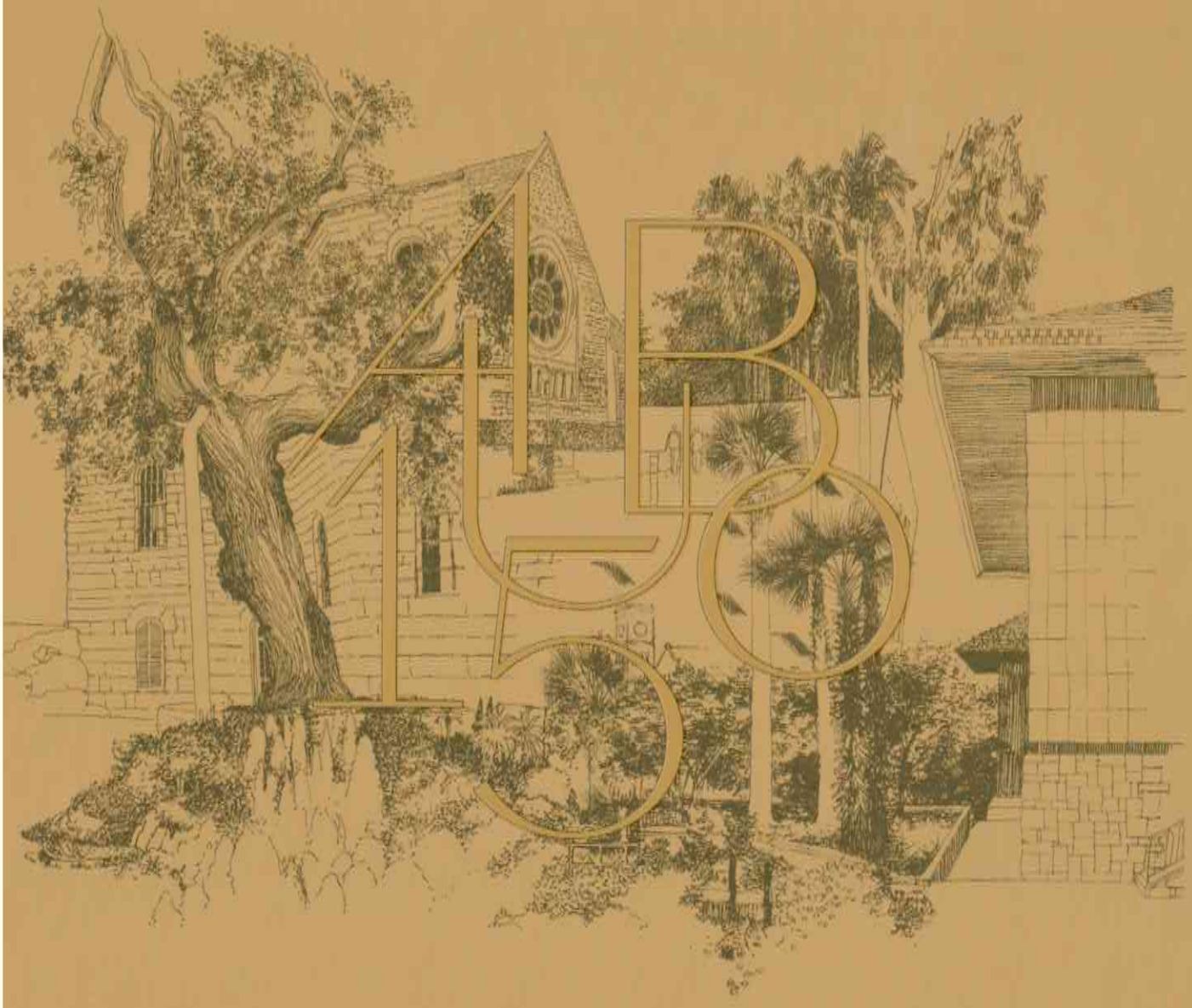
One Hundred and Fifty



Edited by
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AUB 150 | AUB American University of Beirut

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American University of Beirut Press

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Foreword and forward to the 150th

Fadlo Raja Khuri

I am privileged to serve as the 16th president of the American University of Beirut in 2016 as the institution celebrates its sesquicentennial. Like many of the authors, my life and that of my family has been inalterably changed for the better by the presence of this magnificent institution. Founded in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College, AUB has impacted the region and the world in many ways, in some like no other institution of higher education. Even the bold and ambitious missionaries who first started the institution would surely be pleased to see its transformative impact on the region and the world.

The book is divided into seven sections. Each section brings forth a different aspect of the institution: its founding, its impact on the world, its physical and intellectual space, and its contributions to the arts in particular, but also to the agricultural development of the modern Middle East. Some salient personalities – particularly historians and scholars of Arabic and the liberal arts – are brought to life in the essays that follow by authors who are themselves distinguished scholars.

In sum total, what does this mean? The vibrant flavors and enduring impact of the University emerge vividly in the chapters of this book. This is no meandering trip down memory lane, but a living, breathing ode to the singular power of a great institution and its ability to impact lives. More than that, this book sets the stage for the next 150 years, when the institution's responsibilities will necessarily evolve from enlightening and educating those within its hallowed halls to an era when we must step up to make certain that the phrase so loved by the founder, Daniel Bliss, "that they may have life and have it more abundantly" disseminates and penetrates the broader Arab mind.

As many of the early and late leaders of modern Arab intellectual and political thought come hauntingly to life in the pages of this volume, a lasting testimony emerges of the extraordinary influence of AUB in its first 150 years, as well as the great responsibility borne by those charged with enhancing its legacy. As we launch into the next 150, what is required is nothing less than expanding the reach and mission of the University across the entire Near East. Are we up to the challenge? Can we pick up the baton from those who have taken AUB, Lebanon, and the region so far and so fast? Only history can judge, but for now at least, we can reflect on all that has passed as we prepare for that which must surely come.

Preface

Nadia Maria El Cheikh, Lina Choueiri, Bilal Orfali

In 2016, the American University of Beirut, once known as the Syrian Protestant College, celebrates its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. ***One Hundred and Fifty*** is a commemorative volume in which we pay tribute to our institution, an iconic model of higher education in the region.

This volume examines the American University of Beirut (AUB) from diverse perspectives and points of view. It deals with key moments in the early history of the University, and with its current position as a local agent with global concerns, also focusing on its complex relations with the USA and the rest of the world. Some of the chapters highlight salient personalities and important constituencies whose contributions to the legacy of AUB are thereby recognized. Parts of the book also focus on the campus and its location within Ras Beirut, as well as their resulting interaction and mutual impact over years of growth and transformation.

Most of the papers in this volume were presented at the ***AUB: A Century and a Half*** conference held on campus in May 2013. Identifying contributors for the volume was a challenging task. We reached out to scholars, former and current AUB faculty members and administrators, as well as to AUB alumni, who readily and enthusiastically shared with us their knowledge, research, and experiences. The result is a volume where academic and scholarly papers are intertwined with fascinating personal narratives, biographical essays, and memorable pictures. Significant gaps remain in the coverage of certain themes or topics: this is mainly due to the dearth of scholarship in those areas, but it is also sometimes the result of the particular choices made by our contributors.

Many people have helped us with this project. We would like to acknowledge the instrumental assistance of the Office of the Provost and of the staff of the Archives and Special Collections at the Jafet Library, and in particular Kaoukab Chebaro and Samar Mikati. We thank the referees who helped us make our final selections for the volume and give feedback to our contributors. Special thanks go to Betty Anderson for her expert advice in all matters related to this publication, and to Jala Makhzoumi for contributing a selection of her beautiful drawings of the AUB campus to the cover and interior of the book. Finally, we thank Nabeeha Ossaily for providing the logistical support for the conference; the Office of Communications for supporting the production of this volume; Kathy Dorman, Adriana Smith, Brittany Frye, and Yasmin Shafei for their very helpful copyediting and proofreading; and – last, but not least – Clare Leader and Yasmine El Hajjar of the AUB Press for their valuable assistance throughout the various stages of the editorial and publication process.

On a personal note, we, the editors, are AUB alumni as well as current members of the faculty. We have witnessed AUB's faculty, staff, and students endure, persevere, and achieve in times of war and tragedy. This volume is a token of our appreciation of this resilience and dedication to AUB's lasting legacy.

Beirut, February 2016

Introduction

150 Years of Histories at the Syrian Protestant College and the American University of Beirut

Betty S. Anderson

In his first Annual Report to the Board of Managers in July 1867, founder and president Reverend Daniel Bliss wrote of the inaugural class in the Literary Department at the Syrian Protestant College (SPC),

> The College has been in session seven months during which time there has been no case of sickness requiring medical aid, no failure in good behaviour demanding more than a slight verbal reproof and the progress in study has been satisfactory. There have been connected with the College eighteen different pupils, fifteen of whom still continue their connection.[1]

The following year, he reported that the inaugural class had dropped to eight by the sophomore year because four students had moved to the Medical Department that had just opened, three had to repeat their freshman year, and three left the College for personal reasons. As for the academic program of the remaining students,

> During the present year the Sophomore class read critically and examined grammatically all the first and more than one half of the second volume of [Washington] Irving's Life of Mohammed and his successors. It has also studied English grammar, composition and declamations. Six of this class study French and have made corresponding progress in that language.
>
> The whole class had completed Algebra, studied seven books of Euclid's Geometry, and has progressed in Natural Philosophy to the subject of Hydrostatics, besides having two recitations per week in profane & sacred history. Five of the class have recently commenced the study of Latin. The conduct of this class had been irreproachable, no member having given occasion, for even a private reprimand. The probability is that these young men will complete the four years course. They are men of promise and the majority begin to exhibit scholarly qualities.[2]

Of these eight, Daniel Bliss reported in his 1871 Annual Report, "On the 26th of July last the College graduated its first class numbering five. The young men's orations, three in Arabic, one in English and one in French were commendable productions, and were well received by the audience."[3] He reported further that "These graduates found immediate employment and are now all teaching except one, who is studying medicine in the College."[4]

In 2014, the American University of Beirut (AUB) enrolled almost 7,000 undergraduate and more than 1,500 graduate students. Instead of just the two options that were available in 1867, AUB offers today over 120 undergraduate and graduate programs in seven faculties and schools.[5] When the College opened, women could not enroll, but they now represent almost fifty percent of the student body, having first arrived as nursing students in 1905, as graduate students and undergraduates in the junior and senior classes in the 1920s, and added to the freshman and sophomore classes in 1952. The Engineering Department opened its doors to women in 1967, bringing down the last obstacle to women's equality on campus (see El Cheikh and Mikati in this volume).

These facts and figures, separated by almost 150 years of history, illustrate how different the current manifestation of AUB is compared to its beginnings as SPC in 1866. Not only were the numbers of students miniscule at the College's inauguration, but the curriculum imparted to those students was limited in terms of topics taught and pedagogical rigor followed. SPC had as a core goal the desire to teach the principles of Evangelical Protestantism along with the most modern of academic topics. In 1920, the newly named American University of Beirut formally abandoned the missionary goals of the founders and expanded the institution's offerings and enrollments to levels that Daniel Bliss could

only have dreamed of when he inaugurated his college in 1866. But amidst all of these changes, the University's leaders consistently articulated larger hopes for their students: in each era they sought to teach not only the academic subjects on offer, but to show the students how to be well-educated and well-rounded leaders in their communities. As President Peter Dorman declared in his inauguration speech in May 2009, "AUB thrives today in much different form than our missionary founders would have envisioned, but nonetheless – after all this time – it remains dedicated to the same ideal of producing enlightened and visionary leaders."[6]

In studying the institution from its 1866 beginnings to its sesquicentennial celebration, the authors in this volume have shown, more than anything else, the complexity of the University's legacy and the differing perspectives its denizens have acquired over the years. In telling their stories, these authors have proved that there is not just one history of this institution, but intertwined and parallel threads that collectively narrate the 150 years of an institution that has come to be a central space for its faculty, staff, and graduates as well as for governments across the region and around the globe. The SPC's and AUB's institutional histories provide a ***longue durée*** perspective on how the University's curricular, departmental, and missionary goals evolved from decade to decade, while also examining the interconnections of the University and its leadership with Beirut, Lebanon, the Middle East, and a changing American educational and governmental environment. Personal histories, on the other hand, can be as short as the four years that most students spend on campus or as long as the almost 75-year connection Professor Constantine Zurayk maintained with AUB. Many of the long-time American expatriates literally gave their lives to the institution and the American mission, and are buried today in the Anglo-American Cemetery in Beirut (see Lindner in this volume).

All these stories, however long or short their duration, have constructed the historical identity of SPC and AUB over the last 150 years. The institutional histories narrate the building of the framework that has allowed the University to supply services to its constantly changing citizenries; the personal histories illustrate how people found ways to fulfill their own goals while working with and studying alongside their fellow AUBites. In this introduction, I highlight the main threads of these different histories of SPC and AUB, focusing especially on early developments that came to frame the institution's project over the long-term; the authors who follow continue the history and complicate the stories still further.

SPC AND AUB HISTORIES

The Syrian Protestant College opened its doors to its first students on 3 December 1866, and Daniel Bliss reported in his diary that evening, "College opened - Read 3[rd] Chapt[er] of 1 Cor[inthians]."[7] Given the legacy he and his colleagues imparted to Beirut, it is a remarkably modest description of the event. It also points to the religious underpinning of the whole project, as it was to the Bible that Bliss turned to commemorate this act. The milestones came quickly thereafter with the opening of the Medical Department in 1867 and the maneuverings over the next years to move out of a house rented from Butrus al-Bustani and onto land owned directly by the College. With the placing of the cornerstone for College Hall on November 28, 1871, Bliss and his colleagues began the construction of the campus as we know it today in Ras Beirut. As Bliss eloquently explained in his President's Report at the end of that year,

> The erection of these substantial buildings upon a site at once so commanding and beautiful and at the same time so well adapted for health and convenience, has attracted increasing attention to our work - the objects of the College and the advantages it offers are being better understood and when we shall be fairly located in our new home, we may reasonably hope not only for a large accession of students, but for wider and more fruitful opportunities to make this Institution a blessing to this people.[8]

Over the decades that followed, Bliss and his successors gradually bought up land down to the sea and slowly enclosed the College inside a wall. In some cases, the faculty drew up the architectural plans themselves; in others, they commissioned renowned architects. The result was the gradual construction of majestic structures that advertised permanence and distinction for those who crossed on to the campus grounds. The early designs mimicked much that characterized American Protestant universities, but arose using local stone and landscaping materials, making them unique to the SPC and AUB space (see Abunnasr and Makhzoumi in this volume).

As such, the buildings represented both America and Beirut while simultaneously proving to any who crossed the campus threshold that the founders envisaged an establishment lasting long after their individual contributions had ended. The only retreat along this line came in 1991 when a car bomb destroyed College Hall, thereby obliterating the most central and defining architectural monument on campus. Undaunted, alumni donors from around the world provided the funds that allowed it to

re-emerge from the rubble nine years later, following the same external design of 1871, but with an interior layout twenty percent larger. This act reiterated the importance of architectural legacy for the identity of the University while also accommodating the more expansive needs of the campus and its administration. Most recently, AUB inaugurated the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (IFI) building along the Green Oval on the upper campus. Its style is in stark contrast to the architectural norms established over the many years since 1871, indicating that legacy and longevity are tangible identifiers for the campus, but do not preclude the possibilities for innovation.

Within the walls and the classroom spaces, the curriculum offered to the students adapted pedagogical elements coming from American universities while also recognizing that the institution could not be divorced from its local Lebanese and Arab elements. The first prospectus written for the future College declared that it would be "conducted on strictly christian [*sic*] and evangelical principles"; in 1871, the course catalogue confirmed, "This college was established in order to provide Syria and its surrounding areas higher education in the mathematical and literary sciences and that it would be in their language," Arabic.[9] This foundational core arose from the fact that Bliss and his colleagues had come to Lebanon as missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and they saw education as a tool for converting denizens of the Levant (see Khalaf and Traboulsi in this volume). In making such a declaration, the opening of the College represented a formal rupture with the ABCFM since Rufus Anderson, the Corresponding Secretary of the mission, had severely curtailed funds for educational enterprises in the 1850s because he considered the direct preaching of the Gospel to be the best means for converting someone to Christianity. As a result, the SPC's founders chose to open the College as an independent educational organization, but one considered for decades as a child of the mission because its founders and members of its local Board of Managers served for years as officers of the ABCFM.

In opening such a college, Daniel Bliss and his successors pledged to offer the most modern of academic subjects to their students, although this was an easier vow to make than a promise to be fulfilled because educational norms changed rapidly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and demands of the students often came into conflict with the goals set by the administration. In keeping with the curriculum established at Protestant universities in America in the 1860s, the students initially completed a fixed curriculum with only the smallest of opportunities for choosing elective courses. They were tested via daily and weekly oral declamation so they could prove that they had learned and memorized the information taught by their professors and lecturers. Little in the structure allowed for independent research or inquiry by the students; professors served as unquestioned authorities of the knowledge disseminated to their students. During the twelve years that followed the opening of the College in 1866, the only major change came in the Literary Department with the decision by the associated faculty to shift from Arabic to English as the language of instruction. As Daniel Bliss reported at the time, using English in such a way gave students access to a language "permeated with the spirit of progress in all departments of life"; in contrast, if students only learned in Arabic, they were "confined to books, saturated with errors in religion, morals[,] politics, medicine and social life."[10]

As pressure built on the Medical Department to follow the lead of their colleagues in the Literary Department, Chemistry Professor Edwin Lewis gave a speech at graduation in 1882 that praised Charles Darwin and a number of other scientists. Most of the Medical Department faculty and a large number of its students supported the desire to bring new scientific theories and experiments to campus. In contrast, Daniel Bliss, George Post of the Medical Department, and the professors in the Literary Department saw in this new science a threat to the gatekeeping the professors had undertaken to guarantee that no knowledge presented on campus contradicted Evangelical Protestant principles. Bliss's first written reaction to the speech was a short line in his diary on the day of Commencement, Wednesday, July 19, 1882, noting, "Dr Lewis address much out of taste. An apology for bible truth & an acceptance as science unproved theories."[11] In a later letter to his sons, Howard and William, he disparaged Darwin by saying, "at Commencement Lewis gave an oration in which he praised up Chas. Darwin and gave the impression that he (L.) was a Darwinian and that man descended from the lower animals."[12] The conflict between these two groups intensified throughout the fall semester to the point that Lewis chose to resign in November, the medical students began a long protest against the resignation, and all the Medical Department professors except George Post indicated that they would resign their posts over the issue.

During the 1882-1883 academic year, the protesting medical students wrote reasoned letters to the administration opposing Lewis's resignation and the fact that the College was not providing them with sufficient training to take the Ottoman Imperial medical examination.[13] In essence, they critiqued the College for breaking its contract with them: they had enrolled with the promise that a certain cadre of professors would be teaching them and that they would have access to the subjects that would appear

on their exam. From the students' perspective, SPC had failed in both regards. In their last letter about these topics, the students wrote, "Sirs, it never occurred to the minds in Syria or in the Syrian Protestant College that noble people like you who belong to the American land of freedom would issue judgments without considering the related evidence. You refused to listen to students whose acts did not convey any sign of rashness and who claimed their just rights."[14] Over the next years, all but one of the Medical Department professors left campus and nineteen of the protesting students withdrew from the College.

In the end, Daniel Bliss and his allies won this battle and over the next years the Medical Department followed the Literary Department in moving toward the use of English as the language of instruction throughout the campus, a policy still practiced at AUB today (see Saliba in this volume). Furthermore, Daniel Bliss required that all new faculty members sign a Declaration of Principles promising that no knowledge disseminated in their campus classrooms would contradict evangelical views, effectively barring the new sciences from entering Main Gate.

This hallmark moment served as a turning point for the College's trajectory in the region. The SPC could henceforth open its doors to students outside the Arab world and the University has since built a reputation for its nationally diverse student body. But while opening the University to the world, this act limited access routes from the more immediate Arab and Beiruti environments. From the first plans for the new college, Daniel Bliss and his colleagues had expressed hope that the College's administration and teaching would move toward Arab control of the administration as early as possible. Following the Darwin Crisis, the SPC's leadership eschewed such a plan and the result was a curriculum that hewed even more closely to American academic organizational structures than at any point in the College's existence. New American and European professors arrived in Beirut to replace those who had resigned, and because they had little to no knowledge of the Arab world, they could only impart an American-accredited curriculum. Even Arab history disappeared from the course catalogue until it re-emerged in 1914, and then only as an elective. The majority of professors who had become fluent in Arabic so they could teach their classes in the language were long-gone; Arab lecturers were prohibited from receiving faculty ranks equal to those of their American and European counterparts.

With these actions, Daniel Bliss and his colleagues made the walls around campus as impermeable as possible to events taking place in the region outside so that the American and evangelical curriculum could dominate. But by doing so, Bliss also rejected the new sciences and the new pedagogies emerging at American Protestant universities, including at his old alma mater, Amherst College, because they did not accord with his Declaration of Principles. As a result, for the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the College's leadership refused to accept that even the American curriculum had changed in order to incorporate such scientific inquiries as those put forward by Charles Darwin. This move toward the Declaration of Principles also placed SPC outside the vibrant discussions taking place in journals and schools throughout the region about the proper intersection between science and religion.[15]

This situation began to change when Howard Bliss replaced his father as president in 1902, eliminated the Declaration of Principles, and brought to campus the pedagogical advances he and his colleagues had studied at institutions such as Amherst in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Henceforth at SPC, students completed a fixed curriculum only in their freshman and sophomore years so they could be grounded in a broad range of academic subjects, but then moved on to major in specific fields of study in their junior and senior years. Instead of a Literary Department offering all the courses in social studies and the humanities, a religion department, a history department, and an Arabic language department formed in appreciation of the fact that scholars all over the world had come to recognize that these were separate disciplines with distinct scholarly approaches. Over the decades of the twentieth century many more departments and programs followed, including archaeology, agriculture, and the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies (CAMES) (see Gordon, Meloy, Sader, and Daghir in this volume).

Just as importantly, with these changes came a new approach to teaching in the classroom; no longer did SPC professors ask their students to memorize lectures and texts as proof that they understood the data being presented to them. The new liberal education program imported from America called on students to be active participants in producing knowledge themselves, engaging in scientific experiments, and conducting research on their own. The classrooms became not just arenas for imparting knowledge, but for teaching students how to intelligently debate the theories and facts presented to them. Howard Bliss's tenure from 1902 to 1920 was a transition time for this pedagogy, and it ushered in the longer term commitment by AUB to enshrine the elements of this American liberal education system into the students' lives, from the Civilization Sequence (CS) program that began in 1950 and 1952 to the concept of free inquiry that came to permeate the classrooms.

These pedagogical changes came alongside a transformation in the religious program of the College, whereby Howard Bliss required that all students still attend obligatory Bible and church sessions as they had done since 1866, but shifted the means by which the professors preached Christianity. By the time Howard Bliss took the presidential helm, the pedagogy underpinning the new liberal education program had become an integral component of missionary work as well. In this system, professors encouraged students to debate and discuss religious ideas so they could find the commonalities between their faiths rather than determine the superiority of one. As Howard Bliss wrote in his last published article, "In all our classes, and especially in our Bible classes, there is a tradition of absolutely untrammeled inquiry; and woe to be the teacher who gives the impression that he is suppressing or fumbling question and answer, however blunt, embarrassing, or indiscreet the inquiry may seem to be."[16] As for the atmosphere at the College, Bliss wrote,

> The briefest sojourn on its lovely campus, among its two dozen noble buildings, with its superb views, eastward and northward, of opalescent Lebanon, and westward of the great blue sea; with a visit to its museums, its laboratories, its observatory, its library, its athletic fields, its hospitals, its Students' Building; interviews with its ninety teachers; contact with its thousand students of many races (Syrian, Turks, Tartar, Persian, Indian, Egyptian), and of many religions (Moslem, Druze, Jewish, Behai, and all the Christian sects), as they study, as they play, as they worship – a visit, I say, of this kind establishes the irrefutable conviction that here has been created a "psychological climate" from whose influence no student can escape.[17]

The SPC's legacy lay with its students, according to Bliss, who proclaimed, "And wherever this man goes, he makes it easier to foster education, to overturn tyranny, to soften fanaticism, to promote freedom in state and church."[18] The College was not producing Protestants, but aimed to teach all of its students to live by their own religious precepts and to respect the differing opinions of others.

In the midst of these curricular and religious shifts on campus, the College also began the process of reconnecting with the world outside Main Gate. Under Howard Bliss's presidency, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 reverberated throughout the Ottoman Empire, disseminating a message of freedom that shared its basic elements with the liberal education and liberal Protestantism of the SPC. Despite the apparent symmetry between these two projects, conflict brewed on campus, nonetheless, because Bliss and his colleagues stood by the conviction that Evangelical Protestantism remained the basal principle of SPC's raison d'être. As such, SPC's leadership continued its policy of enforcing the study of Christianity as a foundational element of the students' education.

These clashing definitions of freedom gave birth to the Muslim Controversy in spring 1909 when Muslim and Jewish students refused to obey the religious requirements of the College, defining liberal education as one where students could choose to study and worship as they wanted. As an example of the writings from this semester, an article in the Egyptian newspaper *Lewa* on January 24, 1909, reported that "A. of the Syrian College" said, "Now it is passing strange that our faculty have undertaken in forcing us to attend church and teaching us Christian doctrine in spite of us, in view of their pretense of religious liberty. It is contrary to reason and at variance with the regulation of all the schools of the world, among them those of America universally."[19] In line with their predecessors in 1882, the students protesting in 1909 obediently followed all the rules except for those connected to religious study. The administration could not therefore accuse them of being rash or disrespectful. They hoped that their actions would garner them sufficient respect so that the administration would listen to their arguments. In their demands, they called on the administration to truly implement the precepts underpinning liberal education, in particular in allowing the students to make reasoned choices about their religious studies.

In response, Howard Bliss and the faculty excused the students from most religious requirements during the spring 1909 semester, but declared that if they chose to return in the fall they would have to abide by all the campus rules. Students would still be encouraged to debate and discuss the tenets of Christianity and Islam and Judaism and any other faith represented on campus, but for Bliss, Christianity would still be the foundation of SPC's identity. Bliss reiterated in many letters to David Stuart Dodge, the president of the Board of Trustees during his tenure, "It is our aim to permeate recitation room, dormitory and campus with the spirit of Christ" because only then would the students truly understand the holistic lessons to be learned from Christianity.[20] Most of the protesting students did return in the fall and, by so doing, agreed to fulfill the religious obligations designated by the administration.

However, as Howard Bliss predicted even as he reinstated the required religious elements in 1909, they did not last long. The tenets of liberal education had met up with a changing regional discussion about the role of religion in education; obligatory religious requirements were becoming obsolete. Within a few years, temporarily during World War I as mandated by the Ottoman government and permanently as of 1920, Christian religious study was no longer a requirement of students at AUB.

By the time Bayard Dodge took the reins of the University in 1923, Evangelical Protestantism had been replaced with a broad-based religious umbrella that focused on the teaching of moral conduct, honesty, and hard work rather than religious scripture. The new religious view was best defined by the motto of the West Hall Brotherhood under Laurens Seelye's tutelage in the 1920s: "the realm in which we share is vastly greater than that in which we differ."[21] Through this new institution and its related activities, students and professors channeled their religious impetus into charitable work throughout local Lebanese communities in the 1920s and 1930s with such programs as the Ras Beirut Boys' School and the Village Welfare League (VWL). A contemporary analogy to these earlier programs is the current Ras Beirut Neighborhood Initiative that seeks to improve living conditions in the area so closely identified with AUB and its long history (see Myntti in this volume).

While these changes were taking place, during World War I, the SPC's administration found itself in the delicate position of being affiliated with a combatant in the war – the United States – while trying to function in an Ottoman Empire that was not at war officially with the US, but with all of its allies. While the College had to close for a few short days at the beginning of the war, it managed to reopen and conduct operations for the remainder of the conflict despite the geopolitical realities afflicting the College's home and adopted countries. Howard Bliss and the faculty worked strategically to keep the College open by extending aid to those suffering the famine of the war years in Lebanon and by working to present a neutral political front to Ottoman officials (see Brand in this volume).

The College came out of the war in dire financial straits, exacerbated by the fact that the change in name in 1920 to the American University of Beirut necessitated an infusion of funds for the transformation from a college to a university. From the first campaign in 1863, the SPC came into being and survived for decades with voluntary donations, in the early years supplied by families such as the Dodges and individual donors at churches. Daniel Bliss toured the northern American states in 1863 and raised about $100,000 in the midst of the American Civil War. His diaries of that year are filled with exhaustive lists of the many churches and homes he visited on behalf of the new College he hoped to see built in Beirut as an outpost for American missionary work. In the end, with the American dollar devalued because of the war, he obtained the necessary start-up funds from donors in England who equally understood the value of his mission. From that day until the end of World War II, SPC and AUB functioned on donations coming from non-governmental entities, some from large organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, but many others from the small donors who had been so pivotal from the beginning. After the ravages of WWI, AUB worked with such institutions as Robert College and the Women's College in Istanbul to form the Near East College Association to raise money collectively for all the schools. With those funds, the University rebuilt its facilities and expanded to fulfill the new mission of AUB. This new configuration welcomed women undergraduate and graduate students, encouraged research by the faculty and students, improved the quality of the courses being offered, and expanded the topics taught in the classrooms – even allowing the theory of evolution to become a required element of study in the 1920s. The College truly became a university in the fullest definition of the term.

As part of the shift to a university, Acting President Edward Nickoley demanded of the Board of Trustees that the newly revamped University bring down the "color line" to Arab academic advancement.[22] The Board followed this advice and, henceforth, Arab professors became full voting members in the Faculty Senate and could advance up the academic ranks through merit just as the American and European professors had always done. This change in policy ushered in professors such as Philip Hitti and Constantine Zurayk, who demanded that Arab history, culture, and literature become key elements of the curriculum, making the walls increasingly permeable to the events taking place across the region (see Seikaly in this volume). They were followed by Bulus Khauli, Anis Frayha, and Kamal Salibi, who spent extensive amounts of time affiliated with AUB. They mentored many students who passed through their classrooms while also writing some of the most important works on Arab history, literature, and nationalism (see Naufal, Holt, Kozah, and Abu Husayn in this volume). These professors infused the curriculum with Arab issues and achievements while simultaneously instilling in their students pride for their Arab heritage.

These students, in turn, used these ideas to protest on behalf of Arab causes throughout the twentieth century, with an especially active moment occurring after World War II when the international environment made the Middle East a central place in the Cold War brewing between the United States and the Soviet Union. An affiliated complication occurred when AUB received US government grants and aid for the first time in its history, coinciding with the ascension to the presidency of Stephen Penrose in 1948. On the positive side, US Point IV scholarships enabled many a student to study at AUB, and others continued their graduate education in the US with aid from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and other such agencies. But with US global power accelerating in the post-war

period, students and faculty members also began to question the influence on decision-making at AUB that came along with that money. Before taking up his post at AUB, President Penrose had been a member of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a precursor to the CIA, and in this volatile time, after the establishment of Israel in 1948, and with increasing American involvement in Middle Eastern politics in the 1950s, many students accused AUB of acting as an agent for imposing US policies on to the people of Lebanon and the region (see Schayegh, McGreevy, and Bertelsen in this volume). Between 1948 and 1955, groups of students repeatedly demonstrated against the establishment of Israel and the attempts by the US and Britain to bring Arab countries into pro-Western defense agreements like the Baghdad Pact.

While most of the protests in this era arose over these political events, students also used the opportunity to question the means by which the AUB administration defined the liberal education program. This new group of student activists expressed ideas not dissimilar to those of their predecessors in 1882 and 1909 when they called on the University's administration to allow the students to have a measure of authority over the curriculum and their religious freedom. For the post-WWII group, the conflict centered on the differing roles accorded them in terms of freedom of expression and freedom of action. The administration continued its support for freedom of expression as a core element of liberal education in the classroom, but penalized students for organizing political events on campus. The students declared that combining their educational and political lives on campus provided them with the skills necessary to be the Arab leaders AUB claimed to be producing. As an example, an editorial in ***Outlook*** in 1955, declared,

> The words democracy, responsibility and freedom are common passwords or cliches [*sic*] on campus. We hear about them in lectures, in chapel talks and over the coffee tables at nearby cafes. Nevertheless, students have little chance of proving what they have so far learned . . .
>
> It is the university's function to train us, its students and future spokesmen of our countries, to face the problems of everyday life. How can we do that when we are only here to attend lectures and take notes? How can we be the future liberators of our respective countries if we are not taught how to practice the basic important factors that lead to freedom from oppression?
>
> Students should have the right to voice their own opinions in matters that concern them. They should be able to give the administration their own side of all their problems, for the way the faculty members and the way the students see these same affairs could differ greatly.
>
> . . . We, the student body, are not puppets. We do not like to be drawn by strings which we have no right to control or even influence in any way. We think. That is why we are here. We have our own life to shape. That is what we have come to learn how to do. We have our own voice to express. That is what we hope to do.[23]

By the late 1950s, student activism had by no means disappeared, as students protested on behalf of Algerian independence and the 1950 union of Egypt and Syria, but the number of such political activities diminished for a time. After the 1967 war, another era of student political activism erupted, fueled by the Arab loss in the war and by enthusiastic support for the Palestinian Fedayeen organizations fighting for independence for Palestine. At the same time, as in past eras, the students also demanded that they be given a measure of authority over their lives on campus. Starting in 1969, students held weekly "Speakers' Corner" sessions so they could express their opinions about the political events of the day; in both 1971 and 1974, students occupied buildings on campus in protest against the administrative decision to increase fees without any input from the Student Council.

To give some idea of the tenor of student demands in this era, an AUB "Strike Document" of November 30, 1971 summed up the critiques students lobbed against the AUB administration. "One of the fundamental values of human life is freedom – freedom to formulate convictions and moral principles; freedom to live by those convictions and principles; and of course, freedom from coersion [*sic*]."[24] The document ridiculed the rights that students actually held while on campus:

> Last May, the majority of A.U.B. students discovered that their university allowed only certain "freedoms" to be expressed on campus namely:
>
> 1. freedom to be herded into irrelevant classes;
> 2. freedom to absorb information that would soon be forgotten, since it had no use in daily life;
> 3. freedom to agree to University rules and regulations, formed and enforced without the students [*sic*] prior knowledge.
>
> In short, freedom to be silent.[25]

In response to this critique, a number of students and professors established a "free university" on campus that taught students subjects ignored by the official catalogue, including "Revolutionary

Change," "Che Guevara and the Third-World Revolution," the "strategic needs of the Palestinian Revolution including everything from Hebrew to military strategy," "Progressive and Marxist social thought to be offered in the Philosophy, Political Science, and Education Departments," "Revolutionary Philosophy," "Politics and Economics of Israel," "History of Palestine," "The Guitar – A Counterculture Workshop," and "Analysis and Critique of AUB and the forms of Education Present."[26]

This era of student activism came to a close by 1975 when the Lebanese Civil War challenged the University as no other conflict had done over the many decades of its existence. At no time could SPC and AUB ignore the demands and dictates of the presiding government in Beirut – whether it was Ottoman, French, or Lebanese – as illustrated by the brief closure of the College at the beginning of WWI. In 1915, the Ottoman Governor General of Beirut and the Governor of Syria protested against the General Geography text used in classes on campus because it included, among other statements, the claim that "the Turkish government is the worst in Europe. The ruler, called the Sultan, is an absolute despot, who governs his people so badly that they are kept extremely ignorant and poor."[27] In this instance, Professor William Hall, the Principal of the Preparatory School, had to leave the country as punishment for using the text on campus, but returned in 1919 after the College submitted a formal apology to the Ottoman government. In 1966, in a conflict between AUB and the independent Lebanese government, Professor John Spagnolo had to leave the country because of governmental opposition to the use of Thomas Aquinas' writings in the Civilization Sequence Program (see Provence in this volume).

While certainly disadvantageous for the professors involved, these conflicts did not threaten the existence of SPC or AUB in any substantial ways. The governments demanded punishment for real and perceived transgressions, but did not require the dissolution of the institution. The Lebanese Civil War, however, presented complications unlike those of previous conflicts. Funding from the United States government dried up for a time, and in the breach the administration had to turn to the Lebanese government for aid. Many professors left the country; those who stayed struggled to teach not only their own subjects, but also the classes usually taught by the professors no longer in the country. Militia groups threatened professors, student enrollment dropped, and fighting broke out among all the warring parties throughout Ras Beirut. Forces in the civil war kidnapped at least eight members of the AUB community during the 1980s, and AUB President Malcolm Kerr was killed as he walked to his office in College Hall in 1984. When the war ended, AUB had to not only rebuild the destroyed College Hall, but also the curriculum, the faculty, the staff, and the trust and reputation that it had earned over the previous 120 years.

CONCLUSION

At the 150th anniversary of the institution, AUB can boast of the many accomplishments of its graduates and the thousands of faculty who have graced its classrooms. A telling piece of continuity is the rock-hard belief, reiterated in the 1990s, that rebuilding the University's curricular programs after the end of the Civil War required that liberal education remain as the foundational element. For its efforts, AUB received accreditation by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE), reactivated the PhD degree that had been abolished during the Civil War, and increased enrollment and faculty hiring. Student activism has returned via the University Student Faculty Committee (USFC) and the many protests against fee increases and curriculum changes. The new buildings dotting campus are a testament to the respect alumni and other donors have regarding the high quality of the University's programs. At the same time, the University, its staff, faculty, and students are still adapting to ever-changing conditions, and by doing so are constantly producing new histories. As a result, the sesquicentennial anniversary marks a moment of congratulations for the university's illustrious legacy while also setting the stage for a new era in AUB's history. The authors in this volume complicate and add on to the foundational history presented in this introduction; they illustrate how religious, educational, political, and personal stories have been integral and intertwined elements of an institution that has flourished in Beirut for 150 years.

ENDNOTES

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Part I

Early History

01 New England Missionaries as Venues of Soft Power: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860*

Samir Khalaf

For some time I have been exploring the impact of American Protestantism on cultural change in the Levant. More particularly, I focus on New England puritans as agents of "soft power" during the eventful interlude of 1820-1860. My intention is to demonstrate how, through liberal education, voluntarism, and outreach, American Protestant missionaries managed to generate profound and unintended transformations in the region. Initially, I started out with what I thought was a simple, intriguing, but manageable idea – namely, the notion of cultural transplant. What happens when ideas travel? How are they grafted onto a different and alien milieu? How, in this instance, did the austere, stern, evangelical ethos of the Calvinism and puritanism of New England beget such cultural, liberal, secular changes in Ras Beirut, of all places?

Essentially, my exploration became an exercise in the sociology of knowledge. I dipped into Mannheim's "Ideology and Utopia" and Coser's "ecology of ideas." Better still, in my case, were Max Weber's unintended consequences, Edward Said's travelling theory, and what postmodernists call "the poetics of time and place."[1] Of course, Ibn Khaldun was a prophetic precursor to all this when he asked how particular cultures are generated and how they evolve and adapt. How are cultures corrupted, formed, deformed, reproduced, and extended beyond the initial intentions of the transplanted newcomers? This is a story of serendipity, the by-product of largely unintended, fortuitous circumstances, more the result of happenstance than willed or deliberately intended. Indeed, I argue that many of the accomplishments of the early Protestant envoys were largely accidents of history. Three reasons prompt me to say so.

First, Lebanon was not originally the intended destination of the American Protestant missionaries who first came to our shores. Their millennial fascination was with the Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the birthplace of Christ. The original mission of Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons in 1820 was to go to Jerusalem. Yet Parsons fell sick shortly after their arrival in the Holy Land and was counseled by a British Jewish doctor to go to Mount Lebanon for its clean air. This was, incidentally, the story of many foreign travelers and itinerant visitors at the time. Lebanon's geographic setting and pristine landscape always seemed enchanting, particularly from a distance. Also, the country's mixed sectarian composition and the presence of "nominal Christians" was equally appealing. Early in their encounters, the missionaries decided that had the Muslims and Jews of the region been exposed to "genuine Christianity," meaning Protestant emissaries rather than representatives of the "bigoted" and "corrupt" Eastern Churches, they would have "seen the light." Hence, they shifted their original intention from converting Muslims and Jews to reclaiming "nominal Christians."

Second, of course, these missionaries originally came with grandiose schemes for evangelizing Muslims, Jews, and members of the Oriental Christian churches in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. They ended up, instead, confined exclusively to working in villages and towns with large portions of Greek Orthodox. In this regard, their success in these areas was largely a by-product of their failure to win converts. It is this failure to evangelize that prompted them to consider more effective, softer strategies for winning the hearts and minds of native groups. Much earlier than Joseph Nye coined the term "soft power,"[2] the early envoys of New England Protestantism extended their skills towards attaining their objectives through "seduction and attraction" rather than coercion.

Joseph Nye argues that America has long displayed a great deal of soft power:

> Think of the impact of Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms in Europe at the end of World War II; of young people behind the Iron Curtain Listening to American Music and news on Radio Free

* Note from the editors: Much of this paper has been excerpted from a book length manuscript by the author, entitled *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-60* (London and NY: Routledge, 2012). The importance of the paper for this volume lies in that it addresses a significant and transformative period in the early years of the University.

> Europe; of Chinese students symbolizing their protests in Tiananmen Square by creating a replica of the Statue of Liberty; of newly liberated Afghans in 2001 asking for a copy of the Bill of Rights; of young Iranians today surreptitiously watching banned American videos and satellite television broadcasts in the privacy of their homes. These are all examples of America's soft power. When you can get others to admire your ideals and to want what you want, you do not have to spend as much on sticks and carrots to move them in your direction. Seduction is always more effective than coercion, and many values like democracy, human rights, and individual opportunities are deeply seductive. But attraction can turn to repulsion if we act in an arrogant manner and destroy the real message of our deeper values.[3]

Almost 200 years earlier, a devoted core of New England missionaries, sparked by the evangelist zeal of "disinterested benevolence and altruism," became agents of soft power by providing novel forms of education (particularly for women), welfare, relief, medical intervention, popular culture, outreach programs, sports, and other extra-curricular activities. For this reason, the forty years prior to the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) are vital to my story. It was then (1820–1860) that the missionaries experimented with different strategies and programs. Given their openness and receptivity to varied courses of action, they certainly demonstrated more foresight than George W. Bush, the Neocons, and the Tea Party that is influential in the US today. From the very beginning, one could evince two competing groups and perspectives: (a) those who wanted to preach and evangelize, and modeled their programs after the Andover School of Theology, and (b) those who wished to teach and civilize, for whom Amherst College was the source of inspiration. The former found refuge in the theological and spiritual "godly" teachings of Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins. The latter found their inspiration in the "ungodly" edicts of Benjamin Franklin.

Third, not only had the missionaries not planned to come to Lebanon, but they did not intend to stay. Isaac Bird declared in 1824, "we had no intention of staying in Beirut, except long enough to obtain animals or a boat to carry us towards Jerusalem."[4] In their conception of evangelism, it acted as a "leaven,"[5] like a mustard seed – akin to a "City on the Hill" – so perfect that, once planted, it is self-generating. Hence, they believed that the missionaries eventually would return home; and yet they never did. What kept them in Lebanon was their unalloyed hatred for the Jesuits. For they were, in fact, perturbed and alarmed by the rapid proliferation of Catholic and Jesuit institutions, against which they were determined to stand in opposition. This self-generating perspective was apparent in the "Prospectus and Programme of the Syrian Protestant College Institute, Beirut," prepared in Beirut and widely circulated. It asserted two explicit objectives:

> First, to enable native youth to obtain, in the country, the literary, scientific, and professional education which the exigencies of the community demand; and Second, to make the institution indigenous, self-governing, and self-sustaining.[6]

The "Prospectus" went on to state that the College would be conducted on strictly Christian and evangelical principles. It spelled out that the professors and tutors would be elected by the trustees and were to be "as far as practicable educated and pious natives of the country." The native professors and teachers "must be qualified to assume the entire management of the institution as soon as possible." With admirable foresight and in the hope of making the college ultimately self-supporting as well as indigenous, it was stated, "it will be a prime objective to make education as cheap as possible."[7]

My story is rendered more coherent and relevant through examination of the following four points: First, who were the Puritans? What sparked their enthusiasm for evangelism? Obviously, to understand this, we must take note of some defining attributes of New England at the turn of the nineteenth century. How did the enterprise of establishing foreign missions, rooted in the provincial milieu of Orthodox Calvinism, evolve a compassionate view of the world and inspire successive generations of young zealots to seek redemption in the so-called darker and "alien" regions of the world?

Second, what sort of cultural baggage (images, perceptions, stereotypes) did these pioneering envoys carry over with them? What happened to their puritanism as it migrated from its place of origin and was integrated into the culture of Ras Beirut? How did the so-called "natives" or locals react to their initial encounters with these "Bible Men"? Why did the missionaries succeed in Lebanon when they failed elsewhere? They had, after all, established seventeen stations in Turkey, Austria, Greece, Palestine, and elsewhere in the region. Yet only in Ras Beirut did their efforts pay off. So what is it about Lebanon and Ras Beirut that can account for this unusual relationship?

Third, and more important for my central argument, how did they redefine and redirect their original intentions to suit the needs of the changing socio-political and cultural setting in which they found

themselves? What is represented here is, after all, the polemic of "Christ" vs. "culture." Should they "*Christianize*" or "*civilize*"? Preach or teach? In other words, which comes first: *Christ* or *culture*? Does the former *beget* the latter? If not, how much culture or civilization needs to be generated, and for whom, before the natives are considered amenable to the Gospel?

Fourth, how did the missionaries manage to evolve reconciliatory strategies in place of silent and unobtrusive evangelism – the "softer" predispositions of "doing much with little noise." And even more important is how they made special efforts not to debase or malign the local culture. They opted for nonconfrontational means in their transfer of spiritual and civil values.

This is why the early missionaries and, ultimately, the founding fathers of the SPC (later AUB) were not only the precursors of professional and liberal education, but also agents of soft power, enacted through voluntarism, outreach programs, popular culture, extra-curricular activities and, above all, operating boarding schools – some of the earliest venues of women's education and sports – by way of "muscular Christianity." These features, which first appeared in the 1820s, ultimately came to define and account for AUB's exceptionalism and unusual legacy. And, judging by many autobiographical accounts, these features have left indelible marks on generations of SPC and AUB graduates.

EARLY ENVOYS

Who were the early envoys of New England puritanism and what sparked their evangelistic enthusiasm? Here, inevitably, my story acquires a Weberian perspective. Just as capitalism was the unintended by-product of Calvinism, the adoption of puritan ethics in the Levant was the by-product of evangelism. The young missionary recruits were far from ordinary. As zealots – almost fanatics – they were doubtless by-products of the rigidity and parochialism of the times. At the turn of the nineteenth century, America, and New England in particular, experienced a time of religious reawakening. A pervasive mood of religiosity, marked by the primacy of the Bible and sectarian controversy, swept the country. It was a time of camp meetings, conversions, revivals, and belief in the Millennium. As New England Congregationalists – the direct spiritual descendants of the original Puritans – the early recruits displayed an exaggerated degree of religious uplift and stringent moral edicts. Faith in what God had done through Christ as divinely recorded in Scripture was to them the only source of redemption. Conversely, eternal damnation in hell was the alternative punishment.

New England society was still gripped by the tight control of Calvinism, which was apparent in the educational system and normative standards of conduct. Until 1827, for example, the clergy in Massachusetts were charged by law to inspect and license schools and teachers. Many of the teachers, in fact, were clergymen. Virtually all college presidents were ministers, and so were most faculty members. Religion, manners, and everyday conduct were so intimately aligned that it was extremely difficult to distinguish the boundaries between them. Keen as they were on subscribing to the Gospel as the only means of salvation, rigid arbiters of conduct and public behavior were often transferred into articles of faith. Hence, observance of the Sabbath, abstinence, teetotalism, thrift, and asceticism were strictly adhered to, much like other ritualistic manifestations of piety and purity peculiar to Calvinism. More importantly, they became the standards by which they judged others.

One is struck in this regard, when reading the journals of the early pioneers and subsequent generations of missionaries in the Middle East, by their ethnocentrism and naiveté in depicting and reacting to standards of conduct at variance with their own. Initially, such parochialism may have been a reflection of their unfamiliarity or lack of appreciation of native customs. Ultimately, however, it was clearly a symptom of their rigid compliance to puritan norms and lifestyles and their innate resistance to any form of accommodation to or acceptance of alternative patterns of conduct. At both levels, it became a source of friction between the two cultures. It also generated regrettable, but unavoidable, instances of threatening encounters, ridicule, and embarrassment.

Like other pioneering endeavors, foreign missions attracted their fair share of mavericks, eccentrics, and some extremely gifted, versatile, and precocious young recruits. All of them "saw the light" rather early in life. Jonas King, for example, first read the Bible when he was four and thereafter once every year until he reached the age of sixteen. He learned English grammar while hoeing corn, and read the twelve books of Virgil's *Aeneid* in fifty-eight days and the New Testament in Greek in six weeks. Pliny Fisk, like many of his colleagues, could preach in Arabic, Armenian, French, Greek, Italian, and Turkish.[8] Isaac Bird was so accomplished in Arabic that he could write scholarly treatises. William Goodell completed the translation of the Bible in Armeno-Turkish. Despite their humble origins, the missionaries felt they were part of a privileged, passionate core of dedicated idealists. They were also, it seems, perceived as such by their communities. Indeed, some emerged as folk heroes of a sort. In the pioneer era of American missions, it was perhaps natural to glorify, almost apotheosize, the

foreign evangelist as representative of the ideal life of piety, for it was he who seemed to carry out most completely the theological commitments of New England Calvinism. At a time when only two percent of Americans went to college, the missionaries tended to have completed at least six to eight years of college education in such respected institutions as Amherst, Princeton, Dartmouth, Williams, Middlebury, and Andover.

It was at the Andover Theological Seminary that the young seminarians were first exposed to such ideas as the Hopkinsian doctrine of "disinterested benevolence" and altruism, and cultivated a longing to evangelize and spread the Gospel. Though conceived in provincial New England, Samuel Hopkins's elaboration of Edwardian Calvinism imbued this first generation of evangelists with a compassionate view of the unsaved millions who were far removed in space yet potentially within the reach of American evangelical sympathies.

CULTURAL BAGGAGE

What did the early missionaries carry over with them to the Levant? The evangelical imagination was bolstered first of all by a nascent sense of national consciousness, particularly among the first American-born generation, whose members, in 1776, had become more willing to pledge their allegiance to one another for the great cause of freedom and republican spirit. By the time of the framing of the constitution, the leading theologians and clergymen, one by one, began to insist that Christian morality, liberty, and safety were inextricably linked. Expression of this link between the assumed superiority of American Protestantism, its unique Anglo-Saxon endowments, and, hence, the New World vision of itself as a redeemer nation were legion. A celebrated article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1858 had this to say about the greatness and the "incomparable and immeasurable grandeur" of the Anglo-Saxon race and its unique predisposition for colonization:

> It is strikingly adapted not only to greatness of empire, but to that peculiar form of greatness which seems to be reserved for our inheritance ... Taken in its whole, it is a wonderful provision for the intelligence, energy, restlessness, and indomitable will of such a race as the Anglo-Saxon - a race that masters physical nature without being mastered by it - a race in which the intensest home-feelings combine with a love of enterprise, advent and colonization - a race that fears nothing, claims everything within reach, enjoys the future more than the present, and believes in a destiny of incomparable and immeasurable grandeur.[9]

To Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, like many of the early stalwarts of New England evangelism, this moral crusade assumed at times the rhetoric of cultural penetration: an impulse to colonize and besiege so-called empires of sin. They were also far from ambivalent about their perceptions and images of Islam and the Levant. The inadequate state of knowledge of the former, notwithstanding, Fisk and Parsons nonetheless appear to have carried with them many of the disparaging epithets and warped stereotypes rampant in the popular imagination of the time. Indeed, they were sparked by a curious blend of three seemingly inconsistent mindsets. First, they held the same contemptuous view of Islam, often employing the trite pejorative refrains defiling Mohammad as an "artful impostor" and his creed as a "fortress of error and sin." Second, they expressed equally disdainful views of all the other forces of anti-Christ and the "deluded" emissaries of the Pope. Third, they also carried with them the more charitable but romanticized images of the Orient and the Levant as exotic places of mystery and wonder, blurred by that thicket of fantasized and idealized images so rife at the time.

Another curious feature stands out that was also bound to have a lasting impact on the interplay between the transplanted missionaries and their new setting. While gladly accepting their long exile from home - indeed many of them rejoiced in this form of banishment and self-denial, and spoke about it in emotive tones - the evangelists almost always considered themselves as aliens and strangers wherever they went. They resisted, in fact, any effort or temptation to get closer to or acquire even the superficial, exotic, or outward artifacts of the native culture. They wanted to touch but not be touched by the Other.

While reading their journals, one is confronted with this alternating mixture of nostalgia for the purity and simplicity of New England life, contempt for local customs, and a longing to redeem and uplift. After a lapse of three and a half years after leaving America, Fisk has this to say of his visit to Jerusalem:

> I know not how to describe my feelings since I have been here. I have experienced sudden alterations of fear and hope, despondency and confidence, timidity and courage. I cannot move my eye without seeing awful evidence that the curse of God rests on Jerusalem. Turkish avarice and despotism, Jewish unbelief and hardness of heart, and the superstition and idolatry of nominal Christians - for these things I weep. The associations connected with these places affect me more deeply than I had anticipated. My window opens toward the east, and shows me at once the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the mosque on Mount Moriah, where Solomon's temple stood, and Mount Olivet. I look at them again and again with new emotions of wonder, gratitude, and grief. O when will the Saviour be truly adored on the Mount where he suffered? May the Lord hasten the time.[10]

Because they could not do much to tame Turkish avarice or Jewish unbelief, they turned to nominal Christians, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Baha'is, and Druze.

VENUES OF SOFT POWER

What were some of the salient forms of "silent" penetration, and particularly those that evolved into identifiable (though often unintended) strategies associated with New England puritanism as an agency of soft power and cultural change? Such forms of silent penetration epitomized the American ideals of cultural expansion. For a young nation without, as yet, any imperial ambitions, the transfer of spiritual and civil values could only have been realized through such non-aggressive and unobtrusive measures. In this respect, evangelism embodies features of public diplomacy and soft power in as far as it involves engaging, informing, and influencing citizens of other countries.[11] Let me single out a few such features.

"LANCASTRIAN" SCHOOLING

The most obvious and central measure, of course, was education. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter, ABCFM), as evident in the "instructions" Fisk and Parsons received, had expected its missionaries to engage in educational activities. They were not, obviously, expecting much initially. The method proposed in establishing the schools was "engagedness" - namely, the engaging of a teacher or "native helper" to collect and assemble children into a school and then instruct them. The intended duration of evangelism was meant to be brief. As in the "Lancastrian" schools popular in New England at the time, the function of the teacher was to plant a "mustard seed" or, alternately, to start the "leaven" working. This concept has been traced back to the efforts of Hopkins for the speedy establishment of "self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating" native churches and institutions.

In 1826, on the occasion of a Greek assault on Beirut, when the missionaries retreated to Malta, some of the "natives" assumed leadership in running the schools. Such involuntary periods of exile and withdrawal of the missionaries from field stations became recurrent events during successive episodes of political strife. In all these instances, local educators rose to the occasion and displayed leadership qualities. Yet the missionaries always found alibis to regain control, never following through on their initial intentions to eventually relinquish control. The supposed goal of self-government remained, at best, a faint hope - a metaphor for an aborted mindset. Indeed, over the years, the missionaries found it harder and harder to let go. Nor did they, even when circumstances called for it, encourage locals to assume the indigenous leadership they were articulating conceptually.

Despite all obstacles (clerical opposition, epidemics, wars, pestilence, shortage of qualified teachers, etc.), the schools were an instant success. By 1826, average attendance in mission schools in Beirut and the vicinity was already 300. In the following year, it more than doubled, with females representing nearly 20 percent of its student body. Boarding and female schools, in particular, allowed the missionaries to maximize their access to the population while rendering it less intrusive.

NATIVE PREACHERS

While education was recognized as an expedient method of inculcating knowledge of the Scriptures, preaching assumed a primary role in the order of priorities. From its inception, in fact, the mission had constituted itself as a church into which converts were inducted. By 1839, a chapel for preaching in Arabic had been opened in Beirut. The missionaries themselves had, of course, been repeatedly imploring the ABCFM for reinforcements if they were to attend adequately to this basic but exacting function. By the late 1830s, there were not more than twelve or fifteen missionaries to serve a population of one and a half million.[12] The new policy of the ABCFM, as articulated by Secretary Rufus Anderson, re-emphasized the primary task of the mission as preaching the Word of God. Given clerical opposition, however, preaching in public was, at best, dubious and cumbersome. Their only safe and expedient strategy was to bring under their direct influence adults and children who could be taught and exposed to the Protestant faith and puritan lifestyle.

Missionaries in the field, in other words, had to accommodate the expectations of their mentors who were, after all, providing the necessary funds and backing. Hence, a compromise became imperative: their boarding school in Beirut was regarded as a "seminary," a future theological school with the objective of producing native ministers, preachers, and teachers. Even their girls' school was perceived in a similar vein, its purpose being to produce "pious wives" for the native helpers. In effect, the Andover perspective prevailed.

THE "GUTENBERG" MENTALITY

Another "mustard seed" the missionaries planted was a printing press. This was inevitable, given the primacy of the written word to the evangelists. Protestantism is, after all, a scriptural religion; hence, a literate audience is vital for its propagation. Once again, the same unusual combination of serendipity, ingenuity, and laborious diligence on the part of the missionaries largely explains why this particular "mustard seed" ended up in Beirut and turned out to be both prolific and generative. Much of the credit for the establishment and initial growth of the press in Beirut goes to Eli Smith.[13] Pliny Fisk had, of course, recognized shortly after he arrived the need and urgency for printing tracts and testaments in the vernacular. He was relentless in his appeals for an "able, faithful and pious missionary printer." The ABCFM responded in 1826 by dispatching Mr. Homan Hallock, a competent lay journeyman with remarkable mechanical ingenuity, along with two printing presses to boost the modest operation in Malta. In December 1833, Daniel Temple and Homan Hallock moved the press to Smyrna, and the following year the Arabic section was transferred to Beirut. Until then, the output of the press consisted mostly of tracts published in Greek, Italian, and Armeno-Turkish. It was not until 1836 that efforts were launched to create a new Arabic typography.

The story of the creation of the American Press, almost epic in dimensions, has been told and retold by a score of historians; it need not detain us here. Assembling its components physically, given the primitive state of technology at the time, was a feat. Mr. Smith took pains to collect models of the characters in the best manuscripts. Unfortunately, the archetype of the font he had assiduously assembled was lost when his ship was wrecked on the way to Smyrna in June 1836. In the shipwreck, he also lost his wife. His steely determination, however, was undiminished. Mr. Hallock, the printer in Smyrna, cut the punches and drove the matrices, and a leading German firm in Leipzig cast the type under Smith's personal supervision. Incidentally, it is this topography, closely modeled on classical calligraphy, which remained for years the standard form of Arabic printing.[14] The final product is a form of "American Arabic," which provided the Arab world, stretching from Morocco to the Philippines, with an aesthetically pleasing and orthographically correct typeface.[15] And just like the reactions of the local population to common schools, the press was also an instant success. By 1836, 381,000 pages had been printed; six years later, the figure had leapt to 1,708,000.[16] More significant, perhaps, was the "Gutenberg mentality," which, as a cultural transplant, became one of the most powerful vectors of liberal and secular change and the dissemination of popular culture. The type-set page, in the privacy of a reader's home or in the classroom, began to expose inquiring minds to novel ideas and lifestyles and to spur others to challenge or depart from archaic forms of behavior and traditional modes of thought.

Much of the output of the press was, of course, avowedly religious. Secular publications, however, were not insignificant in number. Many of the missionaries wrote books on geography, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, and moral science. Two of the missionaries' most gifted "native helpers," outstanding scholars in their own right, were also among the early contributors. Butrus al-Bustani's two editions on arithmetic and Nasif al-Yaziji's on Arabic grammar remained standard texts until the end of the century. It was also these secular texts that managed to transcend communal readership. They appear, judging by their sustained popularity, to have been circulated across all sectarian boundaries.

Moralistic tales, such as Leigh Richmond's ***Dairyman's Daughter***, Hannah Moore's ***The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain***, and Edward Young's ***Night Thoughts*** became very popular. Indeed, it is said that converts to Protestantism attributed to such books their intelligent familiarity with gospel truth.[17] These and other popular reading material - spelling cards, hymn books, the Sermon on the Mount, and tracts on cholera and temperance - generated a spirit of inquiry among the populace. Nor was the traffic in words, as James Field rightly points out, just a one-way transmission. In this literary exchange, it is not always easy to ascertain the balance of imports and exports. While the Scriptures flowed eastward to the so-called heathen and infidels, the words of the American envoys flowed back to their New England constituencies and beyond.[18] The riveting narrations of Parsons and Fisk, the erudite journals of Jonas King and William Thomson, and the scholarly surveys and field reports of Eli Smith, H. G. O. Dwight, and William Goodell were eagerly read as they appeared in the monthly columns of the ***Missionary Herald***. They stimulated interest in the Levant and the Orient, and inspired further enthusiasm and donations for overseas missions.

MISSIONARIES AS SCHOLARS

Closely related to the establishment of the American Press was the increasing involvement of many missionaries in respectable, original, and stimulating scholarly work throughout the Middle East. Many of the ground-breaking empirical surveys and methodical studies they launched, often under exacting conditions, became models for others, and remained the chief source of information and knowledge of the region for decades to come. They also provided incentives and inspiration for successive generations of archaeologists, biblical scholars, comparative historians, ethnographers, and social scientists. As pioneers, the missionaries did not just drift aimlessly into scholarly ventures. Their directive included not to be totally consumed by their evangelistic purpose as ministers of Christ. They were also expected to attend to the task of procuring and communicating information:

> The fruits of your researches, consisting of facts, descriptions, notices, reflections, comparative views and suggestions of methods and means of usefulness . . . you will regularly enter in your journals and transmit to us as opportunities are afforded. Possibly also you may be able to send home some books or ancient manuscripts . . . In all your communications, it will be of high importance that your statements and representations be correct and exact.[19]

There was an exuberant literary imagination in New England at the time, inspired by curiosity about the physical environment of the Christian Scriptures and the ***Arabian Nights***. John Stephen's two volumes on the Near East were already bestsellers by 1835.[20] Edward Robinson, another Andover graduate, collaborated with Eli Smith to produce two monumental works, one a standardized system for the Romanization of Arabic names, and the other describing their extended travels in the area, entitled ***Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia***. The latter, published in 1841, has been hailed as surpassing "the total of all previous contributions to Palestinian geography from the time of Eusebius and Jerome."[21]

Even less scholarly accounts broke new ground. The missionaries' penchant for writing biographies, memoirs, letters, and personal journals, often using pietistic and evocative prose, stimulated public interest in literary works and travelogues. William Thomson's two-volume ***The Land and the Book*** (1859), a conversational but dignified narrative animated with warmth and humanity, apparently sold more copies than any other American title save ***Uncle Tom's Cabin***.[22] Outstanding among such works were the seminal contributions of Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck, particularly in connection with the prodigious project of transplanting and printing the Bible. Through this sustained venture, spanning the best part of sixteen years, a gifted circle of native scholars and budding intellectuals were drawn into this collaborative enterprise. The central figures - Butrus al-Bustani, Nasif el-Yaziji, Yusuf al-Asir, Jurji Zaydan, Faris Shidiaq - spearheaded the cultural awakening and became, along with their scions and disciples, the prime movers in kindling the Arab literary renaissance of the nineteenth century. It was out of this circle that some of the most vibrant forces of intellectual and ideological change were generated. Many of the region's public intellectuals, journalists, teachers, scholars, heads of voluntary associations, even dissident and opposition groups and political activists, who sparked off emancipator movements and nationalist struggles, may be traced back to such networks.

GRIEF AND "GENTLE DEATH"

As teachers, preachers, scholars, and writers, missionaries were able to reinforce and legitimize much of their sacred errand. They and their mentors in Boston never lost a moment to prosecute these activities as vectors for the propagation of their views of the Scriptures. And their efforts were not confined to these visible forms of cultural penetration. Other more subtle, often strictly private encounters, personal trials, and anguishing visitations, were also wilfully exploited for such purposes. Here, as well, the missionaries not only strived to create a favorable predisposition towards their own beliefs and practices, but also took pains to reveal what they saw as the folly, cruelty, avarice, and amazing selfishness of native groups.

Whereas the missionaries were outraged by the excessive manifestations of grief the natives displayed during their mourning rituals and funerals, they were eager to share their own private afflictions to illustrate the composure, serenity, and calm dignity with which they prepared for and faced such misfortunes and tragedies. Indeed, many missionaries never lost an opportunity to use their own experiences to beseech sinners to be reconciled to their Saviour. The dying scenes of their beloved companions, often their own wives and children, were transformed into occasions for delivering their evangelical message. One such occasion was the death of Pliny Fisk. William Goodell poignantly described how that affecting moment was used to inform the natives of the Protestant view of Christ

and heaven. It was prosecuted, he told his mentors in Boston, "to deepen the solemn impression and improve the event in our public discourses with the natives."

> Some of the Arabs were deeply affected, as they stood around his dying bed. They were amazed at his peace of mind, and could not conceive it possible how anyone could be so willing to die. They wept. We explained to them the cause of his tranquility and joy, related to them much of his religious views and experience, and told them of Christ and heaven. Indeed we sometimes felt that Christ and heaven were present. It seemed but one step 'to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb,' where God himself wipes away all tears.[23]

The missionaries had many occasions to celebrate the "joyous parting" of their colleagues, and they always used them to exhort the natives to live closer to their Saviour. Mr. Hebard gives the following account of the parting scene of his own wife who died in Beirut in February 1840.

> A few days before her death, the native brethren assembled at her request to hear her last words. Among this little band, were our friends, bishops Carabet and Jacob Aga. All hung in breathless silence upon her lips as she exhorted them to live near to the Saviour, to let their light shine, to love one another, to do good to all around them, and to be faithful even unto death. They kneeled around her dying bed, while one of them led in prayer, after which they extended to her the parting hand and received her dying benediction. It was a solemn, a precious season. All were bathed in tears and all wept aloud.[24]

The closing scene of Mrs. Smith's "gentle death" (she died in 1836 at the age of thirty-four) was also affectionately narrated by her husband. The stormy shipwreck, which extended for some twenty-eight days, must have aggravated her consumptive tendencies and hastened her premature passage to the grave. As the bereaved friends and neighbors gathered, Mr. Smith described how her "involuntary groans melted into musical notes . . . and how their ears were charmed with the tones of the sweetest melody."[25] Mrs. Smith herself never lost a moment to display her faith. According to her colleagues in Beirut, during her last few months, her frail body became feeble and was "fast ripening for heaven, nothing was lost. She redeemed the time . . . by winning others to the skies."[26]

PIOUS AND SKILLFUL PHYSICIANS

The missionaries were equally adept at transforming other times of disquiet – "seasons of affliction, tumult, war, pestilence, and disorder" – into beneficent moments or what they termed "vantage grounds." Very early during their exploratory travels, they realized how much more effective evangelization would be if they sent ahead colporteurs, not only as agents of wisdom and piety, but also bearing simple remedies for bodily diseases to "heal the deeper maladies of the soul."[27] In fact, they had been in Beirut hardly a year when they expressed the urgent need for a "pious and skillful physician . . . not only as it respects the life and health of our own families, but as it respects the temporal and spiritual good which he might be the means of doing in all this country." Their appeal to the ABCFM claimed that he would be literally followed by "the lame, the halt, and the blind" – a reference to the biblical injunction.[28] A few years later, this solicitous appeal for pious and skillful physicians became more pressing, as apparent not only in their repeated requests, but in their justifications as well. The missionaries were, of course, anxious about their own state of health and physical well-being, and hence the prospect of prolonging their own lives and attending to their labors without fear of disease, infirmity, or early death. They also explicitly noted the instrumental character of such Christian benevolence, particularly since it gave them direct inroads into groups otherwise inaccessible to them. Above all, as Mr. Bird observed (in a letter from Beirut on April 3, 1832), it availed to the physician an "unostentatious, inoffensive way in which he may drop his remarks on religious subjects, answer inquiries, remove prejudices in bigoted families or companies, where a missionary would not be heard."[29]

The ABCFM, incidentally, was not oblivious to the poor living and sanitary conditions which cut short the lives of many of their young envoys. Nothing much could have been done beyond the efforts they made to assign a medical doctor to each station. The first such missionary doctor assigned to Beirut did not, however, survive for long. Asa Dodge arrived in February 1833, only to pass away early in 1835. The mission remained without a doctor until the arrival of Cornelius Van Dyck in April 1840, followed by Dr. Henry DeForest in 1842. After the premature departure, in quick succession, of three of their colleagues (Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Smith, and Dr. Dodge), none of whom completed three years in the field, the missionaries once again implored the ABCFM to replenish the supply of physicians. As before, they were quick to stress the importance of the physicians as agents not only for the preservation of the lives and health of the mission, but also for "preparing the way for the gospel, which could not in many instances be otherwise opened."[30]

At any rate, the standards of American medicine at the time left much to be desired. They did not, in fact, have much of an edge over native practitioners. Doctors bled patients for all manner of ailments. They excelled, it seems, in setting fractures and removing external tumors and cataracts.[31] Occasionally a missionary wrote a pamphlet on public health. Yet, even if the missionary doctors had been more "scientific" or proficient in their skills, they would have still been inhibited by the "instructions" and conceptual baggage they carried over with them. When he set out for Lebanon, Dr. Asa Dodge was reminded by the ABCFM of the ultimate purpose of his medical skill and practice: he was to use them "only as a means of furthering the spiritual objects of the mission."[32]

SHELTER IN DARK TIMES

This proclivity on the part of missionary physicians to "spiritualize" their interest in public welfare was also visible in the way they dispensed relief and shelter in hard times or "seasons of affliction." Their benevolence, much like their seemingly ardent longing to "heal the halt and lame," was rarely disinterested. Here, as well, they were particularly adept at transforming disaster and public despair into vantage grounds. While offering relief and shelter in times of war, communal violence, epidemics, and natural disaster, they never refrained from exhorting stricken and anxious natives to trust in God. During the Greek assault on Beirut in April 1826, terrified citizens took refuge in William Goodell's residence. Goodell responded without missing a beat:

> My house has been filled with the poor Christians, who were preparing to escape to the mountain. Twenty-seven slept in the room of my house one night, and the other rooms were equally well filled . . . Some were so terrified, they crept under the bed, some concealed themselves in various parts of the house, and others let themselves down by a rope from the window and escaped . . . To those who stayed I daily read the Scriptures, and exhorted them to trust in God.[33]

William Thomson, only days after the earthquake of January 1837 that devastated the southern Levant all the way to Safad and Tiberias (6000 of a population of 10,000 instantly perished), organized a rescue operation about which he wrote that his "only ardent desire" was to

> render our journey prosperous and profitable and to promote the glory of God and honor the gospel amongst the Jews and Moslems of that region, by alleviating the sufferings of the poor, the sick, the wounded, and orphan; and this will be cheaply purchased at any expense of time, toil, and danger.[34]

At Safad, where the devastations were most alarming, Thomson and his colleagues managed miraculously to assemble a makeshift hospital from salvaged boards, broken doors, and timber, and hired a native physician to attend to the maimed and wounded. Upon their return to Beirut, Thomson, always keen to extract moral precepts from such calamities, highlighted the selfless sacrifices and perils they had to endure, but went on to berate others for their cold-hearted villainy.[35]

Times of quarantine – normally imposed during epidemics, scourges, and other recurring hazards to public health – were also converted into good omens. Writing on August 7, 1837, during one such strict quarantine in the wake of a plague that had broken out in Beirut, Mr. Thomson revealed how the distress felt by the "throng of ignorant mountaineers" who had taken shelter in his residence was pleasantly consumed by reading and expounding the Scriptures:

> After we broke up quarantine, I prepared the only spare room in my house for Arabic prayers, and invited the neighbors to attend. At first but few came, but for some time past the room have [*sic*] been full every night. To this audience, varying in number from twenty to forty, I preach the gospel with all the plainness I can. Thus an hour passes pleasantly away every evening in reading and expounding the Scriptures and prayer. Always more or less remain to converse after prayer, with whom the whole evening is generally consumed. We have never had our houses so thronged before. May the Lord bless our unworthy labors, and his holy name be honored in the salvation of these ignorant mountaineers.[36]

"UNGODLY PURITANS"

Judging by the initial reactions of native groups to New England Puritans, the local populace seems to have been at times more struck, even amazed, by their unfamiliar and eccentric manners and customs than by the religious message the missionaries were preaching. In some respects this was to be expected; the inhabitants of the region were fairly well acquainted with Europeans through a long association dating back to the Crusades, but American missionaries, as emissaries of the New World, were bound to appear peculiar and even a bit outlandish. Indeed, they and their products and customs became objects of curiosity mixed with wonder and relish. The missionaries again cleverly

turned this curiosity to their advantage, using it as part of their silent strategy to open a wedge into the Levant. Incidentally, the missionaries found that some American products had already predated their arrival. When Eli Smith and Harrison Dwight made an exploratory field survey into Turkey, they came across barrels of New England rum in far-off Tiflis, Georgia. Not only was this particularly Bostonian product coveted, but they learned that the label "American" was added to an assortment of local products to enhance their market value:

> It is amusing to see how our country, on account of its being the *New World*, its distance from Turkey, and the general ignorance prevailing in respect to it, has the honor of giving name to whatever is curious, or particularly good. During the late festivities, the water-carriers would cry out among the people, '*American water*!' meaning good fresh water. The seller of cakes would call out as wonderful recommendation, '*Made of American butter*!' while a man who kept an ostrich for shew, stood at the door of his stall, calling out from morning till night, '*An American bird*!' Even on ordinary occasions, the Jew is met at the corners of the streets, calling out at the top of his voice, '*American cotton*!' And it is a singular coincidence, that the American built frigate is now the flagship of the capudan pasha.[37]

It must be recalled that "puritan ethics," as a collective mentality, embodied two seemingly discordant elements. There was, first, a spiritual and divine heritage which found expression in such notions as "disinterested benevolence" and other theological reformulations of Edwards and Hopkins, and which had sparked off New England evangelism and much of the enthusiasm for foreign missions. Secondly, puritanism also involved some utilitarian, pragmatic, and secular precepts and patterns of behavior, including those "ungodly" instrumental virtues brought to popular attention by Benjamin Franklin. As a cultural transplant, it was the diffusion of such practical precepts - temperance, moderation, sobriety, frugality, industry, silence, and cleanliness - which were less obtrusive and hence more penetrating in their impact.

Initially, it was the novelty and curiosity of these puritan attributes that was most appealing to the local population. Eventually, however, the demonstrable and sustained effectiveness of the practical prosaic missionary edicts persuaded native groups of the relevance and utility of puritanism as a cultural transplant. Early on, the missionaries became cognizant of this situation and made judicious use of it in extending and deepening their entry into the Levant. Even those locals who were hostile to the spiritual or evangelistic message of puritanism were still drawn to its so-called "ungodly" features.

There was much in the outward behavior, mannerisms, fashions, etiquette, and conventions of the missionaries that stimulated curiosity. Equally intriguing were the products that they favored, including wooden floors, glass windows, wagons, clocks, sewing machines, organs, the cotton gin, telegraphs - even tomatoes and potatoes.[38] It was these seemingly mundane items and cultural artifacts, along with the more consequential American innovations, such as boarding schools, female education, philanthropy, volunteerism, and outreach programs, that laid the foundation for some of the liberal and progressive transformations they generated.

In short, many local inhabitants became puritanized without being evangelized. They acquired the "ungodly" attributes of Benjamin Franklin without the spiritual tenets of Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins.

ENDNOTES

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[4] Isaac Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Land, or Events in the History of the Syria Mission Fully Illustrated* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872), 272.

[5] خمير and hence, "Leavening the Levant."

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[10] Alvin Bond, *Memoir of Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M.* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828), 295.

[11] Philip G. Altbach and Patti McGill Peterson, "Higher Education as a Projection of America's Soft Power," in *Soft Power Superpowers: Cultural and National Assets of Japan and the United States*, eds. Watanabe Yasushi and David L. McConnell (London: East Gate Books, 2008), 37–53.

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[15] Robert L. Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," *American Quarterly* 16 (1964): 72–84.

[16] Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 180.

[17] Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 178.

[18] Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 102.

[19] *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with Other Documents of the Board, 1834* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1819), 7.

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[22] Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 39.

[23] *Missionary Herald* XXII (1826): 132.

[24] *Missionary Herald* XXXVI (1840): 314.

[25] Anderson, *History of the Missions*, 234.

[26] *Missionary Herald* XXXIII (1837): 444.

[27] James Dennis, *A Sketch of the Syrian Mission* (New York: Mission House, 1872), 31.

[28] *Missionary Herald* XX (1824): 216.

[29] *Missionary Herald* XXVIII (1832): 288.

[30] *Missionary Herald* XXXIII (1837): 493.

[31] Robert L. Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," *American Quarterly*, 16 (Spring 1964): 82.

[32] ABCFM, *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, read at the twenty-third annual meeting which was held in the city of New York, Oct. 3, 4, and 5, 1832*, (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1832), 156.

[33] *Missionary Herald* XXII (1826): 356.

[34] *Missionary Herald* XXXIII (1837): 434.

[35] *Missionary Herald* XXXIII (1837): 443.

[36] *Missionary Herald* XIV (1837): 300.

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02 Converting the Druzes: The American Missionaries' Road Map to Nowhere[1]

Samer Traboulsi

On March 16, 1870, the Syria Mission Board sent a report to Missionary House in Boston requesting additional manpower and funds. In the report, the missionaries proposed shifting their proselytizing focus away from conversions of the "native" Christians and toward the Druze community. The future of the Mission, according to this report, lay in developing fieldwork among the Druzes, given that missionary work among the Eastern Christians was not producing the expected yield. Their hope was that the converted Druzes would then spearhead the evangelizing mission among the Bedouin Arabs in Transjordan. The report - published fully for the first time here in the appendix - highlights a decisive period in the history of the Syria Mission, which at the time was struggling to reinvent itself while facing resistance from within the missionary field and from without - from Missionary House in Boston.

THE STATE OF THE SYRIA MISSION

The Syria Mission was subject to major restructuring after the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College (henceforth the SPC) in Beirut in 1866. Several missionaries withdrew from the field to serve on the faculty and administration of the new college. And those who remained in the field faced new challenges as a result of the vacancies created by the reallocated personnel and constant financial challenges caused by inadequate funding from Missionary House. It should be noted, however, that the establishment of the SPC did not create these problems. The Syria Mission continuously struggled with a shortage of funds and personnel; the establishment of the SPC only made matters worse.

Expressions of the need for additional missionary workers and funds appear constantly in the correspondence sent from the missionaries in Syria, be it in the form of annual reports or in the letters of individual missionaries.[2] In an appeal sent in 1863, the missionaries noted that their number had been reduced from twelve to six and their outposts from eight to three. They warmly received the first new missionary in seven years, who arrived just in time to cover a position vacated by a Mr. Lyons, who was disabled by overwork.[3] Such newcomers to the field were quick to note the sad state of the struggling but ambitious Syria Mission, which was both geographically and financially overstretched. The impression they conveyed in their correspondence was that the Syria Mission was headed toward a bleak future if the situation was not ratified.[4]

Interestingly, most of the reports and personal letters of appeal sent to the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (henceforth the ABCFM) were published in *The Missionary Herald*, the mouthpiece of the interdenominational missionary organization. Obviously, their value in enticing donors to dig deep into their pockets did not escape the Prudential Committee. However, one report in particular, sent on March 16, 1870, requesting additional laborers and funds, remained unpublished. The members of the Syria Mission had expressly requested that the report be treated cautiously, that its subject matter be confined to Mission House and not be discussed in public, and that no attention be drawn to the efforts ensuing from the proposed plans, especially with regard to competing missionary groups active in Syria and the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Therein the missionaries proposed shifting their focus away from the "native" Christian churches since the missionary labor among the "nominal" and papal Christians - as the followers of the Eastern and Catholic churches were referred to in the missionary literature - was not producing the expected yield.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND THE "NATIVE" CHRISTIANS

A perceived problem the Syria Mission faced with the few new converts from the "native" churches was a lack of intellectual vigor, which prompted Reverend Thomson to remark rather improperly in his report that they were of "inferior material."[5] The initial zeal with which the American missionaries were met in the early days leading up to the conversion of the likes of As'ad al-Shidiaq and Mikha'il Mashshaqa was waning. The few converts who had joined the flock of believers were not taking charge of spreading Protestantism within their own communities as had been hoped. A successful mission needs to maintain a cumulative growth in the number of converts, relying more on the efforts and zeal of local newcomers to the faith than on the original labor of the American missionaries. The Prudential Committee constantly pushed to encourage the "natives" to take over the leadership of the church in Beirut and to establish a self-governing presbytery in the region, in the face of resistance by the local Protestant communities to the appointment of local preachers and an insistence on having American ones instead.[6] Furthermore, local church authorities turned out to be both resistant to and combative about proselytizing.[7] The potential for the new converts to willingly spread the message within their respective communities was limited due to the excessive pressure exercised on them by local church authorities and out of fear of social ostracism.

The persecution of converted Protestants in the village of Bainu in the district of Akkar is a telling example of the hardships faced by those who followed the American missionaries. The Greek Orthodox bishop, whose seat was in Bainu, ordered that the wives of the new converts be separated from their husbands, while the townsfolk did not hesitate to stone the house of one convert and to attempt to crucify another. Unlike the native converts, Samuel Jessup and George Post were spared any bodily harm during their visit to the town in the summer of 1864, thanks to the intervention of the governor, who warned local priests to stay away from the Americans for fear of repercussions from the Ottoman authorities.[8]

The Maronite bishop and priests in Zahleh, by contrast, were not as cautious with the missionaries. The decision to make Zahleh the base of the newly established Reformed Presbyterian Mission in Syria turned out to be a grave mistake. As soon as Reverends Dodds and Beatty settled with their families in the predominantly Maronite town in 1858, they were assaulted by furious mobs, who attacked their house and destroyed their property, forcing them to flee the town.[9] Rather foolishly, a year later, Reverend Benton of the Syria Mission attempted to establish a mission outpost in Zahleh; he met the same fate.[10] Eventually, the bishop of Zahleh was forced to pay a large sum in compensation for the townsfolk's actions when Mr. J. A. Johnson, the United States Consul in Beirut, filed an official complaint in person with the Ottoman Pasha in Beirut.[11]

The American missionaries ultimately realized that they were faced with an overwhelming "spirit of patriotism, (or something bearing its name and claims) [which] will be invoked to preserve the integrity of their venerated institutions and national existence, as against alien and foreign interference."[12] This "spirit of patriotism," which is tantamount to the Khaldunian concept of group feeling (*'asabiyya*) bound the local Christian communities together. Naturally, dividing the Christian populations into smaller "sects" created weaker communities, where smaller ones were placed under considerable and undesirable pressure. Thomson stated clearly in his report that fostering divisions within the Oriental churches was not the goal of the Protestant mission. The mission had been established in Syria to reform and evangelize the native churches as a whole.[13]

In short, after five decades of labor in Syria, the American missionaries realized that the goals of the mission needed to be reevaluated in order to ensure its survival and prosperity. They decided that, while missionary work among the local Christians need not be abandoned, they should shift the focus of their efforts toward the Druze community.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND THE DRUZES

Relations between the American missionaries and the Druzes had been historically cordial. It could not be better expressed than as in an 1864 report where the author writes:

> The Protestants are a small and hated minority. Providence has made the Druzes a wall of defense for the present. To them, under God, is it due, that we pursue our labors on this mountain. The purely papal districts, we are not yet able, directly, to reach.[14]

The missionaries envisioned in their larger plan the conversion of the sympathetic Druze population in Mount Lebanon and the Hawran as a first step. Once converted, the Druzes would spearhead the campaign to evangelize the Bedouin Arab tribes in the Transjordan. The logic, if any, behind this grand scheme was that the Druzes of the Hawran spoke the same tribal language as the Arab Bedouins. As such, the converted Druzes were better qualified to spread the "Good News" among their compatriots.[15] Obviously, the first hurdle to overcome was to convert the Druzes.

Thomson believed that the potential for converting the Druzes was great. First, unlike with orthodox Muslim communities, the Ottoman authorities, in principle, did not forbid missionary work among the Druzes.[16] The status of "heterodox" communities, such as the Druzes, Nusairis, and Isma'ilis, was so ambiguous that Ottoman authorities did not feel the need to prohibit missionary work among them except when there was need for conscripts. By joining the Protestant *millet*, not only was the convert spared military service following the *millet* system, but he also enjoyed the protection of the American and British consuls.[17] As seen above, the missionaries did not hesitate to seek protection from their foreign consuls in face of the indifference or pressure exercised by the local Ottoman authorities on the mission and its followers.

The missionaries were aware of the benefits of conversion of Ottoman subjects to non-Muslim *millet*s. It was a concern whenever a potential convert approached them. Obviously, the missionaries were interested in converts who would contribute to the growth of the community rather than those who would revert to their old faith once the threat of conscription was removed.[18] This was a considerable risk in the case of the Druzes, who were considered eligible for conscription. The American missionaries were definitely not interested in building a community of "nominal" Protestants. After all, they had come to Syria to reform "nominal" Christians. Despite the potential risk, the missionaries seemed confident of a positive outcome from a major overhaul of the missionary work toward the Druzes.

The history of Protestant evangelism among the Druzes dates back to the early days of the Syria Mission. As early as 1843, a decision was made to abandon the station in Jerusalem and establish a new one in the town of 'Abeih, the historic center of the Druze emirs of the houses of Tanukh and Shihab in Mount Lebanon. The town was deemed suitable and hospitable, and in August of 1846, the American missionaries established a girls' school with attendance varying between twelve to twenty pupils depending on the weather. Reverend Whiting's two oldest daughters were in charge of the girls' education, which was predominantly focused on scripture and catechism.[19]

Later that same year, the second seminary in Syria was established in 'Abeih under the direction of Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, who was later joined by Reverend Simeon Calhoun.[20] The seminary, which was predominantly a boarding school – though students were expected to provide clothing and bedding – opened its doors on Wednesday, November 4, 1846. Within a week, it had seven boarders and two day scholars.

Van Dyck wrote jubilantly to the Prudential Committee announcing the opening of the seminary and illustrating its potential for the mission. He also gave a brief overview of the curriculum:

> It was deemed sufficient at the commencement to decide upon certain studies in themselves indispensable; and, accordingly, it was resolved to begin, with the systematic study of the Bible, Arabic grammar, arithmetic and geography. The study of the Bible was made paramount to everything else, and will be continued throughout the course, whatever else be admitted or rejected. Languages are excluded except for select pupils intended for translators.[21]

Interestingly, the instruction was mostly oral, with only one textbook used for Arabic grammar. A native assistant taught Arabic and arithmetic in the morning, and Van Dyck taught scripture and geography in the afternoon.[22] By 1851, the curriculum had changed slightly. Reverend Calhoun reported that students were examined twice a year. The lowest class was tested in geography, history, and arithmetic, while the higher classes were tested in

> algebra, geometry, with their application to trigonometry, mensuration, natural philosophy, astronomy &c., according to the time they have been under our care. The two higher classes were examined in English, and the whole gave specimens of their progress in composition and declamation.[23]

Logic, rhetoric, and prosody were later added to the curriculum.[24]

In 1846, the 'Abeih station oversaw eight other satellite schools in the mountain region with a total of one hundred and forty-seven students on average, half of whom were Druzes and a quarter of whom were girls. The number of satellite schools varied each year, depending on the reception and interest of the locals. If no interest was shown, the missionaries would shut down the provisional school and move to another town. In 1848, for example, there were seven functioning schools in total: in 'Abeih, Kfar Mattah, 'Aynab, 'Aytat, and 'Aramoun, in addition to a part-time school in 'Ayn 'Anub and a girls' school in 'Abeih. The total number of students who at least partially attended during the year was three hundred and fifty, two-thirds of whom were Druzes.[25]

The number of students at the seminary was lower than at the regular schools due to the advanced nature of instruction. In 1851, there was a total of nineteen students at the seminary, four of whom where Druzes, while the rest belonged to different Christian denominations. One peculiar student admitted that year was an unnamed young Druze emir,

> a most diligent and obedient pupil, and an example worthy of imitation for his correct deportment and, as far as we know, good morals. Scarcely one in the school seems more interested in the study of the Scriptures, or lends a more ready ear to thoroughly spiritual instruction.[26]

The young emir appears to have stayed at the seminary for at least two academic years before disappearing from the records.

However, the bright expectations for the mission work in 'Abeih and the mountains suddenly turned bleak in 1851. Calhoun and Whiting reported in a discouraging tone: "upon the Druzes, one large division of this people, we have failed to make any permanent or visible impression."[27] Despite the high demand for schools by the Druze population, the missionaries reported that the interest was limited to education, with no tangible interest in the religion. "To this hour," wrote Calhoun and Bird in their annual report, "but little impression has been made on the adult portion of that community."[28] The disappointing outcome of the mission work in Syria, in general, and among the Druzes, in particular, was due to two main reasons, according to the missionaries: the linguistic limitations of the American preachers and the ingrained religious beliefs of the local population. In a strongly worded letter to the Prudential Committee, Reverend Bird bluntly stated that most of the missionaries - himself included - were not qualified or able to conduct extensive sermons in Arabic. The mission would collapse if the older members could no longer serve.[29] The missionaries were suffering from a serious obstacle in communicating their message to the locals. The message remained foreign in nature, hence the need for natives to take over the missionary work.

The other obstacle noted by the missionaries was that they were bringing a new faith to a land of ancient religions that constituted an essential part of the daily life of the people. "Now it is not easy," states the report, "to persuade a people thus religious of their need of a new revelation."[30] Despite the discouraging nature of the report, the author wrote reassuringly that time would prove that the seeds that were sewn would bear abundant fruit.

Ironically, the bad fortune of the Syria Mission changed during the bleakest times in the history of Syria. While most of the missionary stations were shut down during the 1860 civil war, both Druzes and Maronites showed high esteem for the American missionaries by trusting them with their lives and properties.[31] Except in Hasbaya, where local Protestants sided with the Maronites, Protestants throughout the country were spared the ravages of war.[32] All of a sudden, Syria became the focus of attention in *The Missionary Herald*, and aid campaigns were launched in support of the victims of the civil war. Naturally, the focus was on the Christian "brethren" regardless of doctrinal differences.

By placing the Syria Mission in the spotlight, it became possible to persuade the Prudential Committee and American donors that the war had created fresh ground for missionary labor. The prospects for the overwhelming success of the mission were there and waiting for the missionaries to act upon once they were provided with the adequate support from the Prudential Committee. The missionaries had gained the confidence and respect of the Syrian populace on both sides of the conflict. They started receiving several requests from Druze villagers to open schools in their areas. The edict of Governor Yusuf Karam forbidding the Maronite clergy from interfering in civil and political affairs cleared the ground, to a certain extent, for the Americans to start evangelizing in towns and villages of Maronite populations with reduced fear for their lives and properties.

Furthermore, the appointment of Dawud Pasha, a new Christian *mutasarrif*, to administer Mount Lebanon, gave a major boost to the missionaries since he was supportive of their contributions in the field of education.[33] Following its reopening in 1863, Dawud Pasha gave "generous donations" to the seminary. In addition, a new seminary opened in 'Abeih for the Druzes where both Arabic and English were taught. Al-Madrasa al-Dawudiyya, named after the *mutasarrif* who supported its establishment, provided an additional indirect outlet to the missionaries, although the school was fully supported by income from Druze endowments. The teachers at the school were both Protestants and former students of the seminary, and the books used for the instruction were published by the American Mission Press.[34]

THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN 'ABEIH

In January 1869, the missionary board voted to open a theological seminary in 'Abeih, the idea for which came from Missionary House in Boston. The Prudential Committee thought that there was

a pressing need for the Syria Mission to start training a native ministry to take over the field.[35] The theological instruction would be "divided into two distinct departments: 1st Biblical history, exegesis, and Church history. 2nd Doctrinal theology, homiletics, and pastoral care."[36] Accordingly, the Prudential Committee proposed to relieve Reverend Calhoun of his duties as mission treasurer and have him focus instead on the instruction in the first department while writing textbooks for use in the seminary. Theological instruction would be entrusted to Dr. George Post, who would be recalled from the medical faculty at the SPC. In case of Post's refusal to accept the teaching position, the committee proposed to hand it over to Reverend Jessup, who would be moved from the Beirut station to 'Abeih. Obviously, Post declined Missionary House's request to leave the comforts of Beirut for the mountains and a lower paid job. As a result, the position went to Jessup.

The decision was communicated to Jessup while he was on an extended trip to the United States.[37] While showing interest in the position, Jessup declined to give his final acceptance before returning to Beirut and receiving the approval of his colleagues on the Syria Mission Board.[38] Jessup's cautious response was the result of the cold reception that the plan to open the theological seminary in 'Abeih had received from the Syria Mission. The finances and location of the seminary were the two major objections raised by the missionaries. The Prudential Committee expected the missionaries to add another load to their already overworked schedules without offering financial and manpower support. As a result, Bird opposed the idea as a whole, while Van Dyck and Thomson were of the view that "the seminary cannot be carried on in 'Abeih with any hope of permanence."[39] Samuel Jessup, Henry's brother, thought that "sending young men to 'Abeih to study theology for an hour a day for two months a year" was unreasonable,[40] while Calhoun, aged 64, requested not to be involved in the project due to his advanced age. The missionaries were of the opinion that opening the seminary in Beirut would grant the students access to the resources available at the SPC while being surrounded by a larger number of missionaries and SPC faculty. On the other hand, the Prudential Committee argued that it was not fair to spoil the students with the comforts of urban life in Beirut and then expect them to thrive in isolated mountain villages and the Hawran. Thus, they considered 'Abeih to be a more suitable location for training future native missionaries. The ABCFM was clear that its plan was not open for discussion, and the Syria Mission Board understood that they had no say in the matter. In its meeting on 12 January 1869, the Mission Board finally conceded. The missionaries adopted the idea with enthusiasm and distributed the teaching responsibilities between Reverends Calhoun, Eddy, and Jessup.

The seminary in 'Abeih began as a summer school from May to November.[41] In a letter sent in August 14, Jessup wrote about the topics discussed in the classroom:

> Which is most needed now in Syria, an increase in the number of schools, or of preachers? Which is most desirable for evangelical churches in this empire, a native or a foreign pastorate? . . . How should controversy with the Moslems and Druzes be conducted? What are the best means for carrying the gospel to the Bedouin Arabs?[42]

These subjects discussed in the seminary reflected the concerns and aspirations of the Syria Mission. It seems they had started acting upon their goal to evangelize the Druzes and the Bedouin Arabs by preparing native ministers at the new seminary.[43] However, they recognized that the enterprise was going to be of limited potential if it was restricted to the summer months. Reverend Calhoun could not possibly handle the two seminaries in 'Abeih at the same time. Having Jessup posted there year-round would be debilitating to other stations in dire need of missionaries. The only solution was to have additional reinforcements sent from the United States. However, the frequent letters of appeal sent to the Mission House in Boston were not generating the expected response. A better strategy was to create an urgent and convincing growth plan that Missionary House could not ignore. Such a plan needed to answer the Prudential Committee's vision for the missionary labor in Syria.

The proposed road map came in the form of a detailed study and re-evaluation of the field. It proposed reinvigorating the missionary labor through a detailed plan to shift the focus of proselytizing work from the local Christians to the Druzes, who would subsequently be encouraged to lead the missionary labor among the Bedouin Arabs in the Transjordan. Framing the proposed growth plan around the Druzes was a logical response to the Prudential Committee's determination to train native missionaries in 'Abeih. By providing additional labor to the Syria Mission, the Prudential Committee would be simultaneously reinforcing the new theological seminary and the intended outcome behind it, while appeasing the old-time missionaries whose frustration with the Boston headquarters had become clear.

The question to be addressed here concerns the nature of the Syria missionaries' grand plan to convert the Druzes. Did they sincerely believe that there was a potential for the Druzes to convert to Christianity in large numbers, or were they using the Druzes as a ploy to extract additional reinforcements from the United States?

The assumption that the missionaries believed in the possibility of a mass Druze conversion stands in stark contradiction with their earlier argument that missionary labor among Eastern Christians was pointless due to the "spirit of patriotism" that prevented the Americans from infiltrating the Christian communities. There is no evidence that the missionaries believed such a "spirit" was nonexistent among the Druzes, a secretive community known for its solidarity in facing outside threats. The missionaries were not so ignorant of the realities of the people with whom they had been working and living for the previous fifty years to believe that the Druze response to intensified missionary work within their communities was going to be different than that of the Christians. They were, therefore, most probably using the stated goal of converting the Druzes as a ploy to receive additional manpower from Missionary House.

The figures for Druze converts did not support the missionaries' arguments. In 1869, when the Mission Board met in 'Abeih and requested that Mr. Thomson draft the said report, the Mission welcomed the first male Druze convert in its history.[44] Two other female converts had joined the church in Beirut more than fifteen years earlier. Yet the "harvest" – to use a missionary term – among the Druzes did not reflect willingness of the mountain people to espouse the new faith. It was, therefore, hard to convince the Prudential Committee that the future of the Mission lay with the Druzes rather than with the native Christians, when the numbers showed that so far almost all converts to Protestantism had come from the local Christian population.

Furthermore, the reputation the Druzes had gained during the 1860 civil war was so negative in the United States that it was not easy to convince potential American donors to back the Syria Mission Board's ambitious project. Though the missionaries had tried to maintain a relatively neutral position in their writings during the civil war, the American press had fueled a high level of hostility against the Druzes and sympathy for their Christian foes.[45] Aware of the Druzes' negative image in the US, Thomson addressed the issue in his report by putting the blame squarely on the Ottomans, who had used the Druzes as a tool to execute their plans against the Christians. He added that the Druzes were well aware that getting involved again in an adventure of this scale would jeopardize their unity and survival in Mount Lebanon.[46]

Unfortunately, the response from the Prudential Committee never arrived. The ABCFM was in the midst of a major restructuring. In 1869, after a thirty-year division, the Old and New Schools of Presbyterianism in the US voted to reunite into the United Presbyterian Church.[47] As a result, the New School withdrew its support for the interdenominational ABCFM to join the Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions, henceforth PCBFM. In agreement between the two boards, the new united PCBFM took over the management of some missions to share the financial burden with the ABCFM. The Syria Mission voted to join the PCBFM in 1870.[48]

This major event in the history of the Syria Mission and the SPC ultimately led to the reassessment of the Mission's priorities. The plan to focus on the conversion of the Druzes and, subsequently, the Bedouin Arabs was not proposed again, and the theological seminary was transferred from 'Abeih to Beirut in 1873. It also became clear that missionary work in Syria would be facing some serious challenges as well. In 1869, the Ottoman government issued the Regulation of Public Education with the aim of modernizing and secularizing primary education in the capital and the provinces. Accordingly, all schools functioning in the Ottoman domains, including the missionary schools, became integrated in a legal framework that governed the curriculum and administration of the schools.[49] The repercussions of the new regulatory law on missionary schools were not felt until around 1885, when they were enforced by the provincial educational administrations. As a result, a score of missionary schools in the Druze and Nusairi regions were forced to shut down, some at least temporarily. They could neither comply with the new curricular regulations nor justify their existence since Muslims were prohibited from sending their children to foreign schools when a Muslim private or state school was available.[50] Schools were the backbone of missionary work. Without them, no mission could even hope to have a long-lasting and broad effect on the local population. The only evidence remaining of this unrealistic plan in the history of the Syria Mission is the report published here.

