

## Foreword

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

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

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

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

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 Ussama Makdisi, "Concluding Remarks", unpublished paper, presented at: *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?*, Beirut: Orient-Institut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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Valeska Huber was the fourth element of this organizational team.

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

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 148–160.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Makdisi, “Concluding Remarks”.

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



## Introduction

*Julia Hauser, Christine B. Lindner, Esther Möller*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> 'Iṣām Muḥammad Shbārū, *Jam'iyyat al-maqāṣid al-khayriyyah al-islāmiyyah fī Bayrūt* [The Islamic Philanthropic Society of Beirut] (1295–1421 / 1878–2000), Beirut: Dār muṣbah al-fikr li-l-ṭibā'a wa-l-nashr 2000; Esther Möller, *Orte der Zivilisierungsmision: Französische Schulen im Libanon 1909–1943*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2013.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Nahḍah* was neither an exclusively Christian phenomenon<sup>17</sup> nor a mere copy of Western concepts, but a nuanced negotiation of local and foreign factors, thereby creating its own specific discourse on modernity.<sup>18</sup> While taking critical notice of missionary activities, thinkers like Muḥammad ‘Abduh sought to adapt Western forms of knowledge and educational instruction in their attempts to create a self-consciously modern Islam and establish educational institutions that would compete with missionary institutions by selectively appropri-

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

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

<sup>14</sup> Antonius, *Awakening*, 93.

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

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

<sup>17</sup> Tibawi, “Misconceptions”.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This book examines education in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon by bringing together analyses of organizations hitherto studied in isolation. American<sup>35</sup>, French Catholic, and French secular<sup>36</sup> establishments have received the larg-

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<sup>32</sup> See Karam’s and Möller’s contributions to this volume.

<sup>33</sup> See Lindner’s contribution to this volume.

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

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

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

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

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

- <sup>37</sup> For the missionary encounter, this has been convincingly argued by Bernard Heyberger, “Pour une ‘histoire croisée’ de l’occidentalisation et de la confessionnalisation chez les chrétiens du Proche-Orient”, *The MIT – Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3 (2003), 36–49, as well as in a number of recent studies including Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*; Khater, *Embracing the Divine*.
- <sup>38</sup> One noticeable exception is Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers*.
- <sup>39</sup> Three major archival projects currently under way deserve mention: the Institute of History, Archaeology & Near Eastern Heritage at the University of Balamand, the Atelier de Conservation du Patrimoine Écrit at Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik, and the Preserving Protestant Heritage in the Middle East project at the Near East School of Theology.
- <sup>40</sup> Sarah Scalenghe and Nadya Sbaiti, “Conducting Research in Lebanon: An Overview of Historical Sources in Beirut (Part I)”, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 37: 1 (2003), 68–79; Nadya Sbaiti and Sarah Scalenghe, “Conducting Research in Lebanon: An Overview of Historical Sources Outside of Beirut (Part II)”, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 38: 1 (2004), 187–195. The recent move towards digitizing material and making them available through open-source formats is easing international access to these sources. For more on this trend see Patrick Manning, “Digital World History: An Agenda”, *Essays: Digital History Project*, <http://digitalhistory.unl.edu/essays/manningessay.php>, (last accessed 6 May 2014); Nir Shafir, “How digitization has transformed manuscript research: new methods for early modern Islamic intellectual history,” *HAZINE*, (8 November 2013), [http://hazine.info/2013/11/08/digitized\\_manuscript\\_libraries/](http://hazine.info/2013/11/08/digitized_manuscript_libraries/), (last accessed 6 May 2014). For an example of how these new sources can be applied, see Christine B. Lindner, “Piecing together the Fragmented History of Esther Mushriq Haddad”, *AMES E-Bulletin* 1 (January 2014), 1–3, <http://iwsaw.lau.edu.lb/publications/amews/amews-ebulletin-2014January.pdf> (last accessed 6 May 2014).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

with alternative theoretical models, such as “multiple modernities”, being proposed.<sup>49</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>52</sup> See Lindner’s contribution to this volume.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

opening up new spaces of agency for local women<sup>58</sup> with female teachers serving as important role models.<sup>59</sup> Mission schools allegedly functioned as catalysts for burgeoning feminism that were harnessed by members of the nascent Arab women's movement in their articulations of gender, especially the concept of "the new woman".<sup>60</sup> At the same time, as Jean Said Makdisi has shown, missionary education imposed new constraints on Arab women by introducing Euro-American notions of "separate spheres" as well as race-based and cultural hierarchies.<sup>61</sup> A critical perspective on negotiations of gender in a missionary context suggests that locals did not greet missionary concepts with undivided enthusiasm, but carefully balanced missionary ideals with their own hopes and aspirations.

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

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- <sup>58</sup> Uwe Kaminsky, "Die innere Mission Kaiserswerths im Ausland. Von der Evangelisation zum Bemühen um die Dritte Welt", in: *Sozialer Protestantismus im Kaiserreich: Problemkonstellationen – Lösungsperspektiven – Handlungsperspektiven*, Norbert Friedrich and Traugott Jähnichen, eds., Münster: LIT 2005, 360; Ellen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)", in: *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ed., Leiden and Boston: Brill 2006, 267.
- <sup>59</sup> Marilyn Booth, "'She Herself was the Ultimate Rule': Arabic Biographies of Missionary Teachers and their Pupils", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 427–448; Ellen Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13: 4 (2002), 411–425; Carolyn McCue Goffman, *'More than the Conversion of Souls': Rhetoric and Ideology at the American College for Girls in Istanbul, 1871–1923*, Muncie, IN: Ball State University, PhD Thesis 2002, 128–137; Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "'Dear Mother of my Soul': Fidelity Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Iran", *Exchange* 30: 1 (2001), 33–48; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888–1948*, Leiden: Brill 2002, 248–298.
- <sup>60</sup> Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education", 280. For the larger Middle East, see Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Woman: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920–1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2003; Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1997 20, 26; Sarah Graham Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East, 1860–1950*, London 1988: Quartet Books, 198.
- <sup>61</sup> Makdisi, *Teta, Mother, and Me*. For a scholarly appraisal of Makdisi's work, see Hoda Elsadda, "A 'phantom freedom in a phantom modernity'? Protestant missionaries, domestic ideology and narratives of modernity in an Arab context", *Rethinking history* 15: 2 (2011), 209–229.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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