partially be resolved by application of the politically unifying concept of *'uthmāniyyah* (Ottomanism). Her conception of a modern education was then strengthened and evolved concurrent with the political and social changes she witnessed, leading her to a resolutely feminist perspective on education, represented in her demands for equality in work and education. No longer the "delicious gardens of science" acquired for the pleasure of knowledge and conformity to a social elite stereotype, education had to enable women to work actively within and for society.

“We do not learn for school, but for life”: Alumni Associations at French Schools in Lebanon in the 1930s and 1940s as Privileged Spaces of Sociability¹

Esther Möller

If Facebook had existed as a social network in the 1930s and 1940s, Lebanese alumni of French schools would probably have used it for staying in touch with each other and for coordinating common activities after their schooldays. Yet at the time they had to rely on more direct, face-to-face forms and rituals of communication to cooperate with each other and with their old school.

Indeed, a closer look at these organizations quickly reveals the central functions alumni associations served in and for these schools, as well as in society at large. Focusing on the micro-level of particular schools' social and cultural history offers new insights not only into the practices of the schools in attracting new students and striving for a good reputation, but also into the entanglement of educational institutions with their political and social surroundings. The entanglement also concerned the schools among each other, because they carefully observed their respective alumni policies and adapted their own strategies according to these observations.

In the 1930s and 1940s, French schools in Lebanon became both active motors for and sites of alumni activities. This was not the first time the phenomenon arose, as several French schools had already formed alumni associations in Ottoman times.² While those early associations were limited in their activities and outreach, in the specific context of French Mandate rule these associations were reactivated and utilized more intensively. In most cases, the networks were established at the instigation of school headmasters, but former students themselves also expressed interest by actively joining these associations.

¹ The findings of this article partly depend on research conducted for my PhD dissertation, which investigates French Schools in Lebanon from 1909 to 1943 as spaces of a “civilizing mission”. See Esther Möller, *Französische Schulen im Libanon 1909–1943: Orte der ‘Zivilisierungsmission’?*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2013.

² See for example the foundation of the “Association catholique de la jeunesse de Beyrouth” in 1910 by former students of the Lazarist school in ‘Aintūrah: letter from Bahri and Romon, Beirut, 29 March 1910, “Beyrouth Correspondance 1896–1918”, Lazarist Archives in Paris (henceforth LAZ/Paris). For the Jesuits, see “Anciens élèves Beyrouth Le Caire Alexandrie”, “Bulletins de l’Association amicale des anciens élèves de l’université Saint-Joseph”, 1907, Jesuit Archives in Vanves near Paris (henceforth SJ/Paris), Région du Proche-Orient (henceforth RPO), 99.

The following analysis is focused on the alumni association of the French secular schools of the *Mission Laïque Française* during the period of the Mandate and early stages of independence. There is a dearth of research on this small yet powerful institution that constitutes a telling example of the possibilities and limits of this kind of social network. In order to evaluate this secular initiative appropriately, it will be compared with the alumni associations of French Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish confessional schools active in Mandate Lebanon.

Historical research has mostly overlooked alumni associations as a crucial aspect of education in Lebanon, in particular between Mandate and independence. Apart from an article by Youssef Mouawad on Lebanon, in which he stressed the importance of links between “l'enfance des chefs” in Jesuit schools and their later careers,³ alumni networks are usually only mentioned in passing.⁴ This is all the more astonishing when one considers the rich source material available: association journals, reports on their meetings and individual memoirs all yield precious insights into the constitution and inner workings of these networks.

It is fruitful to analyze alumni associations from two different perspectives. First, as a form of sociability fashionable during this period both in France and Lebanon for the intellectual, political, and cultural expression⁵ of the ruling so-

³ Youssef Mouawad, “L'enfance des chefs. L'éducation au Collège Secondaire des Pères Jésuites à Beyrouth (1875–1914)”, in: *France-Levant. De la fin du XVII^e siècle à la première guerre mondiale*, Bernard Delpal, Bernard Hours, Claude Prudhomme, eds., Paris: Geuthner 2005, 191–210.

⁴ Leyla Dakhli and Asher Kaufman, studying intellectual groups in Lebanon and Syria, also hint at the shared schooldays of these politicians, journalists, teachers, and lawyers: Leyla Dakhli, *Une génération d'intellectuels arabes. Syrie Liban 1908–1940*, Paris: Karthala 2009; Asher Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia. In Search of Identity in Lebanon*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris 2004; Asher Kaufman, “‘Tell Us Our History’: Charles Corm, Mount Lebanon and Lebanese Nationalism”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40: 3 (2004), 1–28. The nationalist circles also shared their school experiences, as Kamal Salibi, Christoph Schumann, and others have shown: Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, New York: Caravan Books 1965, 44; Christoph Schumann, *Radikationalismus in Syrien und Libanon. Politische Sozialisation und Elitenbildung 1930–1958*, Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut 2001, 192–242; Meir Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest. The Road to Statehood 1926–1939*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris 2000, 42–43. Jessica Marglin's study on the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* alumni networks in Morocco emphasizes both common and different elements with the organization's alumni networks in Lebanon. Jessica Marglin, “Modernizing Moroccan Jews: The AIU Alumni Association in Tangier, 1893–1913”, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 101 (2011), 4: 574–603. Betty Anderson and Jens Hanssen make clear that the French schools were not the only ones generating and encouraging this type of social networking. Other foreign, local, and national schools were home to the same kind of activities, mainly in Beirut, but also in other parts of the country. For the American University of Beirut see the study on its alumni magazine in Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut. Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*, Austin: University of Texas Press 2011, 22; for *al-Kullīyyah al-‘Ulūmāniyyah* see Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut. The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, 182.

⁵ Maurice Aguilhon first analyzed the phenomenon of “sociabilité” with regard to associations in 18th century France, both of religious and secular groups. See Maurice Aguilhon, *La sociabilité méridionale: confréries et associations dans la vie collective en Provence Orientale à la fin du 18^{ème} siècle*, Aix-en-Provence: La Pensée Universitaire 1966. Subsequently, Jean-François Sirinelli analyzed French sociable circles in contemporary history, defining socia-

cial class as well as for the rising middle classes and liberal professions.⁶ Second, as a form of capital, in the enlarged sense as defined by Pierre Bourdieu.⁷ Bourdieu convincingly argued that the mechanisms of market apply not only to the financial and economic domains of a society, but also to seemingly “neutral” fields such as art, food, and manners.⁸ He developed the notions of social, cultural, and symbolic capital to demonstrate that the more privileged a group is within a society, the more of these kinds of capital it is able to accumulate from and bestow upon both the group and its individual members. The same seems to be true for the alumni associations under study.⁹ The more financial, social, cultural (and religious¹⁰) capital they gathered and, to some extent, also created,¹¹ the more attractive they became for new members who, in turn, affirmed these collectives and their respective concentrations of such capital.