APPENDIX

At its annual meeting in January 1869, the Syria Mission Board requested that Reverend William M. Thomson (d. 1894) prepare a study on the potential of missionary work among the Druzes. Reverend Thomson, who was counted by Jessup among the "seven pioneers of Syria Mission work,"[51] had joined the Syria Mission in 1834. He was first stationed in Hasbaya and then in Sidon. During a two-year sojourn in the US, Thomson published a bestselling travel account for Palestine entitled ***The Land and the Book***. He was stationed in Beirut from 1859 until his final departure for the US in 1877.

Thomson's findings on missionary work among the Druzes were met with great enthusiasm by his colleagues at the semi-annual meeting of the board in August 1869. He was asked to prepare a final draft to send to the Prudential Committee. On August 31, upon returning to his summer home in Shemlan, Thomson sent a draft of the report to N. G. Clark, head of the ABCFM. He was seemingly interested in drawing Clark's attention to the matter in anticipation of formally submitting the report after receiving the approval of the Mission Board in the coming annual meeting.[52] The report, entitled "Mission Work for the Druzes," was sent to the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM on March 16, 1870. It was preceded by a formal introductory letter addressed by the Mission Board that summed up the recommendations, which were to follow in Thomson's report. The letter aimed at stressing the board's full support for Thomson's findings, while also highlighting his recommendations. Another letter, written by Reverends Thomson and Bird, emphasizing the great potential behind strengthening missionary work among the Druzes, was appended to the report. It aimed at presenting the proposition in a personal and less formal tone that might be more convincing to the members of the Prudential Committee. The final version of the report with the two accompanying letters is presented here.

The document is housed at the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, 1810-1961, Houghton Library, Harvard University under the following call no.: ABC 16.8.1, Syrian Mission 1823-1871, v. 6. Mission to Syria, 1860-1871. v. 1 [291], Microfilm Reel 545.

I have tried, in editing the document, to preserve punctuation and mistakes, which might have occurred while producing the archival copy. I also kept the underlining placed by the author to emphasize certain words or sentences. Page numbers from the original document are included in the text between brackets.

THE REPORT

The Syria Mission at its annual meeting in Jan. last having had before the subject of The Druze sect as affording a field for evangelistic labor, requested Mr. Thomson to prepare a paper on this topic to be laid before them at their next meeting. That paper having been presented at the semi-annual meeting in August placing in a strong light the obligations of the Mission to put forth measures at once for the evangelization of this people and the same subject having been discussed at length during the sessions of the meeting, a Committee was appointed to draw up a minute; embodying the views of the Mission as then expressed and to recommend the action to be taken in carrying these views into effect.

The Committee thus instructed reported,

That the mission were deeply impressed with the importance of this subject as set before them in the paper of Mr. Thomson and as pressed upon them by their own observation and convictions and convinced that it now demands their careful consid- [2] eration and hence forward their warmest, prayerful and persevering labors.

They were persuaded, that their duty to the Master; their regard for the souls of these perishing people, the sustaining the interest of Christians at home in the missionary work in this land and the developing the piety of the native Christians demand that they inaugurate and carry into effect measures additional to those already used, looking forward to the enlightenment and conversion of the Druze sect, and this all the more, since thus doing they proceed to carry out the plan on which missions to Syria were commenced 45 years ago.

It was recommended, that the mission regard themselves as now deliberately and solemnly taking upon themselves a renewed obligation of, individually and collectively, making this henceforth a prominent, engrossing subject of their labors and prayers, and of studying ways and means to carry the gospel as directly and as speedily as possible to the hearts of this people. [3]

That the paper of Mr. Thomson be sent to the Missionary House, for the information of the Prudential Committee, with an added communication from Mr. Thomson setting forth further facts,

needed by them for the proper understanding of the subject, not within the scope of the paper as addressed to the mission.

That the mission express to the Prudential Committee their readiness to go forward in this work as fast and as far as the Providence of God and the means placed at their disposal by the Committee shall enable them and that they urge upon the Committee the necessity of a large expenditure of missionary labor and of money to meet the demands of a work of so momentous interest.

That the mission recommend to the Committee, that two additional missionaries be sent to this field (one of these if possible a physician) with the view of the setting apart that member, from the entire body of the mission thus increased, of those best suited to be specially devoted [4] to this work, to become acquainted with the Druze religion and modes of thought and to study the best means of bringing the gospel into contact with the Druze mind.

That as early as possible books and tracts be prepared and issued from the Press designed to best inform the Druzes of the teachings of the gospel and to meet such difficulties as may be peculiar to their minds in the way of their reception of its truths.

That those conducting the College, the 'Abeih Seminary, the Beirut and Sidon Female Boarding Schools, and other institutions in sympathy with our efforts be requested either to admit Druze pupils into these Institutions or to add to the number of those already admitted.

That common schools be opened or continued in places were Druze scholars can be gathered and that teachers be selected with special reference to imparting faithfully and judiciously religious instruction.

That the training in the Theological Seminary to the prospective native pas- [5] tors have reference also to their efficient co-operation in this work.

That the members of the native churches be admonished of their duty to engage to their utmost ability in systematic, self-denying prayerful efforts in behalf of the Druzes and also the other religious sects not nominally Christian.

That all due caution be used not to draw attention to these efforts, either by letter or by unnecessary publicity of action, but that we study quiet, unobtrusive methods of pushing forward this work and that the Prudential Committee be informed of the necessity of the same caution in their public statements.

That as the whole dependence for wisdom, for strength and for success is upon the great Head of the Church, the mission make this a special subject of prayer, and designate Friday of each week as the day when they unitedly offer their petitions for this object and [6] that it be thus indicated in the schedule of subjects for daily prayer adopted by the mission.

And that while thus pressing the claims of the Druze sect for immediate effort, the mission are [*sic*] by no means indifferent to the call in behalf of the Mohammedan and Ansairiyeh sects, for their prayers and labors and those of the churches at home and that they will neglect no opportunity of giving them the gospel as fast as the door of access to them shall be opened.

Notes. The mission adopted this report and ordered that it be engrossed in the minutes of the meeting and that a copy be sent to the Missionary Rooms.

To carry out one of the recommendations, Doctor Van Dyck was appointed to prepare a tract answering some of the leading errors of the Druze religion.[53] [7]

(COPY)
MISSION WORK FOR THE DRUZES

The following article on this subject has been prepared simply for the mission, in compliance with their vote at the last Annual Meeting. I shall not take up time by giving any account of the people themselves - of their origin and history - their numbers and geographical position and relations, their social, civil and religious institutions +c +c. These matters are sufficiently well known to all the members of the mission.

As introductory to the specific subject under consideration, I wish to allude briefly to the original theory of missions to these oriental christian [*sic*] sects. I do not know how otherwise to bring out the whole case fully and fairly as it lies in my own mind.

When called, forty years ago, to connect myself with these oriental operations, the theory presented - broadly stated - was the following. To labor to introduce [8] a purer form of christianity [*sic*] into these fragments of oriental christian [*sic*] churches, as a necessary stepping stone for bringing the

gospel to the moslems, and non-christian tribes of these countries. It was upon this principle that the American Board (chartered for the purpose of propagating the gospel among the heathen) could and did justify the establishing of missions amongst these Christian sects. The right to do so was not taken for granted, but the whole subject was carefully discussed, and my own mind at least, was only satisfied with this one reason that this was strictly necessary as preparatory to efforts in behalf of the non-christian [*sic*] populations of the east.

The older members of the mission, at least can understand how it was possible, at that day, for Dr. Goodell[54] to say, when questioned on the subject, that he thanked God they had not made a single convert - meaning that they had not drawn away a single member from any of these oriental churches. The hope entertained up to that time, and long after was, to so far en- [9] lighten and reform these churches, as to make them the channel through which a purified and living gospel could be offered to the unevangelized. That this hope could not be realized, the history of our missions has too sadly proved. But the necessity of separation from those nominal christian [*sic*] sects did not, in my opinion, essentially change the true basis upon which the missions of the American Board were established in Turkey and Persia. The work has been, is, and should still be regarded as mainly preparatory to efforts for the conversion of the Moslem and the heathen. And at the end of half a century it is surely time to raise the inquiry whether it has not been carried on long enough, and sufficiently for, to permit, and even to demand a vigorous movement onward towards realizing the fundamental purpose of those missions. If continued too long there may be danger of losing sight of, or altogether forgetting the grandeur and broader scope of our commission, in working at the prepara- [10] tory means. No one will maintain, I suppose, that this forward effort should be postponed until these oriental sects shall have been wholly converted to Protestantism. This would probably require ages to accomplish, and it may never be realized, at least not by us, or by foreign missionaries. And moreover this specific work seems to belong rather to such societies as the C. F. Union,[55] than to the American Board. To my own mind it is the most hopeful way to aim at this result amongst these oriental churches through the longer and more comprehensive work of converting the unevangelized. Indeed I doubt whether it can be reached in any other way for the following among other reasons.

1. The broader basis of labor for the conversion of the heathen is necessary for the development and right training of the native evangelical churches. As the work is now carried on this native church is acquiring, through influences almost necessary and inevitable, the spirit [11] and character of a small antagonistic christian [*sic*] sect, distinguished for, and fighting over knotty dogmas, or wrangling for individual proselytes. The lines of demarcation will be - are being - drawn around it closer and tighter. The earnest, loving zeal of the first converts will decline - in many places is declining. Opposition will be more thoroughly organized, and worked with greater skill. The wants of the people for education, books, and even for preaching, will be met by learned ecclesiastics of the various sects - a spirit of patriotism, (or something bearing its name and claims) will be invoked to preserve the integrity of their venerated institutions and national existence, as against alien and foreign interference - and thus our work will encounter greater, more invincible obstacles in the future than it has done in the past. New conversions from outside the closely hemmed-in circle will gradually become more rare, and in many places, the work will not only cease to advance, but left to itself as it [12] must ultimately be it is to be feared, that it will die out altogether. Past experience points in that direction.

When I first came to the Mediterranean, missions for the Greeks were regarded as highly promising. My companion over the ocean, Dr. Riggs,[56] was sent to Athens, and he was soon after joined by others. One of my first tours of exploration was to Cyprus to aid in establishing a Greek mission on that island in connection with the Syria mission. All these enterprises have long since been abandoned, and, so far as I can understand the case, the main source of discouragement was just this tenacious determination to resist segregation and national weakness, by discouraging, in every possible way, conversions to Protestantism.[57] And these efforts have been wonderfully successful.

For reasons known to all the mission, this element has not hitherto acted with the same intensity amongst the Armenians as amongst Greeks and some other sects, but it exists everywhere; and [13] in some of the most important centers even of the Armenian people, it is beginning to operate with a power which has brought evangelistic work to almost an entire stand-still. There is a determination spreading amongst the better classes, and even amongst enlightened men, not to separate from their national church. Now though missions to the Armenians - unlike those to the Greeks - have in no sense proved a failure, yet it would be a sad issue should these missions succeed merely in detaching some 10.000 or 20.000 people from the 3.000.000 of this nation, and erecting them into an additional sect, while the great mass remain where they are, only more thoroughly disciplined and hedged about than before.

These considerations apply in all their force to our Syrian field, and, discouraging as the picture may be, I believe there is real danger that things may thus petrify into hard and lifeless rigidity. Looking at matters soberly and resolutely, in the light of past experience, [14] I believe that to rely on any superiority of our native converts over their brethren in other sects, to carry on this work triumphantly over and against the gathering forces of resistance, will end in disappointment. To depend upon any eminent superiority of our literary, and educational machinery, as opposed to, and by similar machinery certain to be organized, and already commenced equally disappoint, or will result in but a very limited success - if our operations be confined to labors amongst these christian [*sic*] sects.

If these representations be true, what remains as an adequate basis for missionary enterprise in Western Asia?

In my judgment this is a grave question - nor is it irrelevant or untimely. During my missionary life the question has been propounded more than once; whether this mission should not be abandoned as those to the Greeks have been. Our territorial limits have been actually reduced to less than one fourth of their original dimensions. The number [15] of missionaries has also diminished, and it appears to be increasingly difficult to keep our reduced field properly manned; and the opinion has been frequently expressed by members of the mission, that Tripoli and the entire northern half of our field should be given up to some other society, unless it can be more efficiently worked by us than it has hitherto been.[58] It is unnecessary to dwell further on this aspect of matters - but I will add, as having a general bearing on the subject, that unless some new and wider basis of action is found and occupied, the Syria mission is in danger of drifting into an educational, and literary enterprise, too large for the wants of the protestant [*sic*] community for which it is worked, and the real missionary work may gradually cease altogether for want of missionaries, if from no other cause.

Should such a result come about because the purpose for which these missions were originally established, was fairly accomplished, there would be no cause for [16] regret but rather for rejoicing. But will this be the fact? I fear the contrary will be true - that only a small fragment even of these christian [*sic*] sects will have been evangelized, while the whole of the non-christian tribes will remain just where they were. I can see no other way to escape an issue so lamentable, but for the missions and the Board to fall back upon the original principle upon which missions to these countries were commenced. This allows us to regard all past and present labors as essentially preparatory to the real work in view - the evangelization of the non-christian [*sic*] population of Turkey and Persia.

The actual amount of this preparatory work has been very great, nor has it yet been fully accomplished. On the contrary it will be necessary to still carry it forward as fast, and as far as possible, in order to reach the accomplishment of the wider and greater enterprise. I would not abandon, nor essentially change any part of it, while I think that the time [17] has come to make a steady and vigorous move onward towards the main object of our work.

And just here is the place to say, that the prospect opens before our mission with peculiar promise. We live among, and have long partially labored for, an unevangelized people, residing in Lebanon and regions contiguous to it, now under the government of a christian [*sic*] Pasha, and upon whom the Mohammedan law against apostacy [*sic*] cannot be enforced - who are now, and always have been friendly to us, and whose respect and confidence we have largely secured - who necessarily lean upon a protestant power for national protection and even existence, and whom it has become the settled policy of the British government to protect. A large number of them are not only willing but anxious to place their children and youth of both sexes in our schools and seminaries; and, what is still more important, considerable numbers of them [18] have at different times, manifested a decided inclination to become protestants. Moreover the influences which have hitherto acted upon them in this direction, are likely to be permanent, and may at any time become far more effective than heretofore. The number of their young people that have already been educated by us, and partially enlightened is considerable, and is daily increasing. These are soon to be the most influential members of their nation - should a fresh impulse be given towards Protestant christianity [*sic*], such as I have twice witnessed in the earlier history of our mission, we should probably have the whole Druze nation on our hands at once, and our utmost strength, supplemented by all the native agency and machinery which we have accumulated in the country would be unable to meet the emergency. Considerations and facts like these show that our mission occupies a position peculiarly favorable for making an effort to carry onward the missionary work into the unevangelized communities of the East. [19]

The advantages which would flow from a successful enterprise of this kind are so obvious, that I shall merely name some of them without attempting to illustrate them in detail.

1. It would impart fresh confidence, life and hope, to the missionaries themselves. This may not at once appear to all to be a matter of essential importance and yet we are mistaken (as I think) if we imagine that this is not even now greatly needed, especially amongst laborers in behalf of the Arabs. The oldest member of the Damascus mission stated distinctly in my last conversation with him, that the influence of some such ultimate prospect as this we are discussing, was becoming almost essential to the life of their mission - more necessary for them than for us about Beirût, where we had many collateral operations to encourage us.

2. It would infuse a fresh and a purer life into our native churches. In addition to what has been [20] said above on this subject, I will merely call attention to the danger, looming up in various quarters, that our small protestant sect will itself split up into several minor and antagonistic sects opposing and excommunicating each other. The confusion and disaster which must grow out of such antagonism it is dreadful to contemplate. The most effectual remedy that I can discover is to preoccupy the heart and soul of our converts with the broad missionary spirit - the spirit of our blessed Lord himself - to so fill them with zeal, and compassion for the salvation of the heathen world around them, that they will have neither time nor disposition for dogmatic hair-splitting. By leading them on to the grand contest against the world and the devil, we shall forestall and shut out these unseemly and ruinous controversies within the church.

3. It would place before our forthcoming native ministry an entirely new (to them) and a glorious theater for [21] activity and enterprise.

4. It would furnish a broad and permanent basis for our schools, seminaries, and college, and for the operations of the Press, which rival institutions, Jesuit intrigue, and priestly power could not assail.

5. It would react powerfully upon the best elements in the native christian [*sic*] sects. Such men as B. Bustany,[59] John Abgarius [*sic*],[60] A. Shedûdy,[61] Dr. Wortabet,[62] and others with whom I have conversed on this subject, express the opinion, that such a work, carried on successfully would do more than any thing [*sic*] else towards drawing the hearts of the nominal christians [*sic*] to the gospel. As the work is now carried on it is rare that the sober, the wise, and the substantial join us. We have to work upon inferior material, and no amount of polishing can entirely eliminate the works of this original mean and mercenary basis.

6. It would fortify the faith, [22] and strengthen the hands of the Board and its patrons in regard to our field.

7. It would incline new, able and zealous missionaries to come to our aid.

8. From the intimate association of the Druzes with the moslems, kurds, and especially with the Bedouin arabs [*sic*] who occupy the Hauron, or wander over the deserts of Syria and Arabia, Druze converts, properly trained, will make the best missionaries to these vast tribes. It is now the declared policy of the Turkish government to compel all these tribes to settle, and a beginning has been actually made.[63] Should this be achieved it will be of great importance to meet those tribes at once in their new homes, and offer them the gospel under their new conditions - before they have been hardened into real moslems by governmental influence. At present Islamism sits very loosely on them - and they gladly welcome our colporteurs amongst them, and listen eagerly to the Bible reader.

Assuming for the sake of [23] farther remark that the mission will conclude to take up this matter in some practical shape, I will add a few suggestions which may be of use in guiding our deliberations.

1. This is a vast, arduous and expensive enterprise in men and means, and should be taken up as such, or not at all.

2. It should be commenced and carried on, at least in the outset, in the quietest possible manner. There should be no blowing of trumpets either here or elsewhere. There should be nothing published in regard to it especially in England. There is perhaps no subject that will more quickly catch the fancy of many good people in England than just this effort to reach the Druzes; and warm-hearted, but, impracticable enthusiasts will want to rush in and have a hand in the work. Our experience nearly 30 years ago, warns us to be on our guard against such intrusion.

3. There ought to be at least [24] two men (one of them a physician) of special qualifications and endowments set apart to this enterprise - whose studies, location and labors should have direct reference to it. This, of course does not mean that there should not be ultimately more, nor that the other missionaries should not cooperate with them. But on the principle, that what is every body's [*sic*] business is nobody's, it would not be either wise or safe to trust such an enterprise to incidental effort. It demands the concentrated energies of the ablest men that can be procured.

4. Books and tracts should be prepared at once with special reference to this work, and every available means employed to enlist the leading Druze minds in the work.

5. We should increase the number of Druze children and youth of both sexes in all our schools and seminaries, and if necessary they should for the time being be aided as charity pupils. There is little doubt but that the mission can obtain [25] the control of such academics as the Daudiyeh established at Abeih,[64] and may ultimately become the Directors of the education of the entire Druze nation. We should also cordially cooperate with Mrs. Watson,[65] who is carrying on a seminary in Shem el an [*sic*] with special reference to the Druze sittats of the higher families, and with surprising success.

6. We should keep this work prominently in view in training native teachers and missionary laborers of all kinds, and especially in educating our native ministers in the Theological Seminary.[66]

7. We should earnestly, and perseveringly endeavor to infuse into our native churches a true missionary zeal in behalf of the Druzes.

8. It will be right in itself, and may be of great practical importance, to encourage those leading Druzes who have therefore, and do still cherish the desire and the hope of having their nation more closely connected politically with the British govern- [26] ment. The desire is not in itself wrong, for there is little doubt that the very existence of the Druze people in Lebanon depends upon it, and many of them see and feel deeply that even their national salvation depends upon their becoming protestant christians [*sic*]. It will not be difficult to extend and deepen this impression; and though not in itself a religious motive it is right in itself, and true, and it may exercise an important influence in preparing the way for their conversion.

9. Above all, the mission should pray and labor in hope, for the individual conversion of Druzes, and proceed with courage to remove obstacles and to smooth the way for their reception into the churches, and for their comfortable and honorable amalgamation with the evangelical community.

In view of those considerations, and others that might be stated, we raise the inquiry again, whether this mission is not summoned by the Great [27] Head of the church to undertake this work, and to do it now? Have not past operations brought us onwards, under Divine guidance, to a sort of crisis, or turning point, which we cannot ignore, and ought fairly to face? May we not fail in our duty if we do not rightly interpret the indications of Providence, or if we show ourselves unequal, or unwilling to meet the emergency?

This is the oldest mission in those countries. It is half a century since it was commenced. By the overruling hand of God it is perhaps more favorably situated than any other to initiate this forward movement. Our past labors have placed within reach all the essential apparatus and machinery for the effort. Nothing of the past will have been lost, or useless if the work be now carried on to the unevangelized. The call therefore seems clear and imperative upon us to make the attempt to force open, by Gods [*sic*] help, the door to the non-christian populations [28] of Western Asia.

If the views thus imperfectly developed be correct, it follows that the work, and the history of our mission are just commencing. We have been felling timber, and hewing[67] stone out in the mountains, the temple is yet to be erected.

It is probable that inquiries like the following will occur to the younger members of the mission at least, as well as to others at a distance. If we have had before us an unevangelized people, thus favorably situated, why has there been so little attempted for their conversion during the past 20 or 30 years? What are the new conditions in the case which encourage the hope that efforts now made will be crowned with success?

It would require an extended article to answer fully those and similar inquiries; but it may be sufficient for our present purpose to state in reference to the first: that soon after the Turkish government was reinforced upon this country in 1840 - nearly 30 years ago - it set to work [29] systematically to put a stop to the Protestant movement amongst the Druzes, and the measures adopted show the importance attached to the movement by its enemies. An army of Turkish soldiers was marched into Lebanon accompanied by moslem sheikhs and teachers, and the whole Druze nation was compelled to assume the outward costume of moslems. The objects and motives of the government were partly religious, but chiefly political. It wished to be able to draw recruits to the army from this brave people, which would be impossible if they became protestant christians [*sic*]; and it also desired to foster and retain a strong party in Lebanon, to be used against the large christian [*sic*] majority of its inhabitants, and thereby to control the mountains, and keep down the influence of foreign christian [*sic*] powers. Thus the operations for the education and christianization [*sic*] of the Druzes were violently crushed out at that time.

But in working out their policy, measures were adopted which necessa- [30] rily threw the Druzes into open and bitter antagonism to all christian [*sic*] sects, and were intended to produce that result. There is no room to doubt that the Turkish authorities more than connived at the bloody wars which have

occurred in Lebanon since 1840. There was no day during any of them when it could not have put an end to them, if it had chosen to do so. The last awful massacre of 1860 was fairly fastened upon the Turk by the unanimous verdict of Christendom. The Druzes were simply used as their tools to work out their own policy; and they were remorsely [*sic*] led on to commit such atrocities as threw them far away for the time from all christian [*sic*] sympathy and missionary operations.

These things are now largely changed, nor is it at all likely that such bloody tragedies will be renewed. The Turkish government suffered too severely, and was too thoroughly frightened by the results even to venture upon such measures again, and indeed she has not now the power to do so. And the Druzes will not do it, [31] for they well know that this last affair came very near working their extermination. They have also been most sternly warned by the highest British authority, that a repetition of such wars would end in their absolute destruction.

Another reason for past comparative inactivity in missionary operations for the Druzes, is found in the extent and character of our general work. During the period in question the mission has originated all her existing stations outside of Beirût. The entire operations in those mountains - in the Sidon field including Hasbeiya - and in the north including Tripoli, Hums [*sic*] and Sôfeta, have been commenced and carried forward. Our common schools, our seminaries male and female, and the college with all its machinery and departments have been inaugurated and pushed forward to this present condition. The press has been fully developed, and the great work of translating and publishing the Bible and other good books has been accomplished. Churches have been organized and a vast amount of [32] necessary missionary labor has been achieved amidst wars, civil commotions and trials and discouragements of various kinds. The mission has therefore had its utmost capacities tasked by other operations, and has not been actually ready to make this onward move in behalf of the unevangelized. In many respects the case is now altered for the better, and we may fairly hope that what might have been premature or impossible before, may now prove the life and joy of the mission.

In conclusion I feel constrained to add, that if the field for mission work in behalf of the Druzes is anything like what has been represented, some body [*sic*] ought to cultivate it; and if we decline to do it, or cannot, then we forfeit all right to shut out others who may desire to undertake it. But ought we to be willing to hand over this work to new and inexperienced parties? Will this be just to the American Board, and to its patrons who have labored so long and spent so much on this field? Will it be dealing fairly by the feeble [33] churches which we have organized, and above all, will it be fidelity to the cause and kingdom of Christ to do so?

These and similar questions, together with the whole subject. I now commend to the prayerful consideration of the brethren.

W. M. Thomson

Abeih, March 16, 1870

Rev. N. G. Clark, D.D.

Dear Brother,

At the Annual Meeting of the Mission, which has just closed, the undersigned were appointed a committee to write to you on the subject of reinforcements, urging the work among the Druzes, as an additional plea.

It is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon the pressing need there is for adding to the strength of the missionary force in the field. Our necessities seem more imperative than ever. Owing to the [34] precarious health of both the families in Tripoli, there is great danger that the station will be left vacant before the close of the year. And further the appointment of Mr. Eddy[68] to a post in the Theological Seminary, if acted upon, must leave the whole southern portion of our field, for several months, practically abandoned, until Mr. Dennis[69] has had time to acquire the language. The work is increasing on our hands, but our numbers are totally inadequate to the demands made upon them.

You will not forget the appeal made last August in behalf of the Druzes.[70] We need not go over the ground again, but may add, that the experience of the months that have since elapsed, has only confirmed us in our views. While there has been no great and general movement, an event which we had no ground to expect so soon, there have nevertheless been many encouraging signs. The number of pupils from that community in the college and in the Abeih seminary has increased, several of them belonging [35] to the highest families. Still more marked has been the number of applications for the admission of their daughters into the female boarding schools. There are some who have become Protestants, others are intellectually convinced, and the leaven is working. Though the barriers are stout and strong, yet we cannot tell how soon they may give way, and it is our duty to be prepared for the exigency. Politically the Druzes belong to the English or Protestant party, which is a favorable element. Besides, there are signs of weakness in their system, which it would seem point to its inevitable fall in the course of a generation, perhaps much sooner, in case of a vigorous assault. The Lord appears to be summoning us and you, to enter upon this great work with courage and zeal, but from what you know of the weakness of our force, it is apparent that we are utterly unable to do so, unless we are reinforced. We asked for two men in our resolutions of last August, and we [36] earnestly renew that application. We cannot ask for less, we cannot hope for more.

And now is it not reasonable to trust, that the loud call from our needy field can be so presented to those soon to graduate from the various theological seminaries that some will deem it their duty and privilege to hasten to our succor, and uphold the standard of the cross in the land where it was first unfurled?

Committee in behalf of the Mission

Very truly

Yours in Christ,

W. M. Thomson,

W^m. Bird

ENDNOTES

[1] I would like to thank Dr. Nadia El Cheikh and Ms. Mary Clare Leader for their valuable comments on the paper and Basel Matalka for providing me with a copy of Salibi's *The Missionary Herald*.

[2] W. M. Thomson et al. to R. Anderson, Beirut, Feb. 3, 1863, ABCFM archives, 1810–1961, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Reel 545 (hereafter cited ABCFM), *The Missionary Herald* (henceforth *MH*) 43 (1847): 185–193, 51 (1855): 311–313, 55 (1859): 234–236, 57 (1861): 203, 59 (1863): 129–130, 64 (1868): 312–313. Also in Kamal Salibi and Yusuf Khoury (eds.), *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria* (Amman: Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies, 1995), 4: 12–25, 229–232, 340–342, 5: 24–25, 61–63, 194–195.

[3] *MH* 59 (1863): 129; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 62.

[4] *MH* 59 (1863): 206–207; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 74–75.

[5] See report in the Appendix, p. 35.

[6] For example, following the request of the Hums congregation for a new pastor, the Mission Board appointed the native helper, Saliba Jirwan, to the position. The appointment was met with strong refusal from Hums. In a harshly written letter, the congregation insisted on receiving an American pastor. After a few months' standoff, the Protestants in Hums conceded to the appointment of Jirwan. In Beirut, finding a suitable native candidate for the ministry was very hard despite the availability of funds arranged by the local community. It took until 1890 to ordain the first native pastor, Reverend Yusuf Badr. See General Letter of the Syria Mission, January 20, 1869, Beirut, Lebanon, ABCFM Reel 545, Henry H. Jessup to N. G. Clark, Bible House, New York, May 6, 1868 and Montrose, Sept. 18, 1868, ABCFM Reel 547; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 1: 285–286, 311–313, 346; *MH* 58 (1862): 145; *MH* 61 (1865): 108; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 43–44, 115.

[7] On the history of the resistance of the Oriental Churches to Protestant missionary work, see Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910), 187–189.

[8] The village of Safita, near Tartus, is another place where the converts to Protestantism faced persecution from the Greek Orthodox Church authorities, who drove them out of their homes and lands. The Ottoman administration in Tripoli and Damascus failed to assist them in their plight. See *MH* 59 (1863): 232, 107–108; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 78–79, 114–115; and Richter, *History of Protestant Missions*, 195–196.

[9] *The Covenanter* 15 (1859): 51–55; *The Reformed Presbyterian* 24 (1860): 93.

[10] It would take almost ten more years for the missionaries to establish a station in Zahleh, when Mrs. Bowen Thompson opened the first Protestant school for girls in 1868. See *MH* 65 (1869): 20–21; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 202.

[11] *MH* 55 (1859): 236–238; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 342–344, and *The Covenanter*.

[12] See report, p. 33.

[13] Ibid.

[14] *MH* 60 (1864): 110; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 95.

[15] The interest in Bedouins is clear in the missionary sources. In his memoirs, Henry Jessup writes that a prominent sheikh from the 'Anaza tribe, during his visit to Beirut, requested a teacher be sent to his tribe on condition that "he must be willing to live as we do, travel as we travel and eat as we eat." In an another instance, Giurgius Abud, a Bible colporteur associated with the Sidon station approached Bedouin tribes descending on Lake Hula in search for water during the drought of 1869. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 359, 2: 407–409, Annual Report of the Sidon Station 1870, and Extracts from the journal of Giurgius Abud, colporteur among the Bedouin Arabs of the desert, ABCFM Reel 545.

[16] The German missionary, Dr. S. W. Koelle, best summarizes the challenges facing missionary work among Muslims: "Proselytizing efforts offend both the religious and the political susceptibilities of the Mussulmans. A Turkish Mussulman regards them as an insult to his faith, and a Mussulman Turk as an act of hostility against his government and country . . . No missionary school for Mohammedan youths would be tolerated." Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 3: 114.

[17] For example, in 1862, Mikhâil Mashshaqa, the US vice-consul in Damascus, intervened to release the Nusairi convert, Sulayman al-Adhani, from conscription. See my forthcoming "Conversion and Deceit: The Case of Sulayman Afandi al-Adhani."

[18] For example, in 1836, many Druzes converted to Protestantism to avoid conscription in Ibrahim Pasha's army. They all reverted to their original faith afterwards except for one. In his memoirs, Jessup discusses at length the failure of mass conversions to Protestantism, stating that "the Protestant movement in Syria has been chiefly that of individuals." The only successful mass conversion, according to Jessup, was of the Armenians of 'Ayntab and Mar'ash in 1851. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 350–353; Richter, *History of Protestant Missions*, 192–193; Thomas Laurie, *Historical Sketch of the Syria Mission* (Boston: ABCFM, 1866), 23.

[19] *MH* 43 (1847): 183–184, Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 11.

[20] In September 1850, the Mission Board voted to withdraw Van Dyck from the seminary "that he may give himself more fully to the ministry of the Word." As a result, Calhoun was placed in charge of the seminary. *MH* 47 (1851): 199; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 138.

[21] *MH* 43 (1847): 83; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 2.

[22] *MH* 43 (1847): 83–84; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 2–4.

[23] *MH* 47 (1851): 199; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 138.

[24] *MH* 64 (1868): 394; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 200.

[25] *MH* 44 (1848): 200–201; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 45.

[26] *MH* 48 (1852): 145; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 166–165.

[27] *MH* 48 (1852): 144; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 164.

[28] *MH* 50 (1854): 135; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 207.

[29] *MH* 51 (1855): 312; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 230–231.

[30] *MH* 54 (1858): 139–140; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 301–02.

[31] Report of the Beirut Station 1860 and 1861, Report of the Abeih Station 1860, S. Calhoun to R. Anderson, Abeih, July 20, 1860, ABCFM Reel 545, W. Thomson to R. Anderson, Beirut, July 5, 1860, ABCFM Reel 547, *MH* 56 (1860): 239–240, 57 (1861): 82; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 382–383, 5: 11–12.

[32] *MH* 56 (1860): 278, 365; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 4: 388, 395–396.

[33] *MH* 57 (1861): 167–168; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 22.

[34] *MH* 59 (1863): 140, 60 (1864): 109; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 68, 94; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 244.

[35] N. G. Clark to the Syria Mission, Boston, May 19, 1868, ABCFM Reel 549.

[36] N. G. Clark to the Syria Mission, Boston, May 19, 1868, ABCFM Reel 549.

[37] N. G. Clark to H. H. Jessup, Boston, June 11, 1868, ABCFM Reel 549.

[38] H. H. Jessup to N. G. Clark, New York, May 18, 1868, ABCFM Reel 547.

[39] H. H. Jessup to N. G. Clark, Beirut, Dec. 17, 1868, H. H. Jessup to N. G. Clark, Montrose, Sept. 18, 1868, ABCFM Reel 547, General Letter of the Syria Mission, Beirut, January 20, 1869, Report of the Sub-Committee on the Seminaries at 'Abeih and Beirut of the Syria Mission, ABCFM Reel 545.

[40] H. H. Jessup to N. G. Clark, New York, May 18, 1868, ABCFM Reel 547.

[41] H. H. Jessup to N. G. Clark, Beirut, Jan. 19, 1869 and Jan. 22, 1869, ABCFM Reel 547.

[42] *MH* 65 (1869): 392; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 227.

[43] Jessup writes in his memoirs about a certain Hanna Badr who, after resigning from the Lebanese infantry, joined the theological seminary in 'Abeih to train for missionary work among the Arab Bedouins. In 1871, before heading to the field, he "was prostrated with quick consumption and after a religious experience which made his sick-room luminous and attractive, he passed away in triumph to meet his Lord and Savior." Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 326–327.

[44] Apparently, the man's mother and wife abandoned his house in protest. Report of the action of the general meeting of the Syria Mission, Jan. 1869 on sundry topics, ABCFM Reel 545, *MH* 65 (1869): 20–21; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 201–202.

[45] *Reformed Presbyterian* 24 (1860): 257, 284–286, 310–319; "The Syrian Relief Fund," *New York Times*, August 23, 1860. Accessed May 6, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/1860/08/23/news/the-syrian-relief-fund.html.

[46] See report, pp. 36–37.

[47] Darryl G. Hart and John R. Muether, *Seeking a better Country: 300 Years of American Presbyterianism* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 2007), 109–127.

[48] The Syria Mission at a Special Meeting, ABCFM Reel 545; Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, vol. 1, 373–374; *MH* 66 (1870): 390–395; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 253–258.

[49] Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 86–93.

[50] Yvonne Talhamy, "American Protestant Missionary Activity among the Nusayris (Alawis) in Syria in the Nineteenth Century," *Middle Eastern Studies* 47 (2011): 225; Richter, *History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, 214.

[51] Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 57–65.

[52] W. M. Thomson to N. G. Clark, Shemlan, Aug. 31, 1869, ABCFM Reel 547.

[53] I was unable to locate any such tract published by Van Dyck on the Druze faith.

[54] Reverend William Goodell, D. D. (d. 1867) was one of the first missionaries to settle in Beirut in 1823. They were met with violent opposition led mainly by the Maronite Patriarch. The American Mission was suspended in 1828 due to the increasing hostilities between the Ottomans and the British, and the missionaries were removed to Malta. From there, Goodell headed to Constantinople to serve in the Armenian Mission where he published an Armenian translation of the Bible. Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the ABCFM to the Oriental Churches* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872), 1: 40–51, 2: 408–410.

[55] Unfortunately, I was not able to identify this organization.

[56] Reverend Elias Riggs, D.D., was a member of the American mission to the Greeks. He was first posted in Argos in 1834, but was transferred to Smyrna three years later after the decline of the population in Argos. Anderson, *History of the Missions*, 1: 150–151.

[57] The history of the American mission in Greece and its decline due to the staunch hostility from the Orthodox Church, the rise of Greek nationalism, and the resulting animosity towards foreigners are summarized by Rufus Anderson in his *History of the Missions*, 1: 141–163.

[58] Thomson is probably alluding to the Reformed Presbyterian missionaries based in Lattakia and focused on evangelizing the Nusayris. Tripoli was the station covering the northern field, including Akkar and the Nusayri mountains. The Mission Board constantly faced problems providing the Tripoli station with resident missionaries.

[59] Al-Mu'allim Butrus al-Bustani (d. 1883) was a prominent literary figure in the *Nahda*. Born to a Maronite family, he converted to Protestantism after meeting Reverend Eli Smith. He founded al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya in Beirut, and published the literary magazine *al-Jinan*, the Arabic dictionary *Muhit al-muhit*, and the encyclopedia *Da'irat al-ma'arif*. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2: 486–483.

[60] John Abcarius (d. 1886) was an Armenian Protestant of significant wealth who conducted trade in Egypt and served as the dragoman for the British consulate in Beirut. Abcarius is the author of an Arabic-English dictionary. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2: 499.

[61] As'ad al-Shududi was an Arabic tutor at the SPC. He is the author of *Kitab al-'arus fi 'ilm al-tabi'a*. Marwa Elshakry, "The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut," in M. A. Doğan and H. Sharkey (eds.), *American Missionaries and the Middle East* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011), 183.

[62] Dr. John Wortabet (d. 1908) was a medically trained pastor who led the Scottish mission in Aleppo until 1868, when he joined the medical faculty at the SPC. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2: 781.

[63] On the Ottoman policies towards the nomadic tribes, see Norman Lewis, *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and Frederick G. Peake, *Tarikh Sharqi al-Urdunn wa-qaba'iliha*, trans. B. Tuqan, 2nd ed. (Amman: Al-Ahliyya li'l-Nashr wâl-Tawzi', 2004), 251–252. The information on the Ottoman policies appears only in the 1935 translation of Frederick G. Peake's manuscript of his history of Transjordan. It is not included in the published version of 1958. It was either omitted by the author/editor or it was not part of the original manuscript and was inserted by Tuqan in his Arabic translation. Apparently, Tuqan conducted considerable research for Peake Pasha during the writing process of the book. See F. G. Peake, *A History of Jordan and its Tribes* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1958), x and 177.

[64] Al-Madrasa al-Dawudiyya, named after Dawud Pasha, first *mutasarrif* of Mount Lebanon, was established in 1863 in 'Abeih. While funded by the Druze religious establishments, the school was indirectly managed by the American missionaries who provided the books and whose two Christian teachers were trained at the 'Abeih seminary. *MH* 59 (1863): 140; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 68.

[65] Mrs. E. H. Watson (d. 1891), a lay English lady who was instrumental in establishing a boy's school in the house of Butrus al-Bustani (d. 1893), which grew into al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya in 1863; a preparatory school for the Syrian Protestant College; a girls' boarding school in Shemlan, around 1862, run by two English ladies and a "native helper" who were trained at the 'Abeih seminary; and another for Protestant orphan boys in 'Ain Zhalta in 1865. Though independent from the Syria Mission, Mrs. Watson's work was highly regarded by the missionaries, who even asked her at one point to superintend the female boarding school in Sidon temporarily due to a shortage of personnel. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 231, 270; *MH* 59 (1863): 140–141; *MH* 60 (1864), 109; *MH* 64 (1868): 165; Salibi and Khoury, *The Missionary Herald* 5: 68, 90, 185, respectively.

[66] The American Theological Seminary opened in 'Abeih in 1868 and transferred to Beirut in 1873. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 346.

[67] Originally misspelled by the author as "hueing."

[68] Reverend W. W. Eddy (d. 1900) was a member of the Syria Mission. He was first posted in Aleppo for four years, then transferred to Kfar Shima and later to Sidon in 1857, where he remained for twenty-one years. He remained in Beirut after that until his death. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2: 682–685.

[69] Dr. James Dennis was at the head of the theological seminary from 1873 until his resignation in 1891. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 345.

[70] Thomson is probably referring to Jessup and Bird's letters of appeal. *MH* 65 (1869): 409–410.

03 The University and the City: How Looking at the City Changes the Story We Tell About the University

Aleksandra Kobiljski

Anniversaries are both propitious and challenging moments for thinking and writing institutional history. More than two decades ago, Thomas Bender edited ***The University and the City***, a historical overview of the relationship between universities and the cities that host them. Particular examples extended from fifteenth-century Medici Florence to eighteenth-century Enlightenment Edinburgh to twentieth-century industrial Chicago. The overarching argument of the volume was as simple as it was novel at the time: the relationship between a university and its urban environment is complex and intimate. As such, the nexus is an important site of inquiry for better understanding of both. Historians have often read this volume as emphasizing the ways in which universities can be a particularly interesting prism for observing a city and, through it, the ways in which societies change over time. In other words, one observes a university to understand a city and in turn make sense of its society's history. This has proven particularly relevant for the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century industrial nation-states, which conceived of a university as a space of autonomy in society. Yet, as Bender's volume showed, even when university campuses have sought to set themselves apart from the cities around them, their social and intellectual missions were rarely detached from their urban contexts. It is safe to say that ***The University and the City*** became the cornerstone of an ongoing university-city rediscovery of shared interests and challenges which were and remain simultaneously local, regional, and global.

Several years after the publication of ***The University and the City***, Samir Khalaf published an article entitled "New England Puritanism and Liberal Education in the Middle East."[1] Its aim was to contribute to an ongoing debate on the role of American missionaries in Arab intellectual life during the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth. In pointing to "the interplay between [AUB's] religious and secular components," the article highlighted AUB's metamorphosis from an evangelical to a secular college. One of the unquestioned assumptions of Khalaf's article was that it was an American evangelical project that evolved into an American liberal education project in, to, and for the Middle East. More recently, Betty Anderson's ***The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education***, an account of the twentieth-century nexus of campus and politics, offered an important corrective by arguing for the importance of student agency in defining the University.[2] In Khalaf's interpretation, the University was an American transplant, while in Anderson's, students were an important part of it. In both, the University was an American project ***in*** Beirut.

This chapter proposes to look at the genesis and early history of the AUB (then called the Syrian Protestant College, or SPC) in the context of the city. It argues that the idea of a college was not necessarily a foreign one, but one that was born in Beirut. In fact, the idea formulated by the missionaries in Beirut was initially not welcomed by the American Board officials in Boston, and, as a consequence, AUB's early history was in part structured and driven by competition with other similar institutions in the city. The celebration of AUB's 150th anniversary presents us with an excellent opportunity to look beyond its walls. Hence, it is an excellent occasion for thinking about scale in historical analysis in the age of post-nationalist history.[3] In the context of Beirut's urban history, the idea is not entirely new, and builds on Jens Hanssen's "provincial classroom" metaphor and his argument that post-1860 Beirut witnessed a school boom of which missionary institutions were only a few of many players.[4] Through the prism of the city, I would like to suggest that the early AUB was less an American transplant than it seemed and more a product ***of*** Beirut or of intellectuals – Arab and American – who were invested in the city and made it their home. The College was not

ahead of its time, but precisely a product *of* its historical moment, infused and inspired by similar initiatives then taking place around the world. Coincidentally, or not, the story of how the idea of the SPC/AUB in its early days was more *of* the city than is commonly acknowledged is a story of how the institution became American in the ways that twentieth-century historians and its students know it. This chapter aims to highlight hitherto neglected aspects of the University's early history and thus to contribute to the current debate about its future - to think *with* history about the possibilities, opportunities, and challenges of today and tomorrow.

COLLEGE AMONG COLLEGES

Perhaps the most efficient way of getting at the relationship between the city and the College is by looking at the map of the city. Among a number of available maps of Beirut in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly useful is the *Plan de Beyrouth dédié à S.M.I. Sultan Abdul Hamid II*. Drawn in 1876 by a certain Julius Löytved, self-identified as Danish vice-consul and the inspector of Anglo-Syrian schools, it indicates over 60 institutions of public importance, such as customs offices, military barracks, hospitals, banks, consulates, hotels, and schools. For our purposes, it is noteworthy as it pays particular attention to institutions of higher learning. The map indicates a total of eleven schools and colleges worthy of the inspector's attention: the Greek Catholic College, the Maronite School, the National College of B. Béstany, the Ottoman College, the Scottish School, the Deaconesses Kaiserswerth [School], the American College, the American Girls' School, the British Girls' School, the Jesuit School, and the School of the Sisters of Charity. Interestingly, the map makes a distinction between "school" and "college" - thus dividing institutions of higher learning in Beirut into two groups, the assumption being that colleges ranked above schools. The SPC/AUB or, as the map notes it, "the American College," found itself in the company of the National College of B. Béstany (*al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya*), the Ottoman College (a predecessor of Ahmad 'Abbas al-Azhari's 1883 initiative), and the Greek Catholic College. Of the four colleges from 1876, AUB is the only one to have survived as an institution of higher learning and to have stayed in its original location. This article is a preliminary attempt to examine the genesis of AUB in that particular landscape in which it was a college among colleges.

Seeing AUB as one among several colleges is an important corrective to how nineteenth-century SPC/AUB history is often portrayed. Over the course of a decade of studying the foundation and early history of the Syrian Protestant College, I have often encountered what I have come to call "the AUB myth" - the idea that AUB was a lone pioneer of modern education, an oasis of freedom, and a beacon of liberal thought in the region. In my earlier work on co-education at AUB, for example, I was not particularly surprised to learn that the SPC/AUB administration was often uninterested in and occasionally hostile to the presence of women students on campus.[5] That was, after all, a common storyline in the global history of college level co-education.[6] What struck me was the discrepancy between the self-portrait of the SPC/AUB as a champion of women's college education and equality while at the same time actively working to exclude women from campus, channeling them into a women's college with two years of arts and sciences and a heavy dose of home economics and hygiene.[7] In trying to understand the "historical AUB," one had to constantly parse it out from the "idealized AUB," resting on the image of AUB as a lone pioneer of liberal values rather than a product of broader intellectual currents of a cosmopolitan urban setting, borrowing ideas and sharing resources with a number of similar initiatives in town. In other words, in the twenty-first century, AUB is the only one of those colleges from the 1876 map still standing in its original place - a fact worthy of celebration. Yet in the nineteenth century, it was neither the first nor the only one in town.

INTERTWINED HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL AND AMERICAN COLLEGES

Most stories of the genesis of AUB start with the January 1862 initiative of American missionaries based in Ottoman Syria to establish "a literary college" in Beirut. Yet the question of how and why the idea of a college (as opposed to a seminary) emerged when it did remains unasked and unanswered. The question is all the more important to answer keeping in mind the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission's (ABCFM's) history of animosity towards such initiatives, as exemplified by the 1859 forced resignation of Cyrus Hamlin for his innovative work with Bebek Seminary and the 1850s closing of high schools and seminaries in Sri Lanka and India. A closer look at the context illustrated by Löytved's map suggests that part of the impetus which went into the building of the Syrian Protestant College came from the competition with other educational institutions, in general, and one in particular: the National College established by Butros al-Bustani, or *al-Wataniyya*, as it was known in the Lebanese colloquial Arabic.

In the first version of the plan for the establishment of what is today AUB, Butros al-Bustani was supposed to be the president of the college that the missionaries planned to set up in Beirut. Yet no history of the early SPC/AUB makes any mention of this aborted idea. The only evidence for this (to my knowledge) survives in the manuscript version of Henry Jessup's memoir, edited out of the printed version of *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, which was published in 1910. In the manuscript, Jessup starts the story of AUB not in 1862, but in the fall of 1861, when missionaries had "in contemplation a plan for establishing a Protestant College in Beirut, to be under native tutors and teachers."[8] To implement the idea, Reverend J. E. Ford, a missionary based in Sidon, travelled to England in December 1861 with "the understanding that Mr. Butros Bistany [*sic*], a leading Syrian Protestant, would follow him ere long."[9] The printed version of the memoir omits the rest of the sentence that reads: "to aid in raising funds for a High Literary institution whose president and professors should be native Syrians."[10] In so doing, the editor eliminated the mention of "president" and Bustani in the same sentence. The manuscript also contains more details about the original idea, which was to hire local teachers and a local director from the beginning, while "Europeans and Americans would constitute the Board of Trustees to control the finances."[11] Yet this idea was discarded within months since "after extended correspondence and mature deliberation it was found none of the educated Syrians had had experience with modern College methods and training."[12] The print version offers additional reasons (not in the original manuscript) for why the idea was dropped: "it became apparent that the liberal donors in Europe and America would not give money unless the institution were under Anglo-Saxon control."[13]And thus, the philanthropic sentiments in the US and England that enabled the SPC/AUB to open its gates came with constraints stemming from a mistrust of the capacity of Arabs to govern and run the College.

Although beyond the scope of this article, tensions between the original project and donor preferences, which appeared as early as 1861, have emerged at several different points in AUB's early history. Echoes of such tensions can be found in an 1866 discussion regarding the appointment of a local as a professor in the medical school. When Dr. John Wortabet was named professor in the Medical Department in September 1866, the decision was questioned in New York by an unnamed member of the Board of Trustees on the grounds that he was not American, but a native of Syria.[14] Donor preferences also transpired in the debates around the language of instruction as well as in evaluations and promotions of Arab tutors and American professors. For example, the famous 1882 crisis was much less about Darwin than about Professor Lewis's wine-drinking and violin-playing that displeased D. Stuart Dodge, in particular.

THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF MU'ALLIM BUTROS

By the January 1862 annual meeting of the Syrian Mission station, Daniel Bliss had replaced Bustani as the designated future president of the College. Yet, while removed from the missionary college project, Bustani did not forfeit the idea. Most analyses of Bustani's opus pay only cursory attention to his career as an educator and his pedagogical project of the National College - *al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya* – as they tend to focus on his Arabic dictionary, *Muhit al-Muhit*; his journal trio, *al-Jinan*, *al-Junaina*, and *al-Jana'*; and the jewel of his crown, the Arabic encyclopedia, *Dairat al-M'arif*. Yet, even cursory attention to chronology reveals that an important part of his professional life was devoted to teaching and textbook writing. Between 1837 and 1840, he was a teacher at the Maronite College at 'Ayn Warqa. In early 1841, he became an Arabic language tutor to Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck. From 1846 to 1849, he taught and wrote textbooks with Van Dyck at the 'Abeih Seminary. Finally, in 1863, he founded his own college, *al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya*, where he taught until his death in 1883. At 'Abeih, Bustani helped produce a series of textbooks in algebra, geography, astronomy, geometry, spherical trigonometry, and arithmetic (see George Saliba's contribution in this volume). Just before the opening of *al-Wataniyya*, and while penning nationalist pamphlets that are credited with helping to reconceptualize the self in the Arabic-speaking Levant, he made a new Arabic translation of *Robinson Crusoe*. If *Nafir* was a text for the sons of the nation, *Robinson Crusoe* was a text for their children. Butros Bustani may be fondly remembered by historians for his nationalist pamphlets, publishing empire, and encyclopedic project, but for his contemporaries, he was rightly *Mu'allim Butros*, teacher, or Professor Butros.

In relation to the genealogy of AUB, the most important of all of Bustani's educational work was the founding of the National College. Deeply disturbed by the 1860 Maronite-Druze clashes, Bustani thought through ways of ensuring that such episodes would not repeat themselves. His reflections and conclusions figure in different parts of the *Nafir*, but seem to revolve around the idea that it was critically important to "increase communications and bring people together to make them one family."[15] In practice, this came down to four things: opening schools, starting printing presses, establishing newspapers, and increasing trade.[16] Putting this blueprint into action in the decade that followed the 1860 crisis, Bustani followed three out of his four suggestions. Not coincidentally, the first step in putting his reform agenda into action was the National College, which opened in 1863, while

the press and the newspapers had to wait until 1870. What better way to shape and secure the future than to shape the minds of those who would be running it?

The curriculum of the National College emphasized literary and scientific subjects along with training in English and French, alongside Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. Emphasis on the latter two non-European languages earned the school particular attention from Ottoman authorities as an exceptional institution that combined the promotion of the spirit of civilization with rigorous training in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.[17] In addition to Bustani, his son Salim and daughter Sarah taught English, Sarah being likely among the first women to have taught in an all-boys' establishment in Beirut.[18] The College had an impressive roster of teachers. Famous literary figures who taught at the academy include Ahmad Abbas, fresh from al-Azhar, who taught philosophy; the writer Nasif al-Yaziji, who taught Arabic; and the poet and playwright S'adallah Bustani. ***Al-Wataniyya*** students mostly came from families of local Christian, Muslim, and Druze notables, and there was at least one American family. William and Loanza Benton, former American missionaries to Mount Lebanon who settled in the country in the 1860s, sent their two sons, Charles and Henry Benton, to Bustani's ***al-Wataniyya***. Other students included 'Abd al-Qadir al-Qabbani, president of the Beirut municipality in the 1900s; 'Abd al-Qadir al-Dana, founder of a printing press and publisher of the weekly ***Bayrut Gazeteshi*** in the 1880s; Mahmud Minah al-Solh, prominent jurist during the Young Turk era (1908–1918); Shākir al-Khuri, a doctor and biographer; and Suleiman Bustani, future Minister of Finance in the Ottoman government and translator of the ***Iliad*** into modern Arabic. Bustani's wife, Rahil, was likely involved in caring for boarding students, particularly through such trying times as the 1876 cholera epidemic in Beirut.[19] It is not quite clear when the school closed, but it would be reasonable to date it sometime between the death of Butros in 1883 and that of his son Salim in 1884.

A PRODUCTIVE RIVALRY

For a man who was found by some of the foreign missionaries to not have sufficient experience with "a modern college" and to be in need of Anglo-Saxon financial oversight, Bustani did rather well. In its first year, his National College had 115 students, the vast majority registered as boarding students, and the number rose to 170 according to an Ottoman report from 1864.[20] In 1873, there was an average of 150, largely but not exclusively boarding students. [21] This contrasts sharply with the SPC, which started with only fifteen students in 1866 and took ten years to boast an enrollment of slightly over one hundred students. Incidentally, the first year that the SPC's student enrollment surpassed that of ***al-Wataniyya*** was in the academic year 1883–1884, around the time that ***al-Wataniyya*** stopped operating.

Financially, too, Bustani's enterprise was noteworthy. Around the time of the opening of the National College, the Protestant educational institutions in Beirut were able to cover only about a third of their operating costs from tuition fees. In contrast, ***al-Wataniyya***, which was most likely opened with Bustani's personal funds, was able to balance its accounts through tuition while providing 15% of its students with scholarships.[22] Indeed, in 1864, the American missionaries seemed baffled by how much Ottoman Syrians were "willing to ***pay*** for education."[23]

That Bustani went ahead with the college idea and moved quicker than the American missionaries, who were backed by the entire Anglo-American Protestant philanthropic network, could not but have caused a stir and likely some frustration. Yet, these feelings seem to have been carefully filtered from the official records. In fact, to the best of this author's knowledge (with one exception), no mention of the National College can be found in the missionary correspondence with the Board in the 1860s. In Bliss's reminiscences, Bustani appears as his long-time friend, and the mention of his name is promptly followed by a qualification of his ***al-Wataniyya*** as having been "intended to be a preparatory school for the College."[24] However, this is not quite what the historical records show. First, ***al-Wataniyya*** could not have been envisioned by its founder in 1863 as a feeder into the then still inexistent American college. The background of this claim will be discussed in detail further below. Second, Bliss's ***personal*** letters to his wife during her 1873–1874 stay in the United States reveal sentiments that can hardly be characterized as friendly. For example, in an August 10, 1873 letter, Daniel Bliss tells his wife, Abby, that he found it "a pity that that such a man [as Bustani] should be the leading man on all church matters."[25] He went on to accuse Bustani of excessive vanity and selfishness, characterizing him as "the feeblest element" if not an absolute hindrance. In another letter, he makes mention of a necessity to "stand up against Butros" as he himself once did: "I did put him down once and he has never recovered."[26] Unfortunately, to date, no record has revealed the object of dispute or the nature of the disagreement between Bustani and Bliss, nor has Bliss recorded the substance of his objections to Bustani beyond cryptic derogatory references to his character and "his spirituality."[27] The editors of ***Letters from a New Campus*** note that something must have happened between Bustani and Bliss to cause such accusations, suggesting that it was perhaps Butros's "very success [. . .] fermented [. . .] into vanity, and had turned his head."[28] Or perhaps, the editors speculate, Bustani "threatened Bliss where he was most vulnerable, in his love and ambition for SPC."[29]

Looking at the AUB within the context of its surroundings entails writing its early history relationally, that is in relation to (at least) the one other college and the only one that cast a long shadow over it during the first decade of AUB's existence. Remembering the earliest planning stages for the College, Bliss's unique distaste for Bustani becomes more understandable. Having been a second to Bustani in the choice for the college presidency would have been a heavy chip on any shoulder. Furthermore, it took Bliss four years and many travels to raise sufficient funding for the College, while Bustani started his in a year "chiefly at his own expense" without leaving Beirut.[30] Bustani's college, at its opening, caused the closing of one, if not both, Protestant day-schools in Beirut.[31] At the same time, Bustani had enough resources at his disposal and confidence in his college to rent one of his houses for the SPC's first home, seeing no competition in it. Finally, at the time of Daniel Bliss's letter to Abby, despite significant investment and the building of a new campus, the SPC still had fewer students than the National College. In other words, Bliss's dislike of Bustani - usually self-censored and expressed only in his intimate letters to his wife - may have also been an indicator of resentment of the fact that what Bliss called "his college" was, in reality, neither the first nor the biggest in Beirut.

Silence can, arguably, be one of the most manifest signs of rivalry. In most early SPC pamphlets, much was made of the competition with an unnamed "Jesuit college" to which the Protestant community was losing ground. The reference is most likely to the Jesuit seminary in Ghazir to which "one of the most distinguished Protestants in Syria has actually sent his son."[32] Repeated reference to a Jesuit institution 30 km from Beirut to whom they had lost an unidentified student was rhetorically useful. Yet, the absence of any reference to the National College in Beirut to which Protestant schools in the city lost both their teachers and many of their students is curious, if not telling. Exaggerating the competition with the Jesuits and avoiding any mention of Bustani's initiative may have been strategic: to see one of their best and brightest converts establish a college, but eliminate Protestant preaching from its premises, was not something to advertise to the church elders in Boston. Similarly, no mention of ***al-Wataniyya*** is found in any description of the rise of "desire for education [. . .] of higher order [. . .] to a sort of passion in Beirut," which, in view of the historical context, is at least a curious omission.[33]

Despite the growing distance between Bustani and his college on the one hand and the American missionary project on the other, the missionaries still tried to claim some credit for Bustani's success. In their 1863 annual report, the missionaries of the Syrian Station misled the elders in Boston by claiming that the National College was run "under Protestant auspices" and that there "the Bible is read at morning and evening prayers, which all the pupils are obliged to attend."[34] Such attempts to alter the truth were understandable, though deceptive. While Bustani may have cherished friendships with individual missionaries, he was intellectually distant from "a missionary message of exclusionary Protestant salvation predicated on destruction of all other forms of religious belonging."[35] Weary of missionary triumphalism, Bustani was not interested in promoting one religion over another; the National College was a reflection of a more ecumenical version of a society which was able to accommodate multiple forms of religiosity in a single community.

Further misrepresentation of Bustani's college can be found in frequent claims that the National College was "intended to be a preparatory school."[36] This line, conveyed in Bliss's memoir and several other sources, is inaccurate in terms of the original ***intent*** of both parties and exaggerated in historical terms. Between 1867 and 1869, the SPC's Board of Managers sent about two dozen candidates to Bustani's college to prepare for entry to the SPC. For this, the National College was paid £500 (close to £400,000 in 2012 values).[37] Based on Jessup's memoir, Bliss's reports to the Board of Managers, and an 1867 letter from Bustani to Bliss, it is evident that there was considerable back-and-forth movement between the two colleges, with some students going from the National College to the SPC and others back. In that regard, the above-mentioned letter from Bustani to Bliss is particularly illustrative. In it, Bustani provided Bliss with "the names of twenty-one boys [so] that you may fix the time for their examination" and expressed regret that for three boys whom Bliss had sent him, as "their parents have not consented to have them transferred at present to the College."[38] The word ***transferred*** is revealing here in that it indicates that students in this preparatory class could either move on to the SPC or continue in ***al-Wataniyya***, both being viable options for pursuing higher education. In other words, as suggested in Löytved's map, both institutions were colleges of equal stature with one difference being that the National College had its own preparatory department at the time, while the American college had yet to establish one.

Overall, it was a short-lived arrangement of cooperation between ***al-Wataniyya*** and the SPC; Bliss quickly dismissed the work ***al-Wataniyya*** was doing in preparing students as "not meeting the expectations of the Board of Managers," while some students opted to continue their studies at the

National College or transferred back to the National College after a time at the SPC.[39] For the purpose of my argument, it is important to point out that the claims that the college of Butros Bustani was *intended* as preparatory for the SPC is an unmistakable if subtle distortion of the historical record. This slight, but unmistakable, twist is interesting in as much as it reveals a rivalry that went deep, but was edited out of official documents, only to survive in traces in intimate letters enough to substantiate it, but insufficient for detailed analysis. Yet, in terms of the institutional history, such evidence of Bliss's dislike of Bustani and glimmers of rivalry is conspicuous in light of the influence it seems to have had on the development of the SPC/AUB in its formative years.

CONCLUSION

While the drivers behind engagement between universities and cities since the second half of the nineteenth century are significantly global, the specific expression of their relationship is highly contingent on regional and local circumstances. Contemporary social scientists, theorists, and urbanists have produced a body of data and reflections on the impacts of universities on their host cities as places and as sites for innovation, as well as on their wider economies and their effects on their society. This means that they not only contribute to the physical, social, and economic development of their host cities, but actually also live with the place. They are never only *in* a city; they are also always *of* the city. It follows that the very founding of a university is an expression of the urban intellectual and social climate which was and remains to this day both global and local at the same time.

Taking stock of the early history of AUB, an institution that was neither first nor unique, but rather one element in a broader landscape, it becomes possible to see the broader intellectual context of its birth. Like *al-Wataniyya* - and likely similar to two other colleges on Löytved's map - it was a child born of a passion for education that had more to do with the social and economic changes of the nineteenth-century world and the shrinking of a shaken, but still confident, empire and less with some putative Protestant passion for liberal education abroad. Post-1860 Beirut was a place profoundly marked by the experience of civil strife that had reshaped the city, deeply disturbing its urban fabric. Out of the trauma of the conflict and the experience of the relief work came the *idea* that a college, an institution of higher learning, was needed because it was the best solution to the perceived socio-political problems of the time. In the earliest version of its *design*, the College was intended to be an Arab-American project, an institution under "dual control." Within months, this conceptualization had proven unacceptable to the Anglo-American donors and was changed, practically leading to a split in plans which gave birth to *two* different plans. One was Bustani's idea to establish "a national college" that he would go on to fund and direct, while the other was the American missionaries' plan for an American college "for Arab youth," run by a combination of faculty, a board of managers, and a board of trustees, all of whom, with one exception, were Anglo-Americans. By the 1880s, the older and bigger *al-Wataniyya* had disappeared from the map, and control of the SPC had consolidated *de facto* in the hands of the president and the board of trustees, dominated by the personal priorities and interests of Bliss's powerful ally, D. Stuart Dodge and his family. Looking at the SPC/AUB in relation to *al-Wataniyya* and understanding the subtle ways in which Bliss's dislike for, if not sentiments of rivalry with, Bustani shaped the historiography of the place is a key to overcoming the "AUB myth." AUB's 150th anniversary provides a unique opportunity to strengthen the institution by critically engaging with its complex and rich past, which can serve to guide and inspire as we weather the storms ahead.

ENDNOTES

[1] Samir Khalaf, "New England Puritanism and Liberal Education in the Middle East: The American University of Beirut as a Cultural Transplant" in *Culture and Transitions in the Middle East*, ed. Şerif Mardin (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 50–85.

[2] Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

[3] For a brief sampling on the debate on scale, see "AHA Conversation: How Size Matters: The Question of Scale in History," *American Historical Review* (December 2013) 118, no. 5: 1431–1472. For an example of post-nationalist history, see Takashi Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). For examples of transnational and transregional approaches to writing history, see, for example, Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen, *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850–2000* (New York, Palgrave McMillan, 2008); Cyrus Schayegh, *Transnationalization: A History of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).

[4] Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Educational 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*, eds. Hans Gebhardt et al. (Beirut: Orient Institute Beirut, 1995), 143–174; Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 163–190.

[5] Aleksandra M. Kobiljski, "Women Students at the American University of Beirut from the 1920s to the 1940s," in *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History*, eds. Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2005), 67–84.

[6] See, for example, Geraldine Jonçich Clifford (ed.), *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870–1937* (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1989); Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson (eds.), *Going Coed: Women's Experiences in Formerly Men's Colleges and Universities, 1950–2000* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004).

[7] See, for example, the contrast between "American University of Beirut Notes," *Newsletter* 2, no. 6 (1921), ASC, Jafet Library, AUB, and Minutes of the Meeting of the General Faculty, 24 June 1927, ASC, Jafet Library, AUB.

[8] Henry Jessup Papers, RG 360, Series III, History of the Syrian Mission Notebook (Period III), p. 104, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, USA. The manuscript of Jessup's memoire consists of a dozen handwritten notebooks which are divided between the Yale Divinity School Library in New Haven, CT and the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, PA.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 106.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Henry Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revel Company, 1910), 300.

[14] Ibid., 303.

[15] Butros al-Bustani, *Nafir Suriya* [*Clarion of Syria*], ed. Yusuf Kozma Khuri (Beirut: Dar Fakr li-l-Abhath wa-l-Nashr, 1990), 29 July 1860, 9.

[16] Ibid., 49.

[17] A-MKT-MHM 1281-Ra-4, Dosya 308 Vesika 41, Başbakanlik Ottoman Archives, Istanbul.

[18] Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Educational Quarter, 168; Yousuf Kozma al-Khouri, *Butros al-Bustani: rajul saabiq 'asruhu* (Beirut: Dar al Hamra, 1995), 101–104.

[19] Christine Lindner. "'An Uncommonly Worthy Girl': Exploring the Life and Influence of Rahil Ata al-Bustani." Unpublished paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association Annual Conference, 2009.

[20] *Missionary Herald* 60 (4) (April 1864): 106. Governor of Saida (Eyalet-i Saida) to Prime Minister (Sadrazam), A-MKT-MHM 1281-Ra-4, Dosya 308 Vesika 41, (ca. 1864?) Başbakanlik Ottoman Archives, Istanbul.

[21] "Al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya," *al-Jinan* vol. 4 (1873): 627–628.

[22] The ratio of tuition paying and scholarship students is calculated based on numbers in the *Missionary Herald* 60, no. 4 (April 1864): 107.

[23] *Missionary Herald* 60, no. 4 (April 1864): 106 [emphasis in the original].

[24] *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920), 234.

[25] Douglas Dorman et al. (eds.), *Letters from a New Campus: written to his wife Abby and their four children during their visit to Amherst, Massachusetts, 1873–1874* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1994), 55.

[26] Ibid., 257.

[27] Ibid., 57.

[28] Ibid., 274.

[29] Ibid., 274.

[30] *Missionary Herald* 60, no. 4 (April 1864): 106.

[31] Ibid.

[32] "Reasons for the Establishment of a Syrian Protestant College," n.d., n.p., ABCFM Papers, Reel 548.

[33] Ibid.

[34] *Missionary Herald* 60, no. 4 (April 1864): 106.

[35] Ussama Makdisi, "Rethinking American Missionaries and Nineteenth-Century Historiography of the Middle East," in *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon* (Beirut: Orient Institut, 2004), 219.

[36] *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920), 234.

[37] Sum, in pound sterling, calculated on the basis of the Report to the Board of Mangers 1868, typescript, p. 2. ASC, Jafet Library, AUB.

[38] Butros Bustani to Daniel Bliss, Beirut, June 1, 1867, AA: 2. 3.1.9.1, Daniel Bliss Collection 1866–1908 (letter 34).

[39] For students who chose to remain at *al-Wataniyya*, see Butros Bustani to Daniel Bliss, Beirut, June 1, 1867, AA: 2. 3.1.9.1, Daniel Bliss Collection 1866–1908 (letter 34). For reference to the students returning to the National College, see the Report to the Board of Mangers 1868, typescript, p. 2. ASC, Jafet Library, AUB.

04 "That They May Have Life": Balancing Principles and Pragmatism in the Syrian Protestant College's Humanitarian Relief Projects during the Famine of World War I

A. Tylor Brand

"That they may have life, and have it more abundantly."
- John 10:10, inscribed over the American University of Beirut's Main Gate

When the Syrian Protestant College changed its name to the American University of Beirut in 1920, it inscribed an excerpt from John 10:10 on its main gate to serve as the motto and guiding principle of the institution. Although the direct significance of the verse, "that they may have life, and have it more abundantly," has faded somewhat over time, its choice was at the time a self-congratulatory testament to the efforts that the college community took to relieve the terrible effects of the famine that struck the region from 1915 to 1918. The broad outlines of the College's relief work have been sketched a number of times, but generally only as a matter of fact - the hidden machinery that made the aid operations function has largely remained hidden, or at least neglected, in the historical narrative. A closer analysis of the ideological and practical components of the relief projects suggests that the logistical and political flexibility demonstrated by the relief workers was impressive and undoubtedly instrumental in ensuring the viability of the relief projects through the dark and uncertain days of the war. However, the ideological foundations of the programs and the adaptations that were made to these beliefs also hint at the presence of a darker side to the relief work - the effects of which became more evident as the situation in the country changed from dire to worse in the latter years of the famine.

Historical accounts of the Syrian Protestant College (henceforth SPC) have generally lauded the efforts of its faculty and students during the famine, particularly the achievements of Bayard Dodge and Arthur Dray, which at times seem too astounding to be true. Still, in the interest of clearly delineating the subject, a distinction must be made between the work of the SPC itself and the contributions of the members of the college community since, in a very literal sense, the College provided no aid at all.[1] Logistical barriers, political scandals, and bureaucratic annoyances threatened to close the SPC gates on a number of occasions. The uncertainty surrounding the political standing of the institution vis-à-vis local Ottoman leadership directed the SPC and President Howard Bliss along a path of cautious accommodation throughout the war. Bliss's official strategy did not preclude its members from conducting relief interventions, but even in early 1915, charitable activities were coordinated primarily through SPC affiliates like the Beirut chapter of the American Red Cross and the YMCA.[2] These later expanded to include projects run by individuals from the College in conjunction with members of the local community and volunteers for the SPC and its hospitals. Still, even in these projects, the College itself officially maintained a safe distance from the work while striving to ensure that its own principles were not sacrificed outright for the sake of political exigency.

In a similar way, ideological, practical, and political concerns shaped the structure and character of relief operations run by members of the SPC community during the war. Designed in accordance with prevailing Protestant notions of worthiness and a fluid understanding of what "worthiness" actually meant amid the social disintegration of the famine period, such programs came to be defined by a tenuous balance between ideology and pragmatism. As the wartime atmosphere changed, the aid programs run by the SPC community were forced to adapt in order to remain viable. The SPC's policy of accommodation regarding the Ottoman authorities and the excellent relations between Jamal Pasha and Arthur Dray (and to a lesser extent Howard Bliss) gave it some leeway, but the College's affiliated relief work was still subject to powers it could not control. In a more subtle, but

no less deterministic fashion, the financial and practical concerns of the work streamlined the relief strategies and forced the modification of certain idealistic notions to accommodate a redefined notion of "worthiness" after years of crisis had rendered public morality a malleable concept for many who had suffered through the desperate years of the famine. Although the practical adaptations undertaken to ensure the viability of the SPC-linked aid programs were quite successful given the obstacles that the projects faced, the ideological adaptations that accompanied them posed ethical dilemmas for the workers and program planners.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COLLEGE'S RELIEF WORK

Although the relief underwent a constant process of evolution, it is possible to distinguish three distinct phases of the SPC's relief work corresponding to the changing social and political environment of the crisis. The first phase started in the late spring of 1915. Deteriorating conditions in Beirut following the closure of the port and the surge of refugees entering the city from Mount Lebanon led to mounting unemployment and the start of a humanitarian crisis in the city. In response, the Beirut Chapter of the American Red Cross established an Employment Committee that directed manual labor projects in the city and made direct aid distributions of food and money to certain select families in Beirut and its suburbs. Nominally aiding in this broader project was the YMCA student organization, which conducted a series of fundraising efforts and served as free labor for the Red Cross operations through the summer of 1915. Technically, these early programs operated more as charitable programs to augment the means of the population than as relief interventions aimed at actually preserving the lives of the desperately needy. To be selected by the programs, one had to be among the "worthy poor," whose lifestyle and need qualified them to receive the College's pious charity.[3] Aspects of these interventions continued to operate until aid work in the city was discontinued by the wali, 'Azmi Bey, in August 1915.

The SPC-American Red Cross work entered its second and arguably most successful phase in the late fall of 1915 following the prohibition on aid work in Beirut. Conscription in agricultural areas, drought, confiscations, and the locust invasion in April and May contributed to a 1915 crop that produced 20 percent less than its mediocre 1914 yield.[4] Scarcity further inflated the price of basic commodities in a region already reeling from the effects of the Allied blockade and inadequate transportation infrastructure. As poverty, epidemics, and hunger began to exact their tolls on the poor, the College's hospitals for women and children took on a more charitable role by accepting a larger number of patients, without fees, who were unable to pay for their treatment and care. As this was not distributive aid, it was ignored by the wali. In contravention of 'Azmi's orders, SPC Professors Sands and Adams rendered covert assistance to several of the soup kitchens that the municipal head, 'Omar Daouk, had established in the city, one of which was located across the street from the SPC campus.[5] The growing crisis in Mount Lebanon persuaded the Mutasarrif, 'Ali Munif Bey, to approve the collaboration between the American Red Cross and the Ottoman Red Crescent. The growing poverty prompted individuals to assist with soup kitchens (locally known as *mata'im*, singular *mata'm*) located across the mountain and coast in Hadath, 'Aley, 'Abeih, 'Ainab, Suq al-Gharb, and Brummana.

The second phase was bookended by aid prohibitions. The failure of an ambitious project by American donors to send $250,000 worth of food, medicine, and clothing to the Red Cross in Beirut aboard the *USS Caesar* led the Ottoman authorities to end Red Cross participation in relief activities in the mountain in February 1917. Shortly thereafter, the American declaration of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary officially ended Red Cross activity in the region in April 1917.

The third phase extended from mid-1917 to the end of the war. Despite the cessation of official work under the aegis of the Red Cross, orphanages, shelters, and work houses continued to function as extensions of the soup kitchens in Brummana, 'Abeih, and Suq al-Gharb.[6] Of these, the Brummana shelter run by the SPC's Dr. Arthur Dray was the showcase relief operation of the period, eventually becoming the organizational model for similar *mata'im* across the mountain. Dray had expanded on relief work that was started by a number of Lebanese women and Quaker missionaries to incorporate orphanages, a women's shelter, a clinic, and self-supporting workhouses and kitchens. Medical aid was provided by Dray himself and by Dr. Dikran Utidjian, who also oversaw the work of a number of student volunteers from the College. Over time, Dray's success earned the patronage of the American Mission and the Ottoman authorities, who occasionally brought visiting dignitaries to inspect the shelter. Dodge ran similar, though smaller, operations in the Gharb with the assistance of the American Mission, which were especially notable for the fact that he funded the projects almost entirely out-of-pocket. In addition to his shelters, in 1918, Dodge also launched a pilot agricultural project in order to provide food and employment for a number of men in the Gharb region. The collaboration between the remnants of the Red Cross community in Beirut and the American Mission,

named the American Relief Committee, strengthened the remaining operations and also codified the aid strategies that had developed over the course of the famine. As a result, the Presbyterian Mission Board ensured a pool of funding that allowed the operations to continue until the end of the war.

A RELATIONSHIP OF DEPENDENCE AND DEFERENCE: SPC RELIEF WORK AND THE STATE

Even if it is not inherently so, humanitarian aid is perhaps inevitably political in nature. Providing or denying aid can have consequences for the public perception of individuals and institutions. Since the Ottoman state was officially charged with maintaining the life and well-being of its citizens during the wartime crisis, it was particularly sensitive to encroachments on its authority or work that might be construed as criticism of, or detrimental to, its paternal role in society.[7] In her work on Mandate era Syria and Lebanon, *Colonial Citizens*, Elizabeth Thompson termed the breakdown of real and perceived Ottoman authority in Greater Syria as a "crisis of paternalism." This is not merely figurative terminology, but rather an apt description of the tense relationship that developed between a state struggling to resolve its own identity crisis and an ambivalent citizenry made dependent by social crisis and an unwelcome war. For Ottoman regional administrators like Jamal Pasha and 'Azmi Bey, World War I provided a pretext to quash the local decentralization movement (and those it deemed hazardous) while imposing the sort of firm guiding hand that the Ottomans saw as necessary both during the war and after.[8] In practice, its methods and execution were often marred by brutality, ineffectiveness, and corruption. Instead of inspiring nationalism and ensuring order, Ottoman policies generated discontent and evasiveness, and eventually alienated many of the state's usual allies in the region. Given the hazards of wartime politics, the policies of the Syrian Protestant College were designed to hew to the state's interests as much as possible, a stance that was (often grudgingly) reflected in the relief offered by SPC aid workers.

Although for the most part the Ottomans permitted and even encouraged the American aid efforts, in several instances, various Ottoman leaders regarded parallel American relief work to be detrimental to its own interests, and either prevented or redirected the aid to make it more palatable. As resident aliens of a foreign non-neutral nation (albeit one which never declared war on the Ottoman state), the motivations of the relief workers were occasionally questioned. Failure to observe the numerous, often unspoken, rules had serious consequences. The deference that the SPC showed in its conduct as an institution and in most of its affiliated relief work indicates that those responsible for the humanitarian programs were well aware of the risks of their work, and they frequently made overtures to the state during the war to demonstrate their good intentions. However, in spite of the difficulties that its edicts often caused, the state was hardly an enemy to the SPC aid projects, and often served as a facilitator or even a patron of the relief efforts, utilizing the existing infrastructure of the private relief organizations to relieve the pressure on state programs.

The SPC community's work was undoubtedly enabled by the patronage of Jamal Pasha, who supported the College and its community in spite of a series of scandals over the course of the war.[9] In addition to his political protection, Jamal allowed the College to purchase its supplies from the government at standard military prices. These could fluctuate from one-fifth to one-seventh of market rates because the government paid at face value in paper currency, which after the summer of 1916 depreciated to a fraction of its official 100-piaster face value. Although the American postwar gossip attributed this patronage to Jamal's relationship with Howard Bliss and Arthur Dray, the account of the war written by the head of General Security, 'Aziz Bey, notes that Jamal had actually decided to supply the Syrian Protestant College (by name) and other major educational, medical, and social institutions throughout the war as a matter of state policy, not as a reward for good behavior.[10] The workers ate relatively well on campus, but Professor Edward Nickoley lamented that it was "an actual fact" that many employees had children starving within a block of the gate, but were strictly forbidden from bringing food home to feed them.[11]

The state's power over the relief programs was amply demonstrated by the policies of 'Azmi Bey in August of 1915. Until 'Azmi's appointment, the programs initiated by college affiliates were largely confined to the city of Beirut, and were often coordinated with the wali of Beirut, Bekir Sami. The apolitical nature of the Red Cross work in the region and the apparent sense of civic duty that drove its members actually gained the group more plaudits than criticism through the early months of 1915. Jamal Pasha himself lauded the SPC, citing the assistance that a Red Cross expedition rendered to the Ottoman Army during the Suez campaign of 1915 during Jamal Pasha's official visit to the College on April 3, 1915. This relationship changed shortly after 'Azmi took office in August 1915. In one of his initial acts in office, 'Azmi Bey suspended private charitable operations in the city of Beirut and arrested the SPC's Mary Dale for distributing coins to the needy in one of the organization's wards in Achrafieh, an action that effectively ended American charitable work in the city. Though the SPC

community continued to participate in humanitarian assistance projects in Beirut, it was largely done surreptitiously and under the auspices of 'Omar Daouk's municipal relief program. This included the soup kitchen managed by Drs. Adams and Sands in Ras Beirut, which according to Mary Dorman, fed 4,000 individuals.[12] Unlike Jamal Pasha, 'Azmi Bey's assessment of the relief operations centered on the political risk of the aid operations over their social utility. It is interesting to note that his stance changed as the crisis worsened. Over time, he even requested the assistance of Dr. Charles Webster of the SPC to help alleviate the devastating effects of acute ophthalmia that ravaged the *wilaya* of Beirut during the famine.[13]

Even those officials who did permit the SPC to conduct overt relief programs made their allowances only on the condition that the aid work was conducted in a manner consistent with Ottoman policy and did not detract from the prestige or reputation of the state. 'Ali Munif Bey, *Mutasarrif* of Mount Lebanon (1915–1917), took a supportive, but rather complicated stance on American aid. When the Red Cross approached 'Ali about sanctioning its activities in Mount Lebanon, he assented on the condition that they attempt to coordinate with the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. This demand was in part a way to ensure that the hand of the state was visible in the Americans' efforts, but also to allow better coordination of the combined resources of the two institutions;[14] all signs indicate that this demand benefited both parties. The Red Crescent included among its administrators the treasurer of the *Mutasarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon, the SPC's own Turkish professor and Druze judge, Muhammad Effendi Abu 'Izz al-Din, which gave the projects an official seal of approval.[15] The efficacy of this was somewhat suspect since the program was subject to corruption and was still clearly an inadequate and wasteful means of supplying the countryside. Whatever successes the collaboration produced were ultimately nullified by the American entry into the war on the side of the Entente powers in 1917, which forced the *Mutasarrif* to make the politically expedient decision to cut American participation until the end of 1917.

Although Jamal Pasha was personally supportive of the institution, his relationship to the SPC aid was similarly conditioned on the extent it would benefit his administration as balanced against the material and political costs that support of such operations entailed. Jamal's modest patronage of the American programs was certainly not peculiar, as he had contributed supplies and scarce funding to such relief works as those organized by Greek Orthodox Archbishop Gregorios Haddad in Damascus,[16] the massive Shirajian-Altounian orphanage for Armenian children in Aleppo, and even the Maronite church.[17] He was most active as the patron of Arthur Dray's shelter in Brummana, which Margaret McGilvary of the American Press claimed was a payment of debt to the British dentist for his clandestine surgical operation on an Ottoman dignitary who was wounded in an attempt on Jamal's life in Palestine.[18] Whatever the truth to this claim, Dray was certainly not shy about using his connection to the military commander to achieve his goals. Along with the concession to allow the Brummana orphanage to continue, Dray persuaded Jamal to permit the operation of *mata'im* in 'Aley and Shweir, plus the right to purchase food from the government at army rates for 5 months.[19] Still, as with 'Ali Munif Bey, the permission stipulated that Dray could not provide aid for men of working or military age, though they were later permitted to work as laborers in exchange for food.[20]

The intersection of politics and aid were most apparent in the "*Caesar* affair" of the winter of 1916–1917. The "affair" referred to the aborted mission of the "mercy ship," *USS Caesar*, which had been organized by the Presbyterian Armenian Syrian Relief Committee and Beirut Chapter of the Red Cross in August 1916 in anticipation of declining conditions in the mountain through the winter. After gauging local political and logistical support, the SPC's Dr. Patch conducted a needs-assessment of the population in the mountain and compiled a list of those in the greatest need. Upon receiving clearance from both Entente and Central Power authorities, the ship was loaded with $250,000 worth of food and medicine and was announced in the international press, presumably to publicize the aid and secure future donors.[21] Although the shipment itself had been approved by the Ottoman authorities – 'Ali Munif Bey had even offered to provide warehousing for the materials in the government storehouses in the village of Hadath if 'Azmi Bey made storage in Beirut impossible – an aspect of the relief seems to have crossed one of Jamal Pasha's red lines. While the *Caesar* was at sea, he issued the demand that the cargo unload at Jaffa, where he would personally oversee the distribution to those in need.[22]

As Jamal Pasha's earlier appeals to the Papacy, America, and Spain for aid during the onset of social crisis in 1915 indicate, he had no problem with foreign aid *per se*,[23] so long as he could distribute it and avoid having the American state make political gains at his expense in a period wherein local satisfaction with Ottoman rule was nearing its nadir. It is notable that it was not Jamal, but the Americans who ended the *Caesar*'s mission, much to the disgust of local relief coordinator, George Doolittle, who made this explicit in his unpublished account of the war.[24] The Relief Fund's leadership in New York refused to concede to Jamal's demands, and sold the cargo in Alexandria to pay for Red Cross work in Salonika.[25]

Although the *Caesar*'s journey ended in Alexandria, the consequences of the *Caesar* affair cut through the SPC's other relief operations. On February 13, 1917, the Red Cross was expressly prohibited from conducting direct humanitarian relief in Mount Lebanon, and what small projects they had attempted to run were halted in the months that followed.[26] The final committee meeting was held in June of 1917.[27] After June, the only large, overt American aid centers that remained were Dray's Brummana shelter, Dodge's *mata'im* and orphan shelters in Suq al-Gharb and 'Abeih, the various small-scale mission operations in Tripoli and Mount Lebanon, and the orphanage and soup kitchen in Sidon.

The Ottoman state proved to be a rather complicated partner in the wartime period, reflecting the changing circumstances in the country and the extraordinary political and economic complications that the war had aggravated. Even if it was ostensibly supportive of the American efforts in most cases, the Ottoman state was not a homogeneous organization, but rather a complex organizational structure comprised of various administrations, bureaus, and offices which were themselves staffed by individuals with varying levels of affection for the Americans and respect for the ethical guidelines of their offices. Local policy changed with the political winds, sometimes with arbitrary suddenness. The reactive nature of relief efforts in Beirut and Mount Lebanon and the obvious lack of a comprehensive poverty-relief policy suggest that the "rules of the game" governing aid work in the region were not always clearly formulated, let alone those regarding aid work performed by foreign nationals. Because of this, the College and its relief efforts were locked in a state of dependency with the Ottoman authorities, each trying to secure its own interests. At times this required some sacrifice, which rarely came from the Ottoman side.

STRATEGY AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AID PROGRAMS

Unlike the preventive structural reforms implemented by the Ottoman state in its attempts to manage vulnerabilities during the war,[28] the policies of the SPC's humanitarian relief programs were by their very nature reactive. The relief interventions and activities undertaken by the members of the College during the war developed in accordance with the shifting needs of the populations, their own capacity to conduct the work, and the degree of cooperation they received from local intermediaries and Ottoman officials. To a large degree, the conditional successes that the SPC had in its latter projects in particular were a result of the strategy and planning that went into the relief operations. In order to ensure the efficacy of their work, the planning committees conducted surveys and needs-assessments. Through this, they were able to gain a basic understanding of the situation on the ground, the numbers and needs of the population, and the type of aid that would be most effective. These assessments allowed the SPC humanitarians to plan interventions to best meet the needs of the target population given their limited resources. In spite of the exhaustive groundwork performed by the committees, positive outcomes were by no means ensured. The uncertainty and volatility of the wartime environment frequently required reassessments of intervention strategies or the cessation of work if the project became unfeasible.

Perhaps the most important aspect of such planning regarded the locations of the projects. Initially, the work of the college community focused on Beirut since the work was conducted during the college semester, making it unfeasible to engage in projects that would require distant travel by foot – most cars and large numbers of draft animals had been requisitioned by the army, making travel a slow and difficult process. Stephen Penrose noted that even restricting work to the city did not prevent the extra duties from interfering with the normal operations of the College.[29] 'Azmi Bey's prohibition on relief work in the city made the decision for the Americans, who transitioned to assisting populations in Mount Lebanon.

Even in the Lebanon, the locations of the American interventions followed a distinct pattern – the primary relief centers of 'Aley, 'Abeih, Shweir, Zahleh, Suq al-Gharb, and Brummana all featured Protestant missions or schools, which provided a local support system and workforce for the operations, as well as a justification for the money that the Presbyterian Mission headquarters in America sent to sustain them.[30] Practicality overrode exigency. Undoubtedly there was far greater suffering in the far reaches of the Kisrawan, which was especially vulnerable on account of its high reliance on remittances from abroad and the severance of the silk trade on which the region depended.[31] However, due to a weak American presence in the "hostile" Maronite Catholic region,[32] the amount of American aid distributed in that region remained insignificant until the end of the war.

The limited success of the early Red Cross operations in Beirut indicates the difficulty of strategically planning an intervention in an uncertain climate and the hazards of idealism in real world

applications. The Employment Committee that was established in January 1915 initially sought to limit the amount of direct monetary and food aid to the population by allowing some of the men who had been put out of a job by the blockade to work to support themselves and their families. In principle, the American missionaries in both the SPC and Mission communities favored making "worthy" recipients work for their keep. The committee was set up under Professor Reed and coordinated with the municipality. After an exhaustive screening process, individuals selected from among the applicants would perform basic manual labor and necessary sanitation duties,[33] including the maintenance of the College's terraces and the destruction of locust eggs following the swarm of April 1915.[34] Despite the overwhelming number of applicants and the contributions that the workers made towards the health and sanitation of the city, the project ended in mid-1915.[35]

Retrospectively, the Employment Committee was an example of bad relief policy, though it was likely quite reasonable at the time of its creation. Following the invasion of locusts in April and May of 1915, the increased cost of living due to rising commodity prices and rents reduced the purchasing power of the workers' wages. The decrease in the value of the money paid drastically impacted the value that the aid actually delivered. Though any income was better than none, the work itself risked becoming exploitive due to the meager rewards that the often hungry workers reaped for their efforts. Even without the galloping inflation of later years, basing rates of pay on prewar prices relegated the recipients of work aid to a status of extreme poverty. This strategy was attempted again in 1916 by the Americans running the tuberculosis sanatorium in Hamlin with ruinous results. A crew of six workers was paid 150 piasters (25 piasters each) a week to construct a new road to the hospital - undercutting the daily rate of 6-7 piasters per day for unskilled agricultural laborers in Lebanon in 1914.[36] Grain prices were low at the time since the harvests had come in August in 1916, but the *ratl* of wheat (some 2.56 kilograms) that would have cost 2-4 piasters in normal times (which cost the Sanatorium 17-19 piasters) still sold for 25 piasters a *ratl* on the open market.[37] There is little need to wonder why Nurse Affeffi Saba commented, "the workmen are pitiful to behold, yet they are the ones who are needing the help."[38]

The lessons learned from this were reflected in the emergency relief operations that began in earnest during the famine years of 1916-1918. In these later interventions, the aid strategy shifted from pure employment to direct or mixed aid and from monetary to alimentary relief. Although the American Mission continued to funnel remittances into the country through late 1917, the SPC and Red Cross sought to limit direct financial support for the starving poor. Not only were cash payments unsustainable, but the exchange ratio and the low value of Ottoman paper notes made cash distributions too wasteful to be effective. The official cost of purchasing Ottoman lira with US dollars had been fixed by a number of sources at 3:1, but in reality the fluctuating market saw the price of the lira range widely, from below 3 to the highest peak that the author has found in correspondence of 4.6:1.[39] Even this conversion was deceptive since upon receipt, the lira were usually broken down into smaller coin denominations, purchased with paper money whose value was a fraction of its face.[40] This exchange was especially onerous when obtaining wheat from the Druzes in the Hawran, whose sheikhs wisely refused to touch the paper currency and demanded payment in gold.[41]

Cost and practicality were frequent and unwelcome considerations for the relief interventions, particularly as the arithmetic of the crisis grew more and more depressing as the famine extended into the dark years of 1917 and 1918. The funding available to the Americans for relief work was unpredictable and even rather limited until November of 1917, when the depth of the crisis persuaded the leadership of the joint Mission-SPC relief leadership to approve $150,000 in debt spending to continue relief work through the winter. The committee was bolstered by the report that the Presbyterian Mission in New York had approved the use of $50,000 a month towards relief, to be reimbursed after the war. After this decision, the Americans conducting relief in the region were able to secure loans from local sources to cover immediate costs.[42] In lieu of cash payments or cash-for-work programs, the SPC programs under Arthur Dray and Bayard Dodge developed systems that allowed women and children to work for food, which was purchased by the shelters in large quantities from suppliers and prepared on site. To further alleviate the cost of transportation, individuals receiving aid were required to be physically present at the site to receive their distribution. Some Lebanese refused to come because they felt that coming to stand in line for aid was beneath them. They were simply passed over.[43] With the cost of food and fuel exceeding the ability of many families to purchase it, it was cheaper and easier to provide food through soup kitchens and work-for-food programs, the latter of which covered some of the overhead of the operation while allowing the kitchens to stretch their resources in times of need by using local products and cheaper produce, or adapting their output to whatever food was on hand.[44]

Even after the relief interventions were planned, coordinated, and organized, there remained the problem of the logistical needs of the projects. The SPC's humanitarian workers could not simply

produce loaves and fish from the ether to feed the desperate masses, no matter how vigorous their missionary zeal may have been. The logistics network that secured the provisions and fuel for the operations depended on factors ranging from the environment and geography, market prices, availability and cost of transport, and the amenability of local citizens and bureaucrats. Time was also a major consideration since the prices of food varied seasonally with the harvests and were prone to sharp spikes as the market responded to fluctuations in demand and supply. A military request for supplies for the Gaza front or a poor harvest could have immediate social consequences. Moreover, food supplies and preserves had to be laid up before the coming of the winter snows, which by February often made the mountain roads impassable. The location of the intervention or the location of its supply network had implications for the availability and cost of materials. Transportation costs were astoundingly steep due to the Ottoman policy of requisitioning pack animals, a policy that had been so broad as to become shortsighted - by the end of the war the army possessed so many animals that there is mention in one source that in 1916 Jamal Pasha actually recommended killing all of the camels in order to make up for the fodder shortfall.[45] Areas closer to agrarian hinterlands (like Sidon) had fewer problems obtaining food from producers than even larger cities like Beirut simply due to the difficulty of transporting bulky agricultural goods. Similarly, the cost of purchasing supplies in the mountain was generally more expensive than in the city due to Ottoman restrictions on the movement of food and because the natural purchasing power of small communities was so much weaker.

Acquiring the grain needed by the relief work involved the following process: first, extensive scouting was conducted by agents of the SPC to locate potential sellers and to determine a fair price for the grain given the immediate projections. This was not always a guarantee that the purchase would stand, since in several instances a deal was struck, only to have uncertainty in the market about supply or demand scuttle the agreement as the vendor awaited news of the development.[46] Once a deal was reached, the agent would then purchase the food at market price with the agreed currency and arrange transportation at immense cost. Upon arrival, the order would be inspected to ensure it was not defective, wet, or heavy with filler materials like dirt or rock. Once the shipment was approved, the grain would have to be transported for milling (in the mountains this was usually in a deep valley near a water source)[47] before it even reached the soup kitchen. If the food was imported from outside of the district of Mount Lebanon, this involved obtaining at least one *wathiqa* permitting the purchase and transport of the grain, and a relatively functional bureaucratic process to approve it (sometimes several times along the line).[48] It also assumed a minimal level of corruption, theft, or other malfeasance that would endanger the shipment or delay its arrival. There was the option of attempting to smuggle grain without the permission slip, but this would risk the relationship that the SPC had painstakingly cultivated with the high authorities and ensured the loss of both grain and the money paid for it if the authorities seized it on the way into the mountains.

The cost of sustaining the programs was high. Even with the support of Jamal Pasha, the *Mutasarrifs* of Mount Lebanon - 'Ali Munif and Isma'il Haqqi Bey - and the American Mission, Dray's operation consumed an estimated $180,000 in operational costs over thirty months, or the equivalent of $2.5-3 million in 2013.[49] The bill for two years of work in 'Abeih and Suq al-Gharb totaled $27,500, paid primarily by Dodge with minor support from local donors and the American Mission.[50] Dodge was also able to provide work for close to one hundred individuals through an arrangement with a Druze sheikh who leased farmland to Dodge at a total cost of $8,100.[51]

To mitigate the impact of the supply system's vagaries, the SPC operations in Brummana, 'Abeih, and Suq al-Gharb worked to develop a measure of self-sufficiency. Vegetables, oil, and animals were obtained from nearby farms at market prices and used or preserved for winter use.[52] Traditional preservation methods used by local Lebanese in the preparation of *muna* - the annual practice of preserving perishable foods - allowed the workers to take advantage of the seasonal produce over the course of the winter when food was expensive or unavailable.[53] Charcoal was generally made on site by laborers who collected wood and slow burned it until it reached the proper degree of charring.

The pragmatism of the projects is perhaps best evidenced by the complexity of the logistical problem of supplying the relief operations with food, fuel, and labor when at least two of the three were in short supply. Though the description of the *mata'im* supply chain appears quite sophisticated on the surface, it was an essentially haphazard and unpredictable process. The situation outlined in this paper was that of a successful acquisition of grain, which was common, but not the rule. Depending on the time of year, scarcity, politics, and hoarding, certain grains disappeared entirely from the market, or if they could be found, access depended on the connections a person had to the producer or merchant. For those without the impressive web of connections, credit, and *wasta*[54] of the SPC community, the process would have been far more difficult and much more expensive.

