UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Arabs into Frenchmen:

Education and Identity in Late Ottoman Syria

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Edward Allaire Falk

Committee in charge:

Professor Hasan Kayalı, Chair
Professor Michael Provence, Co-Chair
Professor Thomas Gallant
Professor Cynthia Truant
Professor Winifred Woodhull

2017

The Dissertation of Edward Allaire Falk is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Co-Chair

_____

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2017

DEDICATION

Patrick Healy was my friend and comrade for the first few years of graduate school before he passed away in 2012. His love and passion for history, etymology, cartography and other deeply nerdy things continue to inspire me to keep searching to find good stories. It is to him I dedicate this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey from first tracing an Arabic *alif* to researching and writing a dissertation on identity in Ottoman Syria was far from a straightforward process, and I'm indebted to many friends, colleagues, and mentors who encouraged me in these efforts and helped me along the way. As an undergraduate at Carleton College, I was lucky to get a work-study job as a research assistant in the Department of History, and it was there than I learned I wanted to research and teach history. Victoria Morse encouraged me to explore the world beyond Europe starting with Ibn Jubayr and Arabic chronicles of the Crusades. Bill North taught me to use a microfilm reader to skim Biblical exegesis, while tutoring me in Italian during his lunch break. Serena Zabin trusted me not to laugh too much when searching historical newspaper databases for dancing masters in colonial Boston. Adeeb Khalid and Louis Fishman introduced me to Ottoman and Islamic history and the unique challenges therein.

Lacking an Arabic program at Carleton, Stephanie Galaitsis first taught me the Arabic alphabet before I went to Beloit College's summer language program, where Tarek El-Sayed indoctrinated me to Egyptian nationalism and the cult of Muhammad Ali Pasha. Studying in Damascus, my mediocre Classical Arabic *fusha* was unintelligible to all save the students of *fiqh*, Islamic Jurisprudence. Hüseyin Elmehimid had the patience to speak to my third grade level, welcoming me into his home as a brother. We spent many long nights drinking tea and arguing about gay marriage or whether the trinity is polytheistic. His teacher Khalil Al-Turkumany allowed me to sit in on his lectures and was my tutor outside of class. In Jordan during my Watson fellowship, Father Raymond Moussalli of the Chaldean Church of the

Sacred Heart and Maroun Najm of the Jesuit Refugee Service in Amman helped facilitate my early research on Arab minorities, gifting me many Iraqi aunties in the process. In Tunis, Joseph Bismuth introduced me to the Jewish community of La Goulette, and Marc Fellous welcomed my participation in a cemetery record project. Slim Wahhabi and I shared an apartment in Tunis, as well as a love of seafood and comedy. In Paris, Reem Bailony was a faithful friend at the microfilm reader banks. Unprompted, she also acquired documents for me relating to Chekri Ganem in the British National Archives. In Istanbul, Nagihan Haliloğlu and Sabrien Amrov were anchors saving me from archive madness. Nicole Beckmann-Tessel, Pauline Lewis, and Alex Schweig were reliable companions for çay once per hour when I was going document-blind at the Ottoman Archives. Laurel Friedman hosted me in Çengelköy during a housing emergency and counseled me through the trying process of writing a dissertation. Tim Eddy was the perfect roommate in our frequently water and electricity-free apartment in Geitawi, Beirut. Noura Haddad and Nick Axelrod-McLeod were the jaded friends I believe and hope everyone finds in Beirut.

I would like to thank the staffs of the Bibliothèque Orientale at Université Saint-Joseph, the Jafet Library Special Collections at AUB, the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in Kağıthane, the Archives Diplomatique in La Courneuve, and the Archives Jésuites in Vanves. Father Robert Bonfils of the Archives Jésuites was especially generous with his time and magnifying glasses. I would not have been able to conduct the research that built this work without the support of the Thomas J. Watson Foundation, the U.S. Fulbright Program, the Council for Library and Information Resources, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Council of American Overseas

Research Centers. In spite of its origins in the so-called "Global War on Terror," the Critical Language Scholarship Program was an extraordinary experience during my summers. The Ankara University - TÖMER classes in Izmir and Ankara gave me a working knowledge of Turkish and many dear friends including Bengi Hürriyetoğlu, Özge Hekimoğlu, Lydia Kiesling, Meredith Rahn-Oakes, David Fossum, Osman Balkan, Lisel Hintz, Phil Dorroll, and Courtney Dorroll.

For reasons that are now unfortunately clear, my parents Bill and Laurie were hesitant about letting me study Arabic in Syria at age twenty-one. In spite of their concern during that trip and many subsequent, they have supported me in every step of this journey, from Arabic summer camp in Beloit, Wisconsin to visiting me in Istanbul and successfully ordering their own coffee. I am infinitely grateful for their support and their faith that I would try not to ride motorcycles or get tattoos.

While graduate school and law school were years of hard work and long hours, my wife Hannah and I have shared these experiences, along with many train and car rides from San Diego to Los Angeles and back again. Her love, support, and temporal flexibility during my summers in Turkey and archival research in Paris, Beirut, and Istanbul made the challenges I faced much more manageable. Jordan Cunnings, immigration attorney extraordinaire, shared an apartment with Hannah and me for two years in Los Angeles. She was my outlet to talk about Catholic history and immigration over bowls of cactus salsa.

At UCSD, I couldn't have asked for a better cohort in the Middle East field. Pat Adamiak, Barış Taşyakan, Ben Smuin, Nur Duru, and Johanna Peterson were thoughtful and collaborative seminar-mates, roommates, and backgammon opponents.

Hasan Kayalı and Michael Provence co-advised us, setting an example for collaboration that made seminars insightful and occasionally hilarious as we read accounts of Nerval and Flaubert's Orientalist libidos. Outside of the History Department, Marion Wilson, Ted Gideonse, Eun Jung Park, and Jason Farr mentored me teaching in the Muir College Writing Program at UCSD. Erin Cory was my Lebanese fairy godmother, regaling me with tales of *Radio Beirut* and her adventures in graffiti tagging as I labored through my qualifying exams. She also hosted me in Odense, Denmark when I needed a writing retreat. Violeta Sánchez has been my teaching, writing, and oyster-eating companion for the last seven years. My life is richer for knowing Erin, Violeta, and their families.

Chapter two, "Lyon to Liban," contains material that previously appeared in *Entangled Education*, a volume from the Orient-Institut in Beirut edited by Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller. Chapter three is currently being prepared for submission to journals. I was the sole author of this material.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Arabs into Frenchmen: Education and Identity in Ottoman Syria

by

Edward Allaire Falk

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, San Diego, 2017

Professor Hasan Kayalı, Chair

In the final decades of the Ottoman Empire, a group of authors in the Syro-Lebanese diaspora including Chekri Ganem, Nadra Moutran, and Joseph Saouda constructed an Orientalizing discourse to promote a Francophile Catholic vision of Syria's future, emulating the values and rhetoric of their adopted homeland. At various points, these authors demanded self-rule, increased representation in the Ottoman administration, and independence. In both political publications and literary works including poetry, novels, and theater, these authors drew upon their missionary educations in the schools of the Jesuits, Lazarists, and other French orders in Syria, as well as the memory of the 1860 civil unrest to create and express a hybrid identity. They revered France as the pinnacle of civilization and culture, while drawing Orientalist images of Syria as a wild and untamed land, nevertheless taking a measure

of pride in their Arab heritage. While they have been dismissed as shysters in the pay of foreign governments, Ganem and his cohort from Cairo to Paris engaged in early movements of Ottoman reformism, while challenging Hamidian and Unionist centralization and the dearth of Arabs in positions of power after 1908. In shaping the French Orientalist discourse surrounding the future of the Ottoman Empire, they led a colonization of the mind, reproducing the values of their missionary education. Finally, this group of authors' close association with the colonial lobby within the French Foreign Ministry, academic groups and commercial organizations meant they pursued a different agenda than their Young Ottoman and CUP contemporaries – autonomy, decentralization, and eventually the mandate system.

VITA

EDUCATION

2017 Doctor of Philosophy, University of California, San Diego

2012 Master of Arts, University of California, San Diego

2009 Bachelor of Arts, Carleton College

PUBLICATIONS

"Lyon to Liban – Language, Nation and Faith in the Jesuit Schools of Ottoman Lebanon" in Hauser, Julia; Lindner, Christine; Möller, Esther (eds.), *Entangled Education: Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Orient-Institut Beirut, Beiruter Texte und Studien 137: 2016.

AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2016 Council of American Overseas Research Centers – Mediterranean Regional Research Fellowship.

2015 Institutes of International Education – Fulbright Research Fellowship

2014 Council on Library and Information Resources – Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship in Original Sources

2011, 2012 Critical Language Scholarship Program – Turkish

2009-2010 Thomas J. Watson Fellowship

PRESENTATIONS

2016 "Humanitarian Interventionism and the War Lobby: The Case of the Syrian Diaspora in the First World War," invited lecture at Wofford College.

2016 Middle East Studies Association 2016 Annual Meeting – Presented "The Imaginary Mountain: Lebanon in the Mahjar Memory"

2014 Middle East Studies Association 2014 Annual Meeting – Presented "Self-Orientalism and the Mahjar: Art and Politics in the Syro-

Lebanese Diaspora"

2012 Middle East Studies Association 2012 Annual Meeting – Presented "Jesuits, Jews, and Franco-Maronites: *La Mission Civilisatrice* in Ottoman Lebanon"

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2014 UCSD Department of History – "The Middle East in the Age of European Imperialism"

2011-2014 UCSD - Muir College Writing Program
Courses taught:
"Propaganda and Persuasion"
"Arab Summer: Nations and Identities in the Middle East"

RESEARCH LANGUAGES

Advanced Proficiency: Arabic, French, and Turkish

Intermediate Proficiency: Ottoman Turkish, Italian, and Spanish

Introduction

Faith in Lebanon is a powerful lever;
The country, by its voice, shouts or rages.
God grants to His elect the strength to defend.
The Turk is far away and the eagle has driven out the hawk.

This is the tenth time that this voracious vulture
Has come to break its claw on the strong armor
With which heaven has clothed this blessed corner of Sham.

God does not want this soil to belong to the Turk.
Miraculous island, it remains Christian
Amid the rising tide of Islam.[1]

Chekri Ganem, 1896

The irony of nationalist movements is that in their moment of blossoming, they are compelled to assert their timelessness. In the age of nations, a glorious past and ritualized mythology were prerequisites, and in the case of Lebanon they were as important as a liberating army in the creation of a Christian-dominated ethnostate. The literary and political architects of the multiple Syrian and Lebanese nationalist causes that emerged in the late nineteenth century in Beirut and the cities of the *mahjar,* or Syrian diaspora, emphasized the Biblical and Classical past over the politically Ottoman and linguistically Arabic present. This syncretistic mythology connected the polytheistic Phoenicians with the Arabic-speaking Maronite and Melkite Catholic populations of Mount Lebanon, conferring upon these populations greater rights to the land than Arab and Turkish invaders of the previous two millennia. This national

[1] Chekri Ganem, "Liban" in *Ronces et Fleurs: Fleurs barbares, Fleurs fanées* (Paris: Lemerre, 1896), 22-23.

mythology did not emerge fully-formed; it grew and evolved in a conversation across generations between French Orientalist scholars and Syrian intellectuals, many of whom attended French Jesuit and Lazarist missionary schools in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, which became centers of knowledge and myth production.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, European travelers, missionaries, archaeologists and their Syrian students and associates together imagined a Phoenician-descended, perpetually independent Christian Lebanon, which had suffered but maintained its unique identity through the Ottoman era, a Babylonian captivity of the Lebanese chosen people. This transmission and transformation of thought from teacher to student and writer to reader would connect Ernest Renan to Tanyus Shidyaq, Alphonse de Lamartine to Chekri Ganem, Louis Cheikho to Michel Chiha.

This dialectical national imagining occurred in parallel to but distinct from the *Nahda*, the Arabic literary renaissance of the late nineteenth century, centered in Damascus and the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut that contributed to an Arab national consciousness. France did not dictate the terms of Lebanese identity, and the story of the elite sons of Christian families is not the history of Lebanon. Instead, I will show how a small network of schools educated a generation of modestly wealthy Christians. In time, the Syrian students of French missionaries through their writing and advocacy would shape European discourse concerning reform in the Ottoman Empire. The cycle would be complete when Syrian poet and activist Chekri Ganem addressed the Paris Peace Conference, advocating for an independent Syria under a French Mandate.

Benedict Anderson defined the nation as limited as even the most irredentist nationalism does not desire total rule and total membership, as universality essentially defeats the purpose of nationalism. Perhaps in parallel, studies of nationalism are similarly limited, in this case to a literate, urban elite, who had connections in business and could afford to travel. This is not a history of Lebanon, but rather of the men who made it. While Anderson shapes my analysis in this work of the Lebanese imagined community, the Francophile Lebanese embraced the Renanian theory of the nation, complete with emerging European racial theory and early iterations of modern Islamophobia.

Interrogating conceptions of nation, language, and race, I argue that the demographics of emigration led to Francophile Lebanese, especially Christians, having an outsized voice in dissident politics in Lebanese and Syrian reformist and nationalist movements. To many of these activists, Islam was an element of Arabness to be deployed for a political objective or a marker of the uneducated other. ʿ*Uruba* and Islam (and Phoenicianism and Christianity, for that matter) are not concepts out of time. They are rooted in the intellectual world and cultural tradition. Grounding our analysis of late Ottoman thought and activism in the Orientalism, racial theory, and Eurocentric civilizing tendencies of its authors allows us to contextualize their advocacy and understand the world they sought to create or re-create.

Lebanon and Anachronism

After Egypt, Lebanon is perhaps the most studied country of the Arab Middle East due not only to the Université Saint-Joseph as well as the Syrian Protstant College/American University in Beirut as well the breakdown of the Lebanese state in

the twentieth century before its neighbors in the twenty-first. I have often wondered if my energies would not be better spent seeking out the stories and voices of individuals and peoples who have not received this attention. Nevertheless, the peculiarity of Lebanon captured me. It is defined by its contradictions - both Arab and not, defined by a Christian majority that has not existed for seventy-five years, if at all. These have compelled me to follow the imagining and development of its national myths. Kamal Salibi's perspective is invaluable, as he became an apostate of Lebanism. His 1965 general history, *A Modern History of Lebanon*, recounts many of the Phoenician, Maʿani, Shihabi, and Maronite myths explored in this dissertation. However, the trauma of war brought forth his iconoclastic *A House of Many Mansions*, published in the final years of the Lebanese Civil War, deconstructs those very myths, including Lebanon's status as a mountain refuge for minorities, termed "L'Asile du Liban" by Syrian-educated Belgian Jesuit Father Henri Lammens, and the claimed independence of the Maʿani and Shihabi emirates.[2] Salibi concluded that "Lebanon today is a political society condemned to know and understand the real facts of its history if it seeks to survive."[3] Condemned or not, official Lebanese history ends at independence, even after the Ta'if accords officialy ended the war in 1990. War ended, but social cohesion was not forthcoming. The post-war motto *La Ghalib wa La Maghlub*, "No Victor, No Vanquished," has prevented Lebanon from confronting its exclusionary

[2] Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988), 157.

[3] Ibid., 217.

myths and sectarian division, notably in schools. Unfortunately, the guns have fallen silent, but society was never built, nor a shared conception of history ever established.

Asher Kaufman developed the Phoenician dimension of Salibi's work further in *Reviving Phoenicia*, his 2004 monograph analyzing the classical aspirations of Lebanese nationalist intellectuals, including Charles Corm and the other authors of *La Revue Phénicienne*, a literary magazine founded by Université Saint-Joseph graduates to promote national ideas. In Kaufman's view, early twentieth century Phoenicianism functioned as a Renanian "Cult of the Ancestors" for Maronites, especially lay people, necessary as an alternate origin amid the growing popularity of Arab nationalism after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.[4] I develop on Kaufman's work in the final chapter on the Phoenician imaginary and Lebanist mythology, further examining the racialized discourse that was applied to both classical history as well as modern political circumstances in the late Ottoman era. I argue that while Phoenicianism and Lebanese exceptionalism gradually entered the Lebanese historiographical canon, Europe was as important an audience for these works as Syrians and Lebanese themselves. Additionally, Catholic activists' promotion of the idea of Maronite collaboration in the Crusades contributed to the same genre. The Phoenician and Crusader past legitimized Lebanon as a nation, and activists consciously modelled their movement on the Greek national movement, which had successfully appealed for European support a century earlier.

[4] Asher Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia: In Search of Identity in Lebanon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 41.

Carol Hakim's recent work *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea* contributes to the historiography of Lebanese nationalism by complicating the idea of nationalism within the Maronite community. While Asher Kaufman explores the Phoenician religious phenomenon that divided Maronite religious and lay nationalists, Hakim contends that these varied reformist and nationalist ideologies grew from the differing interests of clerical authorities, rural landowners, and urban literati.[5] Hakim contends Lebanese particularism, or Lebanism, was pioneered by Maronite religious figures in the nineteenth century, but faded somewhat in popularity with the establishment of the *Règlement Organique* in 1861, the period Engin Akarlı termed *The Long Peace* in his work of the same name. In the twentieth century, political Lebanism was the project of the landowning notability and urban bourgeoisie, and this philosophy evolved in reaction to contemporary political events in the French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon. Hakim's study deconstructs the Lebanese nationalist mononarrative by showing the diversity of views of Lebanese activists in the Middle East as well as the *mahjar*, in parallel to the fluid and flexible views of Ottoman-era reformists. James Gelvin and Hasan Kayalı had earlier argued that political Ottoman reformism coexisted with cultural Arabism and Syrianism for many thinkers before the outbreak of the First World War. Lebanism was a contested, sometimes incoherent, and politically contingent ideology that followed the same rocky career paths as other ideologies such as Syrianism, Ottomanism, and Arabism. It only crystallized in the final months of World War I when the continuation of Ottoman rule

[5] Carol Hakim, *The Origin of the Lebanese National Idea, 1840-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

no longer seemed inevitable. The outbreak of war and especially the famine of 1917 contributed to the shifting of cultural nationalism to political activation for Arab nationalists and Lebanists. However, Hakim and Kaufman's emphasis on the divergences within the movement can elide the significant contact and collaboration between religious figures, writers, and businesspeople, especially Maronites, who despite varying interests worked towards a similar agenda of a Christian Lebanon with close ties to France, whether within a decentralized Ottoman state, Syrian federation, French colony, or mandate.

My contribution to this field is to explore the educational and cultural spaces of this national imagining while recognizing the tensions and contradictions within them. The social world of Jesuit schools in Ottoman Syria as well as the literary circles of Arabs in Paris were incubators for national thought. While the earlier generations of *Tanzimat* reformists, Young Ottomans, and early Young Turks regarded political nationalism as treasonous separatism to country and caliphate, both *mashriq* and *mahjar* authors and activists embraced philosophies of national belonging, and eventually political nationalism, albeit only when Ottoman defeat was imminent. Following recent works by Reem Bailony and Stacy Fahrenhold on nationalism in the *mahjar*, this dissertation aims to recognize the individuality of the various centers of the diaspora, while examining the pivotal role the diaspora played in defining belonging, nationality, and nationalism in Syria and Lebanon.[6]

---

[6] Stacy Fahrenhold, "Transnational Modes and Media: The Syrian Press in the Mahjar and Emigrant Activism during World War I." *Mashriq & Mahjar: Journal of Middle East Migration Studies*, 1.1 (2013).
Reem Bailony, "Transnational Rebellion: The Syrian Revolt of 1925-1927" (PhD Dissertation, UCLA, 2015).

Theoretical Frameworks

Historians, travelers, and authors of the last two centuries have attempted to unravel the complex web of language, sect, and political formations across the Middle East hrough their Biblical, Classical, and Medieval antecedents. Among the vast array of scholars, philologists and orientalists, a segment of the French Catholic academy turned their gaze to Greater Syria. Both consciously and unconsciously, as Edward Said has persuasively argued, they found in the region that which would reflect their worldview. In the case of Lebanon, this meant forcing the dynamic and evolving shapes of Syro-Lebanese society into these static molds. In doing so, these authors created a mythology of a Phoenician race, a French Levant, and an independent Lebanon. However, the fabrication of these stories does not negate their importance. Like the relics of saints, the power of myth is built on belief.

Race and sectarianism are certainly some of the most fraught frameworks for analysis when applied to Greater Syria and the broader Middle East, though for very different reasons. Sectarianism, *taifiya*, was and remains an important organizing tool in Levantine society. However, a nationalist political desire has led to a teleological application of sectarian discourse in history, long before the nineteenth century historical moment when it gained currency. Leila Fawaz argues that Beirut's development from a middling port town in 1800 to the commercial, social, and cultural capital of Syria in 1900 is a result of rural immigration, economic development, and the contingencies of the struggle between the Mehmet Ali Pasha's dynasty in Egypt and the Ottomans. Specific events like the unrest and rebellions of 1840 and 1860 in Damascus and Mount Lebanon led many wealthy inhabitants of

those regions to flee to the relatively secure and prosperous cities including Beirut, Sayda, and eventually Alexandria, Cairo, Europe, and the Americas. The demographics of this immigration from Mount Lebanon and the interior of Syria to Beirut shifted the city to a Christian majority in this period, and the relative wealth of the immigrant populations enabled the growth of a merchant bourgeoisie. This presented somewhat of a contradiction, as Beirut's immigrant communities maintained the traditional values of Mount Lebanon's hierarchical, patriarchal society, but bourgeois Christians and Muslims exercised a new degree of social mobility. If this was the conflict of Beirut in the nineteenth century – tradition against innovation – then the overflow of poor immigrants in the aftermath of the First World War created the conditions for Beirut's twentieth century conflict. The trauma of war meant these groups were more harshly sectarianized in conflicts over power and policy, contributing to many of Beirut and Mount Lebanon's twentieth century divisions.

For the travelers visiting littoral Syria and the European and American missionaries opening schools there, the evolution of peoples and civilizations were foremost concerns. Frantz Fanon writes, "The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards."[7] To visit Syria was to travel back in time, to see Europe's savage past. A literate Christian man might graduate to *demi-sauvage*, but religious practice and customs mark him as

[7] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1994).

a historical curiosity until he accepted European modernity as the pinnacle of civilization.

In the analysis of Dipesh Chakrabarty, this linear and racialized conception of modernity "consigned Indians, Africans, and other 'rude' nations to an imaginary waiting room of history. In doing so, it converted history itself into a version of this waiting room. We were all headed for the same destination, [John Stuart] Mill averred, but some people were to arrive earlier than others."[8] This worldview shaped both perception and was in turn promoted by travelers and academics like Lamartine, Nerval, and Renan, who found in Syrian populations the debased qualities of antiquity. What Foucault terms "evolutive time" marked the progression away from oriental disorder toward European modernity. This corresponded with the mission of French education in both Syria and the métropole, where students were literally *élèves*, the elevated.[9] In contrast to Fanon's theory of the "Colonization of the Mind," Foucault argues that discipline creates something new through the dialectic of act and punishment, rather than simply erasing the earlier state. The negative memory associate with the act transfers a value system. To be slapped for speaking Arabic at a Jesuit elementary school changed how the student thought of the language. For Foucault, "Power produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth.

[8] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8.

[9] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 160.

The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production."[10]

Quite apart from its evolution within systems of power and discipline, race is a problematic concept in Middle East history because of its foreign origin and late adoption. Nevertheless, the emergence of racial theory and racial hierarchies are critical in analyzing contemporary ideas about societal belonging in Greater Syria, especially considering the racialized logic of nationalism in the early twentieth century. While some racial hierarchy existed in the Ottoman Empire, especially in regards to *Ajem*, residents of the Persianate world, and those of Sub-Saharan African descent, it generally was not applied to residents of the same region, i.e. Syrians to other Syrians, before the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, as successive generations attended European schools, emigrated to segregated and racialized societies including the United States and Brazil and returned, race gained currency as a method of sociological analysis in the intellectual world of late Ottoman Beirut. In the careers and writings of Syrians in the *mahjar*, or Syro-Lebanese diaspora, racialized language and analysis grow in rhetorical weight, becoming integrated into new Lebanese national mythology. Historians Akram Khater and Sarah Gualtieri offer innovative views of Syrians and racial thinking in the context of immigrant communities in the United States. Khater's groundbreaking *Inventing Home* explores the lived experience and imagined communities of working-class Syrians in the

[10] Ibid., 194.

mahjar, the land of emigration.[11] Khater argues that Syrianness and Lebaneseness were defined in the diaspora, creating hybrid identities among the emigrant community, especially for the sixty percent that returned to the Ottoman Empire after working in the Americas. Whereas village was formerly one's geographic origin, it was now the larger "county" of Lebanon or country of Syria even before the popularization of nationalism. Gualtieri builds upon Khater's analysis of diaspora hybridity by interrogating concepts of race and ethnicity in her recent monograph *Between Arab and White*, arguing that Syrians upon arrival did not have a strong ethno-racial identity and exhibited a great deal of confusion about America's obsession with it. Nevertheless, the experience of peddlers moving between segregated neighborhoods led many communities to assert strongly their whiteness, especially when confronted with legal and extra-legal white supremacy.[12] This took the form of legal challenges, challenging racial classifications, as well as behavioral norms, as Syrians moved out of neighborhoods to which African-Americans were moving.[13] My intervention into this historiography is applying the contemporary racialist discourse of Arabs, Turks, Syrians, and Lebanese to its Ottoman context. Over the course of a few decades, this novel mode of racial analysis became the accepted wisdom in influential policy circles in France, Great Britain, and the United

---

[11] Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[12] Sarah Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White: Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian American Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 8.

[13] Sarah Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White': Race, Religion, and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States" *Journal of American Ethnic History* Vol. 20, No. 4 (Summer, 2001), 29.

States, and undoubtedly some Syrian writers embraced this vocabulary of race out of expediency in an effort to create a "readerly" text for European and American audiences. Nevertheless, I have found it prudent to take these writers at their word. Where they utilize racial theory and racial conceptions of the nation, I will address it as both a rhetorical tool employed for Western audiences as well as the worldview of their Francophile Beiruti world. To avoid confusion with an uncritical application of racial theory, I employ the term "racialism" to denote the worldview shared by many European teachers and their Levantine students.

Names and Things

Following the convention of Albert Hourani in *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, I have chosen to render the names of individuals in this narrative as they themselves wrote them in the Latin alphabet, if they published in a European language. Names and spelling figure into my argument about place and national belonging, as will be seen in the preference for classical names. Arabic words and place names are transliterated in a simplified version of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* style without diacritical marks and the terminal ʿayn. Where available, I use the common English spelling of terms and place names, like emir, or Beirut. Thus, I render the names of two Francophone poets Chekri Ganem and Charles Corm, rather than Shukri Ghanim and Sharl Qurm. Administrative terms are transliterated from Ottoman Turkish when referring to that era. In the case of Turkish people who took surnames during the Republican period, I have included their surnames in parentheses. I retain the preposition *de* for Amédée de Damas for stylistic reasons due to his surname being a false cognate for Damascus.

The argument I make forces me to deal with the logic of an exclusionary nationalist worldview anathema to my own. Perhaps even more uncomfortable is getting to know a group of fin-de-siècle racialists. However, if these depths are to be plumbed, it's necessary to deal in their discourse and logic of race, nation, and civilization. With that said, if you think there should be scare quotes are phrases like "Turkish despotism" or "debased civilization," they are indeed intended.

I use the term Syrian for Beirutis, Aleppans, and Damascenes not because that is any more legitimate than Lebanese or Palestinian, but because for the purposes of Arab intellectual life in Late Ottoman Beirut or the mahjar, Syrian was the shared identity, even for sectarian/particularist interests.

Sources

The challenge of writing about an elite Francophile nationalism is accepting its lack of popularity. The Jesuits in Ottoman Syria courted notables by offering scholarships to the sons of notable, land-owning families to ingratiate themselves to power. Thus, it is no surprise that many of the Saint-Joseph and Antoura grads like the Arslans, Moutrans, Tuénis and Khazins were prominent in the national movements of the nineteenth and twentieth century. While Victoria Moutran and some Maronite religious women emerge from the archives active in Syrian and Lebanese national movements, this project analyzes the cultural discourse of ministries, journals, and societies that were generally closed to women.

Many of the Orientalist historical tropes and Phoenician mythology that I explore in the first and last chapters were first articulated in French, by French and Syro-Lebanese authors. It was only later that these histories were translated into

Arabic, in Jesuit schools and presses in the nation building process that occurred during the mandate.[14] In the case of Chekri Ganem, the Syrian poet and activist, he spent most of his life in the diaspora, and after work in Egypt and Tunis, he spent nearly forty years in France, perhaps not speaking Arabic at the time of his testimony to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Outline of the Study

This dissertation is bookended by chapters on national imagination, the French imagination of the Orient and the Lebanese imagining their own land and people. The first chapter surveys the diverse cultural, religious, and political factors that affected France's understanding of the Ottoman Empire and specifically *Bilad ash-Sham*, the region of Greater Syria. By placing travelogues like those of Alphonse de Lamartine in conversation with Napoleonic soldiers' diaries and political treatises, we can begin to understand what changed and what remained constant during France's tumultuous nineteenth century. These varied sources share an eagerness to find Biblical and Classical explanations for eastern societies, as well as frequent application of scientific racialism. Finally, these sources are all variants on a Whig history in which the peoples of the east exist as Western civilization's degraded, yet ancient past. In turn, France claims glory for rediscovering and preserving the ancient patrimony. Just as Lord Elgin preserved the statuary of the Parthenon by removing it from Ottoman Greek neglect in 1801, archaeologists and philologists including François Lenormant, Ernest Renan, and Henri Lammens sought to rescue Phoenicia and its patrimony from

[14] Fernand Taoutel, SJ, *Tarikh Suriya wa Lubnan wa Filastin al-musawwar* (Beirut: Matbaʿa al-Kathulikiyah 1934).

Ottoman Syria. The cataclysmic violence of 1859-1860 in Syria marked a turning point in French involvement, as conservative Catholic and imperial-colonialist lobbies worked in tandem to publicize the atrocities and demand action to save the persecuted Christians. The resulting French occupation of Lebanon would prove to be short-lived, but the expansion of French influence via the medium of missionary schools would endure.

The second chapter moves from the cultural and political context of French involvement into the specific establishment of French Jesuits in Lebanon. After half a century of suppression by the French government, the Society of Jesus consciously Gallicized its mission in Ottoman Syria. What was once a mixed group of Italian, French, and Spanish priests in the 1830s mostly training Uniate Arab clergy became an almost exclusively French national mission in its expansion after the massacres and civil unrest of 1860 in Syria. Funding from the French government and the establishment of Non-governmental organizations like *l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient* greatly expanded the reach of Jesuit schools in Syria to include lay populations, culminating with the establishment of Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut, whose law and medical faculties would staff the bureaucracies of Ottoman Syria, Khedival Egypt, and the mandates after the First World War.

The final three chapters examine the graduates of the Jesuit and Lazarist schools and universities and the significant impact they had on the future of Greater Syria. In the third chapter, I follow the literary and political career of poet and playwright Chekri Ganem from the Lazarist College of Antoura to Cairo, Tunis, and finally Paris. I argue that Ganem's ability to re-create the French Orientalist view of

the Middle East enabled him to have an outsized impact in political discourse. While he may not have even been able to speak Arabic after twenty years in France, he nevertheless claimed to speak for Syrians worldwide.

In the fourth chapter, I trace the global networks created by graduates of these institutions. From the Arab parliamentarians during the Second Constitutional Period of the Ottoman Empire to their dissident siblings publishing in British-occupied Egypt, Paris, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, I argue that the power structures of Ottoman Syria enabled rising banking and commercial families like Sursocks, Trads, and Tuénis to effectively combine business and politics in collaboration with European powers, especially France, whether in opposition or supporting the regime creating a parallel structure of power. After allying with the Maronite clerical hierarchy and traditional Maronite and Melkite landowning families like the Shihabs, Khazins, and Moutrans, they built global trading networks while serving in the Ottoman foreign ministry that transformed into opposition political advocacy and military recruiting networks as the First World War shifted against the Ottoman Empire and the Central Powers.

The fifth chapter follows the cultural, racial, and political imagining of Lebanon. The Francophile cohort of classmates at the Université Saint-Joseph and the Lazarist college of Antoura including Ganem, Hector Klat, Charles Corm, and Michel Chiha embraced the Phoenician past and wrote both history and poetry in service of the Lebanese nation. The knowledge production of the university and the popular press served the same end, a distinct Lebanese identity.

Chapter I

The Orient in the French Imagination

Father Amédée de Damas toured the capitals of Europe in 1861, raising funds for the Jesuit mission in Syria and *L'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient*, a Catholic educational charity in the aftermath of civil unrest and violence that had taken the lives of thousands of people in Mount Lebanon and Damascus. The scion of a royalist noble family, de Damas served as head chaplain of the French army during the Crimean War. In his new position in the Jesuit mission in Syria, de Damas sought to reshape the land and peoples of the Levant, though not with the swords of his crusading ancestors or the guns of his relatives in Napoleon's *Armée d'Orient*, but through schools, orphanages, and agricultural colonies to improve the position of the Christian population.[15] The funds he raised would benefit not only the refugees of the civil unrest of 1859-1860 in Syria, but the expanding network of French Catholic

[15] The landed noble family appears in the record in the early medieval period, the etymology of their 'Syrian' name claimed to be from a crusader victory won at Amasya in Anatolia (d'Amasié) or a claimed descent from a Damascene captive brought back to France by crusaders. The latter claim obviously should be viewed with significant skepticism. In the modern period, the landed family were unsurprisingly Catholic traditionalists, conservative and legitimist-royalist in outlook, though several members of the family served the first and second empires, including François-Étienne de Damas, Kléber's chef d'état-major and a general during the invasion of Egypt and Syria in 1799 who later served the restored House of Bourbon. Amédée's father Ange Hyacinthe de Damas served as Foreign Minister and Minister of War during the restoration. Gustave Chaix d'Est-Ange, *Dictionnaire des Familles Française Anciennes ou notables à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Évreux: Impr. De C. Hérissey, 1914), 56-66.

education in the region, particularly in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, a phenomenon Jesuit graduate Khaïrallah Khaïrallah would term a "conquête pacifique par l'école."[16]

Drawing from his experiences during the massacres and civil unrest of 1860 and tailoring it to his audience, de Damas preached about the suffering of Christian Lebanon in the Church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris as he would in Angers, Laval, and Orleans, "When I arrived in one of those villages, desolated by war and reduced to ashes – men, women, and children came out of the caves where they were refugees despite the rain, wind and snow. They came more than half a league to meet me, shouting warm greetings: 'Vive la France!' 'Long live the missionaries!' Long live the French officers!'"[17] [18] He would preach this message, adjusted with a religious rather than national tone in Prussia, Austria, Italy, England, Scotland, Ireland, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The story he told was not complicated. The unrest and violence of 1860 was not a result of governmental incompetence, social inequality, or changes in the traditional structures of power in the Druze and Maronite regions of Mount Lebanon over the previous two decades.[19] The truth of 1860, de Damas preached, was

---

[16] K.T. Khaïrallah, *La Syrie: Territoire, Origines ethniques et politiques, Évolution, Esquisses: La vie sociale et littéraire, La vie politique en Syrie et au Liban* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1912), 61.

[17] R.P. Amédée de Damas, *Souvenirs du Mont Liban*, Tome II (Lyon/Paris: Félix Girard, Libraire Éditeur, 1870), 272.

[18] Archives de la Compagnie de Jesus, Province de France – Vanves. Collection PRAT, Tome 9, 870-872.

[19] See Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

"an attack on the Gospel, the ancient antagonism of the Crescent against the standard of the Cross by the followers of Islam."[20] The simplicity of his message was its attraction – good and evil, Christianity and Islam. But de Damas was no mere polemicist. His aggressive language served not merely to condemn Islam, but to foster an emerging Jesuit Orientalist mythology of Lebanon, drawing on a century of French visits to *bilad ash-sham*, the region of Greater Syria. He was a missionary of France, Catholicism, and civilization, and Lebanon would be the bastion of those interests and values, not from time immemorial as de Damas and his contemporaries argued, but carefully constructed with substantial European investment in the decades after 1860. De Damas concluded, "It will be the eternal glory of the Lebanese to have been the focal point of barbarian attacks against Christian civilization in the Orient. I have found this to be the proof that the Lebanese are the foyer of enlightenment and life."[21]

This story begins not with Father Amédée de Damas's exhortations in a Parisian church in 1861, nor with the laying of foundation stones of Jesuit and Lazarist schools in Beirut and Mount Lebanon in the eighteenth century. It begins and ends in the imaginary – the French imagining of the Orient and the Arab Christian imagining of Lebanon. It is ironic the history of Lebanon must contend with the imaginings of writers a thousand miles away writing in a different language, but nearly every facet of Lebanon, its history, and its mythology must face such contradictions. In collaboration, foreigners and locals created a national mythology of Christian

[20] de Damas, *Souvenirs du Mont Liban*, Tome II, 205.

[21] Ibid.

Lebanon, enduring under the Ottoman-Islamic yoke. Individual travelers, archaeologists, and Napoleonic soldiers recreated crusader and Biblical narratives while inscribing a classical ethnography onto the peoples of *bilad ash-sham*, the region of Greater Syria. These accounts by Lamartine, Nerval and others would shape popular and scholarly perception of Syria in France, including among the young seminarians from Lyon and Besançon destined to spend their careers in Mount Lebanon, educating and indoctrinating the next generation of Uniate Arab clerics and expanding secular education after 1860. The predominantly Christian students of these schools would form a new social order in Beirut and the newly imagined Lebanon. The generation born in the decades after 1860 in the short term would provide the Jesuits and Lazarists with students drawn from the rural notability and the urban bourgeoisie. From these cadres of students emerged bureaucrats, journalists, priests, and businessmen.

This cohort counted among its membership clerics like Maronite Patriarch Elias Hoyek, notables from the Arslan and Moutran families, Syro-Lebanese literati like Chekri Ganem and Charles Corm, newspapermen like Antoine-Joseph Gemayel and Michel Chiha, and politicians like Emile Eddé, Auguste Adib Pasha, and many others who worked in the Ottoman administration, published Arabic newspapers in the *mahjar*, or Syro-Lebanese diaspora, and ascended to national leadership in the French mandate after the First World War. These Francophone and Francophile youths would, in collaboration with their teachers, imagine a community: not Arab, but conscious of its connection with the Arab world, not French, but Francophone and Francophile, and among from these influences and above all Lebanese, imagined in

turn as Phoenician, Crusader, Mediterranean, and many other designations. Their Jesuit and Lazarist teachers were themselves products of a conservative education system, that of imperial France, and these teachers were shaped by a century of French travelers, writers, and soldiers in the Middle East. As Lamartine and Renan shaped France's understanding of the Middle East, the teachers of the Jesuit Ghazir Seminary, Lazarist College of Antoura, and the Jesuit Université Saint-Joseph shaped their students' understanding of Beirut, Lebanon, and Syria, their homeland, as well as their relationship to the Muslim majority and Ottoman government. Educating the elite, the Jesuits and Lazarists taught many bankers and bureaucrats, but some of their students entered the booming Arabic and French press of the diaspora, where they wrote a new mythology of Syria and Lebanon, emphasizing Biblical and classical connections, the Crusades, and "Turkish" oppression. Asserting a non-Arab Phoenician origin, they saw themselves as the original inhabitants of the region, and thus demanded liberation from Turkish and Arab hegemony, a separate Christian state. The alumni network of Antoura and Saint-Joseph spanned the Ottoman bureaucracy and parliament, nearly every consulate in Beirut, the French foreign ministry, and the patriarchates of three Uniate Catholic Churches. Though never spawning popular movements outside of the compact areas of Christian majority, the position of these Francophile Christian writers among Lebanon's founding fathers has made their irredentist Phoenicianist history the dominant view of national belonging among Christian Lebanese for nearly a century. Their nineteenth century understanding of the science of race contributed to their students' conception of the so-called Eastern Question, of Arabs, Turks, Greeks and Phoenicians.

This dissertation is a story of boys and young men of varying native languages, classes, ethnicities, and backgrounds, who would, through French missionary education, form the political, clerical and intellectual elite of late Ottoman Lebanon, ascending to near-total control after the Ottoman defeat and institution of the French Mandate over Syria and newly formed Grand Lebanon in the aftermath of the First World War. This focus is not to neglect the pivotal role girls and women played and played and play in Ottoman, Arab, and Lebanese society, but to understand the formative phase of the lives of Lebanon's creators.

Biblical Geography and Classical Conquest

Individual travelers like Constantin de Volney had visited the Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire throughout the eighteenth century, establishing the first filters for the perception of the land and its people. However, Napoleon's expedition to Egypt and Palestine marked an important turning point in the French awareness and understanding of the region, due to the fact that for the first time, a substantial number of literate Frenchmen made this journey, returning with memoirs and myths. While there were substantial religious overtones, especially as France's conservative Catholicism re-emerged from the ashes of the revolution, this pilgrimage was not a specifically religious endeavor. This duality would be a recurring theme of France's involvement in the Ottoman Arab world. Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and Syria would prove to be an ignominious defeat, and the future emperor would flee back to France even before his troops. Nevertheless, this military pilgrimage would make a lasting contribution to France's understanding of the region.

Travelling in the Holy Land, both European individuals and armies traveled back in time, wiping away Ottoman Islamic modernity in order to uncover the Biblical and Classical past, its "pure" form. Edward Said notes that, "For the traveler this means that he must use the Old Testament and the Gospels as his guide in Palestine; only in this way can the apparent degeneration of the modern Orient can be gotten beyond."[22] His estimation seems quite apt in light of both the diaries of the officers of the Napoleonic force as well as the cultural material including poetry and song produced after the defeat and return to France. The residents of the region became alternatively descendants of the peoples of antiquity, unaware of their noble roots, or interlopers, occupying a land that was rightfully Christian. Invoking the Biblical past positioned the French army as the latest in the history of righteous conquest. It seems even the hero himself was not immune to the Holy Land's call through the centuries. As one officer-chronicler Colonel Chalbrand writes, "Since our entry into Palestine, every evening Bonaparte read the Holy Scriptures aloud, and he was struck by the truth of the descriptions, which are still appropriate to this country now and in that early period, despite the vicissitudes of centuries and revolutions."[23] Chalbrand's recollection that Napoleon himself was participating in these activities seems to indicate that this was not confined to some cabal of secretly religious officers, but rather characteristic of the army as a whole. Neither the smashing of saints' statues in the streets of Paris nor the renaming of the streets themselves could

[22] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 172.

[23] Colonel Chalbrand. *Les Français en Égypte, ou Souvenirs des Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie* (Tours: A. Mame Etc, Imprimeurs-Libraires, 1855), 159.

nullify the resilience of French Catholic culture, and the army's pilgrimage to the Biblical past. This perceived familiarity made the army's arrival a return of sorts, a phenomenon to be repeated in the French intervention in Lebanon in 1861, as well as Zionist immigration later in the century. Memory, even, and perhaps especially, fabricated memory, made significant contributions to ideology.

The French forces were keenly aware of their predecessors in conquering the region, and this shaped their place in the hierarchy of nations and their place in history. Commented J. Miot, "We are entering into a country where the Crusades have already immortalized the French name. We will cross an area known in ancient history. We will march on the lands that gave birth to the religion of much of Europe."[24] This comment illustrates much about the French and their conception of the conquest. First, they imagine the Crusades historically as a fundamentally French national, rather than Christian religious undertaking, focusing on the triumph of French *chevaliers* and the lords of the Levant rather than the ultimate defeat of the Crusader states, a *Reconquista* in reverse. Second, the idea of conquering the birthplace of Christianity fits into the conquest of religion by the state in France that followed in the nineteenth century. This was not the idol smashing of the revolutionary era, but a careful and progressive sublation of the Catholic Church to the French State. Marching on the lands that birthed Christianity played into this narrative of national honor and nationalism that encompassed Christianity and Christian culture,

[24] "Nous allons entrer dans un pays où les croisades ont déjà immortalisé le nom français; nous allons traverser un territoire célèbre dans l'histoire ancienne; nous marcherons sur les contrées qui ont donné naissance à la religion d'une grande partie de l'Europe."
Miot, *Mémoires,* 113.

even as it eclipsed faith, perhaps a Napoleonic compromise as he sought to consolidate power among elements of the French aristocracy that were disgusted by the horrors and sacrilege of the early years of the revolutionary wars.

Without the introduction of technological innovation and governmental institutions, it was a pilgrimage and memorial, marking and remembering the sites of religious and historical significance, rather than changing the character of the region. As Edward Said notes in his seminal *Orientalism*, "the Orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these."[25] Napoleon's expedition and the Lebanist project were acts of quotation, situated simultaneously in the present and the past.

From Oriental wall decorations to Egyptomania, the French public voraciously consumed these songs, poems, and works of art, and the people were engendered by this patriotic propaganda to support sustained imperial expansion. One particular song, "The French Eagle: An Ode Dedicated to the Triumphant Armies," employs classical imagery and crusader historical tropes to celebrate France's return to greatness, embodied by Napoleon's eagle avatar, as well as its destiny to rule the world. The anonymous author writes:

> Conquering with winged arrows,
> The Sovereign of Tyre and Sidon will strike down the plains
> Fixing his bold flight over the mountains of Lebanon
> And the Holy City seen flying his banner

[25] Said, *Orientalism*, 177.

The star of the late sunset light
Surprised the guards of the gates of the Levant.[26]

Again, the invocation of non-Muslim Lebanon, in form of Phoenician and Crusader cities Tyre and Sidon, as well as Jerusalem serves to legitimize and Christianize the mission of the supposedly secular French state, appealing to observant Christians among the French nobility, shell-shocked by the revolution, while the flying of the French flag gives the crusade a patriotic nature.

These works of Napoleonic officers were not shelved and forgotten after the emperor's fall. The reassertion of Catholic conservatism in France of the restoration only confirmed the nobility of these latter-day crusaders. With the rise of the second empire of Napoleon III, a return to glory included a return to the Levant. As intrepid Jesuits and Lazarists attended the seminaries of Lyon and Besançon, they too mythologized – wiping away Arab modernity for the Classical and Biblical past, while awaiting the French return and reconquest of the Holy Land.

Travelers in the Nineteenth Century

While travelers and archaeologists had visited Syria throughout the Ottoman period, the increasing prevalence of steamships and the advent of regular mail service made traveling to the Ottoman Empire much easier by the 1830s.[27] Newly, accessible Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Damascus would become the new stops on the Grand Tour, and missionaries often facilitated translation and other services, which

[26] Le Pupitre Du Traducteur, *L'Aigle Français: Ode dédiée aux armées triomphantes.* (Paris: l'Imprimerie de Charles, 1806), 6.