In the following, I will first introduce the range of French schools available to students during the Mandate period. Second, the article will analyze the social and economic aspects of the alumni associations, and, finally, examine their cultural and religious dimensions. By comparing the different French schools in Mandate Lebanon, I will argue that the more those schools and their alumni

bility as “un groupement permanent ou temporaire, quel que soit son degré d’institutionnalisation, auquel on choisit de participer”. Jean-François Sirinelli, “Génération intellectuelle. Effets d’âges et phénomènes de génération dans le milieu intellectuel français”, *Cahiers de l’Institut d’Histoire du Temps Présent* 6 (1987), 103. For the case of Lebanese and Syrian intellectuals, Dakhli, *Génération*, 250–254. Research on Arab intellectuals in the 19th and 20th centuries is still largely influenced by Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age: 1798–1939*, London and New York: Oxford University Press 1962, who traces the intellectual arguments of the thinkers, but rarely takes into account the social and material aspects of the concrete forms of communication. These aspects are more prominent in Christoph Schumann, ed., *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean. Late 19th Century until the 1960s*, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2008.

⁶ See for example Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East. Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2006, 1–3.

⁷ Bourdieu first elaborated this thesis in his study *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Éditions de Minuit 1979, in which he analyzed the question of style and taste of different milieus in France in order to explain their social determination. He thus put style and taste in a close relationship with “academic capital”, i.e. diplomas, and cultural practices, a hypothesis he had already developed in *La reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d’enseignement*, Paris: Éditions de Minuit 1970, 110.

⁸ See Martin Herz, *Disposition und Kapital. Ein Beitrag zur Bourdieu-Debatte*, Wien: Braumüller 1996, 192; Pierre Mounier, *Pierre Bourdieu. Une introduction*, Paris: La Découverte 2001, 104–117.

⁹ Christoph Schumann, *Radikalmultinationalismus*, 26–35, has convincingly used Bourdieu’s theoretical approaches concerning social space and habitus to explain the relations between biographical and political processes. Indirectly, alumni networks play a role in his study, but he does not analyze these associations as such.

¹⁰ See Christine B. Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis 2009, who has analyzed both social and religious capital of the Protestant Community in Syria.

¹¹ See also Michael F. Davie’s article in this volume.

held in common, the more their alumni associations were successful as a social adhesive. This follows from the different purposes the associations served: they helped to link graduates to their institutions and to reinforce their influence in Lebanese politics and society. The students also profited from mutual assistance, providing each other with all kinds of information, e.g. on employment opportunities or suitable spouses.

French Schools in Lebanon: A Great Range of Items

Lebanese willing to send their children to a French school had a wide choice¹² of ideologically different institutions. French schools, not only outnumbered local ones, also individually received more generous support from the Mandate government in terms of money and staff, making them more attractive.¹³ The support the French schools received from the French government varied with successive political regimes in the metropole, but throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and even during the Second World War, none of these educational institutions ever went without help from Paris.¹⁴ The majority of French schools were run by Catholic orders, among them the Jesuits, the Lazarists, the *Filles de la Charité*, and the *Sœurs de Saint Joseph de l'Apparition*. Furthermore, there were the *Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle* (henceforth *Alliance Israélite*),¹⁵ the *Collège Protestant Français*, and the secular *Mission Laïque Française* (henceforth *Mission Laïque*), which forms the focus of this study. Very little research has been done on the *Mission Laïque*¹⁶ which

¹² During the mandate time, there were about four hundred private French schools in Lebanon, while only around one hundred and twenty public schools existed. See Edmond Chidiac, ed., *Rapports annuels du Ministère des Affaires étrangères à la Société des Nations sur la situation de la Syrie et du Liban (1922–1939)*, Hazmieh: Espace Publication 2008, 185.

¹³ For instance, in 1925 the Muslim *Maqāsid* school for girls in Beirut received 4,000 Francs while the *Mission Laïque* was granted 50,000 Francs. See “Correspondance générale”, “Syrie Liban Instruction Publique”, 39, Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nantes (henceforth MAE/Nantes). For the difference between French and local Catholic schools see letter from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador at the Vatican, Paris, 20 March 1929, CPC Levant 1918–1940, 279, Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris (henceforth MAE/Paris).

¹⁴ While the leftist government of the “Front Populaire”, which came to power in 1936, had great sympathies for the secular French schools and thus followed the line of the left governments of the 1920s, the Catholic schools started to receive more financial means again from 1938 on, because they were seen as an important means against the Italian influence that grew in the region. During the Vichy regime, Catholic schools in Lebanon received even more support from the French government, while secular institutions were restricted in many ways. For these political implications of the late mandate period see Jennifer M. Dueck, *The Claims of Culture at Empire's End. Syria and Lebanon under French Rule*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010, 29–50.

¹⁵ For the *Alliance Israélite* see also Hauser's contribution to this volume.

¹⁶ Jacques Thobie, *Les intérêts culturels français dans l'empire ottoman finissant. L'enseignement laïque et en partenariat*, Paris et al.: Peeters 2008, studies the *Mission Laïque*'s beginnings in Beirut until 1914, while Randi Deguilhem deals with its schools in Syria. Randi Deguilhem,

played a crucial role in the Lebanese educational landscape, out of proportion to its small size.¹⁷ Research on this organization also provides a different perspective on the history of Franco-Lebanese interaction, which is often reduced to a notion of Catholicism as the link between communities in both countries. In contrast to most educational associations, the *Mission Laïque* was firmly grounded on anti-clerical principles. Founded in 1902, at a time of intensive conflict between clerical and anti-clerical parties in France,¹⁸ the politicians, academics, and teachers who organized the *Mission Laïque* sought to spread secular education worldwide.¹⁹ Schools in the Ottoman Empire were quickly established: the first in Salonika in 1906, the second in Beirut in 1909, quickly followed by a third in Alexandria.²⁰ In Mandate Beirut, the *Mission Laïque* school at first admitted only male students, with a separate school opening for girls in 1910.²¹ Between them, they taught about 700 students each year during the 1930s and 1940s, fewer than the largest es-

“Exporter la laïcité républicaine: la Mission laïque française en Syrie mandataire, pays multiconfessionnel”, in: *Le choc colonial et l’islam. Les politiques religieuses des puissances coloniales en terre d’islam*, Jean-Pierre Lizard, ed., Paris: La Découverte 2006, 383–398; Randi De-guilhem, “Impérialisme, colonisation intellectuelle et politique culturelle de la Mission Laïque française en Syrie sous Mandat”, in: *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, eds., Leiden: Brill 2004, 321–343. Jennifer Dueck, *Claims of Culture at Empire’s End. Syria and Lebanon under French Rule*, Oxford University Press 2010, takes the *Mission Laïque* into account in her analysis of French cultural policy in the Levant. Matthew Burrows, “‘Mission civilisatrice’: French cultural policy in the Middle East, 1860–1914”, *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986), 1: 109–135, and Jean Riffier, *Les œuvres françaises en Syrie (1860–1923)*, Paris: L’Harmattan 2000, also mention them as recipients of French government funding. Yet none of them analyze the organization from an inside perspective by means of its own archives.