"THAT THEY MAY HAVE LIFE": AID POLICY AND THE ISSUE OF WORTHINESS

By 1917, the programs were instituting a work-for-food system that would be able to meet the project's basic needs while also providing employment or vocational training for local artisans or the women and orphans of the shelters. In his general report on relief work during the war, Bayard Dodge held that making the needy work for their bread instilled a sense of dignity and ownership in the outcome,[55] but it is clear that it also made the daunting process of selecting who would be fed much easier. Those who were willing to work would eat; those who were unwilling would have to fend for themselves. To ensure the moral purity of the recipients, any malfeasance was punished by temporarily or permanently removing their names from the list of recipients in favor of any of the hundreds waiting behind them.[56] While there was certainly a philosophical motivation for this policy, there were practical considerations as well. Providing for the needs of the hundreds of largely shoeless and betattered orphans in Brummana would have been inconceivable due to the cost of manufactured goods in the country (even the SPC workers had to turn their coats and mend their shoes),[57] so as part of their education, some were taught carpentry, tailoring, cobbling, and even silk manufacturing to supply the shelter and provide them with a trade. Those goods that did not go directly to the shelter's recipients were sold to benefit the soup kitchen.[58] The relative effectiveness of the work programs was such that by 1918, relief funds shifted *entirely* to industry, which supported the kitchens until the arrival of the Allied occupation forces, when the operations were officially turned over to the Red Cross.[59]

In spite of the adaptations made by the aid workers, it was impossible to provide adequate support for all of the population for the unknown duration of the war. In order to most effectively serve a stable population, the operators of the soup kitchens made the decision to limit the number of recipients to ensure they received sufficient aid to survive the crisis.[60] The relief policy that had been formulated *ad hoc* over the course of the war was officially detailed in a meeting in October 1917 by the American Relief Committee, comprised of members of the American Mission and Bayard Dodge. To some extent, the emphasis on giving aid to only "worthy" applicants reflected both contemporary Protestant notions of welfare and the apparent decline in sympathy for the poor over the course of the war.[61] However, the plan also incorporated practical strategies that were needed to deal with the high prices and overwhelming demand for aid as well as a selection strategy that bordered on social engineering. The principles adopted were as follows:[62]

1. To save those most "deserving" of being saved, to avoid a situation in the war's aftermath wherein "we should find that the worthless had survived the worthy." The "worthless" included those suffering from an "evil disease" (presumably syphilis or gonorrhea), confirmed beggars or those who refuse "suitable work," and those who were "helpless cripples" or whose existence would be a burden on others more able to survive.[63]

2. To limit the number of recipients to a practical set whom the interventions would be able to sustain throughout the duration of the war.

3. To "personally" investigate the applications for aid to prevent local sheikhs and *mukhtars* from nominating the less "worthy" or those not truly meeting the set criteria for inclusion.

4. To give principally to children to prevent parents stealing from them. A subsection of this principle was to aim to preserve families to prevent some siblings from being fed while others starved.

5. To give food aid rather than money, which was often misspent and less effective at preserving the lives of the poor than the food dispensations that were offered in the *mata'im*.

6. To provide a special diet and medicine for those suffering from malaria to aid their recovery.

7. To clothe those in need using products made in the workshops attached to the *mata'im*.

The principles were necessary strategic elements of the interventions. However, forcing the aid workers to make decisions that undoubtedly had life or death consequences placed them under a heavy psychological burden.[64]

The difficulty of making the necessary mathematical and social calculations in the immediate presence of the sufferers is evident in the sources. The abject ghastliness of the suffering and the earnestness of the relief workers made such decisions a dreadful task. Edward Nickoley observed in February of 1917, "so many people lost their heads because their hearts were touched," noting, "there is more evidence of distress and suffering at those places [the soup kitchens] than there is on any battle field, I am sure."[65] The severity of this choice at times led to the inadvisable acceptance of desperate individuals at the expense of the efficacy of the operation. In his unpublished book, *Pathos and Humor of the War Years in Syria*, George Doolittle recounted a story wherein Arthur Dray was approached by a starving woman on the road to Beirut, asking him to take her children into his orphanage. Dray calculated that he could only take two of her five children, but relented after one young child who understood that he was not one of the chosen begged, "oh mother, take me too!"[66]

The negative consequences of overextending aid during the crisis were evident in the challenges faced by the SPC's children's hospital. The hospital had adopted a policy of accepting large numbers of needy children, in spite of the fact that the volume of patients had overwhelmed the institution. In part, this was due to the extreme need of the poor. Dead bodies were regularly discovered lying outside the hospital, as petitioners waited in vain for admittance into the crowded wards.[67] Although accepting large volumes of patients was ethically laudable, it was a decision that ultimately deprived the hospital of necessary operating funds since the sick and starving were often treated at little or no charge. Worse, the large numbers admitted made it nearly impossible to practically house the starving children.[68] Nickoley commented in a 1917 diary entry that eighty-four children occupied a hospital with forty-four beds, forcing nurses to spread blankets on the floor to accommodate the excess. Such overcrowding was medically risky during outbreaks of highly infectious diseases like typhus, smallpox, and tuberculosis, which spread most effectively in crowded conditions. Offering their service charitably also placed the nurses in something of an ethical quandary: Nickoley claimed that they did not know what to do with those who did not die, since after their recovery they would be returned to the acute poverty that had sent them to the hospital in the first place.[69]

Merely having a plan was not sufficient if it was not followed, and the relatively small numbers served suggests that the SPC interventions adhered firmly to their proscribed limits. Dodge's two soup kitchens in 'Abeih and Suq al-Gharb serve as testament to this. The two operations (which included nearby work in Shemlan and 'Ainab), funded almost entirely out-of-pocket by Bayard Dodge himself,[70] served 650 individuals: 350 at 'Abeih and 300 at Suq al-Gharb (and its vicinity).[71] By limiting the number of recipients, utilizing careful planning and resource management, and implementing a work program that made the two institutions self-supporting, the relief operations were able to ensure the steady supply of food for at least a number of those who needed it during the most difficult days of the war.

CONCLUSION

The American University of Beirut's adoption of the self-congratulatory motto "that they may have life, and have it more abundantly" following the famine was not dissimilar to how other American charitable organizations portrayed their work in Syria during the war. In popular literature produced by missionaries and aid organizations in the postwar period, missionary writers sought to exaggerate the Christ-like piety of the mission and the noble toil of the workers, whose efforts literally brought salvation to the inhabitants of the Holy Land. Pamphlets like *Story of Our Syria Mission*, penned in 1920 by the American Press secretary, Margaret McGilvary Zimmerman, carried stories of a small "army" of Protestant workers who saved the entire supine Syrian nation from "annihilation."[72] Given that accounts such as Zimmerman's were intended to attract donations from America (spending reached $12,527,957.39 in Syria alone between 1914 and 1929),[73] such literary license is not unexpected. However, reducing the often taxing efforts of the relief workers to glossy hagiographies did little justice to the relief workers themselves and conveniently elided the darker side of the relief work. Indeed, by all accounts, the humanitarian work done during the war was anything but glamorous and was often incredibly frustrating. The Reverend George Doolittle, who was personally responsible for much of the relief work conducted in Sidon and its surrounding areas during the war, characterized his toil as a depressing, long, losing battle against the inexorable advance of the famine.[74] A number of aid workers reported that their work left them emotionally numbed to the calamity surrounding them.[75]

Indeed, the challenges that the relief work posed told much about the nature of relief work during the period. That the programs were even able to function by the end of the terrible crisis is itself a testament to the practicality and flexibility of the administrators of the aid projects, who were forced to adapt their work to the daunting political, strategic, and logistical challenges presented by the restrictive wartime atmosphere. However, the difficulties also prompted pragmatic and ideological policies that raised professional moral and ethical red flags about the true effect and ultimate intent of the programs. While we can laud the workers for their great sacrifice and clever adaptation, we should also question the value, or even the source, of the ideological motivations for certain policies and their life-and-death consequences.

A review of the strategies employed in the interventions indicates that the notions of Protestant charity and worthiness that dictated philanthropic practices in America and Britain found practical applications in the American attempts to meet the extraordinary demands of the field – for better or,

more often, for worse. Certainly, the strategic shifts over the course of the war applied ideology in the relief projects in order to ensure the feasibility of the projects, though the implications of the adopted policies were ethically troubling. The work-house shelters that became the sole mode of relief by the end of the war meshed well with the wish of the administrators to have the poor work for their keep. Moreover, this practice allowed the relief interventions to sustain themselves with their labor and industry. However, extending the notion of the "worthy poor" into a situation wherein desperation drove many into "unworthiness" for their very survival poses severe questions about the motivation and perceived intent of the relief work. This was not charity to comfort; this was emergency aid to sustain life. Even if many of the applicants would have been turned away for other reasons, the aid principles adopted by the American Relief Committee in October 1917 brought the relief administrators perilously close to playing God with other peoples' lives. Indeed, it is difficult to analyze the American relief work in the period without asking the question "that *who* may have life, and *why*?"

Still, a measure of understanding is necessary. As vexing as such critiques may be a century after the fact, it is significant that they are being applied to a three-year period of social disintegration that took a psychological toll on those tasked with doling out aid. While it is legitimate to question the effects or the ethics of a system that moralizes the dispensation of lifesaving aid into a calculation of human worth, it should not be forgotten that the aid that *was* delivered often meant the difference between starvation and survival for many of its recipients. To its credit, though the SPC community did not save the entire mountain or even offer substantial support to areas outside of the nine towns in which it is known that they consistently operated,[76] for the few thousands of needy individuals and families who received aid, the SPC relief projects offered a chance at life at a time when death was in great abundance.

ENDNOTES

[1] Notably, Stephen Penrose, *That They May Have Life: A History of the American University of Beirut* (New York: Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1941); Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: A Brief History of the University and the Lands Which it Serves* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958).

[2] Though the Red Cross was not an official appendage of the College, SPC professors were heavily represented on its governing board and were primarily responsible for the strategy and implementation of its interventions. Professor Patch served as its vice president, (the presidency was reserved for the US Consul), while the committee itself included Professors Bayard Dodge, Harry Dorman, and the wife of Professor Nelson. The relief provided by these groups was certainly an expansion of their normal activities, but was not a departure from their general character.

[3] On this concept, see Kenneth Hudson and Andrea Coukos, "The Dark Side of the Protestant Ethic: A Comparative Analysis of Welfare Reform," *Sociological Theory* 23, no. 1 (2005): 1–2.

[4] It was likely worse in Syria, which suffered most from the locust invasion. Şevket Pamuk, "The Ottoman Economy in World War I," in *The Economics of World War I*, eds. Stephen Broadberry and Mark Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 120.

[5] The building, which once housed the Khayat's publishing house, is currently occupied by a bank.

[6] The most impressive aid campaign was conducted by the Near East Relief in the aftermath of the war, which organized a series of shelters for famine victims and the orphans of the Armenian Genocide of 1915.

[7] Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Colonial Privilege, and Gender in French Lebanon and Syria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 16.

[8] See Talha Çiçek, *War and State Formation in Syria: Cemal Pasha's Governorate in World War I, 1914-1917* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[9] The most severe of these was the geography incident wherein Professor Hall was caught using a textbook that bore odious references to the Ottoman Empire in unused portions, drawing the ire of Jamal Pasha and local officials. The school demonstrated that it did not teach that part of the book, and after some negotiation, the matter closed with Professor Hall relieved of his duties, but not deported.

[10] 'Aziz Bey, *Suriya wa Lubnan fi al-harb al-'alamiyya*, (Beirut: 1933), 61.

[11] Edward Nickoley, "Historic Diary" (1917). Edward Nickoley Collection, 1873–1937. ARCHIVE AA 2:3.3. Box 1, File 2. American University of Beirut/Library Archives, Beirut, Lebanon, 19.

[12] Such numbers may be slightly elevated or, at least, can be interpreted as having served 4,000 meals, not individual persons. Otherwise, the relatively obscure operation would have rendered more aid than Dray's well-funded and far more famous shelter in Brummana. Nicholas Ajay, "Mount Lebanon and the Wilayah of Beirut: 1914–1918" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1973), 511.

[13] This epidemic of eye infections could have been a result of the unsanitary conditions and widespread poverty in the cities, which likely enflamed the perpetual problem of chlamydial conjunctivitis (also known as trachoma). Rev. George Curtis Doolittle, *Pathos and Humor of the War Years in Syria: A Book of Personal Experiences* (unpublished, 1920), 129.

[14] Margaret McGilvary, *Dawn of a New Era in Syria* (New York: Fleming H. Revell and Co., 1920), 91.

[15] Doolittle, 73.

[16] Yusuf al-Hakim, *Beirut wa Lubnan fi 'ahd Al-'Uthman* (Beirut: Dar al-Nahar, 1991), 253–254.

[17] Aziz Bey, 61.

[18] McGilvary, 210–211.

[19] Ajay, 460.

[20] McGilvary, 215.

[21] "Christmas Ship Off for Beirut Today," *The New York Times*, December 17, 1916.

[22] James Barton, *Story of Near East Relief (1915–1930)* (New York: MacMillan, 1930), 74.

[23] 'Aziz Bey, 62.

[24] Doolittle, 75.

[25] Barton, 74.

[26] The one instance wherein Red Cross work was mentioned was Dr. Patch's revised needs-assessment carried out in May 1917, and the forced stoppage of his work in Hadath, a village just beyond the boundaries of Beirut near Ba'abda. Nickoley, 9.

[27] McGilvary, 96.

[28] On these, see Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, "The Famine of 1915–1918 in Greater Syria," *Problems of the Modern Middle East in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honor of Albert Hourani*, ed. John Spagnolo (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1992), 234–243.

[29] Penrose, 155.

[30] The school in Brummana was started by Quakers, rather than Presbyterians.

[31] Doolittle, 111.

[32] The term "bigoted" was frequently used in Protestant Missionary texts to describe the Maronite Church and its position towards the American missionaries.

[33] "College Notes," *Al-Kulliyah* 5 (1915): 37.

[34] Penrose, 155.

[35] After this period, 'Azmi Bey launched his own work-relief projects, including the reorganization of the Beirut city center and the improvement of the Sidon highway.

[36] Abdallah Sa'id, "Tatawwur harakat al-as'ar wa al-ujur," in *Lubnan fi al-harb al-'alamiyya al-ula* 1, ed. Antoine al-Qassis (Beirut: Manshurat al-jami'a al-lubnaniyya, 2011), 397.

[37] Though wheat had ceased to be the staple of the diets of the impoverished due to the high prices, other replacement grains like millet, corn, and beans had seen a similar surge in cost. Price data on the period was taken from correspondence of the Hamlin sanatorium. *PHS Archives RG-115-8-16, Hamlin Memorial San. Corres. 1916–27.*

[38] Affeffi Saba, "Letter to Anna Jessup" August 25, 1916. *PHS Archives RG-115-8-16, Hamlin Memorial San. Corres. 1916–27.*

[39] On the 3:1 ratio, see Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut*, 46. The ratio of 4.6 to the lira was found in correspondence between the Standard Oil representative, Oliver Gunkel, and Charles Dana of the American Press in Beirut. Oscar Gunkel, "Letter #73 from Oscar Gunkel (Standard Oil) to Charles Dana, September 29, 1915." *PHS Archives RG-115-16-10 Relief Work 1915–1917.*

[40] The American Press Treasurer Charles Dana was accused by many Lebanese of embezzlement for the apparent difference between the payouts and the money that was sent to the country.

[41] Ajay, "Mount Lebanon," 325.

[42] W. S. Nelson, "Letter # 170 from W. S. Nelson to Charles Dana, November 20, 1917," *PHS Archives RG-115-16-10 Relief Work 1915–1917*, and Doolittle, *Pathos*, 123.

[43] Dodge, "Report on Abeih," 4.

[44] For example, wheat prices, "normally" around 4 piasters a ratl, reached 25 piasters in August of 1916. Nickoley gives the price of bulghur at 60 piasters a ratl in late May of 1917. By the end of the war, prices as high as 234 piasters a ratl have been cited. (Ajay, Appendix 328). The cost of charcoal fuel in May 1917 was 500 piasters a kantar, or 5 piasters a ratl, indicating the high cost of simply preparing the food. Nickoley, 45.

[45] Howard Bliss, "Letter, November 23, 1916," *Correspondence on Food Supplies, 24 July 1916–1917, November 1918. Howard Bliss Collection: AUB President 1902–1920. Archive AA:2.3.2 Box 16 File 7.*

[46] Howard Bliss, "Letter, November 27, 1916." In "Correspondence on Food Supplies, 24 July 1916–1917, November 1918." *Howard Bliss Collection: AUB President 1902–1920. Archive AA:2.3.2 Box 16 File* 7, 3. Dodge, "Report on Abeih" 4.

[47] Dodge, "Report on Abeih," 5.

[48] Bliss, "July 24, 1916," 1.

[49] McGilvary, 229.

[50] Erdman, "Letter October 31, 1917," 2. Dodge, "Report on Abeih" 4.

[51] Dodge, "Report on Abeih," 4.

[52] Ibid., 3.

[53] See Aida Kanifani Zahar, *Mune: la conservation alimentaire traditionnelle au Liban* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1994).

[54] This is loosely translated as influence, but indicates the ability to produce an action using one's connections, name, or reputation. It is not generally equated to corruption in normal usage, but neither are its implications entirely pure.

[55] Dodge, "Relief Work in Syria,"8.

[56] McGilvary describes a case wherein Dray removed the names of two workers for a week for fighting. McGilvary, 226.

[57] Dodge, "Report on Abeih," 10.

[58] McGilvary, 227.

[59] Ibid., 8.

[60] Nickoley, 5.

[61] Jurjis Khoury al-Maqdisi, *A'thom harb fi al-tarikh*, (Beirut: al-Matbàa al-'Ilmiyya, 1927), 69.

[62] All taken from Robert Byerly, "Report of Sidon Station, 1917 to 1918," *PHS Archives RG-115-17-19 Sidon Station Reports 1907–35* and Paul Erdman, "Letter from Paul Erdman to Charles Dana, October 31, 1917."

[63] See Erdman, "Letter to Charles Dana, October 31, 1917."

[64] Frederick J. Bliss, "The Question of Syria: Retrospect or Prospect," Archives and Special Collections, the American University of Beirut, Howard Bliss Archive Box 17 File 2, "Report by Frederick Bliss about the Situation in Beirut during the Early Days of the War," 2–3.

[65] Nickoley, 5.

[66] Doolittle, 133.

[67] Ibid., 33.

[68] Ajay, "Mount Lebanon," Appendix 165.

[69] Nickoley, 5.

[70] Ajay, "Mount Lebanon," 489.

[71] Paul Erdman, "Letter from Paul Erdman to Charles Dana, October 31, 1917," *PHS Archives RG-115-16-11 Relief Work 1915–1917*, 2.

[72] Margaret McGilvary Zimmerman, *Story of Our Syria Mission.* (New York: Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions, 1920), 1. Since it was clearly intended to help raise funds, this pamphlet was decidedly more propagandistic than McGilvary's personal account of the war, *Dawn of a New Era in Syria*.

[73] Barton, 439.

[74] Doolittle, 122.

[75] A. Tylor Brand, "Suffering in the Eye of the Storm, The Emotional Toll of the Famine of World War I on Relief Workers in Beirut and Mount Lebanon," Lecture, MESA Conference, October 12, 2013.

[76] Beirut (to 1915), Shweir, Hadath, Brummana, 'Alnab, Shemlan, Suq al-Gharb, 'Abeih, and 'Aley.

05 Women at AUB: The Beginnings, 1905-1947 (A Photo Essay)*

Nadia Maria El Cheikh and Samar El Mikati

The American University of Beirut (AUB), founded in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College (SPC), was initially established as an institution of higher education for men only. Its American missionary founders were interested in training new leaders, "honest, intelligent and courageous men, liberal in point of view, devoted to the true interests of their country."[1] Before the founding of AUB, American Protestant missionaries already had been active in the field of education in the region for more than forty years, mainly through establishing schools and a printing press. Penrose noted that by 1860 "Americans had founded no less than thirty-three schools."[2] These schools generated a growing need for teachers to staff them, and inevitably led to a demand for an institution of higher education. The admission of women was also, perhaps, an inevitability, but it is noteworthy that AUB was among the first educational institutions in the Middle East to admit female students. By taking this momentous step, AUB stood at the vanguard of co-education in the Middle East in the 1920s at a time when even renowned universities in the United States postponed taking that decision until decades later.[3]

World War I was a watershed, a catalyst for change, and higher education for women was part of the ensuing transformations. Missionaries and young women were clamoring for a university education; at the same time, market forces facilitated this objective with increasing demand for trained professional nurses, teachers, and clerical workers.[4] Bayard Dodge, president of the University from 1923 to 1948, confirmed these needs, writing much later, in 1947:

> A quarter of a century ago there was such a demand for women teachers that the university tried the experiment of allowing women students to enter the upper classes of the School of Arts and Sciences, as well as the professional schools.[5]

While the first faculty to open its gates to women was the Faculty of Medicine, women were already present as students at the SPC, having been admitted for training to meet the growing need for nurses. However, they graduated from the College with a nursing diploma rather than a BS in nursing. The SPC faculty proposed starting co-education early in 1913, but it was more than fifteen years before women were considered for admission to train as doctors. The Annual Report of 1913-1914 states:

> The Faculty feels that the time has come when a formal announcement should be made that just as soon as the Imperial Ottoman Government is favorable to the legalization of the status of women doctors, the College is prepared to make such arrangements in its Medical Department as to admit properly qualified women to the classes in Medicine and Dentistry.[6]

In 1916, a request to matriculate a young woman as a medical student was rejected, first, because the government did not yet grant licenses to women to practice medicine and, second, because "the admission of women to the classes and hospital facilities of the college would entail a modification of our system and additional expense . . ." The Faculty consequently voted that "consideration of providing for women students in medicine be postponed."[7] A few years later, in 1919, following the collapse of the Ottoman government, the medical faculty approved a recommendation "that women students be admitted to the School of Medicine, Pharmacy and Dentistry."[8] In 1920, the Board of Trustees approved the recommendation "provided there are at least three applicants for admission."[9]

In 1921, the University took the decisive step of admitting female students. As Edward F. Nickoley reported:

> Heretofore the only opening offered to women by the university was in the Training School for Nurses. Beginning this year women are admitted as follows: 1) in the Schools of Medicine,

Pharmacy and Dentistry; 2) in the sophomore class of the School of Arts and Sciences, preparatory to entrance to Medicine; 3) as special students in courses above the freshman year in the School of Arts and Sciences . . .[10]

TRAINING NURSES

As Nickoley asserted, women had been accepted as students at the University as early as 1905 with the establishment of the hospital and the training school for nurses. Jane van Zandt, an American nurse from New Jersey, was appointed in 1905 as the principal of the nursing school. The Minutes of the General Faculty of May 2, 1905 announced her arrival "to assume the position of head nurse and superintendent of the Nurses' Training School."[11] Jane van Zandt remained in those positions until 1932, and continued to serve in an advisory capacity until 1940. Later, in 1923–1924, the name of the Training School for Nurses was changed to the School of Nursing.

The entrance fee for female students wishing to train as nurses was two pounds, and nursing students were requested to furnish their own uniforms and books. Candidates for the School had to have completed their seventeenth year and were to provide two references of good character and to have sufficient knowledge of English to study the textbooks. The course of instruction covered three years during which pupils received free board, lodging, and laundry, in addition to a monthly sum sufficient to cover ordinary expenses.[12]
The first nursing students – Adele Kassab, Rosa Kulunijian, and Ossana Maksoudian – graduated in 1908. Then, in the fall of 1909, thirteen new students registered following a wide advertising campaign by the mission stations in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor.[13]

Fig. 1. Jane van Zandt, first superintendent of the Training School for Nurses, 1939
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

In its first volume, published in 1910, *al-Kulliyah*, the official alumni publication of the University, included an article by van Zandt on the Training School for Nurses, calling it a success and explaining the importance of training women in this vocation. In it, she noted, "It became almost inevitable that the opportunity should be given to the young women of the nation to serve society on one of the noblest professions open to women, that of the care of the sick." Jane van Zandt felt that training as a nurse constituted "a splendid opportunity for women," and predicted that it would be increasingly appealing over time.[14] By 1914, President Howard S. Bliss could write about the School that "five of our graduates have become superintendents of hospitals in Aleppo, Adana, Jerusalem and Beirut."[15]

Years later, in 1922, Ella Osborne, Assistant Principal of the Training School for Nurses, recalled how the hospital opened:

> some seventeen years ago, with a force of two pupil nurses under the direction of Mrs. Dale, the present superintendent, housing a few patients . . . It has reached a size not dreamed of in those days, with three new pavilions accommodating about 160 patients, 30 or more pupil nurses and an executive staff of American and Syrian graduate nurses.[16]

The decision to train local women as nurses would continue, however, to evoke multifaceted reactions. Jane van Zandt, in 1922, reflected on the lingering tensions in relation to the work/home dynamic by stating:

> . . . I do not mean to give the impression that a nurse's training spoils a woman for the home life. If I believed that, I would never advise a young girl to enter a Training School. I feel that she would be a far better and more efficient home-maker than otherwise.[17]

The three-year course was difficult and the work was hard. A lively and detailed account describes a routine day in a nurse's life in the training school in 1922, penned by the principal, Jane van Zandt:

Fig. 2. Women's hospital ward, 1920s
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 3. An operating room in the 1920s
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

> At 6:30 each morning, the nurses begin to gather from their sleeping quarters in the various buildings for breakfast. If they come promptly they will have ten or fifteen minutes to enjoy the air in the garden . . .
>
> When the clock on College Hall strikes seven, the nurses scatter to the various pavilions . . . in their blue and white uniforms. For about one hour the nurses work among patients . . . then all who can be spared from the bedsides gather for Prayers for about ten minutes . . . then the work goes on. The wards are in order and brushed up by nine o'clock, when the doctors and students arrive. Some of the nurses go about the wards with the doctors . . . others have their work in the

operating rooms. The younger nurses and probationers continue with the care of the patients, dusting and cleaning, and keeping the wards fresh and attractive. At noon, the first dinner is served in the dining room.

. . . The latter part of the afternoon is a very busy time. The patients must be washed and arranged for the night. Six o'clock and six-thirty are the supper hours. Occasionally there is a lecture or social evening at the university. These are very popular with the nurses.[18]

Fig. 4. Students of the School of Nursing, 1924
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 5. Dr. Edwin Ward, professor of surgery, with nurses, 1925
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Many of the nursing students were Armenians recruited from orphanages in Lebanon. Asdghig Avakian arrived as a student in 1923. In her memoirs, she recalls the conditions of her recruitment:

> In 1923, several months after my arrival at the orphanage in Antelias . . . two missionaries . . . arrived to select some girls to be taken to Beirut and trained as nurses. . . . I was chosen as one of the four who were to be taken for training. . . . I remember packing my twelve brightly dressed dolls and my Bible. These were my only possessions.

Fig. 6. School of Nursing graduation ceremony, 1924
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 7. Three nursing students, 1931
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Asdghig Avakian confessed that her greatest difficulty while studying in the Training School for Nurses was in incomplete knowledge of the English language.[19]

In 1925, there were fifty nursing students, the majority of whom were Syrians and Armenians. Some nurses had already graduated, and held positions as nursing superintendents in government and private hospitals in several cities of the Levant.[20]

Mary Bliss Dale, who had been the superintendent of the hospital since 1905, retired in 1923, at which point Acting President Edward Nickoley expressed his deep appreciation for her work in a letter that was published in the *Newsletter* of the Near East College Association:

Fig. 8. Mary Bliss Dale, superintendent of the hospital, 1923 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

As you withdraw from your position as a Superintendent of the Hospitals . . . I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing our appreciation of the services which you have rendered and the part which you have played in the larger work and life of the university . . . At this time we try to review in our minds the thousands of patients who have in the course of the past eighteen years been influenced by you. We think of the nurses, the nurse pupils and the students who have been made better men and women because they have seen and learned something of your idealism and devotion . . . Almost single-handed you have built up a great work . . . By a unanimous vote of the General faculty I am instructed to communicate to you our deep and sincere feeling and gratitude and appreciation to you . . .[21]

One student who knew Mary Bliss Dale wrote much later on in her memoirs, "no one who knows this history can ever doubt what the Middle East owed to the vision of Mary Bliss Dale. From the beginning of her mission until her retirement she was the guiding head of this institution."[22]

Fig. 9. Seated, left to right: Jane van Zandt, principal of the Training School for Nurses; Mary Bliss Dale, director of the College Hospital; President Howard Bliss; Miss Campbell, assistant to van Zandt. Standing: Training School for Nurses graduating class of 1918 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

DALE HOME

Upon her retirement in 1923, the friends of Mary Bliss Dale appealed for donations to build a home for nurses that would be named after her in honor of her long and dedicated service to the hospital and the School of Nursing. A special fund was raised for the building, largely through the efforts of women members of the Board of Trustees, and most notably Mrs. Eleanor De Graff Cuyler and Mrs. Van Stanvoord Merle-Smith. The cornerstone of the Mary Bliss Dale Nurses' Home was unveiled on Thursday, 26 June 1924, and opened in the fall of 1925 as a residence hall for nurses. It provided "sleeping quarters for thirty pupil nurses and two teachers, sitting rooms, reception rooms, classrooms and a dining-room."[23]

Fig. 10. Cornerstone of the Dale Home, 1924 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Jane van Zandt planned the sleeping arrangements, determined the size of the dining room, and decorated the sitting room. In a 1929 progress report, President Dodge stated that:

> the School of Nursing is steadily growing in size and efficiency. The girls are given more didactic work than ever before with fewer routine duties and more time for scientific study and cultural training. They are enjoying the new home in the rear of the hospital compound, and are treated like co-ed students.[24]

The Mary Dale Home was also used for meetings. *Al-Kulliyah* reported in 1932 that members of the Nurses' Branch met at the Dale Home on Thursday, December 1, where "the educational, social and economical benefits of nursing legislation in America was [*sic*] explained fully by Miss Hilaneh Hawie, President of the Nurses' Branch."[25] Hilaneh Hawie was a graduate of the school who had received a Rockefeller fellowship to do graduate work in public health in the United States, and then returned to take charge of the health center connected to the out-patient department of the AUB hospital.

Fig. 11. Nurses enjoying the sunshine, 1927
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 12. Nurses at the Dale Home enjoying being off-duty, 1924 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 13. Nurse Ruby Harbour, posing on the Dale Home roof with a skeleton and dolls, 1937 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

WOMEN STUDENTS IN THE 1920S AND 1930S

The gradual opening of AUB to female students in the 1920s was connected to the broad context of social change at the beginning of the Mandate period. Noting the sweeping changes in the wake of the end of the First World War, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and the advent of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon, the American missionaries held a conference in Suq al-Gharb to reframe their educational activities under the new conditions. One of their recommendations was directed to the women of the missions, calling their attention to the golden opportunity that was finally open with the change of regime.[26] According to Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski, AUB's action

Fig. 14. The dining room for the students of the School of Nursing, 1924 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 15. The Dale Home, 1924 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

was in response to the presence of women "eager to pursue professional training" to market demand for medical and educational personnel, and to alumni and/or faculty members who wanted higher education for their daughters.[27]

In the fall of 1921, women students were admitted to the University's professional schools under the same requirements as men. However, the entry of women to the University required separate housing arrangements. A Committee on Arrangements for Women Students was formed whose decision on housing was reported on 19 November 1920, as follows:

> It is felt that there is no possibility of housing women students on the College property. These students should be expected to reside at their homes in the city or with relatives . . . or in special houses approved by the College Administration and subject to inspection . . .[28]

Three women registered, "working side by side with men in the recitation rooms and in the laboratories." The change was dramatic, and the University authorities reflected on the obvious concerns stating that:

> the university authorities are confident that the same dignity, high standards and lady-like conduct which have characterized the nurse pupils in the hospitals will be maintained by the women students in the academic departments.[29]

They expressed confidence in the support of the male student body: "The Faculty relies upon the students thus to prove to skeptics and to critics that their misgivings and apprehensions were without foundation."[30] It is noteworthy, however, that the records show that a special provision was made for the female students attending anatomical dissections in the Faculty of Medicine whereby it was recommended that "if it be found necessary or desirable, arrangements be made for the women students to do their dissecting work in anatomy separately."[31] The first woman to enroll in a professional school and to complete the program was Sara Levi from Palestine, who graduated from the School of Pharmacy in 1925.

Fig. 16. Sara Levi, the first woman to enroll in and graduate from SPC/AUB, 1925 (NECA Newsletter, November 1925)

Fig. 17. Women students, 1927
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 18. School of Dentistry, 1926
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Women were admitted as members of the sophomore class in 1924, a decision that was quickly reversed with the establishment of the Junior College for Women. Then, starting in 1927, women were admitted as members of the junior and senior classes of AUB. Wadad Cortas recalls, "I entered AUB in the fall of 1927. My sister Selma and I were two of the university's 12 women students, among its first."[32]

Ihsan Shakir was the first Muslim woman to enroll (1924–1925) and graduate (BA 1929). President Bayard Dodge described her in the following terms: "The first Muslim woman wore two veils and was chaperoned by her husband, who was also enrolled as a student."[33] Wadad Cortas reminisced that "One of my most unforgettable memories . . . was that of a delightful Moslem lady who came all the way from Egypt to join the School of Arts and Sciences. She was a real pioneer . . . she convinced her husband to accompany her."[34] In her later memoirs, Cortas mentions her again, stating: "The boldest of our group of women was a married Egyptian lady, Ihsan . . . she came to class veiled but this did not prevent her from leading many class discussions or from encouraging the rest of us."[35]

Fig. 19. Ihsan Shakir with her fellow classmates, 1927 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Ihsan Shakir was an active member of the student body and the speaker at a ladies' luncheon held in West Hall on Tuesday, 18 June 1929. On that occasion, as reported by *al-Kulliyah*, Ihsan Shakir said that she believed:

> that the natural contacts that grow out of university life when men and women meet in classes, in extra-curricular activities and on the campus have necessarily changed the attitude of men towards the opposite sex. Greater understanding, mutual self-respect and more wholesome relationships have resulted from these contacts.[36]

Admission of female students to the University garnered both supporters and opponents. At the outset, in 1921, Edward Nickoley confirmed that:

> this new departure has been received in some quarters with great enthusiasm as marking a new era in the history of the university and in the life of women in the Near East. By others the step has also met with severe criticism. There are those who question its wisdom and expediency. On the part of the university

Fig. 20. Ihsan Shakir with her husband, Mr. Ahmad Shakir (Commerce I), 1927 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

> authorities it represents a deliberate action taken only after long and careful consideration of all the implications of the questions involved.[37]

A few years later, then Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (1924–1937) Edward Nickoley expressed the need to reassure the alumni that the change would not alter the school's program or men's status:

> the criticism is . . . that women are being educated in such a manner that they will and must compete with men in those vocations which have in the past been monopolized by men . . . With the recognition that a higher education is a means for enriching the life of the individual and the community rather than a device for improving the economic condition of the person educated, this criticism falls to the ground.[38]

These concerns were also brought up by the female students themselves. Olga Wehbe, a bursary student from Palestine in the graduating class of 1928, spoke at the annual ladies' luncheon held on Tuesday, 19 June, the day before the commencement ceremony of that year. The guests included the graduates, the wives, daughters and sisters of alumni, and ladies of the University community. On that occasion, she disclaimed the "common conception that higher education tends to make women unfeminine and undomestic," suggesting that "if men and women have the same mental habits and point of view, there will be a truer and deeper mutual understanding."[39]

Fig. 21. Palestinian bursary students, 1926–1927; left to right: Mahfuz Ajluni, Ibrahim Matar, Olga Wehbeh (front), Dimitri Baramki (back, center), Ali R. Sha'th, and Husayn Ghunaym (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Describing the ladies' luncheon that was held in 1924, the *Newletter* stated, "It was held at noon on Tuesday in West Hall. This was the second of its kind and brought together about one hundred guests. Ten years ago a woman's luncheon club of native women in the Orient would not have been dreamed of."[40] Reporting on the annual ladies' luncheon held on Tuesday, 19 June 1928, *al-Kulliyah* revealed that:

> there were 185 guests. When the signal was given that luncheon was served, the doors into the Common Room of West Hall were opened and the guests took their places at their tables . . . The tables were charmingly set, and made bright with large brass bowls, filled with orange, red and brown hues of sunflowers and gaillardia.[41]

The records for the second and third generations of women students at AUB in the late 1920s and early 1930s are more complete than for the earlier period. One notable student was Edma Abu-Chedid (BA 1926 and MD 1931), the first female doctor to graduate from the School of Medicine. Wadad Cortas noted that, while at AUB, she held particular respect for Edma Abu-Chedid who "inspired us with the perseverance to follow up a long and difficult career. Most of us looked upon teaching as the only accessible profession . . . In this sense she was our academic leader."[42]

Fig. 22. The first ladies' luncheon, 1923 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 23. Edma Abu-Chedid with the graduating class of the School of Medicine, 1931 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Another notable graduate of the Medical School was Jamal Karam Harfouche, who entered the School of Medicine in 1937, after completing her BA at AUB the semester before. She later noted that "In medical school I was the only girl in my class . . . Male students and teachers don't have much confidence in women medical students. The social adjustment was tedious."[43]

By the early 1930s, education for women at AUB was well established, and female students opted for a variety of concentrations. Salwa Nassar was the only woman registered in 1933 in the junior class of the Mathematics Department, and graduated in 1935, earning a BA with distinction. In 1945, she graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, with a PhD in physics, thus becoming the first female nuclear physicist in the Middle East.[44]

Fig. 24. Jamal Karam Harfouche, 1945 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 25. Salwa Nassar, 1980s (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 26. Angela Jurdak (BA 1936, MA 1938 Sociology) (President's Club booklet: AUB's Contribution to the UN Charter, 2013)

Fig. 27. Emma Nickoley, advisor to women students, 1933–1937 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

The 1930s also witnessed an increased enrollment of daughters of AUB professors and alumni, one of whom was Angela Jurdak, the daughter of AUB Professor of Mathematics Mansur Jurdak. Angela majored in Social Studies (BA 1937 and MA 1938), and was later hired as an instructor in the Departments of Sociology and Psychology, the first woman on the AUB faculty.[45] In 1945, she was appointed secretary general to the Lebanese delegation to the United National conference on International Organization in San Francisco, and later held several other diplomatic and academic positions. Moreover, faced with increasing numbers of women in its student body, the AUB administration asked Mrs. Emma Nickoley, who had previously held several different positions at the University, to be the first advisor to women students.

STUDENT LIFE

Concerned that parents of female student applicants might desist from sending their daughters to the University, the administration limited the socializing venues available to male and female students. They rejected student requests for co-ed activities, including co-acting and co-dancing, until the 1940s. Wadad Cortas confirms this state of affairs in her memoir:

> the university offered no social life for the women students at the time. We had to be careful about our dress, careful about contact with the men around us and we rarely attended a social event . . . the only sport considered proper for us was roller-skating . . . and we did have ample opportunity for social work.[46]

Attendance at the chapel was mandatory, and for the first two decades, at least, women were seated at the back of the chapel's middle section, in two rows designated for women.

The majority of the students of AUB's Institute of Music were women. Starting in the early 1930s, some of them joined the male students on the stage of the West Hall, providing musical accompaniment for various clubs and in performances given by the Institute of Music.[47] Female students were also active in a number of clubs. In 1934-1935, Anissa Rawda (BA 1936) was elected editor of *al-ʿUrwa*, the magazine of one of the largest student clubs, al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa.

Fig. 28. Anissa Rawda Najjar at AUB alumni honoring ceremony, 2013 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

It was only in the 1940s that the campus became really fully integrated, with young men and women able to sit next to each other in the chapel, to act together in plays, and to dance together. Women students shared the responsibilities of the student council. In fact, Ms.Atifa El-Jabry (BA 1945) was an active member alongside the other nine males on the first student council in 1944 (Fig. 33). Bayard Dodge confirmed that by the 1940s men and women were seated alphabetically in the chapel and in the class rooms without embarassment. Dancing had become popular, and women took part in theatricals with men. They went on week-end excursions and picnics, swam in modern bathing suits, and played tennis in shorts. They also took part in welfare programs, addressed public meetings, and served as officers of student societies.[48]

Fig. 29. Choral concert, 1920s (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 30. Co-eds on the chapel steps, 1929–1930 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 31. The graduating class of 1937: Farhat Ziadeh, Madiha Yasin Hashimi, Abdel Mun'im al Rifai, Najla Cortas (Mrs. Constantine Zurayk), Eva Badre (Mrs. Charles Malik), Angela Jurdak, Lily Hawi, Ra'ida Jarallah, Muhamad Ghusayn, Ahmad al-Mardi, Najib Sadakah, Mahmud al-Hut, Tawfik Abu-Sharif, Salim Arafeh, Afif Abdul-Wahhab, Amjad Ghanma, Salim Salim, Habib Hawrani, Jawad Dajani, Hanna Haddad, Nizam Sharabi, Salim Husayni, Sulayman Nasiri, Issa Jaghab, and an Iranian female student (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 32. The first AUB student council, 1944, headed by Dr. Sami B. Bashour, back right. On his right is Atifa El-Jabry, from Aleppo (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

One factor that fostered change in women's involvement in co-ed activities was the arrival of Polish female students to the campus in the early 1940s. These students left Poland during the Second World War and came to AUB for an education, supported by their government in exile in London. The first group, eight in total, arrived in 1941–1942. After 1943, their numbers rapidly increased, and in 1946–1947, there were eighty-three Polish women on campus, enrolled in various faculties and departments including medicine, pharmacy, nursing, and the School of Arts and Sciences.[49]

These Polish women engaged in many extracurricular activities from which local women tended to shy away. In 1943, Felicia Fedorowich became the first woman to be elected president of a co-ed student club – namely, the International Relations Club. It was a small change that incrementally opened a path for other women to follow, thus carving out places for all women on campus.[50]

Fig. 33. Polish female student handbook, 1946 (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 34. Elsa Kerr, advisor to women students, 1945–1959 (Al-Kulliyah v. 23, May-June 1948, 18)

A women's student society was formed in the late 1930s with the aim of bringing students together for social activities and for discussions of problems concerning the group. In 1937-1938, it had twenty-six members.[51] Almost a decade later, in 1946, J. Saphiriadis reported on the great increase in the number of female students in the University, reaching a total of 113. They had their own committee, elected at the beginning of each year. The committee's then chair, Mary Hanania, represented the women students' interests in the Student Committee.[52]

Elsa Kerr, advisor to women students from 1945 to 1959, reports more specifically about co-ed dancing, which was first permitted in 1946-1947, under supervision:

> This year for the first time, there is a short period of informal dancing in West Hall after supper on Wednesday nights . . . there is the belief that dancing, in a good environment, where no liquor is sold, where chaperons are provided, and the closing hour determined, is a wholesome form of recreation. In addition it gives boys and girls an opportunity to become acquainted in a social way.[53]

A fancy-dress ball organized on 8 May 1946 by the female students at AUB in the Common Room of West Hall occasioned a long rhyme by Amin Sharif:

> The Women's Students costume ball
> attracted people short and tall
> and everyone who came had meant
> to dress his best for the event . . .[54]

CONCLUSION

The year 1947 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of co-education at AUB. On that occasion, Elsa Kerr contributed a long article in which she tried to sum up the challenges and achievements of the University's pioneering experiment with coeducation. Remembering the initial decision, Kerr emphasized that "this was indeed a radical step, for in the Arab countries, co-education above the primary schools had never existed, and the sixty year old AUB had never opened its doors to women students. It required a great deal of careful thought on the part of the Faculty." From 1921 until the outbreak of the Second World War, the number of women increased from four to fifty-seven.[55] And while the female population of AUB would continue to be small until the early 1950s, AUB's daring venture would produce "a generation of role models who profoundly influenced their communities and societies in the twentieth century."[56] Elsa Kerr concluded her article with a projection of the women graduates' hopes and ambitions:

> Now that the war is over, many of the women graduates are eager to go abroad for more specialized training . . . For those girls who are eager to serve their countries where women are particularly needed, specialized training is highly desirable. One of these fields is that of kindergartens and primary schools . . . The same need for specialization holds in other fields such as Social Work, Public Health, Nursing and Journalism.[57]

In a series of talks that Professor Zeine N. Zeine of the Department of History gave in the Chapel in 1947, he stated:

> Perhaps the most revolutionary change that has come upon the campus since my student days is the sight of many boys and girls studying together, walking together, associating with one another . . . In those days a show like "Rainbow" which was given lately by our women students on the stage of West Hall was impossible, dancing was forbidden, co-acting was unthinkable.[58]

By 1947, all of these things had become possible. On its silver jubilee in 1947, AUB, a pioneer in higher education for women in the region, had succeeded in the face of opposition and many difficulties in providing the women of Lebanon and the region with a unique experience. From the first five women who registered in 1921-1922, to the 127 female students registered in 1947, AUB had enrolled about 779 women,[59] charting a courageous path, contributing to a shift in gender relations, and providing young women with the possibility to imagine a different future.

ENDNOTES

* We would like to thank Hratch Kestenian for his generous help in the archives of Jafet Library.

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[2] Ibid., 6.

[3] Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 90.

[4] 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, no. 4 (2002): 411–426.

[5] Bayard Dodge *Report of the President of the American University of Beirut for the Forty-First Year 1946–7*, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, 3.

[6] *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of SPC 1913–1914*, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, 16.

[7] Minutes of General Faculty, 1901–1908, AA: 3.4.2, Box 3, Nov. 12, 1906, 545, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections.

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[11] Minutes of General Faculty, Box 3, 1901–08, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, 336.

[12] Minutes of General Faculty, Box 3, 1901–08, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, 339–340.

[13] Jane E. van Zandt, "A Training School for Nurses in the Turkish Empire," *The American Journal of Nursing* 9, no. 4 (1909): 274–276.

[14] Jane E. van Zandt, "Our Training School and the Profession of Nursing," *al-Kulliyeh* 1, no. 4 (May, 1910): 104–105.

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[16] Ella Osborne, "From the Nurse's Point of View," *al-Kulliyah* 8, no. 7 (May, 1922): 104–106.

[17] Jane E. van Zandt, "The Trained Nurse in Syria," *al-Kulliyah* 8, no. 7 (May, 1922): 102.

[18] van Zandt, "The Trained Nurse in Syria," 102.

[19] Asdghig Avakian, *Stranger among Friends: An Armenian Nurse from Lebanon Tells Her Story* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1960), 81 and 90.

[20] *Newsletter* 6, no. 4 (November, 1925), AA.7 Related Bodies, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections.

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[22] Avakian, *Stranger among Friends*, 19.

[23] *Newsletter* 5, no. 4, AA: 7.6.3 Related Bodies, Box 1, file 2, September, 1924, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections.

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[25] "Nursing Legislation Discussed at the Nurses Branch," *al-Kulliyah* 19, no. 2 (December, 1932): 61.

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[29] Edward F. Nickoley, "The New Academic Year," *al-Kulliyeh* 8, no. 1 (November, 1921): 1–3.

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[32] Wadad Makdisi Cortas, *A World I Loved: The Story of an Arab Woman* (New York: Nation Books, 2009), 42.

[33] Bayard Dodge, *Report of the President of the American University of Beirut for the Forty-First Year 1946–7*, American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, 3.

[34] Wadad Cortas, "Women's Education," *al-Kulliyah* 22, no. 8 (November, 1947): 4.

[35] Cortas, *A World I Loved*, 42.

[36] "The Ladies' Luncheon," *al-Kulliyah* 15, no. 9 (July, 1929): 239–240.

[37] Edward F. Nickoley, "The New Academic Year," *al-Kulliyah* 8, no. 1 (November, 1921): 1–3.

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[44] Sabri, *Pioneering Profiles,* 87–90.

[45] Sabri, *Pioneering Profiles,* 194–5; S. E. Kerr, "Coeducation in the A.U.B.," *al-Kulliyah Review* 22, no. 8 (March, 1947): 6–10.

[46] Cortas, *A World I Loved,* 43.

[47] Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski, "Women Students at the American University of Beirut . . ."

[48] Bayard Dodge, *Report of the President of the American University of Beirut for the Forty-First Year 1946–7,* American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections, 3.

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[52] J. Saphiriadis, "The Lady Students," *al-Kulliyah Review* 10, no. 1 (January, 1946): 10–11.

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[55] *Al-Kulliyah* 22, no. 2 (March, 1947): 6–7.

[56] Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski, "Women Students at the American University of Beirut . . ."

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Part II

AUB, the USA, and the World

06 Arab and Middle Eastern Studies at AUB: Between Local Concerns and Global Pressures

John L. Meloy

The April-May 1949 issue of ***al-Kulliyah***, AUB's alumni magazine at the time, features a full-page copy of a letter, dated May 20, 1949, from the Rockefeller Foundation announcing the award of $83,000 to AUB to establish a program in Arab Studies.[1] A grant from the Rockefeller Foundation was not necessarily big news; after all, since the 1920s, the University had received large grants from Rockefeller for the acquisition of land and buildings and for the hospital. In addition, at least with regard to fields outside of medicine, from 1929 to 1940 the University had received a steady stream of smaller Rockefeller grants for social science and commercial education programs led by Stuart Dodd, Said Himadeh (BComm 1914), and Walter Ritsher.[2] However, this 1949 grant was obviously one that warranted special attention in the University's magazine. It was the largest lump sum for an Arts and Sciences field that the University had received from Rockefeller. The AUB program that was thus created was noteworthy as one of the earliest programs devoted to the study of our region at an American university. Even more importantly, it was unique because it explicitly identified its focus as ***Arab*** rather than Middle Eastern and it used Arabic as a principal means of communication. In other words, unlike the Near and Middle East studies programs established in the West, its scope was defined by local politics and language rather than western geopolitical parameters. Certainly, in the summer of 1949, with the shock of the ***nakba*** still echoing across the Arab world, such a grant signaled AUB's attention to Arab affairs. The first installment of funds, disbursed on July 1, 1949, was followed by several others from the Rockefeller Foundation, laying the groundwork for AUB's area studies program that continued, although not without transformation, to today's Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies. In this paper, I have relied primarily on AUB documents, reports, and publications as well as some local sources to offer a short history of Arab and Middle Eastern studies at the University.[3]

ARAB AND MIDDLE EAST AREA STUDIES PROGRAMS

Like area studies programs at many other universities, AUB's Arab Studies Program was built on a distinguished tradition of scholarship on the region. Noted scholars such as Philip Hitti (BA 1908), Anis Khuri Makdisi (BA 1906, MA 1908), Asad Rustum (BA 1916; MA 1919), and Stuart Dodd had established AUB as a place of serious academic work on the history, language, and society of the region. Elsewhere, since the end of the nineteenth century, scholars in these fields had been united in departments of Oriental languages and civilizations, or sometimes in larger units, albeit with diverse missions: London's School of Oriental and African Studies was established in 1916, Chicago's Oriental Institute in 1919, and AUC's School of Oriental Studies in 1921, renamed the Center for Arabic Studies in 1956. However, the innovation that occurred during the middle of the twentieth century, whether one sees the starting point before or during World War II, was a distinctly "area studies approach," tied to the growth of the social science disciplines and featuring interdisciplinary scholarship aimed at "producing policy-relevant knowledge."[4] While the establishment of AUB's program cannot be entirely separated from this lineage, especially given its funding from the Rockefeller Foundation,[5] the local character of the Arab Studies Program set it distinctly apart; however, the program, like the University as a whole, was not immune to global pressures, which ultimately transformed its mode of communication and its purview.

The years immediately following World War II saw a rapid growth in academic area studies centers in the United States. With regard to our part of the world - whether conceived as the Middle East

or the Arab world – by 1951, five graduate programs dealing with the region had been established at universities such as Princeton, Michigan, Dropsie College, the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins, and Columbia.[6] Princeton's program, founded in 1947, is especially noteworthy in this context because it was founded by Philip Hitti. Hitti was chair of Princeton's Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, which he had joined in 1927 after starting his career at AUB. The program at SAIS is noteworthy also; Majid Khadduri (BA 1932) founded it in 1950. Thus, with AUB's close links to the American academic world, the establishment of an area studies program at AUB was not unexpected. Constantine Zurayk (BA 1928) and Nabih Amin Faris (BA 1928) founded it; both Zurayk and Faris had been graduate students of Philip Hitti at Princeton, having completed their doctorates in 1930 and 1935, respectively. Faris returned to Lebanon only in 1945, after spending the war years working in the Office of War Information in New York. With the growth of AUB during the presidency of Stephen Penrose (1948–1953), the University became well connected to sources of funding in the United States and, of course, had benefited from Rockefeller Foundation grants.[7] However, of these first Near and Middle Eastern studies programs at American universities, AUB's stands out as the only one framed in terms of the Arab world.[8]

THE ARAB STUDIES PROGRAM: FUNDING, FACULTY, AND FOCUS

Although Constantine Zurayk was co-founder of the Arab Studies Program, he never served as director. In May 1949, about two months before the effective date of the Rockefeller grant, Zurayk was granted a year's leave of absence from AUB to assume leadership of the Syrian University in Damascus.[9] When the program was formally established in July, Nabih Faris assumed the directorship and remained in that position until his death in 1968. When Zurayk returned to AUB, he was appointed vice president, also resuming his position of professor of History and his affiliation with the Arab Studies project. The program, typical of academic area studies centers, offered a Master's degree program for students and a research community for faculty members. It was the research agenda – and what today would be called its outreach program – that gave the program its distinctive character. The Rockefeller letter stated that the grant was for "interpretative studies of the modern Arab Middle East." Two questions to keep in mind, of course, are who was interpreting, and for whom? AUB President Stephen Penrose's annual report of 1948–1949 noted that these studies were intended to offer "a better understanding of the Near Eastern area."[10] When we examine the program's activities in detail, we get a more accurate sense of how AUB faculty members approached these goals of "interpretation" and "understanding." But before delving into this issue, it is important to appreciate the scope of funding. The initial grant of $83,000 in 1949 was supplemented three times in the following twelve years: in 1954, 1956, and 1961, totaling just over $550,000.[11] However, the flow of Rockefeller cash was not endless. When the last grant, issued for a period of two years, was depleted in 1963, the program was funded by local sources.[12] The subsequent transformation of the program, in name and to some extent in substance, would appear to be related to the issue of funding.

The initial grant stated that the funds were for the library, salaries for term academic appointments, research, and support. Kamal Salibi (BA 1949) was hired as a bibliographic assistant a year or so after he returned from earning his PhD in London in 1953.[13] Funds were also devoted to hiring junior members of the faculty to allow senior members teaching release. Professors Salibi, Nicola Ziadeh, Zeine Zeine (BA 1929, MA 1945), and Mahmoud Zayid (MA 1954) started their careers in this fashion. Ziadeh recalled that, when he was hired in 1949, he could not expect to keep his job after the three-year appointment unless the grant was renewed.[14] At least in one year, 1956–1957, funds were spent on hosting four visiting scholars at AUB, which gives some idea of the Arab Studies Program's network: the eminent historian Arnold Toynbee; Sir Zafarullah Khan, who served as the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan and as a judge on the International Court of Justice; Ralph Turner, Durfee Professor of History at Yale and chief editor of a UNESCO project to produce a world history (the connection may have been through Zurayk, who had also worked for UNESCO); and Albert Hourani, the Oxford historian who would become even more well known in the following years.[15]

The main objective was research – the "interpretive studies." To this end, the program convened the Arab Studies Group (Hay'at al-dirasat al-'arabiya), which consisted of faculty members, mainly from the departments of History and Arabic, but also from social science departments, as well as research associates directly hired by the program. The membership of the Group in 1951 consisted of ten scholars. Faris, who was also the chairman of the History Department, was the chairman of the Arab Studies Program (ASP) and the Arab Studies Group (ASG). From the Arabic department there were: Anis Khuri Makdisi, Jibra'il Jabbur (BA 1925, MA 1933), Anis Frayha (BA 1927), and Ishak Musa Husaini; from History, aside from Faris, were Zeine Zeine, Nicola Ziadeh, and Muhammad Tawfiq Husayn (BA 1943, MA 1951); Albert Badre (BBA 1934) was from Economics; and Michel Abcarius

(BComm 1903) was hired as a research associate in Arab Studies. In subsequent years, the Group included members of the History and Arabic departments, such as Zurayk, Salibi, Ihsan Abbas, and Muhammad Yusuf Najm (BA 1946, MA 1948), and represented also the departments of Political Studies: Yusuf Ibish (BA 1950, MA 1951), Walid Khalidi, and Subhi Mahmassani; and Philosophy: Majid Fakhry (BA 1944, MA 1947), Rene Habashi, and George Tomeh (BA 1941, MA 1944).

The research group was engaged in a number of activities. Nicola Ziadeh, in his memoir, *Ayyami*, wrote that the members convened on a monthly basis, hosted at the homes of members of the Group, who would present a research topic for discussion.[16] No other record of these meetings has surfaced, but we can get an idea of the topics that might have been included. In the President's Report of 1954–1955, Acting President Zurayk reported on a variety of projects – investigating history, politics, and contemporary society, culture and thought – funded by the Arab Studies Program, although not all the authors were members of the Arab Studies Group.[17] Zurayk went on to write:

> it is hoped that these studies will be completed and ready for publication by the summer of 1957. As a result of the first stage of the program which was completed last year, two books have been published, the one by Prof. N. Faris and Mr. T. Husayn ("This Arab World," in Arabic, English translation, "The Crescent in Crisis") and the other by Prof. I. Husaini ("The Moslem Brotherhood" in Arabic). Other studies have been completed and are ready for the press.[18]

In terms of other output from the ASP, there was also Anis Frayha's *Modern Lebanese Proverbs*, published the year before.[19] Many of the studies (listed in note 17) were published in English or Arabic or both, some of which acknowledge the assistance of either the Arab Studies Group or the Rockefeller Foundation. Later on, the program also produced the index for the newspaper *al-Muqtataf*, a periodical of the *Nahda*, first published in 1876. All of these represent a typical range of academic monographs and projects.

Faris and Husayn's book, however, is especially noteworthy since it was entitled an "interpretive study," thus fulfilling the stated primary goal of the grant. The book was translated by Faris in 1953–1954, while he was on sabbatical from AUB in Lawrence, Kansas, and it was subsequently published by the University of Kansas Press in 1955. Very briefly, in *The Crescent in Crisis*, Faris and Husayn assessed the unifying features and the divisive features in the Arab World. Their conclusion:

> The preceding pages have shown that the problem of the Arab world today is threefold: liberating the Arab fatherland from foreign rule and domination in order to effect eventually some kind of unity; achieving economic, social, and cultural progress throughout its lands; and delivering Palestine from the Zionists. The three are interrelated. It has been seen how foreign rule and domination have obstructed unity, retarded progress beyond the minimum necessary for colonial interests, and established the state of Israel. Obviously, the solution is also interrelated. But of the three, the last is perhaps the most urgent. Israel, as already stated, is the most serious danger to which the Arab world has been exposed since the period of the Crusaders. With outside support, official and private, Israel stands as a spear stuck into the heart of the Arab fatherland.[20]

The Crescent in Crisis was reviewed in a number of academic journals. In *International Affairs*, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Albert Hourani criticized the authors for their claim that "this is possibly the first Arab attempt at self-examination and self-criticism, and the first comprehensive interpretation of the living Arabs." But he also noted that "It is essentially an expression and explanation of the attitude and programme of the new generation of Arab nationalism, and as such it has significance."[21]

The agenda of the Arab Studies Program may be seen also in the "outreach" dimension of their activities convened under the auspices of the Arab Studies Group. Starting in 1951 and lasting until 1967, the Arab Studies Group held fourteen conferences (annually for the first ten years) on various topics, some academic, but most of immediate relevance to the general public. These were conducted in Arabic and were published in Arabic. Jibra'il Jabbur remembered these years with great fondness: "I was lucky to be one of those first ten and to contribute to the lectures and the discussions to which the group invited the intellectual elite of the Arab world."[22] Speakers included AUB faculty members and other academics, but most were public intellectuals from the Arab world. The May 1951 conference, entitled "The Arabs and Modern Civilization" (al-'Arab wa-al-Hadara al-Haditha), convened as speakers Ahmad Zaki Bey, the director of Egypt's Fuad I National Council for Research; Subhi Mahmassani, Lebanese jurist and AUB professor; Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi (BA 1919, MA 1923), President of the Arab College in Jerusalem; and Sheikh Muhammad Bahjat al-Athari, Chief Inspector of Education in Iraq. In later years, Arab Studies conferences featured the likes of Taha Husayn, Edmond Rabbath, 'Ali al-Wardi (BA 1943), 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri, Muhammad Kamil Husayn, Burhan Dajani (BA 1940, MA 1944), Mikha'il Na'imeh, Khalil Thabit Pasha, Mahmud Taymur, Charles Malik (BA 1927), and Ibrahim al-'Urayyid.

The fourteen conferences, held between 1951 and 1967, dealt with a variety of themes – science; society; economic, political, and social development; and scholarship. The first eight conferences typically included four speakers, as well as an introduction and comments from a discussant, usually appointed from the faculty.[23] Starting in 1959 and leading up to the University's centennial in 1966, an additional six conferences were organized as retrospectives on Arab scholarship over the preceding century, featuring more contributors, also from various parts of the Arab world: on history (1959), literature (1961), philosophy (1962), science (1963), social sciences (1965), and Arab thought (1967). This series of publications was distinct from the University's series of centennial publications, edited by University Vice President Fuad Sarruf (BA 1918).

Many of the first conferences were policy-oriented, although they were clearly directed towards guiding public debate in Lebanon, if not the Arab world. The Arab Studies conferences did receive considerable attention in the press. For example, for the years running through 1959, every conference was covered by either *al-Nahar* or *al-Hayat*, if not both, reflecting considerable public interest in especially those topics that dealt with issues of modernization and Arab society and culture. Some conferences got more press than others, just as some speakers attracted more attention. The first conference did quite well, at least in *al-Hayat*. The headline covering the initial address of Ahmad Zaki captures the values of the entire program: "Science, Democracy, Equality Defended by the Arabs."[24] Taha Husayn's 1955 visit for the conference on the function of the university in the Arab World received front-page attention, and Jabbur's depiction of the visit conveys the overwhelming reception he received. The venue was moved from the auditorium in West Hall to the more capacious Assembly Hall, where loudspeakers were set up outside to accommodate the overflowing crowds.[25] Also receiving front-page coverage was Charles Malik's opening lecture in the 1956 conference on science, where he called for a national scientific research center, perhaps the impetus for Lebanon's National Council for Scientific Research, founded in 1962.[26]

Nabih Faris wrote in his introduction to the first volume that the goal of the Arab Studies Group in sponsoring these events was to fulfill their duty to study "the political, economic, social, and intellectual difficulties" facing the Arab World and to discuss solutions "scientifically in an atmosphere pure of political traditions." In his preface to the 1961 retrospective conference on literature, he wrote: "It is by freedom of thought only that the Arab lands can reach their goal: a free society in a free world which contributes freely to history and creates a part of world civilization."[27] Among the topics were those that dealt with immediate and practical concerns. Noteworthy is that conferences on political training in 1957 and human resources in 1958 received attentive coverage in the press, while the 1959 conference on history was practically ignored.[28] The substance of these conferences deserves more thorough treatment than can be carried out here, but, in brief, Arab Studies at the University addressed the region's needs as Arab practitioners saw fit, guided by the principles of secularism, liberalism, and Arab nationalism. The mood, at least in the first decade or so, in spite of the deep concern for the political crisis afflicting the Arabs in and outside of the Fertile Crescent, seems to have been generally enthusiastic and optimistic.

STUDENTS IN THE ARAB STUDIES PROGRAM

While the public and scholarly agendas of the Arab Studies faculty were firmly directed toward contemporary concerns of the Arab World, their efforts in the classroom were compelled to address a different, largely non-local, audience of graduate students whose thesis titles reflect a wide range of interests. Administratively, the program was initially housed in the History Department, which attracted Arab and foreign students alike; the History Department entry in the 1950-1951 University Catalogue includes the brief note, "An Arab Studies concentration is also possible." The following year, the statement became longer, noting that the program was for "non-Arabic-speaking students." By 1955-1956, the "Arab Studies Graduate Program" finally was given its own section in the University Catalogue, although there was by this time no mention of non-Arabic-speaking students: "It is designed for college graduates planning careers in government service, industry, or education, and for students of politics, economics, education, history, and sociology who desire special training in the Arab East area."[29] In spite of this rather tentative initiation of the two-year MA program, the ASP enrolled students from the first semester of 1949-1950. Two years later, in 1951, three students had completed their degrees, and in subsequent years graduates produced a steady stream of theses.

In the 1950s, AUB's area studies graduate students were mostly American; by the turn of the 1970s, enrollment was more varied. Even in its earliest years, in spite of the catalogue note implying the program was for non-Arabs, the lack of diversity of the students was a serious concern to the founders. In November 1953, Constantine Zurayk wrote to Nabih Faris, on sabbatical in Lawrence, Kansas, that he, Fuad Sarruf, and Charles Miller, a history professor, were in the midst of preparing the proposal for

the second installment of funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, which were to come in 1954 – over $200,000. About the graduate students, Zurayk wrote:

> Another point that has to be clarified is whether our program is to be directed primarily at students from this area or at those who come from outside. To me, the former group is the more important and the development in them of strict scientific discipline and love of research is one of the primary needs of our part of [the] world. To these the area concept is not as important as to the foreign students. They are exposed in the regular courses in the School of Arts and Sciences and otherwise to the problems of the region. What they need primarily is a sincere appreciation of western culture and strict intellectual discipline. The program ought to be directed primarily at the cultivation of these values. But we should not neglect the other type of students and we should remedy the narrowness of the previous program by providing a wider background to this type of graduate work.[30]

Leaving aside his concerns about the inculcation of values, Zurayk was clearly interested in striking a demographic balance, a challenge that has persisted until now. Data on students' nationalities have so far not been accessible, but there are occasional references to their home countries. The Program's Annual Report for 1965-1966 noted that there were graduates from China, Pakistan, South Africa, and the United States. A sense of the diversity of the student body can be had from their names. In spite of the overwhelming demand from abroad, there were local students who were attracted to the program, like Suhayl Nasr '57, Iliya Harik '58, John Spagnolo '63, Olga Khoury '74, Elias Saad '74, and Rima Hamadeh '75.[31] In the 1960s, the program became more internationalized with the likes of David Hirst '66 from the UK; Zubeida Barmania '67 from South Africa;[32] Ghulam Rasool Noor Muhammad '67, Parvin Peerwani '67, both possibly from Pakistan;[33] Hans Heino Kopietz '70 from Germany; Datumanong Sarangani '71 from Philippines; and Andrew Vincent '82 from Australia.[34] In some of their thesis topics, we also see the internationalization of the program and the broadening of the area of coverage. Thesis topics in the 1950s and early 1960s on Tunisia, Middle East oil, Arab-Turkish relations, and Soviet-Arab relations all pushed the boundaries of the Arab East outward.

It has been claimed that all the American students in the Arabs Studies Program were either in, or wanted to be in, the US Foreign Service.[35] This is inaccurate, but the statement, in fact, is a claim suggested in the reports about the program in *al-Kulliyah*. Certainly there were a number of students who were or became members of the US Foreign Service: Arthur Houghton '66 is a good example. Andrea Morel Farsakh '65 did not join the Foreign Service until 1976. In his thesis preface, William Hazen '58 acknowledged his colleagues at the US embassy.[36] It would be more accurate, however, to say that a considerable number, but certainly not all, of the American students were members of the US military. This is patently clear from looking at the AUB alumni directory, from reading the acknowledgments of theses, or even from searching for the names online. Of the first three graduates in 1951, two were officers in the US Army, as indicated in the directory of alumni.[37] John Francis Brown '52, a West Point graduate, in later years became the head of the Arabic program at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. He returned to AUB to enroll in the PhD program in History, receiving his degree in 1972 and writing on the Lebanese historian al-Duwayhi.[38] Robert Perry and John Yarbrough, both '65, who wrote theses on nineteenth-century explorers of Iraq and connections to British India, were able to get the necessary permissions (from seven different governments, including their own) to travel by boat from the upper reaches of the Euphrates south to Basra.[39] A few years later, Major Perry was assigned to Jordan as a US military attaché, where he was killed in the summer of 1970. As for cloak-and-dagger types, alumni of the Program include one self-confessed spy. Charles Hostler, according to his memoir, entered the program as a US Air Force officer and graduated in 1955. He states that he was seconded to the CIA during this time, using the cover of his status as a military officer enrolled in the Arab Studies Program in order to convey secret messages to Syrian President Adib Shishakli.[40]

Concerning the claim that the program attracted US Foreign Service Officers, it would appear that the University preferred to promote its association with diplomats rather than military personnel. The University magazine highlighted this claim, and it would seem that the members of the Arab Studies Group were not averse to it. Of course, the Arab Studies Group had scholarly objectives, but they also wanted to affect policy, whether US or Arab. *The Crescent in Crisis* and the annual conferences were intended to have an impact on different audiences, whether about the issue of Palestine in the West or wasted human resources in the Arab World. Engagement with western officialdom was as necessary a part of the Group's agenda as promoting discussion in the local press. We see the former goal also in the University-sponsored summer schools from 1951 through 1954 for US government personnel as well as employees of companies like the Bahrain Petroleum Company and ARAMCO. ASG members, as AUB professors, rather than as representatives of the group, together with other faculty members from AUB and sometimes elsewhere, participated on a regular basis.[41] In addition,

some members of the Group, again as AUB professors, lectured in the Background Courses held at the Foreign Office's Middle East Centre for Arab Studies in Shemlan.[42] No doubt there were criticisms of these activities in the press,[43] but it is apparent that to Faris and Zurayk these engagements were an essential part of their political vision.

Finally, of course, something must be said about the graduates of the program who went into academic work: of those mentioned above were Harik, Spagnolo, and Vincent. In addition, graduates of the Arab Studies Program included Malcolm Kerr '55, whose career brought him back to AUB as University president, ending tragically in 1984; Brinston Collins '59, who went on to Princeton and worked at Norfolk State; Dickran Kouymjian '61, who set up the Armenian Studies Program at Cal State Fresno; Janice Terry '66, who went on to SOAS and taught at Eastern Michigan University; Peter Gubser '66, who got his PhD from Oxford in anthropology and spent much of his career with American Near East Refugee Aid, as well as Tadeusz Swietchowski '61, John Woodberry '63, Karin Ryding '67, Evelyn Early '71, and Douglas Magrath '73.[44] And, according to records from the Registrar's Office, among those non-degree graduate students in the program who completed their academic degrees elsewhere were Abraham Udovitch, who later chaired the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton, and Reuben W. Smith, who saw to it that Marshall Hodgson's incomplete manuscript of *The Venture of Islam* was published.

To return to Zurayk's 1953 letter to Faris about the diversity of the students, the founders may well have been frustrated that the Arab Studies Program did not attract more local students who would develop a multidisciplinary understanding of their home region. Given the growth of area studies in the wake of World War II and with the onset of the Cold War, the program founders had to contend with a demand for graduate studies focused on the region that came from across the globe, from North America and Europe to South and East Asia.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ARAB STUDIES AT AUB

In 1966, the Arab Studies Program changed its name to the Middle East Area Program (MEAP). The Faculty Annual Reports and the University Catalogue documented the change, but offer no clear explanation. The Arab Studies research program, in the form of the Arab Studies Group, split from the MA program, which was administered by the new MEAP, although Nabih Faris remained chairman of both units. In the Faculty's Annual Report for MEAP in 1966-1967, Faris wrote, as if to clarify confusion about what was happening: "The Arab Studies Research Program is completely different from the Arab Studies Graduate Program (now the Middle East Area Program) and totally independent of it." He went on to describe the achievements of the research program since 1959, that is, the program's centennial retrospectives, culminating in the symposium on Arab thought held in November 1966, which he noted was due to be published in July, 1967.[45] He also remarked, as I briefly noted earlier: "Since 1964 this research program has subsisted on contributions from a few so-called non-American sources: annual gifts from a few friends and alumni."[46] In fact, this had been the case in 1963, when the conference on science was supported by the Amir of Kuwait, Basim Amin Faris (BA 1925; Nabih's brother), Charles Kettaneh (BComm 1927), 'Abd al-Hamid Shuman, and Najib 'Alam al-Din (BA 1930), as well as various local banks and companies. The funds they provided, however, could not match the sums obtained from the Rockefeller Foundation. In subsequent years, the conferences were held every other year, and there was much less money available for library development, microfilm service, secretarial help, and "limited" travel.[47]

Faris also chaired the new Middle East Area Program. Its mission, as stated in the 1966-1967 University Catalogue, reads:

> The Middle East may be studied from the point of view of the inner stresses and problems and the hopes and aspirations of its peoples, including the living issues which they now face. It may also be studied as the cradle of Western and Islamic civilizations, as the birthplace of great religions, as a meeting-place of disparate cultures, as a unique area in the world in which East and West have mingled, coexisted and challenged each other for a millennia, as an arena for contention by the great powers, or, finally, as to the development of its human and natural resources. The purpose of the Middle East Area Program is to conduct interdisciplinary research and graduate studies of this important region, from a vantage point unique both as to its location and resources.[48]

In spite of Faris's continued chairmanship, the administration of the program changed. Rather than listing affiliated departments, as had occurred in the catalogue entries for the ASP all the way back to 1955, there was listed in 1966-1967 an advisory committee of faculty members from various departments: Muhammad Yusuf Najm in Arabic; Elias Saba (BA 1954, MA 1956) in Economics; Matta Akrawi (BA 1924, MA 1926) in Education; George Hudson in Geography; Nabih Faris, Joseph Malone,

and Nicola Ziadeh in History; Charles Malik in Philosophy; Walid Khalidi in Political Studies; Levon Melikian in Psychology; and Samir Khalaf (BA 1955, MA 1957) in Sociology. There were tensions. In his annual report for that first year of the Middle East Area Program (MEAP) in 1966-1967, Faris complained that the program's administrative "machinery is cumbersome and unsuitable." The "machinery" consisted of its advisory and administrative committees, consisting of faculty members who apparently had a different vision of how the program should operate: "A return to the machinery successfully used by the Arab Studies Program from 1954 to 1966 is, therefore, urged. Advice from the departments will be regularly sought by the Director and the Secretary and the participating departments will always be kept informed of all developments."[49] There is no suggestion that the "machinery" was modified, but Faris continued to serve as director of the MEAP into the next academic year. He passed away on February 14, 1968.

Aside from administrative issues, funding was also an issue at this juncture, although the university documents are not explicit. The 1967-1968 annual report for the Middle East Area Program, the second year of the program in this new guise, submitted by historian Joseph Malone in his capacity as secretary of the program, reported a new grant of $288,000 for a project entitled "Changing Patterns of Middle Eastern Society." The grant, from the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) of the US Department of Defense, was to run for two years, offering funds for visiting lecturers and various research projects in the humanities and social sciences. Kamal Salibi wrote in his memoirs that the source of the funds became an issue in the press.[50] By 1970, when the ARPA grant was depleted, Elie Salem (BA 1950) wrote in the annual report for 1969-1970: "For the future MEAP should concentrate on attracting funds from the Arab World, in order that it may continue to serve the Arab World."[51] In 1971-1972, the name was changed again to Center for Middle Eastern Studies. The name change here was explained on the grounds that the new version of the program combined the Middle East Area Program and the Oriental Studies Program, the latter being a fleeting collaboration of the departments of History and Arabic from 1969-1970 to 1970-1971, which must hold the world's record for the shortest lived MA program ever.[52] The re-organization was apparently an attempt to distance the program from the funding and administrative issues that troubled its previous incarnation.

However, as controversial as the ARPA funds may have been, the results of the research it funded are impressive: this grant initiated the Oral History Project and continued the Arab Political Documents Project, which had been started earlier in the 1960s with Rockefeller funding.[53] In the two years of the grant, 1967-1969, eighteen scholars conducted projects in anthropology, business administration, cultural studies, education, history, political studies, psychology, and sociology on diverse topics including rural-urban migration, urbanization, mass media, Palestinian refugees, Damascene notables, psychotherapy in Sudan, the petroleum industry and social transformation, inventory management in Middle Eastern production systems, assimilation of Armenians in Lebanon, language reform in Turkey, Lebanese and Jordanian students' political attitudes, marketing behavior, and political change in Egypt.[54] Notably missing from this list, compared to those of the first decade, are projects from the Arabic Department or projects relating to issues of pan-Arab politics of the sort taken up by Faris and Husayn. However, the projects generally reflect an emphasis on subjects that tackle contemporary social concerns of the sort addressed more generally in the Arab Studies conferences in the 1950s.

In 1979-1980, thirty years after the Arab Studies Program was founded (and over thirty years ago now), the Center for Middle Eastern Studies incorporated "Arab" into its name: the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies (CAMES). Once again, the University's records offer no explicit reason. However, the director at the time, Ihsan Abbas, would have been well aware of the historical legacy of the program. He, unlike his predecessor Mahmud Ghul, had been a member of the Arab Studies Group as early as 1961. A grant from the Ford Foundation allowed the Center to convene a number of conferences reminiscent of some of the earlier themes on the Arab World. In 1979-1980, a conference called "Islamic Civilization and Modern Arab Society" convened Heinz Halm, Abdallah Larwi, Khalid al-Mays, James Monroe, Ridwan al-Sayyid, and Constantine Zurayk.[55] Zurayk spoke on "Towards Practical Solutions for the Obstacles Facing Arab Unity," recalling a major theme of the ASP in earlier decades. In the following year, CAMES sponsored conferences on "Leadership and Development in Arab Society"[56] and "Intellectual Life in the Arab East."[57] In spite of the activity of the program during the difficult years of the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990), it was becoming harder to sustain a graduate program, not just in CAMES, but in many other departments as well. From the mid-1980s, graduate applications were no longer accepted in many graduate programs, a state of affairs that lasted until a few years after the war ended.[58] Given its attraction to foreign students, the CAMES program was one of the last graduate programs to re-open its doors to students, a decision taken in 1996-1997. On the occasion of the re-opening, a conference on "Political Identity in the Arab East"[59] was held in December 1997 and new area studies graduate students were welcomed back to University for the 1998-1999 academic year.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Founded in 1949, the Arab and Middle Eastern Studies program at AUB is one of the oldest academic area studies programs at an American university. However, more noteworthy than its date of foundation is the role the program played in bringing together scholars and intellectuals in the Arab World to engage with the public in their own language – Arabic. In this context, first and foremost, area studies was *for* the area. Nevertheless, the founders also engaged actively with those outside the area, whether students or officials, in an attempt to help them understand the area *from within* the area, in English.

While the program's nominal shift from Arab to Middle East was not explained in institutional publications, in the wake of World War II and the Cold War, the "Middle Easternization" of the local frame of reference seems inevitable. In February 1949, the University's venerable alumni publication, *al-Kulliyah*, an English magazine with an Arabic title, expanded its regional scope to include "vital subjects of topical interest." The editor, Bishara Malouf, explained: "Especially in these troubled days when the future of the Arab States hangs precariously in the balance of international politics, such an organ would carry the Arab voice to the Great Powers in their own mother tongue." But a few years later, in 1954, *al-Kulliyah* adopted the supplementary title of *The Middle East Forum*, to serve "as a journal of general information about the Middle East."[60] Paging through the issues, you see coverage of Iran, Turkey, and other topics that fall outside of the Arab World, reflecting, in part, AUB's increasingly diverse student body and AUB's new role as an educational center in a region defined by Western geopolitics and not by local identity and concerns.

From nearly the beginning of the program, the students of the Arab Studies Program had also been pushing at the boundaries of the Arab region with their research projects. Furthermore, the faculty themselves broadened the view with occasional visiting scholars from outside the Arab world, while retaining Arabic as a means of engagement with the local public. Ultimately, the compromise was to recognize the Arab world *and* the Middle East. No doubt there were interesting discussions behind these transformations; alas, the records of the administrative "machinery" were never kept or have yet to be found. However, in spite of any administrative machinations, the University as a whole was drawn into an academic community with a global reach, whose geographical categories and common language overshadowed the local.

ENDNOTES

[1] *Al-Kulliyah* 24, no. 5 (April-May 1949): v; Stephen Penrose, "President's Report of 1948–49," *al-Kulliyah* 24, no. 7 (Autumn 1949): 8–12.

[2] Stephen Penrose, *That They May Have Life: A History of the American University of Beirut* (New York: Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1941), 243; *Rockefeller Foundation Annual Reports*, 1929–1940; for a summary of this activity, see the Annual Report for 1949, 50.

[3] This must be considered a preliminary foray into the subject; there are sources from abroad that I have not yet accessed and there are also other local sources that I have yet to examine. For conversations about, and comments on, the paper, I would like to express my appreciation to Ellen Fleischmann, Sari Hanafi, Waleed Hazbun, Tarif Khalidi, Osamah Khalil, Douglas Magrath, Cyrus Schayegh, and Janice Terry. Special thanks also to my colleague Professor Samir Seikaly for patiently bringing a medievalist up to date. Professor Sari Hanafi kindly brought to my attention the doctoral thesis of Candice Raymond ("Réécrire l'histoire au Liban: Une génération d'historiens face à la période ottomane, de la fin des années 1960 à nos jours," École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, October, 2013) just before submitting the final version of this paper. Raymond briefly discusses the AUB area studies programs (pp. 94–97), but she sees them as discontinuous and separate programs, starting in 1952 (p. 95); she evidently did not have access to the University catalogues and Faculty of Arts and Sciences annual reports which would have provided a coherent chronology, although this does not detract from the significance of her achievement. I enjoyed the opportunity to present the work on two occasions to the CAMES core seminar, led by Professor Tarif Khalidi, and attended also by Professor Tariq Tell, and benefited greatly from their questions and comments. Of course, it goes without saying that any errors and shortcomings that remain are entirely mine.

[4] Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (2nd ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123; for the pre-WWII roots of this phenomenon and the social sciences, see Timothy Mitchell, "The Middle East in the Past and Future of Social Science," in *The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines*, ed. David Szanton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), esp. p. 76.

[5] Edward H. Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983); Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[6] J. C. Hurewitz, "The Education of J. C. Hurewitz," in *Ten Paths to the Middle East*, ed. Thomas Naff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 98; Lockman, *Contending Visions*, 127.

[7] Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: A Brief History* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958), chapter 11. John Munro, *A Mutual Concern: The Story of the American University of Beirut* (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1977), chapters 5 and 6.

[8] It was not until 1975 that Georgetown established its Center for Contemporary Arab Studies.

[9] *Al-Kulliyah* 24, no. 5 (April-May 1949): i.

[10] *American University of Beirut Annual Report* 1949, 294.

[11] *Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report* (hereafter *RF AR*) 1949, 52, 295; *RF AR* 1954, 250; *RF AR* 1956, 56, 220; *RF AR* 1961, 189–190. Also see *President's Report* (AUB) 1952–1953: 3; 1953–1954: 17; 1957–1958/1958–1959: 28; 1961–1965: 70–71. The CPI purchasing power of that sum, based on the value of the dollar in 1961, would be just over 4 million dollars in 2014.

[12] Nabih Faris, "Arab Studies Research Program," *Faculty of Arts and Sciences Annual Report* (hereafter *FAS AR*) 1966–1967, C8.

[13] Kamal Salibi, *Ta'ir `ala sindyana: mudhakkirat* (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq, 2002), 226–227.

[14] Nicola Ziadeh, *Ayyami: sira dhatiyya* (Paris: Editions Hazar, 1992), 2: 195.

[15] C. K. Zurayk, *President's Report*, 1956–1957: 7.

[16] Ziadeh, *Ayyami*, 194.

[17] Nabih Faris (History), "The historical causes underlying the crisis of Arab thought today"; Anis Frayha (Arabic), "Folklore of Lebanon"; Ishak Husaini (Arabic), "Religious movements among the Arabs and their influence on the development of thought, society, and politics"; Jibrâil Jabbur (Arabic), "The Bedouins of Syria"; George Kirk (Political Studies), "Egyptian historians of modern Egypt"; Cummins E. Speakman Jr. and Yusuf Ibish (both of Political Studies), "Exploratory investigation in Arab character structures and political behavior"; Zeine Zeine (History), "Syria and Lebanon in international politics"; Nicola Ziadeh (History), "Political movements in Tunisia (1898–1939)"; Constantine Zurayk (History) and George Tomeh (Philosophy), "The Arabs' conception of their past and its effects on present Arab thought and life".

[18] *President's Report*, 1954–1955: 8.

[19] Anis Frayha, *Modern Lebanese Proverbs Collected at Ras al-Matn, Lebanon: Collated, Annotated, and Translated to English*. Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series, no. 25. 2 vols. Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1953.

[20] Nabih Amin Faris and Muhammad Tawfiq Husayn, *The Crescent in Crisis: An Interpretive Study of the Modern Arab World* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1955), 174.

[21] Albert Hourani, Review of *The Crescent in Crisis*, by N. A. Faris and M. T. Husayn, *International Affairs* 32, no. 3 (1956): 384–385, quotes from 385.

[22] Jabbur, *Min ayyam al-'umr* (Beirut: Jam'iyat Asdiqa' al-Katib wa-al-Kitab, 1991), 186.

[23] The Arabs and Modern Civilization (1951); The Future of the Arab World (1952); Arab Society (1953); On Modern Arab Literature (1954); The Function of the University in the Arab World (1955); Scientific Research in the Arab World (1956); Political Training (1957); Wasted Human Resources in the Arab World (1958).

[24] *Al-Hayat*, May 9, 1951, p. 4.

[25] *Al-Hayat*, April, 27, 1955, p. 1; Jabbur, *Min ayyam al-'umr*, 189.

[26] *Al-Nahar*, March 13, 1956, p. 1.

[27] Faris, preface to *al-'Arab wa-al-hadara al-haditha* (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm lil-Malayin, 1951), 5; and Faris, preface to *al-Adab al-'arabi fi athar al-darisin* (Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm lil-Malayin, 1961), unnumbered second page.

[28] On political training: *al-Hayat*, March 12, 14, 15, 1957. On human resources: *al-Hayat*, April 29, 30, May 1, 2, 1958; and *al-Nahar*, April 29, 30; May 1, 3, 1958. On history: *al-Hayat*, May 19, 1959.

[29] AUB University Catalogues, 1950–1951 (p. 37); 1951–1952 (p. 41); 1955–1956 (p. 36).

[30] AUB Archives: AA:2.5.0.3 (6–7), Personnel Department, 1924–2005, Box 7, File 4: Letter from Zurayk (Beirut) to Faris (Lawrence, Kansas), November 23, 1953.

[31] Their Master's theses: Suhayl Nasr, "Middle East Oil and World Oil;" Iliya Harik, "The Concept of Choice in Ghazzali and Muhammad Abduh;" John Spagnolo, "British Policy in Egypt during the Period of the Protectorate, 1914–1922;" Olga Khoury, "The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf;" Elias Saad, "The Damascus Crisis of 1860 in Light of Kitab al Ahzan, an Unpublished Eye-witness Account;" Rima Hamadah, "The Rise of the United Arab Emirates."

[32] *Main Gate: American University of Beirut Quarterly Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Winter 2008).

[33] Faris, "Arab Studies Program," *FAS AR*, 1965–66: C6.

[34] Their Master's theses: David Hirst, "Oil and Public Opinion in the Middle East;" Zubeida Barmania, "The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance, 1936–1951;" Noor Muhammad, "The Muslim League, 1930–1958: A Political and Historical Study;" Parvin Peerwani, "The Concept of the Imamate with Special Reference to Nizari Ismailism;" Hans Heino Kopietz, "The Luxemburg Agreement: Its Effects on German-Arab Relations, 1952–1965; A Study of Political Competition between the Two Germanies, Israel, and the Arabs;" Datumanong Sarangani, "The Islamization of Mindanao: A Study of Islam in the Philippines;" Andrew Vincent, "The Peasantry of the Hawran in the Nineteenth Century: Tenuous and Peripheral Occupation."

[35] John Munro, *A Mutual Concern*, 104.

[36] Their Master's theses: Arthur Houghton, "President Wilson and Palestine: A Study in American-Middle East Relations 1914–1920;" Andrea Morel Farsakh, "A Comparison of the Shi'i Doctrine of the Imamate and the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate;" William Hazen, "United States' Technical, Economic and Military Assistance to Lebanon."

[37] The first three graduates and their theses: Lawrence J. Evans, "The Law on Real Property Relative to the Regulation of Real Property and the Possession of Titles to Immovable Estate;" Richard Hans Laursen, "The Kataib: A Comprehensive Study of a Lebanese Political Party;"

Edwin Bradstreet Owen, "Ports, Roads, and Railroads in Lebanon and Syria." According to the Alumni directory, Evans and Owen were US Army officers and Laursen taught in Baghdad from 1946–1947 and at AUB from 1947-1949; he also served as a public relations officer at AUB from 1949–1951.

[38] John Francis Brown, "A Translation of The Moslem Brethren: The Greatest of Modern Islamic Movements, by Ishaq Musa Husayni." Brown's doctoral dissertation: "Duwayhi's History of the Times as a Source for Sixteenth Century Syrian History," Department of History, AUB, 1972.

[39] Their Master's theses: Robert P. Perry, "European Exploration in Turkish Kurdistan, 1800–1842;" John D. Yarbrough, "The Euphrates Route to India in the Nineteenth Century."

[40] Charles Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador* (San Diego, California: San Diego State University Press, 2003), 107. Hostler did not write a Master's thesis, which was an option for students at the time. He subsequently completed a doctoral dissertation at Georgetown: "The Turks of the Soviet and Western Orbits" (1956), which was published as *Turkism and the Soviets: The Turks of the World and their Political Objectives* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1957).

[41] AUB Archives and Special Collections: Programs of Summer Seminars on the Near East, 1952, 1953, 1954.

[43] James Craig, *Shemlan: A History of the Middle East Centre for Arab Studies* (London: Macmillan, 1998), Appendix J: Tenth Background Course, 175–177.

[49] As implied by Munro, *A Mutual Concern*, 105, although without citation to any newspapers.

[44] Their Master's theses: Malcolm Kerr, "Revolution and Civil War in the Lebanon: An Unknown Page from the History of the Lebanon from 1841 to 1873: Translation, Commentary, and Annotation;" Brinston Collins, "The Tunisian Question before the United Nations and the Question of Competence;" Dickran Kouymjian, "The Recent Crisis in the Armenian Church;" Janice Terry, "Wilfred Scawen Blunt and the Urabi Revolution;" Peter Gubser, "U.A.R.: A Study in Unity;" Tadeusz Swietochowski, "Arab Turkish Relations, 1908–1918;" John Woodberry, "Toward the Understanding of the Qur'anic Concept of Sin: A Preliminary Study in Semantics;" Karin Ryding, "The American Congress and the Suez Crisis: A Detailed Study of Congress and Its Role in Shaping Middle East Policy and in Various Stages of the Suez Crisis;" Evelyn Early, "The Amiliyya Society of Beirut: A Case Study of an Emerging Urban Za'im;" Douglas Magrath, "*Al-Khandaq al-Ghamiq* by Suhail Idriss: A Study of the Conflict between East and West."

[45] *Al-Fikr al-'arabi fi mi'at sana: buhuth mu'tamar hay'at al-dirasat al-'arabiyya* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967).

[46] Nabih Faris, "Arab Studies Research Program," *FAS AR* 1966–1967: C8.

[47] Nabih Faris, "Arab Studies Research Program," *FAS AR* 1965–1966: C8.

[48] University Catalogue 1966–1967, 134.

[49] Nabih Faris, "Middle East Area Program," *FAS AR* 1966–67: C105. Why he cites 1954 here is not clear; as noted earlier, 1954 was the date of the second installment of Rockefeller funds.

[50] Salibi, *Ta'ir*, 263–264; I have not yet been able to investigate newspapers from this period.

[51] Elie Salem, "Middle East Area Program," *FAS AR* 1969–1970: C135.

[52] Elie Salem, "Middle East Area Program," *FAS AR* 1970–1971: C123.

[53] Walid Khalidi and Yusuf Ibish, eds., *Arab Political Documents/al-Watha'iq al-'Arabiyya* (Beirut: AUB, 1963–1982). For the Oral History Project, see: http://www.aub.edu.lb/fas/cames/Pages/oral_history.aspx.

[54] Joseph J. Malone, "Middle East Area Program," *FAS AR* 1967–1968: C118; and Kamal Salibi, "Middle East Area Program," *FAS AR* 1968–1969: C133.

[55] The proceedings were apparently not published, although Monroe's paper was published by CAMES in expanded form: James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badi' az-Zaman al-Hamadhani as Picaresque Narrative*, Papers of the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies, II (Beirut: AUB, 1983).

[56] Fuad I. Khuri, ed., *Leadership and Development in Arab Society* (Beirut: AUB, 1981); funded by AUB, USAID, and the Ford Foundation.

[57] Marwan R. Buheiry, ed., *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890–1939* (Beirut: AUB, 1981).

[58] The decision concerning CAMES took effect in 1986: Fredrich Heineken, "Graduate Committee," *FAS AR* 1985–1986: B22.

[59] Samir Seikaly, ed., *Reconfiguring Identity in the Modern Arab East* (Beirut: AUB, 2009), funded by the Ford Foundation.

[60] Bishara Malouf, editorial in *al-Kulliyah* 24, no. 3 (February 1949): 1.

07 The Open Gate: Learning from AUB's Struggles over Academic Freedom[1]

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The Main Gate of the American University of Beirut has two stone turrets. The gate's architectural lineage is clear: it is an evocation of the fortified entrances of castles, fortresses, and walled towns. It marks the separation of the space inside the campus from the space outside. To some, perhaps, it evokes the walled cities of the European late Middle Ages in which a new world was emerging within the landscape of feudalism. City air made one free[2] because passing through the city gate meant one had escaped feudalism and entered a new space - one that, paradoxically, depended on trans-regional connections with other such spaces. AUB does maintain vital connections to international scholarly networks, but does the space inside its gates need protection? Do universities require fortification? Do they have a special kind of freedom that demands special protection? Political theorist Amy Gutmann argues that universities should be "institutional sanctuaries . . . where new and unorthodox ideas are judged on their intellectual merits . . . sanctuaries of non-repression."[3] A central justification for academic freedom is that to advance knowledge, to develop thinking citizens, what is needed is a conversation that is profoundly open. Such conversations constitute a kind of commons; but is isolation what preserves the commons, the conversation? I propose to explore this question by considering some of AUB's struggles over academic freedom against the background of its complex relations to the society surrounding it. This issue is near the heart of one of the primary, if unspoken, concerns of this volume: how should the AUB story be narrated?

Of central importance for the question of academic freedom and the University's relation to its surroundings are events of the 1970s, when aggressive student activists attempted to turn the AUB campus into what Betty Anderson calls "a civic space in which to form their political identities."[4] By this time, AUB had become a thoroughly hybrid institution: founded by Americans and still connected to the United States, but increasingly staffed by Arab faculty members, while situated in the Ras Beirut neighborhood it had helped to shape. For the student activists and their supporters, the barriers between AUB and the surrounding society had disappeared. This brought prevalent Arab concerns into direct contact and contestation with other voices. It marked AUB as uniquely connected to its setting and hinted at possibilities for profound engagement. These pivotal events and the broader story of AUB's struggles over academic freedom, which I will briefly evaluate below, may provide some perspective on the development of new Western-style universities in the Arab region, many of which are struggling with issues of academic freedom that have largely been managed by walling off new campuses from host societies. Before turning to the AUB story, I want to briefly contextualize the connection between isolation and academic freedom from a historical and theoretical point of view.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND ACADEMIC SEPARATION IN CONTEXT

The architecture and configuration of many university campuses seem designed for distinction, containing "harmonious unifying elements" that make them appear "very different from the surrounding environment."[5] In particular, the gothic architecture so popular on US university campuses conjures the prestige of an institutional form with medieval roots predating all corporations and most existing states. Despite the obvious transience of the primary occupants, such architecture evokes "the idea of an organic community."[6] AUB's walled campus certainly evokes many of these connotations, particularly in recent decades when its park-like order stands in such contrast to the dense concrete cityscape in which it is embedded. That many universities emphasize, in both visual and non-visual ways, that they are apart from the world may simply be a branding strategy. Others

now are concerned to emphasize their connectedness, especially to the dynamism of the market and its promise of employment for their graduates.

In actual medieval European universities, which largely emerged out of cathedral schools, academics were not separate enough to be protected from the persistent threat of heresy trials, although their faculties had earned one special privilege: the right to assemble. In this sense, at least, campuses did incubate a freedom that would later become more general. Like the cities emerging at the same time, they had charters guaranteeing special rights and privileges.[7]

To simplify a great deal, the transition from the medieval to the modern university involved a transition from oral to written performance and from an educational and scholarly goal of preserving truth (and eliminating error) to one of discovering new knowledge. The crucial shift occurred in the Germanies in the late eighteenth century. The most influential articulation of what we now call the research university was Wilhelm von Humboldt's plan for the University of Berlin (1809–1810). Humboldt placed research at the center for both the professor and the student because knowledge was "a problem not yet solved and thus always remain[s] in research." For "insight into pure academic knowledge," Humboldt wrote, "freedom is necessary, and solitude helpful."[8] As the model of the research university gradually spread across Europe, North America, and beyond, the idea that the process of discovery required freedom remained central. Humboldt's evocation of "solitude" hints at separation. Of course, he was living within a centralized authoritarian Prussian state, but to produce the new knowledge and innovative employees the state needed, the university required freedom from state repression.

It would be inaccurate to conclude that the research university was primarily an initiative from within the professorate. In fact, the impetus in Prussia can be traced to government ministries that sought to break up faculties and universities as collegial and often hereditary entities. For example, Minister Munchhausen was appointed to supervise all appointments at late eighteenth-century Göttingen. Consulting his own informal list of academic experts, he appointed faculty members from across Europe, regardless of religion or nationality, on the basis of merit, as determined by the prominence of their publications. This process created a market for professors. Outside of the Germanies, some complained that Protestants had "turned their universities into annual markets where the sciences are set out like wares."[9] Although the creation of the research university provided perhaps the most powerful justification for academic freedom and the autonomy that it requires, it would not have been possible apart from the influence of forces outside of the university: the state and the market.