[27] Reşat Kasaba, Çağlar Keyder, and Faruk Tabak, "Eastern Mediterranean Port Cities and Their Bourgeoisies: Merchants, Political Projects, and Nation-States", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 10.1 (Summer 1986), 121-122.

would be repaid with fawning literary tributes. Alphonse de Lamartine and Gérard de Nerval's visits in 1832 and 1842 stand out in the genre of travel literature in this era, marking dynamic social and political changes in Syria. The prominence of the two men in French restoration in culture and government meant their versions of Syrian history and Arab myth would be widely read by missionaries and policy-makers, both French and Syrian, in the century that followed. Their choices in translation and the historical narratives they promoted would shape the foundations of Lebanese national mythology.

The visits of Lamartine and Nerval effectively bookmark the term of Ibrahim Pasha's "Egyptian" rule in Syria as viceroy of his father Mehmet Ali Pasha's dynasty, which began with Ibrahim's conquest in 1832 and was secured by the Treaty of Kutahya in 1833.[28] After a British alliance and bombardment, Ottoman authorities returned to take back control of Greater Syria after the Egyptian defeat in 1841, suppressing small rebellions and ousting the potentates who had collaborated with Egyptian rule, including Bashir II ash-Shihabi, the claimed Emir of Mount Lebanon, who would posthumously become a founding father of Lebanese nationalism, as explored in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Alphonse de Lamartine's travels to the Levant in 1832-1833 coincided not just with Ibrahim Pasha's conquests, but also with the return of the Jesuits to the region

[28] While the Khedival and Royal dynasty descended from ethnic Albanians from Kavala in Macedonia, the *Kavalalı Hanedanı***,** Kavalan dynasy in Turkish, would become known by its Egyptian khedivate, or viceroyalty.

after the suppression of the order in 1783.[29] Lamartine's account, published in 1835, became a canonical text for French understanding of the region, cited by both secular scholars and religious partisans in the century that followed. Writing of Lebanon, he emphasizes its place in Biblical history, sparing no hyperbole. "These trees," he wrote, "are the most celebrated natural monuments in the universe," adding that only the trees of Eden are more beautiful.[30] Later, he argues King Solomon needed the cedars for their holiness when building the first temple. Though he differed from some contemporaries by actually meeting local populations, chiefly priests and potentates, he nevertheless projects upon them an eternal spirit. Meeting a Greek Orthodox bishop in Baalbek, Lamartine describes him a "a fine old man with silver hair and beard, a grave and gentle face, a rhythmic and noble voice, the very idea of a priest."[31] The bishop ceases to be an individual, subsumed into Lamartine's tableau of the Orient. While leaving generally sympathetic descriptions of his hosts, he nevertheless notes the "savage music" and "barbarous celebrations" at a Greek Orthodox wedding.[32] He was even less generous in his descriptions of non-Christians, while at times conflating Bedouins, Druze, Kurds, and Turkmens, illustrating the novelty and fluidity of

[29] Their missions, including the school at Antoura, were taken over by other orders, including Lazarists and Franciscans. After briefly attempting to take back that site, the order eventually purchased land at Ghazir, where they founded a seminary.

[30] Alphonse de Lamartine, *Le Voyage en Orient* in Jean-Claude Berchet. *Le Voyage en Orient : Anthologie des Voyageurs Français dans le Levant au XIXe siècle,* (Paris : Editions Bouquins, 1985), 740.

[31] Lamartine, *Le Voyage en Orient*, 736

[32] Ibid., 719-720.

ethnicity in this period. After first terming a Kurdish clan "Arabs of a strange appearance," Lamartine later describes the Kurds as "armed Bohemians of the East," whose conduct was "even more barbarous than Arabs."[33]

While Nerval's account is valuable in his observation of daily life in this transitional period, he shared the same Orientalist influences of the Napoleonic officer corps. This manifested in a desire to find Biblical and Classical antecedents for the people he encountered, as when Nerval compared women gathering water at the well to "princesses mingling with the workers, like Rebecca of the Bible and Nausicaa of Homer."[34] Like many travelers' accounts, Nerval's would shape later generations of authors and artists, including Orientalist painter Émile Vernet-Lecomte, who would be inspired by the stories of massacres in Lebanon to paint a Maronite woman at a well with classical styling in 1863 after the latest French invasion of Syria. The liberal education of the mid-century generation of scholar-travelers gave them the opportunity to use classical texts and modern racial theory in their analysis of Syria and an eagerness to syncretize religious and scientific knowledge. In one ethnographic passage, Lamartine regrets that Druze origins are "lost in the darkness of time," but notes "their race, physically considered, has a great affinity for the Jewish race, or perhaps they are of Samaritan origin."[35] In line with the classicizing tendencies of his

[33] Ibid., 729.

[34] Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient*, 1851-1857 (Paris: Le Divan, 1857) in Jean Raymond, *Les Claissques Français de l'Orient.* Vol. II. (Beyrouth: Editions de la Sagesse, 1955), 54.

[35] Alphonse de Lamartine, *Travels in the Holy Land: A Visit to the Scenes of Our Redeemer's Life,* trans. Robert Huish (London: William Wright, n.d.). 460.

milieu, Lamartine supports this claim by alleging Druze worship of a golden calf. However, his animus for "the Turk" makes him more amenable to a proposed minoritarian Druze-Maronite-Shi'a "despotic confederation" than writers after the 1858-1860 violence.[36]

In spite of its genre and non-European origin, *The Book of a Thousand and One Nights* began to shape Orientalist iconography and discourse in the nineteenth century. A century earlier, a Frenchman Antoine Galland had first translated the trans-regional collection of stories from manuscripts and the telling of Aleppan Christians, including Hana Diyab, a Maronite and young dragoman to Louis XIV's royal antiquarian Paul Lucas accompanying an expedition in the Ottoman Empire.[37] Diyab accompanied his patron to Versailles in 1707, seeking employment. Collaborating with Galland, Diyab fixed errors and added some stories that were not in the collected manuscripts, though Galland neglects to mention Diyab's contributions. Additionally, Galland removed sexual content and even perhaps created the characters Aladdin and Ali Baba, though this is subject to some dispute due to the diverse source texts and origin in an oral tradition.[38] In a pattern that would become much more common in the following century, a Francophone Arab Christian served as transmitter and mediator

[36] Ibid., 449.

[37] Paul Lucas, *Troisième Voyage du sieur Paul Lucas au Levant* (Rouen: Robert Machuel le Jeune, 1719).

[38] Ruth B. Bottigheimer, "East Meets West: Hanna Diyab and the Thousand and One Nights." *Marvels & Tales* 28.2 (2014), 302-24.

of Arabic culture, creating world legible to European readers, where the palace of Shaheryar, the Sassanid King of Persia, is reminiscint of Versailles.

Entering into European popular imagination, the works, both Arabic-Persian mythology and French re-telling and interpretation, were made real in Nerval and subsequent travelers' experience of Eastern peoples.[39] Returning to Beirut from a visit to the countryside, Nerval noted, "I had never entered Beirut at this untimely hour, and I was there like that man of the Thousand and One Nights penetrating into a city of the Magi whose people are changed into stone."[40] His exotic transportation to the city of the stone Magi is a fitting metaphor for the French traveler in Syria. As the traveler arrives, the population take on a statuesque aspect. Individuality is blurred by the timelessness of the place, existing as an eternal witness to both divinity and history. Assessing the mountain, Nerval writes:

> Who would dare to be skeptical at the foot of Mount Lebanon? Is not this shore the cradle of all the beliefs of the world? Ask the first mountaineer who passes: he will tell you that it is on this point of the earth that the primitive scenes of the Bible take place; He will take you to the place where the first sacrifices were burned; He will show you the rock stained with the blood of Abel. Place yourself in the point of view of Greek antiquity, and you will also see descending from these mountains the laughing procession of the divinities of which Greece accepted and transformed, this cult propagated by the Phoenician emigrations. These woods and mountains resounded with cries of Venus weeping over Adonis, and it was in these mysterious caves that one prayed and wept over the image of the victim, a pale marble idol or ivory with bleeding wounds from which the grieving women imitated the plaintive cries of the goddess. The Christians of Syria have similar

[39] Interestingly, no Arabic manuscript contains either Aladdin or Ali Baba, leading some to argue that these stories were inventions of the translator. Husain Haddawy, Introduction to *The Arabian Nights*, (London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1995), xvi.

[40] Nerval, *Voyage en Orient*, 36.

> solemnities in the night of Good Friday: a mother in tears takes the place of the lover, but the plastic imitation is not less striking.[41]

For Nerval and European visitors, the allure of the mountain was its position simultaneously throughout and outside of time. Encompassing primordial, polytheistic, and Christian worship, the mountain became imbued with divinity. This synthesis culminates in the work of Khalil Gibran, analyzed in the final chapter, who imagined Lebanese temples containing both Phoenician idols and the *Theotokos*, the Byzantine Madonna. Beyond the easy connections between ancient antecedents and modern non-individuals, Lamartine was willing to apply a racial logic to all groups in the region, at one point distinguishing between the Asiatic Greeks of the Beqaa and the European Greeks of the Morea, commenting that the Greeks of Zahle live in "miserable huts" but are hospitable and well-suited to artisan labor.[42]

Bishop Nicholas Murad and *La Nation Franc-Maronite*

Just as French authors memorialized the Crusades to serve their own political and social agenda, Maronite authors engaged in the same practice in support of the Lebanist cause. Amid the shifting ground of citizenship and participation during the Tanzimat reforms, these authors emphasized their long-standing ties to France to maintain its supposed protectorate over the Catholic populations of the empire.

In order to build a raison d'être for political advocacy in Lebanon, the Maronites, Jesuits, and French Catholic elite had to create an origin myth. While the

[41] Nerval, Voyage en Orient, 101.

[42] Lamartine, *Travels in the Holy Land,* 448-449.

imperialism of a European power might not have found much sympathy in Istanbul, Beirut, or Paris, the construction of a centuries-long historical bond of amity, brotherhood, and protection legitimized repeated French intervention in Ottoman affairs. One of the first Maronites to work in this genre was Bishop Nicolas Murad, who embarked on a propaganda mission in Europe after publishing his polemic in 1841. Murad's patron, the Vicomte Onffroy de Thoron, connected him to the conservative press and purchased copies for the libraries of the Société Orientale and other colonial scholarly organizations.[43] Tracing the linkages between France and the Maronites back to St. Louis in the thirteenth century, Murad aimed to prove that the Maronites are truly French and have received protection for centuries. Using twin talents of obsequiousness and guilt, he justifies his request for French aid by portraying the Maronite community as a type of French Catholic colony in the Levant, in need and deserving of French support. Downplaying the schismatic roots of the Maronite church, he writes, "They retained faithful to the true faith, to the religion of their brothers."[44] A persistent genre of Maronite literature in the nineteenth century was the defense of Maronite connections to Rome from time immemorial, a tradition that would be carried through the rest of the century by clerics like Yusuf Dibs and

---

[43] "Actes de la Société Orientale" *Revue de l'Orient*, Tome Cinquième (Paris: Revue de l'Orient, 1844), 86.
The Vicomte Onffroy de Thoron would later contribute to Phoenicianist mythology in a book proposing Phoenician and Israelite discovery of the Americas. Vicomte Enrique Onffroy de Thoron, *Voyages des flottes de Salomon et d'Hiram en Amerique: Position geographique de Parvaim, Ophir & Tarschisch* (Paris: Imp. G. Town, 1868).

[44] Mgr. Nicolas Murad, *Notice Historique Sur L'Origine de la Nation Maronite et Sur Ses Rapports Avec La France, Sur La Nation Druze et Sur Les Diverses Populations Du Mont Liban* (Paris: Librairie d'Adrien Le Clere, 1844), 45.

Elias Hoyek, whose polemics I will explore in the final chapter on the Phoenician imaginary.[45] Bishop Murad quotes Saint Louis IX of France, who wrote in 1240, "We are convinced that this nation, that was established with the name of St. Maron, is a part of the French nation, whose love for the French resembles that which the French carry among themselves. Thus, it is just that all Maronites should enjoy the same protection that the French enjoy."[46] This quote would appear frequently in Arabic as well as French works produced by both missionaries and Maronites. One must note the invocation of the French monarchy and the crusades, which serves to explain the audience for Murad's work. His readership was likely clerical authorities in France like Cardinal Lavigerie who would rise to positions of power in the imperial and republican eras as well as the devoutly Catholic laity. Facing the shifting winds of revolution and counter-revolution, a romantic reimagining of the Crusades was a more stable anchor, the ur-*mission civilisatrice*. Murad's position within the Maronite hierarchy made his French *Notice historique* a foundational text for both French and Arabic historiographies of Maronites and Christianity in Syria. Tanyus ash-Shidyaq, a lay Maronite historian and collaborator of both Beiruti polymath Butrus al-Bustani and acquaintance of Ernest Renan, would be one of the first writers to use the term "Crusades" in Arabic by 1860 in his history of Lebanese *ayan,* notable families,

[45] Archbishop Yusuf Elias Debs, *Les Maronites du Liban: leur constante persévérance dans la foi catholique, épreuves religieuses qu'ils traversent* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1875).

[46] Murad, *Notice Historique,* 31-32.

echoing Nicholas Murad's claim that Saint Louis accepted the Maronites as part of the French nation, and they received the Franks joyously in 1099.[47]

Having encountered the first generation of Jesuits, who returned to Lebanon in 1831, Murad writes that they "glorify the French name" by "preaching the holy religion of Jesus Christ to the infidel across the world."[48] The support of the Jesuit order was linked to its association with the French state. There was another explanation for the loyalty Maronites held for the French. Shahin Makarius wrote, "Those belonging to the Maronite sect were under the protection of France, who visited the house of Maronite patriarch, informing him what they wanted and sending him half a million francs."[49] In plain terms, the age-old bond of fealty was also transactional in nature, a quid pro quo that gave the Maronites a source of foreign pecuniary and diplomatic support and the French a local constituency for their political ambitions in the Middle East.

Unrest, Polemics, and Humanitarian Intervention

[47] "*Hurub al-salibiya*", Wars of the Cross. Tanyus's brother Ahmad Faris Ash-Shidyaq, né Faris, fled to Egypt to escape persecution from Boulos Massad and Tanyus for their father Assad's conversion to Protestantism, eventually converting to Islam in Tunisia, taking the name Ahmad and embracing Islamic reformism. Tanyus ibn Yusuf ash-Shidyaq, *Kitab Akhbar al-ayan fi Jabal Lubnan* (Beirut: Butrus Bustani, 1859), 3. Protestant Missionary Isaac Bird says "Tanoos, the other brother, had been in our service, and might easily have been a good outward Protestant himself, only he thought it quite foolhardy to attempt to struggle against the powers that be." He described their eldest brother Mansur as "a furious bigot, and brimful of the pure orthodox Roman apostolic spirit of persecution." See Isaac Bird, *The Martyr of Lebanon,* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1864), 102.

[48] Murad, *Notice Historique*, 41.

[49] Shahin Makarius, *Hasr al-litham an nakabat al-sham* (Cairo: n.p., 1895), 75.

In 1860, nearly two years of agrarian peasant unrest erupted in civil violence in Mount Lebanon, eventually spreading to Damascus. Predominantly fought between Maronites and Druze, the inability of Ottoman authorities to contain its spread allowed for European intervention and a brief French occupation. It was not a religious or ethnic war as many understood it to be. Historian Ussama Makdisi argues in *The Culture of Sectarianism* that the violence was communal, rather than originally sectarian, a social reorganization in which religious imagery was used to mobilize populations outside of elite control. Roger Owen has argued that the 1858 tensions leading up to the civil war of 1860 were in fact primarily economic, a class revolt that took on an ethnic dimension as it moved from northern regions of Mount Lebanon where both landholders and peasants were Christian to the Shuf on the southern side of Mount Lebanon where the landholders were Druze while the peasants remained Christian.[50] By this line of reasoning, European perception of the conflict as religious or ethnic was a fundamental misunderstanding of the conflict's background, though Makdisi and others disagree with this assessment. On the other side, European consuls had elevated Beiruti Maronites to a bourgeois class with the granting of European citizenship, first using them as *dragomans*, interpreters, later choosing from that community agents and intermediaries for European commercial interests, especially silk.[51] This would enrich Maronite families at the expense of the Druze and

[50] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy*, *1860-1914* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1981), 162-163.

[51] The Khazin family had previously served the French as consuls in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the formalization of foreign policy in the nineteenth century meant most European states had their own consuls in Beirut and employed the Khazins and other families in supplementary capacities.

Muslim merchant classes, who remained dominant in interior commerce, but lost business internationally.

These two movements, a peasant-landlord conflict and an urban mercantile rivalry were not in the hands of collaborative-cooperative elites, the clergy-landowner-sheikh class that transcended ethnicity and religion in controlling their communities, negotiating on their behalf in imperial affairs. In that system, Druze, Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Muslim elites generally cooperated in the pursuit of a common prosperity and the maintenance of peaceful coexistence and growth. Challenges to the system and unrest had occurred during the relative liberalization of Egyptian rule as well as through the uncertainty during the implementation of the *Tanzimat* reforms beginning with the *Gülhane* or *Tanzimat Fermanı*, the Decree of Reorganization in 1839. These were times of change and adjustment in regards to the personal status of minorities, but the foundation of elite cross-sectarian cooperation remained through the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the revolts of the late 1850s through 1860 constituted something else entirely. Peasant revolutionaries like Christian rebel leader Tanyus Shahin upended traditional hierarchies of class, wealth, and social status, challenging the *modus vivendi* of Mount Lebanon. Indeed, the modern Khazin family remembers the 1858-1860 unrest as a "revolution, when the peasants took Khazen lands by force."[52] Nevertheless, the family retained over two hundred properites, including the patriarchal palace at Bkerke, north of Beirut.This peasant-landlord conflict with also implicate the Maronite hierarchy, willing partners of the

[52] Matthew Olson, "An Interview with Cheikh Malek el-Khazen."

Maronite *ayan*, landowning notable class. As the better armed and trained Druze militias mobilized against the Christian rebels, they confirmed European views of eastern disorder and the need for Western European intervention and reform in the Ottoman Empire.

While landlord-tenant disputes had simmered for more than in a year in the Keserwan, Metn, and Shuf regions of central and southern Mount Lebanon, it was in the spring and summer of 1860 that marked the beginning of a sect-based regional conflict. The murder of a Muslim man in Beirut, followed by the lynching of a Maronite in retaliation nearly led to widespread violence in Beirut, but the swift dispatch of two thousand Ottoman troops prevented it.[53] However, the situation in the Keserwan and Metn districts of Mount Lebanon was beyond the reach of the Ottoman security apparatus. Druze Sheikh Isma'il al-Atrash brought three thousand militiamen from the Hawran region south of Damascus to buttress the position of the Sa'id Jumblat and the Druze in the Metn and Shuf districts. The limited Ottoman garrisons in Beirut, Damascus, and Sidon saw little point interfering in the clan conflict, though the allegations that they had foreknowledge lack for evidence. The Druze militias defeated the Maronite peasant revolutionaries in a few weeks, culminating in the massacre of nearly three thousand people in Dayr al-Qamr. The Hawrani Druze returned south, pillaging Jezzin, Zahle, Hasbaya, and Rashaya, likely as compensation for their service to the Jumblats and other Druze landowners.[54] Estimates are difficult

[53] Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut: The Sunni Muslim Community and the Lebanese State, 1840-1985* (London: Ithaca Press, 1988), 19.

[54] Bentivoglio to Thouvenal, 26 Oct 1860. MAE, CPC Turquie (1860-1861), P/817.

to judge from fundraising and propaganda sources, but upwards of ten thousand were killed in Mount Lebanon, including nearly two thousand in the small towns of Hasbaya and Rashaya.[55] Refugees fleeing the violence and their ruined villages poured into Beirut, swelling its population to sixty thousand from just six thousand in 1830, shifting its ethno-religious makeup with the addition of Maronites, Melkites, and Orthodox Christians.[56] Among this group were many orphans, put under the care of Jesuit, Lazarist, and other missionary groups. This was transformational, not only changing the economy and social world, but also communal reltions. In the analsysis of Leila Fawaz "migrants became a divisive force…They brought with them prejudices against all members of whatever group had occasioned their departure, and they handed their feelings down to their children and others who had neither experienced nor participated in the original disputes."[57] Even after the guns of 1860 had fallen silent and Fuad Pasha executed his justice, the communal conflict remained and evolved in a new urban environment.[58]

[55] I'm forgoing an account of the spread of violence to Damascus, instead focusing on the conflict and French occupation of Mount Lebanon and Beirut. Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 64.

[56] Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1.

[57] Ibid., 6. "The role of migrants in the growth of sectarianism in parts of the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is undeniable".

[58] Şerif Mardin makes the additional argument that Fuad Pasha's swift justice perhaps alienated the local Muslim population in addition to the Ottoman acceptance of a Christian governor for Mount Lebanon.

1860 was a critical moment for the Ottoman Empire domestically and internationally, as Ottoman elites sought to reform governmental systems and European agents increased their influence. The outbreak of the American Civil War, cutting off the supply of cheap American cotton, would soon make the Lebanese silk industry highly profitable, comprising sixty percent of Beirut's exports, and the top purchasers of Lebanese processed silk as well as silk cocoons were French merchants from Lyon and Marseille.[59] In a seminal 1960 article, Dominique Chevallier argued that the French occupation of the Levant after the First World War was based principally in the Lyonnais financial, industrial, and commercial interests there.[60] Kais Firro would make a parallel argument that the post-1860 silk trade fueled the growth of Beirut as an Ottoman port and Lebanon as an autonomous zone. The brokers, bankers, and owners of the factories made the most of the booming trade, financed by French capital and predominantly operated by Syrian Christian men, while the vast majority of the workers themselves were women, who made an average agricultural wage.[61] Both the Maronite church and French capital were closely involved in the

---

[59] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1981), 161, 165.; An additional effect of the American Civil War on Lebanon was the cut in funds by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Their budget was cut by one third, and even after the war, it did not fully recover. Combined with the emergency expenditures by Protestant missionaries in Syria and Lebanon in 1860, this crippled Protestant missions for decades, though the early establishment of the Syrian Protestant College allowed it to weather the financial storm. ʿAbdul-Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901, a Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 151.

[60] Dominique Chevallier, "Lyon et la Syrie en 1919 – Les bases d'une intervention," *Revue Historique* 224, Fasc. 2 (1960), 275-320.

[61] Kais Firro, "Silk and Socio-economic Changes in Lebanon, 1860-1919," *Essays on the Economic History of the Middle East*. Elie Kedourie and Sylvia G. Haim, eds. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1988.

expansion of the silk industry after 1840. The cataclysm of 1860 and the settlement agreed in its aftermath presented another opportunity for these forces to secure their interests.

The economic dimension of the war was evident as Druze bands smashed nearly every Christian-owned loom during the conflict, many of which were owned, funded, or administered by Maronite ecclesiastical authorities in partnership with French financiers. Additionally, the ports of Greater Syria ran tremendous trade deficits in the nineteenth century, imports nearly twice as much as exports, from the time of the Egyptian occupation, when trade with Europe was liberalized, until the outbreak of the First World War.[62] This led to an ever-increasing European ownership of Lebanese businesses and property. Lebanon was an important market for French goods, and an important supplier of French raw materials. These economic links between France and Ottoman Catholics encouraged French intervention to undermine Ottoman authority. The fact that the turmoil of 1860 occurred in Lebanon offered to France the tantalizing prospect of occupation and colonization of a friendly, commercially-connected Arab Christian province.

After protracted negotiations between the European powers as to the national composition of the expedition, an exclusively-French force of twelve thousand arrived in August 1860, after Ottoman order had been reestablished by Fuad Pasha.[63]

---

[62] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy*, 96, 247-248.

[63] British sources allege that the number was significantly smaller, as low as six thousand. Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à M. le Comte de Persigny, à Londres. Paris, 16 Juillet 1860. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. *Documents Diplomatiques. 1860* (Paris : Imprimerie Impériale. M DCCC LXI) 200.

Concerned that the French expedition could occupy littoral Syria on a more permanent basis, Fuad carried out summary executions of negligent soldiers, while exiling officers and the governor of the Damascus *Vilayet*, Hurşid Pasha. While European commentators took this as evidence of Ottoman complicity in the massacres, it was more likely an attempt to demonstrate to both Syrians and Europeans that justice was being done publicly. In that task, it was effective, as the Great Powers prevented a wider and permanent French occupation, instead confining them to Mount Lebanon and the Bois des Pins outside Beirut, while the *Règlément Organique* was negotiated between the Great Powers and Ottoman authorities.[64]

In the years and decades that followed the civil war, French personnel and capital were invested in the Levant at an unprecedented rate. Empire-wide, European industrialists and financiers increased their control over Ottoman industry and economic development, in parallel to increasing European control over Ottoman fiscal affairs through lending, culminating in Anglo-French consortiums creating the Ottoman Public Debt Administration and the Egyptian Suez Canal Company in the 1881 and 1875. Within Lebanon, French commercial ties with the silk industry grew, as Maronite clergymen negotiated deals with French silk companies, and the Jesuits and other orders expanded their educational system considerably in tandem.[65] While 1860 can be understood as a breakdown of the system, the end of conviviality and elite

[64] Coincidentally, it was from the Pine Residence constructed by Alfred Sursock in the forest that Patriarch Elias Hoyek would hear French High Commissioner Henri Gouraud announce the establishment of Greater Lebanon in 1919.

[65] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy*, 158.

cooperation in Lebanon, it can also be seen as a beginning or critical point of evolution for sectarian identity, especially the Franco-Maronite sectarian identity fostered by Catholic missionary activity both before the civil war and with the growth of French endeavors in the war's aftermath.

While the French government had been suspicious of Jesuit action and the society remained banned in France for decades, French consular personnel in the Ottoman Empire lobbied for government support. This duality became a running theme for the missionaries, notably after the ouster of Napoleon III in 1870 and the establishment of the Third Republic. In spite of their suspicions about clerical and especially Jesuit influence on French society, secularist and disestablishmentarianist politicians continued to support French Jesuit action abroad. It was the French Consul in Beirut, the Comte de Bentivoglio, who successfully had them elevated to the same status as the Lazarists, who has inherited Jesuit establishments in the Levant after the suppression of the order by the French crown in the 1780s. In the aftermath of the destruction of 1860, Bentivoglio ensured that two Jesuits were represented on the reconstruction committee of Beirut, administering aid sent from Europe and supplied by the Ottoman government as a term of the 1860 *Règlement Organique*.[66] With the support of l'Abbé Lavigerie and l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, the Jesuits rebuilt churches, built orphanages, and expanded schools in Sur, Sayda, Beirut, Bikfaya, and Zahle. In doing so, they created a new social world for Christians from multiple sects and regions, who had only generally attended village church schools previously. After

[66] Bentivoglio to Thouvenal. 26 October 1860, CPC Turquie (1860-1861) P/817, 13-15.

the initial subsidy from Lavigerie's organization, the Jesuits would gain government support for their French instruction in the decades after.

These charities served a dual purpose: providing services to victims of the 1860 violence and fundraising based on that victimhood. François Lenormant, an Orientalist author of works on classical archaeology, offered another polemical account, portraying French forces as not occupiers, but civilizing humanitarians, saving Syrians from fanatical Turkish rule, while faithfully retelling the new mythology of Lebanese martyrdom. Lenormant would go on to take a leadership role in l'Œuvre des écoles d'Orient after the death of his father Charles, one of the organizations' founders.[67] Working in tandem, Lenormant and de Damas would canvass Catholic Europe, preaching, writing, and fundraising for *l'Œuvre*.

Beyond the accounts of Europeans and Maronites, the artistic world shaped France's response to the civil unrest. In his ode "Les Massacres au Liban," Jean Léopold Courcelle-Senuil, a French imperial medical officer, offers a poetic polemic by sanctifying the Christians victims as martyrs, while satisfying popular appetites with a nearly pornographic account of Islamic brutality. In spite of featuring a preface by France's favorite Muslim, the pensioned Algerian rebel ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri, Courcelle-Senuil nevertheless offers a little subtlety in his Islamophobia, writing: "The Muslim, possessed by his greed, grows dizzy in in these places of Christianity. In one hand he sows the flame. In the other, he holds a dagger. He kills child and woman,

[67] Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient. Vol I-II. March 1860 (Saint-Cloud : Imprimerie de Mme Ve Belin), 1-2.

rich and poor, young and old."[68] He continues: "The priest receives his death in prayer at the altar. And in the solitary convent, holy sisters, what is your fate! Death, insults, pillage, and above all devastation. Nothing was forgotten in this shipwreck of civilization."[69]

Redrawing the Map

Sixty years after Napoleon invaded Egypt and sixty years before the forces of France would occupy the Levant in the aftermath of the First World War, both French and Syrian voices argued for the imposition of French rule in the Holy Land and Syria through Christian partners. At the end of his *La Vérité sur la Syrie et l'Expédition Française*, an account of the 1860 occupation that *did* occur, the French Orientalist historian and activist Baptistin Poujoulat outlined what might be considered his roadmap for peace and stability in the region. He wrote:

> Serious minds in Beirut would like for the Christians of Syria to be united in the region from Tripoli to Saïda, north to south, inland to the Anti-Lebanon in the east. This would form a small Christian kingdom, on whose throne would sit a European prince, chosen by Europe itself. This kingdom would pay tribute to the Ottoman Porte as well as to Egypt.[70]

The geographical division specified by Poujoulat corresponds quite closely with the concept of Greater Lebanon, to which the Maronite leadership aspired and received from the French during the mandatory period. An alternative, proposed by the author

---

[68] "Les Massacres du Liban, Ode" (Paris: Imp. R. Housse, 1860), 6.

[69] Ibid., 7.

[70] Baptistin Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur La Syrie et l'expédition française* (Paris: Gaume Frères et J. Duprey éditeurs, 1864), 518.

of *La Syrie devant l'Europe* in 1861 was the creation of a triple emirate, independent of Ottoman rule.[71] In this proposal, a Maronite would be appointed to rule Mount Lebanon from the government seat at Dayr al-Qamr, while a Druze sheikh and Greek Orthodox leader ruled from Damascus and Nablus respectively.[72] Conveniently ignoring the Muslim majority in the region, this minority-ruled state would be entirely dependent on French protection and control. However, as Shahin Makarius, a Christian Lebanese expatriate in Cairo notes, this was not a new development. In his chronicle of the events of 1860, published in 1895, he writes, "The French had tried to take over *bilad al-sham* twice before, stopped by the English during the age of Napoleon Bonaparte. They supported Ibrahim Pasha, the only European country to reinforce his side with aid."[73] Henri Lammens, a Jesuit historian of Syria who immigrated at age fifteen to attend the Ghazir seminary, noted the presence of two French officers, Suleyman Pasha, formerly Colonel Sêves, and M. de Cérisy, high in the ranks of Mehmet Ali Pasha's army, representing France's moral and material support for Mehmet Ali.[74] To all outward appearances, French interventionism and undermining of Ottoman authority in the Levant were certainly not out of character. Poujoulat's ambitions for his European-ruled Christian kingdom are not solely for the benefit of the Arab Christians; he dreams of exploiting "mines de fer, de cuivre,

---

[71] *La Syrie Devant l'Europe*, (Paris: Imprimerie de L. Tinterlin, 1861), 30.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Shahin Makarius, *Hasr al-litham an nakabat al-sham*, 75.

[74] Henri Lammens, SJ, *La Syrie, Précis Historique, Deuxième Volume* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1921), 153.

d'argent et d'or, peut-être" – iron, copper, silver, and gold, perhaps, in addition to the already flourishing silk trade, which by the 1860s was dominated by Lyonnais merchants with significant political influence in the foreign ministry.[75] As mentioned earlier, these flourishing business interests made Greater Syria a tempting site for French capitalists in addition to those motivated by religious ambitions or the *mission civilisatrice*, the civilizational dimension of European racial hierarchy. For all interested, the path to the political domination of the region went through French schools. The creation of missionary schools would spread French cultural norms and allow Christianity to flourish, posited Poujoulat, "and nothing would be easier than to find among the Christian population an army large enough, disciplined enough, and brave enough to reject in their deserts the barbarians that would attack the Christian kingdom."[76] Phaïm Chidiak, a naturalized-French Maronite interpreter for the French army in 1860 who assisted Poujoulat, offered a similar image, "As soon as the flag of France is shown in Syria, the hordes of assassins and pillagers will vanish into smoke."[77] This imagining of a welcoming population, willing to take the side of the

[75] Baptistin Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur La Syrie*, 519.

[76] "Les écoles s'y multiplieraient, le christianisme les ferait fleurir, et rien ne serait plus facile que de trouver parmi les populations chrétiennes une armée assez nombreuse, assez disciplinée, assez brave pour rejeter dans leurs déserts les barbares qui oseraient venir attaquer le royaume chrétien." Baptistin Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur La Syrie*, 519.

[77] *Revue de l'Orient: bulletin de la Société orientale* 1860/7-1860/12 (Paris: L'Agence Orientale, 1860), 84, 466. Biographical information from Alain Messaoudi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale*. Annexes (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015).

conqueror, seems to be the nineteenth century French equivalent of the canard, "we will be greeted as liberators."

Alfred Poissonnier and others argued that freeing the Eastern Christians was an imperative for the French state; their awaited emancipation would set off a domino effect for the values of French civilization in the East.[78] Titling his work *La nouvelle croisade*, Poissonnier considers the recent unrest the chance to liberate the region. He writes:

> The time has arrived for the last crusade. The populations that occupy the Muslim lands and live without a guarantee of rights demand a regular classification in the European circle. This demand has all the qualities of equality…We can and we must go to Constantinople and Syria to stop the massacres of Christians. That is not a misleading current, a political distraction, but the late affirmation of truth.[79]

To its advocates like Poissonnier and Jesuit Father Amédée de Damas, a new crusade to establish a friendly Christian state in the Levant was not simply an issue of international politics, but a moral imperative. To those in the Catholic press and Maronite public, it was clear that promises of protection and eternal connection had been made, and in Lebanon's hour of need, they must be fulfilled. Now that the Maronite nation, loyal to France from time immemorial, was in trouble, intervention

---

[78] Alfred Poissonnier, *La nouvelle croisade: expédition de Syrie* (Paris: Imprimerie de A. Henry Noblet, 1860), 7.

[79] "Le temps est venu de la dernière croisade. Les populations qui occupent le territoire musulman et qui vivent sans garantie de droits, demandent un classement régulier dans le cercle européen. Cette demande comporte tous les caractères de l'équité….nous pouvans et nous devons aller à Constantinople et en Syrie pour arrêter le massacre des chrétiens….Ce ne'st point là un courant trompeur, un dérivatif politique, mais l'affirmation tardive d'une vérité." Poissonnier, 6.

on its behalf was not only necessary, but also required. If the Maronites had served the French Crusaders, as these writers claimed, so France should return to support its allies. Shahin Makarius, a Lebanese publisher based in Egypt, echoed these sentiments in 1895, writing that the establishment of a Lebanese emirate is needed "for the good of the Christians."[80] Fr. Jean Azar, the Maronite bishop of Sayda and representative of the Maronites in France, appealed in his 1852 work to the traditional French connection to the Maronites from the time of Charlemagne and the Bourbons through the revolutionary period and Napoleon, an argument pioneered by Mgr. Nicholas Murad. Invoking "patriotisme religieux," Azar says France must come to the aid of her "second Algérie, plus riche et plus fidèle que la première," richer and more faithful that the first Algeria.[81] Essentially, Azar was arguing that the French must honor the promises made by Napoleon, the Bourbons, and their predecessors since the Crusades, but in doing so, the republic could expand its civilization and achieve substantial economic gains, as it had in the colonization of North Africa.[82]

Azar already in 1852 argued that France must act to secure the Levant or risk ceding it to the British.[83] The two sides of France's involvement in the Middle East were intimately connected. The religious mission had strong political implications,

---

[80] Shahin Makarius, *Hasr al-litham an nakabat al-sham*, 73.

[81] Jean Azar, *Les Maronites, d'après le manuscript arabe du R.P. Azar* (Cambrai: Imprimerie-Librarie de l'Archevêché, 1852), 94, 71.

[82] "les droits des Marounites devaient être couronnés par les paroles de Napoléon" Azar, 68.

[83] Jean Azar, *Les Maronites, d'après le manuscript arabe du R.P. Azar* (Cambrai: Imprimerie-Librarie de l'Archevèché, 1852), 98.

while the political ambitions of France had a strong religious component. Combatting British influence and combating the growth of Protestantism were two sides of the same coin. Jesuit ideologue Henri Lammens and early twentieth century historian J.F. Scheltema both note that French soldiers, while departing for their mission of intervention and occupation in 1860, sang "Partant pour la Syrie."[84] The early nineteenth century song, inspired by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and Syria in 1798 was written by Napoleon's stepdaughter Hortense de Beauharnais and Alexandre de Laborde, invoking the Virgin Mary to bless a medieval crusading military mission.[85] Returning to popularity with the second French Empire, "Partant pour la Syrie" testifies to the resilience of French Catholic patriotism. The politics of intervening in the Middle East, whether to save Christian lives or undermine Ottoman authority were imbued with religious meaning. These were calls from many different perspectives, Arab, French, religious, and secular for intervention and greater involvement in Greater Syria. For their part, no matter how the Jesuits conceived of their Levantine mission, there were at least some key figures like Poujoulat, de Torcy, and others who viewed the order as a strategic asset to French political ambitions in the Levant, as well as others like Poissonier, Azar and Makarius who saw it as a moral imperative. Fundamentally, these views were not in opposition. Just as Lyonais commercial

[84] Henri Lammens, SJ, *La Syrie, Précis Historique, Deuxième Volume* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1921), 187.
J.F. Scheltema, *The Lebanon in Turmoil: Syria and the Powers in 1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 165.

[85] La Reine Hortense, "Partant Pour La Syrie" (Paris: Colombier, Editeur, 1815).

interests partnered with missionary orders, these figures understood French dominance and the protection of Levantine Christians as complementary goals.

De Damas was not easily discouraged by the short-lived nature of the French occupation of 1860. Four years later, he was advocating publicly for a crusade, an idea shared by many on the French Catholic right including Alfred Poissonnier. "The Oriental Empire is dying," de Damas wrote, "The extremities are cold, and soon the heart will be too."[86] Building up the Maronite element will enable Christian rule of the Arab provinces, de Damas argues, writing:

> Prepare the way for the triumph of God. Strengthen the Catholic element within the nation. Educate the nation; give it our soul, our spirit, our enlightenment, our energy, some of our abundance, and the day will arrive when the corpse of Islam will disappear. Europe, astonished, will find in front of it a strong and generous nation, equipped with the institutions that give life to its people. It will only have to declare its independence and enshrine the principle of its autonomy, and the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem will emerge from the ruins of the empire.[87]

In this view, harbored and supported by the church hierarchy, Catholicism and education would lead to a triumph of western values and even western governments over the Islamic-Ottoman system of rule. The Jesuits held a religious-imperialist vision for the future of the region; whether they projected this façade to gain greater financial support from the French foreign ministry or simply because a Christian polity was their ambition as well, there was political and religious co-enabling in the

---

[86] Amédée de Damas "Le Liban et l'Avenir Religieux de l'Orient*" in Etudes religieuses, historiques, et littéraires*, Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1864 (Nouv Ser, Tome 3), 137.

[87] Ibid., 138.

Levant. Thus, the French Catholic missions in Lebanon had increasingly political implications, and as will be shown, the political ambitions of the French state had a growing religious component, even after the fall of the Second Empire and return of government secularism in 1870.

Perhaps de Damas's most radical proposal was the formation of exclusively Christian agricultural colonies in the Beqaa Valley. In an 1861 proposal to resettle refugees from the unrest of the prior year, de Damas advocates Christian separatism, using Jesuit orphanages in Ta'anayil and Zahle in the Beqaa Valley as centers for new cities. De Damas asks for French military protection and a thirty year break from taxation for these "unfortunate Christians to cultivate their lands."[88] This was not particularly far-fetched, as the special status of Mount Lebanon was sometimes used to evade taxation, and the Ottoman government under the direction of Fuad Pasha spent considerable sums rebuilding after 1860. Interestingly, de Damas believed that centralization-preferring Tanzimat Ottoman authorities in Syria would welcome this settlement, as it would reduce the number of Christians scattered across Syria, centralizing and creating a stable and manageable segregated order.[89] While Ottoman authorities struggled to restore order in the months after the outbreak of violence in 1860, there's no evidence that they considered segregating Christians in a separate region. Nevertheless, this serves to illustrate de Damas's worldview, in which religious difference is the root of unrest and the solution is total separation.

---

[88] P. de Damas "Project de reconstruction de la Mission de Syrie," ACJ-Vanves, Collection PRAT, T. 9, 2011-2012.

[89] Ibid.

Sous nos drapeaux

The French flag was a powerful symbol of French values as well as its influence and protection in the Levant, *le protectorat religieux*. After the revolution of 1789, the tricolor became a global symbol of liberty, virtue, and resistance to oppression.[90] In the Lebanese context, it was more often a symbol of loyalty, what Ussama Makdisi has termed the "umbilical" connection to Catholic Europe.[91] Though the Ottoman sultan was Lebanon's sovereign, the French tricolor nevertheless flew over homes, monasteries, and businesses throughout the region. In light of France's protectorate over all Catholics of the Ottoman realm, French symbols were especially common in religious arenas, invoked by many Catholics, whether protégés of France or another power.[92] Bishop Nicholas Murad writes, "Their national flag flies over the monasteries, seminaries, and colleges. The Lebanon is, like another French land, free and easily accessible to subjects and protégés of the king of France and equally to Maronites."[93] Especially in times of turmoil, Catholic institutions invoked their French protection in an effort to prevent harm, though this at times had the opposite result with Druze bands targeting institutions flying the tricoleur, as Baptistin

[90] "Mais les trois couleurs, partout où elles flottent, dégagent comme une atmosphere de libertés varies, de nobles chevaleresque, qui provoquent un enthousiasme admirateur et en font desirer la maîtrise." Gaston Decombejean, *Sous les Cèdres du Liban, ou Les Bienfaits de la civilisation*, 13.

[91] Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*, 94.

[92] "Tous les religieux étrangers protégés par la France sans distinction de nationalité arborent le drapeau français." K.T. Khaïrallah, *La Syrie*, 62.

[93] Murad, *Notice historique*, 38.

Poujoulat claimed in 1860.[94] Flying the French flag in Lebanon served the interests of each community. It was a visible symbol of French power in the Levant, while also presumably protecting those flying it with the force of French arms. Numerous authors invoked crimes occurring against institutions flying the French flag as a justification for intervention. Decombejean argued that "more than all the others, France has the right to intervene directly, not only to save the Christians of Lebanon, but also to obtain a reparation for the injuries that they have faced. In effect, her flag has been insulted many times by the perpetrators of the massacres."[95] It was an obligation to defend those who showed loyalty to France, the Franco-Maronite *ethnie*. Phaïm Chidiak expressed similar sentiments in advocating for a French military intervention in 1860, writing, "In addressing the perpetrators of these horrible crimes, France will at the same time maintain the honor of her flag. In providing arms to the Maronites, France will give them the chance to prove that they were not lying when they called themselves French."[96] For François Lenormant, the French flag, even the tricolor of the French Revolution, was explicitly linked with Christianity in Syria. He writes: "It can be said, then, that on the day when the tricolor flag ceases to float in the Biblical mountain, the cross will be uprooted from this land where it has stood for

[94] Scheltema, *The Lebanon in Turmoil*, 32. Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur la Syrie*, 101

[95] Decombejean, *Sous les Cèdres du Liban*, 144.

[96] Phaïm Chidiak, "Quelques mots d'un Maronite sur les événéments de Syrie," *Revue de l'Orient: bulletin de la Société orientale* 1860/7-1860/12 (Paris: L'Agence Orientale, 1860), 84.

eighteen centuries, a land reddened with the blood of martyrs."[97] National sacrifice and religious martyrdom are synonymous in this view.

Renan and Scientific Racialism

In Ernest Renan, Lebanese Christian activists gained an idiosyncratic secular Orientalist advocate. A French philologist specializing in Semitic languages, Renan spend much of his career researching Biblical and Phoenician history, all while maintaining a strict belief in the hierarchy of races, in which Semites were "une race incomplete."[98] In his writing and lectures, he maintains an affection for Islam and Semites, while judging them as a lower civilization. However, unlike the Mongoloid and Negroid races, he writes:

> Jews, Syrians, and Arabs have engaged in the effort of civilization and have played an integral role of the perfectible race. This cannot be said of the black or Tatar races, while the Chinese have created a civilization apart. Considered physically, Semites and Aryans are but a sole race, the white race. Considered intellectually, they are one family, the civilized family.[99]

---

[97] François Lenormant, *Histoire des Massacres de Syrie en 1860* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette, 1861), 131.

[98] He exempted Ashkenazi Jews from this assessment by promoting the Khazar theory, a now-refuted idea that Europe's Jews descended from the Turkic population of the Khazar khanate that converted to Judaism. Ernest Renan, "Mélanges" in Revue européene: léttres, sciences, arts, voxages, politique. Vol 5 (Paris: Revue Européene, 1859), 393.
Nevertheless, for Renan Jews have "a singular and admirable historical destiny." See Ernest Renan, *De la part des peuples sémitiques dans l'histoire de la civilisation: Discours d'ouverture du cours de la langues hébraïque, chaldaïque et syriaque, au collège de France* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1862) 13.

[99] Ernest Renan, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1858), 479-480.

Arriving during the civil unrest of 1860, Renan directed an archaeological expedition for Phoenician and Hellenistic inscriptions and artifacts in Jubayl (Byblos) and its environs north of Beirut, which served to promote a Maronite link with classical Phoenicia. Researching the work that would become *Mission de Phénicie*, Renan and his sister Henriette visited the Jesuits in Beirut, while lodging for an extended period with the Lazarist fathers at Antoura, where Alphonse de Lamartine had stayed two decades prior.[100] He collaborated closely with the Maronite patriarch and church hierarchy, who offered logistical support and translation service, assisting him in obtaining classical inscriptions from the houses and churches of Maronite peasantry.[101] For Renan, archaeology was not an isolated academic discipline. Making narrow claims based on the limited evidence available did not serve his grander ideas of civilization, nation, and race. His politics informed his academic research, and his research legitimized radical ideas about history and society.[102] In time, the *Mission de Phénicie* would be cited frequently by Michel Chiha, Henri Lammens, and others arguing for Syrian and Lebanese independence. Classical history legitimized modern political claims.