¹⁷ During the Mandate, the organization ran only two schools in Beirut (one for boys and one for girls) and a summer school in Beit-Méry. See for example “Lycée Français de Beyrouth- Petit Lycée de Beit-Méry. Statistique par nationalité et par religion” (1928–1929), 60 AJ 131, National Archives in Paris (henceforth AN/Paris).

¹⁸ See Mona Ouzouf, *L’École, l’Église et la République (1871–1914)*, Paris: Editions Cana/Jean Of-fredo 1982; Maurice Agulhon, *La République. L’élan fondateur et la grande blessure (1880–1923)*, Paris: Hachette 1990, 40–42. Whereas previously Catholic institutions had dominated the educational sector in France, the state introduced secular schools and “produced” many trained teachers who fought for a strict separation of state and church. See Mona Ouzouf and Jacques Ouzouf, *La République des instituteurs*, Paris: Gallimard/Le Seuil 1992.

¹⁹ For this very reason, the anticlerical founders called themselves missionaries for secularism, seeking to diffuse their ideas with the same intensity as the Christian missionaries: “mais si nous nous sommes appelés de ce nom, c’est pour annoncer que les laïcs propage-ront l’esprit laïque avec autant d’ardeur et de dévouement que les prêtres propagent l’esprit clérical.” *Bulletin de la Mission laïque française*, (3 June 1907) 88, Archives of the Mission Laïque Française in Paris (henceforth MLF/Paris).

²⁰ See André Thévenin, *La Mission laïque française à travers son histoire. 1902–2002*, Paris: Mis-sion laïque française 2002, 107.

²¹ Other attempts to build a *Mission Laïque* school in Lebanon failed, for example in Beit-Méry where there was only a summer school. After the mandate, many other schools were founded in Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli. See Thévenin, *Mission laïque*, 206–213.

tablissements of the Jesuits or the *Écoles des Frères chrétiennes* in Beirut,²² but more than many other schools. The majority of their pupils were Sunni, but with significant numbers of Greek Orthodox and Jewish pupils.²³ Thus, the clientele of the *Mission Laïque* was quite different from French Catholic and Jewish schools, which were mainly attended by students of those faiths.²⁴

On the other hand, the *Mission Laïque* resembled other French schools in many regards: it received financial as well as moral support from the French government²⁵ and supported the idea of a French civilizing mission. As for its alumni activities, the secular school faced more difficulties than other French schools. The reasons for these difficulties reveal much about the motives and mechanisms of alumni associations in French Mandate Lebanon in general.

²² These catholic schools gathered around 1000 students each. See Anne-Lucie Chaigne-Oudin, *La France et les rivalités occidentales au Levant. Syrie-Liban 1918–1939*, Paris: L'Harmattan 2006, 207–210.

²³ In the 1920s and early 1930s, Sunni students constituted the majority, while Greek Orthodox and Jewish students formed the second and third largest groups, respectively. See for example AN/Paris, 60 AJ 127, “Statistique des élèves” (1925–1926). This situation differed from the secular school in Damascus, where most of the students were Jews. See Randi Deguilhem, “Impérialisme, colonisation intellectuelle et politique culturelle de la Mission laïque française en Syrie mandataire”, in: *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, eds., Leiden: Brill 2004, 321–343, 334. At the end of the mandate, more Catholics attended the school, both of French and Lebanese nationalities. For example, in November 1935 the school for boys had 104 “Latin” students, 191 Sunni, and 38 Greek Orthodox. 208 were Lebanese, 122 French, and 26 Syrian. See “Statistique des élèves”, 60 AJ 138, AN/Paris.

²⁴ The only other French school in Beirut to admit students of different religious communities was the *Collège Protestant Français*. For example, in October 1933, the school counted 325 students, of which 73 belonged to Catholic communities in communion with the Pope (“Chrétien des rites unis”), 118 to other Christian communities like Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Protestants (“Chrétien des rites séparés”), 60 were Jews, 52 Muslims, 6 Druzes, and 8 “freethinkers” (“Libres-Penseurs”). “Statistique des élèves”, 30 October 1933, “Compte-rendus du Conseil d’Administration 1925–1950”, Archives of the Présence Protestante Française au Liban in Plaisir near Paris (henceforth PPFL/Plaisir). On the religious homogeneity of the Jesuits’ students, who were for a long time mainly Catholics, see Chantal Verdeil, “Un établissement catholique dans la société pluriconfessionnelle de la fin de l’Empire ottoman: l’université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth”, in: *Islam et éducation au temps des réformes modernes. Systèmes scolaires et enjeux de l’enseignement au Proche-Orient et en Afrique du Nord aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, Anne-Laure Dupont, ed., Nice: Centre de la Méditerranée Moderne et Contemporaine (*Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 75), Anne-Laure Dupont, ed., 2007, 28–38, 35.

²⁵ For example, after the Syrian revolt of 1925 the *Mission Laïque* received more money because the French government wanted to attract Muslim students. In 1929, the *Mission Laïque* was the only institution in the Levant to see its funding by the French foreign ministry increased. All the same, Catholic schools continued to be granted substantial sums. See Colette Barbier-de Bonnay, *Le service des œuvres françaises à l’étranger du ministère des affaires étrangères entre les deux guerres mondiales*, Université de Paris I: Mémoire de maîtrise 1983, 181–182.

Alumni Associations: Privileged Spaces of Sociability

1. Gathering the Elite: Economic and Social Aspects

One central objective for the alumni associations of French schools was to gather the elite, both among students and in society. What defined one as “elite” was linked to economic and professional prestige, but carried religious and social implications as well. As a result, the definition of elite was not unified but varied between the different French schools.

a) Are Alumni Associations all About Money?