As a product of the Enlightenment, the research university adopted a notion of objectivity grounded in observation and the ideal of a community of observers,[10] but it also embraced a Romantic conception of the researcher who demonstrated charisma through the originality of his writing. Ironically, the word "originality" once meant remaining true to the original rather than producing novelty.[11]

Many scholarly accounts of academic freedom stress that the idea that academics should be free to speak and write emerged in tandem with the idea that all citizens should have such rights. These propositions, evident in the rhetoric of the French and American Revolutions, emerged from the same Enlightenment milieu that spawned the research university. Many well-known defenses of academic freedom stress its connection to wider freedoms. Grenville Clark's 1949 statement, "Freedom at Harvard," written in response to early anti-communist legislation, begins with the argument that "Harvard believes in 'the free trade of ideas,' . . . which is no more than saying that she believes in the principles of Milton's Areopagitica (1644), of Jefferson's First Inaugural (1801), and of Mill's 'Essay on Liberty' (1859)."[12] The Prussian ministry's support for academic freedom was instrumental, but connecting it to wider freedoms provides a different kind of justification. Some level of academic freedom can exist in a state without wider freedoms, but only at the whim of the sovereign. If these two kinds of freedom are connected, it would seem both can only be weakened by the isolation of the academy.[13]

One of the ironies of Humboldt's plan was that the university was to produce graduates who were philosophically trained to be free thinkers, but who were simultaneously rooted in an exceptionalist vision of national culture. As research universities spread – sometimes through the transformation of older institutions like Oxford or Harvard, and sometimes through the creation of new ones like Johns Hopkins or the University of Chicago – they became what Bill Readings called "universities of culture" – that is, they took up a national mission to identify the cultural soul of the nation, especially by uncovering its uniqueness as expressed in literature and the national experience. The university's separateness defined it as whole and rendered it a model of the exceptionalist nation-state itself. For students, such a university was a liminal space, set apart from ordinary activities, in which they could undergo a rite of passage.[14]

For Bill Readings, writing in the mid-1990s, this situation had been completely eroded by the trajectory of globalized political and economic realities. While the university had always been subordinate to social power relations, now its relations to the world outside its walls were nakedly economic. The university's status and its vaunted separateness lost a crucial justification. Readings called this "the university in ruins," its only mission an empty idea of excellence measured by the logic of market exchange.[15]

In a recent volume on the spread of American-style universities outside of the United States, James McDougall employs Marc Augé's notion of non-places to make a similar point about the contemporary situation. University campuses, like airports and malls, "could function anywhere in the world in a similar way." Such places deal "only with individuals (consumers, passengers, users)"; they are not designed for collective action. "Collective identity is produced through the consumption of brand goods and services," but the collectivity produced must be depoliticized "to keep the brand free from negative associations." These spaces provide a means for the circulation of cultural and financial capital, and they exhibit the "growing split between classes of people who find themselves with or without credit cards, internet access, and proper government paperwork necessary to enter chain hotels, airports, retail centers, and universities – the haves and have-nots of the global knowledge economy."[16] Although AUB has consistently attracted elite students, I will argue below that McDougall's characterization does not entirely fit the case of AUB – a circumstance that provides the University with certain distinct possibilities.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AT AUB

At about the same time as its counterparts in the United States, the Syrian Protestant College made the transition toward the German model, but in certain ways it confronted a more complex situation. Although the institution's leaders, at least through Bayard Dodge, were themselves committed to an exceptionalist view of America, their mission could never be to make their students into patriotic Americans. In fact, beginning in the 1930s, AUB became a site where many students imbibed Arab nationalism. During a period in which universities were committed to national missions, AUB remained an oddly hybrid and transnational institution.

AUB's (then SPC's) first president, Daniel Bliss, openly embraced a diversity of views, but he had no doubts about where truth lay. In fact, it was this certitude that made open debate unthreatening to him, at least until the irruption of the Darwin Affair. Without rehearsing the well-known story here, the affair revealed that Arab students and neophyte instructors were prepared, in this instance at least, to embrace scientific thinking more completely than the leaders of the College.[17] As a result of these events, Arab professors were marginalized for nearly four decades, and all new professors were required to sign a Declaration of Principles pledging, among other things, "to conserve the teachings of revealed truth."[18]

Twenty-five years later, when the College was under the leadership of Howard Bliss, who openly embraced free inquiry rather than conformity, a group of Muslim and Jewish students joined together and called a strike in protest of mandatory Protestant chapel services, arguing that they infringed upon their religious freedom.[19] Although enforced religious practice was common at this time at religiously-oriented liberal arts colleges in the US, this practice was certainly at odds with the critical free thinking these institutions professed. The general acceptance and respect for diversity among Syrians at the time brought this imposition of a single set of values into stark relief. Once again, Arabs were pushing the College to realize the values it avowed. Commenting on a similar pluralistic ecumenism that Butros al-Bustani had articulated decades earlier, Ussama Makdisi argues, "this did not stream solely from a missionary source but was strongly shaped by the turbulent currents of Ottoman reform, and by the proximity in which different faiths had long coexisted in Mount Lebanon."[20] Most of the Syrian Protestant College's founders believed they were bringing light to a benighted place, but, among the Arabs they encountered, there were individuals who did not fit this orientalist caricature: people with an eagerness to embrace critical rational thinking and, at times, to apply it more relentlessly than their American interlocutors. In a similar way, the openness to diversity inscribed in Daniel Bliss's famous welcoming to the College of "all conditions and classes of men"[21] was extended to its full ethical scope by the Arab call for social equality.

With the change from the Syrian Protestant College to the American University of Beirut in 1920, the demand for religious freedom that Bustani had envisioned finally came to AUB. It was soon followed by the elimination of all distinctions in hiring. Arab professors began to arrive and gradually to assume intellectual leadership in a number of areas. AUB became an increasingly transnational entity, a place where people from the wider Arab world could interact, a place to rediscover Arab

history and culture and to imagine its future, a place eventually to question the arbitrary political divisions that had been imposed by colonial powers, a place of Arab nationalism. During the period of the French Mandate, AUB increasingly opened itself to Arab concerns, and the University became a more Arab institution. AUB's sometimes reluctant and belated openness to challenges and influences from the surrounding society helped to transform AUB in the direction of freedom and equality. In this sense, the university that emerged was a co-creation of Arabs and Americans, the product of a complex, but genuine engagement. Because the institution's founders had intended to influence Arab people, complete separation had always been out of the question, but the ongoing encounter their mission required, perhaps because of its duration and intensity, was an unpredictable process.

During the Mandate period, Arab faculty members became key foci in the process of making AUB a more Arab institution, but, after the end of colonial rule, it was students who would take the lead in connecting AUB to Arab concerns. Considering the unfolding events in the Arab region in the mid-twentieth century, academic freedom at AUB was bound to be tested. A comprehensive analysis of salient incidents would include those surrounding the 1954 student demonstration,[22] the 1968 non-renewal of Professor Sadiq al-ʿAzm,[23] and many others.[24] But for the question of how academic freedom at AUB was related to its separation from the world outside its walls, a series of incidents from the mid-1970s, when AUB became a white-hot center of Arab student activism, are particularly illuminating.

As an element of a soft power approach to managing perceptions, the US government supported higher education in the Middle East, and this included an explicit encouragement of academic freedom. But by the early 1970s, the US State Department and its diplomats in Beirut were concerned about the direction of student opinion in Lebanon. AUB students had grown increasingly leftist in the wake of the 1967 and 1973 wars. After the PLO had been driven from Jordan in 1971, the overwhelming majority of students supported Fatah.[25]

In 1973, the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians escalated, culminating on March 1 when Black September captured ten diplomats in Khartoum and, after President Nixon refused to negotiate, killed three of them, including two Americans.[26]

What happened at AUB in response to these events was brought to my attention by Nathaniel George, an AUB graduate student whose thesis I co-supervised.[27] I will examine this incident in some detail, not because it is more significant than related events – such as student occupations of the campus – but rather because it lays bare how academic freedom became central to struggles over the mission of the University and the vision of its future. US State Department cables provide a revealing window on these events. Please note that I will be quoting from them verbatim, though, like telegrams or modern text messages, they contain many abbreviations and word omissions.

A week after the incident in Khartoum, the AUB student publication ***Outlook*** carried a front page article stating that, "although the main aim of the operation was not achieved, still, a lot has been accomplished. 'Operation Khartoum' was the first direct confrontation between the Palestinian Commandos and the USA."[28] In a cable to the Secretary of State, US Ambassador to Lebanon William Buffum said that "freedom of expression had been carried too far when AUB student organ responds with what is obviously meant as approval of assassination of American diplomats and is permitted by university administration to do so." Because AUB President Samuel Kirkwood was traveling, Buffum phoned Acting President Dean Swenson, expressing his outrage and indicating that "drastic remedial action" was required. The president sent Dean of Students Robert Najemy to discuss the situation with the ambassador, who called the article "shocking" and issued this direct threat: "At a time when USG making it clear to Arab govts that our attitude toward them will be influenced by their position on terrorism, AUB should be aware of implications for both private and public support from United States should it appear that student body has been taken over by those advocating extremist tactics." Dean Najemy agreed that it was "essential for AUB to face squarely the threat of increasing radicalization of students. However, direct confrontation of students by AUB administration would be likely, as has been case in past, play into hands of radicals who continually stress theme that AUB takes direct orders from USG via our embassy here."[29] Dean Najemy did agree to inform students that the "paper cannot rpt not be used as political organ," and that "if editor did not heed this advice, serious consideration would obviously be given to discontinuing paper." Buffum also "urged Najaimi to do whatever necessary to make clear, now and in future, just where AUB stands on this sort of question and also to deal with what is likely to be growing challenge from student...extremists." Najemy said he would "do his best." The ambassador concluded the cable by referring to AUB's "speakers corner" as "infamous" because it "continues serve as free forum for militant views."[30]

This remarkable incident reveals how the State Department prioritized academic freedom at AUB. A free forum was a good thing when it made the US seem to embody an attractive openness; but

when it allowed fundamental criticisms of US policies, it became an intolerable menace. Here was the paradox: AUB's value as a soft diplomacy asset depended upon its independence from coercion, yet here was the ambassador issuing direct orders to the University's leaders. The incident shows that AUB administrators were influenced by that pressure, albeit with some level of resistance.

In another diplomatic cable two months after the Khartoum incident, the ambassador in Beirut pointed out that the "most important large impact private sector resource is American University of Beirut (AUB) which receives about dols six million annually." The "overall impact of American-patterned, -administered, and, in part, -staffed university highly favorable in that students are better able to understand how Americans think and how American system works, as well as learning about aspects of US aside from foreign policy." Without a hint of irony, the cable also states that these positive aspects of AUB are "somewhat offset by attacks on AUB by left-wing students and political groups as outpost of American imperialism. Freedom of expression at AUB provides forum from which radicalized youth . . . lambast USG as well as school administration."[31] Freedom of expression was, at once, the most convincing soft power tool and a clear threat to important US interests.

The primary leverage that the US government had over AUB was financial. According to the US ambassador in Lebanon, AUB in 1974 was receiving $6.2 million from USAID, about one-third of its total budget.[32] In the midst of the fierce student strike of spring 1974, AUB appealed to the State Department for increased funds. Like a previous student uprising in 1971, the 1974 event was prompted by a proposed tuition increase, but students also issued several other demands, including participation on key committees. In both cases, students occupied the campus. In 1974, they even took control of all campus gates and issued an appeal for faculty members to support their "cultural liberation and freedom."[33] Though students were suspicious of the need for a 10 percent increase in tuition, the University's financial woes were serious. An internal report had suggested "pruning of departments such as Geology, Public Health, and it is rumored even Agriculture."[34] Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan contacted the US ambassador in Jordan with an offer to move AUB to Amman. The ambassador doubted "whether students and staff of AUB would find restrictive Jordanian society and system compatible with AUB traditions," but also noted that "radical politics would no longer continue to plague the institution if it were moved here."[35] In these discussions there was little doubt about AUB's continued importance to the United States. The ambassador in Beirut considered "AUB to be extremely valuable United States asset that still has major influence in the area favorable to our interest."[36]

Henry Kissinger replied personally to AUB's request in April 1974, directing the University to appeal to "rich Arab neighbors to the south" and specifically the "Saudi government."[37] The US Ambassador in Lebanon suggested that "we should use our influence with AUB, including our contact with board members, to convince the university to shift its programs toward providing 'manpower'" in order to become "an institution which donors will be willing and even eager to support because it meets their needs." The ambassador urged that a small commission be set up to plan the changes, including representatives from USAID, the Ford Foundation, and American Friends of the Middle East. He cautioned that the makeup of the commission was crucial "because he who pays the piper still calls the tune – especially in the Middle East."[38] Despite AUB's public diplomacy value as an embodiment of purported American commitments to free inquiry and open debate, it is hard to see where the space for academic freedom might be when the piper was to be paid by Gulf kingdoms and the US government itself, especially considering the latter's track record of meddling in AUB's affairs. The following fall, AUB's Faculty of Arts and Sciences announced that it was hosting a conference to consider how to make its programs more responsive to the needs of "particularly [the] Gulf States and Saudi Arabia." Following the US ambassador's suggestions, AUB invited the Ford Foundation and American Friends of the Middle East to participate in the meetings and "privately requested" US government advice.[39]

Despite these supplicant appeals, the US ambassador to Saudi Arabia reported that King Faisal considered AUB "a hotbed for Palestinian radicals and communists," though the ambassador suspected that "part of the king's dislike of the university is the social freedom it encourages."[40] The ambassador later reported that Saudi assistance would be impossible because King Faisal "had discussed the student riots repeatedly in the last few weeks and has on numerous occasions said that the university is misnamed. It should not be called the American University but the 'Communist University of Beirut.'"[41]

Betty Anderson compares the student actions at AUB to the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, which, in the words of Berkeley Professor Charles Muscatine, redefined "the campus as the ***polis***, or civic home, of the students." In a similar way, AUB student activists continually sought connection to the political realities outside of campus and, as Anderson puts it, "reformulated the campus into civic space in which to form their political identities."[42]

The student-initiated events of the 1970s at AUB, such as the campus occupation of 1974, represent a high water mark of permeability of the University's walls. The concerns of the Arab region flooded into the campus and challenged the existing hierarchy of governance. An *Outlook* editorial explained: "No barriers can be erected around the campus and make it an independent entity."[43] In AUB's long evolution from a foreign implantation to a university *of* Beirut, this was a key moment.

Yet it must be acknowledged that, for the students themselves, even at this moment, the campus was, in certain ways, still apart from its surroundings. AUB's liberal arts tradition, exemplified by things like the speaker's corner, made it an appropriate place from which to launch an appeal for justice. Winning over the campus community thus conferred a certain legitimacy to the students' views. Indeed, even as they proclaimed "no barriers," they occupied and defended AUB's gates, claiming the walled space of the campus as a kind of liberated zone apart from the streets beyond. And if, as Anderson concludes, the students "reformulated the campus into civic space," did this make it an extension of the civic space beyond, or an alternative that was attractive because of the deficiencies of the Lebanese civic commons? Because AUB had evolved into a much more Arab institution while continuing to proclaim its commitment to maintaining the liberties necessary for an academic commons, the University's apartness, while clearly eroded, could be rhetorically employed by different actors for different purposes. Moreover, there were contesting forces both within and without the gates. Eventually, President Kirkwood chose a military solution. He invited the Lebanese state to enter the campus and put an end to the student occupation.[44]

It is important to remember that AUB's walls have often been porous enough to allow governments and other entities leverage within the campus. We have seen how the US government, through indirect and direct means, attempted to shape the University. Funding dependence, particularly in the 1970s, also eroded AUB's autonomy. University leaders were caught between a Scylla of student activism and a Charybdis of fiscal and political pressure. Each had the potential to challenge the University's existence. The student confrontation was a more overt challenge, but also a more popular and bottom-up one. Some students were warriors ready to defend the Arab/Palestinian cause, but nearly all voiced ethical claims concerning justice and equality. These were prevalent Arab discontents. Indeed, the PLO and Fatah themselves emerged to redress what they judged a grave historical injustice. One might glimpse a certain continuity here to earlier Arab challenges at AUB, such as the Darwin Affair and the Chapel protest of 1909 - an impulse toward justice, equality, and even modernity - although certainly as part of an admixture containing less savory elements.

A well-known 1970 *Newsweek* story, entitled "Guerrilla U.," suggested that AUB was schooling graduates in "Arab nationalist politics," but AUB Vice President Robert Crawford, who was cited, asserted that education involves "teaching people to question the society in which they live." The article concludes with the words of a student "guerrilla leader" who detested US foreign policy, but nevertheless conceded: "we have also learned to respect a culture that gives even rebels the right to think and say what they want."[45] Though this article may have been damaging to AUB in certain ways, it does point to a distinct potential: because AUB is a liberal arts institution that nurtures free inquiry, is well connected to global scholarly networks, yet located in Beirut and open to the world that surrounds it, and because it has been shaped as much by Arabs as by Americans, it may permit a special kind of engagement. A university in what was then called the Third World, and which some now call the Global South, was put in direct contact with broader anti-colonial and anti-imperial movements. At AUB there was the prospect of bringing those voices into dialogue with others in a place with enough academic freedom to make engagement possible. The student actions of the 1970s marked AUB as exceptionally connected to the society around it - connected not just to the political and economic elite, but to broad-based popular movements that contested the power of those elites and the foreign forces that supported them.

AUB's student uprisings of the 1970s are important not as stellar examples of justice and equality in action - indeed, to many it seemed that actions like the 1974 campus occupation were squelching rather than engaging the academic commons. The student actions are important, rather, because they point to the possibility of engagement between, on the one hand, broad-based voices of the Global South and, on the other, an academic commons nurtured in places like the United States through a connection to a civic commons there, but also nurtured by the University's interactions with Arab society. Such engagements might, in turn, engender a glimmer of hope that a planetary civic commons might emerge to present alternatives to the forces of concentrated global economic and political power.

The Vienna Declaration, produced by the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 affirms that "all human rights are universal, indivisible, and interdependent and interrelated."[46] Academic freedom, from this perspective, is directly connected to wider civic freedoms, but this is not simply a theoretical

proposition. AUB's academic freedom is directly related to its setting. Perhaps because of Lebanon's history of extra-regional interactions, perhaps because of a diversity that prevents any group from dominating, and therefore demands some recognition and negotiation across lines of difference - for whatever reasons, in this setting a space of civic freedom began to appear, an emergent civic commons.[47] This commons and the academic commons within AUB are both works-in-progress that have each helped to shape the other. The student movements of the 1970s were nurtured by both. George Fallis, a scholar of higher education, argues that universities are necessary for a civic commons to flourish since they produce citizens prepared to participate in civic life.[48] I would add that the health of the academic commons requires that wider space of civic freedom as well. This is the precise problem of academic freedom in Gulf universities: to the extent that it exists, academic freedom is sequestered to prevent genuine engagement with surrounding societies, and, indeed, to prevent social change.

THE AUB STORY

There have been many attempts to fit AUB's history into a coherent narrative. Some have attempted to tell the story from a US perspective: What is AUB's use to the US as a soft power asset or a bridge to the Arab world?[49] Others weave the story around the idea of AUB as a cultural transplant - something American growing in foreign soil.[50] Still others describe AUB as an agent of US imperialism,[51] or a haven of radicals or even terrorists.[52] There are boosterish versions in which AUB is an eternal standard of perfection.[53] What sort of story do the University's struggles over academic freedom, briefly outlined above, suggest? If we are to be honest, we must avoid idealizations, ahistoricism, and teleology, and admit that AUB is and has been contested ground. The events of the 1970s illustrate this clearly with the US government, the Saudi government, trustees, administrators, faculty, students, and a host of other players all contending for the University's heart and soul. What was novel about these events is not that the students contested with these other players, but rather that, despite their lack of institutional power, they made themselves into a force that could not be ignored.

Although the president is the public face of AUB and the administration is charged with steering the University through the challenges that confront it, the students and faculty are arguably more central to the University's mission.[54] I began this essay by suggesting that the central justification for academic freedom is that, to advance knowledge and educate thinking citizens, what is needed is a conversation that is profoundly open, and that this conversation constitutes a kind of commons. If this is the very center of the academic mission, it is clear that students and faculty are the key players: administrators, trustees, staff, and others play supporting roles. In the long history of AUB, we must ask: What has helped to develop, nurture, and preserve this conversation, this commons? I suggest that the University's openness to the world beyond its gates has generally supported this central academic process and is the thing that most distinguishes AUB from new universities in the Gulf. The Arab uprisings of 2011 convinced many that positive change in the Arab region will be accomplished only through the actions of ordinary people striving to establish a civic commons. Subsequent events have constrained that commons, but have not presented an alternative path to positive change. If it is true that academic freedom and more general freedoms are interdependent, a university like AUB must remain connected to the civic commons even if it is nascent or virtual, because, like the academic commons, it is a locus of new possibilities. The University must do this not only to remain relevant, but to preserve its own academic conversation.[55] Moreover, open connections with those struggling to expand justice, equality, and civic freedom might serve to contest what James McDougall calls the non-place model of sites where the empowered global elite act only as individuals shielded from the "have-nots of the global knowledge economy."

It is important to remember that academic freedom is not simply bestowed from above, whether by financial backers, governments, or even administrators. Rather, in a process that is never complete, freedom is claimed as it is enacted, with or without official permission. On the other hand, academic freedom is precarious if it depends upon lone acts of heroism, and particularly, if it is confined, even behind the strongest walls. AUB's struggles over academic freedom would suggest that new universities established under the patronage of authoritarian leaders will have little chance of connecting with nascent movements to establish wider civic freedoms. AUB's endurance, success, and future potential depend not upon its isolation from its setting, not upon walls, but rather upon its open gate.

ENDNOTES

[1] Portions of this paper were originally published as "American-Style Higher Education and the People of the Middle East," in *The American-Style University at Large: Transplants Outposts and the Globalization of Higher Education*, ed. Kathryn L. Kleypas and James I. McDougall (New York: Lexington Books, 2012), Chapter 2, 41–51; used with permission.

[2] The German phrase, "stadtluft macht frei," referred to the rights of urban dwellers in the Middle Ages.

[3] Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 174.

[4] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 153.

[5] J. I. McDougall, "Notes on Non-Places and the Localization of the Global American-Style University," in *The American-Style University at Large*, 131–147, 136.

[6] McDougall, "Notes on Non Places," 139.

[7] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1957), 50; Olaf Pedersen, *The First Universities: Studium Generale and the Origins of University Education in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 155–188; William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 8.

[8] Quoted in Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 409.

[9] Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 246–247.

[10] Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 405.

[11] Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 68.

[12] Grenville Clark, "Freedom at Harvard," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 51 (1949): 732–735, reprinted in *American Higher Education Transformed, 1940–2005: Documenting the National Discourse*, ed. Wilson Smith and Thomas Bender, 460–462 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 461.

[13] A note of caution was introduced by W. E. B. Dubois (and others), who argues that these rights were allocated to some and not all by creating a dividing line. Though the Government in nineteenth-century Paris ruled not only France, but also large swaths of Africa and parts of Asia and Latin America, *liberté, égalité*, and *fraternité* were reserved for some. On such divisions, Dubois suggests, nations and nationalism are founded. W. E. B. Dubois, "The African Roots of War," (1915) in *Selections from Phylons (Writings in Periodicals edited by W. E. B. Dubois*, ed. Herbert Aptheker Millwood (New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1982), Volume 2, 96; and *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil* (1920) in *the Oxford W. E. B. Dubois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 1996); see also Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 171–212.

[14] Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Samuel Weber, "The Future of the University: The Cutting Edge," in his *Institution and Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 220–235.

[15] Readings, *University in Ruins*, 21–43.

[16] McDougall, "Notes on Non-Places," 144.

[17] Shafic Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College (Now the American University of Beirut)*, trans. Sally Kaya, ed. Helen Khal (Beirut: AUB Press, 2000; original Arabic version, 1991), 41–138; A. L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 283–287; Makram Rabah, *A Campus at War: Student Politics at the American University of Beirut, 1967–1975* (Beirut: Dar Nelson, 2009), 20–22; John M. Munro, *A Mutual Concern: The Story of the American University of Beirut* (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1977).

[18] Anderson, *American University of Beirut*, 45.

[19] Rabah, *A Campus at War*, 22.

[20] Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 182.

[21] Daniel Bliss, remarks at the dedication of College Hall, 1873, in *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, ed. F. Bliss, (New York: Revell, 1920), 93.

[22] In the wake of 1948 and Gamal Abdel Nasser's electrifying emergence, AUB students became broadly, if briefly, mobilized. In the spring of 1954, a large demonstration, inspired in part by Nasser's brand of Arab nationalism, rocked the American University of Beirut. The university called in the Lebanese internal security forces, which brutally suppressed the demonstration, killing one and wounding forty (Ussama Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S.-Arab Relations: 1820–2001* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 241). Two months later, Emile Boustany, president of the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut, invited delegates from across the Arab world to a conference at the university to offer a non-Nassarite response to the Arab situation in the wake of the first Arab-Israeli war (US Foreign Service Dispatch 783A.00/6-154. US Ambassador to Lebanon Raymond A. Hare to the Dept. of State, Washington, copied to Paris, London, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Khartoum, and Arab capitals, June 1, 1954). *Al Hayat* newspaper applauded Boustany's project as "the first demonstration of Arab solidarity organized by the cultured and matured elements in the Arab world" (US Foreign Service Dispatch 783A.00/6-154. June 1, 1954). Although Boustany reportedly wanted Arab leaders to sign a non-aggression pact with Israel, US Ambassador to Lebanon Raymond Hare was still concerned about the conference. He insisted on calling Boustany to a meeting in which he informed him that "to the outside world the Arab case looks very poorly these days, primarily because of the negativistic and fanatical Arab attitudes," and suggested that "it would be indeed helpful if the conference would exercise . . . 'mature thinking'" (US Foreign Service Dispatch 783A.00/6-154. June 1, 1954). The fact that Ambassador Hare decided to lecture Boustany on "fanatical Arab attitudes" and attempted to shape the tone and outcome of a university conference reveals something about the official US commitment to academic freedom in the Middle East in the 1950s.

[23] In 1968, students formed the Committee on Academic Freedom in response to the non-renewal of Professor Sadiq al-'Azm because, in their view, he had been "courageous enough to fight and oppose all the taboos and weaknesses that have crippled our society" (*Outlook*, March 13, 1968, letter to the editor "Explanation" by Yusuf Za'rur).

[24] In an earlier incident from the very beginning of Lebanon's colonial era, an AUB student was expelled in 1920 for voicing anti-colonial criticisms to French officials (Anderson, *American University of Beirut*, 128).

[25] Rabah, *Campus at War*, 42-106; Anderson, *American University of Beirut*, 151–182.

[26] Israel assassinated a PLO representative in Cyprus in January 1973. On the following day, three members of the Black September Organization killed a Mossad agent in Madrid. In February, Israeli jets shot down a Libyan civilian aircraft that had drifted into the Sinai, killing 108 people. On the same day, Israeli jets bombed Palestinian camps in northern Lebanon, killing 31 and wounding 60. See Nathaniel David George, "United States Imperialism in the Middle East and the Lebanese Crisis of 1973," MA Thesis, Center for Arab and Middle East Studies, American University of Beirut, October 2010, 76.

[27] George, "United States Imperialism in the Middle East," 67–69.

[28] "Freedom for Abu Daoud," *Outlook* XIX, no. 10 (Friday, March 9, 1973): 1. "Electronic cable from U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Willam Buffam to the Secretary of State in Washington, DC, document # 1973BEIRUT02829, March 12, 1973.

[29] Please note that State Department electronic cables employ numerous abbreviations that, despite their awkwardness, are retained here for accuracy.

[30] "Electronic cable from U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Willam Buffam to the Secretary of State in Washington, D.C., document # 1973BEIRUT02829, March 12, 1973.

[31] Electronic cable from Beirut Embassy to US State Department, May 23, 1973, document # 1973BEIRUT05924.

[32] Electronic cable from the US State Department to the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia and US Ambassador to Lebanon, 18 April 1974, Document # 1974STATE078665.

[33] Rabah, *A Campus at War*, 91–106, 97.

[34] Electronic Cable from US Ambassador in Lebanon to the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia and the US State Department, 19 April 1974, Document # 1974BEIRUT04602.

[35] Electronic cable from the US Ambassador in Jordan to the US State Department, 27 April 1974, Document # 1974AMMAN02313.

[36] Electronic Cable from US Ambassador in Lebanon to the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia and the US State Department, 19 April 1974, Document # 1974BEIRUT04602.

[37] Electronic cable from the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia to the US State Department, 11 April 1974, Document # 1974JIDDA01891; Electronic cable from the US State Department to the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia and US Ambassador to Lebanon, 18 April 1974, Document # 1974STATE078665.

[38] Electronic Cable from US Ambassador in Lebanon to the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia and the US State Department, 19 April 1974, Document # 1974BEIRUT04602.

[39] Electronic Cable from US Ambassador in Lebanon to the US State Department, 5 November 1974, Document # 1974BEIRUT14546.

[40] Electronic cable from the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia to the US State Department, 11 April 1974, Document # 1974JIDDA01891.

[41] Electronic cable from the US Ambassador in Saudi Arabia to the US Embassy in Lebanon, June 12, 1974, document # 1974JIDDA03345.

[42] Anderson, *American University of Beirut*, 153.

[43] "Strike . . .," *Outlook* 20, no. 11 (March 18, 1974): 2; quoted in Anderson, *American University of Beirut*, 180.

[44] Anderson, *American University of Beirut*, 179–80; Rabah, *Campus at War*, 99–109.

[45] "Guerrilla U.," *Newsweek* 6, no. 15 (October 5, 1970): 68–70.

[46] The Vienna Declaration, the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 1993, Article 5: http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/vienna.aspx.

[47] Samir Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut: Reclaiming the Bourj* (London: Saqi Books, 2006); Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

[48] George Fallis, *Multiversities, Ideas, and Democracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 339–420.

[49] Samir Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820–60* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Brian VanDeMark, *American Sheikhs: Two Families, Four Generations, and the Story of America's Influence in the Middle East* (Amherst and New York: Prometheus Books, 2012); Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced*.

[50] Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant*.

[51] Sami Hermez and Mayssoun Soukarieh, "Boycotts against Israel and the Question of Academic Freedom in American Universities in the Arab World," *AAUP Journal of Academic Freedom*, 4 (2013): 1–10.

[52] The view of King Faisal, the *Newsweek* article "Guerilla U.," and many in the US State Department, expressed in State Department electronic cables.

[53] Expressed by many alumni and by AUB's own communications and publications, such as "American University of Beirut," 1931; "American University of Beirut: an experiment inter-cultural co-operation," 1951; and "American University of Beirut: Beirut-Lebanon," 1964.

[54] The late AUB historian Kamal Salibi reportedly "distinguished between administrators on the one hand and students and faculty on the other. While [he] loved and cherished the later, the former, he always viewed with suspicion." Makram Rabah, "Kamal Salibi, the Paradoxical Activist," *The Daily Star*, Friday, May 16, 2014, 7.

[55] The newly established Asfari Institute for Citizenship and Civil Society embodies AUB's new eagerness to engage with nongovernmental and grassroots organizations and individuals, http://www.aub.edu.lb/main/aub_files/Pages/websites.aspx.

08 The Man in the Middle. Developmentalism and Cold War at AUB's Economic Research Institute in-between the US and the Middle East, 1952-1967

Cyrus Schayegh[1]

In spring 1955, the American University of Beirut (AUB) was the scene of an extraordinary event. "Angry hordes of Arts and Sciences students, led by their enraged professors, stormed the Engineering Building, shortly after 10:30PM last night, destroying the building and injuring twenty-three persons. The engineers surrendered unconditionally. An Arts and Sciences spokesman gave as a reason for the surprise-attack the growing suspicion on campus that the School of Engineers was 'getting out of control.'"[2] The "report" was an April Fool's joke; the attack fictional. Yet the uncertainties it reflected were very real regarding the most profound changes faced by AUB since American Presbyterian missionaries had established it in 1866, the Middle East's first, private college, an institution of higher education chartered by the State of New York.[3] In the 1950s, the University's pillar, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), was complemented by three new professional units – two faculties (Agriculture and Engineering) and a program (Public Health, attached to the existing Faculty of Medicine). AUB also began to accept more students and expanded FAS activities, especially in professional fields like area studies ("Arab Studies"), geology, pedagogy, and economics. Part of these initiatives and most of their funding came from three new sources: the US government (especially its Technical Cooperation Agency [hereafter, TCA]), the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (hereafter, FF and RF), and large US oil companies, the former two especially bent on improving Middle Easterners' welfare and thereby undercutting leftists across the region.[4]

Two key innovations in economics at AUB in the 1950s were the separation of an Economics Department from the Commerce Department and its immediate expansion with the help of a TCA grant, and the opening, in January 1953, of an FF-funded Economic Research Institute (hereafter, ERI). Initiated by Economics professors Albert Meyer and Albert Badre, the ERI project was co-developed by FF Middle Eastern representatives, US embassy and TCA officials, and a United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) economist, all in Beirut. It became a reality with an FF grant awarded in November 1952. The ERI had but a brief existence of regional importance. The smallish bureaucracies of recently founded Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, in particular, were as yet unable to plan economic development,[5] a central concern in the Middle East – as much as elsewhere around the globe – after 1945. Thus, the ERI's initiators opined that AUB currently was the best-suited institution in the Middle East to perform two tasks urgently needed to help the region develop economically: to conduct basic statistical economic research, and to train a first generation of Arab economists. The ERI was not meant to replace Western – especially US – development aid.

The ERI saw the light of the day not simply because AUB's already active teaching and research infrastructure – key assets – could offset the present weakness of regional bureaucracies and assist with economic development in the region. It was born also because AUB's home, Beirut, was a well-established intellectual center and a capitalist powerhouse in the region. More important yet, an economic research institute in the Arab East was believed to be best located at AUB because of the University's position as a double hub. It was the region's educational center, with a correspondingly broad network of contacts; and its exceptionally strong personal, financial, and scientific American connections turned it into a pivot between the US and the Arab East. Last, and most fundamentally, the very idea of institutions focusing on basic statistical economic research and training – in ***any*** developing country – was conceivable early on after World War II because it was ***this*** sort of data and education that economists then deemed indispensable to Third World economic development.

But just as AUB's star shone brighter than ever in the late 1940s and 1950s, just as it was able to leverage its key assets and its position as a double hub to establish the ERI, amongst other endeavors,

it started to face new, more pressing challenges. First, the liberal phase of Arab thought began to give way to leftist nationalism, which aspired to bring about social equality in the Middle East and to force the declining European and rising Soviet and American powers to treat the Arab states not as pawns, but rather as sovereign equals.[6] Second, the essentially positive pre-war image of the US in the Middle East – the "America" in AUB's name – was undermined by the new Cold War superpowers' support for Israel and its unease with ascendant Arab nationalism *à la* Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser. Third, by the late 1950s, bureaucracies and state universities were growing in the Arab East (in Iraq and Syria, they underwent leftist nationalist revolutions).[7] Their need for contacts with a regional private university like AUB decreased as self-reliance increased and advice – especially by the US, the USSR, the UK, France, and the two Germanies – became even more crucial.[8] And last, in this context, AUB's growing reliance on US government, foundation, and large oil companies' money for specific professional programs – rather than on private donations, often from religious Americans, for general education – made it doubly vulnerable to critique.[9] If the ERI's birth were a manifestation of AUB's key assets and double hub position, its subsequent trajectory in the 1950s and 1960s showcased all the afore-mentioned challenges facing AUB. As its mission became more and more redundant, the FF discontinued funding in summer 1964. Research continued to contract, and the ERI finally disappeared in 1967.[10]

The ERI's birth, rise, and decline is the story underlying this chapter. I use that story to shed light on a larger historiographic question to which I have hinted above; that of "Third World" economic development. More specifically, I use the case of AUB, in general, and of the ERI, in particular, to address three aspects of that historiographic questioning: origins, space, and the politics of ideas. Section I concerns origins. It was the Cold War and the rising geo-political and geo-economic interests of the US government and large oil companies, as well as of foundations, in the Middle East that made AUB's Department of Economics and the ERI possible. But it was pre-war transnational networks – AUB's double US and Middle Eastern network functioning as an arena for personal contacts and as a conveyer belt of ideas – that made this particular choice possible in the first place.[11] Similarly, it was in the early post-war period that Western academics and development bureaucrats considered sophisticated economic statistics to be key to Third World progress – a method the ERI agreed to with gusto. But the Middle East had been subject to a version of this approach, admittedly more basic and application-driven, during World War II in the form of the Western Allies' Middle East Supply Center regulating the region's economy.

Section II addresses the question of space. After World War II, US academics and bureaucrats were key proponents of development (and related, though much more encompassing and thus more vague modernization). Ideas are related to interests, and in the Cold War, the US superpower had concerns that were pressing and worldwide in nature, more so than those, say, of the declining European colonial powers. This, however, does not mean that development was not a global process too. In specific regions, late colonial powers still had some punch left and early post-colonial countries were finding their own footing.[12] And around the globe, transnational networks transported ideas, often adapting them in the process. The ERI exemplifies the latter case. Just as critically, the ERI highlights how many players met in the development game once it was under way. Here, the cast included (Middle Eastern) nation-states; the regionally responsible UN agency, UNRWA; the internationally active FF; and the globally present US superpower.

Section III concerns the politics of ideas. In the Arab world, the 1950s saw the rise of leftist nationalism and, with it, questions of social and political justice. Inequality inside the region and between it and the outside world was to be redressed by destroying so-called "feudalism" and by resisting foreign intervention, whether by Europe's dying colonialists, American bourgeoning Cold Warriors, or the Israelis, whose sovereignty had spawned the Palestinian ***nakba***. Although the government of Lebanon, AUB's home country, was pro-Western, its population was deeply affected by (and divided over) these Arab-worldwide concerns.[13] The ERI's researchers, too, could not and would not evade them. Indeed, they did not separate the problem of economic development from questions of social justice and political reform. They borrowed methods for "thinking development" from the US-AUB network, of which they formed a part, yet did not buy wholesale into the (capitalist, pro-US) core beliefs of many Cold War American academics, bureaucrats, and entrepreneurs involved with those methods.

ORIGINS

From 1948 to 1961, over less than a decade and a half, AUB had five presidents. Their story and that of this period – centered on the search for new direction – encapsulates AUB's transition from the pre- to the post-war period; it also shows how this change continuously strengthened the University's American connections, central to the ERI's establishment.

Retiring in 1948 after twenty-eight years at AUB's helm, Bayard Dodge was the scion of an American Protestant family that had been engaged with AUB since its founding, and was in possession of a small industrial empire in the USA.[14] His successor, Stephen Penrose, was well connected to the Dodges and was "practically a [Protestant] preacher."[15] Still, in a highly symbolic act, he ended mandatory Sunday Chapel Service at AUB and "parted with AUB's missionary past."[16] He also presided over the creation of various new professional programs. However, funding ceased to come mainly from private Protestant or Middle Eastern donors in the USA. Having worked for the US government – for example, as a co-founder of the CIA's predecessor, the OSS – Penrose was receptive to post-war American foreign aid policy; indeed he had helped to locally shape it. On his watch, AUB intensified connections to the United States as well as to big foundations and oil companies. Local Arab nationalists took issue, but when a stroke felled the over-worked president in 1954, many walked in his funeral procession. Anti-Americanism was not yet red-hot, and charismatic Penrose was not seen as an imperialist. Al-'Urwa al-wuthqa, an AUB Arab nationalist student society, deplored the "loss [of] an enthusiastic element representing and defending the Arab viewpoint in the United States" at his death.[17]

Still, by 1954, political change in the Middle East had started to affect AUB. The University remained without a president from 1954 until 1957, in large part because it was caught up in the region's unrest along with Arab nationalism ascending, European imperialism descending, the USSR probing entry points, and the US, the new Cold War superpower, jerkily trying to get a handle on all these changes whilst building up its position.[18] Reflecting all this uncertainty, AUB's Acting President Constantine Zurayk further expanded professional education and helped launch a study of fundamental restructurations, yet at the same time doggedly defended AUB's moral mission.[19] A professor of Arab history and a renowned intellectual, he also held strong nationalist convictions. Yet he presided over the 1955 dissolution of al-'Urwa al-wuthqa after student demonstrations in 1954 against the Baghdad Pact – a loose, US-supported security alliance by Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey, Britain, and Iran against the Soviet Union – endangered AUB's standing with the pro-Western Lebanese government.[20] Finally, in 1957, AUB's trustees appointed a president. Their choice – J. Paul Leonard, a university dean from San Francisco – reflected AUB's conversion from missionary college to professional university.

This process of separation from its missionary background peaked with the 1961 election of Norman Burns as Leonard's successor. A political science major with an MA from Yale in international relations, Burns was a career economist. He had taught at AUB from 1929 to 1932 and two years later had entered US government service. After the war, he joined the State Department. He was on the first TCA Survey Mission to the Middle East in 1950, and became director of the Foreign Service Institute in Washington DC in 1951. After a stint as Chief Economic Advisor to UNRWA for the region's Palestinian refugees in the mid-1950s, he returned to the State Department as Deputy Director for the Near East and South Asia Operations of the International Cooperation Administration (ICA [formerly TCA]) and in 1960-1961, as United States Operations Mission (USOM [TCA]) head in Jordan. Clearly, Burns knew the Middle East and was a veteran manager; just as importantly, his impressive American connections suited AUB, which had been cooperating with the TCA since 1950.[21] Assuming office, Burns's remark that "education [should] provide professional competence ***and develop character***" suggested familiarity with AUB tradition.[22] But his heart lay elsewhere. He insisted that "AUB's task [was] to aid Arab development;" he "stressed [the] need for AUB specialization."[23] It was the same tune as in his TCA days.[24] AUB's 1950s transformation had found a near-perfect personification.

Of those five AUB presidents, Penrose was the one most effectively bridging old and new. Like Dodge, he was religious, but he also understood that the missionaries' time was up; like Burns, he had been part of the US administration, but more as a generalist than a specialist. Beneath these changes, however, there was fundamental continuity. AUB's US connections were as solid after the war as before. Three examples – the AUB Board of Trustees' composition, visitors to AUB, and US contacts – show how "new wine filled old bottles."

From 1930 to 1944, there were nineteen trustees – two women, seventeen men – already on the Board (in 1930) or appointed to it. Of the twelve we know well, ten were in business or law (or had inherited business fortunes), and two were in medicine; four, in particular, were known for their religious activism. Indeed, AUB's pre-war American network was dominated by religion and "Big Business," such as banking, railroads, and mining; academics played a minor role too. It still was a "small world," where personal acquaintance trumped institutional connection. Prominent donors and trustees were wealthy East Coast "WASPs" like Marie de Witt Jesup, widow of New York banker Morris K. Jesup and aunt of 1915-1931 trustee and New York high society lady, Eleanor de Graff Cuyler, who bequeathed AUB $400,000 in 1914.[25] Arab-Americans also donated,[26] but their gifts never came close to those of the "WASPs." Characteristically, the first Lebanese-American trustee, Philip Hitti, was elected only in 1945. He was not a businessman, but a well-respected AUB-educated professor of Near Eastern history,

a key US academic for AUB who, again characteristically, taught at Princeton University, the alma mater of many "AUBites."[27]

Back in pre-war Beirut, most visitors, too, were active in academia, religion, or business. Some were professors passing through Beirut on a vacation or a fellowship;[28] others came from neighboring countries;[29] but there were no formal exchanges at that time with other academic institutions. Missionaries, religious scholars, and dignitaries were frequent guests too.[30] So were businessmen and the rich. There was an "American multi-millionaire" couple who arrived on their yacht,[31] but also people like "Mr. and Mrs. Andrews of Detroit . . . a well known merchant [and] . . . faithful supporter, morally and financially."[32] And then there were true specimens of AUB's still quite person-centered universe. One George Washburn was a "distinguished visitor" less because he was a "well known physician in Boston," and more because he was "a classmate of Dr. Howard Bliss," of AUB's founding family, and the "son of President Washburn of [Protestant Istanbul] Robert College, a roommate of Dr. Daniel Bliss at Amherst College."[33]

It was during the 1940s and 1950s that such personal connections - religious or business-related - ceased to be AUB's lifeblood. Yet they remained a skeleton around which AUB built connections with US institutions that were propelled into the Middle East by the Cold War: the US government, big foundations, and large oil companies.[34] When, at the peak of the Cold War, Bayard Dodge was honored by the Middle East Institute in Washington DC, the Secretary of State praised him for "spread[ing] the finest concepts of Western culture in the . . . Middle East."[35] James Nicely, a Beirut-born son of an AUB faculty member and New York banker, became FF vice-president in the early 1960s, a few years after joining AUB's Board of Trustees. Indeed, old business hands continued to serve as trustees; some people in non-oil businesses, like trustee Stephen Bechtel and the Jafet family - who in the 1950s financed the Engineering Faculty and a new library, respectively – became major donors. Still, on the Board, their kind now rubbed shoulders with academics and university administrators, oil company executives, and men zig-zagging between high-level offices in the US government and international development. Of the thirty-two trustees appointed between 1945 and 1960 - four women and twenty-eight men - just over half still worked in non-oil businesses (nine), religion and social services (four), and medicine (four). More than one third of them were now in oil (three), government/international development (four), and academia (five).[36] George Berry, for instance, was dean of Harvard Medical School; Howard Page became director of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in 1959 (and, in 1972, a member of the Boards of Directors for both ARAMCO and TAPLINE); and Gordon Clapp had co-led the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), the biggest US government project in the 1930s and 1940s, before becoming co-owner of a leading for-profit development contractor, Resources and Development, with ex-TVA head David Lilienthal. Such people wielded power: in 1960, for example, trustee John Case, retired vice-president of Socony Mobile Oil, held talks with US officials about government allocations to AUB.[37]

As AUB's US connections, including its alumni network,[38] grew denser, personal acquaintances were used to build up more formal institutional ties. Thus, Harvard Medical School Dean Berry and numerous ex-AUB professors teaching or administrating at Harvard, as well as an ARAMCO vice-president, met with AUB Vice-president Fuad Sarruf when he visited Harvard in 1958 to consult with various Harvard University officials about management methods and alumni relations.[39] Lectures at American universities by visiting AUB professors became common.[40] AUB also joined the International Association of Universities and tried to attract international academic organizations to hold their meetings on its campus.[41] The stream of visitors to AUB increased, often coming on official business. There were US senators, such as Hubert Humphrey and Stuart Symington, both heads of the Foreign Relations Committee's Middle Eastern and South Asian subcommittee; British members of Parliament; political celebrities like Robert F. Kennedy;[42] FF and RF officials;[43] large oil company executives; and economists.[44] American students and officers in TCA programs throughout the Middle East also came because after 1950, AUB attracted American government and foundation money.[45] In sum, AUB was able to attract copious funds from the US government, big foundations, and large oil companies after 1945 because of its *pre-war* network; on the other hand, Americans took an increasing interest in AUB because of their *post-war*, Cold War-related concerns with the Middle East as a whole.

They could have done worse than to look to AUB. The University aspired to be *the* regional hub for education, a place where young people from across the Middle East would meet. The two AUB graduates depicted in the map on the facing page represented this idea well. At the same time, this map had borders, accepting the region's territorial *status quo* whilst subtly rebuffing pan-Arab aspirations.[46] These youngsters, it seemed to suggest, meet at AUB, but at the same time uphold their own cultures and develop their own homelands, symbolized by Egypt's pyramids, Mecca's mosque, Lebanon's church, and by the Aswan dam, oil towers, and wheat fields, respectively.[47]

The map reflected a fundamental fact: in 1959, "of nearly 9000 [AUB] Alumni, some 2250 live[d] in Lebanon . . . [and] some 5000 in the rest of the Middle East" – and the University wished to strengthen those ties.[48] The alumni magazine constantly updated its subscribers about ex-colleagues living and working in the Middle East. "News from Jordan" listed alumni active "in the airlines," "private business," and "matters of the state [and] church." A report from Bahrain, Qatar, and Kuwait boasted that "volumes could be written about [their] alumni," "lead[ers] in many phases of progress," relating meetings with the likes of Bahrain's ruling family member, Sheikh Hamad bin Mohammad al-Khalifa. Moreover, the alumni network expanded geographically: in 1961, for example, Iranians founded their own branch.[49] This expansion was a result, in part, of hundreds of TCA student fellowships the USA had been granting since 1950; in 1958, for example, around 500 students from Afghanistan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, and Pakistan studied education, agriculture, engineering, pharmacy, nursing, public health, public administration, and business administration at AUB.[50] Of course, it was in Lebanon that the University and its alumni were most conspicuously present. Lebanese President Camille Chamoun (1952-1958) regularly visited the campus, as did his wife. Following the 1960 elections, eleven alumni became members of Parliament and four became ministers, amongst them Prime Minister Saeb Salam. Last, but not least, AUB professors were numerous and influential on Lebanon's Economic Development and Planning Board. In 1960, the Board included two of the ERI's and the Economics Department's then most prominent members, Paul Klat and Albert Badre.[51]

AUB's regional connections were key for the ERI, both as a means and as an end. Badre noted that the Institute "has correspondents in the Arabic-speaking countries." At the same time, he underlined the importance of "promoting such regional contacts," and soon after becoming director, undertook a series of trips throughout the Middle East.[52] AUB's regional advantage has been highlighted already in discussions during the ERI's planning phase. In a 1950 memo to the UN, Badre emphasized that a regionally based economic institute would be "much more effective and much less costly than sending out large teams of experts" to the Middle East.[53] When the UN refused to finance the ERI, a 1952 proposal to the FF argued that a Beirut-based economics program would have less "transient" results than TCA ventures, and that Arab students trained at AUB "would more readily return to their countries than if trained in America or Britain." Another proposal added, "international technical assistance missions [are] ignorant of the language, customs, traditions, and psychology of [Middle Easterners]."[54] The FF accepted this argument and came through with the funds.[55]

At the same time, AUB's economists were part of Western, and especially American, academic networks - Badre and Yusif Sayigh (the ERI's initial director and assistant director, respectively) had received their PhDs from Iowa State and Johns Hopkins universities in 1950 and 1957; Paul Klat, who joined the ERI in the fall of 1953, held a B.Litt. from Oxford, where he had also worked at the Oxford Institute of Statistics (OIS).[56] Moreover, by late 1950, the AUB Economics Department had eight Western faculty members - seven Americans and one Briton - in addition to the Lebanese Badre. This composition exemplifies how AUB used its time-honored standing in the US to further strengthen ties after 1945. Early on in his presidency, Penrose undertook institutional restructurations to show he recognized the importance of economics. His most crucial move was the 1950 separation of the Economics Department from the Commerce Department (and his continuing personal supervision of the new department); it paid off right away.[57] In 1950, UNRWA started financing a study by Badre. More crucial, the first TCA Middle East survey mission made a two-year grant that enabled AUB to double the size of the Economics Department by hiring four Americans. The department's faculty at once activated their Western networks. They developed the ERI idea together with James Baster, UNRWA's Beirut-based British chief economist (and a personal friend of Badre's), and with economists at the US embassy and in the 1950 TCA mission, and then discussed it extensively with the FF Middle Eastern mission.[58]

In sum, AUB's Economics Department and the ERI had roots that ran deeper than the immediate post-World War II period. Institutionally, the most crucial catalyst was AUB's long-standing function as a double hub of learning and ideas – inside the Arab East and between the region and the USA – that facilitated the ERI's role as a "man in the middle," transporter, and shaper of developmentalist ideas, research, training, and practices.

SPACE

AUB's success in attracting US funds for the Economics Department and FF funds for the ERI relied not only on its being a double hub. AUB also argued that the underdeveloped state of the region's bureaucracies gave it a relative advantage, at least for the time being, and FF officials (and other organizations) agreed.[59] A third factor was Beirut's stature as regional intellectual and capitalist center: it was the busiest regional air transport hub as well as home to the biggest banks and to many Middle Eastern branches of Western companies, including oil companies' management staffs – a position celebrated in a variety of advertisements.[60]

If it was these three factors that made the thought of economic research at AUB appealing to the TCA and FF, the underlying reason for why these organizations had an interest, in the first place, in supporting such a plan – whether in Beirut, elsewhere in the Middle East, or in any other part of the world – was different. That reason was an interest in the ideas and practices of Third World economic development, in general, and, specifically, in the statistical research underpinning such development. Western academics and bureaucrats in places like Cambridge and Washington, and experts in international agencies like the UN Statistical Office in New York led this field intellectually.[61] The Middle East had already had a first brush with it, in practice, during World War II. In 1941, the Allies had established a Middle East Supply Center (MESC), headquartered in Cairo, with a Levant branch, the Beirut-based Spears Mission. Established to optimize the region's forcedly autarkic war-time economy, they "made [Keynesian-type state economic] intervention[s] . . . [and] offered up specific institutional mechanisms (such as price control boards, state purchasing agencies, agricultural production committees, and import oversight commissions)." Economic intelligence and statistical data, although by necessity focused on application, were crucial to this operation; MESC Cairo was a hub for "the exchange of information on problems" of production.[62] Especially in such centers of action, local economists could not but take note. In Beirut, Klat chose to write his master's thesis on "War Economic Policy in Syria and Lebanon."[63]

Seen against this background of economic statistics as vital knowledge and practice, it was not by chance that Badre's (rejected) 1950 UN grant application was for a "research and statistical institute"[64] and that from 1950 to 1952, the two key AUB economics projects were statistical. Using a UNRWA

grant, Badre initiated "the first scientific attempt to calculate [the] national income" of Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Edward Fei started preparing a TCA-financed survey of Lebanon's balance of payments.[65] In applying for FF funds in 1952, the ERI proposed to continue these two projects.[66] FF officials heartily agreed with this approach (and showed their interest by spending US $621,000 on the ERI from 1952 to 1964).[67] During the ERI's planning stage in 1952, they had argued that because "the most elementary statistics are lacking" in the Middle East, the Institute should focus on "fundamental research" and training.[68] Their focus on basic statistical economic research (and their conviction that AUB should conduct it) was evident in their reaction to a 1952 grant application by the International Statistical Institute (ISI) for establishing a statistical institute in Beirut. "[T]he project submitted by the AUB [ERI] . . . will train more statisticians and exercise more influence on the local government service . . . [T]he statistical results of the research studies and the gradual improvement of government statistics will make more and accurate statistics available to the international agencies. . . . [Also, at AUB, Klat] is doing excellent work in statistical teaching."[69] Statistical research and training were so crucial to the FF that in 1954, it gave ERI a US $100,000 supplemental grant for a cooperative statistical training program in which AUB drew on ISI support.[70] In sum, the TCA in 1950 and the FF in 1952 financed economic research at AUB not simply because the University was well-connected and Beirut was central, but because the research AUB proposed spoke their language and fit their needs.

Throughout its heyday until the second half of the 1950s, the ERI thus concentrated on basic economic training and research. In 1954, the above-mentioned national income and balance of payment studies were complemented by two additional statistical economic projects. One concerned "savings, investment, and capital formation," while the other was an "input-output and efficiency study." As all four were "likely to yield the data most basic for the purpose of planning and economic development,"[71] quite naturally, mathematicians were heavily involved in them.[72] Other ERI core projects concerned basic research. In 1953, the Institute launched a Middle Eastern economic bibliography and the year after, the annual *Middle East Economic Papers* (MEEP). It was early on, too, that ERI researchers started serving on Lebanon's Economic Development and Planning Board and, as planned, became regionally active. Most initial basic research projects were contracted by the governments of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq.[73] Moreover, as mentioned, UNRWA financed the first two years of Badre's national income study. More generally, UNRWA was "interested in the possibilities of economic development in the Arab host countries to see how [Palestinian] refugees could be absorbed and possibly resettled" (and indeed initiated its own economic studies after 1950).[74]

In the course of its existence, from its inception in 1952 to its dissolution in 1967, the ERI's organizational structure changed. Until 1955, it was a quasi-independent research unit, though linked to the Department of Economics. In 1955, the two came under one director and became co-responsible for teaching and research. From 1960, all Institute members carried a full teaching load and the ERI's research infrastructure was cut to a "nucleus . . . provid[ing] minimum services."[75] Indeed, after their merger in 1955, the ERI/Economics Department started to shift focus. Basic research slowly waned, although in 1959, ERI member Mohammad Diab started to work with the Syrian Ministry of Planning on a decade-long economic development plan, and in 1961, the Lebanese government commissioned another balance of payments study.[76] More specific studies developed in 1962, for example, on Saudi agriculture, economic training in the Arab world, and Jordan's past Five-Year Economic Development Program, commissioned by the US Department of Agriculture, the FF, and Amman, respectively.[77] But it was teaching that progressively became the ERI/Economics Department's priority after 1955. At that point, the American faculty members began leaving.[78] Student enrollment mushroomed from 700 in 1957-1958 to 1,054 in 1959-1960 and 1,182 in 1961-1962,[79] a "development . . . due partly to the increased demand for economists in the area and partly to . . . the relative success of our graduates in recent years in the outside world."[80] By 1960, "research [had] become, time-wise, a residual matter." Early hopes that the ERI would eventually become a "self-sustained research and consultation center" proved elusive.[81] Over the long term, the ERI needed to demonstrate its viability to AUB, which had started to gradually replace the FF as the main funder in 1955[82] by winning external research grants and project contracts.[83] Unable to do so when AUB and FF funds started dwindling after 1960, the ERI was dissolved into the Economics Department in the fall of 1964, and totally disbanded in 1967.

One reason for its demise was internal. AUB was ultimately more interested in turning the Economics Department into a regional training center than in bankrolling basic statistical economic research. Also, the fact that outside grant and contract money flowed into the University treasury rather than to the ERI was a disincentive.[84] But the main cause for the ERI's decline could be found outside the University's walls, in the development of the Arab world. The ERI's initial hope for increasing business contracts and, thus, eventual financial autonomy did not materialize. Local companies mostly demanded market analyses, "inappropriate to an institute closely associated with a university."[85] Also,

in a region whose economic power lagged far behind the West, businessmen had neither the money nor the mind to donate to AUB the sums that allowed leading Western universities like Harvard to finance major research institutes over long periods of time.[86] This was all the more problematic because the FF, the ERI's initial funder, had made it clear early on that it would not bankroll the Institute forever.[87]

However, the main external reason for the ERI's decline was institutional and political. A simple statistic encapsulates this fact. From 1954 to 1959, 42 percent of all papers published in ERI's MEEP were written by AUB faculty; from 1960 to 1963, that proportion rose to 67 percent. It is not that the ERI turned inwards. Rather, the region's bureaucracies were building up their own institutions (including universities: the late 1950s saw a flurry of soul-searching about AUB's future in a nationalist Middle East).[88] In a sense, this was a story foretold. Already, in 1954, for example, Badre had designed a study for the government of Jordan on its being "organized and staffed [enough] to carry on" from the ERI.[89] For certain, as the above example of the ERI's 1962 projects and other cases show, bureaucrats did not just cut their ties with AUB.[90] But the downward trend was unmistakable. In 1960, the ERI noted, "the Near East, research-wise, is not any more the vacuum it was in 1952. In practically all countries in the area, planning boards or research centers have been established for the purpose of conducting empirical studies, promoting economic activity and developing particular projects or general programs of action. The chance for them calling on ERI for technical assistance has become very slim indeed. One possible exception may be Lebanon, particularly in the area of statistics."[91] Thus, while AUB's position as a double hub peaked in the 1950s when AUB maximized its connections to the US, whose big foundations and tremendously powerful government entered the Middle East in full force, it was simultaneously affected by the increasing institutional solidity of recently independent Arab nation-states.

In sum, this second section, as well as the first, has demonstrated that AUB's Department of Economics and the ERI were established and grew for more than one reason, ranging from the global *via* the regional to the nation-state. The ideas and theoretical models that influenced the ERI were spearheaded by academics and development bureaucrats based in Western countries,[92] but MESC had a certain effect, too. Likewise, a wide variety of interests helped found the ERI and shape its trajectory. The US had a Cold War foreign policy objective: to materially develop the Middle East, thereby precluding Communist inroads. A private foundation active around the globe, the FF was concerned about the region's well-being as part of supporting worldwide economic equality. UNRWA had the special regionwide problem of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees to manage. And post-colonial Middle Eastern nation-states wanted to build up their own economies, and increasingly did so towards the later 1950s, relying on their own new national institutions.

THE POLITICS OF IDEAS

If this last process was the main reason for the ERI's stagnation and demise, another major regional transformation influenced Institute members' ideas about development and America's role in it: the emerging dominance of leftist Arab nationalism.

The 1952 rise to power of Egypt's Free Officers invigorated a double process that peaked in the second half of the 1950s and the early 1960s. This process included the quest for independence from European imperialism and positive neutrality in the Cold War,[93] plus a focus on social justice, to be accomplished by a "social-welfare mode of regulation underpinned by an economic system of etatism."[94] Egypt, of course, did not represent the entire Middle East. It was, however, a premier power in the region. This and Nasser's soaring charisma fueled the attraction of pan-Arab nationalism and social justice, which held a strong appeal for many Arabs in the first place. While deeply rooted in the interwar period,[95] land and labor reforms became central to domestic politics in the Middle East in the 1940s, and became key policies, first in Egypt, and thereafter in other Arab countries from the early 1950s.[96] Communists helped to influence public opinion and started to flex their muscles, but failed to punch their way to power.[97] In Egypt, their ideological affinities with leftist nationalist Nasser did not prevent him from repressing them to bolster his position. In the Arab world, they rose highest in Iraq after the 1958 coup, but, in 1963, fell victim to an enormous bloodbath by the Ba'th. That "renaissance" party, strongest in Syria and Iraq, was more uncompromisingly pan-Arab and socially revolutionary than Nasser.[98] Still, as far as Arabs in general were concerned, social justice peaked with Egypt's July 1961 laws, forming "effectively a second, social revolution." A supremely interventionist state "nationalized major sectors of the economy," initiated a second land reform, and bolstered the rights of workers and other groups, including women. To many, Egypt looked like a "Socialist Garden" until its crushing defeat in June 1967.[99]

The United States, half pushed into the Middle East after 1945, was also half pulled into places like Turkey (1946) and Iran (1953) to replace a post-war British Empire too weak to contain the region on its own against real or imagined Soviet threats.[100] Like any change of guard of such proportions, this one was fraught with tension, all the more so because Britain was the American superpower's junior partner around the globe and because Arab nationalism was advancing inexorably. A rising force and ideological beacon from French Algeria to monarchist Iraq, Egypt, in particular, could not be pushed around any longer. London, Paris, and Tel Aviv learned this the hard way when, in October 1956, Washington felt it had to browbeat them into aborting a ten-day long occupation of the Sinai and Suez Canal. Nasser turned from military victim to political hero. But this war also precipitated the Eisenhower Doctrine of January 1957. "Officially . . . aimed at protecting the Middle East from Soviet encroachment" after Britain's humiliation, it also "sought to . . . discredit [Nasser's] policy of 'positive neutrality' in the Cold War."[101] This did not make Washington new friends. To the contrary: it worsened the impression created, most vividly, by its role in the 1954 Baghdad Pact, seen to split the Arab world, in the 1953 overthrow of Iran's Prime Minister Muhammad Mosaddeq, and in the 1948 creation of Israel. The resultant ***Nakba***, the Palestinians' "catastrophe," was not the USA's doing, but the USA's support of Israel, however moderate by contemporary standards, and its inability (and unwillingness) to force Tel Aviv to accept the refugees' return, deepened the exasperation of the Arabs, who almost to a man refused to acknowledge Israel.

These regional issues echoed loudly at AUB and overseas. As tightly connected as they were to the USA, leading AUB officials, including President Dodge, protested publicly against Washington's support for the partition of Palestine in 1947. This policy, they argued, hurt American interests in the region, and the establishment of a Jewish state would mean war in which Jews across the Arab world would also suffer greatly.[102] The next decade, the 1950s, saw a new phenomenon on AUB's campus: nationalist student demonstrations, with sometimes violent results. In March 1954, Lebanese police shot at AUB demonstrators during protests against the Baghdad Pact. Although AUB was not yet the hotbed of revolution it became after 1967, it had ceased to purely be a garden of contemplation.[103] Arab students started to organize politically in the USA too, not the least for Palestine, about which they were butting heads with Jewish and Israeli organizations. They did not sway American public opinion – but back home, including at AUB, their efforts did not go unnoticed.[104]

What was the stance of AUB economists towards the burning questions of their age? They held varied views, of course – yet all were shaped by these questions. Hence, we can properly understand their work and lives only by trying to treat them as men of their times rather than simply as academics in an ivory tower. One question occupying them – perhaps ***the*** question – was that of Arab-American relations. All entertained close personal and academic ties with Americans, but at the same time, each in his own way was critical of US Middle East policy – and this at a time when Washington's Cold Warriors believed more and more in the motto "either for or against us."

That approach peaked in the Eisenhower Doctrine – but it was palpable throughout the 1950s, with concrete consequences for some AUB economists. Samir Makdisi, for instance, received his BA in economics from AUB in 1953, worked as an ERI research assistant until his MA in 1955, left Lebanon to do a PhD at Columbia University in 1956, returned as an assistant professor to AUB Economics in 1959, and took a position at the IMF in Washington in 1962. There was a hiatus of about a year in his professional biography: in 1955–1956, he could not work at the ERI and was left waiting by US Embassy officials to grant his student visa because of "presumed political activity," including the March 1954 protests.[105]

Of course, Makdisi was not the only one concerned with politics. To Yusif Sayigh – a Palestinian who had received a BA from AUB in 1938, fought in the 1948–1949 Arab-Israeli War, and enrolled in AUB's Economics Department in 1950 – work as a UNRWA researcher (1950–1952) was of personal significance, and economics was crucial to his work. Although both he and UNRWA economic advisor Baster "hated the idea of refugee resettlement outside Palestine, yet if there was no other way of dealing with the problem except through the resettlement of a large percentage, then one had to find out where this could be done . . . with relatively good economic opportunities, and without refugee social and economic life being shattered."[106] Once in the US as a PhD student from 1954, he started to frequent Arab student unions, and after his 1961 return to Beirut and the ERI, underwent a "complete conversion, finally, to Arab nationalism."[107] He had no time for those believing that imperialism was the cause of all evil.[108] But he showed that one could be a US-trained economist whilst being critical of US politics and development aid. In a 1961 article (that informed his book ***Al-Khubz ma'a al-karama – Bread with Honor***), he argued that neither Marxist nor Keynesian economic theory, neither parliamentarian democracy nor Soviet communism, are applicable, and thus desirable, for underdeveloped countries. Indeed, these "are on the way to evolving a variation on the theme of

socialism, . . . a special brand . . . designed to serve the nationalist goals of power and dignity for the nation and welfare for the citizen. . . . The widespread policy of non-alignment, or neutralism, which is gaining in appeal, is nothing but a manifestation of [this] attitude."[109] His critique of American (and Soviet) pressure on the Third World was politically motivated but, as importantly, had an economic-theoretical base. Having written his doctorate on entrepreneurs and development, Sayigh argued that in underdeveloped countries, economic progress would come about only if the state, steered by a socially conscious, nationalist elite, prepared the way by forcing an initial "breakthrough." Politically, this entailed "correcting the imbalance caused by foreign rule . . . [and] the supremacy of small but powerful local groups.[110]

Support for the new nationalist regimes came from other corners too. In a 1953 article, AUB political scientist Farid Hanania commended the Free Officers for breaking Egypt's socio-economic and political deadlock. The US, he continued, should accept and support rather than fear and oppose them. Hanania was no communist; in the late 1950s, he repeatedly lectured at the NATO College in Paris. Still, he was critical of Washington's stance towards Cairo, concluding that "it lies very much in the hands of the West whether the Near East dictatorships develop constructively towards Democracy, or whether they peter out into chaos which is the ideal element for the Kremlin."[111] A 1956 AUB "symposium [on] Middle East communism" expounded similar positions about the link between the West's Middle East policy and Soviet advances. Burhan Dajani, a Palestinian professor of commerce and chairman of the Union of Arab Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture, argued that the West could head off communist gains only by "recognizing that the Middle East has a full right and capacity to decide its own destiny and . . . the terrible mistake of Israel." Nabih Amin Faris, chairman of the FF-funded Arab Studies Program, noted that "the poverty in which many Moslems live, their legitimate complaints against the West and their desire to break away from Western domination tempt the faithful to join hands with the Communist especially since he has begun to quote the Koran."[112] Like Sayigh and Hanania, Dajani and Faris were not communists. Still, they underlined the importance of political and social advances for the development of the Arab World, and criticized errors by the West. Such critique was political - but it also, indeed often so, was based on economic reasoning. Sayigh's argument for a nationalist state-driven "breakthrough" of the Middle East's petrified economic structures was one example. Another more specific one was Edmond Asfour's take on American and British development aid in Jordan. Asfour - who was the UN economist at Jordan's Development Board before joining AUB's Economics Department in 1962 - argued that this policy was driven by short-term political goals, ignoring long-term economic considerations (and thus neutralizing them). In Jordan, the West's end was stability; it used whatever means necessary – including changing development plans or shifting funds - to achieve this.[113] Other economists were more moderate in their views. In 1952 - a time when the Cold War had not yet polarized the Middle East as strongly as it would after the mid-1950s, and when leftist nationalism and the idea of Arab positive neutrality in the Cold War still were not as strong as they would become - Badre insisted that the region's economies would grow only if they remained open to the outside world and especially the capitalist West. Still, even he deplored that the region was caught between two overpowering camps, capitalist West and communist East – a situation most decidedly not to the Arabs' advantage.[114]

CONCLUSION

Examining development as a transnational phenomenon - as has been done in this study of the ERI between the United States and the Middle East - shines light on its pre-war roots. It also underscores the fact that after 1945, it was affected by various regional political, economic, and ideological processes, rather than simply being a by-product of the global Cold War.

In other words, to understand post-war thinking about economic development, it is not enough to understand *ideas* in the pre-war *United States*.[115] We also need to trace the history of the *networks* that transported these ideas *globally* across national borders (and thereby modified them). AUB and the ERI were not, in and of themselves, powerful players in the economic development of the Middle East and in regional debates about internal socio-economic inequalities and political inferiority vis-à-vis the West and the Soviet bloc. Whatever role the ERI played, it owed to the harnessing of AUB's old American connections to the new realities of the early Cold War. But at the same time, paradoxically, this was a world where the new American superpower felt compelled to rely on and reward - much more than simply order around and control - old connections overseas.

In this sense, the ERI also underlines both the insufficiency and the rising importance of nation-states for the analysis of post-World War II global economic development. In the Middle East, this was the case because the region's (rather new) countries still entertained strong connections dating back to Ottoman days, because old non-state players like AUB remained regionally active, because the US was

present across the Middle East *and* saw it as a part of a larger, global Cold War, and because at the very same time, newly independent nation-states like Syria or Lebanon were rising to become key actors in this region.

In turn, this underlines the fact that the idea and practice of developmentalism was not shaped exclusively in Washington, New York, and MIT (or London and Cambridge). It was formed not simply from the (Western) "center" outwards, but also from the "periphery" and inwards. In the 1950s, economic researchers at a non-Western institute like the ERI and their Western colleagues agreed on methods and goals of economic development. At the same time, they had substantial – at times vigorous – differences about politics, disagreements that occasionally shaped their lives and affected the work they did, the opinions they held, and the effect they had. A developmentalist pivot in the Middle East and a hub between that region and the United States, the ERI was a "man in the middle" rather than simply a middleman.

ENDNOTES

[1] I would like to thank the archivists at AUB's Archives and Special Collections (hereafter, ASC) and Idelle Nissila, Ford Foundation archivist, New York, for their great help, and Naghmeh Sohrabi, Daniel Speich, and Daniel Saraga, for their helpful comments on a first draft of this text.

[2] "A&S Destroy Engineers," *Lookout* (April 1, 1955), 1. Lookout was normally called *Outlook*, AUB's student newspaper.

[3] At the time, the Arab East – the *mashriq* – formed part of the Ottoman Empire. The end of World War I witnessed the creation, under a League of Nations French Mandate, of Lebanon and Syria (independent in 1943) and, under a British Mandate, of Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine (independent in 1932, 1946, and 1948 [as Israel]). To the south and south-west of the *mashriq*, Saudi Arabia and Egypt were the birthplaces of a few AUB students, too. The former was established in 1932; the latter was occupied by Britain in 1882 (but nominally remained Ottoman until 1914) and became quasi-independent from British rule in 1936. Students from Iran – which never lost its independence – came to AUB mainly after World War I. Until 1920, AUB was called the Syrian Protestant College.

[4] For the Arab Studies Program, see John Meloy's chapter, "Arab and Middle Eastern Studies at AUB: Between Local Concerns and Global Pressures," in this volume. For engineering, see "Dedicate Bechtel Engineering Building at Official Convo [*sic*]," *Outlook* (April 23, 1955), 1. For FAS expansion, see "Rockefeller gives 5,000,000 to AUB," *Outlook* (May 4, 1957), 1–2, the sum being paid to FAS steadily throughout the next ten years. For the power of US oil companies in Beirut, see Irene Gendzier, *Notes from the Minefield: United States Intervention in Lebanon and the Middle East, 1945–1958* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

[5] Egypt and Iraq were somewhat better equipped.

[6] For the pre-war period, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); for the shift, see Yoav Di Capua, *Gatekeepers of the Arab Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[7] Bureaucracies and state universities grew at a particularly rapid pace in Iraq and Syria. Leftist nationalist army officers killed Iraq's monarch in 1958; throughout the 1960s, the country witnessed the rise of the socialist nationalist Ba'th party. Instigated by the minority Syrian Ba'th party, Syria became part of the Egypt-led United Arab Republic in 1958; Ba'th party officials and officers took it out of the UAR in 1961 and proceeded to dominate throughout that decade.

[8] See, e.g., Jeffrey Byrne, "Our Own Special Brand of Socialism: Algeria and the Contest of Modernities in the 1960s," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 3 (2009): 427–447; Massimiliano Trentin, "Modernization as State Building: the Two Germanies in Syria, 1963–1972," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 3 (2009): 487–505.

[9] For a contemporary warning about this problem (which underestimates AUB agency in using US money), see A. B. Zahlan, "The AUB. An Essay," (n.d., c.1961), 191–197, ASC.

[10] I was able to trace operations only to 1964 using the FF archival material; however, in an email, Edmond Asfour to author, 10 August 2010, the last ERI director, assured me that, in some ways, research by the ERI, as part of the Economics Department, continued until 1967. As there is no ERI archival material left at AUB, I had to rely on the FF sources and on interviews, correspondence, and memoires for this paper.

[11] David Ekbladh, in *The Great American Mission. Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), recognizes the pre-war beginnings of post-war modernization and development in the US, but pays attention to ideas (and the US arena) more than to networks (and the world at large). Very much centered on the role of US actors in developing the idea and practice of development and on the post-World War II period – indeed, defining this as *the* genesis moment of development – are Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development*, new ed., rev. and expanded (New York: Zed Books, 2002); Michael Latham, *The Right Kind of Revolution: Modernization, Development, and U.S. Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011). Also focused on the US is Nick Cullather, "Development? It's History. Research Note", *Diplomatic History*, 24, no. 4 (2000): 641–653. And though less so, idem, *The Hungry World. America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). Again for pre-war roots of various aspects of post-war ideas about development, see Daniel Speich Chassé, *Die Erfindung des Bruttosozialprodukts. Globale Ungleichheit in der Wissensgeschichte der Ökonomie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Sharad Chari and Stuart Corbridge, eds., *The Development Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008); Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); footnote 11.

[12] See Frederick Cooper, "Writing the History of Development," *Journal of Modern European History* 8, no. 1 (2010): 1–23; David Engerman and Corinna Unger, "Towards a Global History of Modernization," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 3 (2009): 375–385. Such global connections also help identify certain colonial-time roots or post-war development discourse and practice. See footnote 10, as well as Joseph Morgan Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert. Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); Herward Sieberg, *Colonial Development. Die Grundlegung moderner Entwicklungspolitik durch Großbritannien 1919–1949* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985); D. J. Morgan, *The Official History of Colonial Development*, vol. 1: *The Origins of British Aid Policy, 1924–1945* (London: Macmillan, 1979), chapters 10 and 15; Suzanne Moon, *Technology and Ethical Idealism: A History of Development in the Netherlands East Indies* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007).

[13] For Lebanon's pro-Western stance in the 1950s, the 1958 US intervention, and the following presidency of Fuad Chehab, see Gendzier, *Notes*; Fawwaz Trabulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London: Pluto, 2007), 128–155; Kamal Salibi, "Lebanon under Fuad Chehab, 1958–1964," *Middle Eastern Studies* 2, no. 3 (1966): 211–226.

[14] William E. Dodge, Sr., a New York businessman, was a founding member of the AUB Board of Trustees and co-founder of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation.

[15] Conversation with Professor Kamal Salibi, Beirut, June 2, 2010. Salibi studied at AUB in the 1940s and began working there in 1953.

[16] Conversation with Kamal Salibi. However, a slow departure from a strong missionary spirit and from an emphasis on moral education, together with the acceptance of government-sponsored bursaries, educating young men to be sent back to their respective countries as "men of knowledge" rather than "men of character," had already started in the early 1920s under Bayard Dodge: Edmond Howie, "The American University of Beirut (an analysis)," (master's thesis, AUB, 1952), 2, see also 3–4, 48, ASC.

[17] "Societies echo campus sentiments," *Outlook* (December 9, 1954): 3.

[18] For a brilliant account of that process, see Salim Yacub, *Containing Arab Nationalism. The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). See also Ritchie Ovendale, *Britain, the United States, and the Transfer of Power in the Middle East, 1945–1962* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

[19] See, e.g., Constantine Zurayk, "Blessed Foolishness," Baccalaureate Address, June 24, 1956, Personal papers of Constantine Zurayk, Box 2, ASC. The Bechtel Engineering Faculty was inaugurated under his acting presidency. For general restructuration, see "Draft statement by the Acting President of a preliminary ten-year plan for AUB, 1956–1966," Personal papers of Constantine Zurayk, Box 1, ASC.

[20] The society was suspended in 1954 and dissolved in 1955; *Minutes of University Senate*, March 29, 1954, and January 19, 1955, ASC. For Zurayk's account of the demonstration and his interaction with the Lebanese government in managing them, see letter, Constantine Zurayk to Stephen Penrose [then on business in New York], Beirut, April 1, 1954, *Minutes of the University Senate*, ASC.

[21] In 1951, Burns "spent some time in the Middle East arranging the TCA scholarship program at AUB." "New Post for Norman Burns," *al-Kulliyah* 29, no. 2 (February 1954): 34.

[22] "Quality Main Goal, Says New President," *Outlook* (October 14, 1961): 1; my italics.

[23] "Crucial decade ahead for the Middle East. Inaugural address says AUB's task to aid Arab development," *Outlook Inauguration Issue* (October 21, 1961): 1; "Burns stresses need for AUB specialization," *Outlook* (October 22, 1962): 1.

[24] See, e.g., "Planning Economic Development in the Arab World," [address before the seventh annual convention of the Organization of Arab students in the United States, University of Illinois, September 3, 1958], *Addresses by Norman Burns*, ASC.

[25] "Mrs. Jesup estate worth $12,672,792," *New York Times* (November 15, 1915), 5.

[26] See, e.g., "The Educational Committee of the AUB in Pittsburg," *al-Kulliyah* 12, no. 6 (April 1926): 170–71. See also Albert Hourani, ed., *The Lebanese in the World* (London: Tauris, 1992).

[27] Amongst others, President Bayard Dodge and trustees Kenneth Condit, David Dodge, Harold Hoskins, Henry Labouisse, Allen Whipple, and John Wilson were Princetonians.

[28] Dr. Henry Keller (New York School of Clinical Medicine), Prof. Stanley Freeborn (University of California), Prof. Spyman (Yale), "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 2 (1930): 44–45.

[29] Dr. and Mrs. Heinz Pflaum, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 1 (1930): 12; Habib Ul-Zayyat, "Oriental Scholar," Alexandria, Egypt, "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 2 (1930): 45.

[30] See, e.g., Archbishop Anastassios, "formerly an eminent figure in ... Russia, ... now connected with the Russian Church in Jerusalem," in "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 2 (1930): 45; Père Pièrre Lefebvre, Dean, Aurore University, a Jesuit institution in Shanghai, in "Distinguished visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 4 (1931): 95; Dr. and Mrs. Henry Sloane Coffin, president, Union Theological Seminary, New York, in "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 21, no. 4 (1935): 129; and Dr. and Mrs. Douglas Forman, physician, American Presbyterian Mission, Allahabad, India, in "Distinguished visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 21, no. 6 (1935): 207.

[31] Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Higson, "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 21, no. 3 (1935): 82.

[32] "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 1 (1930): 12.

[33] "Distinguished Visitors," *al-Kulliyah* 17, no. 4 (1931): 95.

[34] While US oil companies had managed Saudi oil production since its inception in 1932, they increased their presence after World War II. Equally, the US government had, of course, had representatives in the Middle East before the war, but turned regional superpower (slowly replacing Great Britain) during the early Cold War. Finally, some US foundations – most importantly, the Near Eastern Foundation – had worked in the region before 1939, but here also, involvement spiked after 1945.

[35] "President Emeritus Dodge Honored in Washington," *al-Kulliyah* (Winter 1960): 6. See also "President Emeritus Bayard Dodge Receives Woodrow Wilson Award," *al-Kulliyah* (Spring 1960): 5; this was Princeton's highest alumnus distinction.

[36] I could not find information about three trustees.

[37] "Fall meeting of the board of trustees AUB," (November 16, 1960), p. 7, *Minutes of Board of Trustees*, ASC.

[38] "Alumni grow in the U.S.A.," *al-Kulliyah* (June 1956): 12; "Alumni report from the Pacific Coast," *al-Kulliyah* (summer 1956): 10–11.

[39] "AUB Administrators Visit Harvard," *al-Kulliyah* (June 1958): 9. In the same month, President Leonard and Professor Zurayk, too, visited Harvard.

[40] "Prof. Kurani visited different US Colleges," *Faculty Bulletin* (October 8, 1960): 3; Letter, [economics professor] Yusif Sayigh to [FF officer] Cleon Swayzee, Cambridge, Mass., March 22, 1960, ERI PA 55–44, FFA, about ten talks Sayigh delivered in a month; see also "Dean Hanania invited to Lecture in Paris," *Faculty Bulletin* (December 15, 1962): 1, at the NATO Defense College.

[41] "Dr. Zurayk Attends Meeting in Mexico City," *Faculty Bulletin* (October 8, 1960): 3; in 1951, AUB invited the International Sociological Association to hold its following conference in Beirut: *Minutes of the Executive Committee* (May 29, 1951), ASC.

[42] Photo with caption but without title, *Outlook* (May 11, 1957): 1; "US Senator [Symington] Visits AUB, Announces 'I am all for it'," *al-Kulliyah* (Autumn 1961): 13; "Three British Members of Parliament Guests at Alumni Cocktail Party," *Middle East Forum* 29, no. 3 (March 1954): 30–31; "Robert F. Kennedy Lauds AUB," *Outlook* (November 5, 1962): 1, 7.

[43] "Rockefeller Foundation Officer Spends Week at AUB," *Faculty Bulletin* (November 2, 1963): 4; "Ford Foundation Group Visits AUB," *Faculty Bulletin* (October 26, 1963): 1, including President Henry Kingsley and Director of the Middle East and Africa Program, Hugh Walker.

[44] "Visitors on Campus," *Faculty Bulletin* 2, no. 12 (January 26, 1959): 4, on a visit by Dr. Robert King Hall, Director of Training, ARAMCO, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia; "Ford Foundation Head visits AUB," *Faculty Bulletin* (March 16, 1963): 4, on a visit by Mr. George Ballou, Director of Foreign Relations of the Standard Oil Co. of California, accompanying Ford Foundation Chairman John McCloy; "Four Eminent American Labor Economists at AUB Seminar," *Faculty Bulletin* 2, no. 10 (January 12, 1959): 2.

[45] Minutes of Executive Committee, (January 20, 1954), ASC, about the increased rate of application of American undergraduate students. Also, the Arab Studies MA Program attracted foreign graduate students, especially Americans: "A brief history of CAMES as told by Kamal Salibi to Tarif Khalidi on April 17, 2004," unpublished document; I would like to thank Professor Khalidi for having made this document available to me. See also "Visitors on Campus," Faculty Bulletin 2, no. 12 (January 26, 1959): 4, for visits by Charles Bernheisel, Training Officer, USOM-Sudan, Dr. Hildrus Poindexter, Chief, Public Health, USOM-Iraq, as well as Miss Jeanette Pitcherella, Nursing Advisor, Eastern Mediterranean Region, World Health Organization.

[46] Of course with the exception of recently created Israel.

[47] *Outlook* [*Commencement issue*] (1955), cover page.

[48] "Open letter from [Alumni] president Ousseiran," *al-Kulliyah* (Summer 1959): 1.

[49] "New from Jordan Alumni," *al-Kulliyah* (June 1956): 14; "Island Alumni Lead in Many Phases of Progress, Have Own 'Circle'," *Middle East Forum* 29, no. 8 (August 1954): 34; "Alumni establish branch in Iran," *al-Kulliyah* (autumn 1961): 5.

[50] "665 students to benefit from ICA program next year," *Outlook* (March 15, 1958): 1–2.

[51] "Lebanon's First Lady poses for Art Seminar Students," *Outlook* (May 25, 1957): 1; "Pres. Chamoun Views Moon's Eclipse at AUB Observatory on May 13," *Outlook* (May 18, 1957): 2; "11 Former Lebanese AUBites are MPs, 4 are Ministers," *Faculty Bulletin* (October 29, 1960): 4; "The Lebanese Government Appoints 4 AUB faculty on the Economic Board," *Faculty Bulletin* (March 26, 1960): 1. Three other Economic Board members were Badre's nemeses: Commerce professor Said Himadeh, Economics instructor Mohammad Atallah, and alumnus Rafic Shahin.

[52] "Economics Institute probes Arab world problems," *Outlook* (March 12, 1955): 3; Albert Badre, "Foreword," *Middle East Economic Forum* 1 (1954): v. For Badre's trips, see letter, FF Beirut to [FF Director of Overseas Activities in Pasadena, Cal.] Carl Spaeth, Beirut, April 7, 1953, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[53] Badre, "Memorandum on the Establishment of a Statistical and Research Institute," (1950), p. 5, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[54] "Proposal for a research institute for economic development," p. 2, attached to letter, [AUB president] Stephen Penrose to [FF Associate Director in Beirut] Raymond Moyer, June 27, 1952, Beirut, ERI PA 52-174, FFA; A. J. Meyer, "Memorandum on the Proposed Establishment of a Research Institute for Economic Development at AUB," (n.d., c. 1952), p.1, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[55] See, e.g., letter, [FF Near East representative] Rowland Egger to [FF official in New York] Kenneth Iverson, Beirut, November 3, 1954, ERI PA 55-44, FFA.

[56] Klat was linked to AUB's international network also by marriage to a niece of Philip Hitti: "Married," *Faculty Bulletin* (December 12, 1959): 2. For OIS, see Letter, [FF Beirut representative] J. B. Condcliffe to [FF New York official] Raymond Moyer, received in New York July 14, 1952, ERI PA 52-174, FFA. For the degrees of other Economics faculty in the late 1950s, including New York, Cambridge, and Berkeley, see "AUB: Report of the Department of Economics and the ERI, 1958/1959," p. 7, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA.

[57] Meyer, "Comments," 2, 4. Personal politics was involved in the 1950 separation: Said Himadeh, head of Commerce and a powerful figure on campus, wanted to keep full control; Badre and Meyer received Penrose's support in pushing for separation.

[58] Meyer, "Memorandum," 5; Meyer, "Comments," 2; letter, Penrose to Moyer. For Badre's friendship with Baster, see Yusif Sayigh, *Sira ghayr-mutakamala [An Incomplete Autobiography]* (Beirut: Rayyes, 2009), 294; all quotes in English are taken from the unpublished English manuscript version of this book, which Rosemary Sayigh has graciously made available to me.

[59] ERI: Badre, "Memorandum," (1950), 1; Meyer, "Memorandum," 1. FF: letter, [FF Deputy Near East representative] Robert Culbertson to [FF Director of Overseas Activities, New York] John Howard, Beirut, April 21, 1954, p. 2, ERI PA 52-174, FFA. Similarly, the IBRD (World Bank) "want[ed] to lend money in [the Middle East] but [was] frustrated by its inability to secure from the sponsored governments soundly prepared project proposals:" letter, [FF Deputy Near East representative] Robert Culbertson to [FF Director of Overseas Activities, New York] John Howard, Beirut, May 24, 1954, p. 2, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[60] For Beirut as Middle Eastern air hub and center for US businesses, see Gendzier, *Notes*. For popular culture reflections, see "Beirut's American Oasis," *Outlook* (October 22, 1962): 6, about the beanery *Uncle Sam's - The American Oasis*. For how Beirut also impressed people at the ERI as a regional intellectual center, see Sayigh, *Sira*, 301–302; for how it became a regional hub also for economists, see, e.g., the Beirut Economics Seminar, formed 1957 by Sayigh to "bring together trained economists from all over town," including people in private business, universities, and government, and NGOs: "AUB: Report of the Department of Economics and the ERI, 1958/59," p. 7, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA. For a meeting, see "Bell Speaks to Economics Seminar," *Faculty Bulletin* 1 (18) (March 10, 1958): 2. David E. Bell was a Harvard economics lecturer and, 1954–1957, head of the Harvard Pakistan economic development team. Ads: Lebanon's Middle East Airlines, in *al-Kulliyah* (January 1954): back flap, and Intra Bank, in *Middle East Forum* (November 1963): back flap.

[61] E.g., Speich Chassé, *Die Erfindung des Bruttosozialprodukts*.

[62] Both quotes: Robert Vitalis and Steven Heydemann, "War, Keynesianism, and Colonialism: Explaining State-Market Relations in the Post-War Middle East," in Steven Heydemann, ed., *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 106, 118. For an example of discussions and data, see files in MESC, Cairo, "Agricultural development, Syria, 1943–44," Foreign Office 922/99, British Public Records Office, Kew, United Kingdom.

[63] Paul Klat, "War Economic Policy in Syria and Lebanon," (Master's thesis, AUB, 1944), ASC.

[64] Badre, "Memorandum," (1950), 1.

[65] "Proposal for a Research Institute," (1952), Appendix C.

[66] Badre, "Memorandum on the ERI," (November 16, 1952), p. 2, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[67] In fact, FF officials were planning to ask the ERI to conduct a capital formation study when the institute informed them of its idea: letter, Badre to [FF Deputy Near East Representative] Robert Culbertson, Beirut, January 15, 1954, p. 3, ERI PA 52-174, FFA. The FF spent US$200,000 in 1952, 26,000 and a supplemental grant of $100,000 in 1954, $175,000 in 1955, $120,000 in 1960 (a 1954 US$100,000 grant for a statistical program, mentioned below, was discharged by, but institutionally separate from the ERI). See FF, Request for grant action, #OD-755G, October 3, 1960, ERI PA 55-44, FFA (regular grants); FF, request for grant action, #OD-24G, January 6, 1955, ERI PA 52-174, FFA (supplemental and statistical program grant); memorandum, [FF Near East representative] Hugh Walker, January 5, 1966, ERI PA 55-44, FFA (termination notice).

[68] All quotes: FF memorandum, "ERI at AUB (A-992)," 3.

[69] Letter, [FF Beirut representative] J.B. Condcliffe to [FF New York official] Raymond Moyer, received in New York July 14, 1952, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[70] For a discussion of ISI-ERI cooperation, see letter, [FF official on tour through the Middle East and Pakistan] Howard Tolley to [FF official in New York] John Howard, Karachi, April 20, 1954, ERI PA 52-174, FFA. For reference to the grant, see FF, request for grant action, #OD-24G, January 6, 1955, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[71] Last three quotes: Letter, Badre to [FF Deputy Near East Representative] Robert Culbertson, Beirut, January 15, 1954, p. 3, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[72] For instance, see Sayigh, *Sira*, 313 n3, for the ERI mathematicians involved in Badre's income studies: Palestinians As'ad Nasr and Salem Khamis, who became chairman of AUB Mathematics in 1955 and, in 1958, joined the Food and Agriculture Organization as a statistician.

[73] Letter, [FF Near East representative] Rowland Egger to [FF official in New York] Kenneth Iverson, Beirut, October 14, 1954, p. 3, ERI PA55-44, FAA

[74] Sayigh, *Sira*, 295.

[75] Quote: FF, Request for grant action, #OD-755G, October 3, 1960, ERI PA 55-44, FFA; see also "A few notes on the proposal for ERI," (n.d., c. 1960), p. 2f., ERI PA 55-44, FAA.

[76] "Marahil," *Faculty Bulletin* (December 12, 1959): 2; the ERI was not involved in this project as an institution, though. From 1958 to 1961, Syria was part of the Egypt-led United Arab Republic.

[77] "AUB's ERI gets new contracts," *Faculty Bulletin* (January 19, 1963): 4; "AUB: Annual Report of the Department of Economics 1961–62," p. 9, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA. Similarly, in 1961, Paul Klat and Isam Ashour, from Business Administration, "help[ed] [Jordan] organize its Planning Board and its economic development plan for the next five years:" "Two AUB Professors Help Study Jordan's Economic Development," *Faculty Bulletin* (February 17, 1961): 1. For a full list of all projects, see ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA.

[78] Meyer, "Comments," 5.

[79] For the first two numbers, see: "AUB: Annual Report of the Department of Economics 1959/60," p. 3, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA. For the 1961/62 figure, see "Annual Report of the Department of Economics, 1961/62," p. 3, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA.

[80] "Annual report of the Department of Economics, 1961/62," p. 3, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA.

[81] "A few notes on the proposal for ERI," 3.

[82] I have been unable to find a definite account of AUB financing of the ERI; however, it appears that the numbers indicated in a letter, [AUB acting president] Constantine Zurayk to [FF Near East representative] Robert Culbertson, Beirut, March 18, 1955, ERI PA 55-44, FAA, and agreed on in FF, request for allocation and grant action, #OD-58G, May 26, 1955, ERI PA 55-44, FAA, were implemented: from 1955 to 1960, AUB increased its annual support incrementally from US $25,000 to $50,000, while the FF decreased it from $70,000 to $25,000.

[83] FF, Request for grant action, #OD-755G, October 3, 1960, p. 2, ERI PA 55-44, FFA.

[84] "A few notes on the proposal for ERI," 3.

[85] FF, Request for grant action, #OD-755G, October 3, 1960, ERI PA 55-44, FFA.

[86] For the example of Lebanese entrepreneurs' lack of interest in "research or education funds," see Yusif Sayigh, *Entrepreneurs in Lebanon. The Role of the Business Leader in a Developing Economy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 129.

[87] Letters, [FF Near East representative] Rowland Egger to [FF official in New York] Kenneth Iverson, Beirut, October 14 and November 3, 1954, ERI PA 55-44, FAA.

[88] Philip Hitti, "Is There a Place for American Education in a Nationalist Middle East?" *al-Kulliyah* (Autumn 1959): 4–5; Bayard Dodge, "The AUB in the Middle East," *al-Kulliyah* (Summer 1959): 8. Burns addressed this burning issue in his job interview with the Board of Trustees for the position of president. He argued that AUB "could not compete with national universities ... on a production basis ..., that [its] job was to set the standards ... . AUB should, in the future, concentrate to a considerable extent on research and graduate studies:" *Minutes of Board Meeting* (December 15, 1960), p. 3, ASC.

[89] Letter, [FF official on tour through the Middle East and Pakistan] Howard Tolley to [FF official in New York] John Howard, Karachi, April 20, 1954, ERI PA 52-174, FFA.

[90] For education, for instance, see "Zurayk Studies Possibilities of Kuwait University," *al-Kulliyah* (Spring 1960): 8; "Jordanian Royal Commission visits the University on a Study Mission," *Faculty Bulletin* (April 7, 1961): 4; "Education Department Helps Revise Saudi science Textbooks," *Faculty Bulletin* (January 18, 1964): 3.

[91] "AUB: Annual Report of the Department of Economics 1959/60," p. 15, ERI Annual Reports 1958–1964, FFA. People then associated with the ERI have similar recollections now. In an email, Edmond Asfour to author, June 16, 2010, underlined "the growing number of the development planning organizations in each of the countries in the 1960s."

[92] The Soviets and other communist countries like the GDR started to have some influence in the Middle East in this field after the mid-1950s: Constantin Katsakioris, "Soviet lessons for Arab modernization: Soviet educational aid to Arab countries after 1956," *Journal of Modern European History* 8, no. 1 (2010): 85–106; Elizabeth Bishop, "Talking shop. Egyptian Engineers and Soviet Specialists at the Aswan High Dam" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1997).

[93] In a global context, Nasser is studied together with Nehru or Nkrumah: Joel Gordon, *Nasser. Hero of the Arab Nation* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), 4.

[94] Omnia El-Shakry, *The Great Social Laboratory* (Stanford University Press, 2007), 198.

[95] Regarding Egypt, see El-Shakry, *Laboratory*, 199, who understands the 1930s to 1960s as a "single historical block."

[96] For workers, see Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile. Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882–1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); for peasants, see El-Shakry, *Laboratory*; for 1952 as a break in economic policy, see Robert Mabro, *The Egyptian Economy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974); for Nasser himself, see Gamal Abdel Nasser, *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (Buffalo: Smith, Keynes, and Marshall, 1959 [1954]).

[97] Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 218–284.

[98] For an overview, see John Devlin, "The Ba'th Party: Rise and Metamorphosis," *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 1396–1407; Robert Landen, "The Program, of the Ba'th (Arab Socialist Resurrection) Party (1963)," in Camron Amin et al., eds., *The Modern Middle East. A Sourcebook for History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 85–90.

[99] Quotes: Joel Gordon, *Nasser. Hero of the Arab Nation* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), 72 and entire chap. 3, "The Socialist Garden."

[100] Ovendale, *Britain*; Peter Hahn, *The United States, Great Britain, and Egypt, 1945–1956. Strategy and Diplomacy in the Early Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

[101] Yacub, *Containing Arab Nationalism*, 2.

[102] Bayard Dodge, Daniel Bliss (AUB trustee and grandson of AUB's founder), Virginia Gildersleeve, Harold Hoskins (AUB trustee), Albert Staub, Max Thornburg (American businessman with Middle Eastern connections), and Allen Whipple (AUB trustee), "Letters to The Times. Against the Partition of Palestine. It is Considered to be Contrary to Interests of the American People," *New York Times* (November 21, 1947), p. 26.

[103] Letter, Constantine Zurayk to Stephen Penrose [then on business in New York], Beirut, April 1, 1954, *Minutes of the University Senate*, ASC. One non-AUB student was killed near the campus during the same protests. For a protest, broken up by Lebanese police invading AUB campus, in support of Syrian students, see *Minutes of the University Senate*, January 29, 1952, ASC. For the 1950s and the post-1967 period, see Betty Anderson, "Voices of Protest: Arab Nationalism and the Palestinian Revolution at the American University of Beirut," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 28, no. 3 (2008): 390–403; Makram Rabah, *A Campus at War. Student Politics at AUB, 1967–1975* (Beirut: Dar Nelson, 2009).