---

[100] Association Amicale des Anciens Elèves d'Antoura. (Mai 1962. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Jeanne d'Arc), 5.

[101] Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1864), 13.

[102] While he would protest against the use of his work by anti-Semites, it remained popular in the anti-Dreyfusard Catholic right circles of the Action Française, notably by fellow patron of French schools in Lebanon Maurice Barrès and his colleague Charles Maurras.

Renan readily applied ancient history to modern circumstances, practicing a sort of ancient ethnography on the residents of the regions he visited, a practice shared by Lamartine, Volney, and other travelers. When writing of Baalbek in the Beqaa valley, Renan posits that it retained its Semitic name rather than the Latin *Colonia Julia Felix Heliopolitana* because the people there rejected Roman civilization. When juxtaposed with comparative poverty of the nineteenth century, Renan states the Roman monuments there attest to the fact that "a superior race passed by here."[103]

Renan's eclectic academic career influenced not only conceptions of Phoenician-Lebanese history, but also the role of Islam in contemporary society. It is here evident that his racial theories co-mingle with his ideas about religion, as he writes that "the Muslim (the Semitic spirit is mostly represented today by Islam) and the European are in the presence of each other as two beings of a different species, having nothing in common with the way we think and feel."[104] In this view fusing cultural Orientalism and contemporary racialism, Islam was fundamentally opposed to modern reason. "Everyone who is a little educated about the things of our time clearly sees the present inferiority of Muslim countries, the decadence of the states governed by Islam, the intellectual nullity of the races which derive solely from this religion their culture and

[103] Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 320.

[104] Renan, *De la part des peuples sémitiques dans l'histoire de la civilisation*, 13.

education."[105] Modernity in the Islamic world would required for Renan a triumph over the "fanaticism" intrinsic to the religion. In this, Renan's racial and religious theories cross-pollinated, as he embraced Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani's reformism because he was "entirely emancipated from the prejudices of Islam, belonging to those energetic races of the Upper Iran bordering upon India, in which the Aryan spirit still flourishes so strongly, under the superficial garb of official Islamism."[106] In parallel with absolving European Jewry of its Semitic origin through the Khazar theory, Renan embraces Islamic reformism, provided it originates in an Aryan racial context.

In Renan and subsequently Maurice Barrès, the Lebanist cause would gain two prominent advocates. In their position in the Collège de France, they collaborated with conservative political thinkers and government officials advancing a colonialist agenda. Their patronage granted legitimacy to visiting Syrians, facilitating meetings with political figures and friendly coverage in conservative newspapers. Renan operated a salon of sorts for Easterners in Paris, welcoming figures as diverse as Halil Ganem, Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu. In spite of his Islamophobic œuvre, Renan remained popular amidst progressive and reformist circles in the Ottoman Empire. In Muhammad Rafiq al-Tamimi and Mehmet Behçet Yazar's guide

[105] Ernest Renan, "Conférence prononcée à la Sorbonne en 1883," *Discours et conférences*, (Paris: éd. C. Lévy, 1887), 377.

[106] Ernest Renan, *L'Islamisme et La Science: conférence faite à la Sorbonne, le 29 mars 1883*, 213.

to the Beirut *Vilayet*, published in 1917, the Ottoman Syrian authors heavily cite Renan's work when describing Christian sites in the Palestine.[107]

Barrès, an anti-Dreyfusard journalist and academic, founded the Ligue de la Patrie Française and influenced the foundation of the Action Française by his friend and colleague Charles Maurras.[108] Whereas Renan's racialist logic was tempered at least by his affinity for the peoples of the Levant, Barrès adopted a more aggressive Christian nationalist posture. Barrès hailed the Maronite Church's fidelity to Rome, writing that they faced "the danger of a thousand deformations of their faith, forced by their interaction with Orthodox, Druze, Mutawalis, or Muslims."[109] For Barrès, Maurras, and their nationalist ilk, diverse societies degraded national strength. Thus, the settlement of Maronites in Lebanon, extracting themselves from Byzantine, Arab, Mamluk, and Ottoman societies, preserved their national purity. Syrian poet Chekri Ganem would echo his friends Barrès and Maurras in their praise of communal separation, dubbing the Lebanese "a people of heroes."[110]

Jesuit Racialism

---

[107] Mehmet Refik [Al-Tamimi], Mehmet Behçet Yazar, *Beyrut Vilayeti: Tetebbuat-ı ilmiye ve edebiye* (Beyrut: Vilayet Matbaası, 1333/1917), 394.
While Tamimi was an Arab nationalist activist, he worked for a government school in Beirut and follows an Ottomanist modernist line, even though he'd join Faysal's government after the First World War. The authors similarly follow Renan's ideas about Jews, distinguishing between the Ottoman Sephardim and European Ashkenazim. Tamimi and Yazar are generally more concerned with the poverty of Zionist immigrants from Russia and the potential for European intervention, rather than immigration in general, welcoming the investment in health and education. Refik, Yazar, *Beyrut Vilayeti*, 31-33.

[108] Henri Vaugeois financed the paper and founded the organization, but Maurras was the principal ideologue, and gained greater import after Vaugeois's death in 1916.

[109] ACJ RPO 21 – "Histoire et Presentation de la Mission."

[110] Chekri Ganem, "Liban," 23.

In parallel and in conversation, the academics, activists, and missionaries of the Society of Jesus developed their own understanding of race and its role in civilization. The Society developed in Spain during the Reconquista and inquisition alongside New Christians *conversos*. After early openness to this population, the Jesuits became very hostile after 1572, adopting anti-*converso* policy to prevent those with Jewish lineage from joining, and they did not formally rescind Blood Purity law until 1946.[111] While scientific racialism would gain secular academic legitimacy in the nineteenth century, its foundation was the Catholic interpretation of the Generations of Noah, a portion of the Book of Genesis that tells the story of the repopulation of the earth after the great flood.[112] This text gained the title "The Table of Nations" as religious scholars applied the migrations of Noah's sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth to modern populations - Semites, Hamites, and Japhetites.[113] In the era of colonial expansion, this offered a religious justification for European supremacy. European Jesuit missionaries in the Americas argued that Africans, a Hamitic people, were cursed for Ham's seeing Noah's nakedness in Genesis 9.[114] They used this to justify

---

[111] Robert Aleksander Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[112] Genesis 10, paraphrased in Chronicles I.

[113] The etymology of Ham was once thought to mean burnt or black, but is now undetermined. David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 144.

[114] Technically, the curse was upon Canaan, Ham's son. "And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren" Genesis 10:24-25. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints used this passage until 1978 to deny priest hood to Africans and African-

their holding slaves in 1840.[115] The Jesuits planned their missions around this Biblical-racial hierarchy. One justification for Jesuit expansion in the Levant was that Levantine Arabs have a higher civilization than Africans, and capable of being deployed as missionaries of civilization in North Africa and West Africa.[116] This is born out by the frequent employment of Levantine Arabs in the administration of Arab and other colonized populations, both by British and French authorities.[117] While this can be partially explained by the position of Beirut as a center of education and specifically language education, one cannot discount the British and French shared view of Levantine Arabs as the most evolved population in the region. While Amédée de Damas would first advocate for agricultural colonies in the Beqaa to segregate Maronite and Melkites from Muslims and Druze, he later would propose settling Maronites in Algeria to serve as a French clientele.[118]

Jesuits' ideas about Islam and Arab civilization did not differ significantly from contemporary conservative academics, though their narratives, as in the accounts

---

Americans. Augustin Calmet, a French Benedictine friar argued for Ham's blackness in his 1722 *Dictionnaire historique*.

[115] Thomas Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838*, Studies in African American History and Culture (London: Routledge, 2001) 177.

[116] Richard F. Clarke, S.J., *Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1889), 291

[117] USJ and SPC graduates, especially those with medical degrees, were ubiquitous in the administration of British-occupied Khedival Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Somewhat rarer were figures like Chekri Ganem and Daoud Ammoun, who served as translators and bureaucrats in the French Protectorate of Tunisia.

[118] This followed previous Jesuit proposals to settle orphans and street children from their orphanages in Paris in Algeria. It was again proposed after the First World War. See Georges Yver, *Les Maronites et l'Algérie* (Alger: Ancienne Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1920).

of 1860, emphasize the religious dimension of communal conflict in the Middle East. In this view, Islam was a fatalistic militant religion, defined by earthly desire, and the natural enemy of Christianity. Echoing accounts of the Crusades, Jesuit Richard Clarke wrote "Its false Prophet takes the place of the true Prophet; its spirit of fatalism of Christian resignation. Its promise of sensual paradise to all who die fighting against the Cross is at the same time a caricature of the promise of Heaven to the Christian martyr, and a most effectual incentive to an eternal hatred of the 'Christian dogs.'"[119]

Father Henri Lammens presents an interesting case study for the development of racial-religious views, as the Belgian immigrated to Syria as a teenager to attend the Ghazir seminary. An orientalist and classicist, he would spend his entire career teaching at Université Saint-Joseph and conducting research in Greater Syria, collaborating with French mandatory officials at the request of High Commissioner Herni Gouraud to write an official national history of Syria in order to discourage pan-Arabist tendencies in the 1920s, publishing extensively in Arabic and French. His position as both a student and teacher of the Lebanese Jesuits offers unique insight into the civilizational worldview the schools produced and reproduced. Analyzing the character of Ishmael, Lammens concludes that Arabs are "incapable of rising unaided above the clan idea, or of conceiving any higher form of social organization."[120] This

[119] Richard F. Clarke, S.J., *Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade*, 296.

[120] Herni Lammens, *Islam: Croyances et Institutions* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1926), 11.

"anarchical temperament" functioned as a justification for separating the state of Grand Liban from Syria after the establishment of the French Mandate.[121]

Vatican delegate and Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem Ludovico Piavi, who replaced the influential Patriarch Valerga in 1873, was a frequent ally of the Jesuits, though he pushed back against the Gallicizing tendencies of the mission, accused by the French Consul Roustan of being "imbued with Italian ideas, suspected of having taken part in Garibaldi's banditry."[122] In spite of this political mistrust, he was a conduit of Vatican and European power in Palestine. His frequent collaboration with Uniate Christians and Jesuits in Syria gives weight to his racial analysis. In an address to a conference of Latin and Eastern clerics in Jerusalem in 1893 including the future Maronite patriarch Elias Hoyek, Piavi argued that "the Semite is incontestably conservative," while adding that "the Greek is only Oriental in a limited sense, due to their relationship with Latin Europe."[123]

French Jesuits planted the seed of social disintegration through their teachings on race, culture, and national identity. They colonized the minds of Ottoman

---

[121] Ibid., 11.

[122] The Jesuits in Syria had an acrimonious relationship with the Latin Patriarch of Jeruslaem and the Apostolic Delegate (i.e. Vatican ambassador). Their dual loyalties to their French funders and their Roman superiors were further complicated by the overlapping position of Latin Patriarch and overlapping jurisdictions of Latin, Melkite, Maronite, and Chaldean patriarchates. Both in the 1860 period with Mgr. Valerga and around the turn of the century with Mgr. Piavi, the Jesuits usually found ways to work with those authorities, especially in times of crisis. M. Outrey to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, MAE. 8 August 1863. CPC Turquie – Beyrouth, Vol. 15, 1863-1864, P/818. M. Roustan to Comte de Rémusat, MAE 11 March 1873. CPC Turquie – Beyrouth, Tome 20, 1873-1876, P/821.

[123] *Congrès des Œuvres Eucharistiques, 28, 29, 30 Juin 1893*. (Paris: Imprimerie paul Feron-Vrau, 1905), 28-29.

Lebanon's Christian notability for religious and political reasons, seeking to bring Eastern Uniate churches closer to a fuller Union with Rome and Christian Lebanese closer to a cultural and political loyalty to France. And for this, the Lebanese would pay dearly. Mythologized as the haven of the persecuted, Christian Grand Liban then had to become that, at the expense of participation in the Ottomanist experiment and, more importantly, friendly relations with Muslim populations of Lebanon and the greater region. Without a shared understanding of their shared past, the Lebanese were condemned to internecine conflict, a battle over their past and future.

Chapter II

Lyon to Liban:

Language, Nation, and Faith in the Jesuit Schools of Ottoman Lebanon

"The Christians of Syria," wrote Damascene Jesuit Father Georges Angelil 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.[124]

As Angelil's words illustrate, the Jesuits in Ottoman Lebanon did not limit themselves to the spiritual or educational sphere, increasingly extending their reach into contemporary Ottoman and Beiruti politics after 1860. Moreover, the educational encounters between Uniate Eastern Rite Catholic communities and the Jesuit order precipitated an evolution in national, linguistic and religious connections between France and Uniate Christians over the succeeding decades. While the vicissitudes of French politics throughout the nineteenth century allowed for little consistency in the relationship of the Jesuit order to the French state, the ideological secularism of French Republicanism rarely impeded cooperation with missionaries outside Europe. Having adopted a French identity to promote the proliferation of the French language and influence in Ottoman Lebanon, the Jesuits partnered with clerical and secular

[124] Georges Angelil, SJ. *Les Massacres de Damas en 1860 par un témoin oculaire*. MSS, 1885. ACJ: RPO 10, 104–105.

Maronite and Melkite elites in their educational and missionary activity, eclipsing the influence of earlier Italian missions in the process. This represents the principal bargain between the French government and the Jesuits; teaching the French language was a means of propagating national influence and fostering allegiances among the non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire.[125] However, the graduates of the Jesuit schools, the Ghazir Seminary and the Université Saint-Joseph learned much more than just the French language; together, the French and Arab Jesuits imagined and taught a new syncretistic national religious allegiance - Lebanese, French and Catholic.[126] This project manifested in their pedagogy, charitable works, and political texts.

In the aftermath of the sectarian instability and violence between Druze, Christians, and Muslims in Lebanon and Greater Syria in 1860, the newly-formed *Mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon and the *Vilayet* of Beirut became educational battlegrounds for more than a dozen national and religious groups from Europe, America, and the Ottoman Empire offering 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

[125] The French were by no means alone in this endeavour, competing with Russian, Prussian, and Anglo-American nation-religious institutions. Ussama Makdisi's *Artillery of Heaven* as well as works in this volume show the parellel process in American Protestant institutions. See Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

[126] While a national project for two nations may seem oxymoronic, this article will show how the Lebanese identity in these schools was imagined and disciplined as French-aligned and Catholic.

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 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 on Mount Lebanon.[127] 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, was "eminently patriotic."[128] Teaching the French language was a means of propagating national influence and fostering loyalty among non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the French government and the Jesuits had divergent goals and measures for progress, the 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 emphasis on French language, French history and French culture endeared them to the government. In spite of the latter's occasional anti-clerical bent after the fall of the Second French Empire in 1870, and the Jesuits

---

[127] Samy F. Zaka's dissertation offers an especially useful analysis of the USJ medical school, examining it as a site of accomodation between Catholic missionary clericalism and Republican secularism. In this view, the Jesuits were the mediators of French influence. See Samy F. Zaka, *Education and Civilization in the Third Republic: The University Saint-Joseph, 1875-1914* (Dissertation, Notre Dame University, 2006).

[128] Noël Verney and George Dambmann, *Les Puissances Étrangères dans le Levant en Syrie et en Palestine*, Paris: Libraries Guillaumin et Cie. 1900, 99. For a more detailed look at 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 savants, 2011).

tailored their curriculum to suit French colonial ambitions in the regions. Especially in the decades before the limited opening of *laïque* secularist schools fully funded by the French state 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 gain protections through Ottoman imperial *fermans* to open new institutions, gain special access to civil officials, and receive grants of land from Ottoman governors. At the same time, they simultaneously served French policy and cultivated the next generation of Uniate clerical leaders and civil officials.[129] In this collaboration with the French government, the Jesuits rarely compromised on their aims and means, but instead synthesized a hybrid mission that served both the former's national aims and the latter's religious aims: they created a Franco-Lebanese Catholic patriotism. In so doing, this hybrid religious patriotism supported their students' conception of a Christian *patrie*. Describing their curriculum and goal as either French or Catholic cannot fully explicate the message they preached and 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 Catholic populations and prioritized the teaching of the French language and French

[129] In this context, Uniate refers to the churches (Maronite, Melkite, Chaldean, Assyrian, and others) in communion with Rome, though retaining their own liturgies and other practices.

history over local languages and Arab, Islamic, or Ottoman history. Finally, the scholars and teachers of the Jesuit order in Syria fostered a special conception of Lebanese history focused on Lebanon's Phoenician, Biblical, and Crusader history.[130] 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 in this period.[131]

Across the Mediterranean, reports on French penetration into Syrian lands and society after 1860 encouraged the efforts of the colonial lobby to demand the colonization or occupation of the Mediterranean Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire. In this way, the tail wagged the dog. A limited group of French and Syrian Catholics promoted the idea of an historical connection between France and the non-Muslim communities of littoral Syria explored in the first chapter, which silk and other business interests in Marseille and Lyon were happy to support.[132] The colonial lobby ensured that the Jesuits and other French Catholic orders received funding for their efforts to educate and convert, while those religious groups proselytized Frenchness and provided the colonial lobby with propaganda supporting French expansionism in

---

[130] Maronite Jesuit Fernand Taoutel's illustrated textbook from the early twentieth century is a prime example of this historiographical tradition. See Fernand Taoutel, SJ, *Tarikh Suriya wa Lubnan wa Filastin al-musawwar* (Beirut: Matbaʾa al-Kathulikiya, 1934).

[131] While each Uniate church maintained separate, often contentious relations with the Vatican and the Jesuits, all sent students to the Ghazir Seminary as well as USJ, many of whom became Jesuit educators or clerical leaders within their church hierarchies.

[132] Dominique Chevallier, "Lyon et la Syrie en 1919. Les bases d'une intervention", in: *Revue Historique* 224, (1960), 2, 276-279.

addition to religious values. In Paris and Beirut at the turn of the century, Jesuit-educated lay figures like Charles Debbas, Georges Samné, Khaïrallah Khaïrallah and Chékri Ganem followed the models of their clerical educators by publishing books and articles in support of such an endeavor. These figures and their works shaped the discourse in France and the Levant surrounding littoral Syria and the "Eastern Question."

While Jesuits from France teaching French might at first glance seem expected and uncontroversial, the evolution of the mission in Syria from a strictly religious to a hybrid national-religious endeavor was gradual and contentious. The Jesuits of earlier centuries had come from many nationalities, but they were heavily French and Belgian. However, a predominantly Italian group of fathers led by Paul Riccadonna led the return of the order to Lebanon in 1831, and they remained influential at the Ghazir Seminary, located in the Keserwan district of Mount Lebanon north of Beirut, and other Jesuit residences into the 1870s, primarily working towards the gradual Latinization of Maronite and Melkite clergy.[133] In any case, 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 Churches, encouraging celibacy in the Maronite and Melkite clergy. This led Father Billottet, the superior of the mission in the 1850s to remark,

> 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

[133] Henri Charles, SJ, *Jésuites Missionnaires: Syrie, Proche Orient* (Paris: Gabriel Beuchesné, 1929), 20.

> study of Theology and Philosophy. It is for this reason we must rededicate ourselves to the teaching of Latin, the language of this college.[134]

At this point, all colloquial languages seem extraneous to the mission, and the language of the college remained Latin. This generation of missionaries was primarily dedicated to educating seminarians who would bring the Eastern Rite churches closer to Rome by abolishing or discouraging some of these churches' special privileges, including the marriage of clergy, use of Syriac and Aramaic in mass, and other theological issues. For these priorities, the language of the Roman church would be the most valuable. However, the 1860s represented a shift in mission personnel, target population, and even the language of correspondence. [135]

In their internal correspondence, the Jesuits of this early period show a reluctance to prioritize a secular language over the liturgical one, though gradually, the Jesuit institutions would mirror the outside world in adopting French as the *lingua franca* over Italian. During the controversial transition from Italian and Latin to French in the late 1840s, Father Abougit wrote to his provincial superior in Lyon, asking, "Will the College of Ghazir remain Italian or become French like the Mission itself?" adding "Under a French Rector, the subjects of all other nations will assimilate

---

[134] P. Edouard Billottet to P. de Jocas. 8 June 1853. ACJ: R PO VIII, Folder 8.

[135] Even working from 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. While Jesuits in Syria of early decades of the 1830s and 1840s corresponded as often in Latin or Italian or French, 1860 marked a turning point. 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 by the last period from 1869-1873, more than 91% of the collected correspondence was in French.

themselves to the French, as we currently assimilate ourselves through language to becoming Italian."[136] After the tenure of Italian Jesuit superior Father 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.[137] Commenting on the early changes in the curriculum and personnel, Father Maillard noted in 1848 that, "As 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."[138] Two years later, Abougit updated the provincial superior in Lyon on the linguistic evolution, noting that while elderly Italian Jesuits continued teaching philosophy and theology in Italian at the Ghazir seminary, French had become "the language of use, of which a knowledge is required in order to converse during recreation."[139] This final point is telling, as it speaks to the linguistic culture of Ghazir, the Jesuit seminary and mission headquarters, as well as to Jesuit and French missionary institutions overall.[140] 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.

---

[136] P. Louis-Xavier Abougit to M. l'Abbé Cambiaso. Ghazir, 26 November, 1848. ACJ: Collection Prat X, 398.

[137] P. Auguste Carayon, SJ*, Documents inédits: Notes historiques sur Cinq Jésuites massacrés au Mont-Liban en 1860*, Poitiers: Henri Oudin 1865, 107.

[138] P. Maillard, *Observations et recommandations laissés au P. Supérieur du Collège de Gazir, après la visite du Collège.* ACJ: Collection Prat X, 330.

[139] P. Abougit to P. Maillard. 14 May 1850. ACJ: Collection Prat X, 407.

[140] Chantal Verdeil comments on the parallel process of national homogenization among nuns, noting that by 1914, the Sisters of Charity were 90% French. See Chantal Verdeil, "Travailler à la renaissance de l'Orient chrétien. Les missions latines en Syrie (1830-1945)", in: *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 51 (2001), 3-4, 271.

While the center of Jesuit higher education would not shift from Ghazir 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 notable and bourgeois society through elite education in the late Ottoman period.

By the 1860s, French had supplanted Italian as the principal language of instruction at Ghazir and the other Catholic schools, much to the delight of the French diplomatic corps, while Arabic was taught alongside French in the village schools in Dayr al-Qamr, Zahle, and Bikfaya.[141] French Consul 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.[142]

As this passage shows, the "Catholic Protectorate" which France claimed in the Ottoman Empire only extended to Catholics aligned with French interests. When non-French Catholic clergy like the Vatican's delegate Mgr. Ludovico Piavi opposed French aims and Franciscan missionaries taught Italian, they were as foreign and enemy as the Anglo-American Protestants. Piavi, the representative of the Vatican and an occasional adversary of the Jesuits, "has shown an unfortunate influence over ecclesiastical affaires," French Consul Salvator Patrimonio wrote in the 1880s, adding,

---

[141] At Ghazir 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 in 6 levels. See *Catalogue 1868: Oeuvres Diverses de la Maison de Ghazir*, ACJ: Collection Prat IX, 63-70.

[142] Comte de Bentivoglio to Édouard Thouvenel, MAE. 18 May 1861. Archives Diplomatiques: Correspondance Politique de Consuls (AD: CPC). Turquie - Beyrouth, XIII. P817, 156.

"It 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."[143] The primary concern of the consulate remained influence, and the "Catholic Protectorate" was a means of achieving it. While French paranoia over British, Ottoman, Prussian and Italian ascendancy in the educational environment of Beirut and Mount Lebanon would only increase in the decades after 1860, the French partnership with the Jesuits had substantially achieved their goal of the Gallicization of Catholic education and the Eastern Rite hierarchy in the region. This was only reinforced and compounded by the actions of official and semi-official charities set up in the aftermath of the unrest and occupation of 1860, including the gift of a printing press to the Jesuits in 1856 by the *L'Œuvre des écoles d'Orient*.[144] A few decades later, Jesuit Father Ambroise Monnot appealed to the French Consul to intervene on the Jesuits' behalf to open a press to publish *al-Bashir,* a publication originally launched to follow the developments of the First Vatican Council.[145] Shortly thereafter, Monnot wrote again asking for French diplomatic help in keeping the press open during a period of Ottoman censorship.[146] Printing in both French and Arabic, the Catholic Press would be a crucial vector in the spread of French influence

[143] Salvator Patrimonio to Paul Armand Challemel-Lacour. 18 May 1883. AD: CPC Turquie – Beyrouth, XXVII, P825, 113-114.

[144] Joseph Nasrallah, *L'Imprimerie au Liban*, 53-55.

[145] Ambroise Monnot to Consul Général de France, Beirut, 1/7/1871, in Sami Kuri, *Une histoire du Liban*, 390.

[146] Ambroise Monnot to Sébastien Gaillard, Beirut, 1/20/1871, *Une histoire du Liban,* 391.

under the stewardship of Arab and European Jesuits including (Rizkallah) Louis Cheikho, Henri Lammens, Ferdinand Taoutel, and Louis Jalabert.

Though the French governmental backers of the Jesuit mission viewed these missionary activities through the lens of their political competition with Britain, the Jesuits saw themselves engaged in a war against sin and heresy, which is to say Protestantism. The Jesuits used a vocabulary of war and combat to describe their educational, theological, and cultural missions. In the construction and operation of the Ghazir Seminary, the Jesuit were forming, in words of Father Jean Bollig, "a *phalanx* of young teachers and writers."[147] By arming the young seminarians with scripture, European languages, and pedagogy, the seminary prepared them for war on Protestant heresy and British dominance. As the Jesuits acquired a printing press to publish the Bible and polemical literature, Rizkallah Khadra, an advocate and lay employee of the order, wrote that it would "fight well against the powerful American printing press.[148] The Archbishop of Beirut echoed these sentiments, stressing the need for the Jesuits "fight energetically against Protestant and schismatic schools, going on to say that a Protestant victory in the field of education would be "a triumph for the dissidents, a humiliation for the Holy Church, and it would result in the loss of a great number of souls."[149] Both sides identified the classroom as a primary place for

[147] Fr. Jean Bollig to Fr. Pierre Beckx, Charfé 1/24/1863, *Une histoire du Liban*, 142.

[148] Rizkallah Khadra to Claude-Regis Girard, Beirut, 5/12/1865, *Une histoire du Liban*, 201.

[149] "Ce serait un triomphe pour les dissidents, une humilation pour la Sainte Eglise, il en résulterait la perte d'une grand nombre d'âmes." "Observations du P. Rubillon sur le projet de Collège à Beyrouth," *Une histoire du Liban*, 408.

the educational battle, the indoctrination of the youth, to take place. Protestants discouraged villagers from attending Jesuit and Lazarist schools, for fear of the coercive power of teachers and administrators.[150] Catholic schools were known to force Greek Orthodox students to attend Catholic mass and skip Greek Orthodox religious holidays, and even resorted to forcing Muslim and Jewish students into eating non-halal and non-kosher foods.[151] The Catholic missions printed pamphlets decrying the heresy and error of the Protestants, describing the Protestant bible as "une bible mutilée."[152]

In the aftermath of the 1860 civil unrest in Mount Lebanon and Damascus analyzed in the previous chapter, the French government partnered with Catholic charity *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, enabling a rapid expansion of the number of schools and the number of students educated therein. Frequently, the French government used *Écoles d'Orient* as a means of distributing aid in Lebanon and Greater Syria.[153] Concurrently, these newly-

[150] Joseph Laborde to Pierre Beckx, Bikfaya, 11/14/1862, *Une histoire du Liban*, 131.

[151] Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, 184.

[152] Fr. Joseph Van Ham to Fr. Regis Champon, Beirut, 3/22/1870, *Une histoire du Liban*, 364.

[153] Abbé Lavigerie was a director and fundraiser for the organization, working with P. Amédée de Damas to raise funds for Jesuit schools in the region. Financial records from Ghazir in the mid-1860s after post-massacre emergency funding ended show annual dispersements from Propagation de la Foi of 30,000 frs. (1864-1867) as well as Écoles d'Orient ranging from 10,617 frs. (academic year 1864-1865) to 99,332 frs (academic year 1865-1866). ACJ: Collection Prat IX, 1949.

founded charities served the dual purpose of fundraising and public relations, leading groups of Maronites on fundraising tours to France, Germany, and farther afield.[154] Starting in 1860, *la Foi* began paying 25,000 francs annually to support the mission, alongside occasional extra sums.[155] In that tumultuous year, *Écoles d'Orient* paid 252,000 francs to the Jesuits.[156] While these sums would rise and fall with the fortunes of the state, especially after France's defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, these organizations established the lines of support for the Jesuit mission that would continue well into the twentieth century. Additionally, the subsidies gave the Jesuits a pseudo-official status, blurring the division of where French policy ended and Catholic missionary action began. This duality had unintended consequences for each party.

This support was predicated on the notion that French, 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 Abbé Lavigerie, often served as an interlocutor for the Jesuits with the Foreign Ministry in Paris, offering figures like Elias Hoyek and Amédée de Damas access to the highest echelons of power during their European fundraising tours. In Mount Lebanon during the years after 1860, Lavigerie led French diplomatic and religious delegations on tours of Catholic schools and orphanages in Lebanon, showcasing the achievements after the French expedition and occupation, while bringing Arab Jesuits to Europe to spread the word and

---

[154] Baptistin Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur La Syrie et l'expédition française,* (Paris: Gaume Frères et J. Duprey 1864)*,* 311-312.

[155] de Damas to Provincial, 6/5/1864. ACJ: Collection Prat X, 705.

[156] Ibid.

fundraise. Speaking at a Jesuit primary school in Lebanon in 1861, Lavigerie expressed these thoughts on the French language, saying:

> 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.[157]

His ideas were embraced as well by Baptistin Poujoulat, a historian and Orientalist accompanying the French army in 1860, who upon visiting a missionary school in Lebanon noted, "The 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 that have taught them, teaching them at the same time to love, respect, and admire France."[158] Missionary activity in the post-1860 period was effectively nationalized through the ideals of modern education. By offering a modern, scientific education in French, the Jesuits had made modernity and French education synonymous.

This is not to suggest that the Catholic missions forgot their religious aims in pursuit of national ones. Concurrent with these material gains, which undoubtedly had the approval of French republican bureaucrats, *la Foi* also tracked the number of baptisms, conversions, seminaries, seminary students, ordained Arab priests as well as churches built, noting huge increases in all categories.[159] While the schools opened by

---

[157] Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur La Syrie,* 299.

[158] Ibid. 25.

[159] Baptisms of adults jumped from 8,500 to 37,495, while churches and chapels rose from 450 to 3,575. These numbers should be viewed with some skepticism. They perhaps mark the

the Jesuits and other Catholic orders served the French political *mission civilisatrice* by teaching French, their mission and methods were at odds with a republican secularist vision. As one columnist for the *la Foi* wrote:

> Do 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.[160]

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."[161] For Poujoulat, French modernity, science, and civilization were inextricably linked to French Catholicism, and they comprised the ideal means to combat this ignorance. In an account of his visit to a Catholic primary school in Lebanon, Poujoulat writes: "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."[162] For the Jesuits and their allies, this trifecta was indivisible; Catholicism and Western Modernity were one.[163]

---

increased subvention budget of the organization rather than a veritable expansion. *Les Missions Catholiques* XXV (1893), 136.

[160] L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, *Les Missions Catholiques* XXV (1893), 315.

[161] Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur La Syrie,* 301.

[162] Ibid.*,* 95.

[163] Cheikho wrote in *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

Elevating Jesuit pupils within the hierarchy of the Eastern Rites would necessarily bind them to French modernity. While in the earlier decades the Jesuits' primary obligation was to their Superiors in Lyon and the Vatican, the growing ties with the French Consulate 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 nineteenth century.

Language and Power

Both religious and governmental figures drew deep connections between language and culture. Thus, knowledge of the French language became an understanding of French culture and civilization, and the colonialist and religious supporters of French education attributed to it a vast array of material and spiritual qualities. 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. Philosophically, the ideologues of this movement saw the French language as fundamental to the process of becoming civilized. It was more than just a means of communication; it was a worldview and a comprehensive system of enlightened beliefs, or as Mathew Burrows puts it, "the key to French culture."[164] In addition to its value as a precise language for medicine and law, for which Arabic was never seriously considered, the Jesuits and their contemporaries saw the very essence

---

cannot be called civilization." Robert B. Campbell, *The Arabic Journal al-Mashriq: Its beginnings and first twenty-five years under the editorship of Père Louis Cheikho* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1972), 162.

[164] Mathew Burrows, "Mission Civilisatrice: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860-1914," *The Historical Journal* 29 (1986), 1, 126.

of French as responsible for French civilization. Across the French empire, administrators argued that pre-modern ideas of feudalism and tyranny would remain until French supplanted the native language.[165] 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 abroad. 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."[166] Just as colonialist statesmen like Jules Simon, Jules Ferry and Charles de Freycinet came to associate modernity with French instruction, the language itself became a symbol of modernity and love for the *patrie*. Though 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, enabling a subversion of the Ottoman State when these young men rose to positions of authority.[167] 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 nineteenth century, the Jesuits began to concentrate

---

[165] Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: the Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1997), 132.

[166] Ibid., 132.

[167] 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.

on educating the lay population, rather than recruiting and Latinizing the clergy, a task they would eventually leave to the patriarchs in the twentieth 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 Syrian notable or French Levantine families, especially the Shihabis and Khazens, had attended the Ghazir Seminary since its founding, lay education became the priority over seminary education. Philosophy, Theology, and above all Latin were the basis for the seminary curriculum, but the importance of these subjects faded as lay student attendance increased and modern language and science became the preferred subjects of study. The final transformation occurred when the Collège de Saint-Joseph de Ghazir was transferred to Beirut in 1875, renamed as the Université Saint-Joseph to attract bourgeois lay attendance and better compete with the Syrian Protestant College in West Beirut.

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 the village schools, and Latin was retained at the seminary, Jesuit educators did not prioritize non-French language education for laity in higher levels. 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," adding, "for two years, 'do not learn Arabic' has been their

motto, and they sit in the class without participation."[168] A group of Jesuit teaching friars also regarded Arabic as a "diversion," that only required a half hour of study.[169] In effect, this mirrored their perception of Arab civilization – disordered and nonsensical. While Father Lefèbvre, 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."[170] 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 "Catholic Protectorate" and the *Règlement Organique* to the pedagogical sphere, in effect placing the schools of the Jesuits outside the Ottoman realm.

Vasa Pasha, the Albanian Catholic governor of Mount Lebanon during the 1880s under the *Règlement Organique*, specifically encouraged instruction in Turkish in the schools of Lebanon, offering government funding to subsidize the teachers' salaries. Writing to the Jesuits and the French Consulate, he opined, "It is a deplorable illusion to think that a bit of Arabic with French or English will suffice for finding

[168] "Memoire sur les classes arabes." 8/12/1887. ACJ: Collection Prat XXVII, 41.

[169] F. Louis Goormachhigh, F. Eugène Ulmer, F. Casimir Lauziere, F. Noory, F. Louis Laperrière to RP Provincial. 31 March 1877. ACJ: Collection Prat IX, 1747.

[170] R.P. Lefèvre, SJ., *Les Onze Premières Années de l'Université S. Joseph* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1886), 10-12.

employment."[171] He requested that Turkish be introduced as "a foundational element of instruction, not an accessory."[172] In accordance 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.[173] 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 and hired Ottoman bureaucrats as Turkish teachers while teaching Ottoman history alongside European history, the Jesuits never embraced Turkish language education, even as they shifted towards a more secular curriculum.[174] It was only several years after opening their Faculté Orientale in 1902 that they began to offer Turkish as an optional course, to

[171] As noted in the introduction, 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. AD: CPC Turquie – Beyrouth, P825, XXVII, 462.

[172] Vasa Pasha to Consulate, 8/27/1884. AD: CPC Turquie – Beyrouth, P825, XXVII, 464.

[173] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 15, 164.

[174] Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle: Liban XIII E. 113. Mayer Lévy, 2 July 1909. No. 8832/2.

complement primary the primary languages - Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic.[175] This neglect of Turkish education in the face of the centralizing efforts of the Hamidian regime and the Committee of Union and Progress was perhaps a factor in the eventual closure and nationalization of USJ by Ottoman authorities during the First World War.[176]

By the late 1850s, the Jesuits had begun to see the political results of their pedagogical efforts. Father Alexandre Bourquenoud commented on the various Christian rites, including Chaldeans, Maronites, Assyrians and Eastern Rite clergy being educated in Jesuit schools: "We are forming the element which one day will be called on to decide the destinies of their rites and their relations with Europe."[177] Cultivating an educated Francophile clientele class would prove beneficial for the Jesuits' position in the Catholic Church, due to newfound allies in the Maronite, Melkite, and Chaldean hierarchies, as well as in Beirut and Mount Lebanon's ruling elite. This was accomplished through the strategic use of scholarships, in the words of Jesuit Father Henri Charles, "as it was necessary to recreate a ruling class for these Christian people enslaved and decimated by infidels."[178] While the French government

---

[175] P. Bouillon, 2/18/1903. ACJ: Collection Prat XXVI, 753. As of the 1903-1904 school year, there was still no Turkish class offered at the Faculté Oriental. P. Cheikho to Superior, 1 October 1903, ACJ: Collection Prat XXVI, 1029.

[176] P. Paul Mattern kept a journal of the war years, with particular detail to the takeover of USJ and the Medical School, the expulsion of 'enemy' religious as well as the dispersal of Ottoman religious. See Archives de la Curie S.J., Rome, Mission de Syrie. "Documents copies par le P. Henri Jalabert" ACJ: R PO 1.

[177] P. Alexandre Bourquenoud to Provincial, 12/17/1859. ACJ: Collection Prat IX, 807.

[178] Henri Charles, *Jésuites Missionnaires*, 26.

and European donors might have believed these funds were used to support poor students who could not otherwise afford to attend, they were instead used to draw elite families away from traditional clerical tutors.[179] 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 – Shihab, Shidyaq, Chiha, Debbas, Eddé, Gemayel, Helou, Khazin, Khoury, Sursock, as well as Druze notables like the Arslans.[180]

A few decades later, much of the Melkite and Maronite clerical hierarchy were products of the French-Catholic education system, including Maronite Patriarch Elias Hoyek, "whose attachment to France is never found wanting," according to the manager of the consulate, M. Guiot.[181] While Hoyek left an indelible imprint on Lebanese politics in his thirty-three years in patriarchal office, his origins as a young seminarian should not be overlooked, nor should the cadres of young ecclesiastics who attended the Jesuit seminary alongside him. As the Jesuit superior noted at the turn of the century, "Among 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."[182] Once

[179] "Famille Gazène" n.d. ACJ: Collection PRAT, tome 9, 1.

[180] *Bulletin Annuel de l'Association Amicale des Anciens Élèves de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1925), 1.

[181] M. Guiot, Gérant du Consulat Général to M. le Comte Colonna Ceccaldi, Président de l'Alliance Française. 3 June 1891. AD: CPC Turquie – Beyrouth, XXXVI, P830, 160.

[182] P. Maître, "Séminaire Oriental" 24 August 1900, ACJ: Collection Prat XXVII, 453-454.

elevated to the patriarchal office with French consular support, Hoyek diligently protected the interests of the Jesuit and Lazarist missionaries, both in Syria as well as in Europe, where he frequently raised money, published, and founded a Maronite college in Paris. In one letter to Alphonse Saliège, the superior of the college of Antoura, Hoyek wrote: "Wherever they established themselves, they gained sympathy for France, for the excellent qualities which enhance them and the works useful to the society they patronize prove both the vitality and the splendor of the Catholic faith and the noble and chivalrous character of the French nation."[183] Defending the missionaries from attacks in their home country in 1903, Hoyek explicitly embraces a nationalist vocabulary. Father Louis Canuti, an early Jesuit missionary to Syria and a teacher and administrator at the Ghazir Seminary wrote, "I could not speak of the hundreds and hundreds of young men that have received a Christian education and are now distinguishing themselves today in civil society for their good conduct or are occupying high posts in the judiciary or commerce."[184] This was by design. By recruiting landowning notables with scholarships, the Jesuits ensured their network would supply both clerical and secular elites. Bourquenoud's ambition from four decades prior had come to fruition. By the turn of the century, twenty-five graduates had joined the Jesuits and another ten had joined the Lazarist order.

---

[183] "Témoignages de sympathie pour les religieux prosrits," *Relations d'Orient: Liban, Syrie, Egypte, Arménie*, Tome II, Janvier-Avril 1904 (Bruxelles: Polleunis et Ceuterick, Imprimeurs, 1904-1905), 34.

[184] Fr. Louis Canuti to Cardinal Alexandre Barnabo, Ghazir, 12/8/1864, *Une histoire du Liban*, 194.

It would be an instrumentalist exaggeration, if not condescending, to think the Jesuits "created" these figures; however, these students' encounter with French nationalism, Orientalism and racial theory certainly influenced their thinking, writing, and preaching, as they fostered a parallel modernity to the contemporary *nahda*, Arabic literary renaissance, and political Ottomanism.[185] The Orientalism of the Levantine Jesuits was based on the stereotypes of Eastern ignorance, ancient enmities, and Turco-Arab fanaticism and cruelty, combining centuries of Orientalism with emerging racial theory and Islamophobia. The Jesuits employed typical 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."[186] A colleague added that Greek Melkites "know neither the alphabet, nor history, nor dogma, and as a consequence, they have no need for books."[187] The ignorance of Christian populations and their perceived suffering under the Turkish yoke were necessary conditions for French Catholic involvement. Father Georges Angelil, a Melkite graduate of the Ghazir Seminary and later its Superior, was perhaps the most extreme and demagogic Jesuit author and educator. A survivor of the Damascus

[185] Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 9.

[186] "Rapport sur la Mission," 5/7/1880. ACJ: Collection Prat XXVI, 249.

[187] P. Fiorovich to Provincial, 1/18/1888. ACJ: Collection Prat XXVI, 365.

massacre of 1860, his intellectual mission became proving the barbarism and cruelty of Arabs and Islam, often in graphic language. "For the *Osmanlı* [Ottoman]," he writes, "the Christians are not men, but beasts, dogs, scum of the earth."[188] 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."[189] Finally, in a rhetorical flourish he translates *kafir* not as infidel or unbeliever, but as dog.[190] In another account, he even alleges that the imams of Damascus told their congregations that "[o]ur religion authorizes to kill them, to burn their homes, to violate their daughters and wives."[191] 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 Islamophobic intellectual currents at the university as well as in the mission as a whole.

Louis Cheikho, born Rizkallah Cheikho, was a Chaldean from Mardin educated from age eight by the Jesuits at Ghazir and the Université Saint Joseph, where he would teach from 1878 until the 1930s. Along with works on archaeology and Arabic philology, he contributed significantly to the Islamophobic and anti-Ottoman discourse in the Jesuit mission in Syria. One of the most prolific scholars of the Jesuit Orientalist tradition, Cheikho began his studies at the seminary in the 1860s

---

[188] Angelil, *Les Massacres*, 8.

[189] Ibid., 20.

[190] Ibdi., 7.

[191] P. Georges Angelil, *Les Chrétiens et les Musulmans de Damas en 1860 par un chrétien de Damas*, MSS. ACJ: R PO XI, 27.

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.[192] In private correspondence, he took a firm stand against Ottomanism after the CUP coup, writing, "The 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."[193] 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," as Akarlı termed the 1860-1914 period, lasted more than fifty years, the Jesuits and much of the Eastern Rite intelligentsia felt only insecurity. In time, Cheikho, Angelil and other Francophile clergyman and educators became the intellectual and political vanguard of the Jesuit order and 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

---

[192] Additionally, he authored numerous polemics against freemasonry, Islam, Protestantism and freethinking. See Louis Cheikho, *Un dernier écho des Croisades* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique 1906). P. Camille Hechaïme, *Al-Ab Luwis Shaykhu: ma katabahu wa-ma kutiba ʾanhu* Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1933), 37.

[193] P. Cheikho, 1/14/1915. ACJ: R PO XXXVI, Folder 6, 2.

themselves to France in the decades after the Jesuit order was suppressed there while maintaining their obedience to the Vatican.[194] 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."[195] 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 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 Beqaa, Jesuits from Lyon and Paris were more than happy to accept French funding and spread a fundamentally French message in the Catholic missionary schools.[196] Nevertheless, that same year Raymond Estéve wrote to his superior, "Our mission is, in effect, as the good consul [Bentivoglio] has said, truly French and of

[194] Talal 'Atrissi, *Al-ba'that al-yasuʿaiyah wa Muhimmat I'dad al-Kukhbah al-Siyasiya fi Lubnan* (al-wikala al-ʿalamiya lil'tuzia, 1987), 69.

[195] Campbell, *The Arabic Journal al-Mashriq*, 188.

[196] P. de Damas, "Projet de reconstitution de la Mission de Syrie," 1861. ACJ: Collection Prat IX, 2011-2013.

great influence."[197] A few months later, de Damas wrote that a land grant negotiated by the French government and given to the Jesuits in Syria is "a clear recognition [by France] of the mission and a link that attaches the missionaries to the government."[198] 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.

Republican Prime Minister Léon Gambetta famously declared that "anti-clericalism is not an article for export."[199] From the perspective of the French state, the reasons for abandoning anti-clericalism in its Levantine policy were clear; it was substantially cheaper to subsidize the Catholic missions than to build new schools, secular schools funded by the French government. Simultaneously *laïque* education would negate a decades-long patronage relationship between Uniate communities and French missionaries. 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. Moreover, the financial implications were obvious; According to Denys Cochin, a member of the French Parliament, Catholic primary schools only cost five to six

---

[197] Fr. Raymond Estéve to Fr. Pierre Beckx, Beirut, 5/28/1861, *Une histoire du Liban 1846-1862*, 305.

[198] Fr. de Damas to Fr. Pierre Beckx, Beirut, 9/15/1861, *Une histoire du Liban 1846-1862,* 313.

[199] Noël Verney and George Dambmann, *Les Puissances Étrangères dans le Levant en Syrie et en Palestine* (Paris: Libraries Guillaumin et Cie., 1900), 89.

francs per child annually, while *laïque* schools, subsidized by the government, cost up as high as forty francs per year.[200] 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.[201] While these figures were certainly tailored to suit their arguments, the fact remains. 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 would prove 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, and the nationalization of the Université Saint-Joseph, the French Jesuit School of Medicine, and primary schools in

[200] Joseph Aubès, "Le Protectorat religieux de la France en Orient" (PhD Dissertation, Université de Toulouse, 1904), 160.

[201] Verney and Dambmann, *Les Puissances*, 89. Aubès, "Le Protectorat religieux," 160.