One important element common to all the alumni associations was the wealth of their members, and the material and financial help they could provide to each other. In this sense, the alumni journal of the Catholic Lazarist school in ‘Ayn-ṭūrah, a village to the north of Beirut, provides a clear example. It proclaimed that it was the association’s goal to “give the better-off an opportunity to help those [...] desiring employment to achieve a place in the sun”.²⁶ The quote demonstrates that schools placed a moral obligation on their alumni to support other graduates in entering certain milieus of the society and the labor market. At the same time, their alumni’s elevated social status strengthened the school’s prestige and made it more attractive to future students and their parents. For example, the 1922 journal of the Catholic school of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* in Beirut lauded some of its graduates who were accepted by famous universities in France, thus also “bringing honor to the Collège du Sacré-Coeur”.²⁷

While these Catholic schools stressed the fact that their alumni occupied high positions in both economic and social respects, the *Alliance Israélite* placed an emphasis on the intellectual aspect of the notion of elite. According to its inspector Sémach, who visited the school in Beirut in 1931, the graduates assembled around these schools in order to be “advised, inspired and guided in their efforts for improvement”.²⁸ This emphasis on the spiritual, rather than the material, dimension of alumni work might be closely related to the financial situation

²⁶ “Créer une association amicale, c’est continuer la Vie du Collège, unir dans un lien moral les membres d’un même établissement, permettre aux plus jeunes de connaître les Anciens, fournir à ceux qui sont avantagés le moyen de venir en aide à ceux qui attendent, qui désirent un emploi, une place au soleil.” *Association amicale des anciens élèves d’Antoura. Bulletin annuel* (3 May 1938), 1, LAZ/Paris.

²⁷ “Les élèves de Beyrouth font honneur au Collège du Sacré-Coeur par leur travail et leur belle tenue. Le Bulletin sera heureux de faire connaître leur succès.” *L’Essor*, February 1922, 39, Archives of the Collège du Sacré-Coeur in Beirut (henceforth FEC/Beirut).

²⁸ “Autour d’eux viennent se ranger les anciens élèves des écoles qu’ils conseillent, qu’ils inspirent, qu’ils guident dans leur effort d’évolution.” *Paix et Droit* (4 April 1931), 7–11, Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris (henceforth AIU/Paris).

of the *Alliance* clientele, the majority of whom came from families of modest wealth. With regard to Bourdieu's theory, one could also speculate that the *Alliance's* alumni sought to convert their cultural capital into material wealth later on.²⁹ *Mission Laïque* records reveal yet another dimension of elite. According to reports on teachers' meetings, some of the instructors embraced a republican ideal of elite stressing the equality of all citizens regardless of their property. The report noted that most students' parents did not share this view, however, as they put much emphasis on the display of their economic situation.³⁰

The question of their alumni's income was also important for the associations and schools for practical purposes. Alumni financed these associations, their journals and their activities at the schools. In Jesuit schools, alumni endowed prizes for the best students in French and Arabic (the so called "prix de sagesse") at the end of each year. Through these awards, they not only provided money, but influenced the values and ideas that dominated within these establishments. In 1920, for instance, students had to write an essay on the topic "the duties of a patriotic elite for the advancement of the fatherland".³¹

A close relationship with their alumni was vital for the administrative and financial well-being of all schools in Mandate Lebanon. Alumni provided impor-

²⁹ Of course, the idea of a spiritual or religious elite was also emphasized in the Catholic schools. See for example the foundation of the "Gardes d'honneur" (Guardians of Morality) inside the school of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* in Beirut in 1921: Their aim was to "spread, through a purity of morals, with integrity and without compromise, the perfume of chastity, and to combat actively immorality and religious indifference" ("de répandre autour d'eux, par une pureté de mœurs intègre et intransigeante, le parfum de la chasteté, et de combattre activement l'immoralité et l'indifférence religieuses"). *L'Essor* (March 1921), 61–62, FEC/Beirut.

³⁰ When Headmaster Ruche arrived in 1925, he sought to adapt the republican French ideal of one school for all, which resonated with the *Mission Laïque's* objectives in Lebanon. This collided with the economic disparity of the students' families, and Ruche soon discovered his aims to be at odds with realities on the ground: "Faute d'instructions écrites précises sur la politique scolaire à suivre le Directeur s'est efforcé de se conformer à l'esprit de propagande de la M.L.F., de chercher à étendre notre action sur un plus grand nombre d'élèves, d'assurer sur de plus larges bases ce recrutement de l'élite auquel veut se consacrer en France l'École Unique. N'est-ce pas dans cet esprit que sont données les instructions de la M.L.F. Devons-nous au contraire restreindre notre action aux élèves riches et écarter de nos établissements des enfants souvent travailleurs et intelligents parce qu'ils sont pauvres??? Le Directeur a cherché en vain dans les archives du Lycée des Directives écrites sur ce sujet." "Budget récapitulatif 1926–1927", 60 AJ 129, AN/Paris.

³¹ "Wājibāt nukhbat al-waṭaniyyin li-inhād al-waṭan"; "Distribution solennelle des prix", 1921, "Le prix d'honneur en langue arabe offert par l'association des anciens élèves", Archives of the Collège de Jamhour (henceforth SJ/Jamhour). The precise identity of this fatherland is not mentioned, but the phrase most likely refers to Lebanon. In 1925, the topic for the prize essay in French was a quotation from Maurice Barrès, a French Catholic and nationalist writer: "Notre pensée la plus pure, héritière d'Athènes, de Rome et de Paris, s'inscrit par les soins de nos maîtres, dans l'âme reconnaissante des enfants du Liban." "Distribution solennelle des prix, 1925", SJ/Jamhour. At the school of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*, the alumni association offered a "History Prize" in 1935. See *Palmarès*, (1934–1935), 8, FEC/Beirut.

tant services such as renting land to the school, constructing new buildings, and acquiring permissions from the Lebanese government.³² Alumni thus served as patrons for the schools. Their function as mediators and brokers was also important whenever French politicians or other celebrities visited the schools. Through their presence at important school events, alumni helped demonstrate their schools' integration into Lebanese society, towards both the Mandate government and the parents of potential students.³³

b) *A Path to Careers*

As indicated above, assistance in finding a job was essential for new graduates and therefore the primary aim of alumni associations. This central role was explained by the statement of the director of the *Mission Laïque* in 1934, who attributed the sudden activity of the alumni association to the high unemployment in Lebanon at this time.³⁴ Employment of their graduates was also crucial to the schools' survival as well as being in the parents' best interests, which is why conflicts emerged between administrations and parents over the definition of the "right" jobs for students. In order to clarify and display their position on this issue, many French schools organized lectures on the different professions from the early 1940s onwards. For a lecture series in 1941, the school of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* invited representatives of different professions to speak about their work: the military ("La carrière militaire"), medicine ("La carrière médicale"), administration ("La carrière administrative"), Jurisprudence ("Le Barreau"), agriculture ("Agriculteur"), and "fishers of men" ("Pêcheur H'hommes").³⁵ It will be interesting to analyze in how far the alumni's choices corresponded to or refuted these presentations.

The schools played a vital role in opening career paths for their students. All French schools had links to Mandate institutions and thus to jobs in companies or administrative bodies closely connected to the French government or French industry, like the court, the French military based in Beirut, the land-registry of-

³² For example, in 1930 Ruche, the headmaster of the *Mission Laïque* in Beirut, wrote to the organization's secretary-general: "On pourrait [...] par l'intermédiaire de Monsieur Oum Beyhoum ou Omar Daouk ou même Farhi trouver un terrain convenable même en pleine ville. [00...].", Ruche to Besnard, Beirut, 1 October 1927, 60 AJ 130, AN/Paris.

