Entangled Education

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

Edited by Julia Hauser
Christine B. Lindner
Esther Möller

Orient-Institut Beirut

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Foreword

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

Ellen Fleischmann

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

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

In April 2012, I was part of the lively audience that packed the library of the beautiful Ottoman villa housing the Orient-Institut Beirut in the Zuqāq al-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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1 Ussama Makdisi, "Concluding Remarks", unpublished paper, presented at: *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Catalyst for Multiple Modernities?*, Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 19–21 April 2012 (hereafter *Education in Lebanon during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*).

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?[7]

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

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

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

7 Makdisi, "Concluding Remarks".

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

Introduction

Julia Hauser, Christine B. Lindner, Esther Möller

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

Scion of a Sunni Muslim notable family of Beirut, 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*[5]: a modern Ottoman secondary school for boys with a teaching staff of well-known Muslim scholars.[6] 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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1 Henry Harris Jessup, *The Women of the Arabs*, New York: Dodd & Mead 1873, 62–67, 153; Christine B. Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis 2009, 192, 231, 273.

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

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

4 Julia Hauser, "Eine vergessene Gründungsfigur. Māliṭa 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.

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

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

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

Recent studies have challenged many of these assumptions. Ottoman history is no longer viewed through the prism of sectarianism, which has been revealed as a cultural construct rather than an age-old phenomenon.[15] Instead, scholars have emphasized that even in the late Ottoman Empire, communal boundaries were far more permeable than hitherto acknowledged, as has been shown in both social and intellectual histories.[16] No longer do studies draw a strict line between the movements of the *Nahḍah*, *Ṣalafiyyah*, 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[17] nor a mere copy of Western concepts, but a nuanced negotiation of local and foreign factors, thereby creating its own specific discourse on modernity.[18] While taking critical notice of missionary activities, thinkers like Muḥammad ʿAbduh 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-

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

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

14 Antonius, *Awakening*, 93.

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

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

17 Tibawi, "Misconceptions".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27 Michael Marten, "Re-imagining 'metropole' and 'periphery' in mission history", in: *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World*, Hilde 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.

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

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

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

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

33 See Lindner's contribution to this volume.

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

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

36 See Chantal Verdeil, *La Mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie (1830–1864)*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes 2011; Chantal Verdeil, "Un établissement catholique dans la société pluriconfessionnelle de la fin de l'Empire ottoman: l'université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth", in: *Islam et éducation au temps des réformes modernes: Systèmes scolaires et enjeux de l'enseignement au Proche-Orient et en Afrique du Nord aux XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles*, Anne-Laure Dupont, ed., 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*

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

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

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41 Frederick Cooper and Ann-Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda", in: *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Frederick Cooper and Ann-Laura Stoler, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press 1997, 1–56; Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, "Einleitung: Geteilte Geschichten – Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt", in: *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Sebastian Conrad and Shalini Randeria, eds., Frankfurt a. M.: Campus 2003, 9–49; Birgit Schäbler, "Das Studium der Weltregionen (Area Studies) zwischen Fachdisziplinen und der Öffnung zum Globalen: Eine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Annäherung", in: *Area Studies und die Welt: Weltregionen und neue Globalgeschichte*, Birgit Schäbler, ed., Wien: Mandelbaum 2007, 11–44; Margrit Pernau, *Transnationale Geschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 2011.
American Studies face the unique situation of being both the locale for diverse European colonization projects and a colonial power itself. Moreover, the lingering influence of American exceptionalism has faded with the rise of American transnational studies. Major works in this area include Donald E. Pease and Amy Kaplan, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Durham: Duke University Press 1993; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1993; John Carlos Rowe, *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism: From the Revolution to World War II*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000.

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

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

with alternative theoretical models, such as "multiple modernities", being proposed.[49]

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

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

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

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

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

52 See Lindner's contribution to this volume.

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

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 Biqāᶜ 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 19th to early 20th centuries. Inspired by New England college architecture, as Abunassr argues, the campus formed an enclave of Anglo-Saxon culture in the city that set off Ras Beirut from other Beirut neighborhoods.

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

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

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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 régistre 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.

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. *Zahrat al-Iḥsān*, 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. *Zahrat al-Iḥsān*, therefore, played an important role in the nascent women's movement as well as the nationalist tendencies that characterized the late Ottoman era.

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

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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.[62] The articles in this section respond to this new strand of research by focusing on school agendas as much as on pupils' and communities' responses, and by considering how a school's policies concerning language and religion helped shape communitarian identities.

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

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

tracing the educational histories of two students, Asʿad Y. Khayyāt and Raḥīl ʿAṭā', 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 [Astīr] Azharī 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.[65] As such, we see this book as a start of a conversation, not as the final statement on the topic.

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[65] Papers discussing Ottoman imperial or Shi'a schools were presented at the conference.

Part One:
Experiencing Education through Architecture and Urban Space