Beirut and all across Mount Lebanon. However, in the context of nineteenth-century Ottoman politics, French intervention on the Jesuits' behalf was an unequivocal benefit for the order, if not for their clients, and 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 sectarian beliefs and identities in order to explain *bilad ash-sham* and its history, further exploration of communities and their education will add complexity to our understanding of emerging hybridized identities in the late Ottoman period. Education is a valuable field for this research not only due 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 theater 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.

This chapter contains material that previously appeared in *Entangled Education*, an edited volume from the Orient-Institut in Beirut. I was the sole author of this material.

Chapter III

Poetry and Politics:

Chekri Ganem and the Oriental Imagination of Belle Époque Paris

Strange memories of distant days,
Unknown as if in some mystical plane,
Or strange attractions towards a chimeric goal,
Who makes us wander here uncertain?"

In this labor as if in a dream,
It seems a corner of the veil is lifted,
And lets us see that the Fatherland is there.

-Chekri Ganem, "Exil"[202]

As Chekri Ganem emerged from the Odéon Theater into the freezing Parisian night on the twelfth of February 1910, he walked with a confidence through the flooded streets of the Latin Quarter. After nearly two decades in the *mahjar* and nearing fifty years of age, he had finally achieved recognition and renown as a poet, playwright, and novelist on both sides of the Mediterranean. Born in the baby-boom after the civil unrest of 1860, he attended the Lazarist College of Antoura, a few miles north of Beirut, learning French and beginning to write poetry. He left his native Beirut successively for Cairo, Tunis, and Paris, and at the Odéon that night in 1910, his masterpiece of oriental fantasy *Antar* had made its Parisian debut to wide acclaim in the national theater on the Left Bank.[203] Like the titular character of his play, loosely based on the pre-Islamic chivalric hero Antarah bin Shaddad, Ganem fancied

[202] Chekri Ganem, "Exil" *La Nouvelle Revue*, June 1896, 379.

[203] It had debuted the previous month at the Théatre de Monte-Carlo, 9 January, 1910. See "Les Théatres," *Le Figaro* 3:10 (10 January, 1910), 4.

himself something of an Arab knight errant, a warrior poet, a romantic and a rebel. His wanderings had taken him from his birthplace in Beirut and French Catholic education in the Keserwan of Mount Lebanon to a self-imposed exile from the Ottoman Empire in the Hamidian period, following his brother, the parliamentarian and Young Turk reformist intellectual Halil Ganem.[204] While Halil organized Ottoman liberal opposition to Abdülhamid's rule following the abrogation of the constitution in 1878, he remained an Ottoman loyalist until his death in 1903. Fifteen years younger and living abroad from his twenties, Chekri Ganem would become more thoroughly Gallicized. Dabbling in poetry, prose, and drama, Chekri Ganem would work first in Cairo and subsequently Tunis and Florence as a journalist and translator, rising to the position of archivist of the French Protectorate under Résident-General Paul Cambon, his first patron. While his employment by the administration of the French Protectorate of Tunisia certainly fit his education and emerging Francophile political orientation, his journey was leading him to the métropole in the footsteps of his brother. In Paris, Chekri Ganem would make his name.

As he tiptoed through the puddles and slush, turning onto the Boulevard Saint-Germain, he crossed the still-flooded Rue de Seine, perhaps glancing at the Société de Géographie, where in three years he would continue his evolution from Ottoman abroad to dissident nationalist as the vice president of the Syrian Arab Congress of 1913.[205] But for tonight, he would remain the Arab warrior-poet, lauded by *Le Figaro*

---

[204] Ramy Zein, *Dictionnaire de la littérature libanaise de langue française*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), 187.

[205] Some periodicals call this meeting the First Arab Congress or various other names, but considering the makeup of the attendees, and for the sake of consistency and clarity, I will use

and literary magazines, a hybrid of colonizer and colonized.[206] After the carousing had ended, he would return to the Right Bank of the Seine, to the apartment he shared with his French wife Anaïs-Marie Couturier in Passy, decorated in an oriental style. In the words of a prominent theater critic, his house "is artistically ornamented with trinkets, giving the illusion of the abode of an amiable, Parisian emir."[207] There is some irony in the fact that his life and career in France were defined by his Arab origin, with which he had a complicated relationship, as I will argue. Trading his tarbush for a fedora, Ganem's devotion to French culture only reified his status as an eternal foreigner.

Whether the oriental decor was truly the man or simply a character he played for a French audience, Chekri Ganem, his colleagues K.T. Khaïrallah, the Moutran and Arslan brothers, and their wide circle of friends, business partners and associates contributed to the Orientalist imagination and vocabulary in Belle Époque Paris and the evolution of the Syro-Lebanese nationalisms. Ganem's writings, both political and literary, contributed to the perception of Lebanese, Syrian, and Arab heritage, history, and national ambitions in the first decades of the twentieth century. This was a transformative time not only in French, Ottoman, and European culture, but also in the very language of national and racial rights. Though he had been born and raised in Ottoman Lebanon and had written his first works in the dynamic environment and

---

"Syrian Arab Congress" exclusively. *Al-Mu'tamar al-'Arabi al-Awwal* (Cairo: Matbaʿa al-Bosfor, 1913), 11.

[206] "Courrier des Théatres," *Le Figaro*, 12 Fév. 1910, 6.

[207] "Antar à l'Odéon," *Le Figaro*, 16 Fév. 1910, 5.

emerging literary culture of Khedival Cairo after the 'Urabi Revolt, Ganem's master work *Antar* would portray not the urban cosmopolitan culture of the Eastern Mediterranean and Ottoman-Arab world, but the desert oases and magical environs of *The Book of a Thousand and One Nights.*

Halil Ganem, the Arab Young Turk

Halil Ganem's journey from civil servant and statesman to dissident journalist and intellectual prefigured his younger brother Chekri Ganem's own journey a decade later. Halil entered Ottoman service shortly after his brother's birth in 1862, becoming personal *dragoman*, interpreter, in the office of the Beirut *mutasarrıf* Ibrahim Pasha before receiving a promotion to dragoman for the the newly reorganized Syria *Vilayet* under Mehmet Reşid Pasha in 1865.[208] As will be seen in the next chapter, this was a fairly common career trajectory for Christian Arabs with language abilities that accompanied a European education, though unlike many of his contemporaries, Halil become a dragoman for the state rather than one of the many European consulates in Beirut. While Christians could not rise to the provincial executive because of their identity except in unusual circumstances, they served as important policy-makers and gatekeepers on the provincial level, especially in Syria where the French consul's reach was powerful. In the 1870s, Halil Ganem was promoted once again, this time to the translation bureau of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry and then the Prime Ministry

[208] He should not be confused with the Kavalan-Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha. This position was below that of Vali and should not be confused with the *mutasarrıf* of Mount Lebanon, which had no Vali and reported directly to Istanbul. The name of the province was changed in 1863 from Sham to Suriye. Kuneralp, *Son Dönem Osmanli Erkân ve Ricali* (Istanbul: İSİS Ltd., 1999), 39.

itself, under his first patron Esat Pasha, where he would first meet Midhat Pasha, the progressive reformist official who would become Grand Vizier for two periods of the decade. Midhat rose through the Ottoman civil service as troubleshooting governor par excellence and architect of the constitutional regime, but his fall would carry Halil from the heights and contribute to his both Ganem brothers leaving the empire at the first opportunity. In 1875, he would join Midhat Pasha at the Yildiz Palace, where the newly reappointed Grand Vizier would plot the deposition of Sultan Abdülaziz and the proclamation of the constitution and elevation of Sultan Murad V. Through a combination of his abilities and serendipity, Ganem found himself in the Prime Ministry during the critical period of drafting a constitution. Midhat was the avatar of constitutionalism for the Ganems, and Chekri would memorialize him as "the man who set the Ottoman Empire on the path of progress and civilization."[209]

Rewarded for his efforts, Halil was elected in the two-tiered electoral system to represent Beirut in *Meclis-i Mebusan*, the Ottoman parliament. In that position, he advocated internal reform, while resisting foreign interference in the reform process, a commitment to absolute Ottoman independence he would never abandon. In a speech to parliament in early 1878, Ganem noted that "We cannot be safe from the interference of foreign powers," but that the reforms should not be slowed despite the ongoing war with Russia, the "curse of postponement" that would be more damaging than uncomfortable reforms.[210] He found a cultural explanation for the slowness of

[209] *Correspondance d'Orient*, No 7. 1 Janvier 1909

[210] Hakki Us. *Meclis-i-* Mebusan (AH1293, 1877 AD). 2 Vol. Zabit Ceridesi, 1940-1954. 4th Session, January 3, 1878, 68-69.

reform, saying "If something has to be done today, we do it usually after a month, or even never unless forced to by the circumstances or by an outside force, like an ambassador of a foreign power."[211] Whereas the *Islahat Fermanı,* or reform edict, of 1856 was widely perceived to have been proclaimed at the barrel of an Anglo-French gun in the aftermath of the Crimean War, Ganem desired instead for the parliament and prime ministry to lead an internal process of reform and reorganization.

In spite of his enduring loyalty to the state and affinity for his native Syria, Halil was skeptical of Syrian unity, believing the diversity of the region would prevent effective governance. Arguing for the separation of Beirut from the Damascus *Vilayet* and smaller administrative units following the reorganization of the 1860s, Ganem said that Jabal Druze in Hawran and the Alawite region around Latakia were "peculiar" and needed a separate administration. In Ganem's view, the province had never been properly governed, and "Even if the Vali were Plato, he could not administer the province in sufficient manner."[212] His novel pith aside, the issue of borders and taxation was perhaps more important than any ideas of national belonging. In later years, the Moutran family of Baalbek would lobby for the inclusion of the Beqaa in the Mount Lebanon *mutasarrıflık* to their tax and military service benefit, and Ganem's nephew Habib would lobby the government in the early 1900s to attach Beirut to Mount Lebanon.[213] Most of these efforts, as well as debates around

---

[211] Us, *Meclis-i- Mebusan*, 4th Session, January 3, 1878, 68-69.

[212] Ibid., 9th Session 31 December 1877, 253.

[213] The Beirut *Vilayet* was eventually established in 1886, including much of the Syrian coast, but it remained uncontiguous due to the special *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon. BOA Y..MTV. 292/140. 1324 Za 24.

centralization and the integration of Mount Lebanon into the Ottoman Empire or independent Syria often turned on issues of taxes and tariffs.

After the suspension of the constitution in 1878, Halil was ordered to leave Istanbul and return to Syria, though he was not charged with a crime.[214] Halil went into exile in Paris, where he opened the newspaper *La France Internationale*, was naturalized as a French citizen, and was named a chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur.[215] In 1881, he founded another newspaper, *Al-Bassir*, the Observer, a publication for which he received a subvention of fifty liras monthly from Istanbul for "for his support of the Ottoman government."[216] However, the failed payment of his pension contributed to a more critical editorial line and eventually a move to Geneva, where he founded the newspaper *Hilâl/La Croissant* in 1892 and married Marie Renaud, a Frenchwoman. Opposing Abdülhamid proved to be both lucrative and unstable. While some less-scrupulous individuals like Négib Azoury opened critical papers merely to receive a subvention from the sultan for closing them, Ganem's Liberal Progressivist ideology was strong, even if his backbone was not. Publishing for just a year, *Hilâl* closed in 1893 due to some combination of bribery and intimidation, and Ganem moved permanently to Paris.[217]

---

[214] Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 29.

[215] *Journal des Débats*, 12 october 1879, 2.

[216] BOA Y.A...HUS. d. 259 g. 33. 1309 L 05 (1892). BOA Y.PRK.BŞK 25/77. 1309 Ş 25 (1892).

[217] BOA İ.HUS. 18/4 1311 Ca 01

In this period, he wrote prolifically, contributing and editing the *Journal des Débats* and penning several volumes on the history of the Ottoman Empire, reflecting his inherent Ottomanist outlook, though many of these were banned from importation into the Empire for their critical line towards Abdülhamid's authoritarian regime.[218] These works at times display a cultural chauvinism towards the uncultured peoples of the Empire, even members of the royal family, and employ European concepts of modernity and eastern disorder and decline.[219] Ganem accepts the decline thesis, the view that after its period of expansion, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of decline in the seventeenth century from which it had not recovered. Ganem divides the Ottoman dynasty into Conquerors, Destructors, and Reformers. For Ganem "Bloody practices and Asiatic despotism, reinforced by religious fanaticism" keep the empire from achieving "the ideas that are the soul of modern civilization."[220] Ganem measures the progress of "Asiatic states" against the standards of Athens and Rome, concluding that "Turkish domination and limitless despotism" cannot produce free men or good citizens, as they "treat man only as a slave."[221] Only through the re-establishment of the constitutional regime could reformers wrest control back from the "sultans de la décadance" and reinvigorate intellectual life.[222]

---

[218] MF.MKT 1039/49

[219] Ibid.

[220] Halil Ganem, *Les sultans ottomans: études d'histoire orientale*, Tome I (Paris: A. Chevalier-Marescq & Cie, 1901), xi.

[221] Ibid., i-ii.

[222] Ibid.

In an earlier pamphlet on education, Ganem argues that the expansion of the education system under the Tanzimat reforms was working, and the children of the Sultan should receive that education with their peers to facilitate progress in the empire. Halil derides the Palace education system, "whose degeneration is due to its vice" produced sultans with the education of a mere "petit bourgeois" in France.[223] While lamenting that loyalty to the royal family prevented criticism of policies, Ganem opposed Abdülhamid's patronage of Islamic reformist intellectuals like Ganem's acquaintance Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani in education reform, "who, blinded by religious fanaticism, wants all progress to come from Islam, whereas in the Qur'an it is written, 'Wisdom belongs to God, who gives it to whomever he pleases.'"[224] Ganem was apprehensive of Islamic reformism, just as Beiruti Christians grew suspicious of Abdülhamid's use of political Islam, especially in the absence of a constitutional regime, but despite Ganem's ardent Progressivism and Francophilia, he never abandons the Islamic structures of the state. Rather, he advocates a religious-secular hybrid system for the palace, in the hope that an enlightened sultan could return the empire to its constitutional glory.[225]

Consistently opposing Hamidian rule after the suspension of the constitution, Ganem never became a nationalist, persistently advocating for reform and the re-establishment of the constitution. Unlike his younger brother Chekri, Halil was of the

---

[223] Halil Ganem, *Éducation des Princes Ottomans* (Bulle: Imprimerie Émile Lenz, 1895), 13, 19.

[224] Ibid., 16-17.

[225] Ibid., 19.

’76 generation that had tasted the fruits of constitutional reformism before the suppression of the constitution, and he never abandoned that goal. In Paris in 1895, Ganem founded the bilingual Ottoman/French *Meşveret*/*Mechveret*, or Consultation, with Ahmed Riza, the founder of the Paris branch of the Committee of Progress, to be renamed the Committee of Union and Progress, and Albert Fua, a Jewish author and activist. The title connotes the Islamic concept of *shura*, a monarch’s council, rather than republican sentiments, illustrating the complicated dance minority dissidents played with progressive reformism, Islam, and loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. *Meşveret* prided itself on its multi-ethnic, multi-religious background, reflecting the character of the Committee of Union and Progress in that early stage, though this would subject it to criticism as a foreign conspiracy contrived by minorities. Ganem’s Syrian fellow traveler in exile was Amin Arslan, a USJ-educated Lebanese Druze notable, parliamentarian and editor of *Kashf an-niqab*, or Unveiling. The two formed the Arab-Syrian committee, which would formally join the CUP the following year. Their editorials condemning the massacres committed against Armenians in 1895 caused the Hamidian regime to intervene with the French government to have the paper suppressed, eventually banning it from import and getting French authorities to prevent it from being printed in Ottoman Turkish.[226] While Ganem and Riza were fined sixteen francs for insulting the “sultan-assassin,” this fine was forgiven by a French court amid applause in a scene described by one witness as “burlesque.”[227] In

[226] “Ahmed Riza bey” *Méchroutiette* 5:38, Jan 1913, 40.

[227] “Tribunaux” *L’Intransigeant* 14 juillet, 1897, 2.
The Saturday Review Vol. 84, No. 2180, 7 August, 1897, 129.

parallel with *Meşveret* in Ottoman Turkish, he also started *Turkiya al-Fatat/La Jeune Turquie*, an Arabic/French bilingual paper endorsing liberal Ottoman reformism, yearning for the golden age of his mentor Midhat Pasha and the 1876 constitution.

Ganem's despair at Hamidian violence never changed his general outlook towards his homeland, placing him in the mainstream of Ottomanism rather than the extremes of nationalism.[228] Perhaps naively, he believed that the reestablishment of the constitutional would be the panacea for the ills of the empire, especially separatist nationalism in the Balkans and Armenia. Attending an ecumenical meeting of the Hamidian opposition in Paris in 1896 including Armenian separatists, Halil Ganem and his fellow Lebanese delegate Nadra Moutran denounced separatism, saying Arabs share the empire's fate and owed it loyalty.[229]

Six years later, Halil hosted the First Congress of Ottoman Liberals in his own apartment comprising of *Meşveret* contributors, Prince Sabaheddin, Armenian delegates, and the son-in-law of Musurus Pasha, the Phanariot éminence grise of the Ottoman Foreign ministry in the nineteenth century.[230] Halil Ganem vigorously protested against foreign intervention in the Ottoman Empire, supporting Ahmet Riza's independent position in opposition to "Prince" Sabaheddin's interventionist

---

[228] Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 41.

[229] *Al-mu'tamar al-'arabi al-awwal* (Cairo: al-Matbaʿa al-Salafiya, 1913), 61

[230] Both First and Prince are somewhat disputed in this narrative, owing to the earlier Paris conference. Sabaheddin was born to Sultan Abdülmecid's daughter Seniha Sultan, and therefore was not in line for the Ottoman throne. Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 185.

outlook.[231] One delegate called for the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, which ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, to intercede with "benevolent action" to realize reform in the Ottoman Empire, an idea supported by two Armenian delegates but rejected by the rest.[232] Ganem countered that they must retain "full independence," adding "We do not mean to escape from the despotism of the dreary monarch who rules over us, for the purpose of submitting to an even more intolerable despotism."[233]

The problem for Ganem was autocracy, not necessarily ethnicity or religion. "Turks believe in our religion and are familiar with our customs. In the four centuries of their rule, they did not seize our territory."[234] In spite of his Christian faith, he uses "our" when discussing Islam and invokes jihad as an ideal of Arab self-sacrifice.[235] In this he was something of a forerunner of prominent non-Muslim Arab nationalists of the twentieth century like Shakib Arslan and Michel Aflaq who embraced Islam as the unifying religion of the Arab *umma*, a term applied to both Islamic and Arab communities.[236] Halil believed in an Islamic Ottoman nation, to which non-Muslims belonged equally. He was clear that the failures of the Hamidian regime were the causes of disorder and sectarian violence, rather than a natural enmity between Islam

---

[231] "Les états de service du Comité Union et Progrès", *Méchroutiette* 5:38, Jan 1913, 36.

[232] Karl Blind, "The Prorogued Turkish Parliament" *The North American Review* Vol. 175, No. 548, July 1902, 44.

[233] Karl Blind, "The Prorogued Turkish Parliament," 52.

[234] *Al-mu'tamar al-'arabi al-awwal* (Cairo: al-Matbaʿa al-Salafiya, 1913), 61.

[235] Halil Ganem, "Al-qanun al-asasi" *Kashf an-Niqab* no. 18, 10 January 1895, 2.

[236] Arslan was committed enough to formally convert to Sunni Islam. Aflaq was rumored to have converted on his death bed.

and Christianity. Whether in the majority or minority as a Christian in Mount Lebanon, Beirut, Istanbul, and Paris, he never strayed far from a central Ottomanist loyalty. Chekri Ganem, in contrast, was born into the generation after the 1860 civil unrest. He grew up in the aftermath of mass immigration and rising sectarianism, receiving a French education amidst increased exposure to European people and ideas. He was too young to enjoy the halcyon days of the First Constitutional Period and experience that hope for Ottoman unity. After finishing school at the Lazarist College of Antoura, Chekri left Beirut, working and writing in Egypt and Tunisia before joining his brother in Paris. Halil's social and political network proved invaluable to Chekri's career. Not only would Halil introduce Chekri to the Syrian community, notably the Moutran and Arslan brothers, but also French press and governmental figures including Leon Gambetta, Georges Clemenceau, and Stephen Pichon interested in the Eastern Question and an increased French role in Greater Syria.[237]

Antar

Though Chekri Ganem's play *Antar* is itself a melodrama, reminiscent and derivative of various works of chivalric fiction in the medieval and romantic tradition, the subject of a pre-Islamic Arab hero serves as a political statement by the author, seeking out an Arab heritage distinct from Islamic culture.[238] At the same time, it was an epic tale first introduced to a French audience sixty years before by Alphonse de

[237] Ganem had previously contributed to Clemenceau's newspaper. "La Jeune-Turquie et le Sultan" *La Justice* vol 17, No 6423, 10 Août 1897.

[238] Anachronistically, a theater critic refers to Antar as "le Cid musulman," accentuating the chivalric parallels for a European audience. "Les Théatres," *Le Figaro* 3:10 (10 January, 1910), 4.

Lamartine after his travels in the Syria, and Ganem may have first read it in French translation, as it was a favorite of Ernest Renan, who hailed the "gracious, pleasing, and animated picture of pre-Islamic Arab life."[239] Thus like most of Ganem's career and advocacy, the story is situated in a hybrid space, the French Orientalist imagination of Arabia. In the view of his classmate and frequent collaborator K.T. Khaïrallah, reviewing the last decade in Ottomanist and nationalist thought in literature in 1919, "Antar, the errant poet, is more than the amorous knight of the desert sands. In the new idea of M. Ganem, Antar is the great champion of *Arab Unity*."[240] While literary characters have long been appropriated by various political causes, Ganem is novel at least in his use of Antar, a relatively minor figure in *jahiliya* poetry, who retains significance as his epic poem allegedly hangs inside the Ka'aba. Khaïrallah's analysis of the character of Antar lends credence to the idea that Ganem harbored some form of Arab patriotism and an idea of Arab nationalism, even before he would publicly oppose the Ottoman Empire's continued existence and support the French occupation and mandate system devised during the war. He would channel this into reformism and, in time, Syrian federalism. Reading *Antar* through this lens drastically transforms the text from a period melodrama to contemporary political propaganda. Thus, Antar's amorous pursuit of his beloved Abla and his struggle with her other suitors serves as an allegory for the Arab and Syrian struggle for independence. Readers can thus see Ganem's career not as a long curve from an

---

[239] Alphonse de Lamartine, *Travels in the Holy Land*, 473.
Henri Lammens, *Islam: Croyances et Institutions*, 8.

[240] Italics are from the original text. K.T. Khaïrallah, *Les Régions Arabes Libérées: Syrie – Irak – Liban* (Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1919), 45.

apolitical literary career to Syro-Lebanese Arab nationalist advocacy, but a continuum on which his political content becomes increasingly more open, until finally becoming the defining feature of his work. It was the medium that changed, rather than the message.

Ganem's character of Antar did not first appear in the eponymous play, but in several poems from his earlier work, which can explicate other dimensions of his increasing embrace of Orientalist discourse of Turkish violence and Arab chivalry. Ganem utilizes purposefully violent imagery in these poems of Antar to promote his view of Turkish oppression of Lebanon in the Ottoman era. Foremost in this rhetorical genre is the *yatağan* sabre, symbolic in his work of Turkish cruelty. Ganem writes, "Our dead liberties are presented for your view, the *yatagan* that crashes, breaks our souls at the same time."[241] The emerging discourse of rights and the vivid imagery serve to accentuate the violence and ethnic hierarchy inherent, in Ganem's view, in Ottoman 'Turkish' rule. By contrast, his affectionate depiction of *Antar*, both in the play as well as his poetry, uses more familiar terms, even in violence. In "Chant d'Antar," Ganem writes, "Your naked sabre will reign, O unknown knight on the neck of the envious."[242] First, he chooses the familiar word "sabre" instead of the Turkish *yatağan* or *kiliç*, or the Arabic *silah* for sword. This familiarity makes the swordsman less foreign and perhaps more virtuous. In another poem from the same volume "Antar à Leila," Ganem chooses "épée" as the sword symbolizing Leila's gaze. Again, he

[241] Chekri Ganem, "Chant Libanais," *Écrits littéraires*, 61-62.

[242] Ibid., 60-61.

conveys positive violence through French words and negative violence through Turkish words, reflecting the Orientalist themes in his works of fiction. Additionally, his use of "cavalier" as Antar's descriptor in "Chant d'Antar" legitimizes Antar's violence as just in his conception of chivalry, glory, and honor.

Translating the myths and folklore of Arab history for a foreign audience was no small feat linguistically or culturally, but as the saying goes, the devil is in the details. In this case, that meant a new embrace of Arab origins and a concurrent disregarding of Arabs outside of *bilad ash-sham*, the Arab Levant. In reimagining Antar and the Prophet Muhammad for the purposes of fiction, Ganem at once reified the existing Orientalist discourse of Turkish brutality and radically reinvented the idea of ʿ*Uruba* (Arabness) and the Arab nation in history. During this early era of Arab nationalist activism, Ganem typifies the tendency to mythologize the Bedouin and Hejazi roots of the Arab race, especially in his poetry and drama, while paying little mind to those same groups in his political writings. Perhaps it was Ganem's place in the *mahjar* that predicated this. No matter his personal identification, there was a ritual significance of Bedouins for Arabs, even though his personal horizon was the coastal region of the *mashriq*, the Arab East. Thus, the political committees formed by Ganem and his compatriots in the Syro-Lebanese diaspora were concerned principally with *bilad ash-sham*, an Arab nation that notably excludes the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, and Egypt. Though there are certainly political, historical, and economic dimensions to this vision of Arab nationalism, it nevertheless demonstrates that "Arab" was context-specific, contested and selectively-used term and identity, and pan-Arabism was never

Ganem's principal political goal.[243] When it advanced their causes, Ganem and his associates were happy to invoke the pan-Arab discourse; however, it was never an operative feature of their nascent ideology.

In this re-casting of noble Arab culture as distinct from that of the barbarous Turks, Ganem, like his contemporary Michel Chiha and later generations of Christian Arab nationalists like Ba'ath party founder Michel Aflaq and Syrian Social Nationalist Party founder Antun Saadeh, were forced to come to terms with the preeminent role of Islam in Arab history. Ganem accomplishes this indirectly by redefining Muhammad as an Arab chieftain and political-military leader. Indeed, in the second scene of the second act of "Antar," the protagonist's brother, Cheyboub, recounts Antar's visit to Mecca and encounter with companions of the Prophet. "'Is he a king?' they asked. 'No, he is a poet. But no, he is a warrior. Above all, he is a prophet.'"[244] Perhaps subconsciously, Ganem identifies in the Prophet Muhammad the defining characteristics of his own protagonist – Antar. Thus, Ganem's ideal of the Arab warrior-poet, itself a reflection of Ganem's own self-perception, seeps into his description of the Prophet Muhammad, recasting him as the savior of Arabia, an Arab warrior poet more than the prophet of Islam. Cheyboub tells of Antar meeting Abu-Talib, the Prophet Muhammad's uncle and a prominent figure in early Islam, with Antar declaring "I have read in the heavens the future of Arabia."[245] In this re-reading

[243] These factors include Britain's 1882 occupation of Egypt, the relative autonomy of the Hejaz during the Ottoman period, and lack of resources of the Hejaz and Iraq in the era before industrialized petroleum.

[244] *Antar*, II:2.

[245] Ibid.

of Islamic history, Muhammad is literally identified with Arab destiny, sublimated in the minds of Christian Arab nationalists to the cause of the Arab national movement. However, the Muslim reception of Ganem's radical re-imagining is not noted in contemporary Arab or French press.[246]

Antar's melodramatic death scene stands out in its Arab nationalist content. As Cheyboub, Antar's brother, pleads with him that all progress, liberty, and the Arab race itself will be lost with the hero Antar's death, the protagonist responds that:

> The future of a race and of a land is not in one man, were he the judge of battles or the king of the world. Nothing can stop a nation on the move as it rises! I have seen it rise, marching step-by-step, from east to west in such a blaze of a golden star fading into the firmament! Whether an eagle or a swallow, one man is but a feather on the wing.[247]

Ganem is certainly speaking through the character of Antar in this scene, arguing that the heroism of the individual pales in comparison to the heroism of the Arab nation. This represents an escalation of his rhetoric from the second act, in which Muhammad is "wisdom incarnate, the future of Arabia."[248] This is a critical transition in Ganem's political evolution, and it shows a tension between the individual and collective. As a poet and playwright, Ganem recounts and reimagines the myths and legends of heroes past, his still-embryonic Syro-Lebanese Arab nationalism prized the collective over the individual, the Arab nation over the Arab hero. In an era that would witness

---

[246] While Ganem almost certainly wrote the play in French, it appeared within a year in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish editions, with the described scenes intact.

[247] Chekri Ganem, *Antar*, Acte V, Scène I, in *L'Illustration Théatrale* (Paris: Imprimerie de l'Illustration, 10 April, 1910) 22.

[248] *Antar*, II:2.

Ottoman Arab activists persecuted under the wartime rule of Cemal Pasha and Ganem's one-time associate Nakhlé Moutran executed, the author laments their loss while asserting the inevitability of (Syrian) Arab nationalism and independence. While the intricacies of his individual political positions and financial arrangements vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire, France, and the various committees formed in Paris would change with the times, Ganem would never abandon this fundamental belief in the national destiny of the Arab people. This view bears the strong imprint both of European racial theory and the triumphant nationalist worldview of the *Belle Époque*, an era of hope and renewal.

Poetry

As Ottoman politics shifted along with France's relationship with the Ottoman state, Ganem's work would begin to take on a more overtly political tone, culminating in the formation of various Syrian-Lebanese-Ottoman committees advocating for reform, autonomy, and independence after the Constitutional Revolution of 1908. Having served a mainly social role in the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce since the late 1800s, he would now be an active political leader, coordinating with the Maronite Patriarch, Lebanese separatists and Arab nationalists in the succeeding decade. However, Ganem's political message first becomes evident in his collection of poetry, *Ronces et Fleurs*, composed during his time in Cairo and Tunis and published after his arrival in France in 1895. Poetry provided Ganem with a rhetorical space where he could assert allegorically ideas that would take years to gain a full political airing, as the court fool could speak the truth where royal advisers could not. In Ganem's poetry, the Turkish *yatağan* sabre was forever at the throat of fair Lebanon. In his editorials,

France's eternal ally Syria begged for liberation. Whether shyster or patriot, he would become a leading political voice in the Syro-Lebanese diaspora along with fellow alumni from the Jesuit and Lazarist schools of Ottoman Syria, and his ties to power in the French government and colonial lobby contributed to his impact.

Ganem uses an imaginative, supernatural geography to describe the land of his birth. This descriptive and inscriptive geography plays a critical role in his imagining of Lebanon, at this point under the special administration implemented after the massacres of 1860, in the *mutasarrıflık* that encompassed Mount Lebanon, but not Beirut or regions later incorporated into the *Grand Liban* of the French Mandate. Two poems, appropriately titled "Chant Libanais" and "Liban," vividly imagine the strength of Christian Lebanon, valiantly standing against Turkish and Islamic cruelty, a recurring theme in his work. In "Liban," dedicated to his brother Halil, Chekri Ganem alludes to the support allegedly rendered to the Crusaders by Maronite Christians, comparing the Lebanese to "an eagle in the sky, flying to support the flag of the cross."[249] While the "arrogant and greedy Turk wishes that the light of Lebanon were extinguished," the Lebanese bravely resist, locked in an eternal battle with this enemy and its very geography.[250] Indeed, Ganem writes of Lebanon not as a mountain, as was the Arabic and Ottoman designation, *Jabal Lubnan* or *Cebel-i Lübnan*, but as a "miraculous island, remaining Christian amid the rising tide of Islam."[251] In a later

[249] Chekri Ganem, "Liban," *Écrits littéraires* (Beyrouth: Editions Dar an-Nahar, 1994), 22-23.

[250] Ibid., 22.

[251] Ibid.

editorial in *Le Matin*, he recycles the metaphor, adding that, "battered by the tempest of the Islamic ocean, it retains through the centuries and tumultuous changes its faith, and more – its personality."[252] This imaginative geography serves his greater purpose, isolating Lebanon from its environs in order to establish it as an exception in the Ottoman Empire and Arab provinces, geographically, religiously, and politically separate from its Levantine environs. Again, his position in the *mahjar* contributed to this imagined geography. In Paris, Lebanon was more of an idea than a place.

Ganem uses this imagined isolation, specificity and peculiarity to call for the protection of special privileges and rights, drawing on the mythology of Yusuf Karam's campaign of vengeance and resistance to the Ottoman restoration after the massacres of 1860, prominently praised in the curriculum of Catholic schools and in a twentieth century Lebanese Jesuit hagiography, *Un Montagnard Contre le Pouvoir*.[253] In the third section of his "Liban," he notes that while "the time of wars and fights has past, and heroism is defunct along with liberty," faith remains the force and ferocity of Lebanon.[254] This initial dismissal only serves to accentuate the bravery and heroism that Ganem sees in Karam. Referring to Karam only as "le paysan," symbolic of all Syro-Lebanese peasantry, Ganem notes that only he fought for the integrity of the

[252] Chekri Ganem, "L'Agonie du Liban" *Le Matin* 27 Déc. 1912. In Birjis Faris al-Jumayyal, *Hizb al-Ittihad al-Lubnani wa Lubnan al-Kabir*. (Beirut: Matba'a Joseph al-Haj, 1996), 396.

[253] Jalabert's text is an annotated diary of Jesuit witnesses to Karam's insurrection. See P. Henri Jalabert, *Un Montagnard Contre le Pouvoir, Liban 1866* (Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq, 1975).

[254] Ganem, "Liban," 23.

land, while the "chefs et seigneurs" danced to the sound of flutes.[255] While condemning the conservative powers of Mount Lebanon that sought to preserve their position and the status quo after 1860, Ganem seeks to glorify Lebanese Christians as "a people of heroes."[256] By establishing the dichotomy between the people and their rulers, Ganem legitimizes Karam's vigilantism and resistance. Ganem and his cohort represent the breakdown of traditional Lebanese structures of power after the reckoning of 1860. Their French education and hybridized identities at times placed them at odds with and beyond the reach of the Lebanese Christian ruling class, as was the case with Tanyus Shahin in 1860 and Yusuf Karam in 1866. Complementing his supernatural geography of Lebanon, Ganem mythologizes its people, making their struggle legendary and legitimizing their violence as heroic resistance to Ottoman and Muslim tyranny, a tradition he traces back to the Crusades.

Beyond the discourse of rights and liberties, Ganem imagines Lebanon as gendered feminine, applying chivalric values of femininity and feminine virtue to the geopolitical issues present in his poetry. "You sisters, daughters, fiancées of Lebanon - sad and sorry women," Ganem writes in "Chant Libanais," before addressing France as "mother or beloved sister," asking "make our bloodshed useful to the cause of liberty."[257] Establishing the mother-child relationship between France and Lebanon draws from the traditional image of Marianne, the personification of French Republicanism and Liberty. Connecting Lebanon to this century-old image

[255] Ganem, "Liban," 23.

[256] Ibid., 23.

[257] Chekri Ganem, "Chant Libanais," *Écrits littéraires*, 61-62.

symbolically connects what could easily be considered, even within the same poem, a religious struggle to a secular, national struggle. Additionally, he uses the feminine form in the case of "La France," but chooses the masculine "Turc" over feminine "La Turquie." While masculinizing the Turk certainly fits with the Orientalizing French and European discourse of Turkish rapacious barbarism, this vocabulary choice accentuates the gendered discourse already present. In isolation, this is not particularly damning, but in the context of Ganem's idea of Turkish aggression against fair Lebanon, gendering the land serves an important rhetorical purpose.

Political Activism

Ganem's focus on Lebanon and its special place in the world and history was not limited to his literary works, but it also extended into his growing political advocacy for autonomy and independence for the Arab lands. This reflected his Francophile tendencies, as well as the language instruction and Lebanon-specific historical curriculum in the schools of French Jesuits and Lazarists in Ottoman Lebanon during the education of Ganem and his contemporaries in the Syro-Lebanese diaspora, as discussed in earlier chapters. Nearly all of these figures in the diaspora attended one or more of the French Jesuit, Xavierian, or Lazarist primary or secondary schools and universities in Beirut or Mount Lebanon.[258] While the Moutrans attended Jesuit institutions including Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut, Chekri Ganem and K.T.

[258] While the Jesuits and Xavierians worked closely together, the Jesuits frequently butted heads with the Lazarists, due in part to the latter's inheritance of formerly-Jesuit institutions in the Middle East after the order's suppression in 1784, and subsequent refusal to return those properties. Nevertheless, their pedagogy and relationship to the French state meant they often were forced to cooperate.

Khaïrallah were classmates at the College of Antoura, founded by the Jesuits and granted to the Lazarists during the suppression of the Jesuits after 1784.[259] Khaïrallah himself was engaged in clerical studies, and Maronite Patriarch Elias Hoyek, himself a product of the Jesuit seminary in Ghazir and a French seminary, sent the young Khaïrallah to Belgium to finish his studies, where he strayed from religious life, leaving the seminary to begin his political activism with Charles Debbas and Amin Arlsan.[260] The language education that these young men received in the French Catholic schools of Ottoman Lebanon not only eased their transition to writing for a French audience, but also gave crucial context to concepts like race and nation.

Chekri Ganem and Nadra Moutran notably labeled themselves Young Turks, following the fashion of most Ottoman expatriates, dissidents, and reformists since the First Constitutional Period, though this belies their political loyalties and ethnic identity.[261] While the word "Turk" and the association of the Young Turks with the Committee of Union and Progress seem to indicate a particular allegiance, this never appears in their writing as a salient feature of their identity. In fact, the alliance of diverse Paris-based dissident groups that included the Ganem and Moutran brothers would begin to unravel during the First Congress of the Ottoman Opposition in 1902, after which Arabs would fade from prominence in organizations bearing the CUP

[259] Birjis Faris al-Jumayyal, *Hizb al-Ittihad al-Lubnani wa Lubnan al-Kabir*, 126-127.

[260] Ibid., 127-128.

[261] Ganem and Khaïrallah frequently use the rhetorical device of "loyalisme ottoman" when criticizing CUP policy, especially when framed racially. See K.T. Khaïrallah, "Arabes et Turcs" *Le Temps,* 5 April, 1910.

name.[262] Instead, Ganem and Moutran's use of "Young Turk" functions as a rhetorical device, lending disconnected expatriates with a measure of credibility, claiming an early membership in the organization ascendant after 1908. Additionally, the foreign advocacy and decentralist tendencies of these writers and intellectuals drew them to the CUP's rival *Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası*, Liberal Entente, leaving Arabs generally out of power during the centralization of the CUP, even before its electoral coup and purges after 1912.[263]

Arabs and Turks

While pleading his "enduring Ottoman loyalty" in *Le Temps* in April 1910, a few months after the opening of Antar at the Odéon, Chekri Ganem nevertheless argues to Khaïrallah, the paper's editor and the article's author, that the fundamental weakness of the Ottoman Empire was due to the fact that "the Turks never reconciled with the other races after their succession to the caliphate," echoing Renan's nationalist claim that the Ottoman Empire was doomed because "the Turk, the Slav, the Greek, the Armenian, the Arab, the Syrian, the Kurd, are today as distinct as they were on the day of the conquest."[264] First, we must set aside the relatively late Ottoman

---

[262] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 173.

[263] One of Nadra Moutran's works is titled "Réflexions d'un Vieux Jeune-Turc," see Nadra Moutran, *Khatrat – Réflexions d'un Vieux Jeune-Turc*, (Pera, Constantinople: Imp. A. Zellich, 1908), 4.

[264] K.T. Khaïrallah, "Arabes et Turcs," *Le Temps*, 5 Avril 1910.
This particular quote again shows Khaïrallah and Ganem's selective reading of Ernest Renan, who was particularly insistent on the distinction between nation and race. Nevertheless, one can see in Ganem's writing the influence of Renan, who wrote "Nations in this sense are something new in history. What characterizes these various nations is the fusion of the populations which compose them. Nothing similar exists in Turkey, where the Turk, the Slav, the Greek, the Armenian, the Arab, the Syrian, the Kurd, are today as distinct as they were on the

adoption of the caliphal title as well as the notion that Turks as a racial or ethnic group, not just the House of Osman, ascended to the caliphate.[265] After those caveats, this argument relies on the idea that races were the component parts of the Ottoman Empire, rather than government-defined provinces or government-religious defined *millets*. While both of these systems present their own practical and theoretical problems as top-down, normative and patriarchal designations, they certainly had more everyday currency in the late Ottoman period than race.[266] The racial view of the empire shares the assumptions of the 1913 Syrian Arab Congress and European statesmen who sought to divide the empire along racial or ethnic lines in various plans for partition and nationalization during the First World War. The application of a national order to the diverse and overlapping nations of the Ottoman Empire would only be accomplished through massive state campaigns of ethnic cleansing and historical erasure over the course of the twentieth century from Bosnia to Baghdad.[267]

---

day of the conquest." Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?," lecture delivered at the Sorbonne 11 March 1882, *Œuvres Complètes*, 887-907.

[265] While earlier uses have been noted, the title of Caliph came into common Ottoman usage after the Treaty of Kuçuk Kaynarca when Russia claimed protection of Ottoman Christian communities and granted the Ottomans spiritual leadership as caliphs over Crimea's Musim population in return.

[266] Jews from other provinces often petitioned the Ottoman Jewish parliamentarians from Selanîk and Baghdad in a cross-polination of millet and constitutional politics. Additionally, Rum Orthodox millet leadership was called to resolve disputes within and between orthodox communities.

[267] Sarah Shields's *Fezzes in the River* makes a particularly strong case for the contingency and situational nature of ethnic and national identity in the 1930s in the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Three decades earlier, national identity certainly could not have been more clear-cut, and in all probability, nation had limited communal or individual currency.

Starting from the idea that the weakness of the empire was racial, Ganem and Khaïrallah naturally found the solution was racial; the creation of an Ottoman racial question necessitated a racial answer. Indeed, all ethnic, racial, and political questions, whether Eastern, Jewish, or Arab, have answers presupposed by the questioner.[268] Even as Khaïrallah wrote the article, the definitions of Arab and Turk were far from settled or even widely understood by the Ottoman government or general public.[269] Indeed, Réchid and Nakhlé Moutran's manuscript for their demand for Syrian autonomy contained in-line editing that confesses their own uncertainty using new racial terms. They write: "The ~~Ottomans~~ Turks never renounced their dominance over other races, and cannot continue on the road of equality and true tolerance necessary for the development of the natural aspirations of the other nationalities of the Empire," adding that "[t]heir dominating instincts allow them to abuse their power to oppress their nationalities, which precipitates the disorganization of the Empire."[270] First, we can see the Moutrans' influence on Ganem and Khaïrallah's work from fourteen months later, though framed in racial-religious rather than racial-national terms. Even

[268] Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," *Early Political Writings*, ed. Joseph O'Malley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 29.

[269] Ottoman ethnographic maps of Syria during the First World War label nomadic regions 'Arab' while urban and coastal regions were labeled 'Suriyeli,' or Syrian. In parallel, nomadic Turkish-speaking regions were labeled 'Turkoman' while semi-urbanized regions were just 'Turk.' This normative imperial designation shouldn't be read as an endorsement of its chosen labels, but of the situational and changing nature of ethnic and racial identity during this era of dynamic change. The adoption of Arab as a racial designation was the result of a contested process after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. See Salim Tamari, "Shifting Ottoman Conceptions of Palestine: Part 1: Filistin Risalesi and the two Jamals," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 2011(47).

[270] Comité Central Syrien, 25 Décembre 1908, 258.

within their manifesto, these terms remain undefined. Perhaps this strike-through meant that the Moutrans assumed that only Turks could be fully Ottoman, or the authors simply chose Turk due to its negative associations with brutality and injustice in the European Orientalist discourse where they would find their principal audience. Regardless, this sublimation of Ottoman into Turk served to situate their demands in emerging European discourses of national rights and self-determination. How could, they seem to ask, Arabs ever be equal in a place called Turkey?

Khaïrallah and Ganem assume that only Arabs, however defined, can truly represent Arab interests in the empire, a parallel to the confessional representation established by the Great Powers in the *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon after 1860. Even after the Constitutional Revolution of 1908, as Khaïrallah, Ganem, and Nadra Moutran argue in various publications, there were fewer Arabs in positions of power, due in no small part to the perceived preponderance of Arabs in the Hamidian regime and Abdülhamid's effect cooptation of Arab provincial elites through personal patronage relationships.[271] The exception to the Macedonian and European Ottoman hegemony was CUP hero, Minister of War, and native of Baghdad, Mahmud Şevket Pasha.[272] In a debate with the CUP-aligned newspaper *Tanin* over the role of Arabs in

[271] Philip Khoury, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism*, 38, 53-54.

[272] Şevket Pasha is emblematic of the problematic nature and the difficulty of inscribing racial identities in the late Ottoman Empire, during its era of greatest personal mobility, government power and economic integration. Born in Baghdad of Chechen, Circassian, and Arab ancestry, he was educated in the *Harbiye* Academy in Istanbul, serving in the Balkans and elsewhere. Whether or not he considered himself Arab, his education and career were decidedly Ottoman. See Ali Bilgenoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Arap milliyetçi cemiyetler*, (Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları, 2007), 87.

the constitutional Ottoman Empire, begun earlier in Khaïrallah's *Le Temps*, Ganem would ask:

> Is it fair that this policy would offend the very being of the proud Arab warrior? The Arab warrior who forms half the empire, bearing such a glorious past? Why diminish, to no profitable end, this powerful Ottoman force and cultural patrimony. *To diminish the Arab is to weaken Turkey, to diminish a history, a civilization honored by humanity*.[273]

Invoking a cavalcade of Orientalist tropes, Ganem would pose these questions after demonstrating his Ottoman bonafides as the brother of '76 parliamentarian Halil Ganem and friend of Midhat Pasha, though the younger Ganem's connection to Midhat Pasha is quite tenuous as he left Syria as a young man. Nevertheless, the assumptions implicit in Ganem's Arab question and indeed "the grave racial question" are not the ones addressed by the Ottoman parliament in reference to Armenians, Zionism and emerging Balkan states in the parliament's 1876 session or after the restoration of the constitution in 1908, but those of Renan and his generation of nationalist scholars.[274] In the tradition of these early theorists of ethnic and racial nationalism, Chekri Ganem takes for granted in his writings the existence of an

---

[273] Italics are from the original text. Chekri Ganem, "Turcs & Arabes" *Correspondance d'Orient*, 15 Juin, 1910, 487-491.