[104] Mohammad Mahdi, "From the West Coast," *al-Kulliyah* (April 1956): 3; Abdul Moneim Shaker, "Arab students in U.S. are Goodwill Ambassadors," *Middle East Forum* 29, no. 10 (1954): 41.

[105] Interview with Samir Makdisi, Beirut, June 9, 2010.

[106] Sayigh, *Sira*, 295.

[107] Ibid., 301.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Yusif Sayigh, "Development: The Visible or the Invisible Hand?" *World Politics* 13, no. 4 (July 1961): 579, 581.

[110] Ibid., 568, 566.

[111] Farid Hanania, "Dictatorship – What Breed?" *al-Kulliyah* 28, no. 7 (1953): 7.

[112] Quotes: Burhan Dajani, "Communism and the Problem of Palestine," and Nabih Amin Faris, "Islam and the Appeal of Communism," *Middle East Forum* 31, no. 8 (1956): 8, 9. Mahmud Zayid, "Communist Parties in the Arab East," took a similar line; only political scientist George Kirk, "The U.S.S.R. and the Northern tier," 6, argued that the only successful US approach to the Soviet Union in the Middle East is "firmer resistance."

[113] Edmond Asfour, "Problems of Development Planning in Jordan," *Middle East Economic Papers* 10 (1963): 1–13.

[114] Albert Badre, "Mustaqbal al-ʿalam al-ʿarabi al-ʿiqtisadi," [The economic future of the Arab world] in *Mustaqbal al-ʿalam al-ʿarabi [The future of the Arab world]*, ed. idem et al. (Beirut: AUB, 1952), 22–23.

[115] Ekbladh, *Great American Mission*.

09 Surviving the Cold War at AUB: The Thomas Aquinas Affair of 1966

Michael Provence

> Practically everyone you would meet correspondents or business people or parliamentarians, anyone – was in the market as buyer or seller of intelligence. It didn't really matter which side they were on, nearly everything could be sold for a price.
>
> The things that we were doing in Beirut were not of major importance [except] to certain segments of the US government and our immediate neighbors. The Russians were active in trying to bug our embassy, and succeeding, at least once to my knowledge, and they tried to subvert personnel in the embassy, by buying their services. It was a little bit like that cartoon in *Mad* magazine, "Spy vs. Spy" . . .
>
> The Soviets tried to embarrass us by making up a forged letter from U.S. Ambassador Meyer advocating our support for such-and-such candidate in the upcoming elections. The letter contained clumsy errors in wording and grammar, presumably to let us know that they knew that we knew that they had forged the letter.
>
> Dayton Mak, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy Beirut, 1965-69.[1]

Beirut, like Berlin, was a Cold War hotspot. The American University of Beirut straddled and was often entangled in the shifting lines of Cold War confrontation, but the Civil War of following decades tended to make the earlier period recede into hazy and sometimes overly nostalgic memory. Few remember the Aquinas Affair of AUB's centennial year of 1966, but AUB president and central figure Samuel Kirkwood called it one of the gravest crises ever faced by the University. This recounting is in three parts, starting with a spotlight view of the events, followed by a broader view of the University and Beirut, and then a still broader view of superpower politics and intrigue in the Cold War.

Spotty evidence and fragmentary stories materialized over the years to support theories linking the events to the CIA and other organizations. Operations such as the Aquinas Affair were certainly within the Cold War tradition and *oeuvre* of the CIA and, probably, the KGB, but definitive explanations remained elusive.

THE EVENTS

On Friday, 18 March 1966, Beirut daily ***al-Sha'b*** published a text purporting to be a lecture given in second-year classes at the secondary school at the American University of Beirut.[2] The paper was known for its communist sympathies and poor journalistic reputation. The editor was also known to be receptive to financial inducements and informal subsidies. The article showed an original English text of two paragraphs with a closely rendered Arabic translation following a brief, deceptive, and inflammatory introduction. The headline read: ***Disgrace at the American University of Beirut. Ministry of Education Owed an Explanation of the Matter.***[3] The introduction called on the Lebanese government to investigate and hold someone to account for the threat to national unity in the form of an insult to the Prophet Muhammad and the Islamic religion. The text appeared of medieval origin, despite the claim that it had been delivered as a lecture before presumably impressionable young students in a classroom. The article was rife with willful errors and distortions starting with the claim that it was a lecture in a non-existent part of the University. As ***al-Sha'b*** hit newsstands, someone printed and distributed 4000 identical leaflets at mosques in Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli a few hours before noon congregational prayers that Friday. Sermons delivered that day denounced the insulting "lecture," with

varying levels of outrage. University and political leaders claimed the crisis threatened to undermine the position of the University and the US embassy, and to inflame sectarian and political tensions, like the events of 1958, still in recent memory.

The supposed lecture was actually a selection of St. Thomas Aquinas from the AUB Cultural Studies (hereafter, CS) program textbook, ***Heritage of Western Civilization***. All CS sections used the same textbook, but to save students' money, faculty took mimeographed readings from the book. Senior faculty made curriculum decisions, and instructors did not choose classroom materials. The selection reproduced in the newspaper and leaflets without attribution, was an inflammatory selection from Aquinas's ***Summa contra Gentiles***. Other instructors took care to insure that the students understood the Islamophobic medieval Catholic context of the thirteenth century. In the second semester class, 1966, Assistant Professor John Spagnolo seems to have rather casually handed out the readings earlier in the week and scheduled a guest lecture with a Jesuit, Father James Finnegan. Finnegan was part of a small community of anglophone Jesuits in Beirut. He was killed in 1984 during the civil war.

Spagnolo was in his first year of a tenure-track faculty appointment at AUB. He had received his PhD under the direction of Albert Hourani at Oxford the year prior. But Spagnolo was familiar with AUB. He had graduated with a BA and MA from the University and had taught as an instructor between 1958 and 1962, before beginning his graduate studies in Britain.[4]

By late morning, two senior police investigators had appeared on campus. Officers Ma'luli and Abu Shaqra met President Samuel Kirkwood and Faculty of Arts and Sciences Dean E. T. Prothro, who escorted them to the CS faculty lounge. Dean Prothro and CS Chairman J. M. Peet introduced the untenured faculty present in the lounge to the police, and left the room. After the administrators had left, Ma'luli and Abu Shaqra ordered the four young men to the central police station for further questioning.

Police arrested and transported Tarif Khalidi, Jamil Abun Nasr, Edmond Tomeh, and Hugh Harcourt to the Burj police station. On the way, they agreed to assume collective responsibility for the Aquinas tract and not to mention John Spagnolo's name. The president was informed of their arrest minutes later. The instructors waited at the police station for more than an hour, expecting University administrators and lawyers to arrive.

Eventually Abu Shaqra called Tarif Khalidi into the office. Khalidi vigorously protested their treatment and Abu Shaqra replied angrily that he represented the state and had the right to treat anyone as he saw fit. Khalidi argued that the police served the state and its citizens, several of whom – neither accused nor guilty of any crime, and not represented by lawyers – languished in their offices. Questioning focused on responsibility for the "lecture." Khalidi corrected them that it was not a lecture, but a medieval tract from a famous philosopher and an established part of the curriculum. It was representative of medieval Catholic theology, and not the viewpoint of the instructors, the department, or the University. The police wanted to know where John Spagnolo lived, but Khalidi maintained his ignorance. Eventually police released them and they returned to campus.

Hours later, senior administrators asked Khalidi to return to the police headquarters with them. President Kirkwood, Dean Prothro, and Vice-president Fuad Sarruf accompanied him this time, where they met the minister of the interior and senior officials of the justice and information ministries. Together they agreed to prepare a joint statement for the press, radio broadcast, and possible television broadcast. Khalidi translated the discussion for those University administrators unable to understand Arabic.

The minister of the interior nominated Khalidi to appear with the AUB president on TV to read and explain the joint statement. Neither Kirkwood nor Khalidi were enthusiastic, and around 9PM, the minister called Khalidi to say that tensions were running very high and the television appearance had been canceled. The government officials warned repeatedly that the situation was potentially explosive, and could easily lead to large demonstrations and sectarian riots. They evoked the events of 1958 as a negative example of what might happen if the matter was not dealt with quickly and carefully.

Lebanon radio broadcast a mangled version of the joint statement at 10PM that evening, interrupting a live Umm Kulthum concert. The same version appeared in the press the following morning. The University held a press conference that afternoon (Saturday) and read the correct statement.

By the time of the evening meeting with the interior minister on Friday afternoon, an arrest and deportation warrant had been secretly prepared for Spagnolo. University administrators probably conspired to offer Spagnolo in sacrifice to the interior ministry and General Security. Spagnolo was a Lebanese citizen, but was widely imagined to be Spanish based on his name and supposed lineage.

He hailed from the region but had no foreign embassy or consul to protect him. According to his University personnel file, Spagnolo had been born in Jerusalem in the Palestine mandate, and had moved to Beirut as an infant with his family.[5]

On Friday morning Dean Prothro had told Spagnolo to "go home, John," but no one contacted him after he left the University. At 3AM Saturday morning, police woke him and arrested him with his wife and detained them at the Interior Ministry. The police warned the Spagnolos that they could accept voluntary deportation or face the mobs alone with no state protection. Authorities suggested they exit Lebanon for Spain. Spagnolo pointed out that he had no connection to Spain. But he did have a still valid graduate student visa to the United Kingdom and his wife was British. The couple, abandoned by the University administration and made refugees by Lebanon, flew to London later that day. Spagnolo's dissertation adviser, Albert Hourani, secured a short-term appointment for him to lecture in England and avoid potential destitution. AUB also paid a severance to Spagnolo for the duration of his suspended contract. He eventually emigrated to Canada, and spent his career teaching there. Apart from brief visits, he never returned to Lebanon or AUB.

THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT

Samuel Kirkwood had served as University president since 1965. Kirkwood was a physician and former US government official. He had been a US army colonel in the medical corps in East Asia during the Second World War. After the war, he retired his commission and became the Massachusetts State Public Health Commissioner. In 1953, he moved to Pakistan, where he became a USAID officer and adviser to the Ministry of Health. In 1958, he became Chief of USAID Public Health in Iran, and in 1962, he moved to Beirut to become Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at AUB. Kirkwood was quite different from more recent AUB senior administrators in that he came not from academia, but from US government service and with a record of official overseas appointments. His appointment as president of the University in 1965 would have been a success from the perspective of US Cold War diplomacy and foreign policy, given Kirkwood's knowledge and familiarity with US government policies and priorities.[6]

By the time President Kirkwood had requested Khalidi's presence at the meeting with the Interior Minister, late that afternoon, he had already called an emergency Faculty Senate meeting to discuss the crisis. The minutes of the Friday Faculty Senate meeting, comprising a transcript of Kirkwood's report to the Senate, differ significantly from the contemporary record in the diary of Tarif Khalidi.[7]

Kirkwood noted that the Ministry of Education had called upon the University, followed by a visit from two high ranking officers (Abu Shaqra and Ma'luli) of the Prosecutor General. Kirkwood claimed that both delegations had been satisfied with his explanation of events, and he further claimed to have maintained that the matter was a University affair and he, as president, was responsible. He also admitted, however, he had provided the names of the Cultural Studies faculty members and copies of the offending passage to the authorities.

Kirkwood claimed that the officers had arrested the five faculty members over the protests of Dean Prothro, and that Prothro had demanded a warrant for their detention. In contrast, Khalidi had recorded that Prothro and Peet had left, abandoning the young instructors to be arrested and detained. Notably, the Senate roll call did not include anyone except Kirkwood and Prothro with direct knowledge of the morning's events. Kirkwood further claimed that the release of the detained instructors came from his insistence and refusal to meet any government officials without the release of the faculty. Kirkwood argued before the Senate that the matter was closed and that he expected no further action on the part of the government. The Senate voted to endorse his actions as described.

President Kirkwood called another emergency meeting the next day after the authorities had seized and deported Spagnolo. Kirkwood reported that he had learned the night before that the Ministry of Education intended to order the deportation of an unnamed faculty member. He claimed he had learned definitively of the deportation when John Spagnolo telephoned him at 5AM after his arrest and detention and before his deportation. Despite the apparent dawn deportation, Kirkwood reported that Spagnolo had been treated well and had voluntarily left the country for his own safety and the good of the University.[8] Kirkwood dispatched a University lawyer to visit Spagnolo in jail, called members of the Board of Trustees, the US Ambassador, and the head of Middle East Airlines (MEA), Shakyh Najib Alamuddin, to request a meeting with Charles Helou, President of the Republic.[9] It seems likely that Kirkwood had earlier and more extensive contacts with the US embassy and Ambassador Porter during the crisis than he reported to the Faculty Senate.

DIPLOMATS AND SPIES AT WORK AND PLAY IN BEIRUT

In 1966, Beirut was a Cold War crossroads – more the West Berlin than the Paris of the Middle East. Spying was glamorous, exciting, unsupervised, and well-funded, and to paraphrase later AUB President Malcolm Kerr, the Middle East before 1967 was fun: at least for those for whom the region was a political backdrop and temporary posting.[10] American diplomats considered the city a nest of spies; a "listening post," and a pleasant and beautiful place in which to play great power politics, often through an endless progression of cocktail parties, though diplomats also complained that the spies, both CIA and KGB, were even more lavishly funded and probably more glamorous. There were plenty of real spies, but there were even more would-be-spies and ambitious amateurs looking for a piece of the action.[11]

Arab critics and intellectuals, especially on the left, sometimes accused AUB of being an outpost of American imperialism. The US State Department provided funding to the University in the form of scholarships, and the CIA used the University as unofficial cover for various agents over the years. American diplomats and spies sometimes claimed that US official support for the University gave them the right to consider it an unofficial adjunct of the US embassy and US foreign policy. Faculty members and students defended the University as a bastion of academic freedom, and bristled at such claims. President Kirkwood straddled the divide and felt the pull between the US embassy's vision of the University as a Cold War asset, and faculty and students' vision of free inquiry and thought.

In late 1964, Charles Helou had been elected president of Lebanon, with American backing, to succeed President Fouad Chehab. The Americans considered Helou their man and a marked improvement over the more independent, less pliable, President Chehab. Helou entered office in September and immediately began to request purchase of advanced US weaponry, especially US-made jet fighters and Hawk missiles.[12] Helou and Lebanese Army Commander General Emile Boustany received a sympathetic hearing from US diplomats in Beirut. Along with King Hussein of Jordan, Boustany and Helou made the already time-worn argument that the region was awash in communist infiltrators and that they needed the best US weapons to defend their pro-American bastions.

Whether or not the communist threat was believable, Helou had a more pressing need to demonstrate to pro-Nasser domestic political critics that his devotion to the Americans had some benefit. But the Johnson administration, in office less than a year, had deepened US involvement in Vietnam and in various international anti-communist efforts. Johnson was not well traveled, but he was both formidably cunning and intellectually insecure, and probably suspicious of cosmopolitan State Department advisers who cautioned against contributing to a Middle East arms race. In contrast, Johnson and a few close advisers were receptive to Israeli requests for advanced weapons.

In the 1950s, and 1960s, US diplomats and intelligence officers serving in Arab countries did not generally share the evolving Washington affinity with Israeli goals, and sometimes appointed themselves the unofficial diplomatic representatives of the Arabs in their relations with Washington. It was an open secret among US diplomats and intelligence operatives that US Arab allies were more afraid of the Israelis than the communists or even Arab nationalist rivals. Yet such arguments were a dead end in Washington, where the American political establishment was increasingly obsessed by communism.

* * *

Charles Hostler first came to Beirut as an AUB student and covert CIA agent in 1953. Hostler's connection to AUB spanned five decades, and he is remembered today as among the most generous benefactors in the history of the University. He endowed the long-planned Charles Hostler Student Center a few years before his death in 2014.[13] Hostler was a WWII OSS veteran who had landed in France in 1944, fought in Germany, and worked in anti-Soviet intelligence in Romania shortly after the end of the war.[14] In 1949, Hostler went to Turkey as a US Air Force liaison officer to survey and bolster Turkish air defenses against the USSR. In early 1953, the CIA recruited Hostler to join the new agency and enroll at AUB as a CAMES MA student/US military officer. By day he would be a student and by night he would serve as a covert CIA agent and unofficial US government liaison to Syrian President and CIA asset Adib Shishakli.[15]

While at AUB, Hostler studied with eminent historians Zeine Zeine and Nicola Ziadeh. Certainly the CIA placed other agents at AUB under-cover as students or even faculty, but admissions of such connections are understandably rare. Hostler enjoyed student life in Beirut with his wife and infant son, but his intelligence work damaged his marriage since he could not explain his night-time absences. Hostler would periodically receive messages directing him to covert late-night meetings with Shishakli at Bludan or other Syrian mountain villages along the Damascus Road.

Shishakli wanted to maintain open but secure communications with the Americans, and considered both his staff in Damascus and the US embassy there as insecure. Hostler rated the mission to Shishakli as successful, but Shishakli would have disagreed. He was driven out of power in early 1954 by a coalition of anti-US and leftist opponents and a revolt in Jabal Hawran.[16] Shishakli escaped to exile in Brazil, where he was assassinated later the same year. Hostler stayed at AUB, enjoying his studies and meeting anti-Soviet Armenians in Beirut. Hostler graduated with an MA from CAMES in mid-1955 and returned to USAF Intelligence in Washington DC.

In late 1958, Hostler returned to Beirut as US air attaché to Lebanon, Jordan, and Cyprus. Hostler's appointment in February and arrival in November 1958 followed closely the UAR union between Egypt and Syria, the overthrow of the pro-British Hashemites in Iraq, and the 1958 crisis and landing of US Marines in Lebanon. Among his friends was newly arrived CIA chief Miles Copeland Jr., who had come to Beirut in 1957. Copeland and a tiny handful of Americans had engineered the first military coup in Syrian history in 1949, had overthrown the elected government of President Shukri al-Quwatli, and had brought Col. Husni Za'im to power.[17] Za'im was quickly overthrown and murdered by one of his officer rivals, but not before he signed off on the completion of the ARAMCO Tapline oil pipeline through southern Syria between Saudi Arabia and Sidon in Lebanon. California engineering firm Bechtel built the pipeline, and Standard Oil of California (later known as Chevron) was the majority concessionaire in ARAMCO.

Syrian President Quwatli had opposed the pipeline. Later that same year, in the third Syrian coup of 1949, Shishakli came to power and managed to hang on until 1954, during which time Hostler became his CIA handler. Copeland went to Iran, where he arrived in time to play a central role in another, better-known CIA-oil company coup d'état against the elected government of Muhammad Mossadeq. Copeland claimed the 1949 Syria coup was the first, and predated the founding of the CIA. By 1958, Copeland was probably the most seasoned Middle East dirty trickster on the CIA payroll.

Hostler was Copeland's colleague in the swashbuckling, whiskey swilling, CIA atmosphere of Beirut in 1958. The job of a regional defense attaché was to cultivate contacts, travel, gather intelligence, and survey the capabilities of the "enemy." Hostler enjoyed the travel and the entertaining, and reported that he regularly threw cocktail parties for 400 and dinner parties for 30 at his beautiful seaside residence near the AUB campus.[18] During his years as Air Attaché, Hostler traveled constantly. He gathered intelligence and undertook various assignments, often under cover of family holidays, tourism, and academic conferences. He cultivated and maintained contacts among military and intelligence officers throughout the region. Hostler enjoyed the work tremendously and found meeting people and evading surveillance and foreign rivals exciting.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Beirut was the headquarters for the US diplomatic, intelligence, and ARAMCO-Tapline presence in the Middle East. Hundreds of American employees and their families lived in a tight-knit cluster in the immediate vicinity of the AUB campus. Most American children attended the International College or the American Community School (ACS) adjoining the University campus. Older children often attended the University. Charles Hostler Jr., who was born in 1952, attended first through third elementary grades at ACS.[19] The three Copeland boys attended also, and passed through the leafy AUB campus every day on their way home. They played together often on the Green Oval and around the campus.

In 1959 during the UAR union between Egypt and Syria, Hostler was briefly arrested, interrogated, and detained in Damascus when he and another US operative based in Lebanon were caught photographing Soviet-made radar installations around Damascus. A group of ordinary Syrian citizens had noticed their suspicious behavior and forced them to barricade themselves in their car until Syrian intelligence officers and police arrived to save them from the crowd. The US embassy in Damascus disavowed any knowledge of their presence in Syria, but they were released quickly anyway – the UAR-Syrian government had no wish to antagonize the Americans, whatever their sympathies.[20] Standard CIA operating procedure dictated leaving local US diplomats ignorant of intelligence operations; an arrangement the diplomats preferred, at least until things went wrong and they had to explain the activities of their compatriots.

Hostler traveled the region as air attaché and CIA man under diplomatic cover. His trips included Baghdad early in 1961, a time during which the CIA was plotting to assassinate Iraqi Prime Minister 'Abd al-Karim Qassim.[21] Qassim had threatened to nationalize the Iraqi Petroleum Company and possibly annex Kuwait. Early in 1961, the CIA launched a program for "Executive Action Capability," which was a bureaucratic euphemism for the assassination of foreign heads of state. A year earlier, however, the CIA had already been planning the assassination of Qassim through something called the "'Health Alteration Committee' for its proposal of a 'special operation' to 'incapacitate' an Iraqi Colonel believed to be promoting Soviet Bloc political interests in Iraq." The proposed method was the

gift of monogrammed handkerchief dosed with a powerful poison. An internal CIA memo cited in the Church Committee report read, "we do not consciously seek subject's permanent removal from the scene; we do not object should this complication develop." The same people, working in Washington, soon contemplated the assassination of Fidel Castro by an exploding cigar. The handkerchief failed, and Qassim was eventually killed, like Husni Za'im in Syria, by officer rivals, probably affiliated and perhaps armed and paid by the CIA.[22]

Colonel Hostler completed his tour in mid-1961 and by the following year had assumed duties training intelligence officers and diplomats in Washington. He taught courses such as "The USSR in the Middle East."[23] In 1962, Hostler concluded that as a non-flying Air Force officer, his career had reached its apex, and he officially retired from the US Air Force. He may have remained in CIA service, for he is unclear about his exit from the clandestine service. Hostler immediately gained employment as a sales agent for Douglas Aircraft of Santa Monica, California, with a special focus on overseas sales of the new Douglas A-4 Skyhawk fighter-bomber and of civilian jet airliners. He moved to Paris, where he lived during the next year. In May 1963, he embarked on a sales tour of the Middle East, where he visited Lebanese President Fouad Chehab, Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan, and Douglas Aircraft's Kuwaiti sales agents. The purpose of the trip was arranging sales of the Douglas A-4 Skyhawk.[24]

In March 1965, Douglas sent Hostler back to Beirut in the official capacity of the resident Middle East sales agent for the airplane manufacturer. He was 45 years old, and had spent most of the previous two decades in Europe and the Middle East as a covert intelligence agent and military officer. He set about his official business of selling Douglas A-4 Skyhawk fighter-bombers and Douglas DC-8 commercial airliners, and renewing old friendships with people like CIA Beirut Station Chief Miles Copeland. His son, Charles Jr., returned to ACS for the 1965–1966 academic year.

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The US embassy in Beirut was located next to the AUB campus, with an entrance on the Corniche facing the Mediterranean. It was a seven-story V-shaped building resembling a luxury hotel, and was the largest US post in the region. In mid-1965, Dwight Porter became the US ambassador and Dayton Mak became first secretary. The same year, the Board of Trustees named Samuel Kirkwood president of the University. Mak was promoted to deputy chief of mission after the 1967 War. Both men stayed in Beirut longer than usual; Porter until 1970 and Mak until 1969. Porter's nearly five and half years in Beirut make him the longest ever serving US ambassador to Lebanon. The embassy served as a major nerve center for regional and local spying, and while Porter's tenure was long for an ambassador, it was brief in comparison to CIA Station Chief Miles Copeland's eleven years in Beirut.

Copeland noted that, while CIA offices were housed in the embassy, the diplomats stayed out of their business and preferred to remain ignorant of their activities. In his words, "if they knew what we were doing they would have to tell us not to do it."[25] US officials seemed to spend most of their time worrying about communists, and after the defection of Soviet spy and British intelligence agent Kim Philby in January 1963, the obsession became more acute. Philby fled Beirut to the Soviet Union on the night of a dinner party attended by Copeland. Philby's wife came to the party, but Philby failed to show up. He spent the rest of his life in Moscow.

In April 1965, US First Secretary, and fluent Arabic speaker, Dayton Mak filed a lengthy report on Soviet activity in Beirut and the region. Mak noted that the Soviet embassy had recently expanded its personnel, but he also inferred there were fewer Soviets around than Americans when he observed the "relatively slight" Soviet presence for a great power.[26] Mak estimated that of the 90 Soviet nationals attached to the embassy some 35% were intelligence agents, including the ambassador, Dimitry Nikiforov, who he praised as a new kind of Soviet diplomat who was suave, cultured, and well-spoken in Arabic and English.[27] He noted, "the Ambassador and his staff have spared no effort to establish personal contact with the widest range of Lebanese." The Soviets were worthy adversaries.

But Mak also claimed that, while the various Arab nationalist parties were mostly sincere socialists and made common cause with the USSR in opposition to Zionism and imperialism, each acted for their own reasons and expected to derive benefits from their association. Mak opined that the affinity between Arab nationalists and the Soviets was mostly convenience, and Arab nationalists remained the most formidable critics of US support for Israel and western oil companies. "Arab nationalism appears, at least in the short run, to be the greater threat to Western interests in the Middle East than communism itself." Arab politicians knew that well-informed observers like Mak were in the minority, and that most official Americans saw communists everywhere they looked. Mak concluded his analysis by noting that Arab opposition to US policy was based on reasonable self-interest.

To curb Soviet influence to any significant extent would demand turning the present anti-western tide in the area which the Soviets have been riding. If the United States were able to improve its currently strained relations with the UAR and if we could succeed in convincing our Arab friends that the United States is indeed taking a truly even-handed approach to the Palestine question, for example, then Soviet influence would very likely suffer in proportion.[28]

While embassy staff were under orders to chase communists, Charles Hostler drew on his extensive military and intelligence contacts to sell American aircraft, and there were plenty of potential buyers. He opened the Douglas Aircraft offices in the Starco Building in downtown Beirut, and became regional manager for the Middle East and Africa. He called on King Hussein in Jordan and General Emile Boustany, Commander-in-chief of the Lebanese military, and Middle East Airlines (MEA) leaders Najib Alamuddin and Yousef Beidas, among others. Hostler evidently found a warm reception because US diplomatic documents show that the Lebanese and Jordanian governments wanted fervently to buy US fighter aircraft and missiles. The Douglas A-4 Skyhawk and Hawk anti-aircraft missiles seemed to be on everyone's shopping list.

President Johnson's government had other ideas, and political priorities in Washington curtailed Douglas's potential sales. Johnson did not want to sell sophisticated aircraft to Arab allies in Lebanon or Jordan. During 1965, Hostler's first year in his new job, US officials repeatedly deflected requests and suggested European aircraft. Both Boustany and Hussein countered that they felt regional pressure brought by the UAR to purchase Soviet MIGs; something neither wished to do.[29] Johnson administration officials argued publicly that sophisticated military aircraft sales to the Arabs or Israel would further fuel a regional arms race. Privately they had decided to supply aircraft to Israel.

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By early 1966, regional events and the issue of arms sales had come to a head. Hussein was under relentless pressure from 'Abd al-Nasser to concede to the demands of the United Arab command and purchase Soviet warplanes. Both Hussein and Helou desperately begged their US embassy handlers for *something* to show for their devotion to the loveless, and apparently unrequited, embrace of the Americans. Syria's leftist and anti-imperialist military officers pushed both Syria and Egypt further toward confrontation with US-aligned forces. US President Johnson was increasingly obsessed with Vietnam and determined to bolster the anti-communist forces he perceived in Israel. King Hussein wrote several letters personally to Johnson, noting his pressing need for air defense and his stand against communism.

> We feel there are many arguments to support our need for supersonic aircraft to modernize the Royal Jordanian Air Force. The very fact that the Communist camp is willing to supply us with the most modern aircraft is evidence that such an action would represent a political triumph for communism in this area . . . Communism has long sought to overrun this area and use it as a springboard toward Africa and there are those who no doubt wish to see the Arab-Israeli dispute crystallized as an East-West dispute, but this would be a great loss for free people everywhere.[30]

US diplomats, intelligence officers, and weapons salesmen, like Hostler, made the same argument in their communications with Washington.

A few days after Hussein's letter arrived, a White House meeting took place to discuss foreign affairs and weapons sales. Johnson wanted to sell 48 A-4E Skyhawks to Israel, but not to sell aircraft to the Arabs.[31] Robert Komer, Johnson's special assistant for Vietnam and a long-time CIA man, had a solution. He drafted a proposal designed to satisfy everyone.

> In short, we'll sell Israel 48 A-4Es (about $50 million), and they will undertake in return to: (1) quietly support our sale of 36 secondhand F-104s to Jordan; (2) reaffirm their promises not to go nuclear unless others do; (3) keep the whole matter quiet until we decide how to publicize it; and (4) not bother us any further on planes for the next several years . . . Meanwhile King Hussein again appeals for help, saying that otherwise when the Arab leaders meet on 14 March [1966] he'll have to give in and take MIGs. King Feisal is also in, appealing that you help out Hussein. We are now able to get Hussein off the hook by offering him the secondhand F-104s in three increments of 12 a year beginning in 1968. We'll charge cash (it should net us about $50 million too) because the oil-rich Arabs are footing the bill. [32]

An Arab Prime Minsters' summit conference was scheduled for 14 March 1966 in Cairo. Hussein needed to place his airplane order in advance of sending Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal to the conference. Meanwhile Washington kept him waiting even after he conveyed his intention to buy MIG-21 fighter aircraft in accordance with the new Arab Unified Command with Egypt and Syria. US officials intended their sale of aircraft to Israel to remain secret, but the day after Johnson's cabinet

meeting Damascus Radio and the Syrian press protested unspecified US arms sales to Israel in the strongest terms, as a "threat to the existence of the Arabs." [33]

During the last week in February, an internal army faction overthrew the civilian Ba'thist government in Damascus. Radical military officers took control of the new government. That morning, King Hussein summoned US Ambassador Barnes to the palace for a meeting with him and Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal. Hussein told Barnes that communists had taken control of the Syrian government that morning, and that the threat of regional instability might force him to intervene.[34]

Three days later Hussein's gambit paid off, and he finally got his reply delivered through Ambassador Barnes. The King's concocted Red Scare had obviously decided the issue and, after more than two years of stalling, finally secured him American-made jet fighters.

> Request you deliver following oral message to King from President:
>
> After full and careful consideration of the problems you face, I have decided we should make a special effort on a one time basis to meet your request for supersonic defensive aircraft. You are already aware of the many reasons for our reluctance to make this decision. These reasons still exist. Our decision to proceed despite them takes into account the special relationship between our two countries and the extreme pressures that you have felt. The proposals that I have authorized Ambassador Barnes to deliver to you represent a maximum stretching of our policy, and I therefore earnestly hope that you will find them acceptable.[35]

Hussein would get airplanes, but Helou would get nothing, and the promised machines for Jordan were second-hand, obsolete, and tactically useless F-104s, which had already failed in Vietnam. With their back-channel contacts, probably including Douglas agent Charles Hostler himself, both Hussein and Helou would have known the Israelis were getting new Douglas A-4 Skyhawks, capable of massive bomb loads including tactical nuclear weapons. Hussein had proved himself cannily capable of exploiting circumstances to frighten his American patrons with their nightmares of communists. It is reasonable to think President Helou and his American friends who supported his wish for jet fighters took the same lesson. The Aquinas Affair may have been part of this same effort.

In the days after the coup in Damascus, Lebanese authorities welcomed exiled Syrian Prime Minister and Ba'th Party founder, Salah al-Din al-Bitar. A week or so later, Lebanese authorities arrested and detained fifteen prominent Lebanese Ba'th Party members on the grounds that the party was banned in Lebanon.[36] Pro-Nasserist Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami left Beirut to attend the Arab prime ministers' conference convened in Cairo on 14 March. The conference lasted four days, with a number of issues for discussion, but the prospect of accelerated American weapons sales to Israel was foremost. Apparently, the single collective agreement was a resolution to "launch a diplomatic offensive against American arms deliveries to Israel."[37] The events of the Aquinas Affair erupted the day the conference closed on Friday, 18 March 1966.

At some point in March, most likely before the Arab Ministers' conference on the 14th, President Helou learned that he would not get American airplanes. He also received the damaging news that the Israelis were getting A-4 Skyhawks. He probably suspected that the Israelis had successfully blocked the sale of any aircraft to Lebanon, including French Mirages. The Israeli government had called upon Johnson to block French sales to Lebanon so as to avoid directly antagonizing France. US diplomats in the region feared the effect that disclosure of the Israeli and Jordanian sales would have.

> Neither sale has been publicly disclosed as yet; and to the best of our knowledge, there have been no leaks . . . The timing of an announcement of the Israeli sale remains under consideration. We are anxious to avoid simultaneous disclosure of the two deals, as this could open King Hussein to an Arab charge that his arrangement with the US had triggered a larger sale to Israel. In this regard, the Arab Prime Ministers, at their recent meeting in Cairo, specifically condemned previous US military sales to Israel and warned the US against the consequences of future sales.[38]

By May, the decision to announce the sales had been made. Ambassador Porter begged Washington on President Helou's behalf not to make the public announcement at all, but to let it leak out somehow. To Helou, he explained that massive Soviet sales to Egypt and Syria had made such sales necessary. Helou asked that the announcement be delayed to some other time, and pointed out that Washington's move would put him and the Arab monarchies in an impossible position. Porter opined wanly that perhaps this would be both the first and last US sale of sophisticated aircraft to the Israelis.[39]

Israel ended up with hundreds of Skyhawks, including aircraft emergency re-supplied during the 1973 War - used to devastating effect against neighboring forces, and in service until the 2010s. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the Skyhawks played the principal role in tipping the

regional military balance in the 1970s. The Israeli sale apparently did not involve Hostler and, while the Johnson administration prevented his selling Douglas warplanes to the Arabs, he did succeed, at least for a time, in selling Douglas DC-8 airliners to MEA.

In mid-February, the *New York Times* reported that MEA had contracted to purchase three new DC-8s for about $8.5 million each, with an option to purchase three or four more aircraft.[40] A month later, corresponding exactly with the Arab prime ministers' meeting in Cairo and preceding the Aquinas Affair by a couple days, the *New York Times* reported that Douglas was competing with Boeing for a $30 million sale of airliners to Egypt Air. [41] The same day, press reports noted that the Arab prime ministers had vigorously protested the expected sale of military weapons to Israel.[42]

Espionage defies definitive explanation and calls for speculation. In 1966, Charles Hostler was both sales agent for Douglas Aircraft and probably still a CIA operative. Both the Douglas company and elements within the US government wished to convince the Johnson administration to sell aircraft to Jordan and, perhaps, Lebanon. Johnson and his closest advisers were obsessed by communism and instinctively sympathetic with the Israelis. King Hussein had convinced Johnson to provide jet fighters by concocting a mini-Red Scare from events in Damascus in February 1966. But they were not the airplanes Hussein or Helou wanted, or that Hostler was selling. Perhaps another mini-Red Scare, this time targeting a real American asset, AUB, could tip the balance in favor of those who wanted to sell and to buy Douglas aircraft. Policy, profit, and anti-communist ideology all lined up neatly.

In the event, none of the sales of Douglas aircraft went through. Johnson did not change his mind on the A-4 Skyhawks. Egypt Air bought Boeings, and the MEA deal fell through when Intra Bank, majority shareholder to MEA, collapsed in November 1966 after the government of President Helou failed to prevent a run on the bank.[43] Douglas Aircraft had already decided the Beirut sales office was too expensive for the evidently meager results, and ordered the office closed and Hostler home to California in June 1966. Back in Huntington Beach, Hostler went to work as an international threat analyst for Douglas.[44] Within a few years, he had begun a new career as a southern California real estate investor.

The people and the objectives behind the events of the Aquinas Affair remain clouded in mystery. Over the course of eight years, the author has interviewed nearly a dozen witnesses, participants, and victims, including ex-diplomats, spies, and AUB faculty members. Some have claimed to remember nothing, others have wished to forget everything connected with the episode. Dayton Mak, former first secretary of the US embassy during 1966, vividly remembered the atmosphere of Beirut 1966, and readily recounted that things like the Aquinas Affair did happen in Beirut, but then, as now, few ever really knew the full story - what happened and why - only that to somebody, somewhere, who had the means and ambition and not too much concern with human consequences, such things must have seemed like a good idea at the time.[45]

In 1966, AUB represented different things to different people in Lebanon and the region. For people like Kirkwood, Hostler, Copeland, and the staff of the US embassy, AUB was part of the American constellation of diplomatic, commercial, military, and intelligence-gathering power in the region. For faculty members and former students like John Spagnolo, Kamal Salibi, and Tarif Khalidi, among many others, AUB represented a treasured example of free intellectual inquiry, critical thought, and academic freedom, and many defended these values ferociously in word and deed. But precisely because of the values of openness defended by the faculty, AUB was far more vulnerable to the machinations of those, both for and against, for whom it was a symbol of American power.

The Aquinas Affair and the events of March 1966 resulted from a covertly manufactured collision between these two visions: Cold War power and academic freedom. And it is equally clear that, whatever the objectives of the operatives behind the events, academic freedom and those who defended it lost the contest and were victims of events beyond their control or understanding. But the story does not end there; almost fifty years later, the values that the AUB faculty defended remain, and AUB is no longer part of the constellation of American power in the region. The University remains the bastion of academic freedom its defenders envisioned and struggled toward in its first 150 years.

ENDNOTES

[1] Interview with US Embassy-Beirut Political Officer, 1965–1967, and DSM 1967–1969, Dayton Mak, April 2013. See the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST), Oral History Project, Dayton Mak interview, http://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Mak,%20Dayton%20S.toc.pdf, accessed 21 March 2013.

[2] This recounting of events is based on fifty pages of exhaustive contemporary notes made at the time by current AUB Sheikh Zayid Professor of Islamic and Arabic Studies, Tarif Khalidi. In 1966, Khalidi was an instructor in the Cultural Studies program. This article would not have been possible without his generous help and patient assistance. Several interviews with other participants were also conducted. I first heard the story from the late Kamal Salibi during a long lunch with Salibi and Abdul-Rahim Abu Husayn in spring 2006.

[3] *Al-Sha'b*, 18 March 1966, "Fadiha fi al-Jaml'a al-Amirikiyya bi-Bayrut."

[4] http://www.aub.edu.lb/cgi-bin/asc-directory.pl?step=detail&l_code=6073. John Spagnolo, AUB personnel record. Accessed 19 May 2013.

[5] "Ousted Professor Flies to England," *Beirut Daily Star*, 21 March 1966, and *AUB Outlook*, special leaflet, 23 March 1966. AUB Jafet library, Aquinas Affair files.

[6] AUB Jafet Library Archives, Samuel Kirkwood CV and AUB obituary, 4 March 1994.

[7] AUB Jafet Library Archives, "Minutes of the University Senate," President's report, 18 March 1966.

[8] Kirkwood was not truthful in his report to the Senate. General Security had actually threatened that they would not defend Spagnolo against the expected mob. Spagnolo had reported the threat directly to Kirkwood by phone on the morning of his expulsion.

[9] AUB Jafet Library Archives, "Minutes of the University Senate," President's report, 19 March 1966.

[10] Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir and His Rivals, 1958–1970*, 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

[11] Interview with US Embassy-Beirut Political Officer, 1965–1967, and DSM 1967–1969, Dayton Mak, April 2013. Also see the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST), Oral History Project, Dayton Mak interview, http://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Mak,%20Dayton%20S.toc.pdf, accessed 21 March 2014.

[12] Lyndon Johnson Presidential library, NSF Files, vol. 1, box 149, State Dept. Airgram, Am-Embassy Beirut to State, views of General Boustany, 28 October 1965.

[13] Hostler obituary. http://www.aub.edu.lb/news/2014/Pages/hostler-obituary.aspx. Accessed 25 October 2014.

[14] Office of Strategic Services; the precursor to the CIA.

[15] Charles Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador: From the D-Day Normandy Landing to the Persian Gulf War* (San Diego, 2003), 166–177.

[16] Hostler, 113. See also the USAF Intelligence report on Shishakli, which was probably Hostler's work. Memorandum, Gen. Edward H. Porter. Dep. Dir. for Intelligence, Joint Staff, to the Chairman, JCS. Mar. 2, 1954. TOP SECRET. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. TOP SECRET. Declassified.

[17] Miles Copeland, *Without Cloak or Dagger: The Truth about the New Espionage* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 203–204.

[18] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador*, 132.

[19] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador,* 139.

[20] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador,* 134–135.

[21] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador,* 144. See also "Report regarding the identification and analysis of internal conflicts in various countries which might warrant U.S. military contingency planning." Countries included: Libya; the Sudan; Yemen; Lebanon; Iraq; Iran; Northwest frontier of Pakistan; Northeast frontier of India; Tibet; Burma; Malaysia; Singapore; Indonesia; West New Guinea; Dominican Republic; Venezuela; Colombia; Ecuador; Peru; Bolivia; Algeria; Morocco; Western Sahara; Cameroon; Angola; Mozambique; Guinea; South Africa; Rhodesia; Ruanda; Kenya; Ethiopia. Report. Department of State. SECRET. Issue Date: Mar 30, 1961. Date Declassified: May 23, 2000. 74pp. The Middle East portion of this report would have been Hostler's work. The section on Syria and Egypt remain classified even today. See also CIA report on Qassim's oil concession negotiations over nationalization of the Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC). CIA report: situation in Laos; Belgium's role in the Congo; Soviet proposals for an interim agreement on Berlin; status report on Soviet Bloc shelter programs; Chinese Nationalists concerned over their UN position; Iraq oil negotiations. Miscellaneous. CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY. OFFICIAL USE. Issue Date: Apr. 13, 1961.

[22] Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (Church Committee Report), (20 November 1975), "C. Institutionalizing Assassination: the 'Executive Action' capability," *Alleged Assassination Plots involving Foreign Leaders*, 181.

[23] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador,* 161.

[24] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador*, 174.

[25] BBC-TV Interview, 1967, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sE0fucxLvKI. Accessed 25 March 2014.

[26] AIRGRAM, Embassy Beirut to State, 7 April 1965. SECRET. LBJ Library.

[27] Nikiforov evidently went on to become Soviet Chief of Protocol and played a central role in the Nixon state visit to the USSR in 1974. See Nixon Presidential Library, Presidential Daily Diary, 27 June 1974.

[28] LBJ Library. AIRGRAM, Embassy Beirut to State, 7 April 1965. SECRET.

[29] Every diplomatic report of official contact repeats these requests.

[30] LBJ Library, Letter Hussein to Johnson, 9 February 1966.

[31] LBJ Library, White House meeting memo. SECRET. 12 February 1966. NSF, Country File, "Lebanon, Volume 1," Box 149.

[32] Foreign Relations of the United States [FRUS], 1964–1968, vol. xviii, Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1964–1967, Document 273, Memorandum From the President's Deputy Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (Komer) to President Johnson, Washington, February 22, 1966, 6PM.

[33] LBJ Library, Cable to Secretary of State Dean Rusk from Ambassador Smythe on Syria's objection to U.S. arms sales to Israel, which they claim is a challenge to Arab existence and safety and a threat to international peace and area security. Cable. Department of State. CONFIDENTIAL. Issue Date: Feb 13, 1966.

[34] The relevant telegram from Barnes is referred to in notes containing his instructions from the State Department. FRUS, 1964–1968 vol. xviii, Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1964–1967, Document 275, Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Jordan. Washington, February 23, 1966, 7:13PM. More informed information indicated the coup stemmed from the civilians' conviction to keep the army officers on their barracks and out of politics.

[35] FRUS, 1964–1968, vol. xviii, Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1964–1967, Document 276, Telegram From the Department State to the Embassy in Jordan. Washington, February 26, 1966, 3:57PM.

[36] *Los Angeles Times*, 1 March 1966, Joe Alex Morris Jr. "Syrian Coup Termed Wild Bid by Military: Ousted Premier Bitar Says Army Putsch Was to Prevent Political Banishment"; *Los Angeles Times*, 5 March 1966, "Arrests in Lebanon."

[37] *The Times of London*, "Arab Leaders Fight Shy of Yemen Issue," 17 March 1966.

[38] FRUS 1964–1968, vol. xviii, Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1964–1967, Document 283, Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (McNaughton) to Secretary of Defense McNamara, Washington, March 31, 1966.

[39] LBJ Library, "Lebanon, Volume 1," Box 149, Porter to State, SECRET, 5 May 1966, and Porter to State, 19 May 1966.

[40] *New York Times*, 15 Feb 1966, "3 DC-8's Ordered: Middle East Airlines to Pay $8.5-Million for Craft."

[41] *New York Times*, 15 Mar 1966, "Egyptian Airline May Buy U.S. Jets: Talks on $30-Million Deal for 707's Or DC-8's."

[42] *New York Times*, 15 Mar 1966, "Arab Move On Arms Reported Planned" and "Arab States call on US to reject reported Israeli pressure for arms sales to Israel."

[43] *New York Times*, 25 Nov 1966, "Douglas Cancels Jet Sale To Lebanese-Flag Airline."

[44] Hostler, *Soldier to Ambassador*, 180–181.

[45] Multiple conversations by email and phone with Dayton Mak, April 2013.

10 The American University of Beirut: A Case for Studying Universities in International Politics

Rasmus Gjedsso Bertelsen

INTRODUCTION: AUB AS A TRANSNATIONAL ACTOR WITH TRANSNATIONAL POWER

This chapter will consider the American University of Beirut (hereafter AUB) as a representative case study for examining the role of transnational universities in the field of international relations. From the perspective of international relations, one can discern important aspects of the University and its role in the relationship between the Middle East and the USA. This chapter will emphasize two such aspects of AUB: its role as a successful transnational actor and its transnational power. These two aspects are useful starting points for viewing the University as an actor in international politics, and can serve as a catalyst for further studies.

AUB is well known to students of the Middle East, in general, and students of the history of American societal relations with the Middle East since the 1860s, in particular. There exists a rich historical literature on AUB as an influential educational institution in the region and a bridge between Middle Eastern and American societies.[1] In recent years, with the War on Terror and intensified US engagement in the Middle East, there has been an increased policy interest in the soft power role of American education of Middle Easterners, both in the USA and in the region.[2] AUB plays a central part as one of the most prominent American universities in the Middle East, which former AUB President John Waterbury effectively captured when he noted that AUB graduates may "continue to resent US policies and criticize US leadership, but they want to import its institutional successes in governance, legal arrangements, and business organization."[3]

This chapter argues that AUB and its fellow American overseas missionary-founded educational institutions and more recent American-associated universities in the Middle East have not received adequate attention from international relations scholarship. This omission is regrettable since universities can be important actors in international politics and should receive more attention as such, which they are just beginning to do.[4]

AUB, as a prominent and influential academic institution of the Middle East and a powerful conduit between Middle Eastern and American societies since the 1860s, presents a central case for studying the role of transnational universities in international relations. In this light, it is important to remember that AUB is not a unique case. American missionaries founded a number of institutions of higher education in the Middle East and Asia in the late 1800s and early 1900s. AUB is perhaps the best known today, but it is important to see AUB as one of several such cases. American missionary-founded universities in the Middle East and Asia have received considerable historical attention, but have not yet been compared across regions, and scholars in the field of international relations have not focused on this category of successful transnational actors. Since the 1990s, there has been a great expansion of private, transnational institutions of higher education in the Middle East and the Global South, driven by demand from large populations of young people wanting a Western-style education and the inability or unwillingness of states to satisfy this demand.[5] AUB is a powerful regional role model for this process. A comparison between older and more recent institutions is also useful, but absent from the literature to date, which either examines the earlier cases in an historical light[6] or the new institutions from an educational studies angle.[7]

Nye and Keohane, in their 1971 special issue of *International Organization* on transnational relations, presented a useful starting point for studying transnational actors, asserting that transnational actors are non-state actors engaged in "global interactions" of cross-border flows of information,

goods, money, and people.[8] It is clear that many universities, in general, and AUB, in particular, are transnational actors that are deeply involved in such global interactions. Despite this, universities as transnational actors have been overlooked in international relations research. The strong transnational role of AUB and other similar institutions has been the basis of their soft power, and, therefore, should be examined as a basis for considering this power. Therefore, this chapter will outline the transnational relations of AUB in comparison with those of other similar American universities in the Middle East and China, as well as with the more recent American-associated private, transnational universities in the Middle East.

American missionaries established a number of universities in the Middle East in the late 1800s and early 1900s – Robert College in Istanbul (1863-1971), the Syrian Protestant College (1866; which became the American University of Beirut in 1920), the American University in Cairo (1919; hereafter AUC), and the Lebanese American University (with college roots back to 1924; hereafter LAU). American missionaries, at the same time, founded more than twenty institutions of higher education in China, Japan, and Korea – such as St. John's University in Shanghai (1879), Yale-in-China in Changsha and Hunan (1901), and Yenching University in Beijing (1916). The American missionary-founded universities in China were nationalized during the Korean War, when the US government banned financial transfers to Mainland China.[9] These early American missionary-founded universities will hereafter be referred to as "historical peers."

AMERICAN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND CHINA AS TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS

Mapping of the historical and current transnational relations of AUB clearly shows that the University has, since its founding, been closely connected to private, public, and civil society sectors in America, Lebanon, and wider Middle Eastern society. Both the older American missionary-founded universities in the Middle East and China and the more recent private, transnational institutions of higher education can be seen as "information and resource bridges" between their American society of origin and their host society (see Figure 1).[10]

Information, ideas, and financial and human resources flow between societies through the university. The two-way direction of flow is important to note, as it is often overlooked when considering the (historically intended) flow of ideas from America to the host society. AUB and other such transnational universities connect with a range of academic, business, civil society, government, and other actors both in American society and in their host societies. These transnational relationships are key to understanding AUB and other such universities as transnational actors with transnational power.

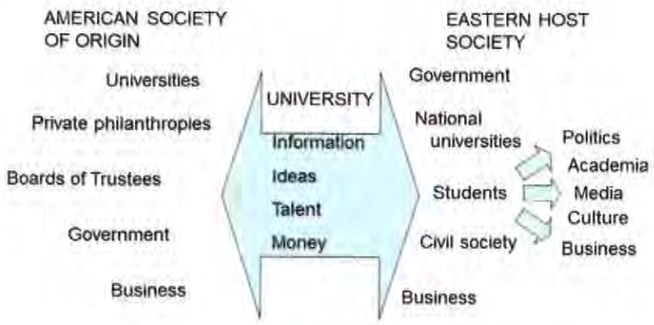

Fig. 1. The university as transnational actor (Reprinted with permission from "The University as a Transnational Actor with Transnational Power: American Missionary Universities in the Middle East and China," PS: Political Science & Politics 47, no. 3 (July 2014): 624–627, © American Political Science Association, published by Cambridge University Press)

The principal interlocutors in the host society, whether it be in the Middle East or Asia, are the students and their families. AUB has more than 58,059 alumni throughout Lebanese society, the region, the USA, and beyond.[11] An important legacy of some of the American missionary-founded universities in China is their alumni organizations, which have remained very active (together with some successor institutions in Taiwan).[12] Such alumni organizations are often well represented in politics, government, business, education, culture, the media, and other fields.

The historical missionary-founded universities equally have had a long relationship with their host states, which have, usually cautiously, accepted these institutions for their elite ties to American society and contributions to state-building and development. These universities have supplied and continue to supply key human capital for international and local businesses in their host societies and regions. However, there have been periods of tension. The Egyptian government considered nationalizing the American University in Cairo between the late 1950s and early 1970s, and sequestered the university during the Six Day War in 1967. When they were at war with Korea, neither the Peoples' Republic of China nor the USA tolerated the American missionary-founded universities in China as independent bicultural institutions.

The relations of AUB and its historical peers with their American society of origin have received less attention in the historical literature, but are – for the purposes of international relations research – at least as interesting. Comparing the relationships between these older missionary-founded universities and American society with those between more recently established universities and American society illustrates some of the interesting and important qualities of AUB and its historical peers.

We see clearly that AUB and its historical peers have had connections with leading American academic institutions. Throughout their histories, AUB and its historical peers have been able to recruit faculty and senior administrators from the foremost American universities. Illustrative examples are AUB presidents Malcolm Kerr (UCLA), John Waterbury (Princeton), and Peter Dorman (University of Chicago). The family histories of Kerr and Dorman, for instance, illustrate how academic human capital continues to move back and forth between AUB and American society. Similar stories can be told about the American missionary-founded universities in China. Missionary-founded universities have sent and continue to send graduates to top American universities for graduate study, at times laying the foundation for transnational careers between Eastern host societies and American society, as with Professor Philip Khuri Hitti at Princeton University.[13]

In contrast, we see more recent American-associated private universities in the Middle East that often have academic connections of varying quality and intensity with the USA. One sees the full range of educational caliber, from exceptionally well-funded branch campuses of prominent US universities (most prominently, Education City in Qatar and New York University in Abu Dhabi) to campuses of lower-ranked institutions (such as the New York Institute of Technology) to collaboration agreements of less-prominent US-based institutions with private institutions of higher education (such as, for instance, a number of private institutions of higher education in Oman). This comparison highlights the quality and intensity of the academic transnational relations of AUB and its historical peers both then and today.[14]

The same difference in quality and intensity of transnational relations is evident when comparing the boards of trustees of AUB and its historical peers with those of newcomer institutions. AUB and its historical peers, as private non-profit universities, have been and continue to be guided by their boards of trustees, usually based in New York. What stands out when looking at these boards is how AUB and its historical peers, since their establishment, have recruited American and, later, other social elites from academia, business, civil society, and government, worldwide, to their causes of education, research, development, and sometimes health care in the host society. The boards of trustees continue to raise substantial resources for these missions, and these boards clearly demonstrate how universities can bring together American and overseas elites. We do not see similar boards of trustees playing that role with the newer institutions.

AUB and its historical peers in the Middle East – AUB and LAU – continue to have relationships with the US government. All three lobby the US Congress for financial and political support. The US government temporarily supported AUB during World War II, and has significantly supported AUB and AUC ever since the 1950s, when the soft power and development aid value of these universities became clear. Presidents of American missionary-founded universities have become ambassadors to their host countries. Yenching University President John Leighton Stuart was the last US ambassador to Mainland China, and AUC President John Badeau represented the USA in Egypt in the early 1960s. The American missionary-founded universities in China did not survive into the 1950s to develop this same relationship with the US government and receive similar support. These relationships between the universities with missionary roots and the US government sets them apart from the newer private, transnational universities, which do not have such relationships with any of the branches of the US government.

As previously mentioned, AUB has for a long time had good relationships with American and other Western businesses, together with the other longstanding American universities in Beirut and Cairo. Their graduates have been and remain popular job candidates with American businesses for their cultural and linguistic skills combined with an American-style education, and American businesses

have supported AUB, as seen in the funding and recognition of the Bechtel Engineering Building. These long and deep relationships with leading American businesses distinguish the older universities with missionary roots from the newer private, transnational universities, whose industry relations are of varying intensity and quality.

THE SOFT POWER OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND CHINA

Policy attention is paid to the soft power of American higher education towards the Middle East (through both American universities in the Middle East and universities in the USA),[15] including scholarly attention to foreign civilian and military students in the USA.[16] The theoretical starting point for this inquiry is the work of Joseph Nye, who, while drawing on broader power debates in political science and international relations, formulated the concept of soft power. This concept captures desired behaviors by others that are caused by attraction or co-optation, rather than coercion or inducement. With this concept, Nye explains a significant part of the power of the USA. Furthermore, it is important to remember that other states, and especially non-state actors, can also hold soft power.[17]

When applying the concept of soft power, a couple of guidelines should be observed. First, it is important not to confuse soft power *resources* with soft power *outcomes* in terms of desired *behaviors*. There is an unfortunate tradition in debates on power to confuse resources with power: the one with the bigger economy, military, population, and so forth is considered more powerful. Here, the context of power is central. The Vietnam War, for example, reminds us that those who seem most powerful still may not be able to obtain the results they desire.[18] Concerning soft power, there has been a tendency in the literature to focus on the resources of the state in terms of public diplomacy.[19] Therefore, it is important to have a *behavior*-focused view of soft power: the ability to obtain a desired behavior by others through attraction and co-optation. It must be remembered that soft power is particularly dependent on the receiver.[20]

It is equally important to recognize that states are not the only "players" with soft power; non-state actors can have soft power in their own rights. It is also important to keep in mind that non-state actors may be an important source of the soft power of state actors. Nye reminds us that Hollywood, Harvard, and Microsoft are all important sources of US soft power.[21] Elsewhere, I have discussed the distinction between the *national* soft power of the state and the *university* soft power of, for instance, AUB. The interplay between university and national soft power is central for understanding the soft power of AUB and its role in US-Middle Eastern relations.[22] Nye points to Arnold Wolfers' distinction between "milieu" and "possession" goals as useful for looking at soft power, where "milieu" goals entail changing the environment for action, while "possession" goals are concrete policy outcomes. Soft power is often more successful at changing the environment (milieu goals) than achieving policy goals directly (possession goals).[23]

Finally, it is important to pay attention to how we talk about soft power. Such wordings as "wielding" or "exercising" soft power "over" somebody are problematic in light of the importance of the context of power, in general, and the dependence of soft power on the receivers, in particular. Therefore, I propose to talk about "holding or having" soft power "with" somebody.[24] Research on the soft power of transnational universities – where AUB is a crucial case – indicates that such universities hold substantial soft power in their own right and contribute to the national soft power of their states of origin as well as of the host states.[25]

Finally, Nye writes about the shift from zero-sum power *over* others (to coerce them to do something against their will) to positive-sum power *with* others to solve common transnational problems. This development from power *over* to power *with* is important for understanding a world where power is shifting from Western states to, in particular, Asian states and also increasingly from states to non-state actors. The chaotic transnational challenges of climate change, crime, pandemics, economic crises, and so forth are increasingly important.[26] The role of universities, in general, and of AUB, in particular, for cooperative power *with* other organizations may be the next step in research on the role of universities in international relations, which is touched upon at the conclusion of this chapter.

AUB, its historical peers, and the more recent transnational private universities represent central cases for addressing questions of the multidirectional and multifaceted power of transnational actors. AUB and its historical peers, in particular, but also some of the recent transnational private universities, have rich and intense relationships with a broad range of influential public, private, and civil society actors both in host societies and in America. Focusing on AUB and other transnational private universities is useful for discussing such important questions as: What power do transnational actors hold in relation to various state and non-state actors, and what is the basis for that power? How do a university's relations with the state and public policy affect the power of transnational actors?

Do transnational actors contribute to state power? Can states pursue power through transnational actors?[27] These are questions that will be analyzed here with a focus on AUB and, to a lesser degree, its historical peers and the more recent American-associated universities in the Middle East.

The importance of a behavior-based approach to power has been previously mentioned. Here we will consider how AUB, its historical peers, and now also other transnational universities elicit desired behaviors from public, private, and civil society interlocutors both in their host societies and in American society. Such desired behavior, or university soft power, might include the acceptance of a university's mission of proselytizing (as presumably occurred in the past) or of providing a secular education (as occurred later), and other moral, financial, and political issues in support of the universities. The opposite of university soft power would be the rejection of the universities or attacks on them.[28]

The main host society interlocutors of AUB and the other universities continue to be the *students and their families*. So what was originally the desired behavior from the students? Was it realized, and why or why not? AUB, together with its historical peers, was founded with a proselytizing aim, a soft power mission of attracting locals to American Protestantism and training local leaders to carry on that mission; however, that mission failed. Islam and local Christian sects in the Middle East rejected conversion, and proselytizing also proved unsuccessful in China. Middle Eastern youths protested the obligatory Bible classes and religious services at SPC/AUB until the Ottoman Empire put an end to them during World War I. In China, the Christian colleges often had to pay the full expenses of education, including travel costs, in order to attract local students.[29]

Nevertheless, local youths did continue to attend these missionary-founded universities despite rejecting their proselytizing; so what was it that attracted these youths? The answer then and now is simple: educational quality resulting in improved opportunities in life, and respectful bicultural encounters. Visionary missionaries understood this attraction, and the Chinese Christian colleges came to understand that a major source of attraction was English-language education creating work opportunities in foreign trade and concessions. This understanding and the failed mission of conversion led to a transition on the part of the universities during the late 1800s and early 1900s to secular missions of academic excellence, which also paralleled the secularization of private Protestant colleges in the USA. A second important basis for university soft power was respectful bicultural encounters. The respect, admiration, and popularity AUB enjoyed and continues to enjoy in the Middle East are based on the University being perceived as an Arab-American institution – a more Arab than Lebanese institution with predominantly Arab students, faculty, and staff, which has contributed to pan-Arabism through such intellectuals as Constantine Zurayk. It was not a predatory American intrusion, but rather a great liberal university, respectful of Arab politics and culture, which contributed much to Arab state-building. Likewise, for instance, Yenching University in Beijing grew much in Chinese respect in the 1920s with its emphasis on Chinese culture, language, and studies, and in establishing the Harvard-Yenching Institute for Chinese studies with centers at both Harvard and Yenching.[30]

The USA became an extremely influential power in the Middle East after World War II, although its support for Israel became a major liability for both the USA and American universities in the region. Students at AUB clearly rejected US Middle East policy, despite the fact that Palestinian students were attracted to AUB for its educational excellence and such values as academic freedom. Western foreign policy was equally a liability for the American missionary-founded universities in China even earlier because of unequal treaties with China and discrimination against China in the Versailles Treaty after World War I. The mistreatment of China by the West and by Japan led to much nationalist political activism on American campuses in China. In summary, for the American missionary-founded universities in both the Middle East and China, originally Protestant proselytizing and later American foreign policy were serious liabilities, while their attraction was and is still based on their quality of education and the improved opportunities in life. The recent American-associated private universities in the Middle East naturally have no associated Christian mission. Impressions from these universities suggest that there, too, US foreign policy is rejected, and the source of attraction is educational quality and job opportunities for young people in difficult labor markets.[31]

AUB and its historical peers have been cautiously accepted by their host states, while the more recently established American-associated private universities have been encouraged by their host states. The relationships between these universities and their host states (and with the US government, as discussed below) show the importance of state political will and decisions for the operation of these transnational actors.[32] For one hundred and fifty years, SPC/AUB has operated under the Ottoman Empire, French mandate rule, and an independent Lebanon. The first serious test of acceptance of SPC/AUB by its host state was World War I, when the Ottoman Empire allowed SPC/AUB to continue operating (although ending its compulsory religious services) because of its

loyal service in supplying medical teams to the Ottoman army fighting in Palestine, as well as the US government's decision not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire.[33] Under the French Mandate and later, AUB degrees were not fully recognized by the state, in contrast to those from the Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth.[34] Since the Egyptian revolution in 1952, AUC has been able to operate within a stronger state than AUB in an independent Lebanon. The Egyptian state first seriously considered nationalizing AUC in 1958 with Law 160, intended to Arabize education. At that time, AUC's administration made it clear to President Nasser that it was up to him whether AUC would continue to exist or not since the application of Law 160 would mean its demise. Therefore, President Nasser exempted AUC from Law 160 in order to preserve the university as a bridge to the USA. During the Six Day War in 1967, the Egyptian government sequestered AUC under former Minister of Higher Education Dr. Hussein Said, who averted a mob attack on the AUC campuses by convincing the populace that AUC was under Egyptian control and belonged to Egypt, and that only educated Egyptians and Egypt would suffer from its being damaged. President Nasser was encouraged by his advisors and the media to nationalize AUC, and turned to Dr. Said for his opinion. Dr. Said advised President Nasser at length that AUC supplied Egypt with an alternative university system at no expense and provided educated graduates with valuable English skills.[35] On these two occasions, Dr. Said outlined many of the values that make AUC and its peers attractive to their host states in the Middle East and China: elite relations with the USA and contributions to human capital, socio-economic development, and health care.

This research on AUB, its historical peers in the Middle East and China, and recent transnational private universities in the Middle East has revealed a hitherto overlooked part of the transnational power of these universities, *reverse* university soft power.[36] AUB and its historical peers and, to varying degrees, the more recently established universities have built strong, rich transnational relations with private, public, and civil society actors in American society. AUB and its peers continue to attract *desired behaviors* from these American parties in the form of academic, financial, and political support. This is what we term *reverse* soft power: when a transnational actor established in a foreign host society for soft power purposes develops soft power in its society of origin. Reverse soft power on the part of the missionaries was unintended, but their bridge-building role became increasingly important over time. Reverse soft power with American private, public, and civil society actors is based on academic excellence as the soft power in the host society.

AUB and its peers in the Middle East and China built strong relations with leading American academic institutions based on their academic focus and excellence. These American missionary-founded universities attracted faculty and administrators and exported graduates for graduate studies, sometimes founding transnational careers. Human talent, and research and publication activities by overseas universities have influenced Middle East and China scholarship in the USA. Today, prominent branch campuses and local affiliated universities in the Middle East attract academic attention from prominent institutions in the US, often based on host state wealth from oil and gas resources. An important part of the reverse soft power of American missionary-founded universities in the USA continues to be through philanthropy, civil society, and boards of trustees. These universities were founded with philanthropic missionary support. Moreover, with secularization, they have attracted much coveted foundational philanthropic support from the Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie, and other foundations, which demonstrates their reverse university soft power based on their ability to implement the educational, research, development, and health care goals of the foundations.

AUB AND AMERICAN-ASSOCIATED OVERSEAS UNIVERSITIES AND THE US GOVERNMENT

The soft power relationship with the US government is central for discussing the power of transnational actors and how they interact with the state and its power. We have seen how AUB and its historical peers have had and continue to have significant soft power in their host societies concerning milieu goals of informing host societies about American society, building elite networks, and attracting local elites to norms, skills, and values. AUB and its historical peers have attracted various members of their host societies to such American liberal arts norms as individualism, critical thinking, academic freedom, gender equality, and religious tolerance. These universities have familiarized future elites with American educational traditions, equipped them with professional English skills, and built connections to American academic, business, civil society, and government elites. The universities have not been able to create an acceptance of US China or Middle East policy, which was never a university or US government goal. It is clear how AUB and its historical peers – and to lesser extent, recently established universities – contribute to the soft power of American society in terms of making its education, culture, language, and institutions more attractive, as conveyed by John Waterbury's comment, cited at the beginning of this chapter. These contributions of AUB and its peers

in the Middle East and China to US national soft power must be emphasized. AUB and its historical peers were never an intentional expression or tool of US soft power, nor did the US government wield or exercise soft power through these institutions. US foreign policy, whether in China or later the Middle East, was a clear liability for these universities; their soft power existed ***despite*** US foreign policy.

Since the 1950s, the US government has supported AUB, AUC, and LAU for soft power and development policy reasons. It continues to believe that AUB and its peers have a unique position and reputation in the Middle East, which would be extremely difficult to replace if lost. AUB and its Middle Eastern peers continue to lobby the US Congress for financial support. This support is a reflection of their reverse soft power with the US government, where the executive branch sometimes chafes under congressional instructions to support these universities when it prefers flexibility to support local institutions for development aims. University reverse soft power with the US government and US educational soft power policy in the Middle East are intertwined and not contradictory. The academic quality of AUB, AUC, and LAU, which gives them reverse soft power in Washington, makes it possible for the USA to reach future elites and attract them to liberal norms.[37]

CONCLUSION: AUB AND STUDYING UNIVERSITIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AUB represents a prime example for the study of the role of universities in international politics, along with other American missionary-founded universities in the Middle East and China, and with the more recent American-associated private universities in the Middle East. Universities have been an overlooked group of actors in international politics, despite the fact that many universities have been and remain deeply involved in Nye and Keohane's "global interactions" of moving information, people, and money between societies. A careful study of the history of AUB, its historical peers, and the recently established American-associated universities shows that AUB, in particular, and its historical peers remain exceptional transnational actors, and "information and resource bridges" between Middle Eastern, Chinese, and American societies: conduits for information, ideas, talent, and financial resources moving in both directions. Looking at the American universities with missionary roots in the Middle East and China and the more recently established American-associated private universities in the Middle East reveals a pattern whereby the older universities tend to have stronger transnational relations with American academia, business, civil society, and government than many of the more recent universities.

The strong relations that have existed and continue to exist between these universities and their students and students' families and host societies and states, as well as with academia, business, civil society, and government in the USA, is also the basis of their soft power. AUB and its peers failed at their original proselytizing soft power goal. When they readjusted their missions to focus on secular academic excellence and bridge building, they proved very successful in attracting local and regional youths seeking educational excellence, improved life chances, and respectful bicultural encounters. The universities have contributed to Wolfers' "milieu" goals of attracting local future elites to the American liberal arts norms of critical thinking, individualism, academic freedom, gender equality, and religious tolerance, and have made American education, culture, and institutions more attractive to these elites. However, it is important to note that these universities have never contributed to a "possession" goal of acceptance of US China or Middle East policy, which was also never a US government goal. The universities continue to hold soft power in their own right, and they have contributed to the national soft power of the USA, although they have never been an extension of US soft power. The universities' soft power existed ***despite*** US foreign policy in China and later the Middle East. How AUB and its peers have attracted academic, financial, and political support from American private, public, and civil society actors illustrates the concept of ***reverse*** soft power, which has hitherto been overlooked.

Nye, in his writings on power, emphasizes the difference between zero-sum power ***over*** others as opposed to positive-sum power ***with*** others to solve complex transnational challenges.[38] Universities, by moving ideas, information, talent, and money between societies, may contribute to power ***with*** others by creating epistemic communities, knowledge, and cultures of cooperation. The next step in looking at universities in international politics could well be whether universities contribute to the power ***with*** others of societies around the world. Top global universities play a role in addressing important global challenges, but what is the distribution of such power between American society and other societies linked with these universities through brain drain or circulation, collaboration, or otherwise? Have AUB and its historical and modern peers contributed to the power of Middle Eastern and Chinese societies to address local or transnational challenges ***with*** American society? What has been the distribution of such power in those relationships? These could be important future questions concerning AUB and other 'transnational' universities in international politics.

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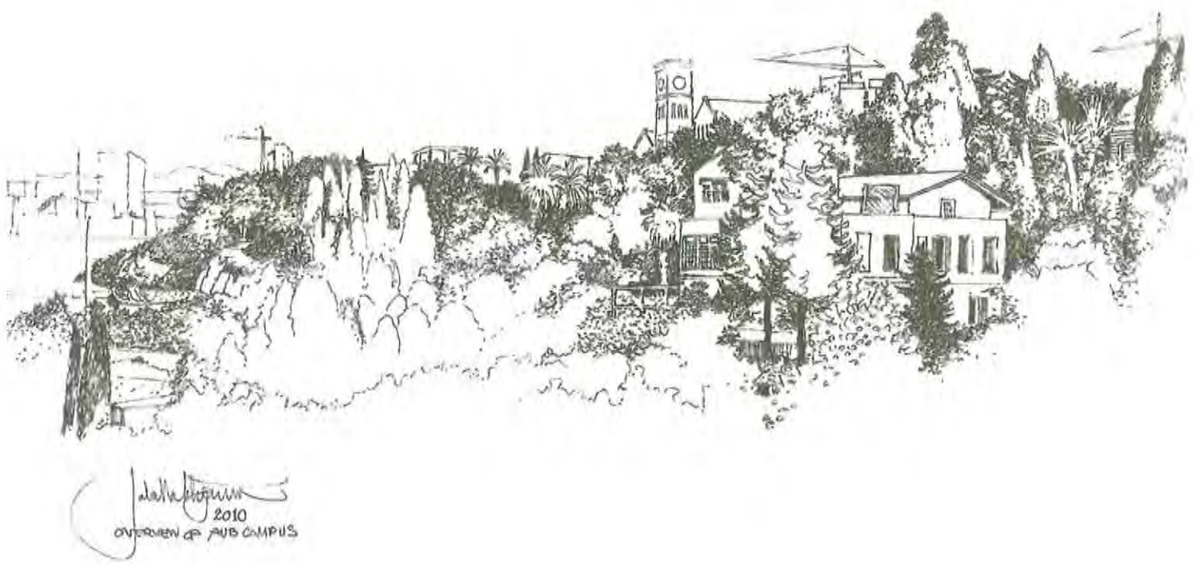
Part III

Space



11 "Another Amherst on the Site of Ancient Berytus": Early Impacts of New England on the Ras Beirut Landscape, 1870–1920

Maria Bashshur Abunnasr

INTRODUCTION

The rich history of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC), renamed the American University of Beirut (AUB) in 1920, has been the subject of many publications over its one hundred and fifty year lifespan. Indeed, its history has inspired and continues to inspire a wide range of scholarship from its early Anglo-American Protestant identity to the far-reaching educational, social, and political roles it has played in Beirut, in Lebanon, and in the region. Although, to many, the SPC/AUB personifies Ras Beirut, little if any attention has been given to the significance of its physical and spatial history. This chapter contributes to the history of the SPC/AUB in terms of its attention to the historical evolution of the natural and built landscape of the College in relation to its New England origins and in response to its Ras Beirut setting. Drawing from topographical, architectural, and photographic sources, this chapter examines the changing image and language of the College architecture in its first half century. Part of the larger history of the unintended consequences of a missionary/local and US/Middle Eastern encounter, this story unfolds in the context of the shaping of the distinct urban identity of Ras Beirut.

Over the course of a half century, from 1870 to 1920, a small group of Anglo-American missionary educators shaped a New England college landscape in the form of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) on the headland of Ras Beirut. Not an exact replica of any one New England college campus, the SPC nonetheless was a composite of these self-contained New England worlds. The SPC's founders at first employed an architecture of hard-edged monumentality and containment to emphasize the linearity of the massive College buildings on a scale disproportionate to their natural surroundings, recalling a spatial memory specific to New England.[1] In this way the SPC's built landscape both legitimized the Anglo-American presence in Ras Beirut and affirmed its historical-architectural lineage with New England. The SPC represented the continuity of the Anglo-American college campus tradition well beyond the territorial boundaries of the United States. Indeed, the SPC was born of the interrelated history of the burgeoning college campus tradition and the nineteenth-century religious revivals taking place across New England.

At the same time, the SPC's establishment also embodied the fulfillment of local secular Arab demands of the Anglo-American missionary endeavor to teach, not preach.[2] In a topographical sense, Ras Beirut's rugged promontory demanded that the east-west axis of the SPC campus face north to the sea with its back to the south and the unfolding streetscape. Moreover, the SPC's built landscape pulled Beirut's urbanization westwards, connecting the old city of Berytus to the new "college on the hill" at Ras Beirut. Fitted with the doorknobs and the double-pane sash windows of New England material culture, the SPC buildings were made of the sandstone quarried from the coast to the south of Ras Beirut. These blended features of New England architecture with the raw materials of local sandstone and red-tiled roofs resulted in a synthesized architecture and spatial configuration that made the SPC/AUB part of the local landscape in a way that the original ideals of its early Protestant missionary founders never intended.

Originally founded in 1866 in a neighborhood closer to the city center, the SPC did not settle in Ras Beirut until 1870. That year, its Anglo-American missionary founders gathered there for the cornerstone laying ceremony of its first building. With visions of establishing "another Amherst on the site of Ancient Berytus," they chose Ras Beirut, the sparsely populated promontory overlooking the

Mediterranean Sea on the western outskirts of the city of Beirut.[3] In so doing, SPC's founders followed their New England predecessors, who had founded their colleges away from the perceived dangers of the city. Early New England college founders, in turn, followed the tradition of their forebears. Indeed, both the Protestant missionary movement and the idea of the self-contained college first travelled to the United States from England in the early seventeenth century. Alumni of Cambridge University, located outside London, organized the founding of Harvard College outside of Boston in 1636. Harvard graduates founded Yale College in Connecticut in 1701; Yale converts to Presbyterianism founded Princeton College in New Jersey in 1746; Yale and Princeton, in turn, "became 'mother' colleges for their denominations founding colleges as settlements spread west" becoming, like missionaries, "errands into the wilderness."[4]

In New England – to many "America's first strongly imagined region with an early historical consciousness, a high rate of literacy, and cultural production" – higher education went hand in hand with missionary work in propagating both the small self-contained college campus and the overseas missionary movement.[5] Two of New England's earliest colleges, Harvard and Dartmouth, were founded to educate Native Americans to proselytize amongst their own.[6] The spread of colleges over the next half century, however, did not see widespread conversion of Native Americans, foreshadowing the dismal conversion rates in nineteenth-century Ottoman Syria. Nonetheless, the Second Great Awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reignited Anglo-American missionary zeal.[7] Fresh graduates of New England's colleges and seminaries spearheaded this wave to prepare for the Second Coming of Christ, this time turning their attention to the East. In 1810, their drive led to the founding in Boston of the most powerful and far-reaching foreign missionary organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).[8] The ensuing impact of the Anglo-American foreign missionary movement and its association with the New England college tradition resulted in a network of American colleges established in Iran, India, Japan, and the Ottoman Empire, where the SPC was perhaps the most successful and fruitful endeavor.

Indeed, the Anglo-American missionary founders of the SPC were both New England college graduates and former members of the ABCFM. Their puritan association of the city with contamination and decay mandated their preference for a landscape they identified with purity and wilderness.[9] Ras Beirut's topography and its distance from the city center gave them the prospect to build their New England city on a hill. In fact, the SPC's first two presidents, Daniel and Howard Bliss, father and son, were graduates of Amherst College, a quintessential New England college and first model for the built landscape of the Ras Beirut campus.[10]

FROM NEW ENGLAND TO RAS BEIRUT

Beirut made an ideal missionary base. Not only did it make practical sense, for its proximity to Jerusalem, its seaport accessibility, its "Frank" residents, and British consular protection, but it also gave the missionaries a dramatic backdrop of mountains and sea on which to stage their endeavors.[11] Even before the late nineteenth-century "Holy Land mania," Beirut's Anglo-American missionaries drew upon features of Beirut's physical landscape in terms that would appeal to the collective imaginary of their home-based audiences.[12] Pliny Fisk, one of the first two ABCFM missionaries to enter Jerusalem in 1819, advised:

> Beyroot seems to me to possess many important advantages as a missionary station. It is situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon, and a missionary might very profitably spend the hot months of the summer among the convents and villages of the mountain. Another circumstance is that here he will find, opportunities to receive and forward communications. Here too he will enjoy the protection of an English consul, and the society and friendship of several other consuls and their families. I think a missionary family would be more comfortable situated at Beyroot, than at any other place which I have seen in Syria. It is the great emporium of all that dwell upon the mountains.[13]

Sarah Lanman Smith, teacher, missionary wife, and founder of one of the first schools in Beirut, wrote endearingly of Beirut:

> The bird's eye view of Beyroot, at the foot of that famed Lebanon, which is truly a 'goodly mountain,' riveted every affection of my heart, while its beauties commanded my attention. Beyroot pleases me more than any spot which I ever saw, my own dear native town not excepted.[14]

William McClure Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book* (1859), most resolutely made the case for Beirut as the site of long-term American missionary settlement and investment. He wrote,

> The city and suburbs, as you perceive, are situated on the northern slopes of a triangular plain, whose *base line* is the shore, from Ras Beirut to Nahr Yabis. The *perpendicular* runs eastward from the Ras about five miles to the foot of Lebanon, at the bottom of St. George's Bay. The *hypothenuse* [*sic*] is the irregular line of the mountains. The whole plain is a projection *seaward* from the general direction of the coast, and along the base of the hills it is so low as to appear like an island to one sailing up from Sidon. The surface rises gradually from the south to the immediate vicinity of the city, where it is about three hundred feet above the sea. Thence it falls rapidly down toward the roadstead on the north by abrupt, irregular, and winding terraces.[15]

Thomson's prospect (Fig. 1) was more than a hillside site to behold; his multi-dimensional depiction of Beirut poised it as an exceptional site for the most ambitious missionary endeavor yet.[16] In his capacity as acting pastor of the Anglo-American Congregation of Beirut from 1860–1863, Thomson made two decisive propositions to the ABCFM: first, that a college of higher education be established in Beirut, and second, that Daniel Bliss, Amherst College graduate and member of ABCFM's Syria Mission, be its president.[17] In Beirut since 1856, Bliss submitted his resignation to the ABCFM and went to the United States in 1862 to begin fund-raising for the College. At a missionary meeting in Springfield, Massachusetts, he met William E. Dodge, known as *A Merchant Prince of the Nineteenth Century* and co-founder of Phelps, Dodge & Company.[18] Their relationship evolved into a multigenerational source of funding sustained by mutual interests, friendship, and later intermarriage. The State of New York issued the charter for the SPC and in December 1866 it opened its doors to a class of sixteen students.[19] From 1866 to 1873, however, the SPC's life in Beirut was peripatetic; the small faculty and student body moved from one rented house to another in "an unsettled state and the College was looked upon by the natives as an experiment which might succeed or not."[20]

Fig. 1. "Environs of Beirut" in mid-twentieth century (Source: Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria with Routes through Mesopotamia and Babylonia and the Island of Cyprus: Handbook for Travelers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1912), map facing p. 285).

RAS BEIRUT'S NEW ENGLAND TOPOGRAPHY

David Stuart Dodge, William Dodge's son, a Yale College graduate and the College's first professor of English, joined President Bliss to scour Beirut for a permanent site for their "college on wheels."[21] On June 24, 1868, the annual report to the SPC's Board of Managers recorded that the first portions of land at Ras Beirut had been purchased and "money is now on hand sufficient to complete the purchase of the entire plot" of fifteen to twenty acres "lying between the Greek Church and the sea."[22] In Bliss's *Reminiscences*, he mentions Mikhael Younes Al-Gharzouzi, "one of the shrewdest natives, a broker" who advised Bliss to show no interest in the land, but to make himself visible to the landowner by regularly strolling past his shop, until the property was purchased.[23] Although Bliss does not elaborate on Gharzouzi's role, he evidently acted as much more than a broker for the missionaries. Bliss gave Gharzouzi the funds to register the purchased property in his name at the Beirut legal registry *(Sijilat al-mahkamat al-shari'a)* because Ottoman law prohibited US citizens from owning land in Ottoman territories.[24] Gharzouzi registered it as a *waqf*, or a religious endowment, on which a school headed by Mr. Bliss could be built. In 1875, when the Ottoman government extended the right to own property to US citizens, Gharzouzi signed the deeds over to the College.[25]

Bliss never mentioned the name of the original property owner, except to note that he was a local shopkeeper. Indeed, the names of the owners of the plots of land that subsequently comprised the College grounds are still subject to some present-day contest; several individuals claim that their families sold land to the College either for a pittance or, in some cases, for free.[26] Be that as it may, the first tract of land purchased for the College was the "largest and cheapest" at sixty thousand US dollars.[27] In almost the same breath that Bliss described the site chosen to build the SPC as "the finest site in all Beirut if not in all Syria," he added that they "paid for the property far more than its market value; it scarcely had a market value. It was a home for jackals and a dumping place for the offal of the city."[28] Defined on its northern and western flanks by hard rocky ridges overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, from the south by sand dunes swept up by the prevailing southerly winds, and from the east in the shadow of the Lebanon Mountain, the peninsula of Ras Beirut presented these self-defined American pioneers with a compelling backdrop for their landscape of destiny.[29]

Moreover, Ras Beirut put the College in full view of ships coming in and out of the port. The College scanned the harbor, city, and mountain to its east. Its perch gave it the same physical association with New England college landscapes that recalled the puritan image of John Winthrop's *city upon a hill* as a model community of self-righteous enlightenment. New England's early colleges were built on prominent sites above and apart from the physically mundane. Amherst College, for example, cast itself as the "college on a hill."[30] Viewing itself as a place of enlightened dissemination, in local and global terms, its college seal reads *Terras irradient*, "Let them enlighten the land." Bliss wrote of his memory of that ideal world to his former Amherst professor, William S. Tyler:

> My first impressions of Amherst College have never left me [. . .] I arrived from Ohio by the way of Lake Erie and the Canal, and had seen not a little of rough and profane society on our journey. What we witnessed on entering the College, was such a contrast to all this, and indeed to all that we had been accustomed to in our own previous observation and experience, that it seemed as if we had passed into another world![31]

Bliss read Tyler's *History of Amherst College* as he oversaw the construction of the SPC's first buildings.[32] The combined force of his Amherst past and his "imagined future" undoubtedly influenced the decisions he made.[33] Bliss chose the dramatic setting of Ras Beirut, not Ancient Berytus as Tyler assumed, because its landscape promised exceptional providence. As such, Ras Beirut's situation was quintessentially endowed with the physical and sensory qualities necessary to ensure that the SPC, as a city on a hill, would attract attention and admiration. Indeed, the power of Ras Beirut's dramatic landscape created the SPC as much as the SPC would mold the future social and cultural landscape of Ras Beirut.

SPC ARCHITECTURE

AN ARCHITECTURE OF MONUMENTALITY

While Ras Beirut evoked a New England frame of mind, the SPC's architecture evinced a New England frame of reference. In 1871, Bliss visited the eight-year-old Robert College and its first president, fellow New Englander Cyrus Hamlin, who had just completed its first building, Hamlin Hall. Bliss sought Hamlin's advice on "how to build and how not to build."[34] Evidently Hamlin had managed the entire construction site, from the mechanics of the water pump to "teaching his masons how to lay stone," and had erected the building in two years "without the aid or interference of any architect or builder."[35] Hamlin Hall stood next to Rumelihisari, Ottoman Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror's

fortress, and was built of the same blue limestone quarried on the site itself.[36] Though Hamlin Hall was built around an interior courtyard in the manner of a Turkish caravansary (or inn), an upper story of mansard windows wrapped around its massive exterior recalling an architectural style overwhelmingly Victorian. Except for the massive bulk of the building, Bliss did not follow Hamlin's architectural example. He did, however, return to Beirut with Hamlin's energy, confidence, and a sense of urgency to erect "proper edifices."[37]

In rapid succession and with Dodge's financial backing, four SPC buildings were completed by 1873: a main building, with forty-four rooms and a chapel, a medical hall, an observatory, and a dining hall with twenty-eight rooms. Bliss wrote that now they were situated on a "breezy promontory overlooking sea and surrounded with twenty-five acres of College property in pleasing contrast with the dingy rooms first occupied surrounded as they were by a wall not twenty feet from the door and filled at times with pestilential air from the neighborhoods."[38] Though modest relative to its New England counterparts, the SPC's acreage exceeded that of the ancient intramural city of Beirut.[39] Much larger than Robert College's twelve acres and already boasting more buildings, the SPC's location at Ras Beirut gave it the distance, the height, and the expanse to set it apart from the city.[40]

Like their New England prototypes, the colossal size and monumentality of the SPC buildings symbolized the authority and value attached to education.[41] The first SPC building to establish the line of red-roofed, sandstone structures along the upper ridge of Ras Beirut was College Hall. On December 7, 1871, William E. Dodge referred to "this beautiful situation" on which to build the campus in his cornerstone laying speech. He described the first building as one of "commanding proportions, in accordance with plans designed by an eminent American architect; and like a city set on a hill, or as the lighthouse at the entrance of your harbor, will be one of the first objects which will meet the eye of the stranger entering your port."[42] Opposite sides of the same New England coin – city on a hill and lighthouse – these triumphant metaphors were made immediately relevant to the landscape of Ras Beirut. On this same occasion, Bliss famously announced, "this College is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to colour, nationality, race or religion. A man white, black or yellow; Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or heathen, may enter and enjoy all of the advantages of this institution for three, four or eight years, and go out believing in one God, in many Gods, or in no God."[43] While these words bespoke openness and tolerance, they were not reflected in the building they commemorated. For College Hall, was an overwhelmingly massive structure meant to command its surroundings, inspiring not acceptance, but awe (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. College Hall, south façade
(Photo courtesy of Camille Tarazi)

In his ***Reminiscences***, Daniel Bliss referred to architectural plans drawn in New York so "complete in details, so that we, though unacquainted with building, were able to follow them. Commencing with the simple ground-plan we learned to work out the more intricate parts."[44] Though he never named the architect, the original SPC blueprints of College Hall bear the signature of "GEO. B. POST Architect 120 Broadway New York."[45] George B. Post was the first cousin of George E. Post, former missionary to Tripoli, Lebanon, and the SPC's first professor of surgery and botany. A famous New York City architect, George B. Post never visited Ras Beirut, but at least two buildings of the SPC campus are of his design: College Hall and, twenty years later, the Chapel or Assembly Hall (1891).[46]

In 1870, Post had just completed the Equitable Life Assurance Building, known as the first "Elevator Building," which set the skyscraper trend in New York.[47] More renowned for his commercial architecture, Post designed only a few college buildings; among them, the Bonner-Marquand Gymnasium (1868-1870), Reunion Hall (1869-1871), and Dickinson Hall (1869-1870) on the campus of Princeton University. All three buildings represented an awkward stage in Princeton's architecture, and all burned down or were razed for being structurally unsound.[48] Post's College Hall at the SPC long outlasted his Princeton buildings, but it too represented an experiment of sorts.[49]

The height of Post's New York skyscrapers found expression in the scale of the SPC's College Hall. Indeed, College Hall was one of the tallest structures in all of Ottoman Beirut, coming close in size to the Ottoman infantry barracks -later the Grand Serail - which was "easily the largest building in Ottoman Beirut."[50] In its size and function, College Hall followed a trend established by New England's oldest colleges. Harvard's first building was the largest structure in seventeenth-century New England, and Princeton's Nassau Hall, the earliest "all in one" college prototype, "imitated more often than any other college edifice," was the largest in the eighteenth century English colonies.[51] Upon completion in 1873, College Hall dominated Ras Beirut, overshadowing all other buildings, even the lighthouse, in proportion and scale.[52] It set the east-west line of the campus in relation to Ras Beirut and centered what would become the upper campus college row.

Princeton's Nassau Hall, fronted by a green space, marked another feature repeated across New England campuses (Fig. 3). In fact, the word "campus," now inseparably associated with college grounds, was first used in reference to this area in front of Nassau Hall.[53] The open green on College Hall's north front set it back from the ridge, giving it a north-south axis to complement its predominant east-west one. Even more importantly, the green gave the building the coveted vista "to survey its domain and the country beyond" over the expanse of the Mediterranean Sea (Fig. 4).[54]

Fig. 3. Nassau Hall, Princeton University
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

Fig. 4. College Hall with green in front
(AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

College Hall's north façade that overlooked the sea, however, featured a decidedly non-New England double row of pointed arch arcades, while its south façade of four stories of massive bulwark towered above Ras Beirut. Though George B. Post's blueprints of the south, east, and west façades generally correspond to the proportions of the built structure, no blueprints of the north façade of College Hall survive to verify that his design included two rows of arcades. Some suggest that this design element evinces the initiative of local designers, such as the site foreman and stonemason from Damascus, known only as 'Abd al-Massih.[55] 'Abd al-Massih surely played an instrumental role in determining best building practices, as Bliss described him as an honest, dependable, and able leader of the work crew.[56] It is certainly plausible that 'Abd al-Massih played a much more significant role than Bliss attributed to him, as seen in Gharzouzi's case with the first purchases of college property. But no evidence credits him with any architectural design features of College Hall.

Known as ***binayet as-sa'a"*** (Building of the Clock) to the locals, College Hall's clock-tower drew the most notice. It tolled eleven times a day, first at 6:15AM and last at 5:30PM, to regulate the hours of the SPC students' day.[57] Moreover, its bell marked the time outside the walls of the College. When it was inaugurated in 1874, it was the only clock-tower in Ras Beirut and the second in all of Beirut. The first clock-tower, built so local inhabitants would have "a better appreciation of the value and punctuality and uniformity in time," belonged to the Anglo-American Church, located closer to Beirut's downtown.[58] In the next few years, clock-towers were built at St. Joseph College, the Grand Serail, the railroad station, and the French Hospital. Indeed, Beirut's clock-towers predated their proliferation throughout the provincial cities of the Ottoman Empire by a quarter of a century. For in 1901, Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II decreed the building of clock-towers in every town and city in commemoration of his silver jubilee.[59] College Hall's clock-tower, however, still boasted a distinct geographic, and hence authoritative, advantage over all the others owing to its location on the promontory of Ras Beirut. From there it could be read by telescope from the mountains.[60]

Another predominant feature of American collegiate design that resonated on the SPC campus was the placement of buildings in line with each other in a "college row."[61] The college row first appeared at Yale College, becoming popularized in slight variations, for example, at Trinity College, Hartford; Case Western Reserve College, Cleveland; Wesleyan College, Middletown, Connecticut; and Amherst College.[62] The college row at Amherst comprised its first three buildings: Johnson Chapel at the center and the North College and South College on either side (Fig. 5).[63] The clock-tower of Johnson Chapel, rising above the tree line, was the first feature to meet the eye on the approach to Amherst.[64] With the completion of the Medical Hall, to its east, and Ada Dodge Memorial Hall for offices and dining facilities, to its west, College Hall centered the SPC's emerging east-west college row (Fig. 6). In 1910, ***The Springfield Republican*** wrote of "the panorama from the Mediterranean, with its large cliff dotted with tufts of gnarled foliage and crowned with long irregular rows of substantial and artistic buildings presents an outward view of the SPC which does not suffer in comparison with most American colleges."[65] Even though the rocky topography resisted leveling, the "undisciplined stretching of the buildings along the ridge" of SPC's college row bespoke the basic features of a New England college

landscape discernable to any familiar eye.[66] That the SPC's buildings persevered over the unruly ground of Ras Beirut reinforced the steadfastness of this missionary endeavor in material terms.

Fig. 5. Amherst College row with Johnson Hall in center
(Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College)

The Ada Dodge Memorial Hall spilled directly onto Midhat Pasha Street, the first east-west artery of Ras Beirut, today known as Bliss Street. Completed in 1873, David S. Dodge funded its expansion in 1884, naming it in memory of his only daughter, who had accompanied him to Beirut several times and died at the age of 21.[67] More modest in scale than College Hall to its east, Ada Dodge Hall was the first building to greet visitors on the upper ridge of the Ras Beirut promontory at the entrance of the campus. From a street-level view, Ada Dodge Hall poked out along the main street and up the junction of what later would be called Jeanne d'Arc Street (Fig. 7). A multi-purpose building, it comprised four wings of two floors with twenty-four rooms to accommodate offices, student rooms, a refectory, and the College's growing Preparatory School.[68] Along with its multiple red-tiled roofs, its high, unadorned walls that zigzagged along the wall of the street, its most prominent feature was a freestanding square tower, a pseudo campanile, rising well above the roofline until its unexplained destruction in the 1960s.[69]

Fig. 6. SPC college row
(Photo courtesy of Camille Tarazi)

Fig. 7. Ada Dodge Hall on Bliss Street
(AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

Dodge Hall's tower echoes Morgan Hall's tower at Amherst College. Morgan Hall overlooks Amherst's main north-south axis, South Pleasant Street (Fig. 8), in the same way that Ada Dodge Hall parallels the east-west axis of Midhat Pasha, today's Bliss Street.[70] Both towers evoke a similar sense of cubic rootedness, whether in relation to the thick trees of Amherst or the moving shapes of carriages and tramways along Ras Beirut's street. The tower of Ada Dodge Hall guarded the College entrance, directed the traffic, and set the orientation of the oncoming pedestrian, horse-drawn, and later motorized traffic, giving the street an undeniably distinct sense of place. It articulated a visual focal point, marking the slight elbow in Ras Beirut's main street, rendering the tower a familiar landmark to all who passed it. Both towers, Morgan and Dodge, complemented the verticality of Johnson and College Halls' towers, contributing to the extension of their respective townscapes in two and three dimensions (Fig. 9).

Fig. 8. Morgan Hall, Amherst College
(Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College)

Fig. 9. Dodge and College Hall towers
(AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

AN ARCHITECTURE OF CONTAINMENT

The architectural kinship between the SPC and Amherst College is perhaps most startling in the likeness of the SPC's chapel, known as Assembly Hall, to Amherst College's Stearns Church. In a letter dated September 31 [*sic*], 1870, Professor William Tyler of Amherst College wrote to Bliss, his former pupil and friend, of the cornerstone laying ceremony of Stearns Church at Amherst College. He enclosed a photograph of the plan of the church in his letter for Bliss to use as a model for his campus, "another Amherst on the site of Ancient Berytus."[71] While the SPC chapel was not built until 1892, the correspondence in design suggests that Bliss kept Tyler's advice in mind. A wealthy benefactor, E. B. Monroe, provided the funds for the building material and the same College Hall architect, George B. Post, prepared the plans without charge. Whether Post consulted Professor Tyler's photograph is unknown, but the affinity between Assembly Hall and Stearns Church is unmistakable.