³³ When, for example, High Commissioner Gouraud visited the *Mission Laïque's* school in Beirut in 1920, the headmaster invited the president of its alumni association, Muhammad 'Ali Bayhūm, who strengthened the Lebanese offer of friendship to the French. See the report in the *Mission Laïque's* journal *Revue de l'enseignement français hors de France*, 17: 1 (1920), 93–95: "Collège de la Mission Laïque Française à Beyrouth: Visite du Général Gouraud".

³⁴ "Dù au chômage, l'Amicale a trouvé un nouvel intérêt parmi les Anciens." Ruche to Besnard, Beirut, 10 February 1934, 60 AJ 136, AN/Paris.

³⁵ For the FEC see *L'Essor* (June 1941), 25, FEC/Beirut.

fice, or the Commercial Office.³⁶ However, there were noticeable differences between the different schools concerning the institutions they were associated to. Catholic schools had the most privileged positions to offer. As Kamal Salibi and Youssef Mouawad have shown, at the beginning of the Mandate important government posts were often distributed by recommendation of French Jesuits.³⁷ Graduates of the school of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* or of the Lazarist school in ʿAinṭūrah also often took jobs closely connected to the Mandate, like the Mandate administration in Beirut, the court in Beirut, or the “Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban”, a private bank with French capital.³⁸ The *Mission Laïque* was confronted with identical expectations by the parents, but could not offer such privileged positions. In 1935, one student’s father stated in a meeting that he would like to see the secular school as the privileged pool of recruitment for governmental jobs: “[We want to] obtain from the Lebanese government a subvention, and from the French High Commission [the assurance] that it considers the *Lycée* the only official institution and that it will provide government positions to its former students”.³⁹ This comment is a clear reaction against the privileges Catholic schools enjoyed during the Mandate. The benefits of Catholic schools also seem to be the reason why ʿUmār Dāʿūq, hitherto a close friend of the *Mission Laïque*, instead assumed the presidency of the alumni association of the Lazarist school in ʿAynṭūrah in 1938.⁴⁰

Analyzing which jobs alumni finally chose, for which reasons they chose them, and which economic, political, social, and cultural implications the different options represented, reveals two strands of argument: the first belongs to the discourse of tradition, both familial and social, and the second to the political context undergoing change in the 1930s and 1940s. As for the discourse of tradition, it is striking to see how many alumni of French schools chose professions common in their families. This applies particularly to male alumni, as most women did not continue their studies after the *baccalauréat* and did not work

³⁶ See the statistics of employment of alumni from the Jesuit school in the school’s alumni journal, Beirut, in *LU* (January 1936), SJ/Jamhour; see also the members of the jury for delivering the commercial diploma at the school of the *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes* in Beirut in the school’s journal. *Palmarès*, 1928–1929, 19, FEC/Beirut.

³⁷ Salibi gives the example of Bishārah al-Khūrī, appointed secretary-general of the government of Mount Lebanon in 1920 through the mediation of the Jesuit father Cattin. See Salibi, *History*, 171. And in 1926, the Jesuits were happy to announce that among the new government’s ministers, they counted four alumni. Chanteur to Jalabert, Beirut, 03 June 1926, “Correspondance Jalabert – Chanteur 1920–1927”, “Fonds Jalabert”, 25/B, SJ/Paris: “Le premier ministère de la République Libanaise a été assez heureusement constitué: quatre anciens élèves (...).”

³⁸ *Association amicale des anciens élèves d’Antoura. Bulletin annuel* (3 May 1940), 50, LAZ/Paris.

³⁹ “Obtenir du gouvernement libanais une subvention, et du H.C.F. [Haut-Commissariat français] qu’il considère le Lycée comme le seul établissement officiel et réserve des fonctions gouvernementales à ses anciens élèves.” Ruche to Besnard, Beirut, 22 February 1935, 60 AJ 137, AN/Paris.

⁴⁰ “Rapports mensuels”, January 1925, 60 AJ 132, AN/Paris.

outside the house after completing their education. Sons of merchant families frequently took over their fathers' companies,⁴¹ and the profession of medicine was also often “inherited”.⁴² In this sense, the discourse of tradition was accompanied by a desire to retain one's social status and was therefore connected to an already high social status.⁴³ Many parents who opted for the *Mission Laïque*, most of whom belonged to a less privileged social group, on the other hand, wanted their children to choose legal professions, a field offering upward social mobility.⁴⁴ That is why from the 1920s onward parents of the *Mission Laïque* demanded more opportunities of entry to the Jesuit university's law faculty, which had hitherto privileged students of Jesuit schools. Accordingly a father at a parents' meeting in 1925 demanded: “Secularize the law faculty!”⁴⁵ This demand was made not with reference to the curriculum, but in favor of an admissions policy blind to the faith of prospective students.

Parents' ideas sometimes caused the disapproval of the school administrators who complained that there would be too many “intellectuals” and not enough “technicians” if the former's demands were met.⁴⁶ Here, the second argument comes into play. Both the French school administrators and their Lebanese partners argued that students had to adapt to socio-political change and choose “modern” professions that would result in social advancement for some.⁴⁷ All French schools greatly encouraged technical and agricultural professions. In the journal of a Jesuit school from 1935, Jean Debbané, himself a graduate of this establishment, promoted agriculture as a profession and reassured the students that

⁴¹ Michel Chiha, for example, assumed a position in a bank that was owned by his family. See Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 159–160.

⁴² One alumna of the *Collège Protestant Français* became a dentist like her father. May Saikaly, interview by Esther Möller, Beirut, 13 November 2008. Similarly, several male members of the Sübrah family, alumni of the *Mission Laïque* in Beirut, were surgeons like their ancestors. See “États trimestriels des élèves 1922–1923”, 60 AJ 125, AN/Paris (information on their profession from ‘Afif Sübrah interview by Esther Möller, Beirut 2008).

⁴³ See Kais M. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon. Nationalism and the State under the Mandate*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris 2003, 94.

⁴⁴ See the example of Salim Taqlā, who was born into a middle-classes Greek Catholic family and who became, after studying law at the Jesuit University, an important administrator and politician and thus represented the rising technical and political elites. See Anne-Laure Dupont, “Sélim Takla, un destin libanais”, in: *Sélim Takla 1895–1945. Une contribution à l'indépendance du Liban*, Gérard Khoury, ed., Paris and Beirut: Éditions Karthala and Dar an-Nahar 2004, 19–40, 21.

⁴⁵ “Laïcisez la Faculté de Droit!”. “Comité de patronage”, session of 21 November 1925, 60 AJ 127, AN/Paris.