[274] K.T. Khaïrallah, "Arabes et Turcs" *Le Temps*, 5 April 1910.
K.T. Khaïrallah in particular was a devotée of Renan, quoting him at length in *Les Régions Arabes Libérées,* 194. Renan with fellow Persianist James Darmesteter had an academic salon of sorts for Persians, Arabs, Turks, and other "Easterners" in Paris, including Halil Ganem and Ahmet Ağaoğlu, during the second half of the 19th century. See A. Holly Shissler. *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Agaoglu and the New Turkey* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2003).

intrinsic Arab nature, "the proud Arab warrior," a persistent theme in his literary and political works.

From Author to Activist

This section does not aim to be an encyclopedia of Syrian, Lebanese, or Arab nationalist organizations, or even those headquartered in Paris. Eliezer Tauber's encylopedic works accomplished the monumental task of cataloguing much of the available evidence on Arab nationalist committees, organizations, and publications during this period, though he neglects Ottoman sources, while accepting at face value a great deal of the George Antonius's traditional narrative of Arab Nationalism, including the allegations of Turkification, substantially challenged by later generations of scholars.[275] Additionally, his categorization of Arabist, Lebanist, and Syrianist/Decentralist political phenotypes does not account for the constant state of social and political change in the first decades of the twentieth century as well as the evolution of those political ideologies, especially during the opening years of the First World War, as Carole Hakim has persuasively argued in the case of Lebanism.[276] As the individuals in this chapter have shown, one could be an Arab nationalist on

[275] Eliezer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*. (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1993). Eliezer Tauber, *The Arab Movements in World War I* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1993). George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (Safety Harbor: Simon, 2001 [1939]). Hasan Kayalı substantially refutes the idea of CUP Turkification by showing that the CUP governments were often following the blueprint of state-centralization of school instruction, standardization, and public performances laid out by the supposedly Arab-friendly Hamidian regime and were in large part efforts at integration of disparate groups in government service and its attached loyalty. Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*.

[276] Hakim's greatest contribution is her demonstration that various iterations of Lebanism from 1840 until the French Mandate came in response to a particular challenge or political issue, rather than emerging fully-formed, Athena-like, as Lebanese-originalists would have it. Carole Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea, 1840-1914.*

Monday, an Arab-Ottoman brother on Tuesday, and a Lebanese particularist by week's end. This fluidity does not necessarily make these actors hypocrites or shysters of some stripe; instead, it is emblematic of the fraught and contested process of imagining the nation in a region where the European idea of the nation had never previously been the organizing principle of community or government. Utilizing racial, ethnic, and national terms ahistorically without substantial context can have the teleological effect of standardizing and disciplining modern definitions of then-contested terms, while denying the contingency of these terms and their meaning. This can have the effect of delegitimizing the multiethnic, polyglot, multi-religious Ottoman Empire, while giving outsize importance to political Arabism before it achieved popular recognition. Nevertheless, these expatriate political groups remain worthy of examination precisely because of their role in shaping political and cultural currents both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, not due to their representative nature or intrinsic political legitimacy as representatives of Arabs, Syrians, or any other group.

While Ganem and his cohort of French-educated Syro-Lebanese Christian expatriates were not yet advocating for independence for any part of the region, they were now concerned principally with local rights, rather than imperial reform. While these petitions and organizations would emerge in fits and starts, this nevertheless marks a critical shift towards the imagining of a post-Ottoman order, and K.T. Khaïrallah refers to Ganem as "the great champion of *Arab Unity*."[277] This irregular

[277] K.T. Khaïrallah, *Les Régions Arabes Libérées*, 45.

evolution is critical in understanding the successive proposals this group adopted through the decade, especially during the First World War. Even within the Moutran family, there was some division between the Hamidian conservative Nadra and his brothers Réchid, the honorary Ottoman consul in Lyon, and Nakhlé, a secretary at the Ottoman embassy in Paris, who formed the *Comité Central Syrien* in 1908 with Chekri Ganem and Georges Samné. This organization advocated for independence as early as 1909, publishing a bilingual newspaper *Nahdat al-Arab/le Réveil des Arabes*. Nadra Moutran denounced his brothers' proclamation in the name of the his newly-formed "Syrian Ottoman Society," but would go on to call for the same solution to the so-called Eastern Question during the war years.[278] A decade earlier, Nadra Moutran, who was suspected of being in the pay of the Hamidian Ottoman intelligence service, had sided with Halil Ganem, renouncing Arab nationalist ambitions in congresses of Ottoman Liberals during the Hamidian era, detailed in the previous chapter, perhaps reflecting Abdülhamid's effective cooptation of Arab provincial elites through government pensions and positions.[279] Contemporary Ottoman politics certainly played a role in these denunciations, as Nadra Moutran, a founder of the Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood, attached his star to the Liberal Union, the rival to the CUP that formed a ruling coalition after the Constitutional Revolution. His brother Réchid was

[278] A. Foques Duparc to M. Pichon, 19 Fév. 1909, MAE, Nouvelle Série Turquie – Syrie/Liban – vol. 112, 30-31. Chekri Ganem would also denounce the CCS proclamation, in the name of the "Syrian Ottoman Society," one of Ganem's seemingly endless roster of committees, leagues, and associations. See Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 69.

[279] Ibid., 43.

located in Paris, serving as alternatively a thorn in the side of the Quai d'Orsay and the strongest advocate of French policy in the Levant.[280] Privately, figures at the French foreign ministry including French Consul Foques Duparc seem sympathetic to Réchid Moutran's aims for Lebanon and Syria, while admitting that "the maturation of Arab nationalism does not seem as close as Réchid Moutran believes, as nobody would dare state these ideas publicly."[281] Any attack on the integrity of the empire would likely endanger his brother Nadra Moutran and the family's estates in Baalbek in the Beqaa, as well as his political aspirations and perhaps his life in Istanbul, as his brother Nakhlé would learn in 1913 after crossing Cemal Pasha.[282] Baalbek, the seat of the Moutran family and their lands, was across the provincial border in the *Vilayet* of Syria/Damascus, meaning that his economic interests remained Ottomanist until the Beqaa Valley and its seat at Baalbek were attached to Lebanon, as demanded by Ganem and Khaïrallah and realized during the creation of the French Mandate of *Grand Liban*.[283] The local focus combined with the Francophile tendencies of many to serve the French Mandate administration after the First World War. Charles Debbas, Emile Eddé, and Jamil Mardam Bey stand out as clear examples of this latter class.

---

[280] Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks*, 69-70.

[281] A. Foques Duparc to M. Pichon, 19 Fév. 1909, MAE, Nouvelle Série Turquie – Syrie/Liban – vol. 112, 32.

[282] Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman – 1913-1919*, (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1922), 198.

[283] In the view of the Quai d'Orsay in 1909, Nadra Moutran might be willing to abolish Lebanese autonomy due to his "jealousy as a Christian living in the *Vilayet* of Syria" A. Foques Duparc to M. Pichon, 24 Juin 1909 MAE, Nouvelle Série Turquie – Syrie/Liban – vol. 112, 117.

By 1912, Chekri Ganem and K.T. Khaïrallah had formed the Comité Libanais de Paris to advocate for a restoration of the special privileges enjoyed by the special *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon under the 1861 and 1864 *Réglément Organique.*[284] Ganem simultaneously advocated for Syrianist, Lebanist, and Ottoman reformist policies. They weren't necessarily contradictory, as he perhaps envisoned a decentralized Ottoman Empire in which Lebanon maintained its special privileges and Christian majority in a Syrian federation. With Ganem as president and Khaïrallah as secretary, this would be just one of several congresses and committees formed during the 1910s by Ganem and his expatriate cohort to lobby the Quai d'Orsay and Sublime Porte, and shape international public opinion through speeches and editorials. The demands of this committee differed from the resolutions of the 1913 Syrian Arab Congress in that the latter, reflecting its multi-religious character and Ottoman politics in the Second Constitutional Period, spoke of imperial reform and the national and linguistic rights of Ottoman Arabs along with Lebanon-specific proposals, while the former was concerned principally with the local prerogatives of Lebanese rule. This category included imperial funding in arrears, local tax revenue, district and provincial borders, and elections for an administrative council. While both groups favored administrative decentralization along with most Arab political groups, the Comité Libanais under the leadership of Ganem and Khaïrallah proposed reforms much closer to independence than Ottoman-Arab Brotherhood.

[284] Comité Libanais de Paris, "Mémoire sur la Question du Liban," (Paris: Imprimerie C. Pariset, 1912), 5.

Even before beginning the principal text of their pamphlet, Ganem and Khaïrallah invoke the massacres of 1860 in order to remind readers of the Ottoman injustice and French gallantry embodied in those events, while demanding the completion of "the civilizing effort."[285] Khaïrallah and Ganem describe the pre-1860 system of rule in Lebanon as "a vassal principality," elevating the autonomy of the Shihabi era to a level equivalent to the Balkan vassal states of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Serbia, whose independence and territorial expansion appeared in 1912 to be a foregone conclusion.[286] Though the Shihabis referred to themselves as Emirs, an emir does not an emirate make, as will be further explored in the final chapter. The authors implicitly group Lebanon with the other vassal states, and this rhetorical device serves to portray Lebanon as a territory awaiting independence, while making Ottoman rule appear foreign, rather than a reality of nearly five hundred years. By focusing on the perceived injustice of the Albanian mutasarrıf Wassa (Vasa) Pasha and the Hamidian era, the authors harken back to the golden age of Shihabi independence, itself a product of the early modern Ottoman system of indirect taxation and governance. Beyond the fiscal concerns, the most cohesive argument the authors present is for the attachment of Tripoli, Sayda, and Beirut to the *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon. Invoking the decreased financial support provided by the Ottoman government after the disastrous Russo-Ottoman War of 1878, the authors demand "at least" the plains of

[285] They write, "[the Règlement] is incomplete in principal, poorly applied and interpreted in practice, prone to terseness and fraud, and incapable of preventing arbitrary rule. It threatens to compromise the civilizing effort." Comité Libanais de Paris, "Mémoire sur la Question du Liban," 4.

[286] Comité Libanais de Paris, "Mémoire sur la Question du Liban," 5.

Beqaa and Baalbek, the Moutrans' ancestral home, adding that this territory alone would not provide enough restitution for the missed payments.[287] They also ask for the attachment to Mount Lebanon the ports of Tripoli and Sayda or Beirut, before finally demanding all tax revenues of this enlarged territory.[288] However, in the era of Unionist centralization, these demands would fall on deaf ears in the halls of government in Istanbul. However, these proposals mirror the French mandate-era expansion of Mount Lebanon into *Le Grand Liban* to incorporate the territories listed by Khaïrallah and Ganem, which in time would undermine their desired Christian majority. This indicates that perhaps the audience for this pamphlet was not the imperial government, but the *Quai d'Orsay.* This follows the teachings and textbooks of the Jesuits and Lazarists, including Chaldean Jesuit Louis Cheikho, Maronite Jesuit Ferdinand Taoutel, and French Jesuit Louis Jalabert, professors of the Faculté Orientale of the Université Saint-Joseph.[289] Their work in the nineteenth and early twentieth century promoted the historical specificity of Lebanon, in its Phoenician, Maʿani, and Shihabi incarnations, and this historical specificity made local rights and administrative autonomy the natural conclusion to any political analysis of contemporary Syria.

[287] Ibid., 23.

[288] Ibid.

[289] Maronite Jesuit Fernand Taoutel's illustrated textbook from the early twentieth century is a prime example of this historiographical tradition. See Fernand Taoutel, SJ, *Tarikh Suriya wa Lubnan wa Filastin al-masawar* (Beyrut: Matbaʿa al-Kathulikiya, 1934).

Syria was an idea, evoking the long history of the Assyrian Empire and Greco-Roman antiquity, unlike the equivalent *bilad ash-sham*, which was a Semitic/Arabic geographic and ethnic designation for the Arab Levant in the Ottoman Empire and was not yet politicized. Additionally, the discourse of national rights implicitly assumes the existence of an Arab nation. While few would argue that Arab culture did not exist or Greater Syria lacked an historical basis, the focus on this territory and the Arab *nation* was a crucial innovation of this era. Lacking a cohesive national movement as existed in the various Balkan states, Syrian Arab dissidents created a new one, and the Syrian Arab Congress was a critical step in the imagining of that community.

"Cultures," Ernest Gellner writes, "are package-deal worlds; scientific inquiry, by contrast, requires atomization of evidence. No *linkages* escape scrutiny."[290] The acculturation of Chekri Ganem, Khaïrallah Khaïrallah, the Moutrans, and their network of associates took place in French classrooms and campuses across Ottoman Lebanon. This consciously French, Catholic, and Lebanese space was Gellner's "package-deal world," a special world apart from Mount Lebanon's Ottoman and Arab social, religious, and cultural contexts. Only these students and teachers were privy to this special world. In a type of extraterritoriality, the schools physically situated in the *Mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon were metaphysically just another territory of the *outré-mer* and the students not Ottoman subjects or citizens, but Frenchmen-in-training. Students' understanding of race and nation were inextricably linked to the classroom cultural context and the social environment produced therein.

[290] Ernest Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*, 81.

While the twenty-first century critic can, in Gellner's terminology, atomize the knowledge and its production to find the intellectual origins of ʿ*Uruba* or Lebanism, this is nearly impossible for the actors themselves. The students were decidedly not passive observers, but partners in this endeavor, while also constituting its product – a Francophile Christian Lebanese bourgeoisie. Just as the positivism and statistical obsession of the Committee of Union and Progress was formed by their scientific military education shaded by Durkheim, Syro-Lebanese writers and activists understood race and nation through the medium of French Catholic teachers and texts, a distinctly French Catholic Orientalism.

This chapter is currently being prepared for submission to journals. I was the sole author of this material.

Chapter IV

A Post-Ottoman Future: Dissidents and the War Lobby

As the counter-coup commenced in Istanbul in the spring of 1909, Amin Arslan did not know where to turn. He had returned to the Ottoman capital from exile in Paris after the Constitutional Revolution of 1908, representing Beirut in the newly re-opened parliament, but it now seemed Sultan Abdülhamid would not go quietly into the night.[291] Rumors had begun to swirl of the assassination of Amin's cousin Muhammad Arslan and several others during the counter-revolution of April 13, 1909 when conservative forces loyal to Abdülhamid attempted to overthrow the constitutional order, while the Committee of Union and Progress attempted to eradicate regime-sympathizers, including the preponderance of Arabs like Izzet Pasha al-Abid, the Melhamés, and the Moutrans in the upper echelons of power who maintained patronage relationships with the *ancien régime*.[292] Amin Arslan rushed to the Pera Palace Hotel in Beyoğlu, where his cousin Muhammad, the former Ottoman consul in Belgrade and a parliamentarian for Latakiya, lived in Istanbul during Parliamentary sessions, meeting fellow Arab parliamentarians Suleyman al-Bustani

[291] Amin Arslan had lived in Paris since 1893, where he collaborated with Halil Ganem and other Syro-Lebanese emigres writing for liberal reformist publications like *Kashf an-Niqab* and *Turkiya al-Fatat*, later joining the CUP. M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 45.

[292] This is known as the 31 March Incident due to the gap between the Rumi/Julian/Ottoman Fiscal calendar and the Gregorian calendar. Allegedly, Arslan was mistaken for CUP leader Hüseyin Cahid (Yalçin). Bedross Der Matossian *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 153. See also Francis McCullagh, "The Constantinople Mutiny of April 13th," *Fortnightly Review* 86, 58-69.

and Ruhi al-Khalidi en route.[293] Inquiring at the concierge, they were told that Muhammad had left and not returned that day. The group decamped for their daily meeting place, the home of Nadra Moutran, an author, activist, and entrepreneur with close connections to the Hamidian regime as well as Amin Arslan's schoolmate at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut.[294] In Moutran's salon, they took stock and contemplated their next move, departing for the *Valide-i Sultan* Bridge across the Golden Horn to the old city. The streets were abuzz with rumors of assassination, the closure of parliament, the restoration of Abdülhamid, and an army marching from Rumelia to restore the CUP. It was not a good day to be Arab in Istanbul.

Muhammad Arslan was dead, and the Arab-Ottoman world was changing. These four men, Amin Arslan, Suleyman al-Bustani, Ruhi al-Khalidi, and Nadra Moutran, grieved together that night at the loss of a friend and colleague, but their paths would diverge in the years ahead. Suleyman al-Bustani and Ruhi al-Khalidi would remain in parliament, with Bustani becoming an elder statesman with minimal sway as the Liberals fell out of power amid increasing Unionist authoritarianism, joining the CUP but preferring to spend his time representing the Ottoman government on trips to London, New York and Chicago.[295] His younger colleague Ruhi al-Khalidi

---

[293] Yunus Nadi, *İhtilal ve İnkilap Osmani* (Der Saadet: Matbaʿa Cihan, Nisan 1325), 41.

[294] Amin Arslan, *Mudhakirat,* (Buenos Aires: Matbaʿa al-Tijariya lasha biha Rustem Akhwan, Rekonkista, 1934), 70.

[295] He later acted as one of the go-betweens for the dissident Syrian Arab Congress to the Ottoman government in 1913, reaching an agreement on reform that precipitated ʿAbd al-Hamid az-Zahrawi and ʿAbdallah Beyhum joining him in the *Meclis-i Ayan*, the upper chamber of the Ottoman Parliament. HR.SYS. 1868/1 Saïd Halim Pacha à S.E. Rifaat Pacha, Paris, 25 Juin 1913.

loyally served the CUP while continuing his struggle against continued Zionist colonization in Palestine.[296] The surviving Amin Arslan would be dispatched to quasi-exile in Argentina as Ottoman Consul, where he would quietly encourage Syro-Lebanese dissident newspapers, while his more widely-known cousin Shakib Arslan became a prominent voice of Arab nationalism, both during and after the First World war.[297] Of the four, Nadra Moutran lost the most in the final fall in 1909 of Abdülhamid II, for whom he had served as financial agent and intelligence operative in Paris and Istanbul.[298] His security no longer guaranteed, Moutran followed in the footsteps of Halil Ganem after the abrogation of the 1876 constitition, decamping for Paris to sell Abdülhamid's jewels and agitate for reform or at least a job in the new regime, ingratiating himself to the French government and colonialist activists in Paris. That night in April, the Ottoman Syrian statesmen remained united, grieving for their lost comrade, a fellow provincial Arab in the Ottoman capital, where their Arabness had become an object of scorn. In spite of their differing politics and religious sects, in crisis they returned to this lonely fraternity of Syrians in a strange land, pilgrims in the imperial capital. In the years ahead, these men and their classmates, colleagues, and contemporaries would set out to mold the feature of their homeland, imagined in increasingly divergent terms.

---

[296] Khairieh Kasmieh, "Ruhi al-Khalidi 1864-1913: A Symbol of the Cultural Movement in Palestine Towards the End of Ottoman Rule" in T. Philipp, ed., *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century* (Stuttgart: Fritz Steiner, 1992), 123-146.

[297] Arslan, *Mudhakirat*, 64.

[298] HR.SYS. 1857/2

Before Muhammad Arslan's assassination, before the counter-coup and the arrival of Mahmud Şevket Pasha's Action Army of 1909, the Constitutional Revolution of 1908 enjoyed some popularity in many Arab provinces, in spite of the ending of Abdülhamid's personal patronage relationship with many regional notables.[299] Admiring the Constitution's egalitarian principles or jockeying for power under the new system, Beirutis established a chapter of the Committee of Union and Progress. The Ottoman Empire appeared to be on a solid footing in Greater Syria, sending deputies to the newly re-opened parliament, including Université Saint-Joseph alumni and Lebanese Druze notables Muhammad Arslan and Amin Arslan to the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*), as well as Maronite Suleyman al-Bustani, author of the first Arabic translation of the Illiad, to the Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*).[300] As the government of the *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon declined to send deputies for fear it would end their special status and lower tax burden, both in the first Constitutional Period as well as the second all of these individuals represented different constituencies – the Arslans were elected for Lattakia and al-Bustani for Beirut in the *Meclis-i Ayan*. ʿAbdulhamid al-Zahrawi, who would go on to chair the Syrian Arab Congress in 1913, was elected to represent Hama in 1914. Halil Ganem and Niqula Naccache, both natives of the mountain, represented Beirut in the 1877-

[299] Nakhlé Moutran, one of Nadra Moutran's many brothers, opposed the constitution at the behest of Izzet Pasha, a powerful member of Abdulhamid's 'Arab' entourage. Nadra Moutran was also close to Izzet Pasha.

[300] Hakan Yılmaz, *Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet mebusları*. Bustani was probably the most loyal to the Empire, due in part to his Ottoman education the *Madrasa al-Wataniya*, of which his more well-known relation Butrus al-Bustani was the director, and Suleyman's significant stature as an elder statesman during the Second Constitutional Period, even as many of his relatives became Arab or Lebanese nationalists. See Bustani, *'Ibra wa-Dhikra*.

1878 parliament. However, as the star of first the decentralist, Western-friendly Liberal Party (*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*) and its successor the Liberal Entente (*Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası*) faded during the years of the Unionist electoral coup, consolidation of power, and war, Arab Ottoman loyalists lacked a strong voice in Istanbul. This did not, however, significantly shift the Francophile cultural and political orientation of Beirut's elite.

While Lebanese nationalist political discourse and historiography have portrayed the residents of Beirut and Mount Lebanon as either perpetually independent starting in the Maʿani and Shihabi era or constantly struggling to regain a lost independence, a closer examination of the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1914) and the First World War reveals many concurrent and ephemeral political movements, all in a constant state of reinvention. This was not, generally speaking, a sectarian divide. Rather, these movements reflected the uncertainty of the times. Members of Beirut's merchant families that had served as Ottoman functionaries in Beirut and across the Empire for decades began to hedge their bets, reaching out to the French Consul in Beirut or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris to perform their loyalty to France by pledging fealty and encouraging French intervention, while applying to Istanbul to receive *Osmaniye* and *Mecidiye* honors. These same merchants began to advocate for autonomy, focused primarily on the fiscal affairs of Mount Lebanon. The Maronite Church and its patriarch from 1898-1931, Elias Hoyek, were always keen to stay on good terms with the *mutasarrıflık* and the Sultan, to whom he owed his *firman* as legal head of the church. But he too began to balance those concerns with a loyalty to the French, by whom he was educated and to whom he owed his patriarchal throne.

The loudest cries for liberty after the outbreak of war came not from a Beirut newspaper or in the parliament, having lost any semblance of representation after the consolidation of power by the Unionist leadership, Minister of War Enver Pasha, Minister of the Interior Talat Pasha, and Minister of the Navy Cemal Pasha. Instead, the voices calling for revolution came from the Syro-Lebanese diaspora in the *mahjar*, the land of emigration. From Paris, Alexandria, Cairo, São Palo and Rio de Janeiro, young writers in a half-dozen languages began to express a more militant nationalism, openly advocating for the overthrow of Ottoman rule in Greater Syria. Far from the homeland, they had the least to lose from such rhetoric – no import licenses and contracts to be revoked, no patriarchies to be lost, and no lives to be sacrificed. Late in the war, as the tide shifted against the Central Powers in 1916 and the Allies appeared ascendant, even the most loyal Ottomans of Beirut opened the door to a post-Ottoman future to insure their wealth and relevance.

This was never a popular movement; it was instead the creation of a limited group of intellectuals. Using the national language and national vocabulary of Renan, they made their work legible for a European audience. The work of Syro-Lebanese activists created a "readerly text," in the terminology of Saussure and Barthes, giving readers in Europe a seemingly straightforward understanding of the region, conforming European values and meaning and reflecting them.[301] By striving to not disrupt European ideas of race, society, and nation, these writers confirmed those

[301] Roland Barthes, *S/Z: An Essay*, trans. Richard Miller. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), 5. Barthes, "The Discourse of History," 18.

values and beliefs, making their own cause palatable. Their very names made created revolutionary ideas. Habib Boustani's *Parti National Libanais* necessitates a Lebanese nationality, while the *Comité Patriotique Syro-Libanais de Sao Paolo* of Nima Jafet requires a Syro-Lebanese *Patrie*.[302]

The *Mahjar,* or Syro-Lebanese diaspora, had set up outposts across Europe, Africa, and the Americas since the mid-nineteenth century. They had been engaging in publishing and politics for nearly as long. In focusing on the transformative period of the First World War, we follow Foucault's geneology that such transformations are not climaxes or predictable development, but "hazardous play of dominations."[303]

The French Connections

In the aftermath of the massacres of 1860, the French consul in Beirut took on a role far beyond his purview. From the Great Powers committee that established the special *Mutasarrıflık* in 1861, the Comte de Bentivoglio and succeeding consuls ran a parallel state in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, maintaining a separate mail system, a well-compensated network of informants, and a status almost exceeding that of the Beirut *vali* or Mount Lebanon *mutasarrıf* himself.[304] More than just promoting French interests, the consul became a kingmaker in Lebanese society, delivering patronage, jobs, and credibility. The international treaty establishing the special *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon prevented the French from placing a Maronite or Melkite protégé on

---

[302] Liste des Comités Syriens en Egypte, Septembre 1920. MAE E-Levant, 1918-1940, Syrie-Liban.

[303] Barry Smart, *Michel Foucault: Critical Assessments* (London: Routledge, 2002), 50.

[304] Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 213.

the Lebanese "throne," instead agreeing to a non-Lebanese Ottoman Catholic. Nevertheless, the French role in reconstruction and education gave the consul significant sway in provincial decisions. According to Yusuf al-Hakim, the consul succeeded in getting opponents ousted from the administration and French protégés appointed in their place.[305] After 1860, Bentivoglio used his position to obtain grants of land and rebuilding funds from Ottoman authorities for orphanages and schools. While they never developed into the Christian agricultural colonies that Amédée de Damas proposed, the French consul was pivotal in obtaining privileges for French missionaries and their Maronite partners.

From the perspective of the French government, the advancement of Maronites in general and Université Saint-Joseph graduates in particular was a priority in the economic, governmental, and religious spheres. Starting with the French Occupation in 1860-1861, successive French consuls used their influence to advance the cause of those close to its interest. In the case of Elias Hoyek, the Ghazir and Paris-education Maronite patriarch, it was French pressure upon the Maronite Synod that allowed him, a northerner, to be elected patriarch over Keserwani alternatives.[306] The unrest of 1860 he experienced at the seminary shaped the rest of his career, advocating for the particularist rights of Maronites and Mount Lebanon. It behooved the French to ensure the continued prosperity of the Beiruti Christian merchant class, and in the patriarchal

[305] Yusuf Al-Hakim, *Bayrut wa Lubnan fi 'Ahd al-ʿUthman* (Beirut: al-Matbaʿa al-Kathulikiya, 1964), 124-125.

[306] Mr. Campana, Gérant of Consulate General of France in Beirut to M. Pichon, MAE. March 21, 1907. Ismail, *Documents Diplomatiques*, 380.

election, they ensured the church would be guided by their creation. In 1905, Hoyek would follow the trail blazed by Amédée de Damas forty years earlier, using connections to both the church and Syro-Lebanese diaspora to expand his influence. Visiting Rome, Paris, Munich, Vienna, and finally Istanbul, where he stayed at the Pera Palace and received the Mecidiye honor from Abdülhamid II. As the Ottoman embassy monitored closely his mentions in the press, Hoyek, accompanied by Farid al-Khazin, a journalist and Saint-Joseph graduate, repeated the now doctrinal history of a French protectorate over Eastern Christians, pledging to *Le Gaulois* "just as Maronites have always marched side-by-side with the French for the conquest of the Holy Land, they remain faithful friends of France."[307]

The connection to both French and Ottoman authorities proved beneficial to Ganem and Samné's *Correspondance d'Orient*, which boasted French ministers, parliamentarians, and military leaders including Raymond Poincaré, Paul Deschanel, Stephen Pichon, Aristide Briand, and Hubert Lyautey among its patrons and contributors. Beiruti Ottoman Senator Suleyman al-Bustani, Husayn Hilmi Pasha, Talat Pasha, Alfred Sursock, and other Ottoman and Syrian officials also supported the publication before the war. In total, more than two dozen parliamentarians and ministers supported the publication, giving it an impact factor beyond that of a minor foreign affairs newspaper.[308]

---

[307] BOA Y.A...HUS 494/41 1323 Ş 13. "Une visite à Mgr Elias Hoyek" *Le Gaulois*. 23 Sept. 1905.

[308] *Correspondance d'Orient*, 1 Jan 1914.

K.T. Khaïrallah, a student of the Jesuits who later participated in the reformist Syrian Arab Congress in Paris in 1913, praised the French cultural presence and advocated for an increased French role in the region, echoed Maronite Patriarch Nicholas Murad's work from the previous century, detailed in the first chapter. After acknowledging the Jesuits' "influence on the spread of French culture," the author states that "the styles [in Syria] are the styles of Paris; French customs are *de rigueur* for worldly life."[309] Khaïrallah's work should be read partly as a normative view of *his* Syria, the projection of a Francophile Syrian's dream onto his homeland. However, the existence of such a voice is itself evidence of the French mission over the previous decades. Khaïrallah writes, "the history of the [French] Revolution is the Gospel for more than one of our young Syrian intellectuals."[310] The cultural mission carried by the Jesuits on behalf of the French government had transferred more than just Catholic values; it brought French history and ideals as well.

In advocating for an additional French role in Ottoman Syria, Khaïrallah invokes France's own justification for its oriental adventures – *la mission civilisatrice*. He writes, "France, who has had a lead role in the work of our regeneration, must obey the spirit of her *mission civilisatrice* in remembering our needs [for the recreation of

[309] K.T. Khaïrallah, *La Syrie*, 45, 66.

[310] Ibid., 66.

our Syrian home]."[311] Khaïrallah considered France responsible for Syria's revival during the final decades of Ottoman rule, and he wanted that role to increase, rather than diminish due to the exigencies of current politics.

Ottoman Constitutional politics similarly reflected great power politics. The Ottoman Liberals, successors to the so-called Sabaheddin group supported by Halil Ganem and Amin Arslan, advocated for less radical change than the Unionist, preferring a monarchical, deferential parliament, decentralized rule with ethnic autonomy, and strong relations with Great Britain and France. For the elite of Greater Syria, this renewal of Hamidian traditions makes some sense.

Participation and Withdrawal

The non-participation of Mount Lebanon in the Ottoman Parliament was not a foregone conclusion. Younger, anticlerical Maronites, most Druze, led by Shakib Arslan, and many Greek Orthodox wanted to participate in the parliament.[312] Charles Debbas, a Jesuit-educated lawyer and future president of Lebanon during the mandate era, argued in 1909 for participation in the Ottoman parliament in a letter to the French consulate, which had successfully lobbied for Mount Lebanon to maintain its special

---

[311] "Ce qu'il faut, c'est non point détruire, mais reconstituer le foyer syrien; pour cela, on devra tenir compte de nous-mêmes et de nos besoins, que quelques personnes plus zélées qu'habiles ne sont que trop portées à oublier. La France, à qui revient le rôle prépondérant dans l'œuvre de notre régénération, ne fera qu'obéir à l'esprit de sa mission civilisatrice en s'en souvenant." Ibid., 68.

[312] Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2014), 92-93. Shakib Arslan's brother Muhammad would represent Latakiya in Parliament until his assassination despite being a native and resident of Beirut, as well as a graduate of the Université Saint-Joseph.

privileges after the reestablishment of the constitution the previous year. Debbas writes that, "When Turkey [sic] is at last emancipated, is it not our patriotic duty to preserve her right to self-determination and limit European interference?"[313] Invoking "equality of all before the law," Debbas concludes that "national unity requires the sacrifice of privileges."[314]

However, the alliance of large landowners of the mountain and the Maronite clerical hierarchy, along with the British and French consuls wanted to preserve the status quo of the 1861/1864 Réglèment Organique, which designated that the *mutasarrıf* of Mount Lebanon be a non-Lebanese Catholic, making the Maronite Patriarch and French Consul powerful forces guiding Mount Lebanon towards a conservative non-integration. Bedross Der Matossian argues that Elias Hoyek, the Maronite patriarch, and the senior clerics of the Maronite church had many interests in common with Abdülhamid, and much to lose from a constitutional regime and centralization.[315] Giving them the benefit of the doubt, this conservative *ancien régime* had maintained "the Long Peace," as Engin Akarlı has termed it, since the 1860 civil unrest in Mount Lebanon and Damascus. Elections, even on the double-tiered electoral system, would undermine this group's hold on power. The *zuʿama,* sectarian chiefs or mafiosos of the mountain, wanted to retain their special tax and conscription-except status, while the European powers wanted to retain their role as protector and

[313] Gérant du Consulat to Pichon. 7 Août 1909. MAE P/13109 Nouvelle Série Turquie – Syrie/Liban - Vol. 111, 163.

[314] Ibid.

[315] Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution*, 92.

interlocutor. Maronite author Bulus Mas'ad argued against participating in parliament, voicing the conservative clericalist view – parallel to French education.[316] Mas'ad argues that the special privileges afforded by the 1861 *Règlement Organique* are worth more than representation and status as a small province in a large empire.

The re-establishment of a constitutional regime in the Ottoman Empire in 1908 gave great hope to the varied groupings of Syrian reformists. In Istanbul, Nadra Moutran, then likely in the employ of the Ottoman secret police, collaborated with Syrian notable Shafiq al-Muayyad al-Azm to establish the *al-Ikha al-Arabi*, the Arab Brotherhood. Based on the principles of the revolution but suspicious of the centralizing intentions of the Unionists, this group of Arabs in the capital sought to protect the rights of Arabs in the Ottoman system. They advocated for linguistic rights and educational expansion. Nevertheless, accusations that they collaborated in the counter-revolution of 1909 and the the organization was suppressed in the repression following the defeat of the putschists, along with many other ethnic political groups.[317] In a linguistic game of cat and mouse, the Arabic Literary Club of Istanbul, *al-Muntada al-Adabi*, managed to avoid suppression by its strategic avoidance of the word Arab, while *al-Fatat* opted for the shortened version of *Jam'iyat al-Arabiya al-Fatat,* Society of Young Arabs, similarly to avoid accusations of separatism.[318] While the evidence is confined to a propaganda account from the Fourth Army, the Hamidian

[316] This is a different Bulus Mas'ad than the earlier Maronite patriarch, who died in 1890. *Hierarchia Catholica* Vol. 8, 108.

[317] IV Armée, *La Vérité sur la question syrienne*, 13-14.

[318] Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*, 91.

regime maintained strong patronage relationships with many Arab elites, especially the Moutrans, so their support seems quite likely. Ironically, they likely would have supported the mob that killed their friend Muhammad Arslan. Nevertheless, the repression of all opposition sent many journalist and political thinkers into exile. The CUP's engineering of elections and the perceived Turkification of administration in Arab provinces allowed these previously loyal figures to begin considering independence rather than administrative decentralization. While Philip Khoury and Hasan Kayalı have both refuted many of the allegations of Unionist Turkification in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the perception of Turkish supremacy after the revolution was nearly as important the actual truth of the matter.[319] The loss of Abdülhamid's patronage combined with the slow-roll of promised linguistic, military, and administrative reforms led Syrians to doubt Unionist commitment to Arab rights.

After the CUP coup d'état in 1913, nationalist suppression would be repeated, with its targets including the *Jami'a Bayrut al-Islahiya*, Beirut Reform Committee, which boasted a half dozen future Presidents or Prime Ministers of the Republic of Lebanon. Edhem Pasha, the Vali of Beirut, had proved too willing to cooperate with the reformist inclinations of the Beiruti elite, and he was replaced.

Balancing Risk

The Christian elite of Beirut deftly built a substantial network of banks and businesses, while maintaining its position in the Ottoman government. Concurrently,

[319] Philip Khoury, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus, 1860-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 58.

members of these families joined or supported Syro-Lebanese dissident groups across the *mahjar* advocating radical political changes. As the demographics of Beirut changed with the influx of refugees after the civil unrest and violence in 1860, the Christian families that had become ascendant in Beirut after the French occupation of 1860-1861 entered into the Ottoman administration in the rapidly expanding city of Beirut, the *mutasarrıflık* of Mount Lebanon, as well as serving many foreign consulates as dragomans. Many of these families operated in the financial sector in parallel, as their previous role in the boom-and-bust silk trade offered them access to international capital markets via Marseille and Lyon. This accounted for the rise of the Debbas, Naccache, Cressaty and later Chiha and Pharaon families.[320] The predominance in the banking and commercial sector made them invaluable to both governors and merchants, while securing a wide array of positions for their sons in provincial government service. This included the *Vilayet* Public Health directorate, the Tobacco *Regié* monopoly, railroad and port companies, local tax collection, a multitude of positions in the foreign ministry, and the Ottoman parliament itself. Some familes like Khazin, de Freige, de Tarrazi, and Cressaty even acquired titles of nobility for their services to France and the Vatican or married into European noble families.

By distributing risk among several sons or balancing dissident activism with Ottoman service, elite families ensured their continued power whether in an Ottoman or non-Ottoman future, in Beirut and across the Levant. No mere ideologues of one particular political positions or partisans of one foreign power, the elite families

[320] Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siecle Beirut*, 36.

established a presence in any position, group, or party of note. They used their privileged social and financial position to protect themselves and their relatives, fomenting revolution from within the bureaucracy or hedging their positions autonomist language. In one such case, Jean Tuéni Bey, First Secretary of the Ottoman Embassy in London, demanded permission for his brother Michel Tuéni and his family to leave the empire, after Michel, *dragoman* for the French Consulate in Beirut, was exposed as a member of both the *Groupement Chrétien*, formed with Alfred Sursock, requesting a French occupation of Syria, and the *Jamiʿa Bayrut al-Islahiya,* Reform Committee of Beirut, a reformist group more Ottomanist in inclination that he founded with Salim Ali Salam, Petro Trad, Yusuf Hani, and Ayoub Tabet.[321] Wanted for treason, his connections allowed him to emigrate.

In Istanbul, the Melhamé family was especially powerful, ascending in the bureaucracy and the European-controlled enterprises of Hamidian period like the Public Debt Administration and Ottoman Imperial Bank. Holding significant power for decades, the Melhamés gained notoriety within Abdülhamid II's Arab coterie. Salim Melhamé, a graduate of the Lazarist college of Antoura, served as Minister of Mines, Forests, and Agriculture, one of the ministries open to an Ottoman Christian vizier.[322] After the deposition of Abdülhamid, he would be succeeded in that position by the more Unionist-friendly Suleyman al-Bustani, making the ministry a sort of

[321] HR.SYS. 2167/34 Salam could count himself lucky, as he was 'elected' to the Ottoman parliament even after attending the Syrian Arab Congress of 1913, while many of his fellow members were tried for treason in absentia. See Raghid Sulh, *Lebanism and Arabism, 1936-1945* (London: Center for Lebanese Studies, 2004), 23.

[322] Kuneralp, *Son Dönem Osmanli Erkân ve Ricali*, 9.

Maronite fiefdom in Ottoman administration.[323] Najib Melhamé nominally served as Undersecretary of Public Works, while leading the secret police, where he likely employed more than one of the Moutran brothers.[324] Their brothers Habib and Philippe also served in the legal departments of the European-Controlled Tobacco monopoly, the *Regié*.[325] Marrying into European aristocracy and forming important financial partnerships with the Ottoman and European financiers of the empire, they used their official positions to advance their business interests and shield their Syro-Lebanese fellow travelers from significant scrutiny, while trying to rein in the more radical members that could jeopardize their position. This gained them notoriety along with their friend and colleague Izzet Pasha as the Arabs in Abdülhamid's administration, and contemporary political cartoons depict them as spiders in a vast web surrounding the Sultan or fleas infesting the Ottoman flag.[326] Considering the lèse-majesté laws of the Ottoman Empire that have survived into the modern Republic of Turkey, it was safer legally to criticize members of the bureaucracy and or allege government corruption rather than challenge the Sultan-Caliph himself.

The Ottoman Foreign Ministry as well as foreign consulates within the Ottoman Empire presented another opportunity for familial protection and

---

[323] Albert Hourani, *Islam in European Thought*, 186.

[324] BOA BEO 3599/269890. 1327 C 27. American University of Beirut. Zeine N. Zeine Archive, Box 6.

[325] Jens Hanssen, "Malhamé-Malfamé: Levantine Elites and Transimperial Networks on the Eve of the Young Turk Revolution" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011), 39.

[326] Ibid., 27.

advancement. Just as the Greek Phanariot dynasties used their public positions to advance their private interests, Christian families of Beirut and Mount Lebanon used the same practice to expand their trade network under government protection. While the Melhamés were the most notable Lebanese family in Ottoman service in the Hamidian period, they were far from unique, and many grievances by the CUP were directed towards the Arabs in the regime, both before and after its fall. The many sons of Yusuf Habib Moutran of Baalbek served Abdülhamid in business and espionage capacities, with the family acquiring a ninety-nine year concession for a Beirut-Damascus rail line in 1889. Lacking his own capital to secure the concession, Yusuf Moutran, as an Ottoman citizen, acted a front man for a French consortium, to which he immediately sold the railway company, moving to France to receive the Legion d'Honneur and live out his years.[327] His children worked for the company in Paris and Beirut, and Hamidian favorite Salim Melhamé served on its Board of Directors.[328] The service of the Moutrans to the Hamidian regime helped them avoid scrutiny in this affair, as well as during the early years of Rèchid and Nakhlé's activism with the Comité Central Syrien. Their move to the opposition and eventually to separatism after the advent of the absolute period of CUP rule can thus be partially explained by private business interests, protecting their stake of the railway company and the territorial contiguity of the Beirut-Damascus and Damascus-Aleppo lines. While the Moutrans failed in that effort, their company survived the First World War and even

[327] Michel Alouf, *Tarikh Baalbek*, 88

[328] Samir Kassir, *Beirut*, 119.

the destruction of its lines in the Lebanese Civil War, reverting to (Lebanese) state control in 1990, at the end of Moutran's ninety-nine year concession.[329]

The Sursock and Tuéni families, holding important posts in the Ottoman Embassies in Paris and London as well as consular positions in Beirut, build a business and banking empire in the Eastern Mediterranean, insured by their governmental connections, extending this balancing of risk to relations with Zionist colonization, selling land to European Jewish organizations including the Jewish National Fund. Thanks to the capitulations, the Beiruti Greek Orthodox notable Sursock family counted many foreign citizens among its members Hanna and Ilyas Sursock, Iranian Consuls at Beirut, and Georges and Michel Ibrahim Sursock, *dragomans*, or interpreters, of the German and Iranian consulates.[330] The Sursocks' early success in the silk industry and banking allowed them to send family members to work around the world and acquire a diverse set of holdings, including shares of the Suez Canal Company, while simultaneously serving the Ottoman foreign ministry in Europe and the Americas. These included Niqula Sursock, who served as honorary attaché of the Ottoman Embassy in Paris with Nakhlé Moutran, Constantine Sursock, honorary Ottoman consul in Chicago, Nejib Sursock, Ottoman Ambassador to Sardinia, and Alfred Sursock, a secretary at the embassy in Paris and notable merchant, who would marry into an Italian noble family.[331] While I highlight this

---

[329] Ibid.

[330] *Salname-yi Vilayet-i Beyrut* 1326 (1908), 212.

[331] BOA HR.SAİD 8/8

family for their ubiquity in Beiruti business and the Ottoman bureaucrac, making foreign affairs a family affair, they were far from unique in this capacity as Beiruti Christians graduates of missionary schools. Saint-Joseph medical school graduates were recruited by the Syria and Beirut *Vilayet* Public Health Administrations as well as the British-Khedival administration in Egypt and Sudan. Jesuit-educated lawyers, who before the opining of the Saint-Joseph law school studied law or apprenticed in France after graduating from Saint-Joseph, were hired at the *Regié* Monopoly Administration the *Vilayet* foreign affairs office, and many other roles.[332] Some professors from Saint-Joseph, including Dr. de Brun, served simultaneously as government appointed regional physicians in the mountain as well as the Beirut port quarantine, *al-Karantina*, helping to explain the large number of graduates placed in the positions, including activist Antoine Arab. This gave them substantial sway in fiscal and legal matters. In their protected capacity as employees of consulates in Beirut or from the safe distance of Europe, the Sursocks and Tuénis sold great tracts of land in Akka and Jerusalem sancaks, using their position in the Foreign Ministry and Beirut *Vilayet* to push the *Vilayet* to offer citizenship to Zionist immigrants.[333]

Syrian Arab Congress

In 1913, Chekri Ganem, Nadra Moutran, and their fellow activists from the would invite "the sons of the Arab *Umma*" to Paris to hold a conference on reform in

[332] *Salname-yi Vilayet-i Beyrut* 1326 (1908), 214. The list of Mecidiye and Osmaniye honorees for the province of Beirut in 1908 includes seven Sursocks, three Tuénis, three Melhamés, two Trads, and two Pharaons, approximately one third of the total recipients.

[333] Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, 92-93.

the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Organized by Ganem and other Paris-based Syrian writers, the First Arab Congress would receive the endorsement of the Cairo-based Ottoman Party of Administrative Decentralization, Salim Ali Salam of the *Jami'a Bayrut al-Islahiya*, Jamil Mardam Bey and Rafiq al-Tamimi of *al-Fatat*, ʿAbd al-Karim al-Khalil of *al-Muntada al-Adabi*, the Istanbul Arab Literary Club, and from as far away as Naoum Moukarzel and the New York-based Lebanon League of Progress.[334] Islamic modernist Rashid Rida would support, but not attend the event. The congress would take place eleven years after the First Ottoman Liberal Congress, organized by Prince Sabaheddin and Halil Ganem, whose death in 1903 cost the Arab movement one of its most influential voices in the then-diverse CUP. Though the attendees of the Syrian Arab Congress of 1913 were unelected and commanded a limited local following on the ground in Greater Syria, the meeting nevertheless holds value to historians as it represents a meeting of prominent Syro-Lebanese intellectuals in the diaspora during a period of uncertainty and change in Syria and the Ottoman Empire.

The perhaps-inflated place of the congress in Arab Nationalist historical narratives from early Arab nationalist chronicler George Antonious to more recent encyclopedic works by Eliezer Tauber makes it a worthy object of study, in spite of its unrepresentative nature. The meetings, resolutions and the very title "Syrian Arab Congress" all contributed to the pre-war French and European discourse of Ottoman reform and the so-called Eastern Question in France and Europe as a whole. The

[334] Rashid Khalidi, *British Policy Towards Syria and Palestine, 1906-1914* (St. Anthony's College: Middle East Centre, 1980), 310.