Like Stearns Church, Assembly Hall featured a Gothic exterior, cruciform plan, and elaborate rose windows on three of its fours arms. Much less lavish than the rich stonework, ornate detailing, and slate roof of Stearns Church (Fig. 10), Assembly Hall was built of unadorned, beige sandstone and red tile roofing, and was minus a steeple (Fig. 11). The interior of Assembly Hall conveys the same otherworldly sense of space as Stearns Church; in both the plain interior walls exposed the ribs of the groin arches creating a vast open space of diffused colored light from the stained glass windows (Fig. 12, Fig. 13). Prominently placed at the upper entrance of the SPC grounds, along the increasingly clustered college row, Assembly Hall accrued an iconic significance in the minds of its students as "tangible evidence of university history."[72]

Fig. 10. Amherst College Stearns Church, exterior (Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College)

Fig. 11. SPC's Assembly Hall, exterior (AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

Fig. 12. Two views of Amherst College Stearns Church, interior (Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College)

Fig. 13. SPC Assembly Hall, interior (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photo Collection)

New England college campuses also included observatories to illustrate the complementary nature of religion and science, permitting the contemplation of "that fathomless fountain and author of being."[73] Williams College set the trend with the first college observatory in 1837, and Amherst College's octagonal "Cabinet," built in 1848, housed its observatory at the southeast corner of its college row to make an immediate impression on passers-by.[74] When the SPC's Lee Observatory was completed in 1873, Bliss wrote of his hopes that it would "prove useful in the direct education of students and in attracting the attention of natives to the superiority of Western knowledge, thus helping to dispel ancient deep-rooted superstitions."[75] For all practical purposes, the Observatory kept the clock-tower's time based on its recorded meteorological observations and star positions. SPC professors Cornelius Van Dyck and Faris Nimr "started systematic records of meteorological data [. . .] and sent daily telegraphic reports to the Imperial Observatories in Constantinople and Vienna."[76] Besides setting college time, this data served the needs of ship captains who came to the observatory to adjust their chronometers. After the First World War, with Lebanon under French Mandate control, the observatory became the reference point for accuracy and authority. According to its director, Professor Mansur Jurdak, the "observatory had won the confidence of the local community and even Dar al-Fatwa (Muslim House of Rulings) depended on the telescope to record the birth of the moon to announce the start of the holy month of Ramadan."[77]

Post Hall, the most unusual of the SPC's buildings, stands to the east of College and Assembly Halls, filling in college row to the Medical Building. Completed in 1902, its design, down to the last detail, is the work of George E. Post, SPC professor of surgery, rather than his architect cousin.[78] "That most versatile of missionaries," Dr. Post was an ordained minister, a surgeon, a dentist, a botanist, and an amateur architect.[79] He had already built the Medical Hall and his own house to the east of the SPC. Possibly inspired by his cousin's winning High Gothic design for the City College of New York in 1897, he gave his imagination free reign in the design of Post Hall.[80]

Fortified with machicolated towers, high walls, and protruding waterspouts, Post Hall's style is pseudo-Elizabethan. In the late 1890s, Princeton University adopted a Tudor style under Woodrow Wilson's leadership because, in his words, "we added to Princeton the age of Oxford and Cambridge; we have added a thousand years to the history of Princeton by merely putting those lines in our buildings which point every man's imagination to the historic traditions of learning in the English-speaking race."[81] In the context of the SPC, however, Post Hall projected a hard-edged containment and a physical barrier to the extramural world (Fig. 14). It turned its back on Bliss Street, recalling a militaristic, crusader architecture, with its undefined small entrances, dwarfed by top-heavy crenulations. Post Hall communicated not only a physical, but also a psychological barrier to the extramural world. Perhaps Post chose such a design because the building was meant to preserve and protect its cabinets of archaeological, zoological, and botanical curiosities, opened only under the strictest supervision.[82] Its purpose as a showcase, moreover, corresponded in function to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and the Woods Cabinet at Amherst College.[83] To the SPC's medical students, however, Post Hall "will be best remembered by medical graduates for examinations" held in the confines of its tower rooms.[84]

all
ient of Photography, The Moore Collection)

For all the strength conveyed by College Hall's colossal dimensions in the face of Ras Beirut's exposure to the powerful forces of nature, Bliss wrote to his wife that even with "a first rate watchdog," walls are "an essential thing in this country [. . .] to cut off our grounds from the public."[85] Although Amherst's campus never was enclosed, walling the SPC campus consumed Bliss's attention from the early 1870s. Bliss gave financial precedence to "walling the College premises in place of found[ing] a permanent scholarship."[86] Noting the "striking contrast to the open lawns of my college in America," a new SPC faculty member was told that the walls were "to keep the students in and to keep other people out."[87] Yale College, one of the few walled colleges in New England, like the SPC, faced the problem of the encroachment of the surrounding city, and used walls to "create a quiet, private campus and nurture a self-contained, closely monitored community of students and faculty."[88] At each stage of the SPC's expansion, with each additional acquisition of land, President Bliss ensured enough funds were set aside for walling the College grounds.

By keeping students within campus walls, the SPC founders maintained a "close community [. . .] in which students would study, eat, sleep, and worship" apart from the chaos, pestilence, and tight quarters of city life.[89] In line with their puritan New England collegiate models, the SPC faculty tightly monitored the life of this "academical village," whereby students and teachers shared the same temporal, physical, and productive space in strict hierarchical order.[90] Regulated by a rigorous academic and extracurricular schedule, the hours of the clock tracked student time and the College walls contained student space. Prohibitions governed student life; they were barred from the kitchen and the gatehouse, and if they went off campus without faculty permission, they faced severe reprimand and possible expulsion.[91] Even when students sought permission in advance with organized petitions, as when a group of literary students requested to have a picnic at Dbayyeh, a beach to the north of Beirut, they were forbidden.[92]

Indeed, the nature of the College's enclosure most accurately fit the meaning of ***haram***, the Arabic word for campus. *Haram* connotes a much more literal definition of enclosure than the English association of campus with a college green, even if a fenced one. For *haram* refers to a sanctuary or protected haven. It implies an inviolable space of a sacred nature separate from the secular, mundane, extramural world of the streets. In this sense, perhaps the SPC's founders unwittingly upheld the local meanings of a self-contained space in contrast to the open lawns of New England colleges.

The walls also served another purpose. The 1900 SPC Annual Report boasted of the complete enclosure of all College grounds for the first time in its history. In so doing, recalcitrant landowners of plots adjacent to the SPC were led to believe that the College did not care to purchase any more property, bringing them to the negotiating table on terms favorable to the SPC.[93] Instead of permanently sealing off the College grounds, the walls elastically widened at every opportunity to include more property within their confines. Continuously maintained and heightened, the walls were meant to keep students in and, most explicitly, to "protect the College against trespassers."[94]

In 1901, the completion of the Administration Hall, or the Main Gate, formalized the entryway to the circumscribed campus. Located across from College Hall and in between Ada Dodge Hall and Assembly Hall, its purpose would be to ensure "all visitors will be properly received at all times in a reception room. No students will leave or enter the grounds without passing under the notice of a responsible officer."[95] Not for the last time, the deep pockets of the Dodge family - particularly David S. Dodge - provided the funds for Casey's design and the building costs.

The faculty had voted to accept the architectural plans of Edward Pease Casey, a prominent New York architect. Casey's specialization in Civil War monuments, such as the Memorial Bridge across the Potomac River, and his work on the Library of Congress befit a building whose job was to establish first impressions.[96] The Main Gate faced inwards to the campus and outwards to the street, marking the meeting of the intramural world of the SPC with the extramural world of Ras Beirut. In keeping with the supersized scale of the SPC's architecture, the Main Gate's mass was distributed longitudinally east to west along the street, and centered on an elaborate keyhole-arched entryway, evocative of a triumphal arch (Fig. 15). Notwithstanding the Main Gate's success in relieving the congestion and "infelicitous crowding of students," its disproportionate scale overwhelmed the unpaved, narrow Midhat Pasha Street.[97]

The addition of the Main Gate to the built landscape cinched the formative era of the SPC's architecture. Morris K. Jesup, who was both president of the SPC's New York-based Board of Trustees and New York's Natural History Museum, hosted a reception in 1904 to showcase a stone model of the SPC before it would be sent to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[98] Apparently, the original model so impressed American visitors to the SPC in Beirut that they commissioned its reproduction for display at the St. Louis Fair of 1904, where it won a Gold Medal.[99] Built on a scale of one-sixteenth of an inch to a foot by Henry Harris Jessup, a veteran missionary long associated with the SPC, the model commemorated the Daniel Bliss era (Fig. 16). Franklin Moore, SPC physician, captured Jessup in a black-and-white photograph dressed in black with a long white beard presenting his shining white SPC model with what appears to be a combination of piety and hubris.[100] The miniature "thirteen buildings reproduced by an exact model cut out of Mount Lebanon limestone," gleamed in stark

Fig. 15. AUB Main Gate (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photo Collection)

Fig. 16. SPC model with H. H. Jessup (AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

contrast against the dark background and rendered through the powerful medium of photography the very ivory towers of the enlightened model, the "city upon a hill."[101] In his talk, Morris Jesup emphasized the situation of the SPC in "that noble environment of mountain and sea which encircle landward and seaward that stately headland upon which the College stands."[102] The natural and the built landscape fused; Ras Beirut determined the SPC's prominence as much as the SPC architecture fixed Ras Beirut's orientation.

Jessup's model perhaps best epitomizes the Daniel Bliss era's preoccupation with producing an impression of "respect and awe, unseen before, upon the students."[103] The SPC, now self-contained and set apart "like an island," to recall Thomson's words in reference to Ras Beirut, reached full spatial articulation in intramural terms. In 1911, the copy of Jessup's model was summoned from its permanent home at the Natural History Museum in New York for display at the First Missionary Exhibition "The World in Boston."[104] Not only built with a view, now the SPC campus was on view (Fig. 17).

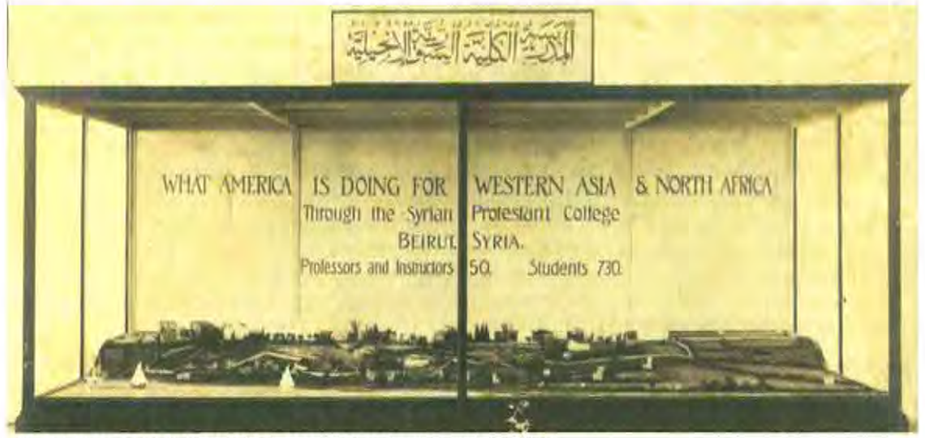


Fig. 17. SPC model of Beirut College presented at the St. Louis Fair in 1904, now on permanent exhibition at the New York Museum of Natural History (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

AN ARCHITECTURE OF INCLUSIVITY

Second SPC president Howard Sweetser Bliss ushered in an era of liberal Protestantism in the wake of the more conservative evangelical Protestantism of his father's tenure.[105] A second-generation missionary, Howard Bliss was born in 1860 in Lebanon and raised in Beirut until the age of sixteen. From an early age, he learned to appreciate the relationship of the College to its surroundings. En route to the US to attend Amherst College, he wrote home to Beirut, "As we steamed out of the harbor last night the view was something charming. First the hospital became prominent, then our house, then followed in succession Dr. Post's house and the College, never more commanding, with the pines below the Medical Building just beginning to be seen."[106] When he returned to Beirut in 1902 to assume the SPC's presidency, he brought with him the influences of the Social Gospel and Progressive Movements current across colleges in the United States.[107] A member of the liberal branch of Congregationalism, Bliss refused to endorse the so-called "Declaration of Principles" because it contravened his "conscientious convictions."[108] Ever since the eruption of the Lewis Affair in 1882, when conservative SPC members, including Daniel Bliss and George E. Post, forced Professor Edwin Lewis to resign after he mentioned Charles Darwin in his commencement address, new faculty members were required to sign allegiance to Protestantism as "revealed truth and demonstrate the essential harmony between the Bible and all true science and philosophy."[109]

At the same time, despite the abandonment of faculty adherence to strict evangelical Protestantism, College policy still mandated students' attendance at daily prayers, Sunday chapel services, and regular Bible classes. By 1908, "certain Muslim students" were granted permission to attend Friday services at the mosque on Midhat Pasha Street, but the SPC faculty refused to budge on mandatory chapel attendance.[110] The following January 1909, in the wake of the Young Turk Revolution, these issues caused the largest demonstrations on campus yet; Muslim and Jewish students demanded the end of mandatory religious exercises. After several months of tense confrontation, the faculty reached a compromise with the students and defused the demonstration, though not without a certain loss of credibility.[111] Not until 1915, when the Ottoman government promulgated the Education Law forbidding religious instruction to all non-Christian students, were the SPC's stringent religious requirements dropped.[112]

As with internal College policy, in some ways the continued expansion of the SPC's built landscape represented continuity with the Daniel Bliss era, and in other ways the Howard Bliss era signified dynamic change in the relationship of the built campus to its surroundings. In 1910, the Faculty proposed to change the name of the SPC to the Ras Beirut University, attesting to the College's identification with its local setting.[113] Bliss, with an eye well-trained on the significance of Ras Beirut's position, conjured up its image to his Anglo-American audiences that made Thomson's geometric depiction of Beirut in 1859 seem almost austere. He guided his listeners,

> Fourteen days out of New York, one rounds the triangular promontory upon the northern side of which Beirut is built [. . .] after this turn the buildings of the College are seen facing the north, one hundred feet above the sea's level – fifteen substantial structures built of buff-

> colored sandstone or limestone, scattered over the long, narrow Campus, which stretches east and west for half a mile - its forty acres dotted with clumps of trees - cypress, pride of India, date-palm, fig, olive, oleander, banyan, carob, and pine; its rocky slopes adorned with gorse and made beautiful in Spring and Autumn with brilliant flowers. To the left of the College lies Beirut, a beautiful city of one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants [. . .] Further to the left, dominating everything, there stretches north and south the long range of the Lebanon Mountains, its sixty miles of noble heights apparently culminating just above the Beirut promontory in Jabal Sunnin [. . .] To the right of the Campus, beyond the promontory's point, stretches into the West the Mediterranean Seas. When the eyes turn back and rest upon the Campus of the College, one's first impression is confirmed that few colleges in the world can boast of a site so noble, so salubrious, so fitted, moreover, for an institution of learning that seeks to dissipate prejudices, widen horizons, and give a sense of the noble largeness and grandeur of the symmetrically developed life.[114]

Clearly, Howard Bliss made inseparable the virtues of the progressive mission of the College with its Ras Beirut setting, emphasizing the symbiotic relationship between the two.

In his first report to the Board of Trustees as president, Howard Bliss noted the significant addition of land purchased in 1902 that matched in scale the first purchases made in 1868.[115] While the land on the seaside plain north of the college row took several years to acquire because of its division into separately owned lots, large tracts of land east of the Medical Building and west of Ada Dodge Hall and the new dormitory, Daniel Bliss Hall, were acquired in 1902–1903. A substantial endowment, sustained by the Dodge family, the Jesup Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation made these purchases possible. The resultant "West End expansion," which included five substantial buildings raised in rapid succession, accommodated the separation of the "small boys" of the growing Preparatory School from the young men of the College. The barracks-like cubic design of these new structures further extended the westward line of the red-roofed buildings of the college row, further articulating the upper ridge of Ras Beirut.[116] Moreover, the securing of the land between "the base of the College slopes and the seashore" made the lower seaside edge of the campus contiguous with the upper ridge. This ensured that the view *from* the college to the sea would balance the view *of* the college from the sea (Fig. 18).[117]

ɔm the sea
cial Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

The balanced relationship between the built and the natural landscapes paralleled Howard Bliss's more egalitarian approach to the College administration. In a highly publicized speech in Beirut, he defined the SPC's goal as "to produce within our walls the ideal Ottoman Empire in miniature [. . .] so you will remain a Moslem, you a Jew, you a Christian, [. . .] but we shall be bound together by the underlying desire, to be true to Almighty God."[118] In practice, however, these words did not play out in terms of administrative policies. For Bliss never granted equal status to all members of SPC's faculty. Indeed, not until 1920 were Arab professors granted voting privileges on the College's faculty.[119] And yet the symmetrical, egalitarian image Bliss associated with Ras Beirut's natural landscape materialized in a new type of building. The hopes that the SPC would fulfill the images Bliss associated with Ras Beirut's natural landscape were pinned to the addition of West Hall.

In many ways, West Hall was the antithesis of College Hall. From 1910 on, the faculty and students anticipated the building of a new student center. Unlike the top-down planning and building of College Hall, West Hall was a collective effort. West Hall was the brainchild of the young Syrian and American teachers, or staffites, on two-year contracts at the College, and was conceived in Ras Beirut. Described in terms remarkably similar to the Williams College Haystack Meeting of 1806 that saw the founding of the ABCFM, these young men convened in 1906,

> one cold and stormy night that winter, and built in fancy a mighty house for the happiness of students. They placed it near the refectory where men could dry off and wait in comfort for the last final rush for food! They made provision for game rooms and quiet rooms for writing and study [. . .] a common room, they added an auditorium [. . .]; and aware of the social force of simple religion, of religion free from metaphysical distinctions, they made this 'castle in Spain' the home of the religious organization of the College.[120]

In its attention to student life, West Hall made the SPC more modern, much like Harvard University's two student centers: the Philips Brooks House, for social service, charity and student religious activities, and the Harvard Union, a center for student life and fellowship.[121] West Hall professed progressive-era values in its dedication to "the making of men" and as the place "where religion was not to be taught as a doctrine, but absorbed as a life"; it was described as the "Child of Promise" and the "meat, bones, and brains" of the campus.[122] The SPC's West Hall would produce "strong men and good citizens" to serve the world, just as Amherst College in the early nineteenth century prepared young men to "civilize and evangelize" the world.[123] If College Hall represented the SPC's formative era in its awesome power, then West Hall represented the gradual adjustment and adaptation of the SPC into an open, secular, progressive-era institution in line with the trend in higher education across the United States.

The high expectations attached to West Hall are evident in faculty minutes, annual reports to the Board, and *al-Kulliyah*, the College newspaper. SPC Professor of Engineering James Patch drew up in-house plans of the building and submitted them to the architectural firm of Parish and Schroeder in New York for finishing. Patch outlined three ideals: that the building should be placed in as central a position as possible on the campus, that it express welcome from the exterior to the interior, from the outside in, and that it be "the center of the social and spiritual life of the university, not attained by stone and mortar but by spirit breathed into noble structure."[124]

West Hall's actual form realized its ideals (Fig. 19). A spacious covered porch and open terraces on either side emphasized the main entrance and encouraged outdoor "air gatherings" to uphold its welcoming purpose. Once inside, the large central hall and grand staircase greeted the visitor, who may be "startled by the stray beams of sunlight" streaming from the ceiling tiles interspersed with glass. The common room for collegiate "intermingling to promote good fellowship" was located to the right of the staircase. Also on the first floor were a gymnasium, a ticket room, a coatroom, and a small lift to provide refreshments to the upper floors. The second-floor auditorium with a stage was able to accommodate 600 people.[125] A room for the YMCA and a room for the school newspaper, *al-Kulliyah*, were also accommodated on the second floor, meeting the requirement of the building's social and spiritual life. On the third floor, a roof garden with tables for coffee and ice cream in spring and summer became a roller skating rink in winter (Fig. 20). Finally, the basement boasted the first bowling alley in Beirut.[126]

Fig. 19. West Hall exterior
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

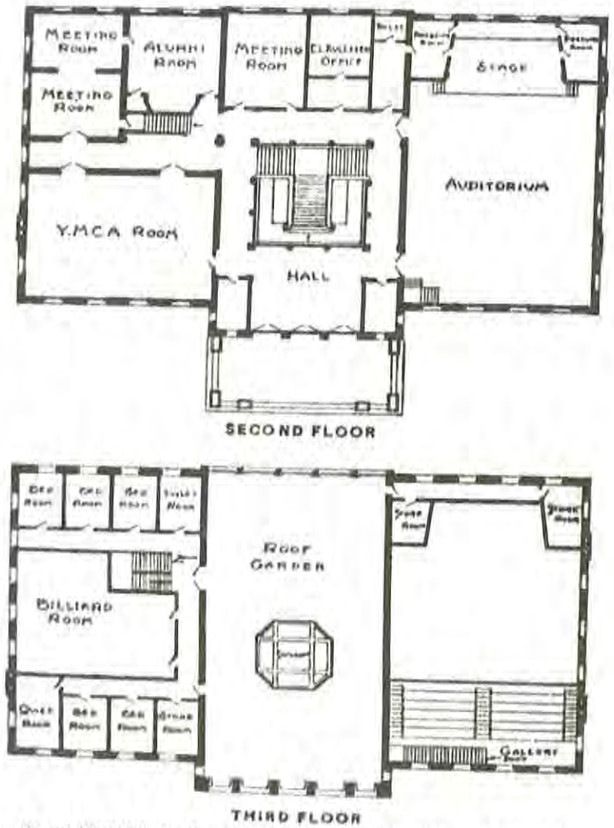


Fig. 20. West Hall plan (from James Patch, "Robert West Hall," *al-Kulliyah* II, no. 5, March 1911)

As luck would have it, war accompanied the period immediately before and after West Hall's inauguration. The short Ottoman-Italian War spilled into Beirut's harbor in 1912, followed by the outbreak of the much more devastating First World War in 1914. Two and a half months after Bliss ceremonially broke ground for West Hall's foundations, Italian warships bombarded the Ottoman fleet at the Beirut harbor on February 24, 1912. From the clock-tower of College Hall, the highest point in Ras Beirut, Bliss reported to the Board of Trustees "the scene on the College campus was unique in the history of the Institution."[127] For not only were students, faculty, and members of their families gathered on campus, but also "hundreds of people" from outside the SPC walls flooded through the Main Gate. As long as they carried no weapons, they could seek shelter within the College walls. Bliss directed the placement of the American flag on the lightening rod of the clock-tower in addition to six flags raised strategically on other SPC buildings. In his letters to the Board, he noted the logistics of maintaining hospital functions, of telegraphing students' families of their safety, and of meeting with representatives of some of Beirut's most prominent families - the Bayhum, Ghandur, and Baydun families - to ensure "that special arrangement would be made for them in case there was any danger, and not for them only but for any who might wish to find shelter in the College grounds. I notified the Consulate that upon my own responsibility I was doing this."[128] The Italian bombardment of Beirut, in other words, gave Bliss the opportunity to redeem the SPC's tarnished image associated with the suppression of religious freedom in 1909.

The fortress-like scale and design of the SPC's architecture was put at the service of its neighbors. College Hall's clock-cum-lookout tower actually served the function its form symbolized. With the sanction of its doctors' medical relief to the city's wounded, Bliss remarked that the College finally stood "as a symbol of kindly protection in the minds of the people of Beirut, both Moslems and Christians. Mrs. Nickoley, wife of the Head of the SPC's School of Commerce, recalled the frenzy of the mob in central Beirut on the morning of the Italian bombardment. The one word she understood was "'*al Kulliyah* [the College], Ras Beirut' repeated again and again - not in anger but in gratitude

that there was such a place in the city where refuge might be had."[129] Even if these reports were exaggerated, they heralded the more proactive stance the SPC assumed in the troubled years ahead. For the SPC provided safe haven not only to its intramural charges, but also to the extramural inhabitants of Ras Beirut, putting to practice the sanctity of the Arabic word for campus, *haram*.

Cleveland H. Dodge represented the third Dodge generation of SPC financial backing in his funding of the building and furnishing of West Hall. In 1913, his son Bayard Dodge joined the SPC as West Hall's newly appointed director and executive secretary of the YMCA. With its inauguration in February 1914, West Hall completed the "college row" of the upper campus. Although a large building, its position behind the president's house, in between Ada Dodge and Jesup Hall, did not dominate the built campus as did College, Post, or even Ada Dodge Hall with its modest tower. In symbolic terms, however, West Hall represented the central link in the gradual easing of College policy towards its students and its surrounding community. More significantly, West Hall reflected a shift in attitude from a focus on the power of stones and mortar to impress to an emphasis on the potential of its students; for "not buildings, but men make a college; and not teachers, but students, are the final test and measure of the quality of a college."[130]

The First World War erupted a few months after West Hall's inauguration. Ras Beirut convulsed through the ensuing military stranglehold and human suffering on an unimaginable scale. Except for two weeks in 1917, the SPC remained open for the duration of the war, providing medical aid and relief work to both civilians and the Ottoman military. In his 1916-1917 Annual Report to the Board, Howard Bliss wrote of the centrality of West Hall to saving the life of the College and the community. Evidently exhausted, Bliss wrote of West Hall in scrawling, loopy handwriting as heroically staving off desperation in harrowing times:

> West Hall [. . .] is an untold blessing to the whole university. The past three years have brought us many strange experiences. We had silent and mysterious wartime visitors which have suddenly risen to the surface of the sea and disclosed themselves to our unaccustomed astounded eyes. Great and portentous birds of the air have sometimes two winged sometimes four winged - now dropping huge exploding eggs as they hurtled over this city [. . .] Men and women and children have been deported to the interior. Mail communications have been slow and interrupted. Sinister rumors have filled the air, hopes deferred have made the heart sick. And wonderful has been the ministration of West Hall during all this period. It has soothed and comforted and strengthened. It has kept aglow the finest friendship. It has encouraged as never before the singing of College songs - all the old ones and many new ones. It has done a great work of diversion without losing its power of inspiration. Concerts, lectures, plays, bowling, skating, billiards, the piano, the phonograph - all have had their share in amusing the big SPC family, while everyone says what could we have done without West Hall?[131]

West Hall grounded College and community life as the center of the built landscape, acting as the keystone in the arch of the SPC's college row. In 1920, the formation of the West Hall Brotherhood replaced the Ottoman banned YMCA to promote inter-religious fellowship and cooperation.[132] The Brotherhood's motto, moreover, stood in stark contrast to the words associated with College Hall. For the caveat of Daniel Bliss's famous proclamation at College Hall's cornerstone laying ceremony in 1871 is in the last sentence that reads, "But it will be impossible for anyone to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief." The West Hall Brotherhood emphasized a common humanity and understanding in its profession that "the realm in which we share is vastly greater than that in which we differ."[133] While College Hall embodied an architecture of monumentality, West Hall represented a greater responsiveness of the College, now turned university, to the context of its diverse surroundings.

CONCLUSION

From 1870 to 1920, the SPC's landscape at Ras Beirut grew from a few scattered plots of garden farms on twenty acres to a campus of twenty-five buildings on nearly fifty acres.[134] College Hall and West Hall marked the bookends of this definitive era of the SPC's architectural incarnation of a New England college landscape. On the one hand, College Hall embodied the authoritarian features of early New England college campus architecture, and on the other, West Hall represented a greater responsiveness of the SPC in the context of its diverse surroundings. Clearly New England origins determined the initial model for the SPC's built landscape. But the SPC gradually shed its New England association in its increasing identification with Ras Beirut, linking the expanding city of Beirut with the college upon the hill. In 1909, Howard Bliss noted in a letter to his wife,

> The day has been notable in one respect. At about four o'clock the first car of the trolley line passed the College several times. I understand that passengers will not be carried until Monday. The noise of the passing cars will be more or less annoying for some time. Later on we shall get accustomed to it – but more and more as time goes on we shall feel less secluded on our lovely grounds.[135]

As much as missionaries claimed to be "making history out here very fast," the physical and cultural response of Ras Beirut made their history possible.[136] After the death of Howard Bliss in 1920, the mayor of Beirut, 'Umar Da'uq renamed Midhat Pasha Street Bliss Street in honor of Daniel and Howard Bliss.[137] Paved long before Ras Beirut's most famous street, Hamra Street, Bliss Street grew out of the SPC's college row to become the first east-west throughway of Ras Beirut from which the subsequent north-south arteries extended (Fig. 21, Fig. 22). A few years later, the municipal committee under the French Mandate named five additional streets on the SPC's circumference after members of its original faculty.[138] George Post Street, Van Dyck Street, Wortabet Street, and Graham Street mark the SPC's east edge, and Bayard Dodge Street its northwest. Furthermore, in the 1930s, the renovators of the clock-tower took the advice of Sheikh Mohammed Barbir, Timekeeper of Beirut and Imam of the Umari Mosque, who asked that the clock be raised above the bell, since he relied on it for the call to prayer.[139]

Fig. 21. Dodge tower on Bliss Street
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

In its origins, the College clearly embodied a spatial memory specific to New England. That memory faded as the College gradually and necessarily adapted to local demands, becoming specific to Ras Beirut in "an idyllic twinship."[140] To many AUB students, Ras Beirut's "University of Fayssal's [*sic*]," the restaurant facing the Main Gate on Bliss Street, was the most important institution, "graduating" more Arab leaders than the College![141] Indeed, the resultant diversity and interaction of peoples defined the "power of place" that is Ras Beirut: a landscape of an idealized America for Beirutis and of Beirut for Americans.[142]

Fig. 22. Aerial view of AUB and Bliss Street, 1960s
(AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

ENDNOTES

[1] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Holy Landscapes: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (Winter, 2000): 198. Play on his phrase "turn[ed] site into sight."

[2] James A. Field, *America and the Mediterranean World 1776–1882* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969): 350–352.

[3] William Tyler to Daniel Bliss, Sept. 31, 1870 [*sic*], in Bliss Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 17, Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College. In Arabic "rās" means "head", describing Ras Beirut's location at the westernmost tip of the peninsula, on the outskirts (in the nineteenth century) of the city center of Beirut.

[4] Blake Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 19; William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 58.

[5] Joseph Conforti, *Imagining New England, Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 6. Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 1991), 76. "Because it was the earliest, New England's regionalism is the most pronounced. A sense of antiquity and place characterizes these campuses."

[6] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus; An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 18.

[7] Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

[8] Field, *America*; William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World;* David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967). Indeed, the ABCFM emerged directly out of the millennial enthusiasm of a handful of Williams College students in the hills of northwest Massachusetts.

[9] Gumprecht, 20.

[10] Daniel Bliss (1st SPC president 1866–1902), Howard Bliss (2nd SPC president 1902–1920).

[11] Abdul Latif Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College – Part I," *The Middle East Journal* 21, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 4.

[12] Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[13] Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M.: Late Missionary to Palestine* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828), 317–318.

[14] Edward Hooker, *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, Late of the Mission in Syria, Under the Direction of the ABCFM* (Boston, MA: Perkins and Marvin, 1839), 180.

[15] Thomson, 40. Italicized in the original.

[16] Robert M. Copeland, "A Sesquicentennial History of the Community Church of Beirut, 1823–1973," (Beirut: Community Church of Beirut, 1974): iv. Archives of the Near East School of Theology (NEST), Beirut, Lebanon.

[17] "Extract from a letter written by Dr. William Thomson," ASC, Amherst College (underline in the original).

[18] Richard Lowitt, *A Merchant Prince of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). Brian VanDeMark, *American Sheikhs, Two Families, Four Generations, and the Story of America's Influence in the Middle East* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012), 43.

[19] Abdul Latif Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College – Part II," *Middle East Journal* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1967): 199.

[20] Annual Report 1877, 34. Buildings and Grounds Collection, College Hall History Box AA: 2.5.3.3.2.3, ASC, Jafet Library, AUB.

[21] Daniel Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, ed. Frederick J. Bliss (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 188.

[22] Letter to Board of Managers, June 24, 1868, *Annual Reports of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College 1866–1867 – 1901–1902*. ASC, Jafet Library, AUB. *Waqf* status meant tax exemption under religious or educational endowment.

[23] Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 191.

[24] Abdel Latif Fakhouri, "Mikhael al-Gharzouzi a'yar ismu li-itlaq al-jami'a al-amirkiya (Mikhael Al-Gharzouzi gave his name to start the American University)," *An-Nahar*, June 23, 2005. Gharzouzi was probably a member of the Greek Orthodox Ras Beirut Gharzouzi family, and his daughter married Ilias Rebeiz.

[25] Fakhouri. Not only a broker, then, Gharzouzi had to have some political and social weight to establish a waqf, and although Bliss makes no mention of these details of Gharzouzi's indispensible role, he enjoyed a long trustworthy relationship with the college.

[26] The most often-made claim is that the College bought the land from the Talhouks, a notable Druze family who were allegedly the largest landowners in Ras Beirut, though they lived in the Shuf. Members of the Da'uq family also claim to have given the land to the College – Leila Da'uq Idriss interview. And the Bekh'azi families also claim the land was theirs, which perhaps makes the most sense since they lived and owned shops along present-day Bliss Street, running parallel to the College. Interviews with Michel Bekh'azi, September 15, 2012 and Bahij Bekh'azi, September 27, 2012.

[27] Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 192. Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers, SPC, June 27th, 1871, 22. ASC, Jafet Library, AUB.

[28] Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 190–191.

[29] Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2 Volumes (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 31.

[30] *The College on the Hill, Celebrating the 175th Anniversary of Amherst College, 1821–1996*, (Amherst College, 1996). Contemporaneous with Amherst College, Tufts College and Geneva College in New York also defined themselves as "college on the hill." Turner, 106.

[31] William Tyler, D.D., *A History of Amherst College* (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1873, 1895), 354.

[32] Daniel Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus; written to his wife Abby and their four children during their visit to Amherst, Massachusetts, 1873–1874*, Douglas and Belle Dorman Rugh and Alfred H. Howell, eds. (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1994), 151. David Lowenthal writes extensively on "the relation between the world outside and the pictures in our heads," borrowing his conceptualization from Walter Lippmann's writings in reference the behavior of public opinion. See Kenneth Olwig, "The Lowenthal Legacy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, no. 4 (December 2003).

[33] Amy DeRogatis, *Moral Geography: Maps, Missionaries, and the American Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 59.

[34] Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 197. Robert College was also founded out of ABCFM endeavors, shared the same members as the SPC on its Board of Trustees, and was jointly chartered by the State of New York with the SPC in 1864. Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut; A Brief History of the University and the Lands Which It Serves* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958), 11.

[35] George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollection of Robert College* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), 27–28. Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College: The American Founders* (Istanbul: Bogazici University Press, 2003), 107.

[36] Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1897), 452.

[37] Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 12.

[38] *Annual Report 1877*, 34. ASC, Jafet Library, AUB, Beirut.

[39] Samir Kassir, *Beirut*, trans. M. B. De Bevoise (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 156.

[40] Washburn, 8.

[41] Turner, 17. All of SPC's "founding fathers" were products of New England colleges; of the seven, three were graduates of Amherst College (Daniel Bliss, Edwin Lewis, and Harvey Porter), one of Yale College (D. S. Dodge), two the University of the City of New York (George E. Post, and John Wortabet), and one of Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia (Dr. C. E. Van Dyck).

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

[43] Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut*, 9. Stephen Penrose, *That They May Have Light; The American University of Beirut* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941), Appendix N, 333. Predominantly Christian in its first few decades, by 1940 the SPC's student population had grown to 1,992, of which 37% were Muslim and 10% Jewish.

[44] Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 199.

[45] Blueprints of College Hall, n.d., Facilities Planning and Design Unit, AUB.

[46] Winston Weisman, "The Commercial Architecture of George B. Post," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 31, no. 3 (October 1972): 201–203.

[47] Ibid, 178–179.

[48] "A 'Bricks-and-Mortar' President: The McCosh Presidency, 1868–88," *Princeton Campus; An Interactive Computer History, 1746–1996*. http://etcweb.princeton.edu:80/Campus/chap4.html, accessed 23 December 2015.

[49] "The College of the City of New York; George B. Post architect," *The Architectural Record*, (December 1905) 305–312. By the end of his career, G. B. Post and Sons was one of the "largest and busiest (firms) in the country." Post was also part of the eight-person architectural team chosen for the Columbian Exposition of 1893 (including Louis Sullivan, Richard Hunt, and Charles McKim, who were giants in late nineteenth century American architecture), and designed prominent buildings such as the *New York Times* Building and the Prudential Life Insurance Company Building (1910) in New York City.

[50] Jens Hanssen in "Your Beirut Is on My Desk, Ottomanizing Beirut under Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909)" in *Projecting Beirut; Episodes in the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City*, eds. Peter Rowe and Hashim Sarkis (Munich, London, and New York: Prestel, 1998), 49. Beirut's imperial barracks on the Qantari hill began in 1853 and finished in the late 1870s. Hanssen, *Fin de Siecle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 241. In 1898, the accompanying free-standing twenty-five meter clock-tower became celebrated as the tallest structure in Beirut. Kassir, *Beirut*, 134.

[51] Turner, 47.

[52] Hanssen, "Your Beirut," 48. In 1889, the Ras Beirut lighthouse (Manara) would be replaced by "a taller lighthouse because the newly built houses had obstructed the view from the port to the lighthouse."

[53] Turner, 49.

[54] Ibid, 50.

[55] Majstorac-Kobiljski, "Learning to be Modern: American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto, 1860–1920," (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2010), 103.

[56] Bliss, *Letters to a New Campus*, 110–111.

[57] Majstorac-Kobiljski, 109.

[58] Copeland, 13.

[59] Mehmet Bengu Uluengin, "Secularizing Anatolia Tick by Tick," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, no. 1 (February 2010), 20.

[60] "College Hall: Oldest Building on AUB Campus," *AUB Bulletin* 12, no. 17 (April 19, 1969), 3–4.

[61] Karen Van Lange and Lisa A. Reilly, *Vassar College; An Architectural Tour* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 5.

[62] Turner, 48.

[63] "College Hall: Oldest," 3.

[64] Claude Moore Fuess, *Amherst: Story of a New England College* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1935), 86.

[65] "American Ways in Beirut Syrian Protestant College," *The Springfield Republican* 43 (July 17, 1910): 13.

[66] Assem Salaam, "Campus Architecture – The American University of Beirut," *al-Kulliyah* (February 1962): 35.

[67] "Dodge Hall is Now Under Construction, Will Soon House the Economic Institute," *al-Kulliyah* 39, no. 1 (Winter 1963).

[68] In the early 1900s, the built campus line extended further westwards to include Sage, Thomson, and Rockefeller Halls, part of today's IC campus.

[69] Ada Dodge's tower no longer exists today, presumably torn down in the 1960s renovation work, though an explanation has yet to be found.

[70] Stanley King, *The Consecrated Eminence: The Story of the Campus and Buildings of Amherst College* (Amherst, MA: Amherst College, 1951): 45–46.

[71] Tyler to Bliss, Sept. 31, 1870, ASC, Amherst College.

[72] Nabeel G. Ashkar, "Back to Assembly Hall," *AUB Bulletin* 34, no. 3 (May 1992), n.p.

[73] Dedication speech, Willlams College observatory, Turner, 106.

[74] Turner, 106.

[75] Elshakry, "The Gospel," 196.

[76] "The Old Lee Observatory Building: The Beauty of AUB's Architecture," *Outlook* 25, no. 2 (January 18, 2001): 4.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Charles A. Webster, "Post Hall," *al-Kulliyah* 16, no. 2 (December 1929): 32.

[79] "Anecdotes of the Early Managers of the A.U.B.," *Students Union Gazette* (Christmas Issue, 1927): 39. ASC, AUB.

[80] "The College of the City of New York," 305–312.

[81] Woodrow Wilson quoted in Turner, 227.

[82] Webster, 32.

[83] Bryant F. Tolles, Jr., *Architecture and Academe: College Buildings in New England Before 1860* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2011), 117. Woods Cabinet attached to Lawrence Observatory was built in 1847–1848, "to serve as a study and exhibition center for natural history, as well as astronomical observatory and college museum."

[84] Webster, 33.

[85] Bliss, *Letters*, 143, 162.

[86] Faculty Minutes, Jan. 9, 1877, 273; Faculty Minutes, Feb. 12, 1878, 298–99; Faculty Minutes, June 1, 1886, 520. ASC, AUB.

[87] Byron Porter Smith, "Golden Days, 1910–14," *al-Kulliyah* 28, no. 4 (April 1953): 19.

[88] Juliette Guilbert, "Something that Loves a Wall: The Yale University Campus, 1850–1920," *New England Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (June 1995): 262.

[89] Gumprecht, 18.

[90] Turner, 3.

[91] Faculty Minutes, July 13, 1876, 259, ASC, AUB.

[92] Faculty Minutes, June 19, 1894, 258, ASC, AUB.

[93] *SPC Annual Report*, 1866–1902, 179, ASC, AUB.

[94] Faculty Minutes, July 8, 1901, 587, ASC, AUB.

[95] Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers, *Syrian Protestant College* (1901), 13, ASC, AUB.

[96] "Edward P. Casey, Noted Architect, Designer of New York State Monuments at Antietam and Gettysburg Dies at 75," Obituary, *The New York Times*, (Jan. 3 1940).

[97] Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Managers, *Syrian Protestant College* (1903), 10, ASC, AUB.

[98] James S. Dennis, D.D., "A Model of the Syrian Protestant College for the St. Louis Exposition," *The Assembly Herald; The Official Publication of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 10, no. 4 (April 1904): 181–182.

[99] Jessup writes "the model of the campus and its buildings made by me in 1902 for the college I reproduced at the request of Morris K. Jesup, using one of the rooms in the American Museum of Natural History. It was enclosed in a mahogany and plate glass case and sent to the St. Louis Exposition, being awarded a gold medal." *Fifty-Three Years*, 306.

[100] "The Pillar of the Syria Mission," Jessup arrived in Beirut in 1856 to join the Syria Mission, then the faculty of the SPC. Penrose, 38.

[101] Dennis, 181–182.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Bliss, *Letters*, 108.

[104] Faculty Minutes, November 17, 1911, 186, ASC, AUB.

[105] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut; Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin, TX: UT Press, 2011), 106.

[106] Howard Sweetser Bliss to Dear Family, July 20, 1878, Folder 25, Box 1, Series 3: Howard Sweetser Bliss. ASC, Amherst College.

[107] Anderson, 106.

[108] Penrose, 48. Howard Bliss to Daniel Bliss, Feb. 3, 1902, Folder 98, ASC, Amherst College.

[109] Shafik Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department of the Syrian Protestant College* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 2004), 48.

[110] Faculty Minutes, October 29, 1908, 13, ASC, AUB.

[111] Norbert J. Scholz, "Foreign Education and Indigenous Reaction in late Ottoman Lebanon: Students and Teachers at the SPC in Beirut," Vol. II (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1997), 175.

[112] Faith M. Hanna, *An American Mission: The Role of the American University of Beirut*, (Boston: Alphabet Press, 1979), 7; Stephen Penrose, 133-146.

[113] Faculty Minutes, March 17, 1910, 123, ASC, AUB.

[114] Forty-First Annual Report of the Board of Managers, *Syrian Protestant* 1907, 4–5, ASC, AUB.

[115] Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Managers, *Syrian Protestant College*, 1902–1903, 8, ASC, AUB.

[116] Penrose, 117.

[117] Forty-First Annual Report of the Board of Managers, *Syrian Protestant College*, 1902–1903, 5, ASC, AUB.

[118] Howard S. Bliss, "The Flower of Culture," Bliss Family Papers, Folder 28 (May 1, 1909), ASC, Amherst College.

[119] Ussama Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S.-Arab Relations 1820–2001*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 158.

[120] Franklin T. Moore, *al-Kulliyah* 5, no. 5 (March 1914): 129; Penrose, 118. The way Moore and Penrose describe the idea for a student center shares much in common with the description of the Williams College Haystack meeting that resulted in the founding of the ABCFM. See William Strong, *The Story of the American Board, An Account of the First Hundred Years of the ABCFM* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 7–16.

[121] "Proposed New Social Building," *al-Kulliyah* 1, no. 6 (July 1910): 216–219, ASC/AUB.

[122] "West Hall," *al-Kulliyah* 3, no. 3 (Jan. 1912): 25; "Robert H. West Hall, A Child of Promise," *al-Kulliyah* 4, no. 3 (Jan. 1913): 63–66; "West Hall," *al-Kulliyah* 3, no. 3 (Jan. 1912): 24.

[123] Bayard Dodge, "Life in the College and Life in the World," *Student Union Gazette*, Jan.-Feb. 1913, 49.

[124] James Patch, "Robert H. West Hall," *al-Kulliyah* 2, no. 5 (March 1911): 149.

[125] Seating capacity comparisons: the Royal Cairo Opera House, 1869, had a seating capacity of 850; Casino du Liban, opened in 1959, could seat 1000, and Piccadilly Theatre, the first theatre of Ras Beirut, built in 1965, could seat close to 700. For its time, West Hall's size was quite large.

[126] Patch, "West Hall."

[127] Howard Bliss to SPC Board of Trustees, Feb. 27, 1912, Bliss Family Papers, ASC, Amherst College.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

[130] "Proposed New Social Building."

[131] Howard Bliss, "Fifty-First Annual Report," *Syrian Protestant College*, 1916–1917, (Aug. 14, 1917), 70–73. ASC, AUB.

[132] Samir Khalaf, "New England Puritanism and Liberal Education in the Middle East; The American University of Beirut as a Cultural Transplant," in *Cultural Transitions in the Middle East*, ed. Serif Mardin (Leiden: Brill 1994), 73.

[133] Penrose, 300; Anderson, 72.

[134] Howard Bliss speech to John Finley of the State University of New York, Albany, NY, April 1919, Bliss Family Papers, ASC, Amherst College.

[135] Howard Bliss to Amy Blatchford Bliss, July 2, 1909, Box 1, Folder 119, ASC, Amherst College.

[136] Bliss, *Letters to a New Campus*, 150.

[137] Dodge, 50. Edward Nickoley to David Stuart Dodge, June 22, 1920, File 2, Box 2, A.A.: 2.3: Presidency, ASC, AUB.

[138] *Student Union Gazette*, 39.

[139] "The Library Buildings," University Libraries, American University of Beirut, http://www.aub.edu.lb/ulibraries/about/Pages/buildings.aspx, accessed October 1, 2012.

[140] Samir Khalaf discusses the relationship between the SPC and Ras Beirut in "Ras Beirut and the AUB – an idyllic twinship," *The Moore Collection, Franklin T. Moore Photographs (1892–1902)*, ed. Helen Khal (Beirut: AUB Press, 2006), 12–24.

[141] Kamal Giryus Rubeiz, *Rizk Allo ay-haydeek al-Ayam ya Ras Beirut* (Beirut: Dar al-anwar liltaba'a wa al-nashr, n.d.), 190.

[142] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place; Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

12 Gardens of Knowledge, Oasis for the Soul: A History of the AUB Campus Landscape

Jala Makhzoumi[1]

In the 150 years since AUB was established, the campus has evolved into a rich mosaic of natural, semi-natural, and ornamental landscapes, a testimony to evolving aesthetic sensibilities and the changing needs of a growing institution. Dense, diverse, and extensive, the campus vegetative cover harmonizes the eclectic assemblage of colonial, modern, and post-modern architectures, and offers an exceptional range of experiences - a veritable natural and cultural heritage of the institution and the city.

Yet, there is no historical account of the campus landscape. This absence is understandable considering that the priority in the early decades was to establish academic programs and house them. Landscaping the campus was, at best, a peripheral concern. There are accounts of campus trees and, much later, records of managing the campus grounds, but none concerning the overall setting, which remained a mystery:

- What caused the massive, barren landscape to metamorphose into a green oasis?
- How did this exceptional accumulation of native and exotic plants come to be?
- To what extent was the enchanting assemblage of buildings and open spaces planned, or was it incidental?

This chapter draws on research that attempts to find answers to these questions by tracing the evolution of the campus landscape from 1870, when the land was purchased, to the present.[2] This inquiry was initially prompted in response to professional and academic necessities when the author, then new to AUB, was appointed as technical advisor to the AUB Facilities Planning and Design Unit (FPDU) to advise on the Campus Master Plan 2002. An understanding of the campus history was also necessary for the use of the campus landscape as a living laboratory for students of the BS in Landscape Design and Eco-Management, which was launched in 2000 in the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences. Study of the campus landscape history has thereafter continued, gathering a momentum of its own.[3]

A landscape reading of the AUB campus can shed light on shifting institutional priorities and changing cultural attitudes to nature and the city and, additionally, will inform the discourse of landscape architecture, an emerging profession in the Arab Middle East. Before discussing the AUB campus landscape, a few words are in order on the complexities surrounding the concept of "landscape." The word has its origins in sixteenth-century northern European culture, where it implied rural land, a segment of countryside. This earthbound meaning evolved mainly through artists to imply a "grandiose prospect" and, thereafter, painterly, pictorial representation of that prospect, with emphasis on the visual, scenic meaning. By the late nineteenth century, other disciplines began to appropriate "landscape." Geographers, archaeologists, and ecologists, all have contributed new layers of meaning - for example, landscape as an expression of culture and as a tangible expression of ecosystem.[4] It was, however, the visual, pictorial meaning that came to dominate; for most people, "landscape" implies a view to a beautiful scene. Prioritizing the visual dimension, landscape appearance, is problematic because it undermines intangible emotional and cultural meanings and the ecological processes that shape landscapes. In this chapter, a holistic, dynamic conception is adopted whereby landscape encompasses a tangible ***product*** (trees, buildings, mountains) - the outcome of people shaping their environment - and intangible ***processes*** of conceptualizing these surroundings through shared values and meanings. Uncovering the historic layers hidden beneath

the outward facade of the campus can undoubtedly heighten appreciation of the landscape, engage the AUB community, and encourage a collective vision of the campus landscape as complementary to AUB's educational and research mission.

BACKGROUND

The intention to establish a college of higher learning in the Arab Near East was proposed by members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1863, and a charter under the name of the Syrian Protestant College[5] was granted by the State of New York. Reverend Daniel Bliss, who had travelled to Syria as a member of the Mission, was entrusted with the responsibility. He succeeded in raising funds to establish the College, which opened its doors to a handful of students in 1866 in a building rented from Butrus Bustani, next door to his own school, west of the walled city of Beirut. With increased enrollment, the College rapidly outgrew its rented accommodations,[6] forcing Bliss to find more permanent premises. Daniel Bliss took great pride in relating how he came to find and eventually acquire the land for the College. With foresight, he looked for land that would accommodate a "campus" in the spirit of American colleges and universities.[7] The site had to be large enough to locate major collegiate requirements (academic buildings, dormitories, sports fields) within spacious surroundings. Property solicitors were consulted in different parts of Beirut as Bliss traversed the city on horseback, looking for the ideal site. When he reached the desolate higher grounds of the Ras Beirut headland, west of the city, Bliss must have realized the potential of the site as soon as he saw it. He recounted that he "fell in love with it at sight, and immediately decided that [he] had found the finest site in all Beirut if not in all Syria."[8] Purchase of the first land parcel, where College Hall now stands, was completed in 1870. The sale transaction made provisions for exemption from land tax by arranging for the purchase through an intermediary acting on behalf of the University.[9]

In the years that followed, various sized land parcels were acquired adjacent to the original property. Some sales were straightforward, while others entailed long and arduous negotiations. When the intention to establish a grand institute of learning became apparent, owners of the adjacent land understandably tried to strike a hard bargain. Detailed accounts are given of two land parcels:[10] the plot purchased from the Ottoman Governor, Midhat Pasha, on the present site of the Green Oval; and the famous "Fig Orchard," which took Bliss twenty-nine years of negotiations before it was finally purchased in 1898. Incrementally, the plots were consolidated into the site of the present-day campus.

The cornerstone of College Hall, the first structure on the new site, was laid on December 1871, followed by the Medical Building (Fig. 1). One building after another, the campus acquired a physical presence, and the institution slowly took shape, gradually gaining recognition in Lebanon and the neighboring countries. The spirit and ethics of the Syrian Protestant College were best expressed by Daniel Bliss during the ceremony for laying the cornerstone of College Hall in 1871:[11]

Fig. 1. College Hall was the first structure on the new campus (AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection). The ten columnar cypresses planted by Bliss, still young, can be seen against College Hall.

> This college is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to color, nationality, race or religion. A man, white, black, or yellow, Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or heathen, may enter and enjoy all the advantages of this institution for three, four or eight years; and go out believing in one God, in many gods, or in no God. But it will be impossible for anyone to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief.

Using archival maps,[12] the incremental growth of the campus site was mapped over four representative stages in the University's development (Fig. 2). The consolidated area for the campus in the earliest cadastral maps, dating to 1900, was already extensive – 105,611 m² – embracing the upper campus and steep slopes of the escarpment that defines the lower campus, which had not yet been acquired. By 1925, the main campus extended to the sea, expanding the campus area to 160,159 m². Two areas are marked "Athletic Field," the first being the present-day Green Field, and the second, the site of the Green Oval. In 1950, AUB acquired small plots fronting the maritime boulevard, the Avenue du Paris. Two playing fields were added, one south of the Chemistry Building, the present site of the greenhouse area, and the other on the site now occupied by the buildings of the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences. Tennis courts occupied the present-day site of Nicely Building. Eventually, sports grounds were shifted to the yet unsettled lower reaches of the campus. Additional land acquisition occurred in the vicinity of the AUB Medical Center. Nowadays, the main campus has doubled in area while the building footprints have almost tripled from 8 percent of the main campus area in 1900 to 22 percent in 2014. The changing character of the campus landscape is expressed in terms of buildings, sports fields, green areas, and open spaces for the selected stages (Table 1). The figures indicate an overall reduction in green areas with the increase in the building footprints. Although the allocation of open/green areas per student today is a quarter of what it was in 1904 – at 20.4 m² per student, – it is nevertheless appreciable,[13] and the campus landscape remains not only green, but also spacious.

	Students[1]	Main Campus (m²)	AUBMC (m²)	IC[2] (m²)	Beach[3] (m²)	Building Footprint %	Sports %	Open Spaces %	Green Areas %	Open/ Green per Student[4]
1904	603	105611	19289	13114	-	8%	0%	13%	78%	160.7
1925	-	160159	19801	33365	-	7%	14%		69%	-
1941	1992	187347	33348	33365	-	8%	16%	22%	56%	88
2001	5897	205464	35112	31235	9013	19%	8%	50%	24%	28.2
2013	8142	213308	35112	29183	9013	22%	9%	45%	24%	20.4

Table 1. Summary changes to the main campus area breakdown, 1904–2014

[1] Total enrolled, current graduate, and undergraduate students (Ref. Campus Master Plan 2002)
[2] In 2009, AUB relinquished its ownership of the International College (IC) campus land in return for a waterfront parcel owned by IC (Ref. Interview with Bassem Barhoumi, FPDU, 2014)
[3] AUB Beach, maritime domain, is leased from the Lebanese Government
[4] Total areas for sports, open spaces, and green areas, excluding the AUB Beach

Fig. 2. The incremental expansion of the campus site over four representative periods based on archival maps. The earliest available cadastral map dates to 1900. (Reconstruction based on archival cadastral maps, Jafet Library Archives)

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAMPUS LANDSCAPE

Drawing on available archival texts and images, the AMICAL report[14] proposes a historical division of the AUB campus landscape into the following three broad, mutually inclusive phases of development in the last 150 years: the rural, agrarian landscape; the ornamental, scenic landscape; and the ecological landscape.

PHASE I: THE RURAL, AGRARIAN LANDSCAPE (1870S TO 1920S)

The early landscape of the campus would have been influenced by the surrounding agricultural landscape. The parallels between the determination and pragmatism of local farming communities in securing their livelihoods and the resolve of the missionaries to establish a beacon for learning are uncanny. Both had to work hard, accepting environmental and financial limitations, to make the best of available resources.

The site Bliss purchased in 1870 occupied the upper reaches of the Ras Beirut plateau, 45-50 meters above sea level, and was a desolate, bare landscape with a commanding view of the Mediterranean Sea (Fig. 3). Geologically, the campus is composed mainly of Cretaceous aged limestone rocks, part of the Sannine Formation that is 90-100 million years old, and a major aquifer in Lebanon. The surrounding land - what is today Hamra - was only partly cultivated. Property lines were defined with dense rows of prickly pear[15] (Fig. 4). The landscape remained predominantly open and sparsely populated up to the early decades of the twentieth century. Reminiscing, residents of Ras Beirut speak of the campus being a "house for jackals and dumping place for the offal of the city," and they relate childhood memories of a bare campus with a few scattered trees and shrubs "teeming with all kinds of snakes."[16]

Fig. 3. The solitary Observatory Building dominates the still bare western half of the campus. The shallow soil layer is evident from the protruding rocks. (AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

Fig. 4. The early landscape of the campus in a view eastwards from above the roof of Assembly Hall (top). Pine tree seedlings can be seen to the left of the main path along Post Hall (not yet built). The surrounding landscape of Ain al-Mreisseh still sparsely populated (AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection). A similar view in 2008, the mature campus vegetation dense, and high-rise towers dominate (bottom) (Photograph by the author)

In contrast, the coastal plain was cultivated. Druze families from Mount Lebanon[17] planted orchards and vegetable gardens, and moored their fishing boats in the natural coves of Ain al-Mreisseh and Minet al-Dalia. Traditional, age-old mountain practices were used to rehabilitate the rocky land and create beautiful ***hakuras***,[18] the remnants of which still survive today in the Jal al-Bahr neighborhood, west of the AUB campus.

At first, the bareness of the new campus was not a pressing concern. Eventually, however, the site had to be rendered more habitable. Taking the rocky terrain into consideration, planting trees was no easy undertaking. The first step was to prepare the land for cultivation by constructing stone retaining walls. These stretched along the length of the middle campus escarpment. Terraces created by these walls were then filled with good soil brought from afar. Only then were they ready for planting. Photographic images of these stone walls from the early twentieth century, most probably the oldest structures on campus, are evocative of mountain landscapes in rural Lebanon (Fig. 5). Today, these terrace walls and wide stairs are barely visible amidst the dense vegetation they came to support (Fig. 6).

Fig. 5. Inspired by traditional rural practices, stone wall terraces were constructed along the length of the campus escarpment to rehabilitate the rocky slopes and enable planting. (AUB Department of Photography, The Moore Collection)

Fig. 6. Stone terrace walls and stairs linking the upper and lower campus constructed in the late nineteenth century are barely visible today under the dense vegetative cover. View of stairs leading up to Jafet Library. (Line drawing by the author)

The selection of trees to plant was similarly inspired by a traditional choice of species. Apart from a few introduced species, like the Banyan trees[19] and Jacarandas planted by Bliss, native trees dominated: carob, olive, fig, pine, and cypresses; all well-adapted to the harsh environment, they required minimal care. Cypress trees were typically planted along the site boundaries, a practice that continues today all over rural Lebanon. Columnar cypresses marked vistas and pathways, the exception being the triangle of ten cypress trees east of Marquand House that were planted by Daniel Bliss (Fig. 7). Planting the flat terrain of the campus site was difficult. Although there was no need for terracing, "holes had to be chiseled out of solid rock for the trees to be planted."[20] The landscape was put to good use by intercropping tree seedlings with vegetables, grapevines, and citrus and olive trees, as evident from archival images of the campus (Fig. 8). Landscape productivity made as much sense to the thrifty missionary as it did to the mountain villager. The aesthetic sensibilities of both found pleasure in landscapes that were useful - i.e., productive.[21]

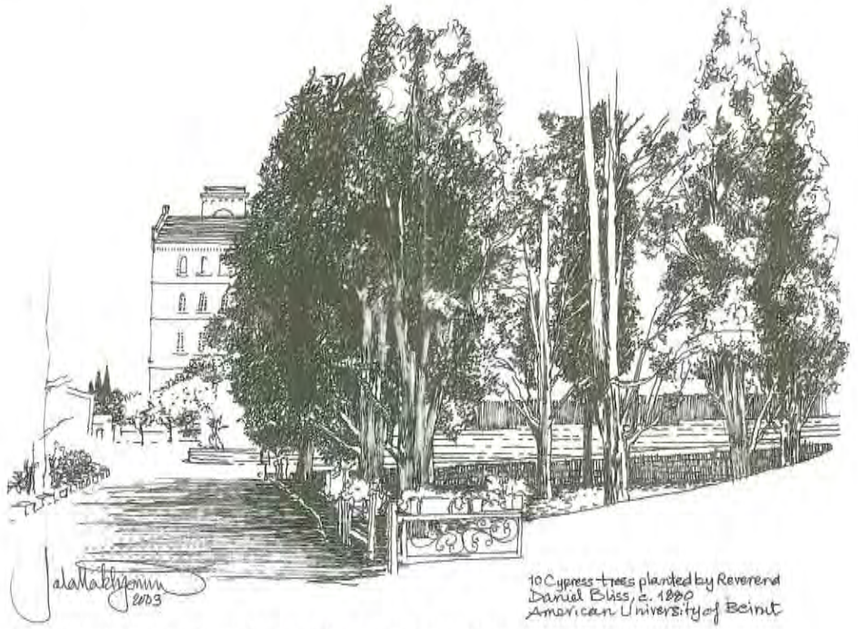


Fig. 7. Ten cypress trees planted by Daniel Bliss to form a triangle west of Marquand House (Line drawing by the author)

Fig. 8. The agricultural landscape of the middle campus is evident in this panoramic view from a postcard circa 1900. Fruit trees in the foreground were intercropped with rows of vegetable cultivation.

The hardship of cultivating the new campus was accompanied by strict rules to protect existing and newly planted trees. Daniel Bliss prohibited any campus tree pruning/cutting without his permission[22] – a restriction that continues to the present requiring the permission of the University's president. The exception was William West, emeritus professor of chemistry (1959), who admitted that in the 1950s he was responsible for cutting down as many trees as he planted. "Had this not been done," he says, "the sea would now be invisible from many parts of the campus."[23]

Faculty and students were actively involved in the campus landscape during this early phase. This was, in part, due to the urgency to rehabilitate the barren land, but also because the community was smaller; "students and teachers were more of a family."[24] One account speaks of a tutor by the name of Ibrahim who "got together students and led them into a bare part of the campus, each student had a shovel or a pick" to plant the pine trees opposite Post Hall. The custom of adopting a class tree was introduced early on, and the dedications of the trees were seen by some as "the most attractive portions of the Commencement Day programme," the ceremony "held in the evening twilight at the close of the great function in Assembly Hall."[25]

With two exceptions,[26] all buildings in the upper campus date to the second half of the nineteenth century. The architecture is an odd mixture of "mock Tudor, faintly reminiscent of old English colleges (e.g., the AUB Archaeological Museum), of Gothicised Lebanese arches and windows (e.g., College Hall), and of mildly Italianate and diluted classical details and proportions (e.g., Fisk and Bliss Halls)."[27]

The overall landscape character of the campus was still in the making. Trees had not matured enough to make an impact. Nevertheless, the influence of the agricultural landscape character is significant, because it set in motion natural processes that, over the years, prepared the site for today's landscape. Tree roots fragmented the rocky terrain, tree debris contributing to the buildup of organic, rich topsoil, where none existed previously (Fig. 9). These processes gradually transformed the bare, rocky escarpment of the middle campus into the greenest part of campus.

Fig. 9. This cross-section through the lower campus landscape during construction of the Charles W. Hostler Center shows the fertile soil (dark top layer), accumulated through decades of cultivation, above the limestone outcrop (light lower layer) (Photograph by the author)

PHASE II: THE ORNAMENTAL, SCENIC LANDSCAPE (1930S THROUGH 1970S)

Changes to the campus grounds, evident by the 1930s and 1940s, paved the way for AUB's "Golden Age." In the years that followed that decade, the reputation of the institution as a haven for liberal thinking and a center for Arab political awakening was firmly established. The 1960s were equally prosperous for the city of Beirut. Modern architecture hallmarked the city with iconic buildings, such as the Beirut International Airport, the Raoucheh waterfront, and the Carlton Hotel. The campus

similarly received its first modern architecture on the lower campus – the buildings of the Faculty of Agriculture and Food Sciences – and Nicely Hall on the upper campus. The latter was a fresh experiment that went beyond international modernism. Dabbling in local/regional identity while following the US campus tradition, the architecture of Nicely Hall was not unlike the hybrid styles of the early campus buildings.[28]

With little available space on the upper campus, new buildings were introduced on the lower campus. Up to the 1950s, the coastal landscape was predominantly agricultural, rural in character (Fig. 10). The Faculties of Agricultural and Food Sciences and Engineering and Architecture were respectively located to the west and east of the football field, known as the Green Field. AUB negotiated with the Beirut municipality for the right to direct access to its rented private beach space through a tunnel under the Avenue du Paris, the Corniche Ain al-Mreisseh. However, apart from large *Ficus* tree species and flowering jacarandas, the landscape of the lower campus generally lacked character; it would be five more decades before it acquired a clear landscape expression.

The wave of modernism that engulfed the city saw the Beirut municipality introduce new public gardens that emulated Western amenity landscapes. Lawns became popular as an expression of these amenity landscapes, as well as herbaceous borders and exotic trees.[29] This new landscape "fashion" invariably influenced the campus landscape. The utilitarian, early productive landscape that had dominated AUB slowly gave way to an ornamental one, whereby "landscape" is a means for "beautification," providing a visually engaging scenic backdrop to buildings.

The preference for the ornamental landscape is evident in recommendations by the Board of Trustees (BOT) that the Campus Planning Committee undertake, among other tasks, "the landscaping of the campus (including planning for the planting of trees, shrubs, and flowers), with the objective of making the campus beautiful as well as functionally adapted to our needs."[30] Along the same lines, the Grounds Committee was entrusted with the "beautifying of the campus," and was given "full charge of and authority over the department of tree cultivation."[31] Native trees planted early on, many brought from the Lebanese mountains, were complemented with new exotic ones, imported from abroad. Dimitrios Serlis, chairman of the Grounds Committee, is reported to have annually planted over 500 trees of different kinds and families, with seeds and young trees imported from different countries around the world, though mainly from Italy.[32]

Fig. 10. Aerial view of the AUB Campus in 1938 shows the rural, agricultural landscape of the lower campus (top center) and in proximity of the medical campus (lower left corner). The site of the present-day Green Oval and Nicely Hall served as sports grounds. (Photograph from the Dorman Collection)

The landscape of AUB as we know it today began to take shape during this period. In 1962, Vice-President Crawford noted: "Flying over Beirut, it is not the large buildings of the University which attract one's attention, but the amount of green visible."[33] The historic, upper campus landscape, for the most part, consisted of formal, mature trees enveloping buildings, shading walkways, and framing vistas. The interplay of massive foliage and delicately tended lawns, ornamental beddings, and clipped flowering hedges alongside quaint historic architecture was exceptionally picturesque, an "image" which came to be closely associated with AUB. Meanwhile the bare, terraced slopes of the escarpments sandwiched between the historic upper campus and the coastal, lower campus had metamorphosed into an impressive landscape that was much too precious to disrupt with buildings (Fig. 11). In contrast to the scenic, ornamental setting of the upper campus, this landscape remained untamed, evocative of a mountain wilderness. Seasonal watercourses tunneled through the foliage alongside stone staircases. The diversity and density of vegetation provide a range of biophysical "pockets" - *microhabitats* - which accommodate insects, bats, and birds, and represents, as such, a "living landscape."[34]

s of the middle campus escarpment in a digital
in illustrating how the AUB Campus topography (top)
on by the author) evolved into the greenest part of the
om) (AUB Department of Photography)

The middle campus is also exceptional because of its seasonality. Understory, herbaceous ground cover dries out in the summer, the green fading into golden, and then dying out, only to be revived in the autumn with the first rainfall (Fig. 12). Seasonality is characteristic of Mediterranean landscapes, a reminder that, unless intentionally managed to maintain an unchanging image, landscapes evolve, change seasonally, mature, and age. Spatially and visually, the dense vegetation of the middle campus frames views from the campus to the sea just as it provides a backdrop to views of the campus from the Corniche. And, like all natural landscapes, the wilderness landscape is sustainable, requiring very little upkeep and no irrigation.

Contributions to the campus landscape during this second phase came from landscape professionals, designers, and horticulturists, and from faculty members in the sciences. The former was marked by the work of resident landscape architect Grace Kirkwood, wife of President Kirkwood (1965-1976). Mrs. Kirkwood was appointed landscape consultant to the newly established Campus Planning Committee and, in this capacity, contributed to the design and management of the campus landscape. New trees and shrubs were introduced mainly through Kirkwood in association with George Batikha, who has taught landscape horticulture at AUB since the 1960s.[35] Exotic trees introduced through their joint efforts include *Cosrysia, Tipuana, Iris Jarmanica, Cassia altata, Sophora japonica, Cassia robinia umbraculefera*, and *ficus nitida*. Most were gifts from Egypt, along with others from South Africa and Asia donated by Lebanese immigrants.

12. Framed images from the middle campus illustrate the seasonality of a typically Mediterranean landscape.
, 23 December; Right, 29 July (Photographs by the author)

Alfred Day, professor of Botany (1889-1930) had established AUB's first botanical garden close to Assembly Hall, where the big Eucalyptus tree now stands (Fig. 13). In the 1930s, Dimitrios Serlis, Chairman of Grounds Committee, established a garden for medicinal plants, although the location is not known. Both gardens have since disappeared. Winnie Edgecombe, associate professor of Taxonomy (1952-1972),[36] was the first to realize the botanical significance of the entire campus plant collection and to recognize that "the AUB campus is a veritable botanical garden, with trees and shrubs from all parts of the world."[37] She labored to place name plaques on the campus trees, adding 192 plaques on 54 different species of trees and shrubs.[38] Emeritus Professor Charles Abu Chaar of Biology (1937-1985), a contemporary of Edgecombe, continued Edgecombe's efforts to establish a garden for medicinal plants in the ravine north of Van Dyke, which similarly disappeared. More significantly, Abu Chaar compiled and published a comprehensive list of the woody plants of the AUB campus,[39] the only book available on campus vegetation.

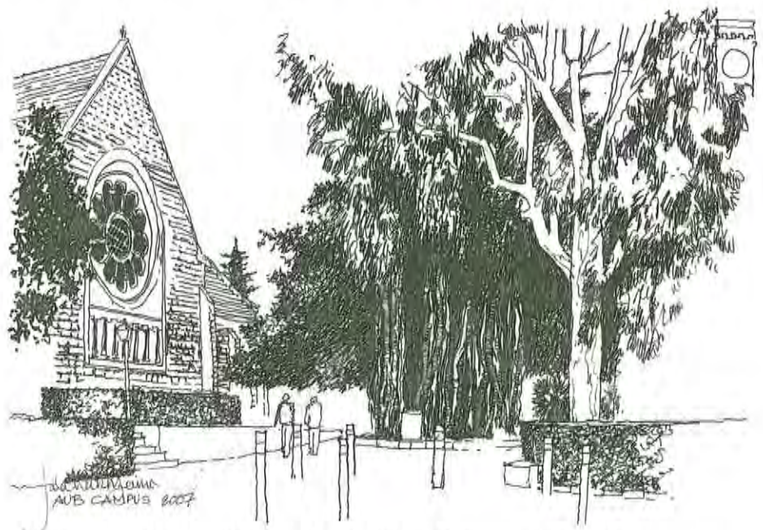


Fig. 13. The eucalyptus tree (right) was the site of the first botanic garden on campus.
The banyan tree (center) is one of several on campus. (Line drawing by the author)

William West, emeritus professor of chemistry, was another key contributor to the campus landscape. His "Account of AUB Campus Trees" is a rare, first-hand record of the historical introduction of campus trees species,[40] and through his efforts the campus was graced with "many of the trees and shrubs (which) he transplanted as seedlings or raised from seeds." West served on the Buildings and Grounds Committee and was responsible for planting the flamboyant red tree (*Poinciana*) at the Corniche edge of the Green Field. He is also responsible for the *Washingtonia* palms that define the northern edge of the Green Oval, which he likened to a Roman colonnade. (Fig. 14) West's concern for the remaining native flora on campus is evident in the following caption from a letter written by him to President Norman Burns in 1965:[41] "It is interesting to note that the big prickly-leaved oaks near the Observatory are part of the wild flora of the area, going back before the founding of the institution. The same is true of a number of large carobs."

By the early 1970s, the AUB campus had three distinct, spatially stratified landscape character zones: the formal, ornamental landscape of the historic upper campus; the wild, naturalistic landscape of the middle campus; and the modernist landscape of the lower campus. In essence, the campus landscape was not very different from the surrounding city. Both enjoyed a humanized urban fabric, harmonized architecture, and sufficient vacant lots that were seasonally colonized by spontaneous vegetation to serve as breathing spaces.

Spatially, the campus boundary walls were acknowledged, but did not impede the flow between campus and city - a fact as significant as the discourse between AUB and the people of Ras Beirut,[42] whose pride in hosting the institution was coupled with the pleasure of a "garden" that landmarked their sector of the city. In turn, AUB felt gratitude for the many services rendered by the neighborhood community in terms of housing, shops, recreational services, and human resources serving the University.

toumi

Figure 14. View of the formal, ornamental landscape of the upper campus: the Green Oval with the old infirmary behind (Photograph by author circa 2000)

PHASE III: THE ECOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE (2000-)

Aside from a general state of disrepair, the campus landscape remained unchanged during the fifteen years of the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). AUB endured the fighting and destruction that engulfed Lebanon; witnessed the tragic assassinations of AUB President Malcolm Kerr (1982-1984), Dean Raymond Ghosn of the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture (1962-1984), and Dean Robert Najemy of Student Affairs (1969-1976); and the 1991 bombing of the iconic College Hall. The revival of both the campus and the institution began in the 1990s. Unruly trees were pruned, shrubs and hedges clipped, the overgrown understory was cleared, and stone terrace walls were repaired.[43] New trees were planted to replace those that had died, such as the double row of pine trees opposite Post Hall, in place of the original ones. The Green Field was overhauled, and a new irrigation and drainage system introduced. Managed and pruned, the landscape slowly recovered; restored to its past splendor, its dense, mature vegetative cover undeniably distinguished the AUB Campus. A total of 129 woody plant species - trees and shrubs - were counted, with many more if counting annuals and grasses.[44] The largest concentration of woody plants is located in the middle campus - 4,169 of the total count of 6,785 trees and shrubs for the entire campus. The remaining woody plants are distributed in the lower and upper campus - 1,559 and 1,057, respectively.

The institutional drive to secure accreditation prompted the commissioning in 2000 of a Campus Master Plan (CMP) to guide the development of the campus for the next twenty years.[45] Completed in March 2002, it recognized the true worth of the campus, valued its potential in supporting and enhancing the academic mission, and called for its protection.[46] In the words of then-President Waterbury: ". . . AUB and its Trustees believe that the campus is one of our greatest assets in providing the kind of education that has always made AUB unique in the region. The (campus master) plan aims to protect and enhance this, our most precious legacy"[47] (Fig. 15).

Just as significantly, the CMP provided an opportunity to reflect on the campus and vocalize tacit valuation of the landscape by the AUB community. Faculty, administration, and students engaged in a participatory process to develop a vision for the campus. This provided an opportunity to learn about the campus landscape and weigh alternative development paths for the future. Of the three alternatives proposed by the consultants, there was consensus for the one that entailed the least change to the existing landscape, a reflection on the extent to which the campus landscape is valued.[48] Of equal significance were the CMP-designated sites for four new buildings - three in the lower campus and one in the upper.[49] Construction of the Charles W. Hostler sports complex and the Olayan School of Business has transformed the landscape of the lower campus and the waterfront façade of the campus. In the words of President Waterbury, the single most important objective of the Campus Master Plan 2002 was "to transform the architectural and urban character of the lower campus, offering a welcoming and architecturally distinguished "face" to the Corniche."[50] A new

waterfront boundary wall was designed and constructed to ensure greater visual connectivity and accessibility, with two new gates on each side of the Green Field. The Issam Fares Institute made an equally significant impact on the historic upper campus. Striking form aside, Zaha Hadid's architecture responds to the formality of the historic buildings and respects the existing vegetation, while allowing for the flow of space between the Green Oval and the middle campus. These new buildings add to the eclectic assemblage of campus architecture, successfully harmonized by the profusion of campus vegetation that joins the colonial, the modern, and the post-modern.

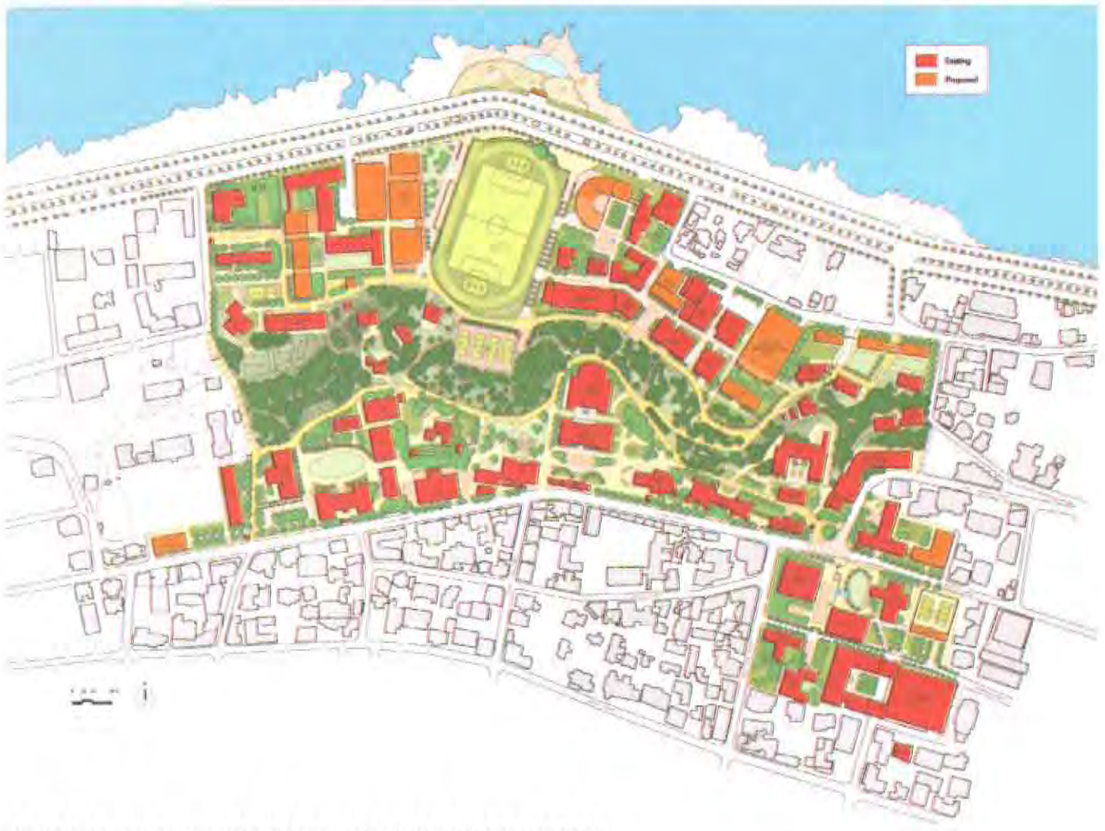


Fig. 15. Schematic diagram of the AUB Campus Master Plan 2002 (Source: FPDU)

Alongside landscape changes on campus was a shift in worldview toward a growing awareness of natural resource abuse resulting in environmental degradation. New ecological consciousness and a global call for sustainable development has had a direct bearing on the concept of "landscape." The narrow focus on appearance has expanded into a holistic, dynamic conception whereby landscape becomes a tangible expression of the environment and culture.[51] The third and last phase in the historical development of the AUB campus builds on the theme of "the ecological landscape." This explores the potential of the campus landscape within an ecological, holistic vision that embraces not only the visible (landform, vegetation, buildings), but also, just as importantly, the invisible (ecological and environmental processes shaping the landscape) and the intangible (culturally rooted aesthetic preferences and perceptions).

Conceptualized holistically, the campus today serves as a platform to converse with nature, raise awareness of environmental issues, and promote green practices in planning and management. First of these are efforts to take stock of the campus vegetation. A comprehensive survey of the AUB campus vegetation was undertaken in 2003-2004 to digitally map all the trees and shrubs, with linked information on their age and condition. Once completed, the plant database served as a basis for consulting an expert horticulturist with experience in the management of botanic gardens. Mike Maunder, then director of the Fairchild Botanic Garden in Florida, USA, was asked

in 2005 to assess the campus vegetation and recommend immediate and long-term ecologically sensitive management routines. In parallel, Maunder was to develop a concept for the entire campus as a Mediterranean botanic garden.[52] The idea of a botanic garden has since been revived, albeit with a new ecological rationale, by a team of faculty members, students, and University grounds staff led by Salma Talhouk,[53] professor of landscape horticulture (1992-present). The AUBotanic Project envisions the entire campus as an "ancillary botanic garden" on which to build a new awareness of nature and biodiversity.

The campus vegetation has benefited from ongoing research at the AUB Nature Conservation Center (NCC)[54] through its projects to promote biodiversity conservation, and the sustainable utilization of native plants for medicinal, commercial, and ornamental purposes. The NCC has done much to raise awareness through its research both on campus and throughout Lebanon. Its campus-wide, annual IBDAA event[55] encourages interdisciplinary research into nature and biodiversity. AUB is also a regional leader in research into the use of native plants in amenity landscapes, capitalizing on both their aesthetic attributes and environmental adaptability to ensure water and climate efficient landscapes.[56] In 2003, in an initiative by the AUB Environmental Club, with support from the President's Office, the campus was nominated as a "bird sanctuary"[57] with the aim of enhancing its role as a shelter for migrant and resident birds, and raising awareness of wildlife in Lebanon (Fig. 16).

d watching excursion by AUB Environment Club in the middle
ımpanied by Lebanon's pre-eminent ornithologist,
assan Ramadan Jarradi. (Photograph by the author)

The decision by the AUB administration to pedestrianize the campus has had significant bearing on the quality of the campus environment. Previously and up until the bombing of College Hall, the campus had been accessible by car to AUB faculty and staff members, who parked in designated locations on campus. Among the recommendations of the CMP, vehicular access was restricted to campus services. Underground parking is available in the new buildings, and there are limited car parking facilities in proximity to the faculty residences. A car-free campus cuts down on air pollution, reduces noise levels, and makes for a safer campus. However, students and visitors struggle to find parking places outside the campus. This, in turn, adds to the traffic congestion in Ras Beirut, where there is a need to prioritize pedestrian mobility and invest in public transportation.

The new campus buildings have contributed to improvements in the environment and meet international guidelines for efficient energy use. The Charles W. Hostler Student Center received international certification for Leadership in Energy & Environmental Design (LEED), a green building certification program that recognizes best-in-class building strategies and practices.[58] The decision to switch to synthetic turf grass on the Green Field in 2008 was another move by the University to promote environmentally sustainable practices and to address the growing shortage of water on campus.[59]

Ironically, the shift on campus towards green strategies and sustainable development has been at odds with the upsurge of indiscriminate building development triggered by post-war reconstruction in Beirut. Rampant land speculation and new by-laws increasing the building height ratio have kick-started a building boom with vacant lots incrementally built up, gardens turned into parking lots, and low-rise apartment blocks replaced by high-end, residential towers. In the immediate vicinity of the campus, realty developers have capitalized on the unimpeded views over the campus to the Mediterranean (Fig. 17). Hemmed in by the increasingly dense city, the campus landscape has come to be valued as an oasis and the "green mantle of Beirut."[60]

The relationship between campus and city also changed, especially after the College Hall bombing. Fearing for its safety, the campus tightened its security measures, and its gates became heavily guarded. The new design for the northern boundary wall reflects awareness on the part of the institution of the need to overcome the spatial insularity of the campus. The AUB Neighborhood Initiative (NI) is another attempt at community outreach - social, cultural, and spatial[61] - enacting projects that engage the local community through courses, activities, and strategic interventions to improve the quality of life in the surrounding urban landscape.[62] These early efforts pave the way for bigger steps by AUB to reclaim the synergy that binds the institution and the city within a larger vision of a sustainable future.

Fig. 17. The AUB Campus landscape, an oasis hemmed in by a rapidly densifying city (Photograph by the author)

PAST TO FUTURE: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The barren site that Daniel Bliss acquired in 1870 has evolved over 150 years into an urban oasis, at once a wilderness, a garden, and an exotic landscape. The institution he founded has also come a long way from its early beginnings as a College to an esteemed University - a hub of learning and of intellectual excellence. The historical reading presented in this chapter illustrates how the institution and its physical setting have co-evolved. Revealing the hidden layers of the campus landscape - the wildness, the agricultural, and the ornamental - exposes the natural and human processes, incidental and intentional, that have shaped the campus character.

The layers uncovered embody different ways of conceptualizing the world, just as they reflect changing attitudes to "nature" and "landscape." In the early stages of campus development, students and faculty were fully engaged, actively contributing to planting the campus, aware of the value of trees in rehabilitating the barren site. Saplings uprooted from the mountains were transplanted onto the campus,[63] seeds from exotic trees were carried in tin biscuit cans from far away,[64] and students took up shovel and pick to plant trees. Some believe that student interest in campus plant life survived until around 1925, but was slowly lost in the decades that followed.[65] Not only was the campus running out of open space in which to plant, but also the academic community was growing and understandably losing the intimacy of a smaller collective. Just as significantly, the shift to a modern landscape style did not allow for a hands-on, community inclusive attitude to planting. Rather, a specialized team, the Grounds Committee, was made responsible for "delivery" and maintenance of the campus landscape. The very perception of landscape changed with the advent of modernism. The old concept "rooted" in the rural culture of a "full" landscape packed with a diversity of trees, many of which bore fruit, was replaced with a "borrowed" image of a uniform, unchanging scenic setting.[66] Moreover, the modern conception of landscape encouraged a distanced, perspectival appreciation of the campus that prioritized outer appearance. The repercussions of that more formal appreciation of landscape continues to plague our understanding of the idea of landscape in Lebanon and the Arab Middle East.[67]

In contrast to the modernist outlook, a twenty-first century ecological philosophy that has been gaining ground conceptually elsewhere penetrates the exterior form to embrace the hidden processes and intangible environmental determinants that regulate and sustain local and global landscapes. In so doing, it enhances our understanding of "landscape" so that concern for the campus has expanded beyond planting - the pick, shovel ,and seedling - to be replaced with action to conserve biodiversity, protect wildlife, and alleviate the repercussions of climate change;[68] concerns that extend beyond the here and now. That said, the hands-on approach continues by members of the AUB community, not on campus, but rather in the villages and mountains of Lebanon.[69]

Beyond its significance to the institution, the campus landscape is, in effect, the landscape of Beirut in microcosm. At least, in the first two phases of its historical development - the rural- agricultural and the modern-formal - the campus mirrors the transformation of the landscape in Ras Beirut. The landform remained discernable in the modest building heights, terraced gardens, and stairs that cascaded down the slopes of Ras Beirut. However, since 1990, excessive and indiscriminate development has engulfed Ras Beirut. In contrast, development of the campus has remained measured, constant, and steadfast - a green oasis in a grey-hued city robbed of its gardens.

Few universities in the Arab Middle East boast a campus as beautiful and green as that of AUB. Not only is its landscape exceptional, but its buildings, grounds, and open spaces have succeeded, as Bliss intended, in fostering a collegiate spirit that has persisted and is manifested in the student union, social clubs, and other cultural activities that cannot be found in other universities in the region. That said, the full potential of the campus is far from fulfilled. As yet, there is no encompassing vision for the campus landscape and its role in complementing AUB's educational mission. Nor is there a strategic landscape development framework to ensure sustainable planning and management for the entire campus in a way that complements the academic programs and extracurricular activities that distinguish this institution. By prioritizing ecologically sensitive and environmentally sustainable campus planning,[70] AUB can continue to lead the way for other universities in the region and, as always, uphold the ethics of living and working in close harmony with the natural world.

ENDNOTES

[1] I am indebted to all those who helped me understand the campus landscape – Professors Charles Abou-Chaar and George Batikha, Mrs. Eleanor Johnson, Mr. Anis Abdallah, Mr. Bassem Barhoumi, and Dr. Rena Karanouh. My gratitude also goes to the graduate and undergraduate students who assisted me with surveys, archival research, and mapping: Ranya Nasrallah and Nadine Bitar (2001–2002), and landscape students Nora Aridi (2004), Jana Nakhal (2006), Jane Nassar and Farah Arakji (2007), Hind Fatayri (2009), and Salwa Sabbagh (2014). I am also grateful to the AUB University Research Board for funding my research proposal "AUB Campus Landscape History" (2006–2007), to my colleague and associate, Mr. Abdul-Halim Jabr, for his insightful comments on a draft to this chapter, and to Ms. Maureen Ali for kindly editing the first draft.

[2] This article is based on a study prepared by the author entitled "The AUB Middle Campus Landscape (AMICAL)," presented to then-President John Waterbury on June 25, 2003. In the absence of other references, the AUB Facilities Planning and Design Unit (FPDU) adopted the AMICAL Report as the formal narrative of the campus landscape. Unpublished report to the Office of the President, American University of Beirut.

[3] Jala Makhzoumi, "AUB Campus Landscape History." Research proposal funded by the AUB University Research Board (2006–2007).

[4] Jala Makhzoumi, "Landscape in the Middle East: An Inquiry," *Landscape Research* 27, no. 3 (2002): 213–228.

[5] On November 18, 1920, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York changed the name of the institution from the Syrian Protestant College to the American University of Beirut.

[6] Stephen Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866–1941* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1970), 24–25. A second move was made to another building "opposite the present Phara'un residence on the street which leads to the rear door of the Grand Serail." The clinic and small hospital remained in the previous accommodations.

[7] A college includes building(s) and the surrounding spaces, a setting that supports the collegiate ideal where teachers and students live and study in spatially defined and regulated premises. See P. V. Turner, *Campus; an American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984).

[8] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 190–191.

[9] "Stone on Stone," *AUB Today* (Fall 1978): 8.

[10] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 28; *Outlook*, "A fleeting look at the AUB Adventure" 18, no. 5 (21 December 1962): 12.

[11] Quoted from "American University of Beirut. About Us." Accessed 1 June 2014, http://www.aub.edu.lb/main/about/Pages/index.aspx.

[12] Jafet Library Archives, the American University of Beirut.

[13] The rate would be lower if the total number of faculty and administrative staff were added to the student population used in the calculations. As a reference point, the World Health Organization recommends a minimum 9 m² per capita of green area in cities. Beirut today provides less than 1 m² per capita.

[14] Makhzoumi, J., "The AUB Middle Campus Landscape (AMICAL)," June 2003.

[15] AUB Today, "Stone on Stone" (1978): 8–9; K. Rbeiz, "رزق الله عهديك الايام يا راس بيروت", (Beirut: Alef, 1986).

[16] "Once a dumping place, now a paradise, the once green spot in the capital," *Outlook* 18, no. 5 (21 December 1962): 12–13.

[17] Druze communities from Mount Lebanon were settled in Ras Beirut in the eighteenth century under the Mamluks to protect the coastline from pirate incursions. (S. Scata, "Production de la ville et assignation confessionnelle: la population druze à Beyrouth." (ongoing PhD research, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, and Institut Français de Proche-Orient, Beirut).

[18] *Hakura* is the Arabic name for a domestic village garden, a hybrid orchard-vegetable garden. I have argued elsewhere that the *hakura* typology is common in Lebanon and the eastern Mediterranean. See J. Makhzoumi, "Interrogating the Hakura Tradition," International Association for the Study of Traditional Dwellings and Settlements, *Working Paper Series*, vol. 200 (2008), 50–60.

[19] M. Haddad suggests that the banyan trees were introduced in the late nineteenth century. "The Banyan tree familiar landmark on campus," *al-Kulliyah* (Autumn 1978): 5–7.

[20] "Campus was not always beauty spot – once barren," *Outlook* (January 10, 1953).

[21] Jala Makhzoumi, "Unfolding Landscape in a Lebanese Village: Rural Heritage in a Globalizing World," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 317–337. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13527250902933793, accessed 13 March 2014.

[22] *AUB Faculty Bulletin*, "Emeritus Professor West gives account of AUB Campus" (20 February 1965): 3.

[23] Ibid.

[24] "Once a dumping place, now a paradise, the one green spot in the capital," *Outlook* 18, no. 5 (21 December 1962): 14.

[25] "Class Trees," *al-Kulliyeh* 3, no. 6 (1912): 230.

[26] The exceptions being Nicely Hall, built in the 1960s, and the Issam Fares Institute, completed in 2014.

[27] A. Salam, "Campus Architecture – The American University of Beirut," *Middle East Forum* 38 (1962): 34–39.

[28] Abdul-Halim Jabr. Interview by author, 2014.

[29] George Batikha. Interview by author, 2001/2002.

[30] President's Annual Report to the Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1961–1965. Beirut: American University of Beirut.

[31] "Nomenclature of Trees on the AUB Campus," *al-Kulliyah* 18, no. 1 (1931): 1–5.

[32] Ibid.

[33] A. Salam, "Campus Architecture: the American University of Beirut," *Middle East Forum* 38 (1962): 14.

[34] Martin Quigley. Interview by author, 2003.

[35] Mr. Batikha was director to the newly established Directorate for Landscape, Beirut Municipality (1972–2002).

[36] Wife of Dean Samuel Edgecombe of the School of Agriculture (1952–1959).

[37] President's Annual Report to the Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1961–1965. Beirut: American University of Beirut.

[38] W. Edgecombe, personal correspondence to President Norman Burns dated July 14, 1965, entitled "Location of Plaques Identifying Trees and Shrubs on AUB Campus," *AUB Archives* (14 July, 1965).

[39] Charles Abou-Chaar, *The Woody Plants of AUB Campus* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1991).

[40] "Emeritus Professor West Gives Account of AUB Campus," *AUB Faculty Bulletin* (February 20, 1965): 3.

[41] "Professor Emeritus W. A. West Dies." *AUB Bulletin* 23, no. 1 (1980).

[42] Samir Khalaf and Per Kongstad, *Hamra of Beirut: A Case of Rapid Urbanization* (Leiden: Brill, 1973); Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 24–25.

[43] Anis Abdallah. Interview by author, 2007. Mr. Abdallah has been responsible for managing the grounds and the campus landscape since 1990.

[44] The survey was recommended by the author in 2003, and undertaken by the FPDU in 2004–2005.

[45] The AUB Campus Master Plan was prepared by Sasaki Associates in collaboration with Machado and Silvetti, MGT, and Dar Al Handasah (Shair and Partners).

[46] "American University of Beirut. News. 'AUB Master Plan short-listed for prestigious Agha Khan Architecture Award.' 6/4/2010." Accessed 16 October 2015. http://www.aub.edu.lb/news/Pages/107882.aspx.

[47] "American University of Beirut. Campus Master Plan." Accessed 16 October 2015. http://www.aub.edu.lb/archives/mplan/acmp/Documents/exec-summary.pdf.

[48] Souheir Assi-Mabsout. Interview by author, 2014. Ms. Assi-Mabsout was coordinator and manager of the Campus Master Plan Study (2001–2002), and assistant director and head of the Planning and Design Division of the Facilities Planning and Design Unit at AUB (2002–2008).

[49] The sites were launched as international competitions for the Charles W. Hostler Student Center (2002), the Olayan School of Business (2003), the CCC Scientifc Research Building (2005), the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (2005–2006), and the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture District and Irani Oxy Engineering Complex (2006).

[50] John Waterbury, "The Master Plan: Paths Taken and Not Taken," unpublished report for the American University of Beirut, 2002.

[51] The European Landscape Convention defines "landscape" as an "area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the actions and interaction of natural and/or human factors;" the emphasis on "perception" recognizes the intangible, culturally rooted dimension of landscape. See http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=176&CL=ENG (02 August 2011), accessed 16 October 2015.

[52] Michael Maunder, "Landscape and Horticultural Assessment of the AUB Campus," unpublished report for the FPDU of the American University of Beirut, 2005.

[53] Salma Talhouk, Yaser Abunnasr, Matthew Hall, Tony Miller, and Asaad Seif, "Ancillary Botanic Gardens in Lebanon – Empowering Local Contributions to Plant Conservation," *Sibbaldia* 12 (2014): 111–128.

[54] AUB Nature Conservation Center (NCC), previously Initiative for Biodiversity Studies in Arid Regions (IBSAR).

[55] IBDAA is an acronym for the International Biodiversity Day at AUB, which also means "innovation" in Arabic. See "American University of Beirut. News. 'Creativity abounds at 2009 IBDAA exhibition.' 8/28/2009." Accessed 24 August 2014. http://www.aub.edu.lb/news/Pages/97980.aspx.

[56] Salma Talhouk and a team of plant scientists, landscape horticulturists, and landscape architects lead the research on native plant use in urban greening, Department of Landscape Design and Ecosystem Management, Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences.

[57] "American University of Beirut. News. 'AUB Campus Declared Bird Sanctuary.' 12/15/2003." Accessed 24 August 2014. http://www.aub.edu.lb/news/Pages/33318.aspx.

[58] To receive LEED certification, building projects satisfy prerequisites and earn points to achieve different levels of certification, see http://www.usgbc.org/certification, accessed 29 August 2014.

[59] The switch to synthetic grass resulted in considerable savings in irrigation – on average 562 m^3 per month during the summer season – and reduced energy consumption, considering that lawns are management-intensive landscapes.

[60] Charles Abou-Chaar, "AUB Campus – Perennial Garden of our Youth," *al-Kulliyah* (summer 1988): 3–5.

[61] Launched by then AUB President John Waterbury and Dr. Cynthia Myntti, present director of the Neighborhood Initiative. See http://www.aub.edu.lb/Neighborhood/Pages/home.aspx accessed 31 August 2014.

[62] Jala Makhzoumi et al., "Greening AUB Neighborhood" (2005), unpublished project report, a collaboration between the Nature Conservation Center and the Neighborhood Initiative to investigate planting residential buildings in the vicinity of the campus and to introduce residents to sound horticulture practices. Also R. Shibli, "Inclusive Neighborhoods: Jeanne d'Arc Street" (2008), unpublished project report, a collaboration between the AUB Center for Community Engagement and Civic Service (CCECS) and the Neighborhood Initiative to ensure safe pedestrian mobility.

[63] "Professor Emeritus W. A. West Dies," *AUB Bulletin* 23, no. 1 (1980): 3.

[64] The eucalyptus tree north of Assembly Hall "was planted by Henry Glockler, who brought it from Jerusalem in a biscuit tin in 1911." See "Emeritus Professor West Gives Account of AUB Campus," *AUB Faculty Bulletin*, (February 20, 1965): 3–4.

[65] *Outlook* "Once a dumping place, now a paradise, the one green spot in the capital" 18, no. 5 (21 December 1962): 14.

[66] Jala Makhzoumi, "Borrowed or Rooted? The Discourse of 'Landscape' in the Arab Middle East," in *Landscape Culture-Culturing Landscapes: The differentiated construction of Landscapes*, ed. D. Bruns, O. Kuhne, A. Schonwald, and S. Theile, (Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag, 2015), 111–126.

[67] Ibid.

[68] "American University of Beirut. Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs." Accessed 31 August 2014. http://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/Pages/index.aspx.

[69] For example, through native tree planting projects by NCC in AREC, AUB's farm in the Bekaa Valley, and involvement in nature awareness in many Lebanese villages.

[70] Association of University Leaders for a Sustainable Future. Accessed 2 September 2014. http://www.ulsf.org/; W. Simpson, *Environmental Stewardship and the Green Campus* (Buffalo, NY: UB Green Office, SUNY Buffalo, 2001); P. Barlett and W. Chase, *Sustainability on Campus. Stories and Strategies for Change* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

13 From Foreign Soil to the *'Ard* of Beirut: A History of the American University of Beirut and the Anglo-American Cemetery[1]

Christine R. Lindner[2]

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) – as the American University of Beirut (AUB) was then called – faced an unexpected problem. The success of the college as an institution of higher education in the Eastern Mediterranean region attracted an increasing number of American and British nationals to its faculty and staff. Drawn to Beirut, these new immigrants sought to reconstruct their lives in this emerging center of cultural, political, and economic activity. While creating a new, transnational community in the suburb of Ras Beirut, many of the new migrants were only loosely connected to the American Protestant Mission[3] from which the SPC had sprung during the mid-nineteenth century. The classrooms where the new SPC "staffites" taught, the medical offices where they served, and the houses where they resided were concentrated along the new streets of Ras Beirut, rather than within the Mission Compound just south of the old city walls.[4] This short distance of a mile and a half between the Mission Compound and the SPC campus represented the SPC's emerging position as a new nexus of Anglo-American activity in the city.