⁴⁶ *Mission Laïque* Headmaster Grandjouan to Secretary-General Besnard, Beirut, 20 January 1936, 60 AJ 138, AN/Paris: “Le Liban manque de techniciens, et surtout de paysans compétents”.

⁴⁷ In 1925, for example, the director of the *Mission Laïque* proudly announced that he had been able to place two graduates at the Shell company, an Anglo-Dutch company based on a new economic source: oil. See “Rapports mensuels”, January 1925, 60 AJ 132, AN/Paris.

even being in the countryside would not alienate them from the city, since they would have to return regularly to deal with the government authorities.⁴⁸ Another popular profession in this period was journalism, maybe because it was closely related to political developments. Since many Lebanese journals were suppressed or controlled by Mandate censorship, being a journalist meant being political. Also, some of the alumni of the *Mission Laïque* became journalists, such as Taqī al-Dīn al-Ṣulḥ, who founded the journal *al-Nidāʿ* together with his brothers.⁴⁹ Contrary to most alumni of Catholic schools who wrote for Franco-ophile journals like *L'Orient*, *Mission Laïque* alumni distanced themselves not only from French rule, but also from French culture, and were publicly outspoken in favor of a privileged position of the Arabic language.⁵⁰ A last profession worth mentioning is teaching. Although the French schools recruited some local staff from among the best of their students,⁵¹ this profession seems to have lacked high status in Lebanon. For example, in his memoirs, Mishāl al-Ghurayib, a graduate of the *Mission Laïque*, complained that, despite good grades, he had “only” become a teacher, while some of his classmates who had earned inferior grades had become politicians due to their families’ influence.⁵² Accordingly, what was said by Fahim I. Qubain in the 1960s,⁵³ that the teaching profession had lost the good reputation that it had enjoyed in the past, was already claimed by former students during the 1930s and 1940s. Two important reasons seem to have been the low salary and lack of training for Lebanese teachers. The Lebanese case thus differs from other countries under colonial rule, for example in North Africa, where the teaching profession served as a tool for political change and prepared the countries’ new elites.⁵⁴ To conclude, the alumni partly only fulfilled the schools’ expectations and ideals for their professional choices.

⁴⁸ See *L'U*, June 1935, 21–29, SJ/Jamhour: “Ferez-vous de l’agriculture. Les carrières agricoles au Liban et en Syrie”.

⁴⁹ See Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East. A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995, 89.

⁵⁰ In 1934, Taqī al-Dīn al-Ṣulḥ complained that the Lebanese Catholics did not consider Arabic to be their mother tongue. See Mohamad Nasereddine, *La littérature libanaise de langue française: de la recherche d’identité à l’expression d’angoisse*, Université Paris IV La Sorbonne: Thèse de doctorat 1987, 84.

⁵¹ See e.g. the Jesuits’ practice: “Les autres écoles libres épiscopales ou paroissiales, sont souvent tenus par nos anciens élèves : Prêtres, Moines, Laïcs de la sorte la Mission influe encore indirectement sur tout le reste de l’instruction libre qui se donne en dehors d’elle.” “La Mission de Syrie, environ 1927”, RPO, 21: Mission de Syrie, 3: 1920–1948, SJ/Paris.

⁵² See Mishāl al-Ghurayib, *Mudbakkarāt mārūnī*, Beirut 1984, 45.

⁵³ Fahim I. Qubain, *Education and Science in the Arab World*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press 1979, 5.

⁵⁴ For Tunisia see Pierre Vermeeren, *La formation des élites marconaines et tunisiennes. Des nationalistes aux islamistes, 1920–2000*, Paris: Éditions La Découverte 2002, 26; for Algeria see Fanny Colonna, *Instituteurs algériens 1883–1939*, Paris: Presses de la fondation nationale des sciences politiques 1975, 189.

c) *Alumni Associations as Social Adhesives*

Beyond their economic and professional services, the alumni associations' provision of a social bond was equally important. All French schools agreed upon an idea of social and moral cohesion and attempted to create it through their alumni networks. Alumni journals invited former students to "expand the family register [that means, the journal] with all sorts of beautiful distinctions" and to announce the birth of "many nice babies".⁵⁵ The social control thus exercised reinforced an idea of belonging to a privileged circle, an elite even, as discussed above. Exclusiveness was also ensured by admitting only graduates of one's own establishment to the associations. Accordingly, the headmaster of the *Mission Laïque* rejected the admission of graduates from other schools to its alumni association in the mid-1930s.⁵⁶ The mere fact that other people than the alumni themselves wanted to join this institution also proved its attractiveness.

By encouraging an exchange of information, schools sought to strengthen the emotional and class bonds amongst their alumni and to establish themselves as the indispensable centers of these "emotional networks". Yet beyond these virtual bonds there were also the actual encounters and material manifestations of the alumni associations. Apart from the journals, physical encounters through regular alumni gatherings were a key element. In the early 1930s, alumni of the *Mission Laïque* asked explicitly for a "meeting place where they could come during those moments of the day not given over to work".⁵⁷ Alumni were also invited to special events organized at the schools. Thus the Jesuit school in Beirut organized a banquet for its alumni every year.⁵⁸

In contrast to Catholic schools, where alumni associations were separated by gender, the association of the *Mission Laïque* was open to both male and female graduates. This may have been another reason for the *Mission Laïque*'s difficulties, because certain Lebanese families insisted on or even reinforced the segregation of sexes outside the home.⁵⁹ Finally, there was the idea of a transnational alumni

⁵⁵ "Mais c'est sur Vous que nous comptons, chers anciens, pour gonfler le carnet de famille: méritez toutes sortes de belles distinctions et annoncez-nous l'arrivée en ce monde de beaucoup de gentils bébés." *LU* (1934), Jesuit Archives in Beirut (henceforth SJ/Beirut). At the *Mission Laïque*, headmaster Ruche reported on "des naissances, des mariages" en 1928. See "Amicale des anciens élèves", May 1928, 60 AJ 130, AN/Paris. For the Lazarist school in 'Ayntūrah see *Association amicale des anciens élèves d'Antoura. Bulletin annuel* (3 May 1938), 1, LAZ/Paris.

⁵⁶ "Procès-Verbal de la Réunion des Anciens élèves du Lycée du samedi 3 février 1934", 60 AJ 136, AN/Paris.

⁵⁷ "[...] un lieu de réunion où ils puissent venir les instants de la journée qui ne sont pas consacrés au travail." Ruche to Besnard, Beirut, 8 February 1934, 60 AJ 136, AN/Paris.

⁵⁸ See "Banquet des Anciens", "Collège U.S.J. Élèves et Anciens 1879-1949", SJ/Beirut. The same is reported from the school of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*. See "Historique du collège", "Année 1934 - 10 juin", FEC/Beirut.