Ottoman *Vilayet* of Syria or *Suriye* was only formed in 1865 under the 1864 *Vilayet* Law, as a reorganized form of the province of Damascus, or *Sham*, stripped of its coastal regions, and it was still popularly known as the *Vilayet* of Damascus/*Sham* as late as 1909.[335] Even then, it only covered the interior territory, as the coastal regions fell to the *Vilayet* of Beirut in the 1880s, and Aleppo and its hinterland remained separate, as did the *mutasarrıflıks* of Mount Lebanon and Jerusalem, *Kudüs-ü Şerif*.[336] Nevertheless, the focus of the conference delegates on this newly defined region served to legitimize it for both a domestic and international audience, in parallel with the efforts of Greek and Egyptian nationalists in the previous century, evoking an ancient heritage to claim legitimacy.

The Syrian Arab Congress's denial of a religious dimension to the Arab national cause, intellectually necessary as the majority of its participants were Christian, further legitimized the imagining of a Syria and its inhabitants as a discrete racial and political community, rather than an ethnically and linguistically diverse heartland province of the empire. This secular understanding of the Arab cause would only be strengthened by European press coverage of the congress, again illustrating the importance of perception for these mercurial organizations and political formations. The president of the congress did not come from the ranks of its predominantly Paris-based, Lebanese, and Christian constituency, but instead it was

[335] M. Tayry to M. Constans, 2 Jan. 1909, MAE, Nouvelle Série Turquie – Syrie/Liban – vol. 112, 2.

[336] Jerusalem is sometimes designated a *sancak*, though this is a semantic issue, as its special status after the Crimean War never substantially changed.

headed by a Muslim, ʿAbd al-Hamid Zahrawi, a Homsi religious notable, editor of Homs-based gazette *al-Minbar* and Istanbul-based *al-Hadhara*, and one-time Unionist deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, who later joined the opposition.[337] In his opening remarks of the congress, Zahrawi claims that the proceedings of the congress will address the racial and ethnic grievances, rather than the religious issues that frequently characterized post-1908 politics.[338] He declares, "This congress has no religious character and is purely concerned with the social and political sphere."[339] Zahrawi imagines a secular political sphere, ignoring *millets* as constituent parts of Ottoman society. Later in his remarks, he explicitly denies the role of religion in modern politics, at a time when the Islamic modernist ideas of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad ʿAbduh, and Rashid Rida were gaining wider exposure in Khedival Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and Qajar Persia, while both the Liberal Union and CUP in the Ottoman Empire employed religious rhetoric in their political campaigns, continuing the Hamidian secularization of state power within an Islamic rhetorical framework. Echoing Renan's *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* in the style of Ganem and Khaïrallah, Zahrawi argues:

> Religious solidarity has always been incapable of creating or maintaining political union. History provides the proof. In the present day: Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan – these three Muslim states have religious solidarity, but are incapable to make a simple border dispute disappear…No Muslim

---

[337] Philip Khoury, *Urban Notables*, 61.

[338] "Wafud al-Mu'tamar," *Al-Mu'tamar al-ʿArabi al-Awwal* (Cairo: Matbaʿa al-Bosfor, 1913), 14.

[339] *Le Temps*, 10 June 1913.

> prince has ever relinquished his rights in favor of a co-religionist, even the Caliph.[340]

Zahrawi endorses the continuation of Ottoman rule, not as a religious prerogative or duty, but as a utilitarian path to Arab rights. This puts him strongly at odds with the CUP and Germany's strategic use of the Sultan Mehmet V Reşat in his capacity as Caliph to declare a Jihad at the outset of the First World War in order to create an Indian and African front in the war against France and Britain. Zahrawi's separation of religion and politics alienates him as well from the ersatz Arab nationalist Hashemites, who would claim a new Meccan caliphate during the final *de jure* years of the Ottoman sultanate and caliphate.[341] In all of these cases, more or less secular political forces utilized a religious discourse in order to legitimize their political goals. Whether intellectual cover or genuine sentiment, Zahrawi's separation of religious and socio-political spheres served the Francophile, racialized, Syro-Lebanese agenda of Ganem, Khaïrallah, and their circle.

Nevertheless, the diversity and political climate of the Syrian Arab Congress meant that its participants carefully couched their language in Ottoman-Arab brotherhood and avoided attacking the legitimacy of the empire directly. However, this broke down at times, due to the novel nature of political Arabism and its attached vocabulary, as seen four years earlier in Réchid and Nakhlé Moutran's change in

---

[340] "Hadith al-Sayyid az-Zahrawi ma' Muharrar at-Tan" *Al-Mu'tamar al-ʿArabi al-*Awwal, 18. French text in *Le Temps*, 10 Juin 1913.

[341] This should not be read as the universal consensus of the intellectually diverse congress. Some participants including Awni ʿAbd al-Hadi would join the Sherifian cause, others including Ganem and Khaïrallah the French, and others like Izzat Darwaza would support an Arab-Islamic union.

terminology from "Ottomans" to "Turks" in their own manifesto. ʿAbd al-Hamid Zahrawi, the president of the congress, uses *watan* and *qawm* to refer to the Arab homeland and its nation, in the European sense of those words. At times, this includes other Ottoman territories, but politically he, like Ganem and Khaïrallah, refers only to *bilad ash-sham,* the Arab Levant, rather than a larger Arabic-speaking lands including Iraq, Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula. Zahrawi writes, "We demand from the Ottomans (*al-ʿUthmaniyyin*) that we share in the public administration…and our national life (*al-hayat al-wataniya*) is protected."[342] Couched as it is in the pre-war rhetoric of national self-determination, this nevertheless imagines an Arab or Syrian identity, from which "the Ottomans" are outsiders. Though some speakers at the congress would denounce the injustices of *La Turquie* or *Turkiya*, most speakers still used some form of "Ottoman" as a governmental, rather than racial or ethnic, signifier. Observed from this particular angle, the Syrian Arab Congress was an exercise in semantics as much as politics.

In his speech to the congress, Nadra Moutran articulated his theory of secular Syrian Arabism, equally acceptable to Muslim and Christian Arabs in his view. Moutran and his brothers were rumored at the time to be in the serving the Ottoman secret police, but his connections to both the Hamidian elites and the colonial lobby in Paris made him an invaluable ally for the reformists. As a founding member of *al-Muntada al-Adabi*, the Istanbul-based Arabic literary society, Nadra Moutran's Arab patriotism was unquestioned, but as a Hamidian functionary living in France, his

[342] "Hadith al-Sayyid az-Zahrawi ma' Muharrar at-Tan" *Al-Mu'tamar al-'Arabi al-Awwal,* 18.

reformist credibility was suspect.[343] Moutran insisted that it did not matter what religion an Arab possessed because the strongest bond between Arabs was their common racial pride rooted in their common racial origin. He claimed that the Islamic conquest of Syria was made possible by the successful collaboration between Muslim and Christian Arab tribes, rhetorically giving Syrian Christians credit for the spread of Islam, perhaps legitimizing their leading role in a Muslim-majority national movement. For Moutran, the sentiment of a common brotherhood overcame their religious difference. He went on to declare that in a very real sense the greatest glory and most precious heritage of all Arabs was Islam.[344] Thus, it was proper, even necessary, for Christian to join with Muslims to work together for the common good of their race.

Following the Italian conquest of Libya the prior year and just two weeks before the Second Balkan War would erupt in Bulgaria in June 1913 with foreign support, the role of foreign interference was a sensitive issue at the Congress. While the attendees expressed their gratitude to France for hosting, Nadra Moutran played down the danger of foreign intervention and denied that France or Britain had any intention of occupying the Arab provinces or even that they were in "sympathy" with the Arab movement.[345] But one of the many unofficial delegates to the Congress,

---

[343] He definitely served as a business agent for Abdulhamid, probably explaining his control of the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce in Paris. Later, Nadra and Réchid Moutran attempted to sell some of Abdülhamid's jewels in Paris and New York after his ouster, to the consernation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry.

[344] *Mu'tamar al-ʿarabi al-awwal*, 56.

[345] Ibid., 55-64.

Mahbub ash-Shartuni, expressed his opposition to Moutran's belief in the Great Powers' disinterest: "Is not it known that some states have ambitions in Syria?"[346] This same fear of foreign intervention was also clearly evident in a telegram sent to the Congress from Damascus, by members of *Al-Fatat*, the Paris-founded, Damascus-based Arab reformist organization, and other notables.[347] The forty-nine signatories demanded the Congress discuss the potential for foreign intervention. This was the third rail of reformist movements, and even while many delegates, particularly Christians like Albert Sursock, George Samné, Khaïrallah Khaïrallah, Najib Azouri, and Chekri Ganem would eventually support and recruit for foreign legions affiliated with Entente armies, no one wanted to risk their credibility, property, and familial well-being while the Ottoman Empire was on a relatively stable footing.

After the end of the congress, delegations of attendees met with the French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon, a friend and patron of Ganem, as well as the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, Rifaat Pasha, himself the former Ottoman Foreign Minister. Ganem's connections to powerful circles in Paris once again proved useful, as Zahrawi, Salim Ali Salam, Ahmad Beyhum, Ayoub Tabet, and Iskandar Ammoun were received by the minster upon Ganem's introduction. Beyhum demanded that the French government make a public statement that it would not intervene in Syria; Pierre de Margerie, the Foreign Ministry's head of *Affaires Orientales*, assured Beyhum and Salam that France respected the Ottoman Empire's territorial

[346] Ibid., 64.

[347] Tauber, *Emergence of the Arab Movements*, 91

sovereignty.[348] The Francophile Ganem, Ammoun, and Tabet were not pleased with this spurning of their patron. Salam is alleged to have hit Tabet with his cane.[349] However, these members of the Reform Committee of Beirut were neither nationalist nor Francophile, especially in 1913. Those that turned against the government preferred to do so with British support. On the other hand, their diaspora-based, Francophile colleagues would continue to correspond in secret with the French foreign ministry, with disastrous results after the outbreak of war for those that remained in the Ottoman Empire.[350] The Francophile delegation of Charles Debbas, Ganem, and Khaïrallah met with Rifaat Pasha to present the demands of the congress, which provisionally agreed to the reforms.[351] Rifaat Pasha had known Ganem for years thanks to his position in the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce in Paris.[352] Several resolutions were broad demands for the inclusion of Arabs in the central government, a prominence they had lost after the deposition of Abdülhamid II.[353] The Congress

---

[348] Kassir, *Beirut*, 242-243.

[349] Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, 64.

[350] "Le bureau du congrès arabe syrien reçu par M. Pichon" Le Temps. 17 July, 1913.

[351] Tauber, *The Arab Movements in World War One*, 7.

[352] "La Mission Ottomane à Paris" *La Jeune Turquie: Journal pour la Défense des Intérêts de l'Empire Ottoman*. 25 Juin 1910.

[353] "1 - Des réformes radicales et urgentes sont nécessaires dans l'Empire Ottoman.
2 - Il importe d'assurer aux arabes ottomans l'exercice de leurs droits politiques en rendant effective leur participation à l'administration centrale de l'Empire.
3 - Il importe d'établir dans chacun des vilayets syriens et arabes un régime décentralisateur approprié à ses besoins et à ses aptitudes.
4 - Le vilayet de Beyrouth, ayant formulé ses revendications dans un projet spécial voté le 31 Janvier 1913 par une Assemblée générale ad hoc et basé sur le double principe de l'extension des pouvoirs du conseil général du vilayet et de la nomination de conseillers étrangers, le Congrès demande la mise en application du susdit projet.

asked recognition of Arabic as an official language of the empire, confining military service to one's home region except in extreme cases, cancellation of certain taxes, autonomy for public education, and administrative assembly to consult with the Vali of Syria, reorganization of the justice administration, as well as commerce and property laws.[354] Rifaat Pasha dismissed the demands of the congress as window dressing, asserting that the congress was a publicity stunt to "foster sympathy for the aspiration of Syrians and pressure the governments of Europe, particularly in France."[355] While he worried about the dissident congress moving from city to city, he did not worry as the Paris congress "passed practically unnoticed."[356]

In the aftermath of the conference and the outbreak of the second Balkan war, many of the attendees of the congress stayed abroad, writing, publishing, and avoiding Ottoman military service. However, some returned and sought to work for reform within the Ottoman system. Ahmad Beyhum, a leading figure in the Reform Society of

---

5 - La langue arabe doit être reconnue au Parlement Ottoman et considérée comme officielle dans les pays syriens et arabes.
6 - Le service militaire sera régional dans les vilayets syriens et arabes, en dehors des cas d'extrême nécessité.
7 - Le Congrès émet le vœu de voir le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman assurer au Mutessariflik du Liban les moyens d'améliorer sa situation financière.
8 - Le Congrès affirme sa sympathie pour les demandes réformistes et decentralisatrices des arméniens ottomans.
9 - Les présentes résolutions seront communiquées au Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman.
10 - Il sera fait également communication des mêmes résolutions aux puissances amies de l'Empire Ottoman. » Congrès syrien arabe à L'Ambassade Impériale, 21 juin 1913. HR.SYS. 1868/1, 68.

[354] "Mémorandum envoyé aux grandes puissances au nom du comité central de réforme et de défense des intérêts syriens » *Écho de Paris*, Le 26 Août 1913 BOA HR.SYS. 1868/1, 16.

[355] Rifaat Pacha à le Prince Saïd Halim Pacha, 27 Juin 1913, 129.

[356] Ibid., 130.

Beirut, and ʿAbd al-Hamid az-Zahrawi, President of the Arab Congress were given appointments to the Ottoman Senate in December 1913, taking their seats a month later.[357] To placate Christian activists and Beiruti elites, Yusuf Sursock also entered the senate during this waning period of its relevance as the CUP consolidated single-party control. These men undoubtedly wished to fulfill certain personal ambitions, but, at the same time, it is likely that they hoped to use their positions to further Arab interests in general working within the system.

When the Unionists partially acceded to the Arab demand for greater autonomy, the Syrian and Arab national movement was split in a similar way to the Young Turk movement in Paris in 1902, between reformists and nationalists, interventionist and non-interventionist. In many cases, these promises would be unfulfilled as Arabs lost even greater influence as the CUP entered the period of single-party rule. This time, Nadra Moutran would be on the side of intervention, Sabaheddin's idea he opposed eleven years before in Halil Ganem's sitting room. Additionally, the interventionists weren't demanding the restoration of a constitutional regime, but Syrian, Lebanese, or Arab independence. In spite of Suleyman al-Bustani's assurances, many were dissatisfied with the promised reforms and continued to contemplate full Arab independence from the Ottoman Empire.

Rebellion from Afar

A month after the assassination of Muhammad Arslan in 1909, Réchid Moutran, formerly the Ottoman honorary consul in Lyon and the revolutionary

[357] Kuneralp, *Son Dönem Osmanli Erkân ve Ricali*, 21.

vanguard of the Baalbeki family family, and his sister Victoria were canvassing the capitals of Europe seeking support for an independent Syria.[358] In Vienna, they met Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and following Amédée de Damas and Elias Hoyek's European itineraries from 1860 and 1905, they met and lobbied the conservative Catholic elite in Vienna, Berlin, and Paris.[359] Within months of its proclamation, dissident activists in the *mahjar* had begun working to undermine the reinstated constitution.

The more distant a community was from the homeland, the more radical its rhetoric tended to be, and these were influenced by the revolutionary spirit of Brazil, which deposed Emperor Dom Pedro II in 1889, establishing an oligarchic republic. As Suleyman al-Bustani joined the CUP in 1911 to preserve his position in Istanbul, receiving an appointment to the *Meclis-i Ayan*, the upper house of parliament, and becoming Minister of Commerce, Forests, and Mines, he was mocked by Shukri al-Khuri in the *Abu-Hul* newspaper, as a traitor to the cause of Arab rights and independence.[360] Their audience was not limited to the Arabic speaking community

---

[358] Réchid Moutran had served as honorary Ottoman consul in Lyon since 1895. BOA İ..HUS. 41/40, 1313 Ra 18.
The sheer number of sons in the Moutran family led to some confusion in the Ottoman diplomatic corps surveilling them, with some ambassadors referring to Réchid as Youssouf, before being corrected by a different writer. Yusuf Habib Moutran worked in various monopolies in Beirut, including the Tramway, Port Company, and Agence Havas Telegraph Co. He was probably not involved in the political activism of his brothers Nadra, Nakhlé, Najib, or his sister Victoria, whose names appear in various intelligence and judicial reports referencing their service to the Hamidian regime or dissident activities after the Constitutional Revolution. See HR.SYS. 1526/59, 21/12/1909 for reports on his European tour. BOA İ.DUİT.173/26 1334 Za 05 refers to his in-absentia death sentence.

[359] BOA HR.SYS. 1526/58, 22/5/1909

[360] Shukri al-Khuri, "Al-Bustani ams, al-Bustani al-yom" in *Abu Hul*, 1 Shubat 1911, No. 111, Sao Paolo.

there, but just as Halil Ganem published *Al-Hilal*/*La Croissant* and *Turkiya al-Fatat/La Jeune Turquie* bilingually in Geneva and Paris to reach both Arab émigrés and French intellectuals, Shukri al-Khuri wrote in Portuguese to attract the support of the Brazilian public. By 1916, the Syrian community of Brazil had come out clearly for France. In *O Commercio de Sao Paulo*, Shukri al-Khuri and Yusuf Shahin testified, "These unprecedented atrocities, committed by the Turkish authorities ruling Syria were the origin of this movement."[361]

At the outbreak of the First World War, Ottoman authorities held the Francophile literati of Beirut and the *mahjar* in deep suspicion, often with good reason. However, the harshness shown towards all stripes of reformists moved many from Ottoman reformism to Arab, Syrian, and Lebanese nationalism. The military tribunal convened at Aley, just outside Beirut, exiled employees of the British and French consulates, newspapermen, and clerics to Central and Eastern Anatolia, for both those under suspicion of a crime and the 'guiltless' individuals perceived to be too sympathetic to now-enemy nations. Joseph Saouda was exiled to Sivas in March 1914.[362] By 1917, he would be in Alexandria, presiding over the Alliance Libanaise, to whom he promised full independence for Lebanon with allied support.[363] Camille Michel Eddé was exiled to Ankara though he was permitted to return a short time

---

[361] "Movimento patriotico a Colonia Syria" *O Commercio de Sao Paulo*, 9/23/1916, BOA HS.SYS. 2426/36.

[362] BOA DH.EUM.4Şb 21/23

[363] M. Defrance to M. Pichon. 27 December 1917. MAE, Guerre 1914-1918, Turquie.

later, though this experience perhaps radicalized him, as a year later he joined the *Jami'a al-Thawriya al-Arabiya*, Arab Revolutionary Society.[364] Elias Hoyek had been under suspicion since his European tours before the war, where in 1914 he declared to *La Matin* that 6,000 Maronites were ready to rise up at the first call to join a French invasion force.[365] In spite of the protest of the Papal representative in Istanbul, in 1917 Hoyek was sent to Zahle, presumably to give Ottoman authorities more control over his communications than if he had remained at his residences in Jounieh or Baʿabda, in such close proximity to Beirut.[366]

After the outbreak of the First World War, Ganem, Samné and their contemporaries in wartime Paris worked in a variety of arenas to advance their agendas for Syria and Lebanon, notably through the Comité Central Syrien. They had advocated for autonomy and decentralization for decades, but the outbreak of war activated the decades-old network they had built. Ganem, Samné, and their collaborators formed committees and associations with expatriates in Egypt and the Americas, those outside the Ottoman realm. These committees connected Syrian/Lebanese advocates for independence and their Jesuit associates with French business and government interests, including *Asie Française* head Robert de Caix, Foreign Minister Aristide Briand, and President of the Chamber of Deputies Paul Deschanel. Nadra Moutran would even dedicate his *La Syrie de Demain* to Deschanel,

[364] BOA DH.EUM.4Şb 21/23

[365] BOA DH.EUM.7.Şb 2/1 1332 Z 01

[366] BOA HR.SYS 2438/9

"who has never ceased to protect the interests of Syrians."[367] The publications of these groups were omnipresent in the political world of France, and their connections stretched across the Atlantic. These publications and the group's association with commercial wealth and colonial power shaped the discourse surrounding post-war settlements and France's future role in the region. These publications advanced an interventionist line, and employed native voices to advance these policies, as in 1911 when an anonymous Syrian writer likely of the Ganem-Moutran reformist circle wrote, "It's in the interest of France, conforming to her civilizing role, to consolidate the liberal regime in Turkey," while hastening to note, "The Princes of Lebanon enjoyed complete independence until 1845."[368] As will be observed in the final chapter, the mythology of the "Unconquerable Emirate" moved from the academic and cultural sphere into the political one. Robert de Caix's *L'Asie Francaise* cited Nicholas Murad in another article on the privileges Lebanon enjoyed.[369] Reported on expansion of USJ Medical School. Reported on colonial bureaucratic appointments and generally the gifts of civilization.

A parallel organization was formed in Egypt with the blessing of the British administration and the Khedival regime interested in expanding its borders to encompass Iraq, Syria and Palestine.[370] The *Jami'a al-Thawriya al-Arabiya*, Arab

---

[367] Nadra Moutran, *La Syrie de Demain* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1916).

[368] "Lettre de Beyrouth," *L'Asie Française*, Vol. 11, No. 118, Janvier 1911, 26-27.

[369] "Le Liban et ses privileges" *L'Asie Française*, Vol. 11, No. 126, September 1911, 403-412.

[370] BOA İ..HB.. 175/53 1333 Z 09

Revolutionary Society sought to reinstate and Arab caliphate while bringing the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire under British-Khedival rule. Unlike the predominantly Christian organizations in the cities of the *mahjar*, the Arab Revolutionary Society included both the usual Christian suspects of Beirut as well as Muslim notables from Damascus and Tripoli including Rafiq and Haqqi al-Azm and Islamic reformist thinker Rashid Rida.[371] In spite of the Ottoman regime's worries, this ideologically diverse Arab dissident movement was likely a dead letter, as it combined both a wide range of views and a dearth of military might.[372] It receives few mentions even in the paranoid Ottoman foreign ministry after 1915 and British leadership likely abandoned it after a deal was struck with Sharif Husayn of Mecca to lead the revolt.

The Legion d'Orient was something akin to an answer to the British creation of the Arab Legion by T.E. Lawrence and the Sherifians. While the Legion d'Orient never boasted the size or success of its British cousin, it did recruit a significant number of diaspora Armenians. Its Syro-Lebanese contingent, founded by the *Comité Central Syrien*, was less successful.[373] Led by Chekri Ganem in Paris and Naoum

---

[371] The organization nevertheless connects to the previously mentioned groups in the form of figures like Camille Eddé, Habib al-Bustani, Philip Chiha, Nehmé Ganem, and Marius Shmeil.

[372] It was perhaps the successor to the Party of Administrative Decentralization, which was an organizer in the Syrian Arab Congress of 1913, though its Egyptian locale rendered it less Francophile and less dominated by *mahjar* Christian Lebanese.

[373] Ameican University of Beirut. Howard Bliss Archive. Box 18, Folder 7. John Brown, *The Maronite Patriarch and Jamal Pasha during WWI* (M.A. Thesis, American University of Beirut).

Moukarzel in New York, it was emblematic of diaspora activism in the era of the First World War – full of bluster and enthusiasm, unrepresentative of overall public opinion, and undone by the megalomania of its leaders. As shown in the case of Lebanist mythology, however, the true strength of their movement was less important than its rhetorical use and service as a cover for Allied activities. In the summer of 1914, François Georges Picot, after visits to Saint-Joseph and Antoura with Maurice Barrès, left his post as Consul in Beirut with the declaration of war, leaving the archives of his correspondances in the custody of the American consul. Picot was warmly received by Lebanese activists in Alexandria, including Joseph Saouda and Habib Boustani. From there, he petitioned Théophile Delcassé, a longtime member of the *Parti Colonial* and French foreign minister, supporting a preliminary version of this plan that would supply Lebanese forces with 3,000-4,000 rifles via Greece with a promised force of 30,000 rising up in the mountain.[374] In Paris, Chekri Ganem offered a still-unrealistic estimate of 10,000-15,000 Lebanese.[375] As Lebanese emigres gathered in Egypt to liberate their homeland with Allied support, the British rejected the plan as unrealistic. Again, the farther afield spoke with the greatest bluster, as the Lebanon League of Progress in New York promised 150,000 Lebanese in the Americas as a volunteer force.

The Legion d'Orient started recruiting in 1917, conducting a tour of South America, supported by the French Consul in Sao Paolo and Syro-Lebanese Patriotic

[374] Eliezer Tauber, *The Arab Movements in World War I*, (New York: Routledge, 1993) 11-12.

[375] Ibid., 13.

Society. Their enthusiasm was not matched by a willingness to fight. The Legion d'Orient recruited only 14-17 individuals in Argentina.[376] When the group assembled in Cyprus to finally join the war, it numbered only around five hundred in a much larger Armenian force, hardly the mass uprising its leaders promised.[377] It was the Central Powers' defeat, rather than a Lebanese or Syrian popular uprising, that ultimately accounted for the end of Ottoman rule in the Arab provinces.

Cemal Pasha, Famine, and the Nationalist Turn

It is an accident of history that Cemal Pasha embodies the cruelty of 'Turkish' rule in Syria rather than being the founding father of some polity in the Levant, as he shared many of the progressive statist values of his contemporaries and critics, and he sought to build relations with Arab leaders like *al-Muntada al-Adabi* co-founder ʿAbd al-Karim al-Khalil after Cemal assumed command in Syria in 1914. Already Minister of the Navy, he was named head of the Fourth Army and deployed to Syria to plan an attack on British-occupied Egypt to stop the shipment of munitions through the Suez Canal. His mandate as governor was for a total mobilization, requisitioning supplies, expanding railroad networks, and punishing internal enemies. For this reason, his aide-de-camp Ali Fuad Bey (Erden) called him the "uncrowned king of Syria."[378] A committed Unionist, Cemal set about nationalizing foreign-backed institutions,

[376] Benoit d'Azy, "L'Origine de la Légion d'Orient » *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* 53:1 (1939), 12-22.

[377] Stacy D. Fahrenthold, "Former Ottomans in the ranks: pro-Entente military recruitment among Syrians in the Americas, 1916–18" *Journal of Global History*, 11, 95

[378] Ali Fuad Erden, *Suriye Hatıraları* (Istanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 107.

including Saint-Joseph, the Jesuit medical school, Antoura, and other institutions, reopening them with Turkish faculty and Ottoman names.[379]

As a component of his outreach to both institutions and the public, Cemal Pasha hosted a literature festival in Damascus in early 1915.[380] He invited reformists including his doctor, the Arab nationalist and Syrian Protestant College graduate Dr. ʿAbd ar-Rahman Shahbandar and Damascene reformists like ʿAbd al-Karim al-Khalil, telling the attendees that "welfare of the Arabs" was a concern of the CUP and that "Turkish and Arab ideals do not conflict, they are brothers in their national strivings, and perhaps their efforts are complementary."[381] Cemal was an ardent progressive, believing the future of Syria would be its schools, hospitals, and railroads, and he maintained working relationships with both private and public institutions, visiting the Syrian Protestant College on several occasions.[382] Privately, he nurtured relationships with elites, even discussing with Damascus municipality head Muhammad Fawzi al-Azm the possibility of an independent Syria with Arabic as its official language, under Cemal's leadership, formalizing his role in the Arab provinces during the war.[383]

---

[379] Nicholas Ajay, "Mount Lebanon and the Wilayah of Beirut, 1914-1918" (PhD Dissertation, Georgetown, 1972), 39, 106.

[380] Amin al-Said, *Al-thawrah al-ʿarabiya al-kubra* (Cairo, n.d.), 58.

[381] Djemal Pasha, *Memoires of a Turkish Statesman,* 111.

[382] Cemal's arrival in Syria coincided with the closure of French institutions like the Jesuit Université Saint-Joseph. The speedy seizure of the facility for the opening of an Ottoman faculty of medicine endorses his belief in the institution's value.

[383] MAE Guerre 1914-1918, Turquie Vol. 869, Syrie-Palestine. Maucorps à la Section d'Afrique. 6 Juillet 1915, 101.

Nadra Moutran, in a communique to the French Foreign Ministry, stated that Cemal had dispatched Kamal al-Kassab, a Damascene notable, and Rashid Rida, the Lebanon-born, Egypt-resident reformist sheikh, to negotiate with the British for a Cemal-led British protectorate in Syria or Arabia after the Fourth Army's defection and an Ottoman defeat.[384] It's possible to detect in Cemal the same authoritarian reformists impulses of Mustafa Kemal, who himself was willing to reject the authority of the sultan in pursuit of national strength and progress.

In spite of these and other alleged contacts with Allied agents in negotiations for making a separate peace and ending the German alliance, Cemal ultimately remained loyal.[385] Whatever the extent of his dialogue with the Allies, he vigorously prosecuted Arab nationalists and Lebanist dissidents doing the same, especially after the seizure of the archive of the French consulate in Beirut after François Georges Picot's departure, as will be illustrated in the final chapter. Perhaps Cemal's previous closeness to Shahbandar, Rashid Rida, and other reformists and critics of Unionist leadership left him open to suspicion as both his and their contacts with the British escalated.

While the war led to the seismic shifts in the political realm, on the ground in Syria and Lebanon, the population faced disastrous famine and other calamities stemming from it such as epidemics, inflation, and devaluation of currency. The economic and social stresses of military administration, combined with drought, a

---

[384] MAE, Guerre, 1914-1918, Turquie, Vol. 870, Syrie-Palestine, 1915 Aôut-Octobre, 193.

[385] Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921* (New York and Oxford, 1951), 28-29.

plague of locusts, and an Allied blockade of the Syrian coast led to food shortages and starvation. The death toll from the famine in what is now Greater Lebanon is estimated to be between 150,000 and 300,000, another estimate for only Beirut and Mount Lebanon arriving at 100,000.[386] The ruthlessness of mobilization was exacerbated by the allied blockade and environmental conditions. The primary goal of the Ottoman forces under Cemal's command was the expedition against British Egypt, cutting off the Suez Canal. However, on top of the shortages related to mobilization, a simultaneous plague of locusts in Syria led to a disasterous famine and profiteering, as some upper class families cornered the market on wheat and lent money at exorbitant interest rates, crimes French Mandatory authorities never investigated, effectively confirming the ownership of businesses and lands that were sold for food in 1916-1918. Interviews, primarily conducted by Nicholas Ajay in the 1960s, attest to the profiteering and extrortion some committed, notably Michel Sursock, which exacerbated inequality in the city after the war, effectively reshaping the material world and property distribution for the next several decades.[387] These horrific conditions had obvious implications for both rich and poor in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Entrusting grain distribution to Maronite villages in Mount Lebanon to the Maronite patriarchate, the flour was diluted with dirt, plaster, and saw-dust, a common practice during wartime shortages, leading to poisoning and widespread malnutrition.

---

[386] Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York, 2000), 21; Traboulsi, *A Modern History of Lebanon*, 72.

[387] Schilcher, "The Famine of 1915-1918 in Greater Syria," 249-250

Both the Arab and Lebanese nationalist movements that emerged from the First World War were quick to blame the Ottomans, and Jesuit publications alleged a systematic program of starvation to weaken Lebanon, punishing it for its ties to France. Conversely, Linda Schilcher has argued that rather than Ottoman policy punishing Syria, the Allied blockade was designed to weaken the strength of Ottoman forces in Syria there in order to defend Egypt, and this had the effect, whether intentional or not, of worsening the famine.[388] Whether on the macro or the micro level, the contamination of flour was likely a result of a long supply line with multiple levels of distribution rather than a single malicious individual.[389] The desperation of the famine triggered this breakdown in social relations and public welfare as families sold their posessions for a ration of possibly-contaminated flour. Reports of soldiers eating grass testify to the poor rations that soldiers received, rather than their living in luxury at civilian expense. While estimates vary, around half a million residents of Syria as a result of famine and scarcity, including one hundred thousand in Beirut.[390] Most horrifying were reports of cannibalism.[391]

The Post-Ottoman Order

---

[388] Schilcher, "The Famine of 1915-1918 in Greater Syria," 253-255.

[389] Muhammad Kurd Ali, *Al-Mudhakkirat*, 327.

[390] Trablousi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 72.

[391] Interviews with Mr. Huntingdon Bliss, May 1965, in Nicholas Ajay, "Mount Lebanon", Appendix I, 109; Interview with Mr. Halim Musa Ashqar, 19 Jul 1964, in ibid., Appendix I, 18; Interview with Mrs. Salwa Salibi, Jan 1965, in ibid., Appendix I, 90; Interview with Mr. Shakir Nassar, 15 Jul 1964, in ibid., Appendix I, 2; See also Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 72.

Cemal Pasha, who oversaw Ganem's trial and death sentence *in absentia*, would even quote Chekri Ganem's scathing analysis of the Husayn-McMahon correspondence, the letters between the British High Commissioner in Egypt Henry McMahon and Sharif Husayn bin Ali of Mecca, which would form the foundation of the Arab revolt and Hashemite monarchy in the former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Ganem derides the Emir Faysal as "the son of that Mohammedan Pope, who was apparently rewarded for his revolt against his Turkish suzerain with the title of King and the grant of temporal power."[392] Ganem lamented that such a monarchy would present a worse outcome than the continuation of Ottoman oppression, asking "Who could have thought that [Hashemite rule] would be the fruit of the victory of civilization over barbarism?"[393]

The establishment of a republic from the French Mandate of Lebanon was not a foregone conclusion. Having witnessed the Great Powers of Europe put minor German princes on new thrones created in Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria, a hereditary principality seemed the obvious choice for advocates like Habib Boustani, an associate of Joseph Saouda and leader in the Lebanese community in Egypt. Acknowledging the lack of consensus or support for the Lebanese national project, Boustani takes on a patriarchal air, saying universal suffrage would equalize "the learned and the ignorant,

[392] Djemal Pasha, *Memoires of a Turkish Statesman*, 235.

[393] Ibid.

the intelligent and the fool, the worker and the parasite, the citizen who has responsibilities and the citizens who do not."[394]

Saouda's classmate Auguste Adib Pasha shared his hesitancy about the formation of a republic, least of all a republic in a federal Syria, as favored by Ganem and the CCS. Drawing on the Lebanist historical imaginary of his contemporaries, Adib writes, "Syria never ceased being a simple province of the Turkish Empire or of kingdoms and empires that successively dominated the region before the Ottoman conquest. The Lebanese, fierce and independent, refused to submit to a central government or federal assemblies where the Syrian majority dominated, a majority to which they were connected neither by race, tradition, sentiments, or interests."[395]

At the turn of the twentieth century, Paris was a hive of activity for the politicians, writers, and intellectuals of the Ottoman diaspora. Having hosted Ottoman dissidents since Sultan Abdülhamid's suspension of the Constitution of 1876, the diverse group included many Syro-Lebanese imagining both a new future and a different past for their homeland. In poetry, theater, and journalism, Chekri Ganem and a loose network of his fellow travelers mythologized Lebanon and the rest of *bilad ash-sham* in fiction, while building connections in the diaspora and with foreign governments to agitate for change, culminating in the Syrian Arab Congress of 1913. These writers represented a small, predominantly Christian Beiruti Francophile bourgeoisie and their congress was unelected. Nevertheless, their artistic and political

---

[394] Habib Boustani, *Liban d'Abord!: Application du Programme et de la doctrine du Parti National Libanais* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Angelil, 1924), 20.

[395] Auguste Adib Pacha, *Le Liban Après la Guerre* (Le Caire : Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1919), 125.

work shaped the understanding of the region in France and abroad in the critical years before the First World War.

Chapter V

Lebanism and the Phoenician Imagination

In the literary salons of fin de siècle Beirut and in the cities of the *mahjar*, Syro-Lebanese intellectuals including Charles Corm, Michel Chiha, and Hector Klat expressed patriotic and secessionist sentiments in poetry, waiting until the end of the war to publish their prophecies. They waxed poetic about the golden ages of Lebanon: King Hiram and the Lebanese trees that built the Temple of Solomon, the Phoenician alphabet that gave literacy to the world, Phoenician triremes crossing the Atlantic to discover the Americas, the noble service Lebanese Maronites rendered to the Crusades, and the strength by which the Lebanese retained their independence under the Islamo-Turkish yoke. In his time at the Université Saint-Joseph, Hector Klat had taken courses on the classics, the Bible, and Syrian history from Jesuit Orientalist luminaries like Fathers Henri Lammens and Louis Cheikho. One night during the darkest time of the First World War, amid executions and deportations, Klat recited to the cadre who would form the post-war literary journal *La Revue Phénicienne*:

> I'm the marrow of the race.
> I am inexhaustible; I die and I am reborn.
> Phoenicians of old to young Lebanese.[396]

In the age of nations, of German and Italian unification, a glorious past and ritualized mythology was as important as a liberating army in the creation of a Lebanese nation. Following the Renanian idea of the nation, the literary and political architects of the Lebanese national project emphasized the Biblical and Classical past over the

[396] Hector Klat, "La Source" (1916) dedicated to Khalil Moutran, *Le Cèdre et Les Lys*. Beyrouth: Éditions de la Revue Phénicienne, 1935), 52.

politically Ottoman and linguistically Arabic present. Most of these Lebanist writers and thinkers adopted the Phoenicians as the holy progenitors of the modern Lebanese 'race' and Phoenicia, in spite of its indeterminate borders, became their promised land: promised by God, the kings of France, and finally the Maʿani and Shihabi emirs. In history texts and political treatises, French and Lebanist authors embellished the power, wealth, and independence of Fakhr Ed-Din II Maʿan and Bashir II Shihabi to create a distinct past to which they could return. The Ottoman period was thus a Babylonian captivity for the Lebanese, and in the view of the Lebanist intelligentsia, the Lebanese nation merely awaited her liberation by new heroes and martyrs. The graduates of the French Catholic schools of Beirut and Greater Syria began to see their homeland through the lens of the nation. In chambers of commerce and social clubs in Beirut and the major centers of the *mahjar,* Syro-Lebanese would meet, discussing the quotidian and experimenting with a greater purpose – reform, regeneration, even revolution. The young literati of Beirut and the Syro-Lebanese diaspora, the *mahjar*, would experiment with new conceptions of race, nation, and something called Lebanon. To see their future amidst this uncertainty, they looked to the past, in search of glory.

This is not to mock Lebanist mythology. It was a product of its time and place, when nationalism became widely accepted as the proper order of the world. Divine right had become obsolete, groups with varying degrees of diversity were condensed into nations, often through coercion, and the multiethnic, multi-religious, multilingual Ottoman Empire suddenly became an artifact of a bygone era. The students of the French schools of Ottoman Beirut and Mount Lebanon had blossomed into the

intellectual, political, and cultural leaders of both the *mashriq* and the Syro-Lebanese diaspora, writing a new mythology of their people in Alexandria, Paris, Sao Paolo, and New York. Even among the students of the French missionary institutions, from which emerged the vanguard of Phoenicianism and Lebanism, acceptance of these philosophies was not universal. Some Syrian Christians like Edmond Rabbath and Antun Saadeh embraced Syrian nationalism of more or less extreme tendencies. Still others saw promise in Arab nationalism, especially ascendant after it received British support from Egypt during the war. In spite of their disparate political goals, as explored in the previous chapter, what shared was an acceptance of a national order and the desire to find their nation throughout time. Nations aspire to eternity. Age is legitimacy in a nationalist discourse, a flag planted and land claimed. Lebanon could not be the accidental byproduct of mismanaged centralization, civil strife, a brief European occupation, and six decades of tax avoidance occurring in tandem with the emergence of a Francophile elite. No one would write a poem about that.

As seen in previous chapters, the classicizing tendencies of the predominantly European faculty of the French schools of Greater Syria meant finding the future in the region's past. It seems the Phoenician idea had sufficiently penetrated the zeitgeist of the Second Constitutional Period that Beiruti Maronite member of the Ottoman Parliament Niqula Naccache asked for a reorganization of Beirut province to be called "Finikiye," the Arabic and Ottoman word for Phoenicia.[397] Just as Damascus province

[397] Ninth Session. 31 December 1877. Hakki Us. *Meclis-i- Mebusan* (AH1293, 1877 AD). 2 Vol. (Zabit Ceridesi, 1940-1954), 132.

was changed to *Suriye* (Syria) from *Sham* to evoke an ancient civilization, so too the representative asked for Phoenicia to be reborn.

Phoenicianist Mythology

Phoenicianism, as Asher Kaufman has persuasively argued, represented a separate origin and cultural patrimony for the Christians populations of Mount Lebanon. In 'rediscovering' the glories of ancient Phoenicia, the Lebanese claimed an equal share in the civilizations of classical antiquity and the glories of modernity. This assertion of the ancientness of Lebanese civilization was an assertion of modern nationhood. This took the form of claims to the development of written language, a Phoenician origin to the great cities of the Mediterranean or even the discovery of the Americas. Every people possesses an equally unlikely and selective origin story, and the artists and intellectuals must fashion a plausible and inspiring evidence to suit this origin.

One of the first artistic efforts by Lebanese to connect to the Phoenician past was attempted by Khalil Gibran, whose flexible and patriotic spirituality allowed him to embrace the polytheistic Phoenician pantheon as well as Christianity. Writing for much of his career in the *mahjar*, Gibran's Lebanon exists in a space outside of secular time, both the homeland he left behind and the poetic world he created. Here, Jesus co-mingles with the Phoenician peasantry, sanctifying Phoenicia as another promised land.[398] While academics at times stretched the historical narrative to fit a social or political agenda, poets like Gibran and Ganem before him were more

[398] Gibran Khalil Gibran, "Beyn Ashtarut wa'l Massih" *Al-ajnaha al-mutakassara*, (New York: Matba'a Jarida Miraat al-gharb, 1912), 107.

flexible. In Gibran's Lebanon-Phoenicia, a single temple could be home to the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar (Ashtarut) as well as Christ, as in a scene from Gibran's *Broken Wings*. For Gibran, these deities were not in opposition. Instead, each contributed to the holiness of the place, as did "the petrified lumps of blood, which show that ancient people offered sacrifices on this rock and poured perfume, wine, and oil upon it."[399] The Byzantine icon of the crucifixion and the Phoenician statue each attest to the timelessness and holiness of the place.

The racial dimension of Phoenician mythology was necessitated by the Eurocentric Francophile worldview of this literary-political circle. Today dismissed as racist pseudo-science, eugenics and its intrinsic hierarchy of peoples and civilizations were accepted by academics, politicians, and the general public across Europe. These scientific findings supported and legitimized political claims, and French colonialism in Africa and South-East Asia depended on this hierarchy. Charles Autran, an Orientalist disciple of Renan and friend of Ganem and Samné, proposed a non-Semitic origin for Phoenicians, or Phoenician-Aegeans, as he termed them. Additionally, he proposed a pan-Mediterranean language, which he dubbed *langue X*, that contributed to Greek vocabulary in Crete and the Aegean, making the Phoenicians "the educators of Greece" and "founders of Egyptian civilization."[400] Autran shared the assumptions

---

[399] Gibran Khalil Gibran, "Beyn Ashtarut wa'l Massih" *Al-ajnaha al-mutakassara*, (New York: Matba'a Jarida Miraat al-gharb, 1912), 107.

[400] Charles Autran, "De quelques vestiges probables méconnus jusqu'ici du lexique méditerranéen dans le sémitique d'Asie-Mineure et notamment de Canaan"*Journal Asiatique* Juillet-Septembre 1926 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1926).
Thomas Mainage, "Chronique d'Histoires des Religions" *Revue apologétique: doctrine et faits religieux* 15 Janvier 1923, 485.

and eclecticism of his contemporaries, observing the similarity of Greek and Phoenician gods, and using his ethnographic observation of residents of Caucasia to deem Aegean-Phoenician members of the Indo-European race who migrated to Anatolia before conquering the Mediterranean.[401] For Syrians educated in a racial hierarchy and Eurocentric discourse of civilizations, this was an apotheosis, elevating their ancestors beyond Semitism.

In the literary form, Phoenician racial identity was developed by Charles Corm, a USJ graduate and poet, whose poetry also contributed to the national imagining. Expanding even beyond Carthage and Barcelona, Corm found Phoenician origins for the great civilizations of pre-Columbian America:

> It is at least troubling, if not convincing that the intimate ties that exist between the arts, sciences, solar and cosmic religious traditions, and customs of the pre-Columbian Americas, those of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas, on the one hand, and those of the Phoenicians on the other cannot be better explained than by frequent encounters between the two continents. These contacts cannot be the work of any other people as well prepared, in this era, for the conquest of the seas as the Phoenicians.[402]

Later in the essay, Corm asserts a Phoenician origin of the names Maranhoa, Tarus, Brazil, and Britain, arguing that Phoenicians had crossed the Atlantic between 12,000 and 3,000 BCE.[403] In a parallel to the Pan-Turanist ideology en vogue in the Republic of Turkey after the First World War, Corm and his contemporaries found a Phoenician

---

[401] "Chronique d'Histoires des Religions" *Revue apologétique: doctrine et faits religieux* 15 Janvier 1923, 486.

[402] Charles Corm. *6000 Ans de Genie Pacifique au Service de l'Humanité* (Beyrouth: Éditions de la Revue Phénicienne, 1988), 44.

[403] Corm, 48-49.

imprint on disparate cultures, regions, and social phenomena. However, these imagined connections did not arise from a spirit of international brotherhood, but the same racial hierarchy that Europe used to colonize the world. A Phoenician origin for Mesoamerican civilization, Greek learning, and the great cities of the Mediterranean legitimized Lebanon as a nation and the Lebanese as a race. In the era of scientific racism, the Phoenician heritage of modern Lebanese could explain the prevalence of Syro-Lebanese trading colonies in the Americas and Africa far more adroitly than the crash in silk prices in the late 1800s or the integration of distant regions into the world economy.[404]

The idea of a cosmopolitan, international Lebanon paradoxically served the nationalist interests of a Lebanon separate and distinct from its neighbors, both culturally and racially. The "racial history" of Lebanon features prominently in the work of Michel Chiha, a classmate of Corm and Saouda, a prominent banker and political theorist who would co-author Lebanon's constitution with Corm and Omar Bey Daouk, a Muslim notable and graduate of the Lazarist College of Antoura.[405]

---

[404] The reemergence of American cotton after the end of the Civil War, the contraction of credit during a bond collapse in the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, and silk crop failures in the late 1870s all contributed to emigration. See Andrew Arsan, *Interlopers of Empire: The Lebanese Diaspora in Colonial French West Africa*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 34.
"If, three thousand years ago, the Phoenicians helped to populate Cyprus, Cilicia and the Archipelago as far as Hellas, if, at the peak of their power from the tenth to the sixth century B.C., they founded Utica, Cadiz and Carthage, if they went practically all over the world, both known and unknown at that time, they did so *to a certain extent* for the same reasons which have been sending the Lebanese abroad for a hundred years, first to Egypt, and then to the four corners of the earth." Michel Chiha*, Visage et Présence du Liban* (Beyrouth: Foundation Chiha, 1964).