The (re)construction of the lives of Anglo-Americans around the SPC often resulted in their deaths in Beirut as well. However, as many of the new immigrants were only tangentially associated with the American Mission, cemetery regulations in 1900 dictated that the new foreign members of the SPC community were denied space in the Mission Cemetery, which was close to full capacity.[5] Faced with the unsettling but nevertheless pressing problem of where to bury their foreign faculty and staff, the SPC administration took action and, together with the British Embassy and the American Mission, established the new Anglo-American Cemetery.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the history of SPC/AUB's relationship with this new Beirut institution, the Anglo-American Cemetery (AAC), which was officially opened in 1914. While functioning as an auxiliary to the SPC/AUB's primary service of higher education, the Anglo-American Cemetery illuminates three important features of the University's development. First, the founding of the AAC symbolized the shifting relationship between the SPC/AUB and its "parent" organization, the American Mission. Second, the location of the AAC in the southern Beirut suburb of Furn al-Shubbak displays the SPC/AUB's ability to shape the urban development of Beirut. While the college's geographic impact has been studied in relation to Ras Beirut,[6] this chapter will explore the SPC/AUB's influence on shaping the city as a whole. The chapter closes with a closer look at the cemetery itself. The graves found in the AAC offer a rare glimpse into the lives of the individuals who composed the SPC/AUB community, as graves of SPC/AUB staff members are surrounded by those of their parents, wives, and children. While often excluded from analyses of SPC/AUB's history, these "peripheral" figures were influential in the running of the University and helped to shape its culture. Ironically, it is through studying these individuals' graves, the markers of their deaths, that we may catch a glimpse of their lives. It is along these three threads that this chapter will explore the history of the SPC/AUB's relationship with the Anglo-American Cemetery and offer new insight into the University's position within the region.

The study of death and cemeteries remains a marginal and, in many ways, taboo subject within Middle East history. Shane Mikarian, a noted researcher on the subject, argues that while death studies within Middle East history has been slow to develop, the topic "forces scholars to think about how the dead continue to make social, spacial, political, and economic claims on the perpetually haunted living."[7] Death and memorialization are often studied in relation to martyrdom, especially within Muslim communities, and the formation of national heroes.[8] With the exception of May Davie's

case study of the Antiochian Orthodox Cimetière Saint-Dimitri in Beirut, little research has been conducted on the diverse perceptions of death expressed by the various Christian communities within the region and how these views are manifested in cemetery and memorial constructions.[9] Unlike studies of cemeteries in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe and the United States, where new cemeteries are recognized as important factors in (re)shaping cityscapes,[10] surprisingly little research has been conducted on the creation, relocation, and destruction of cemeteries in the otherwise rich analysis of Beirut's geographic development. Likewise, while studies of both the SPC/AUB and the Protestant church in Beirut have revealed the manifold ways that these interconnected communities shaped Ras Beirut and Zuqaq al-Blat,[11] the Protestant cemeteries in Zuqaq al-Blat and Ras el-Naba'a[12] have hitherto evaded analysis, while the AAC in Furn al-Shubbak has been the focus of only cursory study.[13] This chapter thus attempts to initiate this conversation by offering a short study of the SPC/AUB's role in the history of the Anglo-American Cemetery, which in turn illuminates important elements of the SPC/AUB's development.

THE "CHILD" OUTGROWS ITS "PARENT"

The history of the SPC's founding is well known.[14] At the 1862 Annual Meeting of the Syria Mission of the American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), "the establishment of a literary institution of a high character" was discussed.[15] Missionaries Daniel Bliss and William Thomson were selected to present the proposal to their mission board in Boston, with the intent that the former would be appointed as the institution's principal.[16] Rufus Anderson, the powerful foreign secretary of the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, was hesitant to accept this new financial burden (and risk) for the struggling organization. Nevertheless, the plan was accepted on the condition that "it ought to be separate from the American Board and from the (Syria) mission."[17]

Despite this stated distance, the ABCFM's Syria Mission and the SPC maintained close relations during the College's foundational years. From 1862 to 1866, Daniel Bliss remained on the Mission's pay roll, while the ABCFM assisted in organizing support, particularly financial, in both Europe and the United States.[18] When the College opened in December 1866, its four faculty members were closely connected to the mission and its board. In addition to Bliss, the early teachers included Nasif al-Yaziji, a translator and close associate of the missionaries,[19] As'ad al-Shadudi, a member of the Protestant church and teacher at the Mission's school in 'Abeih,[20] and D. Stuart Dodge, an ordained minister who was affiliated with the ABCFM.[21] To this staff were added ABCFM missionaries Cornelius Van Dyck and George Post; James Robertson, a missionary for the Church of Scotland and minister for the (ABCFM affiliated) Anglo-American Church in Beirut;[22] John Wortabet, an ordained minister then serving with the Scottish United Presbyterian Church; Yusif al-Asir, who assisted the mission in its Bible translation;[23] and Louis Sabunji.[24] While independent of the Mission, it is evident that the SPC remained within the fold of its mission "parent" during these early years.

This connection was gradually loosened as the College matured. In 1870, the SPC hired two faculty members, Edwin Lewis and Harvey Porter, who held no previous ties to the Syria Mission.[25] Due partially to the Americans' difficulties in learning Arabic, the College's language of instruction gradually shifted from Arabic to English by 1883.[26] While the number of local Arab instructors increased, this linguistic change encouraged other non-Arabic speaking foreigners to apply. As a result, the list of faculty rose from fifteen in 1881–1882, to eighteen in 1890–1891, and then almost doubled to thirty-five in 1900–1901.[27] Unlike their predecessors, the majority of these new faculty members were foreigners who were trained in their specific fields of study and were not aligned with foreign mission boards.

This trend amongst the SPC faculty followed a larger movement shaping Beirut's demographics. While many Syrians emigrated to the *Mahjar* during the late nineteenth century,[28] Americans and Europeans immigrated to Beirut for similar reasons.[29] The British population, for example, grew from two families (those of British Consul Peter Abbott and the merchant Chasseauds) in the 1820s to roughly ninety persons by the late 1880s.[30] Like their SPC neighbors, many of these new Euro-American residents were only loosely connected to the American missionaries. Many were Anglican, Lutheran, Catholic, or Orthodox, and attended religious services at their own churches. Presbyterian residents of Ras Beirut often worshipped in the nearby SPC chapel, rather than venturing to the Anglo-American Church on the Mission Compound near the downtown.[31] For those who attended the Anglo-American Church, pastoral care was given by James Robertson of the Church of Scotland, rather than by the American missionaries.[32] To these new Beirutis, the American missionaries were the parents of their children's schoolmates,[33] not necessarily their employers, ecclesiastical authorities, or even personal associates.

Many of these new residents not only lived in Beirut, but died there as well. According to the American missionaries, both "strangers" as well as "new members of our community" were buried in the Mission Cemetery at the Mission Compound, the Prussian Cemetery (established in 1867), the "Native" Protestant Cemetery (established 1869), or the cemeteries of other religious communities.[34] However, as the numbers of those needing to be buried continued to increase, the missionaries placed restrictions on the Mission Cemetery's remaining space. In 1900, a circular was printed by the American Mission listing the families who were entitled to be buried in the Mission Cemetery.[35] In addition to the families of American missionaries and European employees of the American Mission Press, the list identified nineteen "members of the Syrian Protestant College and their families" and five "other members of the Beirut Community" as having access to the Mission Cemetery. Of the thirty-five foreign SPC faculty for that year, a little over half were included on the list. Noticeably, the majority of the names were of long-term residents of the region with previous ties to the American Mission, such as Bliss and Post.

The families who were granted access to the Mission Cemetery were also given the opportunity to reserve their plots. The available spaces fell along the perimeter of the cemetery as the center was filled with existing graves. According to a pencil-drawn map found in the AUB archives, the plots reserved by the missionaries were located along the southern wall, which was adjacent to the American School for Girls.[36] The plots reserved for the SPC staffites were concentrated along the opposite, northern wall, which was adjacent to the *Zuqāq al-Blāt* street.[37] In other words, the graves for the American missionaries were accessible through a gate from within the Mission Compound, while those for SPC faculty were found near the gate that opened onto the public thoroughfare. These opposite routes to the graves in the Mission Cemetery symbolically reflected the shifted relations between the SPC and the American Mission.

While the restriction of graves within the Mission Cemetery provided a solution to the missionaries' problem, it did not solve the dilemma facing the remaining foreign SPC faculty and staff. As a result, in 1913 members of the SPC administration, the American Mission, and the British Embassy agreed to establish a new "International Cemetery," which would eventually be called the "Anglo-American Cemetery."[38] Management over the new cemetery and payment for the land was divided amongst the SPC (two-fifths), the American Mission (two-fifths), and the British Embassy (one-fifth).[39] While the SPC was able to pay its share, its "equal" partner in this venture, the American Mission, was unable to do so.[40] As a result, the missionaries penned a fundraising petition to be circulated amongst friends and colleagues in the United States as an effort to raise the Mission's share of the $5,000 to secure the land for the new cemetery. Extra capital was raised through the sale of stocks in the Anglo-American Cemetery Association. Noticeably, the purchase of stock was equally distributed between affiliates of the American Mission and those of the SPC.[41] Thus, when the first grave was dug in 1914, a shift in power relations and economic standing was evident, as the SPC – the "child of the mission" – was equal if not superior to its "parent," the Americans' Syrian Mission, at least with regard to the establishment of this new Beirut institution, the Anglo-American Cemetery.

SHAPING THE CITY

Plot 284, in the southern Beirut suburb of Furn al-Shubbak, was selected for the new Anglo-American Cemetery. At first glance, this location appears to be an unusual choice, as it was far from those to whom it catered. However, a closer investigation into the selection of this plot reveals the SPC's increasing presence in the city of Beirut and its ability to shape its urban development. Far from being a haphazard choice, the establishment of the AAC in Beirut's southern suburb was a manifestation of the SPC's burgeoning power within the Beirut cityscape.

Recent studies on the development of the SPC/AUB have analyzed its geographic location as reflective of its assertion of power and prestige within the changing geography of Beirut. Originally renting rooms within Butrus al-Bustani's *al-Madrasat al-Wataniya*, the SPC, as Majstorac Koblijski shows, was part of an emerging educational and cultural movement amongst Beirut's residents during the mid-nineteenth century.[42] As one of several new educational institutions located in the neighborhood of Zuqaq al-Blat, the early SPC was part of a larger conversation that positioned education as integral to the "modern" Arab identity.[43] However, the SPC's relocation from Zuqaq al-Blat to the then underdeveloped area of Ras Beirut, as Davie argues, illuminates the college's attempt to assert itself as distinct from (and in control over) its educational and cultural competitors.[44] This competition included not only its former neighbors in Zuqaq al-Blat, but also the French Université de Saint-Joseph across the city in Ashrafiah, and later the Ottoman industrial school, Sanayyah, on the opposite side of Hamra.[45] Abunnasr's thorough study of the SPC's development illuminates the college's ability to shape the geography and culture of Ras Beirut, making this suburb an "enclave of exceptionalism" that focused on and around the college.[46]

As Ras Beirut became synonymous with the SPC, this new suburb increasingly functioned as a major focal point for the urban development of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Beirut. While its isolated location served as the reason for Ras Beirut's selection by the SPC administration in 1870, maps dating to this period show the suburb's new pathways (not yet roads) and buildings concentrated within and alongside the emerging SPC campus.[47] For those arriving by boat, the SPC formed a prominent feature on the seaside cliffs that greeted them into Beirut's port.[48] Most importantly for this study, however, was the decision to run a branch of the tramline down Bliss Street when it opened in 1909.[49] This not only eased access to and from SPC, but it marked Ras Beirut, and specifically the road along the college, as an important artery in Beirut's overall development.

It is unclear from the archives why land in Ras Beirut was not chosen for the location of the new Anglo-American Cemetery. As the cemetery catered primarily to those working at the SPC, locating the cemetery in Ras Beirut would have been an obvious choice, one that would have reinforced the SPC's position at the "head" of the city.[50] Virgin land was available as the quarter remained sparsely developed until the mid-twentieth century.[51] However, it could have been the undeveloped nature of this area, on the edge of red sand hills with its ever present threat of sand-storms, which deterred its selection for the location of the new cemetery.[52] Contemporary Anglo-American views on death resulted in garden-like cemeteries on the edges of cities, where graves would remain undisturbed for relatives to visit.[53] The instability of the Ras Beirut's landscape would have been unsettling for those deciding on a location to inter their loved ones.[54]

As a result, a plot of land was purchased in Furn al-Shubbak, a south-eastern suburb of the city. Like Ras Beirut, this area was still developing during the early twentieth century, but its terrain was much more stable amongst the pine trees near the Beirut River.[55] Although three and a half miles from the SPC, the new cemetery was situated just off the busy Beirut-Damascus Road and was one mile south of the Protestant cemeteries in Ras al-Nabaʿ. Moreover, Furn al-Shubbak was a terminal stop for the Beirut tramway.[56] This made the trip from the SPC's Main Gate to the AAC a simple ride along this new medium of modern transportation. In traversing the city by carriage, car, or tram in order to attend the burial of an associate or to annually commemorate a relative's death, members of the SPC community turned these transportation routes into extended branches of the SPC. Noticeably, two other cemeteries were eventually built around the AAC,[57] creating an enclave of sacred space that paralleled Ras Beirut's enclave of exceptionalism. Thus, the SPC's influence extended beyond its immediate neighborhood, reaching across the city into a distant suburb.

The connection between the AAC and AUB (as the SPC was renamed in 1920) was strengthened in 1960 when the Mission Cemetery in Zuqaq al-Blat was closed. Two years prior, the American Mission was notified that an urban planning project was to be enacted,[58] for which a new road would cut through the Mission Compound and disrupt the cemetery.[59] Accordingly, the missionaries arranged for the graves to be exhumed and reburied at the AAC.[60] The result was the unification of graves for the Anglo-American APC/AUB staffites. Although miles from the buzz of College Hall, by 1960, the ACC was the resting place for three generations of the SPC/AUB Anglo-American community, and the University's second permanent mark on Beirut's cityscape.

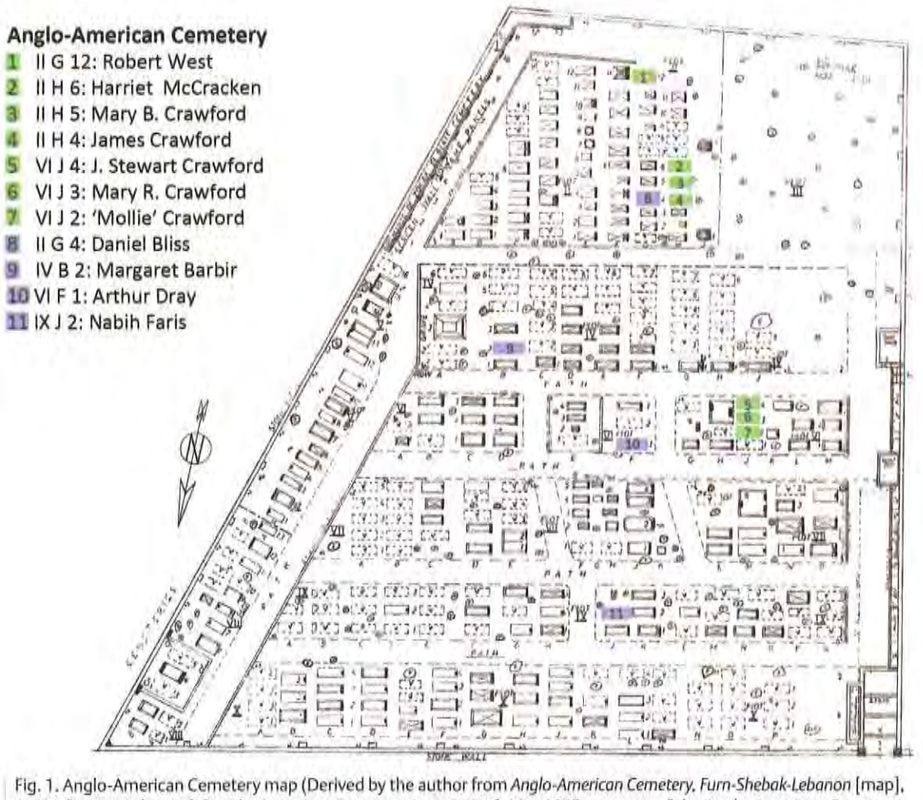


Fig. 1. Anglo-American Cemetery map (Derived by the author from *Anglo-American Cemetery, Furn-Shebak-Lebanon* [map], 1:100, [Beirut, Lebanon]: [Anglo-American Cemetery Association], May 1967, courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association)

DEATH AS AN INSIGHT ONTO LIFE

In 1965, Archibald "Archie" Crawford was asked to sit as chairman for the Anglo-American Cemetery Association.[61] As vice-president of AUB and an American citizen, his selection to this post was an unassuming choice. Indeed, Archie Crawford's name appears with that of Henry W. Glockler, assistant manager of the American Mission Press, on the deed that registered the AAC with the French Mandate government in 1938.[62] However, Crawford's interest in reconstituting the AAC Association in 1965 was more than a long-term bureaucratic responsibility. Three years prior, his wife, Mary "Mollie" Crawford, died in Beirut and was buried in the AAC (plot VI J 2).[63] Her grave was next to those of Archie's mother, Mary R. Crawford (plot VI J 3), and of his father, J. Stewart Crawford, (plot VI J 4). Five years earlier, the graves of Archie's paternal grandfather, John Crawford, and grandmother, Mary B. Crawford, as well as his maternal grandmother, Harriet Rowan McCracken, had been relocated from the Mission Cemetery to the AAC (plots II H 4, II H 5, and II H 6, respectively).[64] Also transferred in 1960, was the grave of Robert H. West (plot II G 12),[65] Archie's uncle through marriage.[66] As the son, grandson, and nephew of American missionaries and lecturers at the SPC/AUB, Archie Crawford's professional and personal life was deeply rooted in both the University and the cemetery.

The memorial stones located at the cemetery and the records of the AAC Associations reveal that Archie Crawford was not alone. The AAC is the resting place of numerous SPC/AUB staffites and their families.[67] The inscriptions on graves and the cemetery's records provide details regarding the deaths of these individuals, from which we can reconstruct their transnational lives in the region.[68]

However, caution needs to be taken with regard to the "silences" of the AAC, which can obscure the history of the SPC/AUB community. First, many foreign faculty of the SPC/AUB returned to the United States or Europe upon retirement, due to illness, or at the outbreak of war. This was most often the case with the wives and children of staffites. While graves for SPC/AUB men located in the AAC mark their presence and work in the region, the little physical evidence about the women and children in the cemetery and affiliated institutions' archives compounds the historical silence on their impact on the SPC/AUB and its development.[69] Mary Crawford West, Archie's aunt, serves as a good example. Through

the absence of her grave stone in the ACC,[70] West's position as the daughter, wife, and mother of SPC/AUB staffites, as well as her eighteen-year service as matron for the College can be easily overlooked.[71]

Second, the epitaphs inscribed on the memorial stones vary in the information that they provide as a public record of a person's life. This might be due to the size of the memorial stone, which reflects monetary constraints and the circumstances surrounding the person's death. For example, Daniel Bliss's memorial (plot II G 4)[72] is a flat marble slab that indicates his "sixty years [of service as a] missionary in Syria," and his being the "first President of the Syrian Protestant College," in addition to the place and date of both his birth and death.[73] While simple in style, the information given on Bliss's stone clearly indicates his dual role in the American Mission and SPC/AUB histories. In contrast are the graves for Arthur R. Dray (plot VI F 1) and Nabih A. Faris (plot IX J 2).[74] Dray's stone simply lists his name and date of death,[75] while Faris's includes the place and date of both his birth and death. Their stones neither indicate these men's roles as instructors at SPC/AUB nor their positions within the community.[76] While Bliss's grave is surrounded by those of his family,[77] both Dray and Faris's graves stand alone.[78] In other circumstances, it is unclear why limited information is engraved upon larger memorials. The Crawfords' graves, for example, are the same size as Daniel Bliss's grave, but provide much less information on their work in the region. As we will see, this presents a challenge for but does not prevent their use as a source for the family's history.

Third, memorial stones often (intentionally or not) mask instances of interracial and cross-sectarian marriages. Some reasons for this were the rise in use of "western" names for Arab men and women from the late nineteenth century onwards; the use of names found in both cultures, such as "Sarah"; and the use of English equivalents of Arab names, such as "John."[79] Another reason resides in the perception that the AAC, although non-sectarian, was a Protestant cemetery. As a result, families were often separated, with Protestant Anglo-Americans buried in the AAC while their Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Muslim spouses were buried elsewhere. The example of Margaret Barbir (plot IV B 2) highlights these points. While not ubiquitous, *Marghītā* was a name used in the region, especially within Christian communities,[80] so that at first glance this grave could belong to an Arab woman with American or British citizenship. The cemetery records provide only her title, "Mrs.," indicating her married status, her profession as teacher, and that she died in childbirth during a caesarean operation.[81] It is only through outside sources that Barbir's full story is revealed. According to Abunnasr, Margaret Batten, an American Christian teacher, married AUB instructor Abdul Rahman Barbir, a Muslim, in 1935.[82] Theirs was an interracial and cross-sectarian marriage that did not sit well with the Anglo-American staff of AUB, despite the increasing number of mixed marriages within the Ras Beirut community.[83] Dying in childbirth, Margaret was buried in the AAC. Her husband remarried, and presumably is buried elsewhere, as Margaret's grave, like those of Dray and Faris, stands alone.[84]

THE CRAWFORD STORY

Taking these cautions into consideration, the story of the Crawford-West family, their multigenerational presence in the Middle East, and long relationship with the SPC/AUB can be partially traced through their graves at the AAC, supplemented by other sources.[85] The first to work in the region were John and Mary B. Crawford, who, as indicated on their graves, were both from Argyle, New York. Arriving in 1857, John worked as a "Missionary in Damascus for nearly 50 years,"[86] first for the United Presbyterian Church of North America, then for the Irish Presbyterian Church.[87] Although not recorded on his memorial stone, John also served as the vice-president of the SPC's Board of Managers for many years.[88] As the "wife of John Crawford,"[89] Mary's missionary work was not recorded, but it is known that they had five children of whom two died young.[90]

One of John and Mary's sons, J. Stewart Crawford, was "born in Damascus."[91] He initially followed in his father's footsteps and served as a missionary to that city.[92] His first wife, Mary Jane, and their daughter, Esther, both died in 1890 and were buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Damascus.[93] In 1892, J. Stewart married Mary Rowen McCarroll, a widow then serving as a missionary for the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America in Latakia.[94] Having married in Jerusalem, J. Stewart and Mary R. stopped in Beirut to visit his sister, Mary Alice West, during their honeymoon.[95] Mary Alice's husband, Robert H. West, was "Professor [of Mathematics and Astronomy] in the Syrian Protestant College,"[96] and director of the Observatory.[97] J. Stewart and Mary R. returned to Damascus and had two children, Archie and J. Forrest.[98] Eleven years later, the entire Crawford family relocated from Damascus to Ras Beirut when J. Stewart joined the SPC staff as professor of Bible and Ethics.[99] At this time, three generations of the Crawford-West family were gathered together in the houses alongside the SPC campus.

But hardship soon hit the family. In 1906, John Crawford "died in Beirut,"[100] followed by his son-in-law, Robert West, five months later. Both were originally buried in the Mission Cemetery, but were

relocated to the AAC in 1960. West's death at age 44 was a considerable blow to his immediate family, which included six children, as well as to the entire SPC community. To commemorate West's legacy, the SPC dedicated a new building to his honor, naming it West Hall when it opened in 1914. The SPC provided support to his family through Mary Alice West's employment as the Matron of the College, their daughter Margaret's work as secretary to the SPC president, and Mary R. Crawford's service as Matron of the Junior Department.[101] Of these women, only Mary R's grave is found in the AAC, and it does not mention her employment at the SPC, her previous work as a missionary, or even the nature of her relationship with the Crawford-West family. In other words, while the legacies of the Crawford-West men were memorialized on grave stones and buildings, the activities and influence of the Crawford-West women were often not, thus creating a noticeable inequality based upon gender for those who are publically remembered as the founders and shapers of the SPC/AUB's history.

Subsequent generations of the Crawfords and Wests were born in Beirut, "returned" to the United States for part of their education, and later found employment in the Eastern Mediterranean region, particularly at the SPC/AUB or its affiliated institutions. William West, for example, became a professor of chemistry at AUB[102] and married Dorothy Allen, the sister of Charlotte Ward, the wife of AUB staffite Edwin St. John Ward.[103] William's sister, Anna, worked at the American Community School, while another sister, Alice, worked for the YWCA of Beirut.[104] Their cousin, J. Forest Crawford, taught biology at AUB, worked with the Near East Relief, and eventually served with the US Foreign Service.[105] J. Forest married Dorothy Smeed, thereby entwining the Crawfords into a long-established British Levantine family in Beirut.[106] Lastly, Archie Crawford first taught at the AUB Preparatory School, then served as assistant treasurer at AUB, principal of International College, vice-president for AUB, as well as acting AUB president for the year 1947-1948.[107]

While most of this third generation of the Crawford-West family lived and worked in Beirut, only one is buried at the AAC. In 1962, Mollie Crawford, Archie's wife, "died in Beirut" at the age of 65.[108] Her memorial is located next to those of her parents-in-law, J. Stewart and Mary R. Crawford, both of whom are listed has having "died in Beirut" a decade and a half earlier.[109] These are the only three from the Crawford-West family originally buried in the AAC.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to approach the history of the SPC/AUB from a new angle, the history of an auxiliary institution, the Anglo-American Cemetery. Established to solve an unexpected problem that resulted from the College's success, the AAC grants insight into the SPC/AUB's changing relationship with its "parent" organization, the American Syria Mission, and the University's emergence as a force that shaped Beirut's development. In so doing, this chapter employed an unusual source of information on the SPC/AUB's life: the memorial markers of death. The Anglo-American Cemetery, as a whole, as well as the individual graves, provide alternative information on SPC/AUB's history and the people who shaped its development. While recognizing the limitations of these sources, they were studied as complements to the traditional sources found within the archives, as well as other alternative sources, such as oral history,[110] in presenting a fuller, more complex reading of the SPC/AUB's history.

Plot VI J 1 of the Anglo-American Cemetery remains vacant. This plot, next to Mollie Crawford, was reserved for her husband, Archie Crawford, who died, not in Beirut, but in the United States in 1983.[111] Having "returned" to the United States after a long career at AUB, and having watched his "native" country slip further into civil war, he died in the "foreign" country of his citizenship. Ten years after his death, Archie's daughter returned to the region to scatter his ashes over Bludan, the village in Syria where the Crawford family summered.[112] Although dying in a "foreign" land, Archie's ashes mixed with the *'ard* of his birthplace, in between the cities where he and his family worked, the institutions that they helped to create and support, and the sacred spaces where they lie.

ENDNOTES

[1] This title is inspired by a speech given by Peter Dorman, AUB president from 2008 to 2015, during a tour of the Anglo-American Cemetery on 2 April 2013.

[2] The author served as secretary for the Anglo-American Cemetery Association from 2013 to 2014, and is currently its historical consultant. She also manages the *Anglo-American Cemetery website*, http://anglo-americancemeterybeirut.blogspot.com/

[3] The term "American missionaries" in this chapter primarily refers to those of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), who worked in Beirut from 1819 to 1870, after which their station was transferred to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA (PCUSA). This label also includes other American missionary groups who worked in the region, such as the United Presbyterian Church of North America (UPCNA) and the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America (RPCNA). By focusing on the Crawford family, who served with the latter two organizations, this chapter hopes to illuminate the hitherto understudied impact of these "peripheral" missionary organizations on cross-cultural encounters and the development of American and Protestant institutions in the region.

[4] The Mission Compound is the label given to the space, just outside of the old Bab Yaqub, where the American missionaries based their activities in Beirut. Established in 1820s, the Mission Compound encompassed at different times the multifunctional *Burj Bird* (the central Mission House), the American Mission Press, the Anglo-American Church (now the National Evangelical Church of Beirut), the Mission Cemetery, the American School for Girls, the Theological School (now the Near East School of Theology), and the manse. Only the Mission Church (the National Evangelical Church of Beirut) currently remains at this space.

[5] "Mission Cemetery, Beirut [revised]," [1904], Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence and Reports Microform, MF10 F761a, reel 65-1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

[6] Samir G. Khalaf and Per Kongstad, *Hamra of Beirut: A Case of Rapid Urbanization* (Leiden: Brill, 1973): 31–33; Maria B. Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut: A Landscape of Memory for Narratives of Exceptionalism, 1870–1975" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts-Amherst, 2013); Maria B. Abunnasr, "Impressions of New England on the Ras Beirut Landscape, 1870–1920," in *Entangled Education: Foreign, National and Local schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon*, edited by Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2015), 31–47; Michael F. Davie, "Local and Western Educational Institutions in Beirut: Topographical and Symbolic Dominations," in *Entangled Education: Foreign, National and Local schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon*, edited by Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2015), 49–71.

[7] Minkin's study gives an overview of the major works of death studies within Middle East history. Shane Minkin, "History from Six-feet Below: Death Studies and the Field of Modern Middle East History," *History Compass* 11, no. 8 (2013): 632–646. The quotes are from pages 632 and 633, respectively.

[8] Minkin, "History from Six-feet Below," 635. For example, see Lucia Volk, *Memorials and Martyrs in Modern Lebanon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

[9] May Davie, "Saint-Dimitri, un cimetière orthodoxe de Beyrouth," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de L'Ouest* 114, no. 4 (2007). Available at http://abpo.revues.org/457?lang=en, accessed 16 March 2014. Also see Houda Kassatly, "Le cortège funéraire chez les grecs orthodoxes de Beyrouth à la fin du XIX siècle," *Chronos* 9 (2004) : 7–38.

[10] Sarah Tarlow, "Landscapes of Memory: The Nineteenth-Century Garden Cemetery," *European Journal of Archeology* 3, no. 2 (2000): 217–239; DeMond Shondell Miller and Jason David Rivera, "The Cemetery and the Creation of Place," *Space and Culture* 9, no. 4 (2006): 334–350; Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, no. 3 (1971): 501–509.

[11] *Zuqāq al-Blāt*, literally meaning "the paved street or alleyway," is used in two ways. The *zuqāq al-blāt* (in lower case letters) refers to the first paved street outside of Beirut's walls, where the Mission Compound was located. Zuqaq al-Blat (in upper case letters, without diacritics) is the neighborhood just south of the old city, where the paved street led. This neighborhood became a thriving middle-class quarter in the late nineteenth century. Hans Gebhardt et al. (eds.), *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2005).

[12] The Mission Cemetery was established in 1825 and located on the Mission Compound on *Zuqāq el-Blāt*. Its graves were relocated to the Anglo-American Cemetery in 1960. A joint Prussian-Arab-Swiss Protestant cemetery was founded in 1867 on the [Old] Damascus Road in Ras el-Naba'. The Arab section was separated from the rest to form the cemetery of the National Evangelical Church of Beirut in 1869. The Prussian cemetery became the Cimetière Protestant Française during the Mandate period. Other Protestant and Anglo-American cemeteries exist outside of Beirut, particularly in Brummana, Tripoli, Sidon, and smaller villages throughout the country.

[13] This includes David Kurani's short article, "The Anglo-American Cemetery: A Forgotten Corner of AUB History," *AUB Bulletin Today* 6, no. 2 (2004), available at http://staff.aub.lb/~webbultn/v6n2/06.html, accessed 14 April 2014; Larry Bank's unpublished article, "The Anglo American Cemetery in Beirut: An Account of its History and Occupants: Background to the Present Anglo-American Cemetery at Furn al-Shebbak," (1999), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association; Christine B. Lindner's unpublished conference paper, "Resting in Peace: Identity Construction at the Anglo-American Cemetery of Beirut," presented at the *Fourth International Conference of the Center for American Studies and Research (CASAR) at the American University of Beirut: Shifting Borders: America and the Middle East/North Africa Conference*, (Beirut: 11–14 January 2012).

[14] Some of the major works on this history include Abdul Latif Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part I," *Middle East Journal* 21, no. 1 (1967): 1–15; Abdul Latif Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part II," *Middle East Journal* 22, no. 2 (1967): 199–212; Stephen B. L. Penrose Jr. *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866–1941* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1940); Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski, "Learning to be Modern: American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto, 1860–1920" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2010); Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

[15] Quoted in Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part I," 11.

[16] Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part I," 11.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Majstorac Kobiljski, "Learning to be Modern," 55.

[19] Eli Smith, "Report on the Translation of the Scriptures, April, 1854," in *Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language by Rev. Eli Smith, D. D., and Rev. C. V. A. Van Dyck, D. D.*, ed. Henry Harris Jessup (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1900): 9.

[20] "Member 33," *al-Kanisah al-Injiliyah al-Wataniyah fi Beirut: Sijill Raqm 9: Beirut*, courtesy of the Near East School of Theology [NEST] Special Collections; "Member 3," *al-Kanisah al-Injiliyah al-Wataniyah fi Beirut: Sijill Raqm 6: 'Abeih* , courtesy of NEST Special Collections; Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria: Volume I and II* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 267.

[21] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 18.

[22] Robert M. Copeland, *A Sesquicentennial History of the Community Church of Beirut: 1823–1973* (Beirut: Community Church of Beirut, 1974): 16.

[23] Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck, "Report on the Translation, Apr. 29th, 1863," in *Brief Documentary History of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Arabic Language by Rev. Eli Smith, D. D., and Rev. C. V. A. Van Dyck, D. D.*, ed. Henry Harris Jessup (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1900): 16.

[24] Of these teachers, Louis Sabunji had the weakest ties to the American missionaries, due in part to his late arrival to Beirut (in 1865), commitment to the Syriac Catholic community, and his personality, for which he has been described as a "provacteur, opportunist and intellectual-activist." Stephen Sheehi, "The Life and Times of Louis Saboungi: A Nomadological Study of Ottoman Arab Photography," *Ibraaz* (May 2015), available at http://www.ibraaz.org/essays/123, accessed 18 November 2015; Rogier Visser, *Identities in Early Arabic Journalist: The Case of Louis Ṣābūnǰī*, (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2014), 82; Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part II." 200; Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 20.

[25] Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part II," 201.

[26] Other reasons included the limited number of Arabic textbooks as well as the diversification of the student body to include non-Arabic speakers. These reasons are examined in Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College, Part II," 202–205, and Deanna Ferree Womack, "*Lubnani, Libanais*, Lebanese: Missionary Education, Language Policy and Identity Formation in Modern Lebanon," *Studies in World Christianity* 18, no. 1 (2012): 8–10. Noticeably, the American missionaries protested against this change. Also see Betty Anderson and George Saliba's contributions to this volume.

[27] "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, 1881–1882," (Beirut: American Mission Press, n. d.); "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, 1890–91," (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1891); "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, 35th Year, 1900–1901," (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1901).

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

[29] Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2012): 52–55.

[30] Marjorie Drakeford, "All Saints' Church Beirut, Lebanon and the Community that Built It," (printed booklet, 1997).

[31] A small chapel was built in 1873, while Assembly Hall was completed in 1892. Copeland, *A Sesquicentennial History*, 21. For its use by the Anglo-American community of Ras Beirut during the 1920s, see Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut," 87.

[32] An agreement in 1864 resulted in missionaries from the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews serving as the minister for the English-speaking congregation, with those from the ABCFM (after 1870, the Board of Foreign Missions for the PCUSA) ministering to the Arabic-speaking congregation. Copeland, *A Sesquicentennial History*, 16.

[33] Julia Hauser, *German Religious Women in Late Ottoman Beirut: Competing Missions* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 202–206.

[34] Franklin E. Hoskins, "The Mission Cemetery, Beirut, Syria and the New Cemetery: February, 1914," (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1914), United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Syria Mission Records, 1808-1967, Reading Group 115, box 3, folder 15, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA (hereafter PHS RG 115-3-15).

[35] "Mission Cemetery, Beirut [revised]". This version includes handwritten amendments to the list, such as the addition of the Crawford families, the original date of the document (13 December 1900), and the date of the amendments (10 December 1904).

[36] *Cemetery Record: American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Syria*, (Beirut: 1903), courtesy of AUB Special Collections.

[37] *Cemetery Record*.

[38] Hoskins, "The Mission Cemetery Beirut," 2.

[39] [George Smedley] to W. R. Snidow," (Beirut: 9 March 1964), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association.

[40] Hoskins, "The Mission Cemetery Beirut," 2.

[41] "Capital Stock Certificates for the Anglo-American Cemetery Association: Book 1," (1914); "Capital Stock Certificates for the Anglo-American Cemetery Association: Book 2," (1916–1925). Both are courtesy of NEST Special Collections.

[42] Majstorac Kobiljski's contribution to this volume and Majstorac Kobiljski, "Learning to be Modern."

[43] Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller, eds., *Entangled Education: Foreign, National and Local schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2015); Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zuqaq el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World," in *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zuqaq el-Blat*, ed. H. Gebhardt et al. (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2005): 143–174.

[44] Michael Davie, "Local and Western Educational Institutions in Beirut."

[45] The SPC also "competed" against its "brother" institutions, the Protestant Seminary in 'Abeih and the Gerard Institute in Sidon, as well as its "sister" institutions, the American School for Girls, the British Syrian Teaching Institute, and the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth's Höhere Töchterschul. For more on these schools, see George F. Sabra, *Truth and Service: A History of the Near East School of Theology* (Beirut: Librarie Antoine S.A.L, 2009), especially pages 20–50; John Edward Brennan, "Gerard Institute: A Boy's School in Lebanon: 1880–1956,"

(Master's thesis, San Deigo State College, 1965); Ellen L. Fleischmann, "'Under an American Roof': The Beginnings of the American Junior College for Women in Beirut," *Arab Studies Journal* (2009): 62–84; 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); Hauser, *German Religious Women*.

[46] See Abunnasr's contribution to this volume and Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut."

[47] Khalaf and Kongstad, *Hamra of Beirut*, 31–32; Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut," 253–256.

[48] "Panorama from the Sea" [image] in *Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College: Beirut, Syria, 38th Year, 1903–1904*, (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1904) in between pages 28 and 29. For an analysis of this panorama, see Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut," 90.

[49] Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut," 245.

[50] In Arabic, *Ras Beirut* means the "head of Beirut."

[51] Khalaf and Kongstad, *Hamra of Beirut*: 31–33; Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut," 256.

[52] Controlling the sand was a major feat tackled by the erection of the Sanayyah Garden on the other side of the sand dunes. See Khalaf, *Heart of Beirut*, 73.

[53] Carlton Basmajian and Christopher Coutts, "Planning for the Disposal of the Dead," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 76, no. 3 (2010): 306.

[54] Another fear may have been the jackals that ran wild in the suburbs. Edward W. Hooker, *Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, Late of the Mission in Syria*, 1st ed. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1839), 183. Folklore of Ras Beirut recalls that the sand dunes were the location to bury criminals, which could be another reason why the AAC was not located there.

[55] Henry W. Glockler, "Grave Removals and other data on the cemetery," ([Beirut]: [May] 1960), United Presbyterian Church in the USA Syria Mission Records, 1808–1967, Reading Group 115, box 3, folder 17, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA (hereafter PHS, RG 115-3-17).

[56] Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provencal Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005): 101–103. Noticeably, it was from Furn al-Shubbak that the 1922 boycott of the trams emerged, which disrupted access to the AAC by tram and car as the protesters also occupied the streets. Carla Eddé, *Beyrouth: Naissance d'une Capitale, (1918–1924)* (Beirut: Sindbad, 2009): 302–315.

[57] In 1924, the Armenian community purchased part of the AAC land for a cemetery catering to its own community. James H. Nicol to Henry W. Glockler (Beirut: 15 April 1924), PHS, RG 115-3-15; James H. Nicol to "Members of the Cemetery Committee," (Beirut: n. d.), PHS, RG 115-3-15. A Maronite cemetery was also built to the east of the AAC.

[58] There is evidence suggesting that the project dates to the Mandate Period, although the earliest reference to this road comes from the American missionaries who inquired about relocating the graves of the Mission Cemetery to the AAC in 1948. "[Regulations] governing the removal of a cemetery," ([Beirut]: 26 August 1948), PHS, RG 115-3-17.

[59] An undated and non-titled map held by NEST Special Collections shows the road proposal plans. While the road would have only disrupted a few of the graves, it would have cut the cemetery off from the rest of the Mission Compound.

[60] Glockler, "Grave Removals and other data on the cemetery."

[61] Wesley E. Jorgensen to Adrian T. Middleton (Beirut: 25 February 1965), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association; James W. Willoughby, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association, 15 Feb. 1965," ([Beirut]: [15 February 1965]), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association.

[62] Christian T. Steger, "Certificate of Acknowledgement of Execution of Document [for Archibald S. Crawford and H.W. Glockler]" (Beirut: 25 June 1938), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association.

[63] A full list of those buried at the Anglo-American Cemetery, with hyperlinks to images of their graves, can be found at "Anglo-American Cemetery Directory," *Anglo-American Cemetery Website*, available at http://anglo-americancemeterybeirut.blogspot.com/p/directory.html

[64] Although the Crawfords were included in the 1904 revised list of those admitted to the Mission Cemetery, I have been unable to locate their graves in this cemetery. "Mission Cemetery, Beirut [revised]".

[65] Plot X of the Mission Cemetery, in the middle of the northern wall, was reserved for the West family. It is unclear where Robert's original grave was located within this plot. E. G. Fryer, "Record and Index of Graves in the American Mission Cemetery at Beirut, April 1903," (Beirut: 1903), courtesy of AUB Special Collections.

[66] Archibald Stuart Crawford, *Remeniscences [sic] of the Crawfords and Wests in the Near East* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, [1975]), 10, 13–14.

[67] A list of SPC/AUB faculty buried at the AAC can be found at "Member [*sic*] of AUB Community Buried in the Anglo-American Cemetery," *AUB Bulletin Today* 6, no. 2 (2004), available at http://staff.aub.edu.lb/~webbultn/v6n2/07.html, accessed 9 April 2014.

[68] The complexity of these individuals' identities – particularly American and Britons born in the Middle East region – will be highlighted through the use of quotation marks around words like "foreign" and "returned" (as in "returned" to the United States). For more on transnationalism and its use as lens to analyze Anglo-Americans born in the Middle East region, 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, no. 3 (2009): 108–130.

[69] During her concluding remarks, Betty Anderson voiced an important critique of the AUB 150th Anniversary Conference (13–15 May 2013), noting that the roles of women at the SPC/AUB – as wives, mothers, teachers, and students – were almost absent from the discussions, which had concentrated predominately upon the activities of famous men.

[70] Mary Alice Crawford West died in 1946 in the United States. Her grave is in Acacia Park Cemetery and Mausoleum, Chicago, Illinois. Deborah T. Woodburn, "Mary Alice Crawford West," available at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=110409314, accessed 16 April 2014.

[71] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 13–14; "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria: 1919–1920: 44th Year," (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1920): 10. It is important to note that my original turn to cemeteries as a source was due to the difficulties I had in obtaining basic biographical information on the wives and children of American missionaries and merchants in Ottoman Syria during the nineteenth century from "traditional" archival sources. This double-gap was disappointing, but is important to recognize, as it forces me to seek unpublished and other alternative sources or to accept that these individual's names and personalities cannot be presently determined.

[72] His original grave was located in Plot Z, at the north-east corner of the Mission Cemetery. I was unable to determine its exact location. Fryer, "Record and Index of Graves in the American Mission Cemetery at Beirut."

[73] The inscription on Daniel Bliss's grave (plot II G 4) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[74] Starting from the second half of the twentieth century, an increasing number of individuals with Arab identities and British or American citizenship were interred in the cemetery. This reflects the migration to and from the *Mahjar* and the increasing incidents of "mixed" marriages. Lindner, "Resting in Peace."

[75] The original entry for Dray in the AAC records indicates that "no stone" marked his grave. As such, his could have been one of the thirty-seven memorial stones erected by the Anglo-American Cemetery for unmarked graves in 1966. "Entry 17," *Book of the Dead*, courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association; Paul Joseph Owens, "Anglo-American Cemetery: Secretary Annual Report for year ending December 31, 1966," Syria-Lebanon Mission Records, Reading Group 492, box 45, folder 18, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA. The original lack of and then diminutive memorial stone could have been due to Dray's scandalous murder by the fiancé of his dental assistant. Larry Banks, "Principal Families in Beirut, 1820 Onwards: British," ([Beirut]: 13 June 1999), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association; Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut," 103–113.

[76] Arthur Dray worked as professor at AUB from 1911 to 1926 and founded the SPC Dental School. Nabih Faris worked from 1944 to 1960 and was a professor of Arab history.

[77] There are seven graves for the Bliss family in the AAC: Daniel Bliss (plot II G 4), Abby Wood Bliss (plot II G 5), William Bliss (plot II G 6), Carrie Lyon Dale (plot II G 9), Gerald F. Dale (plot II G 10), Mary Bliss Dale (plot II G 10), and Geraldine Dale (plot II G 11).

[78] Arthur Dray married Gretel Leithe, the daughter of the British Consul, in 1913. Banks, "Principal Families in Beirut, 1820 Onwards: British"; Abunnasr, "Ras Beirut," 104. I have been unable to find more information about the family life of Nabih Faris.

[79] The best example of this is John Wortabet, who used "John" in his professional life as a missionary and professor at SPC, which is how his name is spelled on his grave (plot II F 10) in the AAC. However, in the church records, written in Arabic, his name is spelled as "Yūḥanā Wartabāt." "Membership 5," *al-Kanisah al-Injiliyah al-Wataniyah fi Beirut: Sijill Raqm 9: Beirut.*

[80] For example, see "Membership 29," *al-Kanisah al-Injiliyah al-Wataniyah fi Beirut: Sijill Raqm 9: Beirut.*

[81] Larry Banks, "Miscellaneous Biographical Notes on People Buried in the A.A.C.: Plot IV," ([Beirut], 13 November 1999), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association.

[82] Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut," 117.

[83] For more on this, see Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut," 86–131.

[84] In a similar manner, the grave for Julia Tu'ma Dimashqiya, an Arab Protestant who married the Sunni Badr Dimishqiya, is located on its own in the back of the cemetery of the National Evangelical Church of Beirut. Her epitaph reads "*al-kātibat wa raā'idat al-harkat al-nisaā'iyya*" ["writer and pioneer of the women's movement"].

[85] A note of thanks must be offered to the descendants of the Crawford family, especially Deborah T. Woodburn and Dave Nicolson, for graciously sharing additional resources and information on the Crawford-West families.

[86] The inscription on John Crawford's grave (plot II H 4) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[87] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 1–3; Larry Banks, "Principal Families in Beirut, 1820 Onwards: American" (Beirut: 20 July 1999), courtesy of the Anglo-American Cemetery Association.

[88] "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College, 1881–1882," 4; "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College: Beirut, Syria, 1890–1891," 6; "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College: Beirut, Syria, 37th Year, 1902–1903" (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1903), 6.

[89] The inscription on Mary Crawford's grave (plot II H 5) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[90] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 1–3.

[91] The inscription on John Stewart Crawford's grave (plot VI J 4) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[92] Banks, "Principal Families in Beirut, 1820 Onwards: American."

[93] I have been unable to visit this cemetery. Information regarding their joint grave was found on "Mary Jane Taylor Crawford," *Find-A-Grave*, available at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=52456435, accessed 17 April 2014. Also see Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 3.

[94] "Crawford, Mary Rowan McCracken (Mrs. J. Stewart Crawford)," in *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States, 1914–1915*, edited by J. W. Leonard (New York: American Commonwealth Company, 1914), 60. For details of her work, see *Herald of Mission News 1892* (New York, 1892): 16–17.

[95] For an account of their wedding, see Mattie R. Wylie, "A Missionary Wedding: Rev. J. Stewart Crawford, Mrs. Mary R. McCarroll, married July 27th, 1892. At Home after August 1st. Damascus Syria," *Herald of Mission News 1892* (New York, 1892): 174.

[96] The inscription on Robert H. West's grave (plot II G 12) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[97] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 61–62.

[98] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 4–11.

[99] "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College: Beirut, Syria, 38th Year, 1903–1904," 6, 18; "American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria: Catalogue, 1923–1924: 58th Year" (Beirut: American Mission Press, 1924), 7; Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 11–13.

[100] The inscription on John Crawford's grave (plot II H 4) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[101] "Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College: Beirut, Syria, 1919–1920," 10.

[102] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 14; "American University of Beirut: Beirut, Syria: Catalogue, 1923–1924," 8.

[103] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 20; Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut," 98.

[104] Both Anna and Alice married AUB faculty members, Dick Saunders and Alva Tompkins, respectively, and eventually moved to the United States. Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 22–23.

[105] "American University of Beirut: Beirut, Syria: Catalogue, 1923–1924," 9; Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 21.

[106] Dorothy Smeed was the great-granddaughter of James Black (plot II A 1), a prominent British banker and scion of the early Protestant community in Beirut, and Eliza Fanny Abbott (also plot II A 1), daughter of British Consul Peter Abbott (plot II D 8) and Maria Assunta Davitti (plot II D 9), one of the first members of the Protestant Church, whose second husband was missionary William Thomson. Dorothy's maternal grandparents were Julia Black (VII D 1) and James Nixon, while her parents were Violet Nixon (plot VII E 1) and Albert Smeed (plot VII E 2), a prominent British banker in Beirut. Banks, "Principal Families in Beirut, 1820 Onwards: British."

[107] Crawford, *Remeniscences*, 25–26, 36–37.

[108] The inscription on Mary E. Crawford's grave (plot VI J 2) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[109] The inscriptions on James Stewart Crawford's grave (plot VI J 4) and Mary McCracken Crawford's grave (plot VI J 3) in the Anglo-American Cemetery.

[110] For the use of oral history as an important source for SPC/AUB's history, see Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut." Collecting oral histories is also a major feature of AUB's Neighborhood Initiative Project and of the CAMES's Oral History Project.

[111] Banks, "Principal Families in Beirut, 1820 Onwards: American."

[112] Ibid.

14 AUB and Ras Beirut in the Twenty-first Century: Nostalgia, Gentrification, and Other Problems

Cynthia Myntti[1]

As the director of AUB's Neighborhood Initiative, I think a lot about the University's relationship with its neighborhood - past, present, and future. Following in the footsteps of many at this institution who have, over the years, reached out beyond the University's walls, the Neighborhood Initiative has existed since 2007 to encourage AUB faculty, staff, and students to apply their talents to solving some of the specific problems of concern to our neighbors in Ras Beirut. We support research and outreach on topics ranging from noise, congestion, the poor walkability of neighborhood streets, lack of greenery, and threats to well-being. With broad participation from inside and outside AUB, we have created the University for Seniors, a cultural and educational program on campus for older adults - neighbors, initially, and now many more.

As I listen to neighbors and talk with colleagues, I regularly hear two issues mentioned, sometimes together, sometimes separately, when the subject of the neighborhood is raised: first, a nostalgia for the golden age that existed here before the Civil War, and second, a fear for where the neighborhood is headed as its architectural and social fabrics are being destroyed through the process of gentrification. I have come to see these twin obsessions as somehow related, and this essay embarks on a very preliminary argument.

A recent book review in a local newspaper began: "Lebanese are renowned for their nostalgia . . ." Nostalgia comes from two Greek roots (from ***nostos*** - return home - and ***algia*** - longing or pain, longing for a home that no longer exists or perhaps never existed). Loss is the key sentiment.[2]

In fact, nostalgia is not a word that derives from ancient Greece, but was made up by a Swiss physician in the seventeenth century for a homesickness experienced by Swiss soldiers serving abroad. By the mid-nineteenth century, nostalgia was a popular diagnostic category in France. The French regarded nostalgia as a potentially fatal disease and believed that, if left untreated, it would eventually affect all bodily organs. Excess longing for the past was thus medicalized.[3]

Svetlana Boym, who has written the influential book *The Future of Nostalgia*, distinguishes between two types of nostalgia: restorative and reflective nostalgia. Both take as an example Proust's ***madeleine,*** but use it for different purposes.

Restorative nostalgia animates the desire to rebuild the past, to create monuments that recall the glories of history. Restorative nostalgia invents traditions, myths, and symbols to be mobilized.[4] One could argue that Solidere's marketing plan is based on restorative nostalgia with slogans such as "Beirut Reborn" or "Beirut, Ancient City for the Future."[5]

Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, dwells on the ruins, the loss, in the dreams of another place and time. Reflective nostalgia does not pretend to rebuild the mythical home, but is itself preoccupied with the distance in time and space, not the home itself.

Nostalgia is a common feature of Arabic literature, more reflective than restorative in tone. Think of the term ***atlal:*** the abandoned desert campsite of the beloved, the longing, the desolation; or the yearning for the long lost al-Andalus. Indeed many literary tropes are rooted in loss. Think of the ***ritha' al-mudun:*** elegies for cities such as the splendid and wealthy ***madinat al-salam*** (Baghdad) of the ninth century.[6]

The past and the present coexist in the nostalgic readings of al-Andalus, where commentary about the past illuminates the deficiencies of the present.[7] In considering nostalgia about Ras Beirut, we

do not have an extensive literature such as exists for al-Andalus. It is a more casual unwritten, oral history that informs us. But the past and the present do coexist here too.

How the past is remembered, and by whom, is key. In the wonderful book on oral history *The Death of Luigi Trastulli: Memory and the Event*, the author Alessandro Portelli suggests that the least interesting aspect of remembering the past is the "truth" of the accounts.

> Oral sources are not always fully reliable in point of fact. Rather than being a weakness, this is however, their greatest strength: inventions and myths lead us beyond the facts to their meanings.[8]

Portelli argues that it is crucial to recognize the interest of the tellers of history, who reconstruct the facts.

The tellers of history who are neighbors of a certain age, especially those who became adults before the Civil War, remember with fondness the landmarks of the neighborhood that no longer exist: the meeting places of town and gown such as Fayssal's [*sic*] Restaurant or Uncle Sam's; the Manara line of the tram that connected the Beirut *suqs* downtown with Ras Beirut; the considerate, customer-oriented neighborhood grocery store, Smith's. These narratives emphasize the social relations that existed in the spaces of the neighborhood.

Another look backward can be found in a recently published 500-page coffee-table book on pre-war Beirut, *Pure Nostalgia*.[9] The book offers a glimpse of the life of leisure and consumption in Beirut in the 1960s and 1970s, or more precisely, a glimpse of the lifestyle of a cosmopolitan class. Many categories of Beirutis do not appear in these pictures.

Is this what Beirutis are nostalgic for – that past life of leisure and consumption? Will Hanley argues in his article "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in the Middle East," that cosmopolitanism here has always been exclusionary and characterized by three features: it is elitist (reflecting a minority, Westernized, secular middle and upper class); it is laced with grief (nostalgia for the lost era); and it privileges form over content (certain behaviors and dress become emblematically "cosmopolitan" – sidewalk cafes where men and women would meet socially in Beirut, or the consumption of alcohol in Istanbul, for instance).[10]

While the nostalgia we hear about in Ras Beirut does indeed contain a large dose of this consumerist elitism, there is more to the story. One aspect of the utopian past of Ras Beirut was its social heterogeneity. Aseel Sawalha's anthropological study of Ain Mreisseh quotes a longtime resident's comparison between a new enterprise, such as the Hard Rock Café, and the old St. Georges Hotel. Her informant remarked:

> The majority of waiters and workers at the St. Georges lived here. The managers knew the grocer, the butcher and all the shopkeepers in the area. They bought the hotel's vegetables and meat from us. When the employees of the St. Georges walked in the streets, they used to say "Good morning" and "How are you," unlike [the employees of] the Hard Rock Café. All we have gained [from the Hard Rock Café] is the noise [of the music and honking cars] and the heavy traffic. As you can see, the streets are blocked all night by the cars of the café's rich customers![11]

And of the new residents, who are often not around anyway,

> With their money, they can buy apartments with beautiful views of the sea, but, alas, they do not know their actual meaning. They only watch the sea through the glass of their air-conditioned balconies.[12]

Neighbors often remark that Ras Beirut is not "one color"; it has never belonged to one sectarian grouping. The common view is that most Ras Beirut apartment buildings house families of different backgrounds, and neighbors are there for each other. Even during the war, neighbors helped each other manage in times of shortage and danger. Neighbors are connected in grief; they pay condolences when one or another loses a relative. In other words, neighbors have a specific kind of social relationship.

Returning to the issue of cosmopolitanism, the sociologist Richard Sennett usefully points out the difference between the cosmopolitanism of the late nineteenth century and the cosmopolitanism of cities today. In the past, cosmopolitan cities emerged out of a dialectical relationship between what he calls alterity, or confronting the unknown, and nineteenth-century capitalism with its urban symbols – distinctive buildings, and public spaces that were shared by all. This produced a new kind of freedom. Mixing with people unlike oneself in the grand boulevards and streets and public spaces was a fundamental quality of living in a nineteenth-century city, and liberating at that.[13]

Today's cosmopolitanism emerges out of globalization, and it is flat and uniform. Sennett argues that, as with multinational companies, place no longer matters. Of course, place matters in some

senses; Beirut is more prone to violent political events than are London or New York. But, the fact is, international norms in lifestyles and the built environment reinforce a certain sameness. New luxury offices or flats offer the same neutral flexibility, whether in Beirut, Dubai, or London. One now has the same dining and shopping options in Beirut, Dubai, and London. And this is critical: increasingly, urban spaces are segregated by class. Sennett suggests that social differences exist in global cities, but they are non-interactive. Groups operate in almost parallel universes. In other words, the new social "relations" in cosmopolitan cities are not relations at all. This brings us to the subject of gentrification.

Ras Beirut is experiencing a new kind of war that is transforming its streets and its buildings. Low and middle-rise buildings from the early to mid-twentieth century are being pulled down and replaced by luxury residential towers. Instead of useful shops and businesses on the ground floor level, the new towers are surrounded by gated gardens creating an altogether different urban atmosphere, and one that does not encourage walking.

Beirut has become more densely settled since the days when AUB was founded nearly 150 years ago in a wild landscape overlooking the sea. But what is happening now is qualitatively different than previous bursts of urban building.[14] The destruction of low and middle-rise buildings in Ras Beirut is particularly intense on land with the highest values, namely the plots with campus and sea views. Soon AUB will be surrounded to the east, south, and west by a wall of towers. In fact, AUB has inadvertently given private developers the gift of unimpeded views to the Mediterranean and over the rare greenery of the campus, and with these views, the opportunity to sell fabulous multimillion-dollar dwellings to a global elite. Most professionals' (and particularly professors') earning incomes at levels dictated by the Lebanese economy could not dream of living in the newly built apartments near the campus.

"Gentrification" may be defined as the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighborhood, changing the essential character of that neighborhood. Gentrification has three dimensions: displacement of original lower income residents, physical upgrading, and change in neighborhood character.[15]

Gentrification, as first noticed and named in London by Ruth Glass in the 1960s and then documented in North American cities since, was stereotypically a process where young artists and professionals were attracted to the low rents in run-down central city neighborhoods, many of which had fine architectural qualities and compelling social diversity. These "urban pioneers" moved in, used "sweat equity" to improve their dwellings or workspaces, and eventually led others to join them to gentrify the neighborhood. It was basically a local phenomenon.

Recently gentrification has gone global. The geographer Loretta Lees observed that in global cities like London and New York gentrification has happened thanks to intense investment by a new generation of super-rich financiers with fortunes made in global finance and corporate service industries.[16] And rather than moving into older buildings and renovating them, this new elite wants fancy "new build" premises to replace older buildings.

Scholars are beginning to document gentrification processes in Beirut: in Achrafiyeh and Zuqaq al-Blat,[17] and in Ras Beirut.[18] Ras Beirut conforms more, I would argue, to the new global model of real estate investing in London or New York, rather than the historical examples of urban pioneers investing their sweat equity in rundown center city buildings. And, as I have noted, the process is very different than the densification experienced up to now. So the relatively modest, lively, mixed-use, and pedestrian-oriented character of Ras Beirut is changing. The physical "upgrading" from war-damaged and often run-down low and middle-rise buildings to high-end high-rises is clearly evident, and displacement accompanies the process.

Ross and Jamil identify three ways displacement occurs: tenants living on protected "old rent" contracts are paid compensation to leave so the building can be demolished; the new rental leases (since 1992) allow landlords to raise rents beyond what tenants can pay, so that they are forced to move; and neighborhood rental and/or sale prices are so high that many wishing to live in Ras Beirut simply cannot afford to do so.[19] Many AUB faculty members have first hand experience with the latter so-called "exclusionary displacement."

In interviews that I have conducted in the neighborhood, the vulnerability to displacement of old rent tenants is especially clear. As one respondent mentioned, "We are worried! Many of our friends were forced to leave, and it can happen to us too." Well known cases are before us: the much-loved Ras Beirut Bookshop closed so the building could be demolished. Nasri, called "the coiffeur to AUB," was forced to leave his home of generations on Makhoul Street. An AUB librarian in a similar position was unable to afford the purchase or rent of alternative accommodation near campus. Other old

rent tenants are simply hanging on, managing to live in buildings that owners have no interest in maintaining, and hoping that they will not be next.

AUB's Neighborhood Initiative has supported a study - the Ras Beirut Well-Being Survey - which was a household survey conducted in 2010 by a team from AUB.[20] When we asked the random sample of 588 adults about their housing tenure, we found (Table 1) that old rent tenants comprise one third of our sample; they are the households most vulnerable to displacement. But, as Ross and Jamil point out, new rent tenants have little recourse when landlords raise their rents at the end of the three-year contract period, and are also vulnerable to displacement.

Table 1: Housing Tenure of Respondents

Tenure	Percent
Old rent	33.3
New rent	23.6
Rent of furnished flats	8.0
Old owner	15.8
New owner (since 1990)	19.3
	100.0

We also asked how long the households had been living in the neighborhood. Over half reported arriving since the end of the Civil War, with nearly 30 percent arriving since 2005.

Fig. 1. Presentation of preliminary findings of the Well-Being Survey at Hamra Square in 2011 (Photograph courtesy of the AUB Office of Communications)

This population change was also noted in my in-depth interviews with neighborhood residents:

> Makhoul used to be a street where you would know 75 percent of whomever you bumped into in the street, and you would greet them. Even at night. Many were AUB-connected families. It was like a village. Now we know no one anymore.
>
> There's a tremendous demographic change, which began after the war not during the war. This is due to the demolition of old buildings and the construction of luxurious buildings. The people are different.[21]

One just needs to walk in the neighborhood at night to see how many dwellings in the new buildings are dark and unoccupied. Their owners live and work elsewhere and these are merely holiday homes - pieds à terre - for the super-wealthy Lebanese diaspora and Gulf Arabs. These owners will never become neighbors in the old-fashioned sense of mutual assistance and mutual grief since they are rarely here and make little contact with those living near them. They likely do not even walk in the

streets or shop in the local shops, instead driving in and out from their underground parking garages to destinations beyond the neighborhood.

This is, I think, what Ras Beirutis are grieving - the loss of their neighborhood with its multiple social relations. In this sense, in globalized Beirut, nostalgia and gentrification are deeply connected. But the question remains: can the nostalgia be turned, following Boym, to a restorative project? Can the dominant narratives of Ras Beirut, being open and tolerant, but with village-like social relations, become a springboard for action to counteract gentrification?

Fig. 2. Corner of Bliss and Jeanne d'Arc Streets in the early 1950s (Collection of the Ras Beirut Oral History Project. Courtesy of Hilda Khoury)

Fig. 3. Manara line tram, Bliss Street in the mid- to late 1940s (Photograph courtesy of American University of Beirut/Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections)

Fig. 4. Smith's Grocery, a neighborhood landmark on Sadat Street; photograph from the 1960s (Collection of the Ras Beirut Oral History Project. Courtesy of May Ogden-Smith)

Fig. 5. Restaurant Fayssal, after it closed in 1985 (Photograph courtesy of American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections)

Fig. 6. Hamra Street at Abdel-Aziz, 1970s (Photograph by Ibrahim Tawil; reprinted by permission from An-Nahar Research and Documentation Center)

Fig. 7. Modern shopping, Hamra (Photograph by Sami Ayeid, from the early 1970s; reprinted by permission from An-Nahar Research and Documentation Center)

Fig. 8. Hamra shoppers, 1970s (Reprinted by permission from the Lebanese Ministry of Tourism)

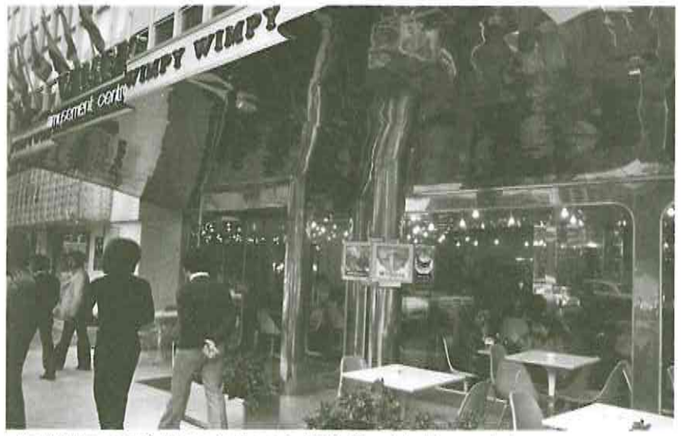


Fig. 9. Wimpy Café, Hamra in the early 1970s (Reprinted by permission from an-Nahar Research and Documentation Center)

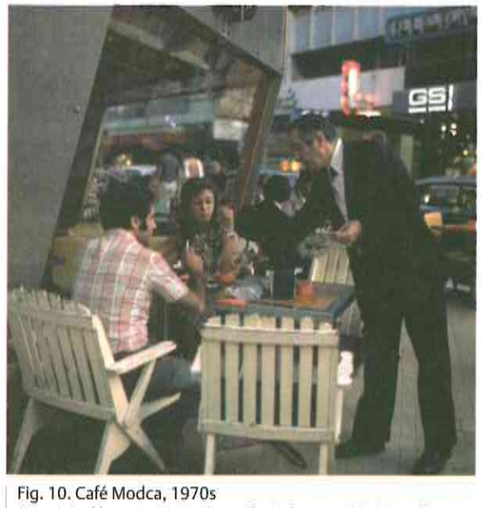


Fig. 10. Café Modca, 1970s (Reprinted by permission from the Lebanese Ministry of Tourism)

Fig. 11. Horseshoe Café, 1970 (Reprinted by permission from the Lebanese Ministry of Tourism)

Fig. 12. Demolition of low-rise apartment building, Bliss Street, 2007 (Photograph by the author)

Fig. 13. Before (2007) and after (2013), Bliss Street at Mahatma Gandhi Street (Photographs by the author)

Fig. 14. New luxury tower dwarfs the old Manara, 2006 (Photograph by the author)

Fig. 15. High-rises that replaced villas on Bliss Street, 2007 (Photograph by the author)

Fig. 16. View north over AUB (Photograph by the author, 2011)

ENDNOTES

[1] I would like to thank Maria Abunnasr, Bert Hirschhorn, and Mona Khechen for their helpful comments on this chapter. Any deficiencies remain my own.

[2] S. Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiii.

[3] Michael S. Roth, *Memory, Trauma and History: Essays on Living with the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 25–27.

[4] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 49–50.

[5] T. Ragab, "The Crisis of Cultural Identity in Rehabilitating Historic Beirut-Downtown," *Cities* 28: 107–114.

[6] Alexander E. Elinson, *Looking Back at al-Andalus: The Poetics of Loss and Nostalgia in Medieval Arabic and Hebrew Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 8, 19.

[7] Alexander E. Elinson, *Looking Back at al-Andalus*, 5.

[8] A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 2.

[9] I. Kozem, *Pure Nostalgia* (Beirut: Graphics Shop Lebanon, 2013).

[10] Will Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," *History Compass* 6, no. 5 (2008): 1348.

[11] Aseel Sawalha, *Reconstructing Beirut: Memory and Space in a Postwar Arab City* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010), 76.

[12] Aseel Sawalha, *Reconstructing Beirut*, 81.

[13] Richard Sennett, "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities," in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*, ed. S. Vertovec and R. Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 43–47.

[14] N. Havandjian, "The Hamra Explosion: Road to Success," *Monday Morning* 11, no. 49 (1973): 18–22.

[15] Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard, *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, 2001), 5.

[16] L. Lees, "Super-gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City," *Urban Studies* 40, no. 12 (2003): 2487.

[17] Bruno Marot and Serge Yazigi, "The Reconstruction of Beirut: Sowing the Seeds of Future Conflicts?" *Metropolitiques* (2012).

[18] Robert Ross and Lamis Jamil, "Waiting for War (and Other Strategies to Stop Gentrification): The Case of Ras Beirut," *Human Geography* 4, no. 3 (2011): 14–32.

[19] Robert Ross and Lamis Jamil, "Waiting for War (and Other Strategies to Stop Gentrification): 14–32.

[20] Afamia Kaddour et al., *Portrait of a Neighborhood: The Ras Beirut Well-Being Survey* (Beirut: AUB Press, forthcoming).

[21] Makhoul Street resident, interviewed August 2009.

Part IV

Academic/Scientific Contributions

15 AUB's Role in the Promotion of the Arabic/Islamic Sciences and Their History

George Saliba

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to document the activities of three major figures who were affiliated with AUB at various times in its history, from its earliest days, even before SPC/AUB was officially born in the early 1920s, until the late 1970s, when the last of these figures had to quit both AUB and Lebanon under the pressure of the raging civil war of the latter part of the twentieth century. These three men, each in his own way, had a vision of the significance of Arabic/Islamic science and took concrete steps to bring that vision into fruition. The three figures concerned were Cornelius Van Dyck (1818–1895), Mansur Jurdaq (1881–1964) and Edward Stewart Kennedy (1912–2009). This paper argues that the activities of these august men slowly moved from the stance taken by such early founding fathers as Van Dyck, who was fully committed to the production of Arabic/Islamic science, not just as a living discipline, but also as a tool to combat the colonial imposition of western hegemony upon native students of AUB. Van Dyck adopted what might now be called a nativist position, and taught and wrote in Arabic, and produced Arabic textbooks for those purposes. The activities of those who followed Van Dyck and lived in the "hybrid years," between the two World Wars, as did Jurdaq, constitute the second stage of the development of the field of Arabic/Islamic science, when they had to teach in English, but continued to produce science in Arabic whenever possible. Finally, in the post-Second World War era, the activities of people like Kennedy began to engage the cultural tradition of Arabic Islamic science as a discipline on its own, now envisaged within the academic purview of the history of science.

Furthermore, the activities of these three scholars are positioned against the register of nineteenth-century intellectual history of the eastern Mediterranean lands, remaining cognizant of the social and political ripples their activities generated and the impact they had on AUB's larger role as an institution that has made room for such men to operate within its academic framework, sometimes in spite of the many hurdles that are occasionally erected in the face of individuals engaged in the life of an institution, as was clearly demonstrated in the debacle over the discussion of Darwinian thought at AUB in the early years of the 1880s.

THE FOUNDING VISION OF VAN DYCK

AUB's long engagement with the Arabic/Islamic sciences – both as a subject of the production of culture and as a subject of study, actually extends back to long before its establishment, when certain Protestant missionaries began to conceive of expanding and transforming one of their educational institutions – for example, the 'Abeih Seminary[1] of the 1840s, in particular – into what later came to be known as the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) of 1866. Among the missionary founders of AUB was a remarkable man by the name of Cornelius Van Alan Van Dyck (1818–1895). At barely twenty-two years of age, Van Dyck was not only a young graduate of the prestigious Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia who was possessed by a missionary fervor, but was an extraordinary man in his own right, endowed with an incredible insight and a passion for his work. Much has been written about him, and he has been showered with much well-deserved praise, especially by Yusuf Kosma al-Khuri, who devoted a full dissertation to the man, filed at AUB in 1965. In this dissertation, Khuri claimed to be following Jurji Zaydan, who had already referred to Van Dyck as the man responsible for the scientific renaissance of Bilad al-Sham in the nineteenth century.[2] Zaydan was not only a student of Van Dyck, but also a lifelong friend with whom he kept in touch even after he moved to Egypt to

establish the famous *Hilal* journal and to produce his prolific journalistic and literary writings. It was Van Dyck's son, Edward, who passed on the memoirs of his father to Zaydan and authorized him to publish a translation thereof in *al-Hilal* under the title "Memoirs of Doctor Van Dyck from the Year 1839 to 1851, or the Foundation of the Recent Literary Renaissance in Beirut and Lebanon."[3]

Zaydan's, and after him Khuri's, tributes were not empty rhetorical exaggerations, for we know from independent sources that as soon as Van Dyck arrived in Beirut in April of 1840, he began learning Arabic, even when quarantined for forty days at the Karantina quarters. There he picked up and recorded his first 200 words of Arabic. Immediately after his release from quarantine and after a short sojourn in Jerusalem to attend to the medical needs of the missionaries and their families there, he returned to Beirut to continue his Arabic studies at the hands of the most distinguished men of Arabic letters at the time, including Sheikh Yusuf al-Asir, Nasif al-Yazigi, and Butrus al-Bustani. He took his studies of the Arabic language so seriously that within a few years he was able to devote a full monograph to the very complex art of Arabic prosody.[4]

What concerns us of his biography at this point is the next step that he took when, together with his Arabic teacher and friend Butrus al-Bustani, he founded the renowned 'Abeih seminary in the 1840s. It was then that he realized that much was needed to be done in order to carry out the educational responsibilities they had assumed. He had to resolve the following predicament: he had students who knew only Arabic – presumably colloquial Arabic at that – and who had to be taught all sorts of sciences for which there were no "modern" Arabic textbooks. Even if the students could be taught to read the classical Arabic scientific books – as he eventually did – those books themselves were hard to find, probably circulating at the time in rare manuscript form, owned by a very few notables and wealthy merchants. Mikha'il Mishaqa, his friend and, later, colleague at the Syrian Society for the Sciences and the Arts (1847–1852) and its reincarnation as the Syrian Scientific Society (1858–1869)[5] as well as at the Oriental Scientific Academy (founded 1882), speaks very pointedly, in his autobiography, of the hurdles he had to overcome in order to get his hands on elementary books on medicine, mathematics, and astronomy in any language. In one instance, Mishaqa says that he availed himself of the opportunity of his uncle's visit to Dayr al-Qamar, when the latter came from Egypt to attend to the medical needs of his daughter and brought along with him some books on the sciences. To his delight, his uncle volunteered to teach him astronomy while waiting for his daughter to recover.[6]

In this environment, Van Dyck's options were rather limited. One was to teach the students the European language in which the science textbooks were written. That would have meant that the students would have had to overcome two hurdles: 1) to learn a foreign language, and 2) to learn the sciences written in that language. The second option was to compose for them fresh Arabic texts written in a simple accessible language in order to teach them the sciences in their own language. To his credit, Van Dyck took the second option and went ahead and produced, together with colleagues – first, Butrus al-Bustani, and others later on – a series of books on algebra, geography, astronomy, geometry, spherical trigonometry, and the like. Of course, the lion's share of those new compositions was penned by Van Dyck himself. One book on arithmetic he apparently authored jointly with Bustani, although I suspect that he may have only urged Bustani to produce it and publish it on his own.[7]

Therefore, sheer happenstance and the practical necessity of carrying on his missionary duties – now expanded to educating young students in sciences that seemed to have little to do with saving their souls – found Van Dyck embarking on the challenge of writing scientific books in Arabic, a language that had not produced serious science for quite some time. Instead of coining new terms for the sciences he wished to convey in Arabic, as was apparently the trend set by contemporary nineteenth-century translators in Egypt, Van Dyck opted first to go back to the original Arabic classical texts wherever and whenever possible, and dig out the technical scientific terms that were already used in the language. In that act, he would "kill two birds with one stone": resuscitating the classical texts themselves, and using their terminology to teach his students, thus reconnecting those students to their own scientific heritage. Only when he failed to resuscitate old terms that could be redefined to render the new concepts, would he then resort to coining new terms. In an article sent to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society (JAOS)*, cited by Khuri,[8] Van Dyck complained about the Egyptian Bulaq publications specifically for their easy reliance on coining new terms instead of doing the hard work of reviving the classical Arabic scientific language.

To give one example of the methodology he followed and its conceptual consequences, consider the two books that he wrote on astronomy: one on elementary astronomical principles,[9] which he composed when he volunteered to teach a course on astronomy at the SPC, and the second aimed at less advanced students, probably intended for use in high schools.[10] In both books, he used the term *hay'a* to refer to astronomy proper. This term had no ancient equivalent in Greek or Sanskrit, and was coined in ninth-century Baghdad specifically to render the scientific sense of astronomy and to

distance it from astrology, to which it had attached itself in ancient times. By reviving the term *hay'a* for the titles of both of his books, Van Dyck also was reviving the scientific thinking of ninth-century Baghdad, which he felt could be perfectly synchronized with a modern sense of astronomy that was free from astrology. He followed the same path when he decided to edit and comment upon Razi's tenth-century treatise *On Smallpox and Measles*,[11] thus reviving its vocabulary and putting it to use in the nineteenth-century educational system of the SPC by attaching to it an appendix[12] on the then-modern understanding of the two diseases.

To Van Dyck, Arabic/Islamic scientific culture was by no means dead. On the contrary, it was apparently ready to be mined for modern purposes and thus become a vehicle for fresh production and renovation to be used in the classrooms of the nineteenth-century Arab world.

This supports my previous assertion that the early phase of AUB's engagement with Arabic/Islamic science was at the level of the production of that science rather than just studying and promoting its history, as was done later after the Second World War. With this distinction in mind, Van Dyck (d. 1895) and such contemporaries as As'ad al-Shududi, Bustani (1906),[13] and John Wortabet (1908), and after them Mansur Jurdaq (1964), all produced Arabic/Islamic science, rather than simply studying it. Van Dyck continued to write several versions of books on the same scientific subjects in Arabic, attempting ever so diligently to make scientific Arabic accessible to all levels of students. In a series of books that he called *Al-naqsh fi al-hajar* (after the famous Arabic adage *al-'ilm fi al-sighar ka-l-naqsh fi al-hajar*; "Learning at a young age is like carving in stone"), he produced a single monograph for each of the scientific subjects known in schools of his time. His contemporary, al-Shududi, produced a masterpiece in 1873 that covered all the natural sciences of his time, which he aptly called *al-'Arus al-Badi'a fi 'Ilm al-Tabi'a* (The beautiful bride in the science of nature).[14]

Even after joining the SPC, Van Dyck continued to both produce scientific books in Arabic and teach in Arabic, an issue that produced a heated debate at the time. As Penrose recounts, if it were not for the fiasco of dismissing Professor Edwin Lewis on account of his graduation speech regarding Darwinian thought in 1882, the SPC's language of instruction, and maybe that of AUB afterwards, would have probably continued to be Arabic.[15] Penrose makes a connection between two issues here, making them seem as if they were causally related. First, he brings up the issue of the speech by Edwin Lewis, which arguably may have been the last straw that broke the camel's back, as Jurdaq would later state, and which led to Lewis's resignation from the SPC. Second, there was the issue of the change in the language of instruction at the College from Arabic to English. As Penrose tells it, Lewis's dismissal led to Van Dyck's resignation in solidarity with Lewis and the students who had protested against Lewis's dismissal and were expelled. Faced with such "mass" resignations, Penrose states that professors competent to teach in Arabic could not be found to replace those who had resigned, and thus the language of instruction had to be changed to English, giving the impression that those two events were sequential and that the decision for the change took place after 1882. This narrative provides a good cover for an administrative decision.

Actually, the story was definitely much more nuanced than conveyed by Penrose's matter-of-fact account, his best intentions to save the administration's "neck" notwithstanding. Much is written about the famous speech of Edwin Lewis, delivered at the 1882 commencement, and of its consequences.[16] The speech itself was published in al-*Muqtataf* that same year – 1882 – under the title "Knowledge, Science and Wisdom" (*al-ma'rifa wa-l-'ilm wa-l-hikma*),[17] and on the face of it sounds quite benign. In fact, Lewis concluded that speech by casting doubt on Darwin's theory despite its scientific grounds, for, as he said at the time, he could not give a definitive assertion of its scientific validity. In his own words (my translation from the Arabic text of the *Muqtataf*):

> As for the suitability of this doctrine to explain events and its adequacy to demonstrate the causes of all effects that we seek to understand with its help, we cannot judge in a definitive way because there are many things left to be verified, examined, and scrutinized before reaching a definitive opinion about it.[18]

As for the change of the language of instruction, Jurdaq's account, just quoted, provides irrefutable proof from the SPC's records themselves that the decision for the change had already been taken years before. I was able to confirm that fact, myself, with the generous help of Ms. Samar Mikati al-Qaisi of the AUB Archives and Special Collections by looking at the 1880–1881 SPC College Catalogue, in which the following announcement was made:

> In the medical department, after the autumn of 1881, the language of instruction will be English except for those who have entered on the old basis, and applicants for admission will hereafter be required to have a sufficient practical knowledge of the language to enable them to pursue their medical studies.[19]

Jurdaq located earlier references to the change in the language of instruction in his account, in which he says:

> The change in the language of instruction was not in itself the real reason for the rebellion. For if it were the case the rebellion would have taken place a few years earlier because we read in the catalogue of the College (*madrasa*) for the year 1878, p. 5: "Warning (*tanbih*) the language of instruction in all departments of this division (meaning the science division *al-qism al-'ilmi*), except French and Arabic, is English.[20]

So Penrose's statement that the administration could not find competent people to teach in Arabic after 1882 as a result of the Lewis affair is blatantly false, as evident from the College records themselves. Most likely the administration had no intention of continuing with Arabic as the language of instruction, and announced the change in more than one place. Lewis's resignation towards the end of 1882 only hastened the process, but did not cause it. Jurdaq goes on to say that this decision was taken early on in the College administrative meetings whose minutes were kept, and he could not find in those records any objections to these decisions by anyone on the faculty, including Van Dyck and his four other supporters.[21] Jurdaq notes that such decisions were taken by the administrators of the College without paying heed to the faculty, as if to say that Van Dyck and his colleagues were in no position to reverse such decisions. But Van Dyck's resignation from the College was definitely a consequence of the shabby treatment to which Lewis was exposed and that led to Lewis's dismissal in December of that year.

With Van Dyck's severance from the SPC and his eventual death in 1895, followed a few years later by the death of his colleague al-Shududi in 1906, that golden era of production of Arabic science faded away. It was only faintly revived by the likes of Mansur Jurdaq, who came to fill at least one of Van Dyck's positions, namely that of professor of astronomy and director of the Lee Observatory.

JURDAQ'S ROLE AS TEACHER AND PRODUCER OF ARABIC ASTRONOMY

Jurdaq graduated from AUB in 1901, six years after Van Dyck's death, with a BS in mathematics followed by an MS, also in mathematics, in 1907. He apparently started studying astronomy in the fall of 1900, and became formally and professionally involved in it when he was appointed as an assistant at the Observatory in 1904, as he himself says in the introduction of his *Astronomical Dictionary*.[22] His own education, as well as his teaching, was in English, the language of instruction at the time. On his own, he continued Van Dyck's practice of writing textbooks on elementary mathematical sciences in Arabic, nine of which are mentioned on the back page of his *Dictionary*, in addition to his other books on astronomy and science and several articles he published in *al-Muqtataf* and other journals. All these works were written in Arabic, and some, like the two series of texts on arithmetic (another ten in number), were geared to high school students following the English or the French programs of study in the Lebanese schools.

While teaching in English at AUB, Jurdaq continued to take notes for himself every time he encountered an English astronomical term or a star name that had Arabic roots. He eventually combined and published those notes in his famous Arabic Astronomical Dictionary, *al-Qamus al-Falaki*, written in 1947 and published in 1950.[23] This dictionary remains a landmark and a main reference for anyone wishing to consult original Arabic terms relating to astronomical literature. In that sense, Jurdaq's work can be seen as an extension of the work of Van Dyck, al-Shududi, Hurani, Wortabet, and others of the earlier generation, who all wrote in Arabic. And like these predecessors, he continued to identify modern astronomy with the classical Arabic term *'ilm al-hay'a*.

As a native Lebanese, Jurdaq went a step beyond Van Dyck and consciously identified with Arabic culture. At times he had to entertain visiting dignitaries like Camille Chamoun and Charles Malik, obviously reluctantly, as can be easily detected from a picture commemorating that visit with the dignitaries [see Fig. 1]. But more importantly, he considered his work on the dictionary as an act of reviving and taking pride in that culture. In a remarkable passage in the introduction to his dictionary, he notes:

> The major reason for undertaking this research and diligently studying and publishing it is the need to take pride in our Arabism (*'urubatuna*), to feel special gratitude for our civilization, and to have faith in our country and its position along the path of civilization, culture, science, and knowledge. No nation can respect its present, and have full confidence in itself, and hope for a better future, if . . . not tightly bonded with its history; it is through that bonding, and through nothing else, that a nation can make its youth feel that they belong to a respectable nation with a glorious history. That alone can make a people feel glorious and dignified, and guarantees success for a country to occupy the distinguished place it deserves among civilized nations.[24]

As far as I can tell, no similar attitude was taken by the other Lebanese, al-Shududi, at least not explicitly. But Shududi's insistence on writing in Arabic – and as he says that he did so at the request of the first AUB president, Bliss himself – can be read as an indication of his and the early AUB administration's commitment to the ideals of Van Dyck regarding the need to use Arabic as the language of instruction.

THE POST-JURDAQ ERA AND THE ARRIVAL OF EDWARD STEWART KENNEDY AT AUB

Jurdaq's retirement in the early 1950s coincided with many momentous events sweeping AUB and the region. The Second World War had just ended, and in 1948, the state of Israel was created, generating the catastrophic *Nakba*, which catalyzed several distinguished AUB faculty members – chief among them, Constantine Zurayk – to devote time and energy to a response. Lebanon had just gained its independence and started to aspire to establishing a sovereign educational system, though not yet completely divorced from the legacy of the French Mandate and the American missionary influence. The US was emerging as a major international superpower and ushered in the age of the Cold War. The year 1952 saw the dramatic Nasser revolution in Egypt, which realigned the whole region.

In the midst of these events, in 1951, AUB appointed Edward Stewart Kennedy as an associate professor of mathematics.[25] In doing so, AUB's administration unknowingly set the stage for a completely new phase of AUB's engagement with Arabic/Islamic science. Before coming to AUB, Kennedy (Ted, as he was known to his immediate friends and family, or Kindi, as he was known to a larger circle of students, associates, and admirers) had already obtained a degree in electrical engineering and served for about four years as a mathematics teacher in a boys school in Tehran, where he had learned Persian and begun a love affair with Islamic culture that would last throughout his lifetime. Between his teaching in Tehran and his AUB appointment, he had returned to the US to acquire a doctorate in mathematics. While in the United States, he attempted to revive his love affair with Islamic science, and paid a visit to George Sarton at Harvard, then the premier historian of science in the US. What Kennedy quickly realized was that his real mentor was not at Harvard, but rather about fifty-five miles to the south, at Brown University, where the more august and far more intelligent and competent historian of science, Otto Neugebauer,[26] was working. In Neugebauer, Kennedy not only found the right guide to help him return to the study of Islamic astronomy and mathematics, but he also struck up a close friendship that he treasured until Neugebauer's death in 1990 and his own death in 2009.

Once in Beirut, Kennedy developed a friendship with a teacher at Beirut College for Women, known to all as Mary-Helen, but more commonly referred to by very intimate friends as 'A'isha. They eventually united in one of those proverbial lifelong marriages that can only have been made in heaven. In terms of Kennedy's total devotion to his work (forgetting, for example, the birthdays of their own children), Mary Helen was indeed god-sent, as she became the one who organized his working space and their family house, co-authored works with him, and – in my view – became an indispensable mirror to the historian of Islamic science that Kennedy was to become. I do not believe Kennedy could have done what he did without his lifelong partner, Mary-Helen.

Kennedy's presence on the AUB faculty received what I would call a mixed reception. There were some who did not take kindly to an AUB professor who rode his bicycle to campus, at times even having his children riding with him on the same bike. That image did not sit well with those superficial souls whose intellectual production was meager, to say the least, while they made sure to spend their time and money dressing up in expensive neckties and tailored suits. They would wear blazers they had bought in Oxford or Cambridge campus stores to show off and try to give themselves the aura they felt their positions as AUB faculty members required. Many, perhaps, saw in Kennedy a bitter reminder of their own intellectual failings.

Luckily, for Kennedy, there were others on the faculty who shared his infectious love for Islamic/Arabic science. Those included people from the Mathematics Department like Wasfi Hijab, who joined the Mathematics Department five years after Kennedy, and died in 2004, and in whose memory AUB still gives the Wasfi Hijab Memorial Scholarship for Arab students of mathematics or philosophy. Together with Hijab, Kennedy initiated and co-edited a new subseries – Sources and Studies in the History of the Exact Science – of the more general Faculty of Arts and Sciences Oriental Studies series of publications. As far as I am aware, the subseries produced two volumes: one on Biruni's astrological planetary transits, and the other a slim short tract on the extraction of the nth root in the sexagesimal notation in al-Kashi's (d. 1429) arithmetical work.[27] In the Mathematics Department, Kennedy also developed close friendships with people like Mary Hanania Regier, who joined the department two years after Kennedy, and with whom he jointly published an article years later on prime meridians in Islamic astronomy.[28] Jamil 'Ali joined the Mathematics Department at AUB's School of Engineering

about three years after Kennedy and, in cooperation with Kennedy, eventually produced an English translation of Biruni's *Tahdid nihayat al-amakin*, published as part of AUB's centennial celebrations.[29] A few years later, Kennedy wrote a separate book-long commentary on this work.[30]

Among the other AUB faculty who were enticed by Kennedy into the study of the history of Islamic science - one could say "entrapped" as these people became either lifelong students of the subject or professional historians of it on their own - there was Frans Bruin, the other famous "Dutchman," as we used to refer to him, the first being the geology professor, Theodor Raven, who came to AUB in the late 1950s. Raven always steered his own course and could not be easily enticed by anyone. As an undergraduate, I studied with both of these scholars, although nothing directly related to Islamic science. Frans Bruin joined AUB's Physics Department in 1958, and quickly inherited the teaching of the astronomy course that had been initiated by Van Dyck himself in the early years of the Syrian Protestant College, as well as the directorship of the Lee Observatory, which had also been Van Dyck's post. Between Jurdaq's time as director of the Observatory in the early 1950s and Frans Bruin's in the late 1950s, the Observatory was directed for a few years by Owen Gingerich who, as far as I can tell, can be thanked for repairing the dome and hanging some pictures of astronomical objects on the walls. Kennedy had by then accumulated a group of students to conduct a serious Islamic astronomy seminar. Among the seminar members were David King, a graduate student from Yale at the time; John Livingston, originally an MIT chemical engineer who later earned a PhD from Princeton's Oriental Studies Department and was then a Harvard postdoctoral student, recruited in early 1970 to teach in the Civilization Sequence program at AUB; and myself from the graduate school at Berkeley at the time. One additional virtue Gingerich could claim was that as a visiting professor in 1970, he helped teach both Kennedy and the seminar members how to use the huge IBM computers, which then filled a whole wing of College Hall, for their historical scientific research. In itself, that was the most remarkable achievement we all owed to Gingerich. This experience changed our research methods forever, especially since those huge computers have continued to shrink in size so that they can now be held on one's lap, or better yet, in one's palm.

Although Bruin had become a full professor of physics in the early seventies, like Gingerich, he did not know any Arabic to speak of. But nevertheless, he was inspired by Kennedy's work, and simultaneously started two remarkable research projects. The first was to try to replicate ancient and medieval astronomical observations by building duplicates of ancient instruments himself, and mounting them on the roof of the Physics building. During the spring of 2013, I was able to verify that some of those instruments were still there, forty years later. Bruin also built what he called an Arab observatory in his own house in Kfour.[31] His other project was to recruit a few Arabic-speaking students, for whom he found financial assistance, to translate for him selected historical astronomical Arabic texts. He would then mimeograph those translated texts, and, after appending his own commentaries to them, distribute them to the remaining members of the small burgeoning community of historians of Islamic science during the 1960s and early 1970s. Those occasional papers were numbered and called the *Biruni Newsletters* (the pun: Bruin - Biruni). We all awaited each issue with great expectation.

These scholars that Kennedy enticed, directly or otherwise, to become his associates in the larger endeavor of taking the study of the history of Islamic science seriously all cooperated gladly. With their help and the indefatigable team-work of Ted and Mary-Helen, the study of Islamic science became recognized on the AUB campus, although not enough to warrant a department, or even a course, devoted to it. The seminar, which was held in 1970, was completely informal and voluntary. It happened by sheer "chance," when the right combination of interested students and faculty converged within AUB during that particular year.

Kennedy's students were a slightly different matter; they counted in the dozens. Some of them stumbled into the field not expecting to become enchanted by it. Others were not his students in the technical sense - they did not take classes with him - yet they benefited from the tutorial-style instructions that Kennedy dispensed to whomever was willing to listen. And there were those who were his students in a roundabout way. The first group was introduced to the field of the history of Islamic science through Kennedy's standard course on the history of mathematics. I took that course when I returned to AUB in 1970 to work on my dissertation with him. His *modus operandi* was to help students choose a topic for their papers and, if they produced solid work, he would arrange to get those papers jointly published in specialized journals that accepted articles on the history of Islamic science. The last time I counted the papers that were jointly published in this way, they amounted to more than two dozen. Those who could be called Kennedy's own intellectual or spiritual children - David King, John Livingston, and myself - made careers of pursuing the history of Arabic/Islamic science and, in turn, had our own students do the same. Between David King's students and mine, it is clear that Kennedy's intellectual grandchildren have proliferated and even include AUB's previous provost, Dr. Ahmad Dallal.

To conclude this abbreviated survey of AUB's role in the promotion of Arabic/Islamic science as a discipline and a modern subject of study, I will refer to a further extension of Kennedy's influence in what I call the "Barcelona connection." Not only did Kennedy's son, Michael, live in Barcelona, providing a good reason for Ted and Mary-Helen to visit the city, but also the Arabic Department at the University of Barcelona, which was headed by Juan Vernet and later by Julio Samso, on various occasions extended invitations to Kennedy and his wife to come to Barcelona for periods of varying length after Ted's retirement from AUB. There, again, Kennedy's infectious love for Islamic science managed to entice a whole new group, mainly of Samso's students, that I sometimes jokingly refer to as the Spanish Armada on account of their numbers, and that proved to be much more successful than the original Spanish Armada in terms of the extent of their influence. All of them have made careers in and continue to pursue research in the history of Arabic/Islamic science to this day.

Kennedy had a short stay at the Institute for the History of Arabic Science at Aleppo University in the late 1970s immediately after leaving Lebanon during its Civil War. At that institute, together with Mary-Helen, he helped set up the *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, which was still publishing, intermittently in August of 2013, but of course not with the same vigor as when Ted and Mary-Helen were, in effect, running it. As I write at this particular time in August of 2013, this journal, together with the whole cultural legacy of Syria, is in danger of total extinction. It will take a genuine miracle - that might bring me back to the faith - if this journal were to undergo some form of reincarnation in the future.

From Aleppo, the Kennedys traveled to Frankfurt, where they were hosted by two other great historians of Arabic/Islamic science - Fuat Sezgin and David King. There, in Frankfurt, Mary-Helen and Ted arranged to publish in book format their long labor of love, the culmination of much patient research over many years - the collection of names of cities and localities that appear in detailed medieval Arabic and Persian astronomical handbooks, together with their longitudes and latitudes - an unparalleled feat of mathematical geography. The research took years to accomplish, but now is at least in a permanent format - in book form, made of real paper (hopefully acid-free) that can sit on a shelf instead of being shared with anyone in any one of many electronic forms, in all their varied and ever fragile levels of existence, from being shared first on what used to be called floppies, then hard diskettes, and finally CDs, with a few variations in-between. As it turns out, and for those who lived long enough in the electronic age, all these media are fully perishable, unlike the acid-free book manuscripts that have survived for thousands of years and continue to do so while our floppies and the gadgets used to read them, if they can still be found, are filling electronic graveyards as waste residues of a vastly changing electronic virtual universe.

The Kennedys returned to the US to retire in Princeton, next to Ted's first mentor - and, by extension, mine as well - Otto Neugebauer, which not only completed the full circle for Kennedy, but also gave the two of us an occasion to work together on two publications: one on the peculiar mathematical device used in mathematical astronomy for which Kennedy had coined the term the Tusi Couple. The second was a joint edition and translation of the astrological history of the tenth century astronomer al-Battani, which has now finally appeared posthumously in the Barcelona journal, *Suhayl*.[32]

CONCLUSION

In assessing the various phases of AUB's involvement in the promotion of Arabic/Islamic science, I hope to have made it clear that those phases were created, almost *ex nihilo*, by three very vigorous minds and extremely charitable souls, Cornelius Van Dyck in the first phase and Edward Stuart Kennedy in the second with Jurdaq as the go-between. The influence of the first two is indeed immeasurable, especially when we consider the ever widening circles of the ripples they created through the lives of so many people whom they touched through their dedication.

To reiterate, the first phase outlined above should be called a phase of production of Arabic scientific culture on account of the various scientific books that were written in Arabic by AUB's early pioneers. All of those people in one way or another owe their energy, their motivation, and their intellectual sustenance to the apparently fathomless sea of compassion and energy that was embodied in Van Dyck. In hindsight, we can easily see that that phase had a tremendous effect on reviving the classical scientific Arabic terminology to be put into use by the modern Arabic sciences benefitting to this day schools all over the Arab world. How can one measure the extent of that influence?

The second was a phase of a completely different intellectual nature, whose beginning can be located towards the end of the Second World War, and more specifically in the period which was initiated by Kennedy, his colleagues, students, and their students (his "grand-students"), and whose ripples and repercussions continue to spread. Here too, one cannot determine the extent of that influence.

The second phase stands in clear contrast to the first. The first phase produced what can genuinely be called the material sources of Arabic/Islamic science, reviving their classical stores, so to speak, and very surreptitiously intermingling them with new concepts from modern western science. The final product was repackaged in textbooks to be taught in the schools and universities of the nineteenth century and thereafter. The second phase saw what can be safely called the rebirth of the discipline of the history of Islamic science, particularly Islamic astronomy, after it had seemingly been arrested since the days of Carlo Alfonso Nallino (1872–1938) in the early part of the twentieth century.[33] Nallino, very much like Van Dyck before him, delivered his lectures on the history of Arabic astronomy in Arabic during the early years of what was then known as Fu'ad I University, and later became the famous Cairo University. Fu'ad I University was officially opened in 1908, and Nallino's lectures were delivered during that period, before it became Cairo University. His lectures were collected and published in Rome in 1911 in the now-classic reference book known as *'Ilm al-Falak: Tarikhuhu 'inda al'Arab fi al-Qurun al-Wusta*. Since then no book of this importance and scope has been produced.