⁵⁹ See Samir Kassir, *Histoire de Beyrouth*, Paris: Fayard 2003, 378.

network promoted by Lebanese migration. The *Alliance Israélite* and the Jesuits in particular embraced this idea and, as a consequence, the former encouraged its alumni to help their fellow graduates in South America,⁶⁰ while the latter created a directory that covered alumni addresses in Lebanon, Syria and Egypt.⁶¹

2. Cultural and Religious Forms and Contents of Sociability

An aspect closely related to the question of social cohesion was the culture that the alumni associations shared. French civilization in particular formed the basis of cultural adhesion, although the level of adaption of French customs varied between schools as well as between alumni of the same institution. The activities of alumni in the associations clearly reveal the extent to which they remained within the influence of French culture. This also becomes obvious from their choice of university: nearly all alumni went to the French Saint Joseph University in Beirut, the only French university in Lebanon at the time. They thus satisfied the expectations of the schools and the French government, both of which wished to keep the alumni as partners, explicitly so in political and economic matters, but also in a cultural sense.⁶² Yet, there were also Lebanese who turned away from France after a French education, e.g. out of disappointment with the Vichy regime.⁶³

The alumni displayed their attachment to French culture among other things by organizing and attending lectures on topics related to France. In spring 1929, Khalil Taqī al-Dīn and Jurj Kfūrī, an alumnus of and a teacher at the *Mission*

⁶⁰ "Écoles primaires", *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* 67 (1905), 6, AIU/Paris.

⁶¹ See "Anciens élèves Beyrouth Le Caire Alexandrie", RPO, 99, SJ/Paris.

⁶² See e.g. for the *Mission Laïque Française* in 1907: "[...] ne s'approchent-ils pas du degré de civilisation où, après avoir obéi à leur propre évolution, ils peuvent, d'aucuns au moins, entrer avec les Européens dans la même voie de progrès et de la condition des sujets qui est celle des sociétés à formes despotiques s'élever à celle des collaborateurs, d'associés, de citoyens qui est celle des sociétés à formes démocratiques?" *Revue de l'enseignement colonial*, (3 June 1907), 74–75. At a teachers' meeting in March 1934, Headmaster Ruche expressed the wish and the goal to: "garder nos élèves à la culture française puisque nous aurons éclairé leur patriotisme, excité les vertus, formé les intelligences sans lesquelles il n'est qu'une veine déclamation, et fait d'eux des hommes et des syriens. Par cela nous espérons les tourner jamais vers la France". AN/Paris, 60 AJ 136, "Compte rendu des Comité de Patronage", meeting of 29 March 1934. For the perspective of the French government see e.g.: "[...] attesteront des progrès faits, surtout dans la langue française par les enfants du pays, et partant, leur désir de s'instruire et leur aptitude à devenir d'excellents collaborateurs pour les échanges et les rapports économiques entre la Syrie et les pays étrangers, en particulier la France." "Foire de Beyrouth", *Instruction Publique*, 03, 1920, MAE/Nantes.

⁶³ See e.g. the case of Maud Fargeallah who, in her memoirs, describes being torn between her love for the French classics and her anger at French Mandate policy towards Lebanon: "J'étais partagée : de culture et d'éducation française, je connaissais et aimais les classiques, poètes et écrivains, je m'exprimais et je pensais en français, je me sentais bien en France, je connaissais son histoire et sa géographie mieux que bien de français, mais je ne souffrais pas que notre dignité soit bafouée." Ingrid Chamoun, ed., *Visages d'une époque. Maud Fargeallah raconte*, Paris: Cariscript 1989.

Laique, presented a lecture on the relationship between Arabic and Western, especially French, literature.⁶⁴ Likewise, the alumni of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* organized a lecture on the French composer Hector Berlioz in 1935 that was remembered to have been very successful.⁶⁵ For school administrators, these lectures were very important, for not only did they fit into the idea of a civilizing mission,⁶⁶ but they also served as a means to compete with other institutions. The administrators believed that through organized lectures their schools could gain more attention in and influence over Lebanese society.

Alumni associations also organized social events. Members were invited to attend theater performances at their former schools.⁶⁷ These affirmed alumni's connections to the school and were channels for former students to validate current students and their activities, while buttressing their own investment in Francophone culture.⁶⁸ While the fact that many alumni of French schools continued their studies at the *Université Saint-Joseph* in Beirut does not come as a surprise with respect to the Catholic alumni. But it is astonishing that the graduates of the *Mission Laïque*, who, as children of Arab nationalists, did not opt for the American University of Beirut, which was known to have a more open attitude towards this political current and which was less involved with the French Mandate government.⁶⁹ Yet only one person among those I interviewed went on to the American University of Beirut in order to study medicine.⁷⁰ In reflecting upon their choice of university, *Mission Laïque* alumni articulated no “ideological” conflict in their decision.

Finally, some alumni engaged with French culture by pursuing part or all of their studies at universities in France. Only a few Lebanese students chose this path, and the French government did not actively encourage this choice. Studying abroad was a considerable financial burden for families, with administrative difficulties creating another impediment. This shows that the mere possession of such a French diploma already signified prestige and advancement in Lebanon. This prestige and advancement could still be increased by obtaining a university

⁶⁴ See “Assemblée Générale extraordinaire” [16 May 1929], *Revue de l'enseignement français hors de France*, 26: 79 (1929), 132–138, 137.

⁶⁵ The person speaking was a certain “Docteur Négrié”. See “Mai 1935 – 10 février”, “Historique du collège”, FEC/Beirut.

⁶⁶ For the perspective of the *Mission Laïque*, see the comments of Headmaster Ruche: “Ces cours [...] peuvent être considérés comme l'amorce de cours plus réguliers où les anciens élèves de plus en plus nombreux aux conférences viendraient chercher un complément de culture générale et trouver peut-être la voie d'une spécialisation”. *Revue de l'enseignement français hors de France*, 26: 79 (1929), 138.

⁶⁷ For the role of theater in Jesuit schools see Verdeil's article in this volume.

⁶⁸ “[...] pièce [...] jouée par les Anciens Élèves est donnée aux élèves”. “Diaire 1919–1928”, “Mai 1927: Fête de l'Université”, SJ/Beirut, 3 A 28.

⁶⁹ See Anderson, *American University*, 19.

⁷⁰ May Saikaly, interview.

diploma from France.⁷¹ In line with the gender roles of the time, all of the alumni who studied abroad were male,⁷² with a few staying in France for a longer time period.⁷³ Students studied in Lyon and Montpellier due to the historical ties to these southern cities or settled in Paris.⁷⁴ Once they arrived in France, these students drew upon the social networks developed through their schools in Lebanon.⁷⁵ There, the alumni of Catholic schools enjoyed another distinct advantage. The French government reinforced these links when, in 1937, it offered a building to the Maronite Church in Paris where the patriarch could reside whenever he was in France and where Lebanese students could stay during their studies.⁷⁶ The fact that this gift was granted for 99 years, reveals the long-term interest of the French government in retaining these ties. The social networks developed at school, then, were transferred and transformed into a “trans-regional network of communication”, to use Susan Miller’s description of the *Alliance Israélite* networks in Morocco.⁷⁷ Compared to Catholic students, the alumni of the *Mission Laïque* were much more isolated when going to France. The school’s administration regretted this situation and sought to establish a hall of residence in Paris for its alumni from 1930 onward,⁷⁸ but there is no evidence to suggest that this initiative was pursued further.