[405] Chiha was also a close friend and collaborator of General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner of the mandate during its first years, who also commissioned Henri Lammens's

While dissenting from the pure Phoenicianist idea, Chiha claims for Lebanon the Phoenician patrimony. Drawing from USJ Professor Henri Lammens's Syrianist ideology, Chiha begins to express what might be termed the 'Mediterranean thesis,' decidedly more Phoenician than Arab in inclination.[406] After a listing the dynasties and conquests from the Pharaonic era to the Assyrians, Alexander's Macedonian Greeks, and the successive Hellenistic era, Chiha incredulously asks:

> Will anyone after this say that the Lebanon of today is Semitic? Will anyone say that it is Arab? Everyone will form his own judgment. Father Lammens, who I suppose will be credited to some extent, used to debate whether Syria itself was Arab. In his view it has an original character, it is Syrian. For our part, and with even more decisive arguments, we shall say that *the population of Lebanon is Lebanese, quite simply*, and that, with due reservations made in the case of those very recently naturalized, it is at present no more Phoenician than Egyptian, Aegean, Assyrian or Medic, Greek, Roman, Byzantine or Arab, with or without consanguinity, or European by alliance with Turk for that matter. At the very most we say that it is a Mediterranean type, probably the least easy to determine. It has a structure all its own, and no other. Nor will it be possible to explain the Lebanon of today without taking it for exactly what it is.[407]

While composed after the First World War in an era of rising European Anti-Semitism, Chiha's references to both Lammens's avowed Syrianism and the Phoenicianism of Father Henri Jalabert and of his contemporaries is telling of the nationalist milieu of the Université Saint-Joseph, which he attended in the early 1900s. Even as he argued against Syrianism and Phoenicianism, Chiha acknowledges the

---

Syrian nationalist history. See Walid Awad, *Ashab al-fakhama: ru'asa' Lubnan* (Beirut, 1977).

[406] Nadim Shehadi, *The Idea of Lebanon: Economy and State in the Cenacle Libanais, 1946-1954* (Oxford: Center for Lebanese Studies, 1987), 10.

[407] Michel Chiha, *Visage et Présence du Liban*, (Beirut : Fondation Chiha, 1964), 33-34.

logic of a historical-cultural conception of a nation and a racial conception of the nation. While dismissing the Phoenician theory, Chiha attempts to claim its legacy by hyphenating the region "Lebanon-Phoenicia."[408] With a divergent Syrianist goal, Chekri Ganem similarly stressed this idea in his speech before the Paris Peace Conference, arguing against the Sherifian regime by saying his people were "Syrians not Arabs," noting that "the race is as distinct as it could possibly be in this theatre of invasions."[409] Accompanying Ganem at the Paris Peace Conference, USJ professor Jalabert echoed Ganem's assertion of a Syrian race, while confessing his apprehension at a Syrian federation, writing "The majority of the total population of Syria is indeed Muslim, and thus of a civilization most inferior to the Christian minority: thus in a federal Syria most of the authority would lay in the hands of those least qualified to assume it."[410] The graduates of USJ and Antoura present a wide range of political views because the Jesuit and Lazarist priests educating the elite sons of Christian Beirut were not indoctrinating these students into one ideology or another; they were teaching a methodology of understanding the world and its component races, cultures, religions, and peoples. The logical conclusions of these methods were nations and nationalisms.

Emerging as it did amid the milieu of the Université Saint-Joseph, it's not surprising that authors of this genre often emphasize Phoenicia's educational

---

[408] Michel Chiha, *Visage et Présence du Liban*, (Beirut : Fondation Chiha, 1964), 23-24.

[409] FO 608-105. Chekri Ganem's speech before the conference. 22 February 17, 1919.

[410] M. de Monzie, "La Syrie et La France" in *La Réforme Sociale: Bulletin de la Société D'Économie Sociale*. (Paris : Secrétariat Général de la Soc., 1919), 39 : 79 - 80, 250.

contribution to the world, as Phoenician and Greek archaeology was one of strengths of the institution, and the missions had assisted Renan and Lenormant in their expeditions over the course of the century.[411] Camille Eddé, who attended the university in the 1890s, contributed to the discourse of Lebanese exceptionalism despite serving the Ottoman government successively as the translator and Director of Foreign Affairs in the *Vilayet* of Beirut. In a work on civilization and law, Eddé claims Phoenicia as the mother country for all Mediterranean civilizations, "the first teacher, who gave the alphabet to people, contributing this discovery to the conservation and spread of human thought."[412] Challenging the idea of the Mediterranean as a Roman lake, Eddé instead asserts it was a Phoenician sea.

To support the mythos behind the emerging Phoenicianist discourse, a cadre of authors followed the example of Chekri Ganem, using poetry in a political context. In addition to the previously mentioned Corm, one of his classmates at the Université Saint-Joseph, Hector Klat, combines both Phoenicianism and Francophilia in many poems including "Nocturne," composed after early French setbacks in the First World War. Klat writes, "In the battle of France / It's your Mediterranean Civilization / Whose first torchbearers were once / These Phoenicians from whom I'm proud to descend / and giving Greece its alphabet / Helped to form this fine and tender spirit /

---

[411] At the turn of the century, USJ counted among its faculty archaeologists Auguste Bergy, Godefroy Zumoffen, Raoul Desribes, Louis Jalabert and Paul Bovier-Lapierre. They worked in Ras Beirut, the Sands of Beirut, as well as in Southern Lebanon. Godefroy Zumoffen *La Phénicie avant les phéniciens: l'âge de la pierre,* (Beirut: Impr. Catholique, 1900).

[412] Camille Edde, *La Civilisation Méditerranéenne et le Droit en Syrie* (Cairo : Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1921), 20.

which from Athens by Rome, Paris assumed," adding that after the defeat, "In my Lebanese heart / I suffered from French anguish."[413] Not only does Klat assert the Phoenician ancestry of modern Lebanon, he connects it not only to Greeks, as seen elsewhere, but to Paris itself. Université Saint-Joseph often proclaimed itself the "Lighthouse of the Eastern Mediterranean," repeating the words conservative Catholic activist Maurice Barrès proclaimed during a pre-war visit to Beirut.[414] In Klat's poetic conception of Phoenicianism and its gifts to humanity, Barrès's "lighthouse of Phoenicia" lit *la Ville Lumière* itself.

Biblical Past

For a group composed almost exclusively of Christians, Phoenicianism had a crucial weakness – Phoenician polytheism. Thus, the Biblical past was employed to strengthen Lebanon's claim to Christian nationhood. Though mentioned only a handful of times in the Hebrew Scriptures, the histories composed in French and Arabic at the turn of the century almost invariably highlighted Lebanon's proximity to and influence on the events of the Bible. Charles Corm, citing twelfth-century Greco-Arab encyclopedist and geographer Yaqut al-Rumi al-Hamawi, asserts that the ark of Noah was built in Lebanon. Corm writes, "Thus, without our cedar forests and without our shipbuilders, Noah and the entire human race would have been engulfed by the

[413] "Nocturne" (1916), Hector Klat, *Le Cèdre et Les Lys*, 57.

[414] Maurice Barrès, *Une Enquête aux Pays du Levant* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1923), 33. Barrès's influence was not confined to the religious-literary sphere. He toured Lebanon in 1914 with Francois-Georges Picot before the outbreak of the war and was a patron of the Ganems and other Syrians in Paris. DH.EUM. 4.Şb 3/35 1333 L 15. Khalil Zeinie "Murasalat" in *Al-Sabat*, 6:1484, 26 May 1914.

waters of the flood!"[415] By making Lebanon and its forests central to the events of the Hebrew Scriptures, Corm avoids discussion of Phoenician religion, retroactively baptizing Phoenicians in the waters of the flood. While poetry gave Khalil Gibran and Corm the flexibility to connect Christ with Adonis and the Virgin Mary with Ishtar, their prose is more circumspect in their acceptance of Lebanon's polytheistic past.

The more frequently cited reference of Lebanon in scripture is its contributions to the construction of the Temple of Solomon through the support of Phoenician King Hiram, a figure we know only from fewer than ten verses in the Hebrew Scriptures. Nevertheless, he became a kind of saint in this national mythology; Charles Corm went so far as to name his sons Hiram and David, after the Phoenician and Israelite kings, binding his family to each starting point of Lebanist mythology.[416] Edmond Bechara, a fellow graduate of the Université Saint-Joseph in Ottoman service, even invoked the Temple in a work on industry and manufacturing in the early twentieth century. Arguing for further investment in Lebanese manufacturing, Bechara writes, "Solomon, the Scriptures tells us, relied on the workers of King Hiram of Phoenicia to work the copper, wood, stone and bronze of his temple, and the Prophet Ezekiel gives us a striking picture of the wealth of Phoenicia, built on its trade and industry."[417] Bechara cleverly navigates two polar opposites in Biblical history, the power and

---

[415] Corm, *6000 Ans,* 27.

[416] Hiram Charles Corm, 1985, certificate 1133882, registration 2251, David Charles Corm, 1985; certificate 1133883, registration 2252, Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo.

[417] Edmond Bechara *Les Industries en Syrie et au Liban* (Cairo: Imp. De la Societe Anonyme de Presse et d'Edition, 1922), 5.

majesty embodied in King Solomon and the iconoclastic prophetic wisdom of Ezekiel. Their dual-endorsement of Phoenician greatness legitimizes it as a historical force.

This presents a recurring theme of Lebanese myth-making. Lacking significant textual sources or architectural remains, Lebanon had to become a crucial element in every story it touched. Whether the ark that saved humanity, the lumber used to construct the Holiest of Holies, or the civilizing gift of the written word, the greatness of the Biblical and Classical past become impossible without Phoenicia and Lebanon. In a push and pull rhetoric, after demonstrating the debt owed Lebanon due to its historical civilizing role, these authors perform a loyalty to France in their re-telling of the crusades through a Maronite lens.

Crusades & Collaboration

Like the scriptural references to Lebanon-Phoenicia, the textual evidence for Maronite service in the crusading armies is limited, but it is a tale often repeated, becoming canon in the Lebanist national mythology.[418] The Crusades present a dual-opportunity for the Lebanist narrative. First, while Maronite Church history maintains that the followers of St. John Maron had always remained connected to the Roman Church, substantial evidence for regular Latin-Maronite relations only dates to the

[418] Lord Arthur Balfour, himself an auspicious figure in the history of colonialism in the Middle East, is almost comical in his dismissal of the claimed connection, writing: "In this particular instance, for example, I have never been able to understand on what historic basis the French claim to Syria really rests. Frenchmen's sham of the Crusades of the Middle Ages, Mazarin's arrangements with the Turk in the 17th century, and the blustering expedition of 1861, lend in my opinion very little support to their far-reaching ambitions." See Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939, ed. E.L. Woodward and Rohan Butler, (London, 1947), Document 242, n.p. See also Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and Its Union with Rome," *Oriens Christianus,* 4th series, 6 (1958), 92-104.

sixteenth century.[419] Secondly, the preponderance of French in crusading armies retroactively cast them in a patriotic rather than solely religious light. The encounter between crusading armies and Arabic-speaking Christian populations certainly did occur during the two centuries of Frankish invasions and occupations. By reframing this encounter as Christian service, Lebanist authors legitimize Maronite Christianity before in the medieval period and Franco-Maronite relations as mutually beneficial.

ʿAbdallah Sfer Pasha, a USJ graduate writing in Egypt during the war, recounts the familiar tale, writing "At the beginning of 1099, as the Crusades of Godfrey de Bouillon set foot in the territory of Tripoli, the Lebanese descended their mountains to meet them, bringing them…"[420] Auguste Adib Pasha, another USJ alumnus in Egypt, adds a number, 25,000, as the number of Maronites serving as guides and fighting "under the banner of the Fleur de Lis."[421] These accounts all rely on a short mention in the Crusade chronicle of William of Tyre. Nevertheless, they serve as a foundational element in Maronite national mythology, from the collaboration and conquest to intermarriage.

Sfer Pasha adds, "Having been the allies of the Crusaders in the conquest of the Holy Land, these Lebanese would go on to become their best collaborators in the Frankish States. They continued, throughout the duration of the Latin occupation, to

[419] This is due in no small part to the hazards of crossing the Mediterranean.

[420] ʿAbdallah Sfer Pacha, *Le Mandat Français et les Traditions Françaises en Syrie et au Liban* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1922), 7-8.

[421] Auguste Adib Pacha, *Le Liban Après la Guerre* (Le Caire: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1919), 63.

render precious services to Frankish troops."[422] Michel Yusuf Bitar, another alumnus of the Université Saint-Joseph and collaborator of Chekri Ganem, contributed to this discourse with his wartime essay *La Vraie Syrie Française*, a polemic arguing for a French occupation.[423] Repeating the narrative of Maronite aid to the Crusader states, Bitar goes on to ask, "Has it not been said without some some truth that the blood of French crusaders is often found mixed with the blood of Syrians, indeed there are a curious handful of blond men with blue eyes populating some villages of the Lebanon, the mountains of Syria."[424] A classmate of Michel Chiha, Bitar returns to a racial understanding of the region to justify its political future. Bitar would advance these racialist theories in Paris at the *École Nationale des Langues Orientales* after the First World War until he was persecuted for his race by the Nazis, executed at Buchenwald.[425]

The Maronite church also benefited from the legitimacy bestowed by the Crusades. While most historians conclude that the Maronite church only reached permanent union with Rome in the 1500s, clerics in the nineteenth and twentieth century were eager to demonstrate enduring connections to Rome, France, and Europe from the earliest possible contact. Bishop Nicholas Murad pioneered this genre in the

---

[422] Sfer Pacha, *Le Mandat Français*, 8.

[423] M.-Y. Bitar, *La Vraie Syrie Française* (Paris, Extrait du *Mercure de France*. 1916). M.-Y. Bitar, *Chekri Ganem: Le Calvaire Syrien* (Paris: Librairie Jean Maisonneuve et Fils, Éds., 1923). Bitar additionally contributed to the *Correspondance d'Orient*.

[424] Bitar, *La Vraie Syrie Française*, 8.

[425] Association Amicale des Anciens Élèves, *Livre d'Or de l'Université Saint-Joseph – Beyrouth* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1949).

1840s, as seen in the first chapter. He would be followed by Archbishop Yusuf Debs and Patriarch Elias Hoyek, the vanguard of Maronite Lebanism supported financially by *l'Œuvre des écoles d'Orient*.[426] In one instance, the *Revue du Monde Catholique* published an article on Byzantine Orthodoxy alleging that St. Maron, the founder of the church, was the inventor of monothelitism, a fifth century Syrian heresy stating that Jesus had two natures, divine and human, but only one will.[427] Debs's refutation follows the formula of Murad, drawing on the crusade chronicle of William of Tyre, as well as Maronite historian Joseph Assemani.[428] For nationalist theorists, Lebanon's position as the faithful colony of Christian Europe would be undermined by the messy history of folk belief and doctrinal divergence.

The Unconquerable Emirate

The position of Mount Lebanon in the Ottoman Empire after 1517 presented another challenge to the creation of a Lebanist national mythology. Thus, the special status demanded by the European powers and by the occupying French army in 1860 was extended backwards in time. The Lebanese "emirate," thus conceived, now necessitated a history, heroes and villains. Lebanist authors found their princes in the Druze Emir Fakhr ed-Din II Maʿan of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and

[426] Debs received financial support for his 1874 fundraising visit to France. *L'Œuvre*. Septembre 1874 N. 84

[427] "Une Réfutation" *Revue du Monde Catholique* 01 Avril 1906, 619.

[428] Mgr. Joseph Debs, *Perpétuelle Orthodoxie des Maronites* (Arras: Imprimerie Moderne d'Arras, 1893).

Maronite Emir Bashir II Shihabi of the nineteenth.[429] In the centuries before the centralization of the Tanzimat reforms, as Karen Barkey has argued, provinces maintained individualized and idiosyncratic relations with Istanbul, involving local dynasties, privileged positions for the financial backers of office-purchasers, and other figures.[430] While powerful families throughout the empire often held *iltizam* tax-collectorships over generations, the jump from regional bureaucrat to royalty is a mighty one indeed.

Steeped as he was in the destruction and communal breakdown of the Lebanese Civil War that began in 1975, Kamal Salibi was one of the first iconoclastic historians to challenge the Lebanist narrative of the two so-called emirs in his 1988 *A House of Many Mansions*. While admiring the ambition and innovation of Fakhr ad-Din Maʿan, who leveraged foreign capital and power to maintain his position for a time, Salibi nevertheless concludes he "was never emir of Lebanon, and he did not found a Lebanese state."[431] The paucity of local chronicles allowed figures like Nasif al-Yaziji, a 1830s chronicler and secretary of Emir Bashir II ash-Shihabi, and Tanyus Shidyaq, writing in the 1850s with the support of pioneering educator Butrus al-Bustani, to elevate the Maʿan dynasty from *multezim*, provincial tax collector, or tribal

[429] Michel Chebli. *Fakhreddine II Maan: Prince du Liban (1572-1635)*, (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1946).

[430] Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[431] Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions,* 127.

strongman to emir.[432] These two chroniclers whose families served the Shihabi Emirs shared a vested interest in glorifying and legitimizing their rule or their memory. Thus elevated, the claimed principality of Fakhr ad-Din could then be transferred retroactively to the Shihabs upon the extinction of the Maʿan line in 1697. It was only a highly-selective reading of contemporary texts, Salibi argues, that allowed for this understanding of this Lebanese past. As we have seen, it is a certain understanding of the past that legitimizes a desired future, and building up an *iltizam*-holder or protection racketeer into a prince supported this narrative and ideology. Critiquing Nasif al-Yaziji's hagiographical 1833 portrayal of Emir Bashir with its depiction of a rigorous feudal hierarchy to which only the Maronite residents of the Shihabi 'emirate' might ever have respected, Salibi writes, "here was a highly idealized picture of the Shihab emirate which was not accurately descriptive of the reality at any time."[433] Ottoman governance relied on these local figures to mediate state interests on a provincial level. Rather than an independent prince, he was a tool of state interests. His attempt at independence cost him his leadership position as well as his life. "[Fakhr al-Din] emerges as a Syrian strongman who was given leeway by the Ottomans to subdue and destroy other provincial leaderships in Syria on their behalf, and who was himself destroyed in the end, to make way for a firmer control by the Ottoman state over the Syrian eyalets."[434] As was the case of court chroniclers in the

[432] Salibi notes that Shidyaq's assertion of Ottoman 'awarding' an emirate to the Maans was just repeating the claim of Haydar Shihab, whose chronicle also sought to legitimize Shihab rule through dynastic succession. Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions*, 124.

[433] Ibid., 111.

[434] Ibid., 127.

medieval period to some less scrupulous journalists, accurate description is secondary to securing continued patronage. For Yaziji and Shidyaq, glorifying the homeland and legitimizing the dynasty was paramount.

Thus unleashed, the Emirate proved a lasting beacon of myth-making. In a speech delivered to Lebanese President Emile Eddé, Maronite Priest Pierre Hobeika hails him "the worthy successor to Emir Fakhr Eddine and Emir Bashir."[435] Critically, the Fakhreddin was elevated as a Lebanese national hero, rather than merely a Druze one.

Islam & the Turk

From Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar (the Butcher) in the 1700s, to the Ottoman authorities in 1860, to Cemal Pasha, nicknamed *as-Sifa* (the Bloodshedder) during his rule of Syria during First World War, the cruelty of governors and other administrators proved a fruitful source for Lebanist polemicists. Echoing the French and Lebanese activist writers of the 1860 period like de Damas and Phaïm Chidiak, these sources utilize a mixture of truth, exaggeration and fantasy, to delegitimize "Turkish" rule, holding responsible Islam for violent acts committed by Druze militias from the Hawran and Shuf.

While Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar's contemporary and subordinate Bashir II killed or blinded a number of his male relatives to consolidate his control of tax collection in the Keserwan and Metn, his position as progenitor of Christian Lebanon immunized

[435] Boutros Hubayqa (Pierre Hobeika), "Emile Eddé: Rais al-Jumhurriya al-Lubnaniya" (Beirut: Matba'a al-Kathulikiya, 1938), 7.

him from negative portrayals of his violence later in the century. Ahmed Pasha, a Bosniak in service of the Ottoman state, was twice a foreigner, so he receives no such white-washing of his violence. And unlike the heroes of Lebanese mythology, his violence is attributable neither to a desire for power, wealth or order, but Islam itself. Camille Eddé, after a career serving the *Vilayet* of Beirut, writing on law in Syria, pays particular attention to Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar and law in Greater Syria. After polemicizing against Ottoman civil law, Eddé cites Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar as the epitome of Turkish cruelty, noting:

> Nowhere, I think, is this singular and abhorrent justice practiced with as much variety in cruelty and refinement in torture, as in the pachalik of St. Jean d'Acre, under the government of he who earned the name of El-Gazzar, the butcher. The inhabitants maimed and disfigured by him, including his former secretary poet Mikhail Bahari, whose ear he had cut off, were then the saddest and most heartbreaking sight in the streets of Acre.[436]

Following the portrayal of noble Lebanese service to the crusaders and resistance to Ottoman rule, Eddé uses Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar's treatment of Bahari as the ultimate example of duplicity in Ottoman rule.

Memory of the cataclysm of 1860 lived with many authors and activists of this generation. The earlier generation of Young Ottomans grew up in more optimistic age of Tanzimat Ottomanism, even briefly realizing their dreams of internal reform with the declaration of the Ottoman constitution, *Kanun-i Esasi*, in 1876. The students of Saint-Joseph and Antoura, who would go on to found papers and hold offices, only

[436] Camille Edde, *La Civilisation Méditerranéenne et le Droit en Syrie* (Cairo: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1921), 13.

knew the era of the *Reglèment Organique,* living in the shadow of communal violence and French occupation. Nadra Moutran, born in 1863 in the first post-massacre generation, casts the intercommunal fighting as an Ottoman plot, writing, "The Sublime Porte, to better oppress the ones and the others, launched the ones against the others."[437] In spite of the often troubled relationship between Druze communities and the central government, the narrative of Ottoman oppression required that 1860 not be a class conflict or failure of provincial governance. It instead had to be a coordinated attack. Moutran's classmate, Auguste Adib Pasha, another of the post-massacre generation, claims that "Turkish agents armed the Druze to set off a civil war."[438] While Fuad Pasha's summary executions in 1861 certainly lend some credence to the idea that Ottoman officialdom was negligent in its handling of the violence, the swiftness of the execution was a performative justice to preclude humanitarian occupation by the Great Powers. In that, Fuad succeeded, and one French foreign policy journal noted "These executions spread terror and gave the Expeditionary Force a high opinion of Fuad's firmness in justice."[439] Moreover, there is no evidence that the Ottoman government engineered the violence to increase control over the region.

Lebanon's First Martyrs

[437] Denise Ammoun, *Histoire du Liban Contemporain* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 130.

[438] Auguste Adib Pacha. *Le Liban Après la Guerre* (Le Caire: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1919), 53.

[439] J.R. Fabre, "Correspondance de Syrie" in *Revue de l'Orient de l'Algérie et des colonies: Bulletin de la Société Orientale de France*, Tome 30, (Paris: L'Agence Orientale, 1861), 146.

Nations require not only nefarious villains, but virtuous, principled heroes. While the nameless Maronites who Lebanists claim as the allies of the Crusaders would qualify, it is precisely their anonymity that allows them to enter the national mythology. Their narrative of unending loyalty to France is fulfilled by the Maronite Lebanist martyrs of the First World War. The journalists, politicians, and activists executed after trial in the Ottoman Military Court of Aley outside Beirut provide these heroes. After the French and British consuls departed Ottoman territory for Egypt after the declaration the war, the American consul assumed possession of their premises and archives, which would be seized by Ottoman authorities on November 3, 1915.[440] The French consular archives held significant correspondences by the departed consul, François-Georges Picot, with Francophile figures in the government and media including the oft-repeated promise to raise a Syrian or Maronite army to fight alongside the allies when they landed.[441] Though the American consul would protest the alleged violation of diplomatic privilege, the incriminating material was nevertheless collected and used against figures near and far. In leaving behind seditious correspondence, France had left its most loyal partisans in a very precarious position indeed.[442]

---

[440] HR.SYS. 2416/45. 1915 12 24

[441] While the French consul in Damascus destroyed sensitive documents before their seizure, Damascus governor Hulusi Bey claimed that the Beirut consular documents implicated Muslim notables as well. See Djemal Pasha, *Memoires of a Turkish Statesman,* 197.

[442] In a bizarre coincidence, Chekri Ganem had previously been involved in a controversy regarding the violation of French diplomatic privilege in November 1887, when during his representation of the French Protectorate of Tunisia in Florence, the Florentine lawyers of Léon Elmilik broke into his office at the French consulate to steal papers regarding the debts

While dissidents like Chekri Ganem, Nadra Moutran, Réchid Moutran, Charles Debbas, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Shahbandar, and Naoum Moukarzel were safely scattered in Egypt, Europe, and the Americas as the Ottoman Empire's decade of war continued with the eruption of World War I, Cemal Pasha set about persecuting those dissidents remaining like the President of the Syrian Arab Congress and Ottoman Senator ʿAbd ar-Rahman az-Zahrawi, Nakhlé Moutran, as well as newspapermen Philippe and Farid al-Khazin, who were executed based on the documents seized from the French consulate in 1916.[443] The evidence against Moutran were his communications with the French consul in Beirut, again advocating for the attachment of Baalbek to the lower-taxed and military-exempt Mount Lebanon *Mutasarrıflık*. [444] Farid al-Khazin, a USJ graduate and co-editor of *al-Arz* like his brother, had been under Ottoman surveillance since at least 1905, when he accompanied the Maronite Patriarch Elias Hoyek to Rome, Paris, and Istanbul on a junket, greeting Parisian newspapers on the patriarch's behalf, and offering details of the history of Franco-Maronite cooperation.[445] Their punishment was trumpeted by Lebanist activists in the sympathetic French press like

---

of Hussein Bey, a Tunisian minister and general. "Procès-verbal" *Archives Diplomatiques: recueil de diplomatie et d'histoire*. Tome XXXII, Janvier 1890 (Paris: Féchoz Libraire), 281.

[443] BOA İ.DUİT. 173/25 The Ottoman government had previously given the Khazin brothers permission to open their newspaper. İ..MTZ.CL.. 4/238, 1312 S 23

[444] Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman*, 198.

[445] The Maronite delegation were guests of the Maronite notable and Hamidian elite Melhamé family in Pera. BOA Y.A..HUS 494/41.

Alfred Coury, who proclaimed "The Khazin brothers' only crime was their ardent faith in the destinies of their country and devotion to France."[446]

Arab Nationalist and Lebanist narratives have portrayed these men as innocent victims of the bloodthirsty Cemal Pasha, but Ganem, the Moutrans, Khazins, and Michel Tuéni at least were closely involved in the half-fulfilled creation of a Legion d'Orient, composed of Syro-Lebanese seeking to fight against the Ottomans for the benefit of the Allies.[447] It ended up being comprised mostly of Armenians, expecting the French army to continue north to liberate Cilicia in Southern Anatolia. It did have a Syro-Lebanese contingent, including KT Khaïrallah. In the Franco-Lebanese patriotic drumbeat to war, little care was given to the consequences associates would face. Thus the secular religion of Lebanese and Arab nationalisms had its first saints. Ideology dictated who was foremost in sanctity.

Martyrdom provides another opportunity for communal mythmaking, and *shahid*, the Arabic and Ottoman term for martyr, also means witness. This connection – witnessing and martyrdom – is shared by early Christianity, and would be echoed in accounts of the civil unrest of 1860. During the First World War, as Jean Mélia, a French-Algerian bureaucrat and activist, contributed to the national-religious hagiography of Lebanese dissidents.[448] He mentions a nameless Turkish officer

---

[446] Dr. Alfred Coury, *Le Martyre du Liban: Sanctions et Réparations*, 8.

[447] BOA. DH.EUM. 7Şb 1/59

[448] Melia later worked in the French mandate of Syria in the High Commissioner's office and the École Coloniale in Paris, later renamed the École d'outre mer, which trained first Cambodian and subsequently other colonized peoples for bureaucratic positions.

conducting Maronite writer Yusuf al-Hayek to his execution, who "promised to save his life if he would cry out 'Vive la Turquie!' and 'Vive l'Allemagne', but Hayek responded in his loudest voice 'Vive la France!' and the officer pushed the stool from beneath his feet, hanging him in his supreme moment."[449] One's actual death was not even a necessity, as when French Prime Minister Paul Painlevé in parliament invoked the martyrdom of Halil Ganem "in the public square in Beirut" to support Chekri Ganem's bona fides as a Syrian patriot and expert in the implementation of the mandate.[450] As seen in the third chapter, Halil Ganem had in fact died in Paris in 1903 of an illness, having never returned to Beirut. Mélia and his fellow authors in the hagiography and martyrology genres contrast the principles of these Lebanese martyrs with the depiction of Turco-Islamic perfidy, a tradition of cruelty continuing from Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzar to Cemal Pasha.

Cemal Pasha, who remains a bogeyman in Lebanon until the present day due to memories of the famine in Syria during the First World War, unsurprisingly emerges as the villain in the Lebanese national narrative. Due to his commanding the Fourth Army in the Arab provinces during the war, Cemal Pasha was directly involved in implementing the *seferberlik*, the Turkish word for mobilization that has become synonymous with famine and arbitrary justice. However, his wartime correspondence paints a decidedly more mixed picture, a dedicated Ottoman patriot who prosecuted a witch-hunt against nationalist activists, while also maintaining close relations with

---

[449] Jean Mélia. *Chez les Chrétiens d'Orient* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1929), 200-201.

[450] *Journel officiel de la République française: Débats parlementaires*. 25 août 1924, No. 104, 3142.

many in Beirut and the surrounding countryside. In spite of the memory of his defiant Francophilia in the face of Cemal's persecution, Maronite Patriarch Elias Hoyek was not above flattery after his exile to Zahle in 1917, writing to Cemal, "We bring to you our joy at your happy return to this country. All of our voices accompanied you during your voyage to the allied countries. We rejoice with every aspect of sympathy of which you are the object."[451]

Paris 1919 and the Phoenician Dream Realized

The fate of Syria and Lebanon became one of the foremost issue for political activists as the war swung in the allies' favor after Cemal's failed raid on the Suez Canal and failed defense of Palestine in 1916-1917. The realization that they might be victorious in their once-quixotic quest prompted new worries among the dissident intelligentsia of Lebanon. Was liberation desirable if it meant sharing a state with Syria, and worse, Syrians? This chauvinism towards the Syrian Muslim majority was the shared feature of these early iterations of both Syrian and Lebanese nationalisms. While a few Lebanist-Syrianist activists joined the Sherifian army and emergent administration as it established short-lived control over Syria and Mount Lebanon, the rise of Arab nationalism was troubling for the dyed in the wool Lebanists and even Syrian federalists like Chekri Ganem. For Joseph Saouda, the attachment of Lebanon to an independent Syria would undo decades of struggle. Saouda writes, "If Syria and Lebanon merge, in this fusion Lebanon would lose its independence forever, and such was the policy of the Ottoman imperialism that tried to move the Lebanese to other

[451] BOA HR.SYS 2459\68

provinces, a policy which was defeated by Lebanese self-defense. Are we back in Turkish politics ?"[452] Even as his brother Iskandar Bey Ammoun, formerly the head of the Comité Libanais de Caire and a member of the Ottoman Party of Decentralization, took a position under Emir Faysal in the Sherifian regime in Damascus, Daoud Ammoun protested to the Paris Peace Conference that "It is not a spirit of conquest or megalomania that Lebanon claims its former borders, but for a reason that dominates all other considerations, the right to life. Without these borders, the work of 1861 remains unfinished, and independence of Lebanon is but a cruel irony."[453] For this faction, the establishment of a French mandate and a Lebanese state was the culmination of a decades, centuries and even millennia-long struggle. It was not an innovation, but a return - to the Shihabi emirate or a Phoenician kingdom. Father Louis Jalabert, a long-time professor at Saint-Joseph seconds the views of his former student Ammoun, who he advised during the Paris Peace Conference.[454] "These gentlemen [of the Lebanese delegation] do not hide their concern about what the situation in Lebanon would become under the French thesis of a Syrian 'federation.' The majority of the total population of Syria is, indeed, of the Muslim civilization and thus much lower than that of the Christian minority. In a Federal Syria, most authority

[452] Yusuf Sawda, *Fi Sabil al-Istiqlal*, 27.

[453] Lyne Loheac. *Le Liban à La Conférence de la Paix (1919-1920)* (M.A. Paris X – Nanterre, 1972) 59.

[454] M. de Monzie, P. Jalabert, et al. "La Syrie et La France" in *La Réforme Sociale: Bulletin de la Société D'Économie Sociale*. Paris: Secrétariat Général de la Soc., 1919. Vol. 39, No. 79, 80, 249.

would rest in the hands of those least qualified to assume it."[455] Even Syrian federalists like Chekri Ganem feared that the Hashemites, the family of Sharif Husayn bin Ali of Mecca, would consolidate control of Syria with British support. This would make permanent the conquest of the region by British arms in Arab revolt, perhaps more accurately called the Anglo-Sherifian rebellion, to the detriment of the interests of the French and some Syrian activists.

Iskander Bey Ammoun contributed to this racial discourse is his critique of the centralization in the Second Constitutional Period. [456] Advocating as a member of one of two Lebanese delegations to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Ammoun wrote:

> Centralization is possible in a country united by race, religion, language and tradition. It cannot be accomplished if one of these elements is missing. What's more, in a heterogeneous population, only despotism is possible, and the consequences follow.[457]

A member of the delegation representing the administrative council of Mount Lebanon, his brother Daoud Ammoun declared the the Council of Ten on February 15, 1919 a Lebanon established "in its natural frontiers," while noting the lack of modern technology limits Lebanon's prospects. "Always in the past, France has defended us,

---

[455] M. de Monzie, P. Jalabert, et al., "La Syrie et La France," 249.

[456] The Ammoun family of Dayr al-Qamr, like the Moutrans, boasted brothers on at least three continents with significant media and activist connections. Iskander Ammoun was involved in the *Ittihad Lubnan* and the *Parti de l'Union Syrienne* in Cairo, later joining Emir Faysal in the Sherifian government as Minister of Justice after the war. Daoud Ammoun collaborated in Paris with Chekri Ganem. Khalil Ammoun in São Paulo was involved with the Centro Rinascenza Libano and edited *Al-Brazil*. See María del Mar Logroño Narbona, "A Transnational Intellectual Sphere" in *The Middle East and Brazil: Perspectives on the New Global South,* Paul Amar, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 204.

[457] Denise Ammoun, *Histoire du Liban Contemporain* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 131.

supported us, guided, instructed, and secured us. We feel a constant friendship for her. We wish for her support to organize ourselves, and her guarantee of our independence."[458]

Nevertheless, Elias Hoyek and and the second Lebanese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference would echo Ammoun in demanding that Lebanon be established with its "natural borders" of the Maʿani and Shihabi Emirate, much larger than the Ottoman-era *mutasarrıflık*. With the support of Georges Clemenceau, Robert de Caix, the French High Commissioner for the French Mandate and the former head of colonialist lobby group *l'Asie Française*, would declare the expanded borders and independence of Greater Lebanon with the Patriarch Hoyek by his side. The mandate would include Sunni-majority Tripoli and the Shia-majority Beqaa, significantly increasing the proportion of Muslims to half or more in the state conceived as a Christian majority or a haven for minorities. While realist Lebanists like Emile Eddé and George Samné opposed this irredentism as an attempt at "the squaring of a circle," the mandate government and its Lebanist allies achieved their goal.[459] However, to avoid confronting this inconvenient truth of a Muslim majority, Lebanon has not had a census since 1932.

Conclusion

[458] Lyne Loheac, "Le Liban à La Conférence de la Paix" (1919-1920) (Master's Thesis – Paris X – Nanterre, 1972), 57-59.

[459] George Samné quoted in Meir Zamir, "Smaller and Greater Lebanon – The Squaring of a Circle?" *Jerusalem Quarterly* 23 (1982), 40

This dissertation has argued that Lebanese identity coalesced in a social world and often a physical world removed from Ottoman Syria. This occurred in a chain, from author to reader and teacher to student, shaping how France thought about Syria, how Ottoman Syrians thought about France, and many other permutations therein. Education had divergent outcomes, but but the Syro-Lebanese graduates of French Jesuit and Lazarist missionary secondary schools generally embraced nationalism, whether Syrian, Lebanese, or Arab. This was in contrast to the prior generation, including figures like Halil Ganem and Suleyman al-Bustani, who received a *Tanzimat*-style education and in their careers embraced and promoted Ottoman reformism, with an enduring loyalty to the polity, rather than a national, ethnic, or linguistic grouping. The generation after 1860 grew up amid the rapid urbanization of Beirut and an influx of Christian refugees from Syria and Lebanon, and their accompanying fears and prejudices. This occurred in parallel to the *nahda*, the Arab literary renaissance centered in the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, including several figures associated with the Syrian Protestant College like Butrus al-Bustani.

French designs on Syria and the Levant did not begin with the Sykes-Picot Agreement. It is tempting to interpret teleologically the cultural and religious exchanges of the nineteenth century as progressing to France's occupation of the region after the First World War, but in fact, France showed a renewed interest in political control over all or part of *bilad al-sham* in the mid-nineteenth century, just a few decades after Napoleon's failed conquest. It was only British opposition to this consolidation of power that prevented the "humanitarian" French intervention of 1860 in Mount Lebanon from becoming a whole scale occupation of the region or at least

littoral Syria. British meddling left the conquest of 1860 "incomplete," Father Henri Lammens argued, and it was up to the Jesuits to finish with pedagogy what French soldiers could not attain through force.[460]

The Legacy of Lebanese Exceptionalism

Histories of the Lebanese Civil War have often looked back to Pierre Gemayel as the father of radical Lebanese Christian nationalism, as he famously founded the *Phalanges Libanaises*/*Kata'ib al-Lubnaniya* after attending the 1936 Berlin Olympics, admiring the order established by the Nazi regime.[461] While Gemayel's visit makes for a straightforward narrative, it is my contention that this was not his first encounter with ideas of racial superiority, superior civilizations, and national purity. Indeed, he assuredly encountered them in Father Lammens's classes at Saint-Joseph or in *La Revue Phénicienne*. The faculty of Saint-Joseph taught their students to "love, respect and admire France," and through research, publication, and pedagogy, the Jesuits promoted the idea of the nation, which graduates eventually theorized into a

---

[460] Lammens, *La Syrie, Précis Historique*, 187.

[461] In an interview with British journalist Robert Fisk, Gemayel would say "I saw then this discipline and order. And I said to myself: "Why can't we do the same thing in Lebanon?" So when we came back to Lebanon, we created this youth movement. When I was in Berlin then, Nazism did not have the reputation which it has now. Nazism? In every system in the world, you can find something good. But Nazism was not Nazism at all. The word came afterwards. In their system, I saw discipline. And we in the Middle East, we need discipline more than anything else." Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation*, 65.
He was not even the only Saint-Joseph to publicly express an admiration for Hitler, or be accused of collaboration. Farid Chehab, a Saint-Joseph law graduate and head of the anti-communism section in the *deuxième bureau*, told an interviewer Laila Rustam, "The fact that many people were admirers of Hitler is due to the fact that Arabs like force, and Hitler was strong." Imprisoned for collaboration, his friend and classmate Bishara al-Khuri obtained his release and reappointed him to his former position. See AUB Center for Arabic and Middle East Studies, Oral History Project, "Emir Farid Chehab," Part 2.

Phoenician-Christian idea of Lebanon. Pierre Gemayel spent a decade years in Jesuit schools and about a month in Nazi Germany as the captain of the Lebanese soccer team. It is at our own peril that we discount the former period when considering the influences on his nascent Christian nationalist ideology.

While the Jesuit scholarly contribution to the Lebanese national project was substantial, especially in the field of archaeology, the cultural production of Antoura and Saint-Joseph graduates should not be overlooked. Poets, playwrights, and journalists planted deep seeds of nationalism, which would grow into maturity as this group assumed near-total control of Lebanon during the French Mandate, with Saint-Joseph graduates Charles Debbas, Émile Eddé, Petro Trad, and Bishara al-Khuri serving as president during the mandate and independent era and French-educated non-Christians like Tawfiq Arslan elevated to greater importance in their communities.[462] Phoenicianism and Lebanese exceptionalism united the cultural element of this movement and gained a state sponsor during the mandate, but this national mythos excluded the invaders of the seventh century, Arab Muslims.

Lebanon claimed its independence from Free French forces in 1943, and its constitution, authored by none other than Charles Corm, Michel Chiha, and Omar al-Daouk, preserved the ratio of six Christians to five Muslim and Druze established in the *Reglèment Organique* of 1861. Imprisoned together by Free French forces in Rashaya, Bishara al-Khuri and Riyad as-Sulh would agree to the extra-constitutional National Pact, *al-mithaq al-watani*, which would establish tradition of a Maronite

[462] Asher Kaufman, "Tell Us Our History" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 3, (2004): 1-28

President (Khuri), and Sunni Prime Minister (Sulh), with the men later agreeing to reserve the Parliament speakership for a Shi'a.[463] In spite of this agreement between elite Beirutis, Lebanon would carry into independence its contradictions, a Christian nation with a Muslim majority, a "Phoenician-Mediterranean" republic whose Arab citizenry often identified with Syria or the broader Arab *Umma*. In time, the dispossessed Shi'a of South Lebanon and Palestinian refugees would demand their voices be heard as well.[464]

After twenty-five years of almost total Christian control under the French Mandate, Lebanese nationalists were not accustomed to compromise. By 1958, Lebanon faced another crisis regarding its relationship to its Arab neighbors and European and American allies, as the government of President Camille Chamoun refused to support Egyptian President Gamal ʿAbd al-Nasr during the Suez Crisis in 1956 or join the recently-established United Arab Republic that united Egypt and Syria under Nasser in 1958.[465] Ninety-eight years after General Beaufort d'Hautpoul and the French army answered the call of Amédée de Damas and Phaïm Chidiak to "protect the Christians of the East," another Maronite, President Camille Chamoun, called for a humanitarian intervention, and American troops were deployed under the Eisenhower doctrine to protect governments threatened by communism. War was

[463] AUB Oral History Project, "Emir Farid Chehab," Part 2.

[464] For his part, Pierre Gemayel considered Palestinian refugees "a fifth column" who want "dissolve Lebanon in the Arab world." Fisk, *Pity the Nation*, 73.

[465] While one could find a sectarian rationale for this, the conservative Chamoun and his allies were perhaps rightly afraid of Nasserist Arab socialism and the nationalization of private resources, largely held by their colleagues.

averted, and the Lebanese National Movement, a coalition of Druze, Muslims, Nasserists and Leftists, would accept Maronite General Fuad Chehab as the next president by the coercive effect of fifteen thousand American troops, far from the last time Lebanon gained a president with the support of a foreign army.[466] However, Kata'ib and other Christian nationalists were never disabused of their idea of Phoenician-Christian Lebanon, and the essential conflict of Lebanese exceptionalism remained unresolved. It would take a fifteen-year civil war, beginning in 1975, for these factions to accept the equal representation of Muslims and Druze in parliament.

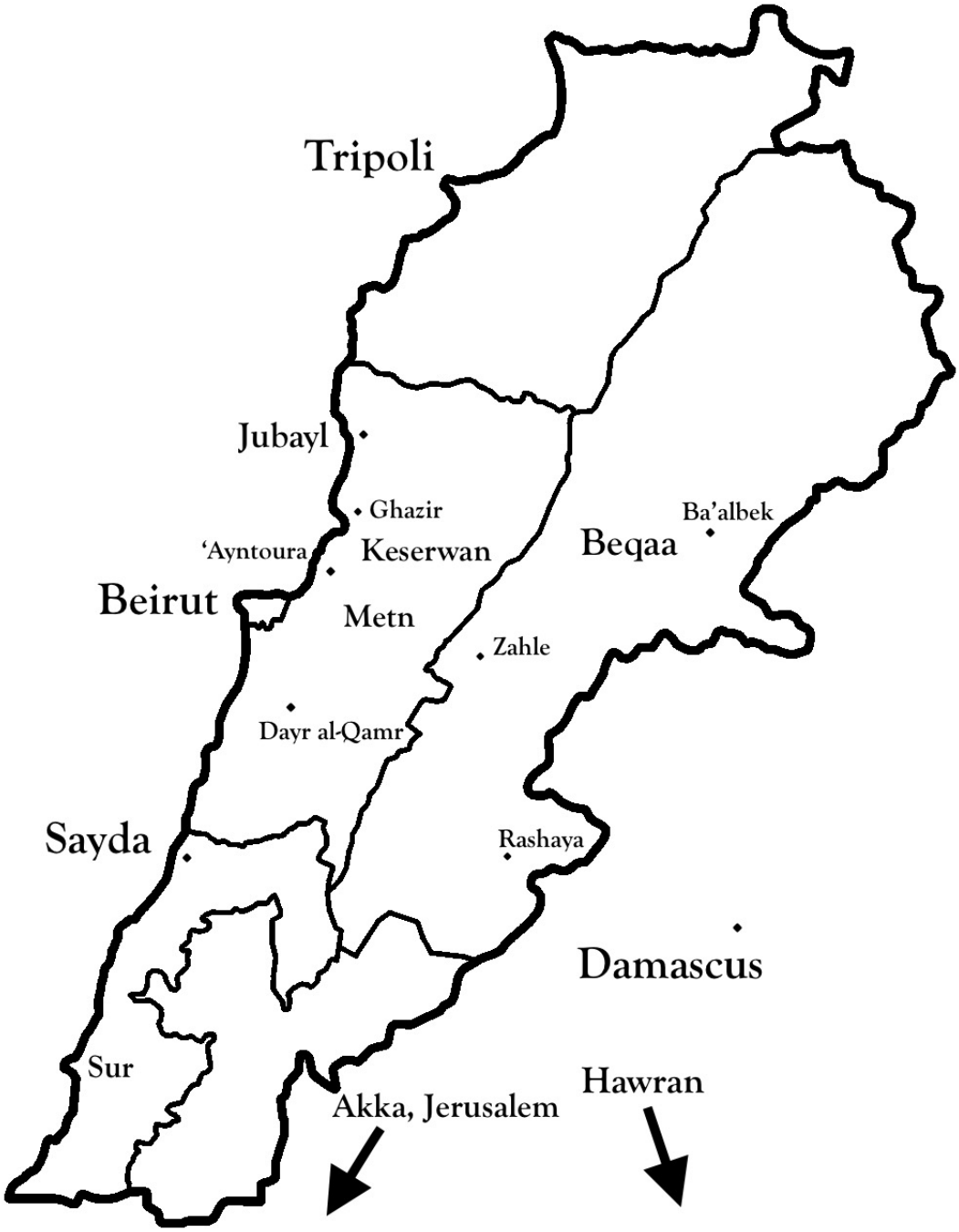
The irredentist politics of Kata'ib and other ultranationalist Christian forces grew from their conception of Lebanon, its history, and its people. While it is convenient to observe bad actors and condemn them, it is much less comfortable but no less necessary to examine the culture and worldview that enabled such evil. Lebanism in its essence is the exclusionary nationalism of a minority. Most nationalisms, especially those constructed on the Renanian model, rely on an idealized past towards which the nation must strive. In Lebanon, that meant "returning" to a past without Muslims. Thus, it is always not a great leap forward, but backward. Hector Klat would write of the national past:

[466] Fisk, *Pity the Nation*, 71, 339.

I want to return to history
Not for my grief but for my glory.
See what untamed momentum
My fiery heart awaits!
My beautiful past will quickly be reborn.
Beirut returns to Béryte,
Tripoli, the Frankish County.[467]

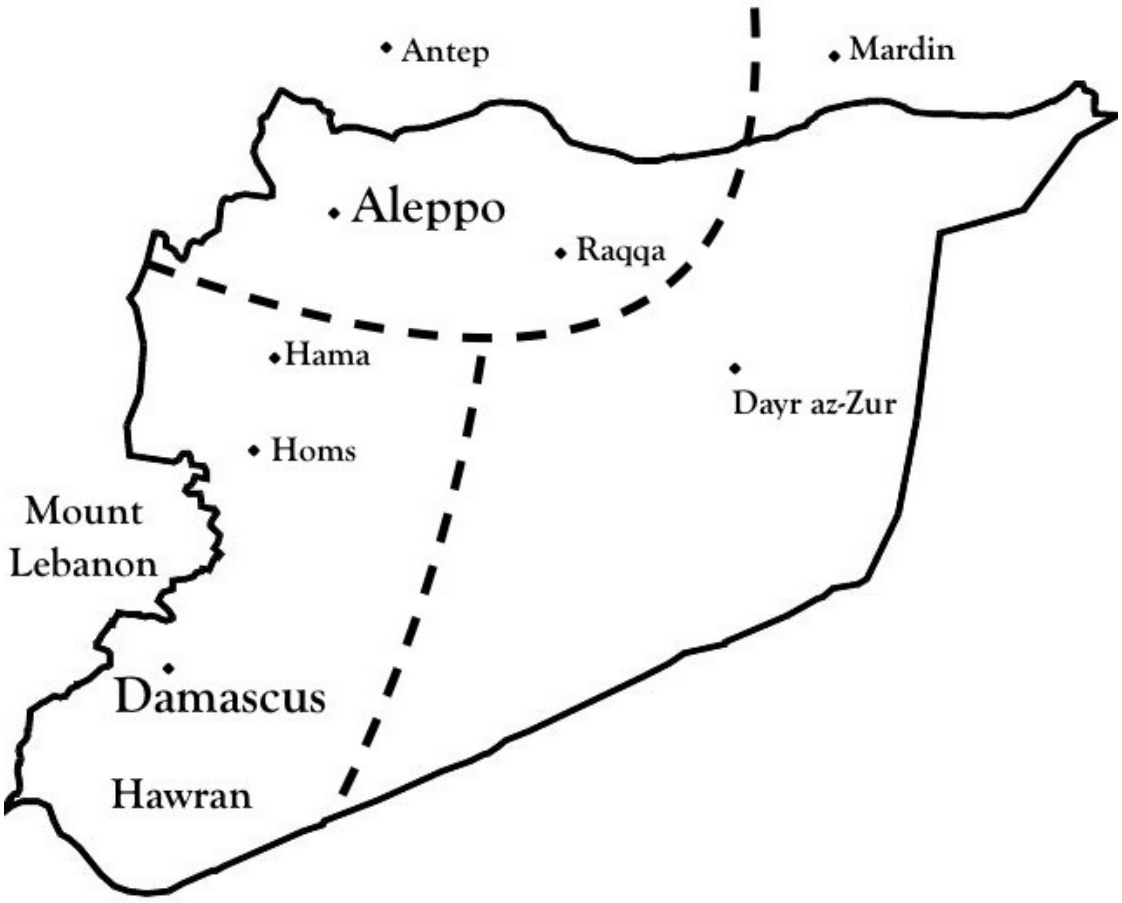
[467] Hector Klat "Alma Mater" to Charles Corm (1920), *Le Cèdre et Les Lys*, 34.

Appendix I: Map of Greater Lebanon[468]



[468] This map, labelled by the author, is based on the blank map of the Greater Lebanon's governorates by Wikimedia user Golbez under a Creative Commons 2.5 license.

Appendix II: Map of the Major Cities of Ottoman Syria



Aleppo and Damascus/Syria *Vilayets* are noted by dotted line[469]

[469] This map, labelled by the author, is based on the blank map of the Syrian Arab Republic by Wikimedia user Golbez under a Creative Commons 2.5 license.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Ayan – Notable, landowning class

Béryte – Phoenician name of Beirut

Bilad ash-Sham – Greater Syria, Arab Levant

Byblos – Classical name of Jubayl north of Beirut

Committee of Union and Progress (Cemiyet-i Ittihad ve Terakki) - Also known as the Young Turks, progressive reformist organization, including both liberal literati and military cadres

Druze – A heterodox syncretistic monotheistic religion descending from a medieval Islam, promoted by eleventh-century Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah

Ghazir – A town north of Beirut, site of a Jesuit seminary eventually relocated to Beirut, becoming the *Université Saint-Joseph*

Keserwan – The northern district of the Mount Lebanon Mutasarrıflık, predominantly populated by Maronite and Orthodox Christians in the nineteenth century

Liberal Entente (*Ahrar Fırkası*) – parliamentary opposition to CUP with decentralist and alleged Hamidian sympathies, including many Arab parliamentarians in the 1908-1910 era

Maʿani – The first major dynasty of tax-collectors and strongmen of Mount Lebanon, ruling from in the sixteenth and seventeeth cenutry

Mahjar – Literally "The Land of Emigration," generally meaning the Syrian diaspora in the Mediterranean and the Americas

Maronite – Syro-Lebanese Catholics following the Syriac rite

Mashriq – The Arab East, usually comprising Greater Syria and Iraq

Meclis – Parliament, specifically the Ottoman Parliament

Melkite – Syro-Lebanese Catholics following the Greek rite

Metn – The central district of the Mount Lebanon Mutasarrıflık, with a mixed Christian and Druze population in the nineteenth century

Mutasarrıf/Mutasarrıflık – Sub-governor/governorate usually subordinate to the Vali, but retaining a special status in Mount Lebanon after 1861

Nahda – Arabic literary renaissance

Règlement Organique – Special administration established for Mount Lebanon under pressure from European powers after 1860, requiring a non-Lebanese Catholic Mutasarrıf

Salname – Provincial Yearbook

Second Empire – The Bonapartist government of Napoleon III, reigning from the then-president's 1851 coup d'état until the defeat by Prussia in 1870

Seferberlik – Turkish for mobilization, becoming synonymous with famine and scarcity in Syria

Shihabi – The second major dynasty of governors of Mount Lebanon, governing from 1697-1840, whose origins were Druze, though later emirs converted to Maronite Christianity

Shuf – The Southern portion of Mount Lebanon, predominantly populated by Druze in the nineteenth century

Sidon – Phoenician and classical name of Sayda in South Lebanon

Sublime Porte – The highest gate, a synecdoche for the Ottoman government based

Syrian Protestant College (SPC) – Anglo-American missionary college founded in 1866, with a diverse student body of Muslim, Druze, and Armenian students, in addition to early Maronite converts to Protetstantism, later became the American University of Beirut

Third Republic – The secular government established after the fall of Napoleon III in 1870, ruling until the occupation of France in 1940

Uniate – Eastern Christian churches in union with the Roman Catholic Church

Unionist – Relating to the Committee of Union and Progress or Young Turks

Université Saint-Joseph – Jesuit university focusing on lay education, relocated from Ghazir Seminary, opened in 1875

Vali/Vilayet – The largest administrative division of the Ottoman Empire

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

Abdülhamid II – Ottoman Sultan, r. 1876-1909, promulgated of the constition in 1876 and suspended it in 1878, ruled as authoritarian centralizer until forced by the CUP in 1908 to re-establish parliament

Angelil, Georges SJ – Damascene Jesuit chronicler of 1860 violence, polemicist

Ammoun, Daoud – Cairo-based Maronite author, financial speculator, leader of Mount Lebanon delegation to the Paris Peace Conference

Arslan, Emin – Ottoman Druze diplomat, USJ graduate, reformist activist

Arslan, Muhammad – Ottoman Druze MP, Ottoman consul in Belgrade, assassinated in case of mistaken identity during 31 March countercoup, 1909, USJ graduate

Barrès, Maurice – Anti-Dreyfusard author, patron of Jesuit missions in Syria

Bentivoglio, Comte de – French Consul in Beirut during 1860 unrest

al-Bustani, Suleyman – Beiruti Maronite Ottoman senator, late-blooming Unionist and Minister of Mines and Forests, later Finance, translator of the Illiad into Arabic, a nephew of Butrus al-Bustani

al-Bustani, Butrus – Beiruti Maronite-turned-Protestant educator and encyclopedist, dragoman for British forces fighting Ibrahim Pasha in 1840, founder of *al-madrasa al-wataniya*, a proto-national reformist school in Beirut in 1863

Chiha, Michel – Banker, intellectual, and co-author with Corm and Omar Daouk of the Lebanese constitution, brother-in-law of President Bishara al-Khuri, USJ graduate

Cheikho, Louis SJ – Syrian Jesuit Orientalist scholar, Ghazir graduate, USJ professor

Corm, Charles – Phoenicianist poet and intellectual, later billionaire auto distributor, USJ graduate

de Damas, Amédée SJ – French Jesuit chronicler of 1860 unrest, fundraiser for *l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient*, Ghazir Seminary teacher

Daouk, Omar Bey – Muslim Beiruti co-author of Lebanese constitution with Corm and Chiha, Antoura graduate and president of Antoura Alumni Association

Debbas, Georges – Lawyer, delegate to Syrian Arab Congress of 1913, USJ graduate

Dibs, Yusuf – Maronite bishop of Beirut, author and founded of *Madrasat al-Hikma/College de la Sagesse* secondary school

Cemal Pasha – Ottoman Minister of the Navy, Commander of 4th Army, ruler of Syria during the First World War

Eddé, Camille [Kumayl] – Beiruti Ottoman bureaucrat, lawyer, USJ graduate

Eddé, Emile – Lawyer, President of French Mandate and independent Lebanon, supporter of smaller Lebanon, USJ graduate

Enver Pasha – CUP Minister of War, Teutonophile during World War I

Gambetta, Léon – Republican French Prime Minister, friend of Halil Ganem and patron of missionary schools

Ganem, Chekri – Paris-based poet, playwright and opposition activist, founder of *Ligue Ottoman*, *Comité Central Syrien*, and *Comité Libanais de Paris,* editor of the *Correspondance d'Orient*, Lazarist College of Antoura graduate

Ganem, Halil – Older brother of Chekri, Ottoman MP, reformist journalist for *Turkiya al-Fatat*, *Mechveret, La France Internationale*, and *Mechroutiette*

al-Khazin, Philippe and Farid – Honorary dragomans of the French consulate, editors of *Al-Arz* newspaper, founders of *an-Nahda al-Lubnaniya*, Lebanese Revival Society, USJ graduates

Hoyek [al-Huwayyik], Elias – Politically influential Maronite patriarch, Ghazir graduate

Karam, Yusuf Bey – Northern Lebanese Maronite notable who sought governorship in 1860s, veteran of 1840 and 1858-1861 conflicts

Khaïrallah, Khaïrallah Tanyus – Paris-based journalist, activist, and Lebanese Revival member, Syran Arab Congress attendee, Antoura graduate

Lammens, Henri SJ – Belgian-born, Syria-educated Jesuit Orientalist scholar and teacher, USJ professor

Lavigerie, Charles – Founder of l'Œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, a charity supporting missionary and relief activity in Syria

Maʿan, Fakhr ad-Din – Legendary seventeeth-century Druze strongman of Lebanon

Mardam Bey, Jamil – Damascene Muslim notable activist, co-host of the 1913 Syrian Arab Congress

Moutran, Nadra – Baalbeki Melkite notable, Istanbul and subsequently Paris-based conservative journalist, financial and possibly political agent of Abdülhamid II, founder of *al-Ikha al-Arabi al-ʿUthmani*, the Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood with fellow Arab Hamidian sympathizers Shafiq al-ʻAzm and Shukri al-Husayni, co-organizer of 1913 Syrian Arab Congress, USJ graduate

Moutran, Nakhlé – Baalbeki Melkite notable, executed by Cemal Pasha

Moutran, Réchid – Baalbeki Melkite notable, Ottoman consul in Lyon, early activist for Syrian autonomy

Moutran, Yusuf Habib – Baalbeki Melkite notable, Damascus-Aleppo-Birecik Railroad concessionaire, father of Nadra, Nakhlé, Réchid, and Victoria

Piavi, Ludovico – Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and Vatican Delegate

Poincaré, Raymond – Conservative colonialist French Premier and later President, friend of Samné, Ganem, and Khaïrallah

Riccadonna, Paolo SJ – Italian superior of Jesuit mission in Syria, reestablished in 1831

Sabaheddin – Claiming the title of Prince, Anglophile interventionist grandson of Sultan Abdülmecid, founder of the League for Private Initiative and Administrative Decentralization

Salam, Salim Ali – Beiruti Muslim notable and Ottoman MP, collaborator of Petro Trad, reformist co-organizer of Syrian Arab Congress

Samné, George – Paris-based author and organizer of *Comité Central Syrien* and *Comité Libanais de Paris* with Chekri Ganem and Khaïrallah Khaïrallah

Saouda, Joseph – Activist journalist, later Lebanese consul in Rio de Janeiro, USJ graduate

Shahbandar, ʿAbd ar-Rahman – Syrian Arab Nationalist activist, SPC graduate

Shidyaq, Phaïm Jean [Fahim Hanna] – Dragoman for French army in 1860, naturalized French interventionist activist, protégé of Algerian colonialists Schulenbourg and Pommereux

Shidyaq, Tanyus – Chronicler of Lebanese notable families, persecutor of his then-Protestant brother Faris, acquaintance of Ernest Renan

Shihabi, Bashir II – Maronite strongman of central Lebanon, legendary emir, ousted after Ottoman reconquest of Syria from Egyptian occupation in 1840

Sursock, Albert – Beiruti notable, member of Syrian Arab Congress

Sursock, Alfred Musa – Secretary of Ottoman Embassy in Paris, major landowner of Jezreel Railroad and land in Akka who sold properties to Jewish National Fund, married Italian noblewoman Maria Serra di Cassano, USJ graduate

Sursock, Michel Musa – Beiruti businessman and Ottoman MP, brother of Alfred, made his fortune hoarding grain during World War I, Jezreel Railroad concessionaire with Sursocks and Tuéni families

Sursock, Musa – Beiruti financier, banker, and silk magnate, received shares of Suez Canal Company from Egyptian Khedive Isma'il in repayment of loans, father of Alfred and Michel

Talat Pasha – CUP Interior Minister during World War I, architect of the Armenian genocide, former Turkish teacher at the *Alliance Israélite*

Trad, Petro [Pierre/Boutros] – Beiruti Orthodox activist, Mandate-era President of Lebanon, USJ graduate

Tuéni, Jean – Secretary of the Ottoman Embassy in Paris, USJ graduate

Tuéni, Michel – French consular dragoman involved in the reformist *groupement chrétien* and Party of Administrative Decentralization, accused by Ottoman authorities of planning the Legion d'Orient

az-Zahrawi, ʿAbd al-Hamid – President of the Syrian Arab Congress of 1913, Ottoman Senator, later executed by Cemal Pasha for sedition

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives

Bibliothèque de l'Alliance israélite universelle, Paris

Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus de la Province de France (ACJ), Paris – Vanves

American University of Beirut
--Jafet Library Special Collections - College Archives, Daniel Bliss collection (1866-1902), Howard Bliss collection (1902-1920), Zeine N. Zeine collection
--CAMES Oral History Project – Farid Chehab, Raymond Eddé

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Istanbul
--Dahiliye (Interior Affairs)
--Hariciye (Foreign Affairs)
--Salnames (Provincial Yearbooks): Beyrut (1886-1908), Şam/Suriye (1869-1900) Cebel-i Lübnan (1885-1901)
--Yildiz Archive (Palace/Prime Ministry)

Bibliothèque Orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut
-- *Bulletin Annuel de l'Association Amicale des Anciens Élèves de l'Université Saint-Joseph*
--*Al-Bashir*
--*Al-Mashriq*
--*La Revue Phénicienne*

Ministère des affaires étrangères (MAE), Paris – La Courneuve
--CPC – Correspondance Politique de Consuls
--CPCOM – Correspondance Politique et Commerciale

The National Archives of the United Kingdom, London
--Foreign Office: Proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference

Newspapers and Periodicals

L'Abeille du Bosphore

Abu Hul

L'Action Française

Al-Adl

Al-Bashir

Bulletin de l'œuvre des écoles d'Orient

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie

La Correspondance d'Orient

Études

Al-Fajr

Le Figaro

La France Internationale

Hilâl/La Croissant

Journel officiel de la République française: Débats parlementaires

Al-Mashriq: majallah kathulikiya sharqiya tabhathu fi al-ʿilm wa'l-adab wa'l-fann

Le Matin

Mècheroutiette: Constitutionnel Ottoman

Meşveret/Mechveret

Le Messager du Liban

Les Missions Catholiques

Le Monde

La Nouvelle Revue

L'Orient Arabe

Revue de l'Asie Française

Revue de Deux Mondes

La Revue du Liban

Revue de l'Orient

Revue du Monde Catholique

Revue du Monde Musulman

Tanin

Tercuman-ı Hakikat

Le Temps

Turkiya al-Fatat/La Jeune Turquie

Az-Zouhour

Books and Articles

n.a. *Ce Que Tout Français Doit Savoir de la Syrie et du Liban*. Paris: Emile Larose, 1922.

n.a. *La Place de La France en Orient par un diplomate.* Paris: Bureaux de l'œuvre des Écoles d'Orient, 1919.

n.a. *Propos d'un Montagnard*, petition to Yusuf Franko Pasha. 15 March 1912.

Abkarius, Iskandar. *The Lebanon in Turmoil*, trans. J.F. Scheltema. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

AbuKhalil, As'ad. *Historical Dictionary of Lebanon*. Asian Historical Dictionaries, No. 30. London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1998.

Abu-Manneh, Butrus. "Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: the Ideas of Butrus al-Bustani," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 11/3, 1980, 287-304.

Adib Pacha, Auguste. *Le Liban Après la Guerre.* Le Caire: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1919.

Ajay, Nicholas. "Mount Lebanon and the Wilayah of Beirut, 1914-1918: the war years." PhD Dissertation, Georgetown University, 1972.

Akarlı, Engin. *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Aluf, Mikhail Musa. *Tarikh Baalbek*. Beirut, 1908.

Ammoun, Denise. *Histoire du Liban Contemporain*. Paris: Fayard, 1997.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Angelil, Georges. SJ. *Les Chrétiens et les Musulmans de Damas en 1860 par un chrétien de Damas*, MSS. ACJ.

Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*. London, 1938.

Arkadiusz, Plonka. "Le nationalisme linguistique au Liban autour de Sa‘īd ‘Aql et l’idée de langue libanaise dans la revue «Lebnaan» en nouvel alphabet", *Arabica*, 53 (4), 2006, 423–471,

Arslan, Amin. *Mudhakirat*. Buenos Aires: Matba‘a al-tijariya lasha biha Rustem Akhwan, Rekonkista, 1934.

Aubès, Joseph. *Le Protectorat religieux de la France en Orient*, Doctoral Thesis, Université de Toulouse, 1904.

Awad, Walid. *Ashab al-fakhama: ru’asa’ Lubnan*. Beirut, 1977.

Azar, Jean. *Les Maronites, d’après le manuscript arabe du R.P. Azar*. Cambrai: Imprimerie-Librarie de l’Archevèché, 1852.

Azoury, Negib. *Le Réveil de la Nation Arabe dans l'Asie Turque: Partie Asiatique de la Question d'Orient et Programme de la Ligue de la Patrie Arabe.* Paris, Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1905.

Barrès, Maurice. *La terre et les morts: sur quelles réalités fonder la conscience française*. Paris: la Ligue de la Patrie française. 1899.

Baz, Gorgi Niqola, “Suleyman al-Bustani” in al-Tarrazi, Filib (ed.), *Tarikh al-Sahafa al-‘Arabiya*, v.2. Beirut, 1913. 159-168.

Blind, Karl. “The Prorogued Turkish Parliament” *The North American Review* Vol. 175, No. 548, July 1902

Bilgenoğlu, Ali. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Arap milliyetçi cemiyetler*, Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları, 2007.

Bitar, M.-Y. *La Vraie Syrie Française*. Paris, Extrait du *Mercure de France*. 1916.

Bottigheimer, Ruth. "East Meets West: Hannā Diyāb and the Thousand and One Nights." *Marvels & Tales* 28.2 (2014), 302-24.

Boustani, Habib. *Liban d'Abord!: Application du Programme et de la doctrine du Parti National Libanais*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Angelil, 1924.

Brenier, Henri. *Neuf Siècles de France au Levant, Ode*. Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, Souvenir du Congrès Français de la Syrie. Marseille: Imprimerie du *Sémaphore*, 5 Janvier, 1919.

Burrows, Matthew. "'Mission Civilsatrice': French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860- 1914." *The Historical Journal* 29 no.1 (1986) 109-134.

al-Bustani, Sulayman. *ʿIbra wa dhikra ad-dawla al-ʿuthmaniya qubl ad-dustur wa badhu*. Beirut: Matbaʿa al-khibar, 1908.

Campbell, Robert B. *The Arabic Journal al-Mashriq: Its beginnings and first twenty five years under the editorship of Père Louis Cheikho*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972.

Cesaire, Aime. *Discours sur la colonialisme*. Paris: Presence Africaine, 1962.

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

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Cheikho, Louis. *Al-Adab al-'arabiya fi'l qarn al-tasi' 'ashr.* Beirut: Matba'a al-Kathulikiyya, 1924-1927, 2 vol.
--*Bayrùt—Tàrìkhuhà wa-Àthàruhà*. Beirut, Matba'a al-Kathulikiya, 1925.
--*Un dernier echo des Croisades*. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1906.
--*Kitab shu'ara al-Nasraniya fi'l Jahaliyya*. Beirut: Matba'a al-Kathulikiya, 1920-1925.
--*Souvenir des Noces d'Or de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth : Catalogue des Ouvrages publiés par les Professeurs et les Etudients de l'Université, 1875-1925.* Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1925.

Chevallier, Dominique. "Lyon et la Syrie en 1919. Les bases d'une intervention" *Revue Historique* T. 224, Fasc. 2 (1960), 275-320.

Chiha, Michel. *Visage et Présence du Liban*. Beirut: Fondation Chiha, 1964.

Çiçek, M. Talha. "Osmanlıcılık İdeolojisi ve Osmanlı Hâkimiyeti Sonrası Türk-Arap İlilkilerinde Değişim ve Süreklilik" *Dîvân Disciplinlerarası Çalişmalar*

Dergisi 17:33 (2012/2), 173-192.
--*War and State Formation in Syria: Cemal Pasha's governorate during World War I, 1914-1917*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Clarke, Richard F., *Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave* Trade. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1889

Comité Libanais de Paris. *Mémoire sur la question du Liban*. Paris, 1912.

Comité Central Syrien. *La Syrie devant la Conférance : Mémoire à Monsieur Georges Clemenceau et à MM. Les Délégués des Puissances Alliées et Associées à cette Conférence*. Paris: Janvier 1919.

Conklin, Alice. *A Mission to Civilize: the Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Corm, Charles. *La Montagne inspirée.* Beyrouth: Éditions de la Revue Phénicienne, 1934.
--*Œuvres Poétiques*. Beyrouth: Éditions de la Revue Phénicienne, 2004.
--*6000 Ans de Genie Pacifique au Service de l'Humanité.* Beyrouth: Éditions de la Revue Phénicienne, 1949.
--*L'Art phénicien.* Beirut, n.d.

Coury, Alfred. *Le Martyre du Liban: Sanctions et Réparations*. Paris: Imprimerie de la Presse, 1919.

Cressaty, Comte de. *Les Intérêts de la France en Syrie*. L'Alliance Française, Société de Géographie à Paris. Paris: H. Floury, Éditeur, 1913.

Cuinet, Vital. *Syrie, Liban, et Palestine : Géographie administrative, statistique, descriptive, et raisonée.* Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1896.

Dahdah, al-Shaykh Adwar. Siyasa la wajdan. Beirut: Matba'a Zankograf Tabbara, 1926.

Dahdah, Nagib. *Evolution Historique du Liban*. Mexico City: Editions Oasis.

Dawn, C. Ernest. *From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism*. Urbana, 1973.

De Damas, Amédée. *Souvenirs du Mont Liban*. Tome Premier. Lyon/Paris : Félix Girard Éditeur, 1870.
Appel en faveur des Chrétiens du Mont-Liban et de la Terre Sainte. Vienne, 1862.

del Mar Logroño Narbona, María. “The Development of Nationalist Identities in French Syria and Lebanon: A Transnational Dialogue with Arab Immigrants to Argentina and Brazil, 1915—1929” PhD Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007.

Der Matossian, Bedros. *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.

Dibs, Yusuf. *Tarikh Suriyya.* Beirut, 1893-1905, 8 vol. Beirut: al-Matbaʻa al-ʻUmumiyya, 1893.
--*Tarikh al-Mawarina: al-Jamiʻ al-Mufassal fi Tarikh al-Mawarina*. Beirut: al-Matbaʻa al-Kathulikiyya, 1905, 446-58 .

al-Dimashqi, Mikha’il. *Tarikh Hawadith al-Sham wa Lubnan*. Beirut, 1912.

(Ahmed) Djemal Pasha. *Memories of a Turkish Statesman – 1913-1919*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1922.
La Vérité Sur La Question Syrienne. Constantinople, 1916.

Dupont, Anne-Laure. *Ǧurǧī Zaydān (1861-1914) écrivain réformiste et témoin de la renaissance Arabe*. Beyrouth : Presses de l’Ifpo, 2014.

Eddé, Carla. *Beyrouth: naissance d'une capitale 1918-1924*. Beirut: Sindbad, 2009.

Eddé, Emile. *Al-Edde fi’l-tarikh: min ams al-ghabr ila al-youm al-hadhr.*

Eddé, Emile. SJ. *Al-Finiqiyun wa’l iktishaf Amirika*. Beirut: Dar al-Nahar, 1969.

Erden, Ali Fuad. *Suriye Hatıraları*. Istanbul: Türkiye Bankası *Kültür Yayınları*, 2006.

Fahrenthold, Stacy. “Former Ottomans in the ranks: pro-Entente military recruitment among Syrians in the Americas, 1916–18.” *Journal of Global History*, 11, (2016), 88-112.
-- "Transnational Modes and Media: The Syrian Press in the Mahjar and Emigrant Activism during World War I." *Mashriq & Mahjar: Journal of Middle East Migration Studies* 1.1 (2013)

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967.
--*The Wretched of the Earth*. Trans. Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

Fawaz, Leila Tarazi. *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth Century Beirut*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.

--*An Occasion For War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Firro, Kais. *Inventing Lebanon: Nationalism and the State under the Mandate*. London: IB Tauris, 2002.
-- "Lebanese Nationalism versus Arabism: From Bulus Nujaym to Michel Chiha." Middle Eastern Studies, 40, no. 5 (2004): 1-27.

Fisk, Robert. *Pity the Nation: The Abduction of Lebanon*. London: Andre Deutsch, Ltd, 1990.

Fortna, Benjamin. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire,* Oxford: Oxford University Press 2002.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

Fourth Army. *Fransiz matbuatına cevab : Suriye ve Arz-i Felestin hakkında Fransa matbuatının yalanlarına karşı Suriye'deki rüesa-yi ruhaniyenin tekzibnameleri*. Istanbul: Ahmed Ihsan, 1332 [1916].

Ganem, Chekri. *Écrits Littéraires (Poésie, Roman et Théâtre)*. Beyrouth: Éditions Dar an-Nahar, 1994.
--"Antar, pièce en cinq actes, en vers*"* in *L'Illustration Théatrale*, N° 146, 10 Avril 1910. Paris: Imprimerie de L'Illustration, 1910.

Ganem, Halil. *Kitab al-Iqtisad al-Siyasi, aw Fan Tadbir al-Menzil*. Al-Iskandariyya: Matba'a Jarida Misr, 1879.
--*Les Sultans ottomans.* Paris, 1901-1902, 2 vols.

Gellner, Ernest. *Culture, Identity, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
--*Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, 1983.

Gelvin, James L. *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*. Berkeley: University of California, 1998.

Gualtieri, Sarah. "Becoming 'White': Race, Religion and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Summer, 2001), 29-58.

Guys, Henri. *Beyrouth et Le Liban: relation d'un séjour de plusieurs années dans ce pays.* Tome Premier. Paris: Comptoir des Imprimeurs, 1850.

Hakim, Carol. *The Origins of a Lebanese National Idea, 1840-1920.* Berkeley:

University of California Press, 2013.

Hakim, Yusuf. *Bayrut wa Lubnan fi ʿAhd al-ʿUthman*. Beirut: Al- Matbaʻa al-Kathulikiya, 1964.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
--*The Young Turks in Opposition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Hanssen, Jens. *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
--"'Malhamé-Malfamé': Levantine Elites and Transimperial Networks on the Eve of the Young Turk Revolution" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (2011), 25-48.

Hechaïme, P. Camille. *al-Ab Luwis Shaykhu: ma katabahu wa-ma kutiba 'anhu.* Beirut: Dar al-Mashriq, 1933.

Hitti, Philip K. *Lebanon in History: From the Earliest Times to the Present*. London: Macmillan & Co, 1957.

Hizb al-Lamarkiziyyah b-Misr. *Al-Mu'tamar al-'Arabi al-Awwal.* Cairo: Matbaʻa al-Bosfor, 1913.

Hourani, Albert. *Arabic thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.

Hourani, Albert and Nadim Shehadi, eds. *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration*. London: Center for Lebanese Studies, 1992.

Ismail, Adel. *Le Liban, Documents Diplomatiques et Consulaires Relatifs à l'Histoire du Liban*. Beirut, Lebanon: Editions des Oeuvres Politiques et Historiques, 1979.

Jalabert, Henri. SJ. *Jésuites au Proche Orient: Notices Biographiques.* Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1987.
--*Un Montagnard Contre le Pouvoir, Liban 1866.* Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq, 1975.

Jalabert, Louis. SJ. *Syrie et Liban: Réussite Française?* Paris: Librairie Plon, 1934.

Jessup, H.H. *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*. New York, 1910.

Johnson, Michael. *Class & Client in Beirut: The Sunni Muslim Community and the Lebanese State, 1840-1985*. Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1986.

Jouplain, M. (Bulus Nujaym). *La Question du Liban: Étude d'histoire diplomatique et de droit international.* Paris: Librairie nouvelle de droit et du jurisprudence, 1908.

al-Jumayyil, Antun J. *Abtal al-Hurriya*. Cairo: Matba'a al-Ma'arif, 1909.
--*La Méditerranée centre de la civilisation dans le passé et l'avenir,* 1906.

al-Jumayyil, Birjis Faris. *Hizb al-Ittihad al-Lubnani wa Lubnan al-Kabir*. Beirut : Matba'a Joseph al-Haj, 1996.

Jung, Eugène. *Les Puissances devant la Révolte Arabe*. Paris, 1906.

Karam, Joseph. *Aux Gouvernements et Nations de l'Europe: Situation du Liban*. Rome, 1877.

Kaufman, Asher. *Reviving Phoenicia: In Search of Identity in Lebanon.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.
-- "'Tell Us Our History': Charles Corm, Mount Lebanon and Lebanese Nationalism." *Middle East Studies* 40, no. 3, (2004): 1-28.

Kasmieh, Khairieh. "Ruhi al-Khalidi 1864-1913: A Symbol of the Cultural Movement in Palestine Towards the End of Ottoman Rule" in Thomas Philipp, ed., *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century*. Stuttgart: Fritz Steiner, 1992.

Kayalı, Hasan. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
--"Jewish Representation in the Ottoman Parliaments," in Levy, Avigdor (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 507-517.

Khaïrallah, Khaïrallah Tannous. *Caïs* (with illustrations by Gio Colucci). Paris: Dercy, 1921.
--*La Syrie*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912.
--*Les Régions Arabes Libérées: Syrie – Irak – Liban*. Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1919.

Khalaf, Saher. *Littérature libanaise de langue française*. Ottawa: Editions Naaman, 1974.

Khalaf, Samir. *Beirut.* trans. M.B. Debevoise. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Khalidi, Rashid. *British Policy Towards Syria and Palestine, 1906-1914*. St. Anthony's College: Middle East Centre, 1980.

Khater, Akram Fouad. "Becoming 'Syrian' in America: A Global Geography of Ethnicity and Nation," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 14(2/3) (2005): 299-331
--*Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920*. Berkeley: University of California, 2001.

Khazin, Filib Qa'dan. *Lamḥah tarikhiya fī istimrar istiqlal Lubnan al-tashi'i wa-al-qadai mundhu al-fatḥ al-ʿUthmani sanat 1516*. Misr: Matbaʿat al-Akhbar, 1910.

Khazin, Philippe and Farid. *Al-Muharrarat al-siyasiyya wa'l mufawadat al-duwaliyya 'an Suriyya wa Lubnan*. Jounieh, 1910-1911.

El-Khazen, Emir Youssef. *L'Etat Juif en Palestine: Opinion d'un Indigène*. Paris: Les Amis de La Terre Sainte, n.d.

al-Khoury, Beshara Khalil. *Haqa'iq Lubnan*. Beirut: Manshurat Awraq Lubnaniyya, 1960.

Khoury, Gérard. *La France et l'Orient arabe: Naissance du Liban modern, 1914-1920.* Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 2009.
--"Robert de Caix et Louis Massignon: deux visions de la politique française au Levant en 1920" in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives/ Les Mandats Français et Anglais dans une Perspective Comparative*, Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, eds. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Khoury, Philip. *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
--*Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism: The Politics of Damascus, 1860-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983.

Khuri-Makdisi, Ilham. *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860 1914*. Berkeley: University of California, 2010.

Kuneralp, Sinan. *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkân ve Ricali (1839-1922)*. Istanbul: İSİS Ltd. 1999.

Kurd Ali, Muhammad. *Kitab al-Mudhakkirat lil-ustadh al-allamah Muhammad Kurd Ali*. Dimashq: al-Ma'had al-Faransi lil'Sharq al-Adna, 2008.

Kuri, Sami, SJ. *Une Histoire du Liban à Travers les Archives des Jésuites, 1816–1845, 1846–1862, 1863–1873*. 3 Vol. Beirut, Lebanon: Dar el-Mashreq, 1985–1996.

de Lamartine, Alphonse. *Antar*. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1863.
--*Histoire de la Turquie*. Paris: Librarie du Constitutionnel, 8 volumes. 1854-1855.
--*Voyage en Orient*. Paris, 1903.
--*Vues, Discours et Articles sur La question d'Orient*. Paris: Charles Gosselin, Libraire, 1840.

Lammens, Henri. *La Question Musulmane*, [pamphlet] Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1895.
--La Syrie, Précis Historique. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1921.
-- *La Syrie et sa Mission Historique.* Le Caire: al-Ma'aref, 1915.

Lefèvre, R.P. *Les Onze Premières Années de l'Université S. Joseph*, Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique S.J. 1886.

Lohéac, Lynn. *Daoud Ammoun et la Création de l'état Libanais.* Klincksieck, 1978.

Lortet, Dr. Louis. *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui.* Paris, 1884.

Makdisi, Ussama Samir. *Artillery of Heaven American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
--*The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Martin, Pierre. SJ. Rashid ash-Shartuni, trans. *Tarikh Lubnan*. Beirut: Matba'a al-Kathulikiya, 1889.

Massad, Boulos. *Lubnan wa ad-dustur al-ʿuthmani : bahath siyasi qanuni tarikhi*. Misr: Matba'a al-Ma'arif bilfijala, 1909.
-*Al-Dawlat al-ʿUthmaniya fi Lubnan wa Suriya*, 1517-1916.

Masters, Bruce. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*. Cambridge, 2001.

Messaoudi, Alain. *Les arabisants et la France coloniale*. Annexes. Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015.

Miot, J. *Mémoires pour servir l'histoire des expeditions en Égypte et en Syrie*. Paris: Le Normant, Imprimeur-Librarie, 1814.

Mishaqa, Mikhayil. *Murder Mayhem, Pillage, and Plunder: The History of Lebanon*

in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988.

Moutran, Nadra. *La Syrie de Demain*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1916.
--*Réflexions d'un vieux Jeune-turc*. Constantinople: Imprimerie A. Zellich, 1908.

Murad, Mgr. Nicolas. *Notice Historique Sur L'Origine de la Nation Maronite et Sur Ses Rapports Avec La France, Sur La Nation Druze et Sur Les Diverses Populations Du Mont Liban*. Paris: Librairie d'Adrien Le Clere, 1844.

Mutlu, Şamil. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Misyoner Okulları.* İstanbul: Gökkubbe, 2005.

de Nerval, Gérard. *Voyage en Orient*, 1851. Paris, 1935.

l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi. *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi : Recueil Périodique des lettres des évèques et des missionnaires des missions des deux mondes, et de tous les documents relatifs aux missions et a l'œuvre de la propation de la foi*. Lyon: Annales. Tom. XXXII, 193, Novembre 1860.

Olson, Matthew. "An Interview with Cheikh Malek el-Khazen. *Catholic Analysis*. July 28, 2014. https://catholicanalysis.org/2014/07/28/an-interview-with-cheikh-malek-el-khazen (accessed July 20, 2017)

Phares, Emanuel. *Les Maronites du Liban : Leur vie et leurs mœurs, Leurs rapports avec la France, Leur situation actuelle.* Lille : Impr. De la Croix du nord, 1908.

Philipp, Thomas. *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730-1831*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Philipp, Thomas, ed. *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century*. Stuttgart: Fritz Steiner, 1992.

Philippe, Luisier. "Présence des Jésuites en Turquie au XIXe et au XXe siècle." *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*. 110:2. 1998, 783-794.

Pierrard, Pierre. *Les Chrétiens et l'affaire Dreyfus*. Paris : Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 1998.

Porath, Yehoshua (1966). "The Peasant Revolt of 1858–61 in Kisrawan". *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 2.

Poujoulat, Baptistin. *La Bédouine*. Paris: Dezobry, E. Magdeleine et Comp., 1840.
--*La Vérité sur La Syrie et l'expédition française.* Paris: Gaume Frères et J.

Duprey 1864.

Provence, Michael. *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism*. Austin: University of Texas, 2005.

Rabbath, Edmond. *Unité syrienne et devenir arabe.* Paris, 1937.

Raphael, Pierre. *Le Cèdre du Liban dans l'histoire.* Beyrouth: Imprimerie Gédéon, 1924.

Renan, Ernest. *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1882.
--*Mission de Phénicie*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1864.
--"La Reforme Intellectuelle et Morale". Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1929
--Conférence prononcée à la Sorbonne en 1883, *Discours et conférences*, Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1887.
-- *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855.
-- *De la part des peuples sémitiques dans l'histoire de la civilisation: Discours d'ouverture du cours de la langues hébraïque, chaldaïque et syriaque, au collège de France*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1862.

Rodrigue, Aron. *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Ryad, Umar. *Islamic Reformism and Christianity: A Critical Reading of the Works of Muhammad Rashid Rida and His Associates (1898-1935)*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Saadé, Antun. *Al-Siraa' al-Fikri fi'l-Adab as-Suri*. Beirut, 1947.

Said, Edward. *Covering Islam*. New York: Vintage Books, 1981.
--*Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.
-- *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Salibi, Kamal Suleiman. *A House of Many Manisions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered.* London: I.B. Tauris, 1988.
--*The Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon*. Beirut: Naufal, 1991.
--*The Modern History of Lebanon*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.

Samné, Dr. Georges. *La Syrie*. Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1920.
--*Raymond Poincaré: Politique et Personnel de la IIIe Répbulique*. Paris : Les Œuvres Répresentatives, 1933.
--(with Maurice Barrère) *Au pays du Chérif.* n.p. n.d.

Saouda, Joseph. *La Question Libanaise.* n.p. 1910.

--*Fi Sabil Lubnan*. al-Iskandariyya: Matbaʿa Madrasa al-Farir al-Sanaʿiya, 1919.
--*Istiqlal Lubnan wal-Ittihad al-Lubnani fi al-Iskandariya.* Alexandria: Matbaʿat al-Hilal, 1922.
--*Tarikh Lubnan al-hadari*. Beirut: Dar an-Nahar lil-nashr, 1972.

Schlicher, S. L. "The famine of 1915-1918 in Greater Syria" in John Spangolo (Ed.). *Problems of the Modern Middle East in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honor of Albert Hourani*. Oxford, Ithaca Press, 1992.

Sfeir Pacha, ʿAbdallah. *Chucri Ghanem, l'homme et le poète*. Le Caire, 1926.
--*Le Mandat Français et les Traditions Françaises en Syrie et au Liban*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1922.

Shehadi, Nadim.,*The Idea of Lebanon : Economy and State in the Cenacle Libanais, 1946-1954*. Oxford: Center for Lebanese Studies, 1987.

Sheehi, Stephen. *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.

Shields, Sarah. *Fezzes in the River: Identity Politics and European Diplomacy in the Middle East on the Eve of World War II*. New York: Oxford University, 2011.

al-Shihabi, Haydar Ahmed. *Lubnan fi 'ahd al-amara al-Shihabiyyin*. Vol II: *al-Hamla al-Fransawiya 'ala Misr wa awa'il hukum Bashir II*. Published with notes and tables by Asad Rustum and Fouad Boustany. Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise, 1969.

Shissler, A. Holly. *Between Two Empires: Ahmet Agaoglu and the New Turkey* London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.

Spagnolo, J.P. *France & Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1914.* London: Ithaca Press. 1977.

Sulh, Raghid. *Lebanism and Arabism, 1936-1945*. London: Center for Lebanese Studies, 2004

Tabet, Ayyub. *Kalima Hawal al-Shura*. Beirut: Matba'a al-ʿalmiya l-Yusuf Sadr, 1909.

Tabet, Ibrahim J. *La Solution pratique de la Question d'Orient.* Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1909.
--*Rires et Sanglots. 1900-1907.* Paris: A. Lemerre, 1908.

Tabet, Jacques-J. *Hélissa, princess tyrienne, fondatrice de Carthage ou Tyr vers la fin du IXe siècle av. J.C*. Paris: A. Lemerre, 1921.

--*Pour Faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant : Aperçu sur les conditions politiques, économiques et touristiques des deux pays*. Paris: Imprimerie Ramlot et Cie., 1924.
--*Rires et Sanglots*. Paris: A. Lemerre, 1908.

Tamari, Salim. "Shifting Ottoman Conceptions of Palestine: Part 1: Filistin Risalesi and the two Jamals," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 2011 (47).

Taoutel, Ferdinand. *Tarikh Suriya wa Lubnan wa Filastin al-masawar*. Beirut: Matbaʿa al-Kathulikiya, 1934.

al-Tarrazi, Filib. *Diwan qurrat al-'ayn*. Beirut: Matbaʿa al-Kathulikiya, 1946.
--*Tarikh al-Sahafa al-'Arabiya*, v. 2 Beirut, 1913.

Tauber, Eliezer. *The Emergence of the Arab Movements*. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1993.
The Arab Movements in World War I. London: Frank Cass and Co., 1993.

Thobie, Jacques. *Intérêts et impérialisme Français dans l'Empire Ottoman, 1895-1914*. Paris: Sorbonne, 1977.

Thompson, Elizabeth. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Tibawi, ʿAbdul-Latif. *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901, a Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

Traboulsi, Fawaz. *A History of Modern Lebanon.* London: Pluto Press, 2007.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler – Cilt 1, Ikinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*. İstanbul: Doğan Kardeş Yayınları. 1952.

al-Turk, Niqula. *Dhikr tamalluk Jumhur al-Faransawiya al-aqtar al-Misriya wa al-Bilad al-Shamiya*. Paris: Tabaʿa al-Sultaniya, 1839.

van Leeuwen, Richard. *Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon: the Khazin Sheiks and the Maronite Church.* Boston: Brill, 1994.

Verdeil, Chantal. *La Mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830-1864)*. Paris: Éditions Les Indes Savantes, 2011.

Verney, Noël and George Dambmann. *Les Puissances Étrangères dans le Levant en Syrie et en Palestine*, Paris: Libraries Guillaumin et Cie. 1900.

de Vogüé, Melchior. *Syrie, Palestine, Mont Athos: Voyage aux pays du passé.* Paris: E. Plon et Cie, Imp, 1876.

Volney, Constantine-François. *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte pendant Les Années* 1783, 1784, & 1785. Vol II. Paris: Chez Volland, Librarie, 1790.

White, Benjamin Thomas. *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011.

Yazar, Mehmet Behçet and Mehmet Refik [al-Tamimi]. *Beyrut Vilayeti: Tetebbuat-ı ilmiye ve edebiye*. Beyrut: Vilayet Matbaası, 1917.

Yver, Georges. *Les Maronites et l'Algérie.* Alger: Ancienne Maison Bastide-Jourdan, 1920.

Zaka, Samy F. *Education and Civilization in the Third Republic: The University Saint-Joseph, 1875-1914.* Dissertation. Notre Dame, 2006.

Zamir, Meir. *The Formation of Modern Lebanon.* Ithaca: Cornell University, 1985.

Zein, Ramy. *Dictionnaire de la littérature libanaise de langue Française*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998.

Zeine, Zeine N. *The Emergence of Arab Nationalism with a Background Study of Arab-Turkish Relations in the Near East*. Delmar, 1958.