⁷¹ Camille Héchaïmé, interview by Esther Möller, Beirut, 24 October 2008.

⁷² It is interesting to discover a certain historical parallel between the Lebanese in France in the 1930s and 1940s and their ancestors during the 18th and 19th centuries who went to France and other European countries as a kind of bourgeois rite of passage which would give them knowledge of foreign languages and customs and thus “of the world”. See Nazik Saba Yared, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*, London: Saqi Books 1996.

⁷³ See Abdallah Naaman, *Histoire des Orientaux en France, du Ier au XXe siècle*, Paris: Ellipses 2004, 134 and others.

⁷⁴ See “Page des Anciens”, “Palmarès de l’année scolaire 1924–1925”, 20, FEC/Beirut. One alumnus attended the university of agriculture in Montpellier, two at the faculties of Law and Public work in Paris, and another the faculty of veterinary medicine in Alfort. The other 10 alumni enumerated there had continued their studies at Saint Joseph University in Beirut. Similar figures can be found for the Jesuit schools’ alumni. See *L’U* (1934), SJ/Jamhour.

⁷⁵ In his memoirs, Kamāl Jumblāt reports that when he went to France to study law in 1937, he first contacted the dormitory of the Lazarists, where he was accepted thanks to a letter of recommendation from the school in ‘Aintūrah. See Igor Timofeev, *Kamal Jumblatt et le destin tragique du Liban*, Paris and Beirut: Albin Michel and Dar an-Nahar 2000, 42.

⁷⁶ The president of the Foyer franco-libanais to the president of the university, Charlety, Paris, 14 February 1939, 16 aj 6986, “Liban/Foyer franco-libanais à Paris 1935–1939”, AN/Paris; Salibi to the director of the “Académie de Paris”, Paris, 26 October 1925, 16 aj 6993, “Correspondances diverses 1924–1948”, AN/Paris.

⁷⁷ Susan G. Miller, “Gender and the Poetics of Emancipation: The Alliance Israélite Universelle in Northern Morocco, 1890–1912”, in: *Franco-Arab Encounters. Studies in Memory of David C. Gordon*, Carl L. Brown and Matthew S. Gordon, eds., Beirut: American University of Beirut 1996, 229–252, 233.

⁷⁸ “Réunion des Professeurs”, January 1929, 60 AJ 131, AN/Paris: “Ceux qui sortent des écoles de la Mission Laïque sont moins bien partagés que ceux qui sortent des écoles confessionnelles. Ces derniers, aussitôt arrivés en France, sont happés, dirigés, mêlés à la vie

3. Religious Dimension

The religious dimension has to be taken into consideration for understanding the success or failure of alumni associations. Indeed, links between the alumni were strengthened by shared faith and rituals. The French Catholic School for girls run by the *Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition* whose graduates gathered for prayer and charitable activities is a case in point,⁷⁹ because the school's alumni met regularly and thus remained in close contact with one another. Its members reinforced their self-image as middle-class Christian women, whose charitable commitment gave expression to and reinforced their superior financial and social situation. In the same way, the alumni of the school of the *Frères des Écoles chrétiennes* in Beirut participated in an Easter retreat at the school's chapel in 1930. The school's yearbook reported that 140 to 150 people attended the nightly sermons of the retreat.⁸⁰

The lack of a religious dimension may be another reason why the *Mission Laïque* had difficulties in creating a stable alumni association like the Catholic schools. The experience of emotionally charged moments shared by students, parents, and teachers was missing in the case of the *Mission Laïque*. Its alumni belonged to many different communities and celebrated different religious occasions in other company than that of their former classmates. Furthermore, the idea of secularism that was propagated by the school administration was attractive only to some of the students. The example of Khalil Taqī al-Dīn, a graduate of the *Mission Laïque* who tried, without success, to establish a secular journal for alumni,⁸¹ is telling in this respect. As a result, the alumni associations that drew upon and strengthened functioning social ties and values of the students thrived, while those that challenged them struggled.

Conclusion

This article has shown the crucial role alumni associations could play in the success or failure of French schools in Lebanese society. The example of the *Mission Laïque Française* has been very telling in this regard. The alumni association of the secular school displayed a greater activity in the 1930s and 1940s than in previous decades because, due to the economic crisis in Lebanon, its members were trying to gain material advantages out of it – ironically by putting money into these associations – and, following Bourdieu, it can be argued that they also sought to ac-

Française. Les nôtres, au contraire, “sont un peu isolés. Ne serait-il possible de créer à Paris un foyer pour les élèves de nos écoles?”

⁷⁹ “Congrégation Mariale”, Archives of the Collège des Sœurs des Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition, Beirut.

⁸⁰ “Année 1930 – 31 mars-6 avril Retraite Pascale”, “Historique du collège”, FEC/Beirut.

⁸¹ Taqī al-Dīn to Ruche, Beirut, 6 March 1930, 60 AJ 133, AN/Paris.

cumulate cultural and social capital. The difficulties of the *Mission Laïque's* alumni association also hint at the factors contributing to the success of the Catholic schools' alumni networks, which include not only the economically privileged positions of their members and their influence in politics, but also the religious common ground between schools and alumni. This analysis thus proves the well-known saying that learning is not only for school, but also for life. Yet it should not be forgotten that students knew each other not just because of their common membership in alumni networks or by way of kinship and community connections. Asher Kaufman has shown this with respect to a Beiruti literature circle which was organized by Charles Corm (1894-1963), the Lebanese writer and businessman, who is considered as one of the founders of the Francophile Phoenician movement, but which was, political differences notwithstanding, also attended by anti-French intellectuals.⁸² This testifies to the hermetic and, at the same time, permeable boundaries of the groups that have been discussed in this article.

⁸² See Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 186.

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Late Ottoman *Bilad al-Sham* and Mandate Lebanon were characterized by an exceptionally dense concentration of diverse educational institutions. Research on education in this region during the late 19th and early 20th centuries has hitherto focused on individual institutions or movements. This volume challenges the established narrative and emphasizes the entanglements of individuals, concepts, and practices. Stemming from an international workshop held at the Orient-Institut Beirut in April 2012, the studies on local and foreign schools collected in this volume illuminate the manifold debates that entwined students, teachers, and the public over how to create a modern Arab society and the role education could play within that endeavor.

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