The second phase of the modern period, which was launched by Kennedy right after the Second World War, took off from where Nallino had left the subject in the early part of the twentieth century. Like Nallino before him, Kennedy understood that the history of Islamic science is an essential part of the cultural history of Islam. He firmly and deeply believed that this history should not be based on hearsay and rhetorical allusions, as was frequently – and regrettably continues to be the case – but should be produced based on the study of the primary sources of Islamic science which exist in abundance in libraries across the face of the earth. Following Nallino's example, Kennedy strove to produce editions, facsimiles of original manuscripts when editions were impractical, translations of those texts, and commentaries upon them. When he found his control of the Arabic or the Persian language inadequate to produce a critical edition, he entrusted that to a reliable colleague or student, just as he had with Jamil 'Ali and Biruni's book on the *Coordinates of Cities*. This is the quality of scholarship Kennedy aimed for, and this is the kind of serious study of the history of Islamic astronomy for which AUB became famous while Kennedy was on its faculty.

I cannot bring this conclusion to a close without mentioning the fundamental impact that Kennedy has had on the field of Arabic/Islamic astronomy worldwide, and the curious story that made that impact possible. And as the medieval astronomer Tusi would say, in order to make that clear, I should introduce that story with a short *muqaddima* (introduction). When Kennedy joined AUB in the early 1950s, he had in mind a master plan. As noted earlier, he wanted to study the history of Islamic science, rather than produce it as had been done before, because he believed in its importance as a discipline. He also believed in the cultural role of that discipline. very much in the spirit of the quote from Jurdaq's *Dictionary*, cited earlier in this chapter. Nallino's first lecture at Fu'ad I University was also devoted to that very same question – namely, why study the history of science?

And like Nallino, Kennedy wanted to write the kind of history that would allow him to draw certain conclusions about Islamic science that would define its character vis à vis other scientific traditions, like Greek, Indian, or even Western science. But he also wanted those conclusions to be based on concrete facts – upon texts from the classical Islamic scientific legacy itself, and not from what people rhetorically or poetically said about it.

He then reasoned as follows: if astronomers working in the Islamic culture managed to produce new astronomical results that allowed Islamic astronomy to stand apart from other traditions, then those results must have been based on new observations they themselves produced, and those observations should be found in their surviving works. Moreover, for the new results to be really innovative, their authors would have had to consciously refer to their records as something new. That is, they would have been aware that they were breaking new ground. And in order to establish the period when this novel creativity was taking place, it was essential to plot a graph of the major astronomical texts that were produced throughout the long life and vast span of Islamic civilization. Kennedy reasoned further that the most logical place for such novel observations to be recorded would be in the genre of astronomical literature commonly known as *Zij* literature – where the word *Zij* is best translated as "Astronomical Handbook," as Kennedy himself translated it, and whence the expression "*zij*-ing around" became familiar in Kennedy's small circle of friends and colleagues. The word *Zij* is of obscure origin, but was apparently derived from an old Persian or Sanskrit word meaning something like a string, or set of strings, similar to the string grid upon which a carpet is weaved. This carpet grid looks very much like a table, with columns and rows filled with numbers, and that is exactly how a *zij* page looks.

For his general plan, Kennedy began to collect microfilms of every *zij* manuscript to which he had access. He deposited a copy of those microfilms in Jafet Library, and passed one on to me and one to David King, as I recall. By comparing the structures of those handbooks, he quickly noticed that most authors did not really produce their own results based on their own observations, but mostly copied from earlier sources,

and thus groups of texts could then be classified as belonging to one specific class and not to another. He actually produced a survey of the contents of all those handbooks that he could locate, and published it in 1956.[34] In it, he provided examples of the said groups that shared the same source. One, for example, gives the genealogy of some ten *zijes* all connected to the source work of Abu al-Wafa' al-Buzjani (d. 998).[35] He produced two other graphs, one illustrating the frequency and provenance of the *zij* texts, and another on the sources of Islamic astronomical texts and their interrelationships.[36] Because the last graph stretched over a period of twelve hundred years, between 300 and 1500 AD, and encompassed such astronomical traditions as the Hellenestic, Mesopotamian, Iranian, and Indian traditions, it gives a bird's-eye view of the whole history of astronomy in cultural context.

This kind of survey, almost statistical in nature, allowed him to characterize the whole field of astronomical production in Islamic civilization, and with this background he thought he could detect when an astronomer like Buzjani, for example, managed to produce new results that were emulated by others, when those results were produced, and how far they spread. All of this was based on the evidence of the texts themselves and not on hearsay.

Armed with this kind of data, Kennedy knew very well that his collection of some 150 *zijes*, depending on how you count them, was by no means exhaustive; he was always looking for more. And through his insistence on ever sharpening the data, he came upon an accidental discovery that was to radically change the field of Islamic astronomy on a universal scale.

In 1956–1957, while on his way to Brown University to join his mentor, Neugebauer, on his sabbatical year, Kennedy stopped at Oxford to look at one more *zij* copy that he had not seen before, kept at the Bodleian Library. That *zij* had the added advantage of being tantalizingly called the *New Zij* (*al-Zij al-Jadid*). It was composed by a Damascene astronomer by the name of Ibn al-Shatir (d. 1375), who had worked as a timekeeper at the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. Being called "new" tickled Kennedy's imagination as to the possibility of new observations being recorded in it, and thus being a sign of creativity and novelty in that relatively late period of Islamic science – towards the middle of the fourteenth century – by which time every historian of science had assumed that Islamic science was dead and buried.

While he was waiting in the Bodleian Reading Room for the copy of Ibn al-Shatir's *New Zij*, the librarian mistakenly brought out another work of Ibn al-Shatir, a book called *Nihayat al-Sul fi Tashih al-Usul* (the Final Quest Regarding the Correction of [Astronomical] Principles). Kennedy realized the mistake and politely reordered the *zij* he wanted to see. But while waiting for the right book, he began to flip through the pages of the *Nihaya*, only to find that it contained a kind of material he had never seen before. He did not have much time to study it, so he ordered a microfilm of it as well, and brought it with him to Brown University. When he showed the manuscript of Ibn al-Shatir's *Nihaya* to Neugebauer, the latter immediately recognized in it a correspondence between the mathematical model Ibn al-Shatir had used to describe the motion of the moon with the one that was used by Copernicus, who had lived some 150 years after Ibn al-Shatir. At the time, Neugebauer was working on his famous *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (*HAMA*), in which he analyzed astronomical texts from ancient Babylonian times up until the time of Copernicus.

Realizing the importance of the discovery, Neugebauer suggested to Kennedy that some preliminary statement about the contents of this manuscript should be published to alert people to its importance, especially in that it had a direct bearing on what Copernicus was doing in the sixteenth century by using mathematical techniques already deployed some two centuries earlier in the Islamic world. As a result of that suggestion, a paper appeared in the 1957 issue of *Isis*, authored singly by one of Kennedy's students, a young man by the name of Victor Roberts, entitled "The Solar and Lunar Theory of Ibn al-Shatir: A pre-Copernican Copernican model."[37]

That five-page article very quickly drew attention to Ibn al-Shatir, who until then had been completely unknown to historians of science. Almost everyone knew of Biruni because of the works of Edward Sachau from the nineteenth century on Biruni's *India* and *Chronology of Nations*, and of al-Battani because of Nallino's work from the same period. But no one had ever heard of Ibn al-Shatir. And being a timekeeper by profession – i.e., a religious functionary of the mosque (*muwaqqit*) – no one expected a religious person to dabble in serious astronomical material that was worthy of being imitated by the likes of Copernicus – arguably, the father of modern astronomy.

Since the publication of that short article in *Isis* in 1957, a flood of articles and books have all centered on the exploration of the impact of Islamic science on Renaissance Europe. That fundamental shift in our understanding of the universal role of Islamic science and its applicability and influence outside the confines of Islamic culture has transformed the field completely into a subject of study that no historian of science worthy of the name could afford to disregard.

In the final analysis, without Kennedy's accidental discovery and the enthusiasm with which he and Neugebauer undertook that discovery, and without their being followed by the respective members of Neugebauer's "school" of which Kennedy was definitely a cherished member, books like mine on *Islamic Science and the Making of Renaissance Europe*[38] and Ahmad Dallal's *Islam, Science, and the Challenge of History*[39] would never have appeared. *Wal-habl 'ala al-Jarrar* (More to follow).

Fig. 1. Jurdaq, with his traditional Lebanese fez, in his role as director of AUB's Lee Observatory, entertaining or being entertained, by a group of dignitaries, including the president of the Lebanese Republic, Camile Chamoun, who is here trying his luck with the telescope, and Charles Malik, who occupied several ministerial positions in the Lebanese government in addition to his final appointment as a distinguished professor at AUB. (Photograph courtesy of the AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

ENDNOTES

[1] On the colorful story of the foundation of the 'Abeih seminary and the circumstances of its birth, as well as the circumstances of the Protestant Mission to Syria, see the very brief but well-written account by Julius Richter, *History of the Protestant Missions in the Near East* (Edinburgh: Fleming and Revell, 1910), 185–201.

[2] Yusuf Khury, *al-Duktur Kurnilius Fan-Dayk wa-nahdat al-diyar al-Shamiyya fi al-qarn al-tasi' 'ashar* (MA thesis, American University of Beirut, 1965), in his preface, without giving reference to Jurji Zaydan's statement, but probably meaning several of Zaydan's statements that describe Van Dyck as "the pillars of the recent scientific renaissance in Bilad al-Sham" *Hilal* 4 (1895–1896): 1; and the statement that was included in Van Dyck's biography, penned by Zaydan in his *Mashahir al-Sharq fi al-Qarn al-Tasi' 'Ashar* (Cairo: al-Hilal, 1910) 2: 50, where Zaydan says: "Add to that his [meaning Van Dyck's] encouragement of scientific and literary projects; where no scientific or literary society was ever founded without him having a hand in its foundation, and no school was established without him having a generous hand in its establishment, and say the same of hospitals and churches." See also Van Dyck's biography, which was published by his student Ya'qub Sarruf in *al-Muqtataf* 19 (1895), 881–888, and 20 (1896), 1–5.

[3] See "*Mudhakkirat al-duktur Van Dyck min sanat 1839–1851 aw tarikh ta'sis al-nahda al-adabiyya al-akhira fi Beirut wa-Lubnan*, (Memoirs of Doctor Van Dyck from the Year 1839 to 1851, or the Foundation of the Recent Literary Renaissance in Beirut and Lebanon)," *al-Hilal* 14 (1906): 195–205, 273–280.

[4] See *Kitab al-da'ira fi 'ilmai al-'urud wa-l-qafiya, ta'lif Cornelius Van Dyck al-Amirikani*, which ends with the colophon that its composition was finished in 'Abeih, of Mount Lebanon, in the year 1849, and published in Beirut in 1857, without providing the name of the press.

[5] There is some controversy as to when the Syrian Scientific Society was founded. Some sources attest to its foundation as of 1858, right at the heels of the closure of the earlier Syrian Society for the Sciences and the Arts, while others date it to a decade later in 1868. The discrepancy may be due to the difference between the year when it was founded and the year when it was officially recognized by the Ottoman authorities.

[6] See Mishaqa's autobiography, of which the only complete version is in the translation of Wheeler Thackston under the title *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage, and Plunder: The History of the Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 96–97.

[7] Yola Farhat is of the opinion that the book on arithmetic was written by the two of them, *allafāh* (الفاه). See Yola Farhat in *Risalat al-Kalima* no. 3 (November 2005). There was no mention of this joint authorship in the published copy that I saw.

[8] Khury, *Kurnilius;* Cornelius Van Dyck, "On the Present Condition of the Medical Profession in Syria," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1 (1894): 570.

[9] Cornelius Van Dyck, *Usul 'ilm al-hay'a* (Beirut: n.p., 1874).

[10] Cornelius Van Dyck, *al-Naqsh fi al-hajar al-juz' al-sadis: fi 'ilm al-hay'a* (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Adabiyya, 1888).

[11] Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Razi, *Kitab fi al-Judari wa-l-hasba* (Beirut: al-Kulliyya al-Suriyya al-Injiliyya, 1872).

[12] Cornelius Van Dyck, *Risala fi al-Judari*, appendix to Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Razi, *Kitab fi al-Judari wa-l-hasba* (Beirut: al-Kulliyya al-Suriyya al-Injiliyya, 1872): 75f.

[13] That is how his name was vocalized by al-Zirikli.

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[18] *Al-Muqtataf* 7 (1882): 162–163.

[19] Catalogue of The Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, 1880–1881, p. 25. I am indebted to Samar Mikati al-Qaisi for bringing this source to my attention and for supplying me with a photocopy.

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[21] Jurdaq, *Awraq*, 512–513.

[22] Mansur Jurdaq, *al-Qamus al-Falaki* (Beirut: American Press, 1950), ط (the equivalent of the Roman numeral ix of the front matter of the book).

[23] Jurdaq, *al-Qamus al-Falaki*.

[24] Jurdaq, *al-Qamus al-Falaki*, ي (the equivalent of the Roman numeral x of the front matter of the book).

[25] The latest memorial article, including a biography and a full bibliography of Kennedy, was published a few years ago in the journal *Suhayl*, issued by the University of Barcelona: *Suhayl* 9 (2009–2010): 185–214.

[26] For a short and most elegantly written biography of Otto Neugebauer, see Noel Swerdlow's memorial article "Otto E. Neugebauer (26 May 1899–19 February 1990)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 137, no. 1 (1993): 139–165, and for Neugebauer's bibliography up to his eightieth birthday, see *Centaurus* 22 (1979): 257–280.

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[29] Jamil 'Ali, *The Determination of the Coordinates of Cities: Al-Biruni's Tahdid al-Amakin*, Centennial Publications (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967).

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[31] See Bruin's obituary by David King in *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 33 (2002): 214–216.

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[33] Carlo Alfonso Nallino had already produced a masterly edition, Latin translation, and commentary upon one of the most important Islamic astronomical texts, namely *al-Zij al-Sabi'* by Muhammad b. Sinan b. Jabir al-Battani (d. 929), which was published in Rome in three volumes in 1899, and which remains to this day the template for how scientific texts ought to be studied.

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Saliba

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[37] *Isis* 48, no. 4 (December 1957): 428–432.

[38] G. Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: MIT press, 2007), paperback 2011.

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16 Archaeology at AUB: Past, Present, and Future

Hélène Sader

THE BEGINNINGS

As missionaries, preachers, and scholars, the founding fathers of AUB were attracted by the biblical past, in general, and the archaeology of the Holy Land, in particular. It is, therefore, not surprising that archaeology was paid great attention from the earliest days of the Syrian Protestant College (hereafter SPC).

The first person to become involved in the field of archaeology at the SPC was Daniel Bliss's son, Frederick Jones Bliss, who can be considered the first archaeologist of the SPC. He began his independent research in Syria between 1888 and 1890, and then went to Egypt, where he was trained by Flinders Petrie. In 1890, he was asked by the Palestine Exploration Fund to continue the excavations begun by Petrie at Tell el-Hesi in Palestine. He also worked in Jerusalem from 1894 to 1897, and at several other sites in southwestern Palestine. He was dismissed as the Fund's explorer on the grounds of his poor health. However, according to his biographer, "this was at least partly because his meticulous methods were not producing the exciting results which would enable the Palestine Exploration Fund to raise funds for future work at that time."[1] Later, W. F. Albright, a leading figure of biblical archeology, was to acknowledge that this was not only a mistake, but a serious blow to Levantine archaeology.[2] Frederick Bliss published several works on the results of his Palestinian and Syrian fieldwork.[3]

This genuine interest in the biblical past on the part of the founding fathers led, in 1887, to the creation of a school of Biblical Archaeology and Philology, established primarily for theological graduate students.[4] According to the 1886–1887 SPC catalogue, it "aimed at enabling ministers and scholars to pursue biblical, philological, and archaeological studies in the land of the Bible, and facilitating the further exploration . . . in the service of Biblical scholarship." This was the first time that archaeology was established as a discipline at the SPC. However, this School of Biblical Archaeology and Philology was short-lived, and no trace of it is found after the 1923–1924 academic year.[5] Its demise is hinted at in the annual report of 1911–1912, where it is reported that "this school is the one branch of the [Syrian Protestant] College activities that has had no development during the past decade." The causes behind the waning of the School of Biblical Archaeology and Philology remain unexplained, and this neglect is all the more surprising since, during that period, Henry Jessup, Cornelius van Dyck, George Post, and particularly Harvey Porter were very active in collecting and receiving the archaeological artifacts that today form the core of the AUB Museum collection (Fig. 1). Porter was the founder and initial organizer of the museum, and he endowed part of the cost of caring for the museum artifacts. He was appointed Curator of Museums in 1878 and retained the title until his death in 1923.[6]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

After World War I, archaeology as a discipline independent of biblical studies was revived at the University in 1931, when a chair in archaeology was funded by an anonymous Syrian woman donor. "Up to that time," reports Penrose, "the study of archaeology and the building up of the University museum had been carried on more or less as a hobby by some members of the faculty, and though the collections were extensive and valuable the organized study of them had not been possible for students. Thanks to the provision of this chair the magnificent archaeological opportunities of the Near East were at last made available to qualified members of the student body."[7]

Fig. 1. Standing at the extreme right is Harvey Porter, SPC's first museum curator (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

HARALD INGHOLT

The following year, Harald Ingholt (Fig. 2), a Danish archaeologist, became the first and only scholar to occupy the chair, which he held for five years, until 1937, when the position lapsed because the funds were not replenished. Penrose recalls Ingholt's appointment and his achievements: "Now, however, a trained archaeologist in the person of Dr. H. Ingholt of Copenhagen could be engaged for a period of five years to improve the collections and give regular courses. Dr. Ingholt, who had already conducted extensive excavations at Palmyra and Hama, proved to be a most fortunate appointment, for he was a magnificent instructor as well as a first rate archaeologist. During his tenure at Beirut he edited and published ***Berytus***, the archaeological journal, and though his contract ended in 1937 . . . he continued to issue the magazine. It is much to be regretted that the Depression prevented the continuance of the professorship."[8] The journal ***Berytus Archaeological Studies***, which Ingholt founded, was later edited by William Ward from 1969 to1982, then jointly edited by Ward and Helga Seeden from 1983 to1986, and after that edited solely by Helga Seeden until the present.

Fig. 2. Harald Ingholt (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

DIMITRI BARAMKI

The appointment of Dimitri Baramki (Fig. 3) as curator of the AUB Museum in 1951 and in 1952 as an assistant professor in the Department of History was a turning point in the history of archaeology at AUB. Baramki had worked as an inspector of antiquities and as acting curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1948–1949, during the British Mandate. He had conducted several excavations in Palestine, mainly at Khirbet al Mafjar, the site of one of the Umayyad desert castles. According to Donald Whitcomb, "the AUB entrusted him with what he regarded as two priceless treasures: a handful of eager students and two dark rooms lined with old-fashioned wall cases full of antiques and many crates of ancient artifacts. He thus devoted his energies to developing the first into a

Fig. 3. Dimitri C. Baramki (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

full-fledged master's degree program in archaeology and ancient history, training his students at Tell el-Ghassil, and the second into one of the most significant archaeological museums in the Middle East . . ."[9]

In 1956, Baramki introduced fieldwork as a requirement for archaeology students, and AUB became – and remains – the first and only university in Lebanon to require and provide regular practical archaeological training for its students. Baramki's excavation at Tell el-Ghassil in the northern Beqaa valley was also the first long-term archaeological project undertaken by AUB in Lebanon. Tell el-Ghassil is located at Horch Snaid, inside the AUB Farm premises. Several seasons of excavations between 1956 and 1974 uncovered a small rural settlement which had been occupied for several millennia from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age. The two periods that are best represented there are the Middle Bronze and the early Iron Age.[10] The Tell el Ghassil excavations resulted in a major contribution to the understanding of rural life in the Beqaa valley in pre-Hellenistic times. When Baramki retired in 1975, the Museum and the Tell el-Ghassil excavations became the responsibility of Baramki's research assistant, Leila Badre, who was appointed curator of the AUB Museum in 1992.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM[11] (FIG. 10)

The American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum is a living witness to AUB's involvement in archaeology. It was created initially to house several private collections, some donated to the University and others purchased from the antiquities market. In 1868, just two years after its founding, the SPC received a gift of Cypriot antiquities from Luigi Palma de Cesnola, the American Consul in Cyprus, which became the "seed" of its museum collection. The Museum was officially opened in 1902. In 1921, C. Leonard Woolley published the first archaeological museum guide: ***Guide to the Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut***.[12]

The AUB Museum is the third oldest archaeological museum in the Middle East (after museums in Cairo and Istanbul). Its first curator was Harvey Porter, who was appointed in 1878 and remained Curator of Museums until his death in 1923. After the departure of Harald Ingholt, Dorothy Mackay was appointed curator in 1948. She organized and displayed in showcases in Post Hall the collections, which had been hidden in boxes since World War II. She also published in 1951 a second guide to the archaeological museum: ***A Guide to the Archaeological Collections in the University Museum***.[13]

Thanks to the efforts of Harald Inghold and Dimitri Baramki, the museum continued to acquire collections from all the countries of the Middle East. In 1959, Baramki, the next curator, published a third guide to the AUB Museum,[14] followed by a 1966 new edition as one of the University's centennial publications.[15] He also published a catalogue of the AUB Museum coin collection from Phoenicia and Palestine.[16] Leila Badre succeeded him as curator in 1992, and in 2006, the museum

underwent substantial renovation thanks to the support of the Society of the Friends of the AUB Museum and to a generous donation by the Joukowsky Family Foundation. The AUB Museum is one of the cultural highlights of AUB. The Society of the Friends of the AUB Museum organizes a variety of events to promote the museum and archaeological education in the country, such as public lectures, exhibitions, and children's educational activities.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

In the early 1960s, Baramki was joined by John Pairman Brown, a professor of ancient history and classical languages, known for his book on the Phoenicians,[17] and by William A. Ward, a renowned Egyptologist and author.[18] In 1965-1966, the name of the History Department was changed to the Department of History and Archaeology, and several undergraduate courses in archaeology were added in 1968-1969 and again in 1970-1971. In 1978-1979, the archaeology curriculum was restructured to include a full range of undergraduate courses, and a bachelor's degree in archaeology was established. Prior to this date, students of archaeology had received a bachelor's degree in ancient history and archaeology, and took courses in these subjects in the department, supplemented by other course offerings in ancient languages, religion, and biblical studies.

Among the illustrious visitors to the department in the 1960s was the renowned archaeologist James B. Pritchard, then a member of the AUB Board of Trustees and a visiting scholar in 1966-1967. He directed the excavations of Sarepta - modern Sarafand - on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania, and several AUB archaeology students participated in his excavations, which uncovered for the first time a Phoenician settlement on the Lebanese coast.[19]

4. Map showing the location of Shamseddin Tannira
n *Berytus Archaeological Studies* 28 (1980): 90)

Helga Seeden, a graduate of AUB, joined the department first as instructor in 1970 and then as assistant professor in 1972. Together with Selma al-Radi, she participated in the international rescue excavations launched by the Syrian government prior to the building of the Tabqa dam on the Euphrates. In 1974, they started an archaeological project at Tell Shamseddin Tannira on the Euphrates, a Chalcolithic pre-urban settlement of the Halaf period (Fig. 4), in which several AUB students participated. The results of this project, including impressive amounts of Halafian pottery, were published extensively.[20]

The teaching ranks of archaeologists at AUB were supplemented by Roger Saidah, an archaeologist at the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities, who opened new possibilities for students' fieldwork training at the sites of Khan Khalde and Jiyye that he directed until his premature death in 1979. They were also supplemented by Erica Dodd, a specialist in Byzantine and Islamic Art.

AUB'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SYRIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The Lebanese Civil War, which broke out in 1975, ushered in a new era for archaeology at AUB. During these times of insecurity, the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities stopped issuing excavation permits, and the unstable situation made archaeological work in the country impossible. The site of Tell el-Ghassil was heavily damaged, and it became impossible to train students in fieldwork there. AUB archaeologists turned then to Syria for fieldwork opportunities for their students.

In 1980, while still engaged in the Shamseddin project, Helga Seeden initiated a new ethnographic and archaeological project in Busra ash-Sham in the Hawran to investigate the settlement sequence on the local tell where a survey had produced Bronze Age and early Islamic pottery. An Umayyad-period farmhouse and Middle Bronze Age occupation levels were discovered. All of the results of the combined archaeological and ethnographic investigations have been published in both articles and MA theses.[21] In 1987, when the Busra project came to an end, Helga Seeden was granted permission to investigate three small tells in the Syrian Jazira, north of Hasake: Tells Nustell, Zaghān, and Hwesh. Her purpose was to investigate ancient rural settlements and study the daily life, arts, crafts, and diet of peasant and pastoral people in ancient Syria from the Neolithic to modern times using ethnographic parallels. AUB students participated and received training in both archaeology and ethnoarchaeology. Subsequently, all the results were published.[22]

Parallel to the department's activities, the AUB Museum, under the direction of Leila Badre, initiated an excavation on the site of Tell Kazel, an imposing urban site in the Syrian Akkar plain, in 1985. These excavations, which continued without interruption until 2010, have exposed well-preserved remains from the second half of the second and the first millennia BC,[23] showing that Tell Kazel was a major and prosperous city of coastal Syria in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, with domestic and religious buildings filled with artifacts. The temple, uncovered in Area IV, was built in the Late Bronze Age and continued to be in use until the mid-ninth century BC. The finds indicate very active trade with the eastern Mediterranean in the second millennium BC and a regression of international trade at the end of the second millennium BC. The Tell Kazel excavations have contributed significantly to the history and material culture of the Phoenician coast.

AUB'S MORE RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECTS IN LEBANON

BEIRUT

When the Lebanese civil war came to an end, and prior to the rebuilding of the Beirut Central District, an appeal was launched by the Lebanese authorities for salvage excavations in the city center. AUB archaeologists were at the forefront of the rescue operation, with three archaeological teams representing the University.

The AUB Museum team, directed by Leila Badre, excavated part of the pre-Hellenistic settlement of ancient Beirut and uncovered a series of fortification walls dating to the third, second, and first millennia BC, as well as an MBA tomb with a jar burial and a chamber containing a collection of imported Egyptian vessels among other finds.[24] The AUB Museum was also involved in the excavation of the area north of Martyrs' Square, where the al-Nahar building stands today, and of the basement of the Saint George's Greek Orthodox Cathedral. The remains under the latter were left in situ and are displayed today in a lovely underground museum.

East of the AUB Museum excavation area, the AUB Department of History and Archaeology undertook a joint excavation with the University of Tübingen under the joint directorship of Uwe Finkbeiner and this author, uncovering the eastern part of the city fortifications. Most impressive is the very well-preserved Iron Age glacis, which is the sloping wall covering the sides of the promontory and which was originally topped by the city wall. Remains of a ramp and a staircase indicate the presence in this sector of one of the city gates. A guard room to protect the entrance was also found.[25]

The third AUB project in the Beirut Central District was a joint project of the Department of History and Archaeology and urban archaeologists from English Heritage, co-directed by Helga Seeden, Dominic Perring, and Tim Williams, on the site of the old souks. The excavations revealed part of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine city, uncovering domestic buildings and a mosaic-paved portico with numbered shops. The area continued to be occupied in Islamic and Ottoman times,[26] and Mamluk kilns[27] and part of the Ottoman sea wall[28] were among the exposed remains. Publications resulting from these excavations include Paul Reynolds's work on ceramic finds, the ***Archaeology of the Beirut Souks (ABS)*** series published in the journal ***Berytus Archaeological Studies***, where reports on the numismatic and glass finds have been published, and other results are in preparation. The material excavated in Beirut by the Department of History and Archaeology has provided the subjects for the MA and PhD theses of several AUB students.

TELL EL-BURAK

Towards the end of the 1990s, the involvement of AUB in the excavations of the Beirut Central District came to an end, and AUB's archaeologists looked for new sites to secure regular archaeological fieldwork for their students. In 2001, this author obtained, on behalf of the American University

of Beirut, a long-term dig permit to excavate the site of Tell el-Burak, situated 9 km south of Sidon (Fig. 5). The permit has been regularly renewed, and annual excavations on this site have been ongoing. The excavations at Tell el-Burak have contributed much to the understanding of the ancient history of the southern Phoenician coast, and particularly that of the kingdom of Sidon. In the first millennium BC, Tell el-Burak was a fortified city, and its excavated buildings shed light on Phoenician architecture, urban planning, and daily life. A nineteenth century BC palace consisting of a central courtyard and eighteen rooms, the first of its kind to be discovered in Lebanon, was found there,[29] with wall paintings denoting an Egyptian influence covering the walls of its largest room. Another very important discovery at Tell el-Burak is the Phoenician settlement that was uncovered on the southern side of the Tell.

Fig. 5. Aerial view of Tell el-Burak showing the location of the site on the seashore and the surrounding fields (Photograph courtesy of the Council for Development and Reconstruction, Beirut, Lebanon)

TELL FADOUS-KFARABIDA

Another archaeological project of the Department of History and Archaeology is the rescue excavation work at Tell Fadous-Kfarabida in North Lebanon (Fig. 6). Tell Fadous-Kfarabida lies 2 km south of Batroun. Large parts of it had been bulldozed, leaving huge sections that revealed clues about the occupation history of the settlement. The tell was first identified by AUB archaeology student, Kamal Badreshany, and work began on the site in 2004 under the joint directorship of this author and Hermann Genz, also from the Department of History and Archaeology at AUB. In 2004 and 2005, the sections were documented, establishing that the site had been occupied mainly in the 3rd millennium BC. Large scale excavations started in 2006 in two areas: in one a monumental entrance to a city was found, and in the other several dwellings with domestic installations as well as an administrative building were uncovered. In 2008 Hermann Genz became the sole director of the project.[30]

Fig. 6. Area II in Tell Fadous-Kfarabida in 2011, showing Early Bronze Age architecture (Photograph by C. Krug, reprinted by permission)

TELL HIZZIN

Another archaeological project was initiated in 2008 by this author and Hermann Genz[31] with the aim of publishing the excavated material from Tell Hizzin. This site was first excavated in the late 1940s and early 1950s by Emir Maurice Chéhab, the first Director General of Antiquities of Lebanon, who never published the results of his work. The AUB team received permission to make an inventory of the finds and publish them. Tell Hizzin is a very large tell in the northern Beqaa, 9 km south of Baalbek. It was an important settlement in the second millennium BC, mentioned in the written documents as *Hasi*. The publication of the finds, still in preparation, will shed light on the history and material culture of this very important site, which unfortunately has since been badly damaged by the building of a modern villa.

NIHA

The Department of History and Archaeology has been involved in a survey project conducted by Paul Newson, who specializes in landscape archaeology. His research encompasses the changes in rural life in the Near East during the Graeco-Roman period, which is significant since earlier work has tended to concentrate on the lives of urbanized elite populations. By changing the focus of study to previously unrepresented sectors of the Graeco-Roman population, he hopes to provide new insights into such processes as cultural change, imperialism, and social development. Through innovative and non-invasive methods of data collection and analysis, such as the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS), Newson has investigated the remains of abandoned Graeco-Roman villages both in Syria and, since 2011, in Lebanon at Niha in the Beqaa valley. The training in survey methods and computer applications that Newson (Fig. 7) provides for his students further increases the repertoire of skills that they take into a competitive job market.

Fig. 7. Survey at Niha: Students at work (Photograph by P. Newson)

BAALBEK

The most recent archaeological project of the department is the archaeological sounding in the great courtyard of the Jupiter temple in Baalbek (Fig. 8) in order to study its settlement history. This sounding was started before the Lebanese civil war by the Directorate General of Antiquities, but was not completed and the results were not published. The work is co-directed by Hermann Genz in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute. One season of excavation took place in 2013.

Fig. 8. Archaeology students working in Baalbek (Photograph by H. Genz)

TYRE

Finally, as war in Syria has put a stop to the archaeological work at Tell Kazel, Leila Badre, curator of the AUB Museum, has started a new project on the site of the Roman and Byzantine city of Tyre. There she has focused on a Persian period Phoenician temple (Fig. 9), first excavated by Emir Maurice Chéhab before the Lebanese civil war, but kept hidden ever since for fear of destruction. Dr. Badre will thoroughly document the building and its surroundings, adding important information to our records of Phoenician temples on the Levantine coast.

Fig. 9. Phoenician temple in Tyre (Photograph by H. Genz)

ARCHAEOLOGY AT AUB: FUTURE PROSPECTS

Archaeology at AUB is thriving, and the faculty is actively involved in furthering archaeological education and research in Lebanon. They regularly share their findings at international conferences and have contributed to situating Lebanon prominently on the archaeological map of the Near East. Their projects are among the very few archaeological operations currently on-going in Lebanon, and their important findings have shed new light on the Lebanese past. They have also been active in organizing international workshops at AUB. The last international conference before the Lebanese civil war was organized by William Ward in 1967 on *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*. In the last decade, three workshops have been held at AUB at the archaeologists' initiative: one on *The Social and Economic History of Pre-Islamic Arabia*, held in December 2005 in cooperation with the German Orient Institute; another in 2009 on *Early Bronze Age Pottery and Chronology in Lebanon*, jointly organized by Hermann Genz and Jean-Paul Thalmann from Université Paris 1; and a third in 2010 on *The Pottery of the Middle Bronze Age in Lebanon and Neighboring Countries*, organized by this author and Marlies Heinz from the University of Freiburg in Germany. Some of the contributions to the latter have been published in volume 53–54 (2010–2011) of *Berytus Archaeological Studies*.

Fig. 10. Post Hall, the location of the American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Courtesy AUB Office of Communications)

In spite of the fact that Archaeology at AUB is vibrant today, there is still room for growth and improvement for the future. At this stage, the most urgent investment is in the creation of a well-equipped archaeological laboratory to process, analyze, and study archaeological finds for publication. Such a facility is necessary to support faculty members in their research and to provide vital learning opportunities for the students.

The Archaeology program at AUB will continue to educate generations of professional archaeologists who will hopefully contribute significantly to the development and expansion of scientific archaeological work and research in Lebanon and the region. AUB graduates have joined PhD programs at Cambridge, Oxford, Southampton, Warwick, Berlin, Tübingen, Paris, Rome, and Chicago, and have specialized in Near Eastern, Classical, Islamic, and maritime archaeology, and in conservation and museology. Others have been hired by the Lebanese Directorate General of Antiquities and other archaeological institutions and museums in the Arab world. The young talents educated at AUB are a seed of hope for a brighter future of archaeology in their homelands.

ENDNOTES

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[5] G. Sabra, "A.U.B. and Religion: Never the Twain Shall Meet . . . Again?" Paper delivered in the general lecture series of the Anis Khuri Makdisi Program, American University of Beirut, 2005.

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[7] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 247.

[8] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 247.

[9] D. Whitcomb, "Dimitri C. Baramki," *This Week in Palestine*, 178 (2013): 46.

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[14] D. Baramki, *The Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1959).

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17 The AUB History Department, 1970–1971: An Appreciation

Matthew S. Gordon

The invitation to take part in the celebration of AUB's one hundred and fiftieth anniversary was impossible to resist.[1] I am, in some sense, a child of the University, having spent the greater part of my youth on or near its glorious campus. My parents' house in Ain al-Mreisseh was the venue for all manner of social gathering, including a number of Christmas Eve parties, the wobbly singing of carols with Kamal Salibi at the piano being a highlight. My parents wed in Lebanon - the small ceremony on February 27, 1954 was held at the Presbyterian-run Rural Development Center in Gebrayel (Akkar) - and both went on to teaching careers at AUB, my mother in English, my father in History. I accepted the invitation with the thought of making use of this background. I do so as a professional historian (though of the medieval Islamic Near East): what follows is a brief appreciation of the careers of two men, Kamal Salibi and David Gordon, the department in which they taught, and the institution to which they - and my mother, Ann Hutchinson Gordon – devoted themselves, as teachers, colleagues, and scholars.

Weighing how to frame this essay, I thought of three rather different items: a photo, an unfinished book project, and a medieval Arabic/Islamic text. The photo, which is reproduced here, appeared in the 1971 edition of *Campus*, the AUB student yearbook. It is a composite and, in its way, mundane image of the members of the Department of History and Archaeology. I had come upon it earlier in a search for a photo of Ihsan Abbas, the editor of a classical Arabic text in which I was immersed and, at the time the picture was taken, a senior member of the Arabic Department.

The unfinished book belongs to my father, a long-time member of the AUB History Department (1949–1954, 1958–1975). An immigrant to Beirut from Istanbul, he completed his Master's degree at AUB and contributed several years of teaching there before departing for Princeton University. Following the completion of his doctoral thesis in modern French history, he resumed his place on the AUB faculty, finally resigning with great sadness in 1976. The project was a new book, one he was working on nearly to the point of his death in April 1993.[2] It was to be a study of modern Lebanese historiography with a focus on the work of Kamal Salibi, his friend and colleague through much of the pre-civil war period. The shape of the project is clear - he had set out the chapters in separate notebooks, each filled to capacity with notes, draft passages, clippings, and the like - but, to date, I have resisted the temptation to bring it to completion. The task is much better suited to a scholar of modern Lebanese culture and thought.

The medieval text derives from the *Nasihat al-muluk*, a political essay attributed to Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), the illustrious medieval scholar. The invitation arrived at a point when I was considering whether to use the essay, in translation, for an undergraduate course on medieval Islamic culture.[3] (The image provided here is of the title page of a manuscript of the work held in the AUB collection, a reminder of the contributions of AUB faculty over many decades to the disciplines of Arab history, Arabic language and literature, and Islamic studies). In it, al-Ghazali addresses the conduct of kings and scholars. He reflects on the need for legitimate government, and makes clear his own conflicted feelings on having served in formal government, in his case, that of the eleventh-century Seljuq dynasty. I refer to his book to make the point that relations between "persons of the pen" and "persons of the sword" act as a thread binding not only Arab and Islamic history, but also that of most other complex societies across time. Formal political office probably never held much appeal for either my father or Kamal Salibi, but it is no less true that politics – political debate, political ideals, political violence, political humor - tempered both men's careers in myriad ways.

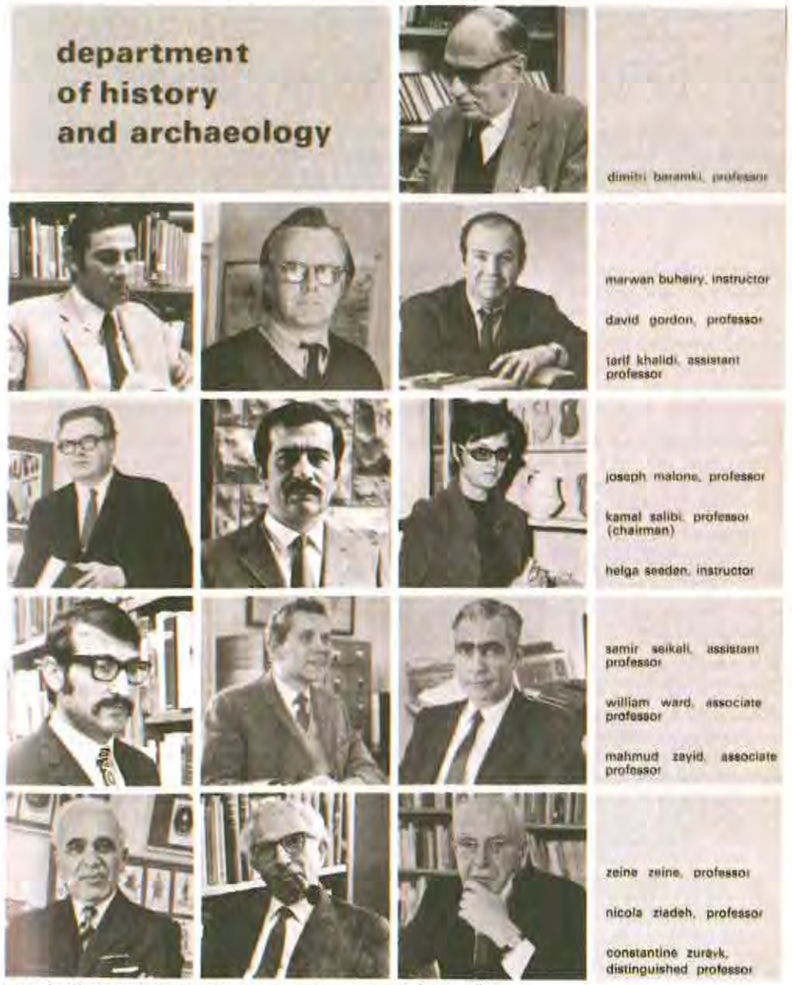

Fig. 1. The AUB History and Archaeology Department, 1970–1971
(Courtesy of the Archives and Special Collections of the American University of Beirut)

Fig. 2. Fifteenth century manuscript leaf of Nasihat al-muluk by al-Ghazali (d. 1111)
(Courtesy of the Archives and Special Collections of the American University of Beirut)

So, three disparate items. My thought, in regard to the photo, was that a microhistory of the History and Archeology Department would be a valuable exercise, not least because all of its members witnessed first hand extraordinary political and social developments on the AUB campus, across Lebanon, and across the wider Near East.[4] I limit my comments here to the joined careers of my father and Salibi, but I would hope that a microhistory of this kind might be carried out. My motivation is partly selfish in that, as an academic, I am often struck by how little students, parents, and trustees, not to speak of the public at large, seem to know what it means to engage in teaching and writing on a full-time basis - to pursue a calling, in the case of historians and literary scholars, in the humanities. But, to be fair, academics bear blame as well in not producing as much serious written reflection on their professional lives as they might. Betty Anderson, in her history of AUB, comments that she was unable to uncover much material of this kind by the faculty, that is, consideration of the history of the University and their part in it.[5] The task of bringing together these comments, in other words, was made difficult by the relative silence of the individuals themselves. Salibi, fortunately, is one exception, and my father, to a lesser extent, a second.

Fig. 3. Cover of 1971 AUB yearbook, Campus '71
(Courtesy of the Archives and Special Collections of the American University of Beirut)

Why the year 1970-1971? I thought it an appropriate choice for several reasons. The Department had hired its first woman; this was Helga Seeden's first year on the faculty.[6] In subsequent years, of course, the Department would include Helen Sader and Nadia El Cheikh, and I think it is fair to include Wadad al-Qadi, a doctoral candidate in Arabic and Islamic studies in this period.[7] The gender imbalance is obvious, however, and one can only hope that it will be redressed in coming years.

A second reason: the campus experienced an extended student strike in May of 1971. A prelude to the more intense events on campus that were to follow in the spring of 1974, it was of a piece with student militancy across Lebanon (and, of course, the globe, from Berkeley and Kent State to Paris and Tokyo). Peak moments included an appearance, on October 29, 1970, at the Speaker's Corner by Leila Khaled, the Palestinian militant known best for her part in two hijackings; a brief siege on Marquand House on the evening of May 18, 1971 that forced the members of the Faculty Senate, my father included, to spend the night in situ; and the occupation of most campus buildings.

That same year saw the Jordanian monarchy and military turn against the principal Palestinian forces, a war that led the main Palestinian organizations to transfer their forces and political infrastructure to southern Lebanon and Beirut. Most observers agree that the heightened and, from an internal Lebanese perspective, deeply controversial Palestinian presence did much to fuel the civil war a few short years later. There seems little question but that it spurred student activism in Lebanon on both the right and left.

Finally, in the spring of 1971, Halim Barakat, a member of the AUB Sociology Department, produced a detailed study of student opinion on three Lebanese campuses including AUB. He went on to publish the study in 1977.[8] It is of particular value here in providing a body of "hard" evidence with which one can make greater sense of the motivations of the student activists at AUB and across Lebanon. One can scarcely ignore the wider, more complex backdrop of student engagement in local, regional, and international politics, particularly with regard to the conflict over Palestine and US policy toward the Middle East. The image used on the cover of the 1970-1971 volume of *Campus* – reproduced above – captures nicely the patterns of student activism of the period: a bold confrontational style; a romance with Western pop fashions, music, and icons (the image pays homage, of course, to the work of Andy Warhol); and a commitment to a radical politics that joined an embrace of specific causes, specifically that of an emergent and multivalent Palestinian national movement with a more open-ended insistence on social and political reform, that, for many, was only properly achieved through upheaval and revolution.[9]

I am wholly receptive to the charge that weight assigned to any given year is arbitrary. But I would reply that 1970-1971 was, by any measure, an intense and demanding year for the students, faculty, and administration of AUB alike.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

In his first book on Lebanon, my father drew on entries in his personal journals for comments on AUB, his colleagues, and the increasingly fraught atmosphere on campus.[10] In the first of two observations on conditions in 1970, he laments the impact of student demands on the curriculum and pedagogical standards on campus:

> In efforts to placate the militant students, and at their request, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences votes to abolish comprehensive examinations before graduation. Only a few of us vote nay. I feel that the most damaging aspect of student militancy is the lowering of standards.

A second comment occurs only in passing: that a Sudanese student was "crushed to hear that his brother had been killed during an attempted coup by the supporters of the Mahdi against the Government."[11] Brief statements, to be sure, but suggestive, nonetheless, of an academic and, indeed, a faculty closely attentive to all that was taking place, whether on campus or across the region. Small surprise: my father and most of his colleagues were scholars of Arab history and politics and, in some cases, active participants in the politics of the day. At work here, too, if understated, is a devotion to the ideals and rigor of education and the fortunes of the students themselves.

But there is certainly more: the atmosphere on campus – from June 1967 to Lebanon's descent into the madness of civil war some eight years later – led to a greater intensity of relations between students and faculty than I expect most academics, certainly in the United States, are accustomed to today. Studies by Makram Rabah, John Munro, Halim Barakat, and Betty Anderson, among others, make clear that AUB students of the early 1970s felt emboldened to confront the faculty, whether in class or elsewhere, certainly on ideological grounds, but in a more direct manner as well. Authority attached to tenure, the production of learned volumes and essays, and intellectual and social prestige could no longer be taken for granted – one's moral and intellectual standing was in question. Comments contained in short interviews I conducted with a handful of individuals present on campus at the time suggest a mix of reaction from the AUB faculty: bemusement on the part of some, dismay by others, and, yes, grudging admiration on the part of yet others regarding the ideals and attitudes, though seldom the tactics, of the students.

I join what I learned in these short interviews with my own memories and periodic immersion over the years in writings on modern Lebanon produced at the time and over subsequent decades. Again, reaction to student activism was mixed. Tarif Khalidi, an assistant professor in History at the time, recalled that, for many on the faculty, discussion of the most pressing issues was deemed too sensitive for the classroom. Private conversations with students, however, were endless.[12] Describing the students as "easily the most interesting generation I've ever taught," he referred to efforts on his part, as well as that of Kamal Salibi, Marwan Buheiry, and his own brother, Walid Khalidi, to talk sense to the students.[13] A particular challenge, he noted, was to convince the students to think through what they were hearing from, and being instructed to do, by their political handlers from the many Lebanese, Palestinian, and other political movements. Such comments evince, again, an abiding awareness of the political climate in Lebanon joined to an anxiety over the welfare of students – attitudes altogether proper to scholar-teachers.[14]

This is to consider, in other words, the interactions of faculty and students at a point when the latter, speaking generally of course, harbored deep-seeded doubts about the legitimacy of the other. It is in this context that the efforts of Kamal Salibi and Constantine Zurayk, both long-time members of the History Department, take on weight. Salibi was, at this point, patron and guru of the *al-Rabita al-Lubnaniyya*, a rightist, pro-Lebanese student organization, founded decades earlier as a counter to the pro-Nasserism that burst onto the region in the 1950s. Various indications, including comments by Salibi himself, point to an enthusiasm for his role tempered by conviction that it came with responsibility to rein in the worst instincts of the student leaders and, again, their political handlers outside the University. Salibi, of course, would grow disillusioned with the Lebanese right and its often rote reaction to political and social change in Lebanon.[15] The response on Zurayk's part was to attempt to find common ground between the University and the student leadership. He played a leading role, for example, in the negotiations between the strikers and the Kirkwood administration in May 1971. Zurayk had behind him a long career as a senior university administrator (both at the University of Damascus and at AUB); he had also been a prominent member of the International Association of Universities, and a key early contributor to modern Arab intellectual life. I have wondered at the extent to which his background informed how he was received by the students in 1970–1971: how many of them had read *Ma'na al-Nakba* (1948) and others of Zurayk's writings on Palestine, and how did they understand his arguments?[16]

SCHOLARSHIP

Fig. 4. Ihsan Abbas (1920–2003) (AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library Photograph Collection)

As my father conceived it, it seems, the project on modern Lebanese historiography was to have at its heart a close consideration of Kamal Salibi's own and substantial body of work on modern Lebanon. I choose to see it as the culmination of years of dialogue between long-time colleagues on the question of history as a discipline in its own right, but certainly also as a window on the dynamics of modern Lebanese culture and politics. Both men, after all, wrote at length on history as cultural and political expression, as the means, in other words, of cultivating (or undermining) collective identity. Salibi devoted his splendid *A House of Many Mansions* precisely to the question of history as a wedge dividing Lebanon and the Lebanese. To the question "To gain the needed historical knowledge and understanding of themselves . . . where are the Lebanese to begin?" he replies: "For a start, a general cleaning up of the cobwebs in their various communal attics would help."[17] My father, for his part, writing on both Algeria and Lebanon, took up the same questions in his books and, in the process, I believe, anticipated ideas that would sustain the work of later generations of post-colonial scholars: marginality, identity, the confrontation of "West" and "East," the unraveling of empire, and the multipronged interrogation of post-colonial legacies. The questions of identity and history have weighed heavily on modern Lebanon and continue to do so today. I trust I am correct in seeing the unfinished book as rooted in the same intellectual soil.

The two men, my father and Kamal Salibi, between them, produced a small library of books. But neither of them was alone in the Department in pursuing active scholarship over the course of their careers. The Department was at the forefront of the small, but increasingly robust, field of Middle East and Islamic studies in the 1970s, whether in the Middle East or Europe and the United States. The members of the Department were trained in highly prestigious programs at, among other institutions, Princeton University, the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and the Institute of Archaeology, also in London. Publications are one measure of excellence and, if one considers *only* the period between 1966 and 1972, it is clear how productive the Department was. A partial list: Dimitri Baramki, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Palestine* (1969); David Gordon, *The Women of Algeria* (1968) and *Self-Determination and History in the Third World* (1971); Tarif Khalidi, *Mas'udi's Theory and Practice of History* (1970); Kamal Salibi, an edition of Salih ibn Yusuf's fifteenth-century *Ta'rikh Bayrut* (1969); William Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World* (1971); Zeine Zeine, an Arabic translation of his own 1958 study of Turkish-Arab relations (1968); and Nicola Ziadeh, co-editor and translator of Philip Hitti's *Lebanon in History* (1972).

The titles of these publications offer a measure of the breadth of scholarship produced in College Hall. The greatest part of this work concerned the history of the Mashriq and Maghrib from a spectrum of perspectives and in relation to a range of historic periods, from ancient Egypt and Palestine to the medieval Islamic period to the struggles over Palestine and decolonization across both regions in the twentieth century. The point is perhaps obvious, but much of this work was widely read and debated; these scholar-authors were full participants in their respective areas of history and archaeology. It was scholarship in quantity and quality. A full account of the history of the Department would say much more – suffice it here to quote Lawrence Conrad, a member of the Department in the 1980s, from the introduction that he wrote for a collection of papers by the much-lamented Marwan Buheiry: "the past was not so much a "foreign country" as much as an impressionist painting whose subtle and devious relationship to reality was always a pleasure for him to examine."[18]

I think it is also fair to cite here the considerable contributions of the Arabic Department. One wants to single out Ihsan Abbas, for many years a colleague of the historians and archaeologists; his office adjoined theirs on the fourth floor of the original College Hall. Abbas taught at AUB for some twenty-five years (1961–1986), and the list of his contributions to Arabic history and letters is remarkable, including, just in 1970–1971, critical editions of the works of two classical poets, al-Sanawbari (d. 945) and Kuthayyir 'Azza (d. 723). In a fine obituary, Conrad, a scholar himself of early Arab and Islamic history, observed that the Arabic Department "gained a worldwide reputation as one of the most

important academic centers for Arabic studies."[19] It was a reputation on a par with that enjoyed by the Department of History and Archaeology.

THE PUBLIC ARENA

These scholar-teachers, as "public intellectuals," engaged with the world beyond the halls of academe, the sound and fury beyond Bliss Street. Medievalist that I am, I think again of al-Ghazali and the struggle he waged with his own conscience after decades of serving beside decision-makers, bureaucrats, and warlords. For the members of the History and Archaeology Department, like their colleagues across the University and city, Fayssal's Restaurant, now sadly absent, provided over many decades a venue for engagement in the many arguments of Lebanese, Arab, and Middle Eastern political affairs.[20]

There was much to argue over. The long, bitter struggle to end the French colonial presence in Algeria had galvanized students, activists, and scholars not only across the Arab world but, indeed, around the globe. It acted as a spark, among many, for student activists and intellectuals of Lebanon. Much closer, both in geographic and temporal terms, was the intellectual and political spark that was Palestine. Beirut had become, by this period, a center of scholarship on Palestinian culture and history, and prominent members of the AUB faculty contributed their efforts. Constantine Zurayk and Walid Khalidi participated in the foundation of the Institute of Palestine Studies and served on its board through the 1970s. And, of course, there is the spark that was Lebanon itself. Hindsight allows one the dubious luxury of seeing the shaping of the Lebanese civil war in the events on campus in 1970-1971. Kamal Salibi, in his memoir, *Ta'ir 'ala Sindiyanah*, comments on student politics at AUB as, in many ways, the measure of Lebanese political and social currents.[21] Halim Barakat's study of student sentiment, to which I referred earlier, bears out that very point: that AUB students were close observers of off-campus political life, and were often guided, in their decision-making, by these same currents.

But did one step directly into public life or remain as a close (and often bemused) observer? Salibi and Barakat chose to take on the mantle of "senior participants." They offered opinions to the students, often in the form of a steadying hand, but leadership as well.[22] Salibi, following his departure from Beirut to Amman in the early 1990s, forged a close working relationship with Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan, quite a different setting than the University campus, but political nonetheless.[23] Others, such as Constantine Zurayk and, at a somewhat later period, Elie Salem, assumed high-level positions in university governance and politics.[24]

By contrast, my father, a deeply private man, found little allure in open public life, although he duly assumed positions in the Department and University administration when asked. That said, my sense is that he viewed his work as a scholar and writer as not simply an intellectual goal, but as a means by which to engage in public debate – that is, to educate, sway opinion, and raise awareness. I remain uncertain on this score: my father kept much to himself.[25] But there is little question as to his fascination with contemporary politics; the murmur of the BBC was as familiar a sound at home as the splash of the Mediterranean against the rocks beneath our garden wall. Samir Seikaly, a member of the Department over many years, alerted me to two essays that my father published in the early 1960s in *Middle East Forum/al-Kulliyah*, a long-standing AUB publication. The first took up Albert Camus's difficult relationship to Algeria, the second, Frantz Fanon and his commitment to the Algerian Revolution.[26] I see my father's decision to write both essays in this light.

My father and Kamal Salibi, like others in the Department, brought another quality to bear on their teaching, scholarship, and service to the University. It was, I think, an ability to negotiate difficult political, social, and cultural currents. In gathering material for this paper, I came upon a phrase that Edward Said used in his acceptance speech when receiving an honorary degree at AUB in 2003. He referred to "a decent commerce between all kinds of difference" as characteristic of the culture of the university.[27] Lawrence Conrad, in one of two interviews I had with him, made a similar remark in describing my father. He noted his reticence, as many others have as well, but also, on his part, a knack for "knowing the possible"; he called it a level-headedness that allowed my father to recognize what could be accomplished on campus joined to a keen sense of the identities, affiliations, and divisions underlying politics on campus, whether those of student groups in their approach to the faculty and administration or among the faculty themselves. It is a quality difficult to capture: one is reminded of the challenge met by Kamal Salibi in negotiating the multitude of student, faculty, and administrative demands over the years of campus unrest, as well as his willingness to question his own ideological convictions. I expect that curiosity, humor, high intelligence, and an open mind were essential. These were qualities that my father and Salibi shared and which, no doubt, brought them close.

But the scholar-teacher can only do so much, whether in tempering high-blown political sentiments or reversing, in Lebanon's case, the tides of war. I doubt either my father or Kamal would have trumpeted their accomplishments or commitment to the life of the University. This would have cut across the grain of both men's personalities. So we must do it for them. The history of AUB was enriched multifold by the presence and contributions of both men and their colleagues.

ENDNOTES

[1] I wish to thank Bilal Orfali and Nadia El Cheikh for the invitation, and I am deeply grateful to Gasim Badri, Larry Conrad, Tarif Khalidi, Helga Seeden, and Samir Seikaly for sharing their memories of AUB. I wish also to thank Susan Wawrose, Ellen Fleischmann, and two anonymous readers for their comments on a draft of this essay.

[2] The idea for this project may have come to my father in writing the short essay on Kamal Salibi that appeared in his Lebanon: *The Fragmented Nation* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 228–233.

[3] See F. R. C. Bagley, *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964). For a discussion of the text, see Patricia Crone, "Did al-Ghazali Write a Mirror for Princes? On the authorship of *Nasihat al-muluk*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 167–191.

[4] On "microhistory," see Jill Lepore's well-known essay: "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *The Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 129–144.

[5] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 2011), 21.

[6] For two all-too-brief sets of comments by Seeden on her career at AUB, see the interview that appeared in *MainGate* (Spring, 2012), 50-51, and on her editorship of *Berytus Archaeological Studies*, the online comments at www.aub.edu.lb/php/aubpress/site/seeden.html.

[7] On al-Qadi's career, see http://www.aub.edu.lb/doctorates/recipients/2012/Pages/kadi.aspx.

[8] Halim Barakat, *Lebanon in Strife: Student Preludes to the Civil War* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 1977).

[9] Omar Take is listed as the art director on the University Yearbook Committee (*Campus*, 5).

[10] Gordon, *Lebanon: The Fragmented Nation*, 188–201.

[11] Gordon, *Lebanon: The Fragmented Nation*, 190.

[12] Khalidi taught for six years (1960–1966) in Cultural Studies. He went on to earn his PhD in Islamic Studies at the University of Chicago in 1970, and returned in that year to AUB.

[13] Marwan Buheiry was, at this point, an instructor in the History Department. Walid Khalidi taught in Political Science from 1957 to 1982.

[14] See Constantine Zurayk's comments on student activism in a speech delivered in 1967: "The University and Discontent," *More than conquerors. Selected Addresses, Delivered at the American University of Beirut, 1953–1966* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1968), 7–16.

[15] See Gordon, *Lebanon: The Fragmented Nation*, 232.

[16] See Adel Manna', "The Palestinian Nakba and its Continuous Repercussions," *Israel Studies* 18 (2013): 86–99, esp. 87–88.

[17] Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1988), 218.

[18] Lawrence I. Conrad, ed., *The Formation and Perception of the Modern Arab World: Studies by Marwan R. Buheiry* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1989), 10.

[19] "Ihsan Abbas: Custodian of Arabic Heritage and Culture," *Al-Qantara* 26 (2005): 5–17.

[20] On Fayssal's, see Gordon, *Lebanon: The Fragmented Nation*, 210–211 and Samir Sanbar, "The Revolutionaries' Restaurant," *Middle East Forum* (Summer 1963): 11–12.

[21] *Ta'ir 'ala sindiyanah* (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq lil-Nashr wal-Tawzi', 2002). Makram Rabah cites the memoir several times in his very useful history of student activism at AUB in *A Campus at War: Student Politics at the American University of Beirut, 1967–1975* (Beirut: Dar Nelson, 2009), 32 and 36.

[22] Rabah, *A Campus at War*, 57, 72, 75, 82, 99–100.

[23] Salibi served as the first director of the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies, founded by Prince Hassan, from 1994 to 2003.

[24] Elie Salem, a professor in Political Science and Public Administration at the time, went on to serve as Lebanon's Minister of Foreign Affairs (1980–1982) and, thereafter, president of the University of Balamand.

[25] See the brief, but incisive comments by L. Carl Brown in L. Carl Brown and Matthew S. Gordon, eds., *Franco-Arab Encounters: Studies in Memory of David C. Gordon* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1996), xii–xiii.

[26] "Albert Camus as French Algerian," *Middle East Forum* 36 (1960): 17–18; and "Frantz Fanon: Voice of the Algerian Revolution," *Middle East Forum* 39 (1963): 17–20.

[27] See http://www.aub.edu.lb/doctorates/recipients/2003/Pages/edward-speech.aspx.

18 AUB's Contributions to Agricultural Development in the Middle East[1]

Nuhad J. Daghir[2]

INTRODUCTION

Long before the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences (hereafter, FAFS) was established, AUB (then called the Syrian Protestant College, or SPC) had begun contributing to agricultural development in the region. As early as 1868, its natural history museum was established with the collection of flora brought by George Post, SPC professor of botany, from the USA. In 1896, he published his renowned book ***Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai from the Taurus to Ras Muhamad and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Syrian Desert***.[3] Post's "Economic Botany Collection," part of the Natural History Museum, proved to be an indispensable botanical reference for faculty research in the agricultural sciences. In 1872, courses in botany and zoology, both basic to the agricultural sciences, were initiated and taught to all students registered at the College. Cornelius Van Dyck, who was professor of internal medicine, studied Arabic under Butrus al-Bustani and contributed to the plant sciences by publishing a book in Arabic entitled ***Kitab al-naqsh fi al-hajar*** of which volume 7 was dedicated to the plant sciences.[4] There was a great deal of awareness on the part of prominent people in the community of the need for agricultural education in the region; SPC President Howard Bliss realized that need as early as 1914. In fact, on September 14, 1913, the Board of Trustees of the College gave authorization to offer a program in agricultural engineering under the umbrella of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, in order to train students for employment as engineers in agricultural development projects; its first students were admitted in October 1914. It was a three-year program, with fieldwork included during two summer sessions. Due to the extensive famine and dire need for food during World War I, in 1930 SPC President Bayard Dodge created the Institute of Rural Life, a joint venture with the Near East Foundation. It is considered to have been one of the earliest agricultural extension activities in the region, and entailed the training of farm boys and providing extension work for farmers in the Beqaa valley and short workshops on current methods of production. The Institute rented a farm in the village of Ta'labaya, in the Beqaa, for five years for training purposes. Between 1930 and 1940, a total of forty technical bulletins were published on various agricultural topics and distributed to farmers. The Institute also established an agricultural cooperative in the village of Abadiyeh that later served as a model for other cooperatives in Lebanon. During the 1939-1940 academic year, the Intermediate Section of International College, then part of AUB, started a two-year program in agricultural management for the training of sons of land owners that continued until 1948. All its courses were taught in Arabic, with supplementary courses in English and French.[5] Throughout this period, between 1912 and 1952, the departments of chemistry and biology at the SPC provided laboratory analysis work, such as soil analysis, to assist local farmers.

In 1952, AUB's School of Agriculture was established as the first college of agriculture in the Levant through support from the Ford Foundation as well as scholarship funds from the USAID's Point IV program.[6] From the very beginning, its faculty members were encouraged to conduct research geared toward solving the agricultural problems of the region and to participate in extension type activities and assist other countries in the region with agricultural development projects. As non-Lebanese graduates of the School of Agriculture returned to their own countries, they took over this function of agricultural extension. While AUB's faculty members have contributed significantly to the agricultural development of the region through research discoveries, training, and extension, its greatest impact has been through its graduates. This chapter will cover the contributions of both FAFS faculty members and graduates through their work in the private sector, the public sector, academia,

and with international organizations. Furthermore, FAFS's graduates have not only contributed to agricultural development, but also significantly to the development of the food industry and to the field of nutrition on a worldwide scale. AUB's impact - through its faculty members and graduates - on food production, processing, and marketing has been unprecedented, and it should be pointed out here that many of its contributions would not have been possible were it not for the existence of AUB'S Agricultural Research and Education Center (AREC) in the Beqaa. This center has enabled the faculty to not only conduct research, but also to provide basic hands-on training for students and to transmit the research findings of their agricultural activities to farmers.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY THE FAFS FACULTY MEMBERS

Ever since its establishment in 1952 as the School of Agriculture, the FAFS[7] has emphasized the importance of research and service to the region. The Ford Foundation supplied enough funds to build the infrastructure of the school and to make it possible for faculty members to dedicate half of their time to research and service. The Ford Foundation's first research grant was to support a survey on agricultural research and development, the results of which yielded a series of monographs on agricultural research and development in Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and Lebanon.[8] Since 1952, faculty members have published their research findings in over 1000 scientific papers and conference proceedings, and have produced numerous books and chapters in books that relate to agriculture and nutrition in the region and beyond, which have had a great impact on development in all agricultural sectors. Agricultural development in any region is the result of many discoveries, innovations, and adoption of new and improved practices.

This chapter describes many of the activities of FAFS that have contributed to agricultural development in the region. In recent years, however, there has been a realization by the faculty that there is a further need for the study of various systems in production and for sustainability in agriculture. The interest of some faculty members has centered on agro-pastoral systems and their sustainability within the context of multidisciplinary community-based projects with direct interventions to improve these systems. This work has provided support to local communities in their efforts with sustainable natural resource management. It has also led to the establishment of the Environment and Sustainable Development Unit (ESDU), an interdisciplinary program of FAFS that has grown into a regional player in promoting sustainable rural livelihoods.[9] Among the ESDU's major achievements[10] are capacity-building for agricultural development in the region, mainstreaming urban agriculture, and improved communication for development and monitoring. These efforts have had a direct impact on agricultural policies and have led to the creation of new institutions in the region.[11] Another FAFS project has been the Irrigation Rehabilitation Project funded by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) on behalf of the Lebanese Ministry of Agriculture. It included a large extension component in four regions of Lebanon and enabled AUB to formally introduce organic farming to Lebanon as a niche market for resource-limited farmers. It also led to the establishment in 2002 of the "Healthy Basket," a clearing-house for organic products that helps small farmers to market their products, thereby completing the food chain.[12]

ANIMAL AND POULTRY PRODUCTION

Poultry science research at FAFS has contributed significantly to the development of the poultry industry in Lebanon, mainly in the fields of poultry nutrition and poultry disease diagnosis and control. In the area of nutrition, in the 1960s, faculty members of FAFS's Animal Science Department along with the agricultural economist at the time developed a linear programming model to determine the lowest cost combination of feedstuffs in a nutritionally adequate ration.[13] The low-cost rations developed through linear programming were then tested at AREC by feeding trials to determine how the results of low-cost formulations correlated with performance. Work was also done to investigate locally available feedstuffs and agricultural by-products for their chemical composition, biological value, and suitability for use in poultry rations. Research on the utilization of locally produced oil seeds and legumes as possible replacements for imported soybean meal continues as this work contributes to lowering feed costs and thus total production costs since feed constitutes 65-70 percent of the total cost of producing eggs and poultry meat. Safflower meal has been studied as another possible replacement for soybean meal since it is suitable for production in Lebanon.[14] Fava beans, being an important legume in the region, have also been studied, and methods of detoxification have been tested and shown to be effective.[15] Vetch (*Vicia sativa*), another important feed legume in the Middle East, has been studied and its naturally occurring toxins identified.[16] The development of the feed analysis laboratory at the FAFS served the feed industry in Lebanon greatly because it was the only one of its kind at that time, and feed manufacturers depended on the analytical work that this laboratory provided for determining feed composition, which is a prerequisite for feed formulation. This work on feed composition and the use of locally available feedstuffs has not only helped the poultry industry in Lebanon, but also has been of value to the development and growth of the poultry industry throughout the region.

Work on poultry disease prevention and control by the Animal Science Department during the 1950s and 1960s proved very valuable for the success of intensive poultry production in Lebanon. Vaccination programs were developed for various viral diseases, which significantly helped the industry across the region. Many poultry diseases -and particularly such viral diseases as infectious bronchitis, infectious laryngotrachitis, gumboro, and avian encephalitis - were isolated and identified in the 1960s and 1970s.[17] After many interruptions during the Lebanese civil war, this work was continued and several papers have been published on reducing the detrimental effects of disease on the economics of poultry production.[18] Since the war, *Salmonella enteritidis* in poultry in Lebanon was first diagnosed by the members of the Department,[19] and a live vaccine was developed that contained thermo-stabilizers, helping this vaccine to resist the heat of transportation.[20] In 1954, income from poultry in Lebanon amounted to less than 15 percent of the total income from animal production in the country, whereas by 1967 it had risen to 60 percent of the total. This growth had a significant effect on animal protein consumption, rising from 15g to 30g per person per day.[21] Per capita protein consumption in Lebanon is now 80g per day, 40 percent of which is from animal protein sources. The development of the poultry industry in Lebanon has spread to all the countries of the Middle East producing similar effects on the nutritional status of populations in the region.

The dairy industry in the region was still primitive in 1952. There was only one dairy processing plant in existence in Lebanon at the time producing pasteurized milk and selling it in glass bottles. The Beqaa was and continues to be an important area for dairy production, and the village of Anjar had several dairies during the early 1960s to the extent that an economic study was conducted by the Faculty on the production and marketing of fluid milk in that village.[22] The FAFS provided considerable support to the development of the dairy industry in Lebanon through work on solving nutritional as well as disease problems in the dairy sector. Several locally produced feedstuffs and agricultural by-products were evaluated for use in dairy, beef, and sheep rations. Dried beet pulp, a by-product of the sugar beet industry, was evaluated and is now commonly used in livestock rations in Lebanon.[23] A country-wide survey was conducted on the status and potential development of animal feed resources in Lebanon in the early 1980s, and it was found that these resources could be significantly increased and better utilized than they were at the time.[24] The bacterial infection Brucellosis was of concern, and people in the veterinary and medical fields were made aware of the seriousness of this disease, which is transmissible to humans.[25] During the civil war, the dairy industry in Lebanon suffered serious setbacks and many dairy producers went out of business. In 1997, through a USAID grant, the Faculty embarked on a project to improve the dairy sector, in which USAID provided credit to the Ministry of Agriculture to finance the importation of dairy cows (pregnant heifers) from the US. AUB's Department of Animal and Veterinary Sciences was in charge of receiving these cows and caring for them during the 1-3 month quarantine period at the AREC, particularly from the standpoint of proper feeding and disease control practices, and provided training to the farmers who were to receive them. As a result of this project, a total of 7000 pregnant heifers were distributed to farmers all over Lebanon. The project not only reestablished the dairy herd sector in Lebanon, but also improved the genetic stock of these herds.[26]

Forage cut green and conserved in sealed containers (silos) with no air is known as silage, which has a high nutritional value and will keep for 2-3 years without deteriorating. It is very palatable to livestock and can be fed at any time. The technology of making silage from whole forage corn plants in large plastic tubes was introduced to Lebanon by FAFS. Seeds of high yielding varieties of corn were imported from the US and planted at AREC. Several training programs on corn production, silage making, and livestock feeding were organized by FAFS faculty for local farmers. By this method, whole corn plants are harvested by special machines, chopped (1.5-2.5 cm) and packed in large plastic tubes (100-200 tons or larger), then laid down along the side of the field. It is a more economical and easy method than the old practice of silage production in concrete silos. The introduction of this new technology to Lebanon in 2000-2001 led to the expansion of planting forage corn and silage production in the country to make silage the largest exported item (in volume, not value) from Lebanon to neighboring countries, and mainly Jordan and the United Arab Emirates. Most of the dairy farmers in Lebanon use this technology, with silage usually packed in 50 kg bags for convenience of filling, packing, sealing, handling, and feeding out. This program of introducing forage corn production and silage making to Lebanon has been one of FAFS's most successful programs and has positively affected farmers and the farming community throughout the agricultural sector.[27]

CROP PRODUCTION

From the very beginning, FAFS faculty research was geared towards solving the agricultural problems of the region. Since the University Farm (now AREC) was in the Beqaa valley, the major agricultural area in Lebanon, early research focused on the problems of the Beqaa. Improvements to sugar beet production were addressed first, resulting in farmers tripling sugar beet yields after just five years of being provided with the correct instructions on cultural practices, seed varieties, and adequate fertilizer application.[28] Another important contribution in crop production in the 1960s was the development of Najah wheat and Beecher barley, two varieties of grain that mature and ripen quickly, and thus can be grown while avoiding the dry and hot summer months in the Beqaa. The Najah variety of wheat has large seeds that are high in protein and do not shatter easily.[29] The Beecher variety of barley has large kernels and semi-smooth awns. It threshes well and does not cause mouth sores as in the animals that are fed the local varieties.[30] Therefore the introduction of this barley variety provided a boost to dairy and livestock production. Sweet corn was also introduced by FAFS in the late 1950s when only field corn was available as food and feed. Variety trials on this crop were conducted at AREC that revealed that the "Golden Bantam" variety gave the best results.[31] Today this crop is produced mainly in the Beqaa, but also along the coast and in North Lebanon, with a total cultivated area of about 200 hectares and a production of over 5000 metric tons. Another crop that was introduced by the Faculty into Lebanon was safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), whose oil has a very high level of polyunsaturated fatty acids, which are associated with the lowering of blood cholesterol and possibly reduction in the rate of coronary heart disease. Work at AREC has shown that safflower can be grown in the winter without irrigation, using the same machinery that is used for winter cereals.[32] Several trials have been conducted in many areas in Lebanon, and the crop is now well accepted by Lebanese farmers.

Another important contribution to the field of crop production has been what is referred to as "Conservation Agriculture" (CA).[33] In 2007, the German Company for International Cooperation (GIZ), jointly with AUB and the Lebanese Agricultural Research Institute (LARI), representing the Ministry of Agriculture, started a CA project in Lebanon that is still in progress. Field research at AREC, accompanied by on-farm experiments, have been on-going since the beginning of the program, with increasingly larger areas of land dedicated to CA, from 4 hectares in 2007/2008 to 562 hectares a year later, and more than 1100 hectares after that, all due to the positive results of the field experiments on commercial farms. The results showed that plowing and planting directly through a soil cover reduces soil moisture losses through evaporation. The number of earth worms – known to be good indicators of fertility level in the soil, aeration, and soil health – increased at AREC within two years after the introduction of CA. Another important finding was that there are differential responses to tillage among crops. Some crops yield better than others under conventional tillage.[34] From an economic standpoint, the production costs of CA field crops were $200-300 per hectare less than with a conventional agriculture system, providing farmers with significant savings in the cost of fuel and labor. With more governmental support and more field research, CA practices will continue to expand in Lebanon.[35]

CROP PROTECTION

The field of plant protection incorporates the agricultural sciences of plant pathology, entomology, and weed science, to all of which FAFS faculty members have contributed significantly. Moreover, their plant protection work has not been limited to Lebanon, but has extended to several other countries in the region. One of the earliest projects included a survey of diseases and insect pests of crops found in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia.[36] Since the Faculty was established, plant pathologists in FAFS have been conducting surveys on plant diseases in Lebanon and the region, and have devised several programs that emphasize studies of economically important diseases or groups of pathogens. Because Lebanon is an important fruit and vegetable producer, work has concentrated on the collection, diagnosis, and control of pathogens of these commodities. One of the early works was a survey of sixty-two plant viruses in Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, which showed that the most common were the cucumber mosaic virus, the tobacco mosaic virus, and the alfalfa mosaic virus.[37] In addition, since then intensive research programs have been carried out on phytopathogenic fungi, bacteria, and nematodes. A number of phytopathogenic fungi have been identified on bananas, citrus, olives, apples, potatoes, and a number of other vegetables.[38] The identification of weeds and their control was also started during the early years since weed control is essential for improving crop productivity. A survey of the major weeds in the Beqaa initially focused on the weeds significant to the northern region where the AUB farm was located.[39] Within a few years the survey covered all of Lebanon, and an extensive publication came out on the weeds of the country as a whole.[40] From the very beginning, faculty members were cognizant of the importance of environmental protection when new plant protection practices were introduced. Biological control was unknown at that time, not only in Lebanon, but throughout the region. Work was conducted on the biological control of various insect pests, particularly those that infest major crops.[41] One of the important contributions of FAFS faculty was the discovery of an insect harmful to cedar trees in Lebanon, studied on the Tannourine cedar forest, which is the largest cedar forest in the country. The life cycle of the insect - named ***Cephalia tannouriniensis*** after the forest in which it was discovered – was studied, and a means of minimizing its damage was developed by isolating one of the Beauveria species - *B. Bassiana* – which, as its predator, is a potential control agent for that insect.[42]

Extensive work on the biology and control of Orobanche, one of the most serious parasitic weeds of the region, was carried out during the early years of the Faculty.[43] Many chemicals have been found to be effective, in addition to other means of control.[44] For twenty years, studies have concentrated on Orobanche management in potatoes, tomatoes, and broad beans. Results have shown that solarization with manure was very effective in reducing the parasitism of Orobanche, and that poultry and goat manure reduces infestation by 30 percent.[45] A combination of chicken manure and elementary sulfur was found to be an effective management practice against Orobanche in potatoes.[46] Furthermore, rye crops (*Secale cereale*) grown with potato or broad beans has proven an effective practice against Orobanche. Sublethal doses of glyphosate, rimsulfuron, and fluoride were also very effective in reducing Orobanche growth and development in potatoes.[47]

Integrated pest management (hereafter, IPM)[48] has been promoted by FAFS for Lebanon and the Middle East region for over twenty-five years. To apply IPM, farmers should conduct a series of pest management evaluations, apply the suitable pesticide when needed, and try to use "friendly" chemicals, such as pheromones, when suitable. They also should use such cultural practices as weed control, proper crop rotation, plant resistant varieties, and pest-free root stocks. The Ministry of Agriculture promotes this system and encourages farmers to apply it, especially in fruit tree orchards;[49] many Lebanese farmers now apply it with pride.

AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION

The FAFS has always been concerned with the mechanization of Lebanese agriculture, mainly because of the small land holdings and the rough terrain in the mountain areas where deciduous fruits are of importance. In the 1960s, the local plow was studied and improved to suit the conditions of the soil, particularly for the Beqaa region.[50] A planter was also designed and developed to suit the local plow frame and the modified one.[51] Lentils are a very good source of protein for humans, and its straw is a valuable animal feed. The production of lentils in this region is limited because of harvesting difficulties due to uneven ripening, lodging, and shattering of seeds and leaves at maturity. Harvesting is still done by hand, which increases cost significantly. The existing mechanical harvesting systems prior to about 2004 caused excessive seed and leaf losses. FAFS faculty members developed a cutter and feeder mechanism for harvesting lentils that overcame the problem of uneven ripening by allowing the harvesting of relatively dry lentils without significantly more shattering losses compared with hand harvesting. Production from a one-hour operation of this single-row harvester proved equivalent to fourteen man-hours of labor.[52] This is of utmost economic importance because of the increasing cost of farm labor in Lebanon and many other countries where this crop is produced.

Fertigation is the application of fertilizers and other soluble chemicals through an irrigation system. FAFS faculty members have been testing and applying fertigation on a large scale in open fields since 1970. Important experience with fertigation was gained and passed on to farmers in Lebanon and other Arab countries both in greenhouse agriculture and commercial open-field operations. The main advantages of this system are its ability to apply fertilizers according to specific plant needs in different growth stages, the increase in fertilization efficiency, and reduced fertilizer losses and leaching. Fertigation is now well accepted and widely used in Lebanon and throughout the Middle East. Farmers find it an easy and effective means for the distribution of fertilizers in the fields on both a large and small scale (since pipes and pumps are easier than bags and backs).[53]

LANDSCAPE DESIGN

Although FAFS's Department of Landscape Design and Ecosystem Management is less than ten years old, its faculty members have already made significant contributions to ecological landscape design and the ecological context for the design of human settlements. The concept of landscape ecology as a foundation for landscape architecture was introduced by members of that department. Ecological landscape design and planning in the Mediterranean context was also researched and has been implemented through several projects in the area.[54]

WATER CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT

The problems of water conservation and management have occupied the FAFS from the beginning. As early as 1959, the economics of irrigation water was studied in the Litani river basin in Lebanon[55] and also in the Jordan Valley.[56] Water requirements and consumption were studied for crops in the Beqaa using different methods and devices.[57] The problems of the over-drilling of wells and the over-utilization of underground water aquifers – and particularly coastal aquifers – and of sea water intrusion along the coast were investigated by the Faculty and brought to the attention of the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources.[58] One of the significant contributions of the Faculty to the region in the field of irrigation was the introduction of the center-pivot (CP) irrigation system, enabling producers in the Gulf, and particularly in Saudi Arabia, to dedicate huge acreages of land to the production of wheat, making the Kingdom not only self-sufficient in wheat, but also an important exporter of this basic food.[59] The CP method involves water being applied to crops via sprinklers rotating around a pivot, driven by energy generated by electric power. The length of the CP irrigation system is about 400 meters, and it can irrigate 50 hectares of agricultural land. The system is highly efficient and helps to conserve water. Its usage has allowed farmers in the Middle East and other dry regions in the world to transform large parcels of nonproductive desert land into productive farms. This system is sometimes called circle agriculture, and it is now used for all kinds of field crops, not only wheat. While FAFS has contributed significantly in the areas of crop water requirements and water use efficiency,[60] its recommendations on water use and management have not always been followed, which is unfortunate. Had the Lebanese government given the recommendations of the FAFS enough consideration in a timely fashion, we would not be in the mess we are today with regard to water shortages.

FOOD SCIENCE AND NUTRITION

FAFS faculty members have been pioneers in introducing science-based technology to food processing in Lebanon. They have devised economical methods of food processing and developed simple methods for drying, brining, and other methods of food preservation. From the very beginning, they have emphasized the importance of sanitation, which initially was greatly lacking in Lebanon and the Middle East in all food-processing activities. The Food Technology and Nutrition (FTN) Department (later renamed the Nutrition and Food Sciences Department) helped in the development of dairy processing in Saudi Arabia.[61] They have pushed for the establishment of food laws, which have been implemented in many countries in the region, though unfortunately, in Lebanon, these laws are still being debated in parliament. One of the major early FAFS accomplishments in food science was the compilation of data on the composition of foods consumed in the region. Several years of testing and analyzing foods led to the publication of the book ***Food Composition Tables for Use in the Middle East***, which has sold more copies than any other book published by AUB.[62] Food science faculty members have been very active in devising methods of improving the quality of Arabic bread and in helping the industry to develop various types of bread for different consumer needs. These studies have not only assisted with the up-grading of the quality of Arabic bread and its shelf life,[63] but also to the presence on the market today of many different types of Arabic bread that cater to all tastes and health situations.

FAFS has also contributed significantly to the field of human nutrition. Realizing the need for baby foods made from local ingredients, in the 1960s faculty members developed an infant food mixture made of burghul, chickpeas, and dried skim milk, supplemented with vitamins A and D, calcium, and phosphorous. They called it Laubina, which is derived from the initials of AUB and L for Lebanon.[64] In the 1970s, members of the FTN Department conducted a number of studies on quality control, and brought attention to the fact that several food products on the Lebanese market contained chemical levels above internationally accepted safe values. The results of these studies were given to the Consumer Protection Department of the Lebanese Ministry of Economy.[65] Iodine deficiency was another important problem that the department worked to solve in the 1960s, as this deficiency was the primary cause of goiter in the area.[66] It was the research on iodine deficiency and the results of surveys conducted by FAFS in Lebanon that brought about legislation on the use of iodized salt. Iron deficiency work was also of significance, leading to increased knowledge about the availability of iron from various foods commonly consumed in the region,[67] and to a reduction in the incidence of iron deficiency anemia. The FTN Department worked closely with the Nutrition program at AUB's Faculty of Medicine from 1960 to 1975, and the results of their collaborative efforts have had a significant impact on nutrition awareness in Lebanon and the Middle East.[68] Faculty members have also been involved with clinical nutrition studies on the Lebanese population since the 1990s, starting with school children from different socioeconomic backgrounds.[69] Further studies have been done on children in the United Arab Emirates.[70] More recently, several studies have been conducted on obesity and malnutrition in children and adults in Lebanon,[71] which is on-going in order to observe trends over a period of several years. Another important contribution of the Department of Nutrition and Food Sciences in recent years has been investigations of edible wild plants in Lebanon to promote dietary diversity in poor communities in the country. This project resulted in the publication of a cookbook entitled ***The Healthy Kitchen: Recipes from Rural Lebanon***.[72]

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO GULF COUNTRIES

Technical assistance in the agricultural sector for the Gulf region began as far back as 1952, when the Faculty was first established. It was considerably enhanced when the civil war broke out in Lebanon since such projects allowed the University to retain faculty members who might otherwise have left for jobs elsewhere. In 1976, AUB established the AUB Services Corporation (AUBSCO), which handled the outside activities of the various faculties. In 1979, its name was changed to the Research and Development Administrative Center (RADAC), and later, in 1982, it became the REP office under a vice-president for Regional External Programs. As a result, there was increased AUB faculty activity across the region, with more organized services to both the public and private sectors in the Gulf. Initially, Saudi Arabia received most AUB assistance, and the FAFS was the most active of all six AUB faculties operating in the Kingdom. A joint project between FAFS and USDA led to the creation of the Regional Agriculture and Water Research Center (RAWRC) in Riyadh. This central laboratory continues to provide services to all parts of Saudi Arabia and some services to other Gulf countries. In 1982, AUB signed a contract directly with the Saudi government which provided over sixty-five professionals from eight nationalities that rendered consulting and extension services to the Saudi Ministry of Agriculture and Water, as well as to all the agricultural experiment stations in the Kingdom. The Faculty also contributed significantly to the improvement of date palm culture throughout the Gulf. Several diseases and insect pests of the date palm were identified, and methods of control were developed by faculty members in plant pathology and entomology. There was also a significant amount of work on the chemical and physical characteristics of dates grown in Saudi Arabia,[73] contributing to the improvement of methods of processing, storage, and packaging of dates, which led to the expansion of marketing of dates from the Gulf to all parts of the world. Technical assistance to the Gulf countries continues to be one of the most important consulting activities of the FAFS faculty in the region.

THE IMPACT OF FAFS ON AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

FAFS was not only the first college of agriculture to be established in Lebanon, but also the first in the Near East. The land-grant college system of education developed in the US was adopted at AUB from the very beginning, combining teaching, research, and service. Several other colleges established later in the region, such as the Jordan University, Abu-Graib in Iraq, Aleppo University in Syria, and Shiraz University in Iran, have employed AUB graduates who have influenced these newer educational systems to also follow the land-grant system. In Lebanon, besides the Lebanese University in which the College of Agriculture was established in 1985, there are now two more universities with programs in agriculture – namely, Université St. Joseph and Université Saint-Esprit de Kaslik. The latter two have followed in the footsteps of AUB, offering programs very similar to that of FAFS. From the very beginning, FAFS has been instrumental in hosting conferences to which faculty from other universities were invited. The first of these, in 1963, was the Middle East Agricultural Symposium and fair, held on the AUB campus, to which both university and industry people were invited. Subsequently, several symposia and conferences have been organized, and FAFS has become a popular venue for agricultural conferences in the region, facilitating the transfer of research results among participants and resulting in a considerable impact on agricultural development in the region.[74]

CONTRIBUTIONS BY FAFS GRADUATES

While FAFS faculty members have clearly contributed significantly to agricultural development in the region, by far the greatest contributions have been by its graduates, numbering over 4000 from all over the world. In a survey of about 1000 graduates, conducted in 2010, it was found that over 35 percent of them work outside Lebanon, with most of them in Canada, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and the USA. A large number of the early graduates of the 1960s and 1970s, however, are in Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Cyprus, Yemen, Turkey, and Morocco. Although they are widely distributed over all five continents, the majority of these graduates have settled in Lebanon and the Gulf region, and their influence on agricultural development in the region is unsurpassed by any other faculty of agriculture in the Middle East.

FAFS graduates have contributed to the development of nearly all the agricultural, nutrition, and food science sectors of the region, specifically in the fields of animal and poultry production, the development and introduction of new crops and crop varieties, agricultural mechanization, irrigation, plant protection, floriculture, soil conservation, food composition and processing, nutritional diseases, and nutritional status and interventions. FAFS graduates have occupied important positions in the public sector as well as in the private sector, academia, and international agencies. In the public sector, they have become director generals of ministries or ministers of agriculture in various governments in the region. Today these graduates tend to hold the best available positions in the firms they work for or to direct their own companies. Some of them are owners of the largest animal and poultry production enterprises in the region, some the largest producers of vegetables and fruits, and some managers of companies that deal with marketing of equipment, pesticides, herbicides, veterinary products, and other agrochemicals.[75] A number of them are also technical managers and representatives of important irrigation companies in the region, such as Rain Bird, Weathermatic, Thompson Manufacturing, and Hardie Irrigation. Some of these graduates have been involved in setting up significant irrigation projects, such as at the Tuileries Garden in Paris, Tiananmen Square in Beijing, and the Maracana Stadium in Rio de Janeiro. Other graduates have worked on sustainable development in the region as well as in practices on water, soil, and forest conservation and rehabilitation.[76] In terms of academia, many FAFS graduates have travelled abroad and earned PhD degrees, and many have returned and occupied key positions in universities in their home countries, becoming deans of colleges of agriculture and even university presidents. Some have pursued research careers and become well-known scientists in their field of specialization. And others have contributed to the development of the agriculture sector in the region and abroad by working for various international agencies that are involved in development in which agriculture plays an important role, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Center for Agricultural Research in Dry Areas (ICARDA), the Arab Center for the Study of Arid Zones and Dry Lands (ACSAD), the International Center for Maize and Wheat Improvement in Mexico (CIMMYT), the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI), the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), the World Food Program (WFP), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Graduates in these organizations have worked as research scientists, program coordinators, team leaders of programs, heads of projects, and country representatives, and have even been directors of some of these organizations.

ANIMAL AND POULTRY PRODUCTION

FAFS graduates have been major contributors to the development and growth of the poultry industry, not only in Lebanon, but also throughout the Middle East. They have introduced new and innovative practices, such as environment-controlled housing equipped with specialized cooling pads for poultry operations in the Gulf region and especially in Saudi Arabia. The world's first chick transport vehicle that applies evaporative cooling was designed and built by one of our graduates.[77] In addition to their work in poultry projects in Kuwait, Oman, Yemen, Turkey, Nigeria, Cyprus, Canada, and the US, FAFS graduates own or manage significant percentages of the poultry industries in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan.

FAFS graduates have also been involved in the development and growth of Lebanon's dairy industry, as well as in other countries in the region. They have occupied top managerial positions in many of the large dairy operations in these countries and have introduced innovative practices that have led to reductions in the cost of production and improvements in the quality of milk and milk products. One of our early graduates pioneered the commercialization of embryo transfer in dairy cattle with a procedure that has since become very widespread, used today by most large scale dairies.[78] Embryo transfer is a practical tool, much like artificial insemination, widely used by cattle breeders worldwide.

CROP PRODUCTION AND PROTECTION

FAFS agriculture graduates have been pioneers of the green revolution in the Arab world, and particularly in the Gulf. As early as 1970, they introduced into Kuwait the hydroponic production of such vegetables as lettuce, tomatoes, and cucumbers, which later spread to other Gulf countries. Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, they were instrumental in developing and promoting in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait fully automated greenhouse and plastic house projects and their related systems, such as cooling, heating, fertigation, and climate control. In Lebanon, our graduates have revolutionized the vegetable production sector by introducing new crops and new varieties, such as cherry and grape

tomatoes, romaine and iceberg lettuce, red cabbage, peas, broad beans, and seedless watermelons, in addition to melons grown in small tunnels. These projects produce high quality vegetables and fruits with minimum pesticide use and moderate use of chemical fertilizers. They have also intensified the use of organic fertilizers, such as chicken manure, thus contributing to wholesome products and a relatively safe environment. FAFS graduates have not only concentrated on expanding production of fruits and vegetables in Lebanon, but also introduced the practice of value-added products by using them as raw materials for factories. Examples include strawberries for jam, frozen grilled eggplant for baba ghanooj, frozen potatoes, and other frozen vegetables and fruit. They have also increased the exports of these products to Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, UAE, Kuwait, Slovenia, England, Russia, Italy, and Nigeria, and are expanding operations to export to several other European countries. This increased export market has been made possible by their success in producing refined and uniquely packed products that meet European standards and requirements.[79] One of the very useful innovations introduced by FAFS graduates in the vegetable business is the concept of field trials by private companies. Realizing that governments in the region are not active or efficient in agricultural extension, our graduates have conducted their own field trials to determine the varieties most suitable to a specific region. Their companies have created experimental stations in the Middle East, North Africa, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia that conduct variety trials and invite farmers to inspect the harvested products at annual "field days."

FAFS graduates have been pioneers in the development and up-grading of modern banana agriculture in Lebanon. They have introduced the net house to protect imported varieties from adverse climatic conditions, enabling farmers to produce 7 tons of bananas per 1000 square meters, as compared to 4 tons in the existing open fields.[80] Furthermore, the use of net houses for bananas has created a new industry, and five local companies now produce net houses for banana growers.

Grape production in the region goes back nine thousand years, and wine making is probably just as old. Presses and fermentation baths were in use by 4000 BC.[81] In Lebanon, the first winery was started by the Jesuits in the early part of the seventeenth century in the Beqaa valley. While research on grapes was initiated from the very beginning by the Faculty, with the exception of a few thesis projects, it has received minimal attention from FAFS graduates until recently.[82] The problems of pesticide residues in grapes were studied in the 1970s, particularly in relation to DDT and parathion.[83] Since then the wine industry in Lebanon has grown significantly, and it is estimated that over forty Lebanese wineries are producing more than eight million bottles of wine a year. About two million of those are believed to be exported to Europe and North America.[84] A few of our graduates are now involved in this industry either as owners and/or managers of wineries.

FOOD SCIENCE AND NUTRITION

The Department of Nutrition and Food Science in FAFS has been graduating students since 1984, and their contributions to the region have been pace-setting. As early as 1992, FAFS graduates developed the idea of opening health and diet centers, which provide a complete integrated approach to wellness by starting with clinical studies on the individual and moving on to providing daily meals until the desired weight has been reached and the new health practices have become daily routine for the individual. These diet centers have spread all over Lebanon, and some of our graduates have opened branches of their centers in several other countries in the region.[85] Food science graduates have contributed in recent years to such new food industries as vegetable processing and canning, dehydration plants, and production of frozen foods and dairy products. The production of fresh pasteurized quality fruit juices is another venture that FAFS graduates have embarked upon in recent years. The biggest of these in Lebanon, with a production capacity of six tons of citrus fruits per hour, is owned and managed by an FAFS food science graduate. In Jordan, many food processing projects have been introduced by our graduates, including the first factory for the production of hommos bitahini, broad beans, peas, pickles, and tomato paste.[86]

According to a survey of graduates from 2004-2009, most nutrition graduates are equally divided between Lebanon and the Gulf countries, while the Food Science graduates are mainly working in Lebanon. FAFS graduates in food science are contributing significantly to the development of the food processing industries in the country. The potential for growth of the industries related to food handling, processing, distribution, and quality control in Lebanon, in particular, and the region, in general, is very high, and it is expected that the need for people in these fields will continue to increase for many years to come.

LANDSCAPING BUSINESS

Many FAFS agriculture graduates began work on landscaping projects as early as 1974, when the Rabya Company was established by an FAFS graduate in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, twenty-six years before a degree program in Landscape Design and Ecosystem Management was introduced at FAFS. Rabya pioneered the field of landscaping in Saudi Arabia as well as in several other Gulf countries, and is now involved in the production of indoor and outdoor plants, fruits, vegetables, and cut flowers. In fact, the four biggest landscaping companies in the Gulf – Rabya, Salco, Citiscope, and Middle East Agriculture – all started by FAFS graduates, account for 56 percent of the total market share; on its own, Rabya holds 40 percent of market share. There are now numerous agricultural and engineering firms in Lebanon and around the region that provide landscaping design, execution, and/or maintenance services, many of them either owned or managed by AUB graduates.

It is noteworthy that several FAFS graduates also own and/or operate landscaping companies in the US, mainly in California, where they work in nurseries, landscaping, the seed business, and fruit and vegetable production. FAFS graduates have also contributed to the literature in landscaping in the Gulf region. One of the best books written on landscape plants in the Arab Gulf countries was published by one of our graduates.[87]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

AUB's contributions to agricultural development in the Middle East started during the early part of the twentieth century, before the onset of World War I. Its initial contributions were focused on agricultural extension services as well as technical training of young people in modern farm practices. After the development, first, of the School of Agriculture and, later, the Faculty of Agricultural and Food Sciences (FAFS), AUB faculty members contributed further through teaching, research, and extension activities across the region. From the first graduating class in 1956 onwards, the graduates of FAFS have shared in these important contributions to agricultural development. It was through this joint effort of faculty and alumni that the green revolution in the Middle East was realized. The influence of AUB has not been restricted to the Middle East, but also has covered North Africa and parts of the Far East. The numerous contributions of faculty members and graduates extend beyond agricultural development to major developments in the food industry and to the field of nutrition, making a significant impact on the improvement of the nutritional status of people all over the region. Nutritional deficiencies and nutrition-related non-communicable diseases have been greatly reduced in the region as a direct result of AUB's contributions to the fields of food science and nutrition. We look forward to continued growth and development from FAFS and its graduates to food security in the region.

ENDNOTES

[1] This chapter expands on and provides a more detailed description of the research of the FAFS and its impact on agricultural development in the region than what was covered in my earlier book, *Agriculture at AUB: A Century of Progress* (Beirut: AUB Press, 2012).

[2] Dean Emeritus, FAFS, AUB. I would like to thank Dr. Issam Bashour for providing information on innovative agricultural practices introduced by FAFS. I would also like to thank Mr. Samir Kreidieh, who provided me with information on the involvement of our graduates in the landscaping business in the Gulf region. I also thank the Landscape Design and Eco-system Management Department for information on landscape companies in the region as a whole. Thanks are also due to Mr. Musa Freiji for providing me with information on the involvement of our graduates in the poultry business. Special thanks go to Clare Leader, who has provided expert advice and diligent editing on this chapter, and to Lina Jaber of the Animal and Veterinary Science Department at FAFS for her assistance in typing this manuscript.

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Part V

Salient Personalities

19 A Useful Life: Bulus Khauli at SPC and AUB

Tony P. Naufal

Bulus Khauli (1876–1948) served SPC-AUB for fifty years,[1] working under three presidents. He was hired as an instructor in 1897 during the administration of Syrian Protestant College (SPC) founder, Daniel Bliss. He continued through his most innovative, dynamic, and fruitful period under the leadership of Howard S. Bliss, College president from 1902 through the First World War. In 1919, Howard Bliss was invited by the US Department of State to share his views at the Paris Peace Conference in Versailles; he was replaced at AUB by Edward Nickoley as acting president. Due to ill health, Howard Bliss was unable to return to the College; he died in the US in 1920. He had been a mentor and a friend to Bulus Khauli. In that same momentous year the College changed its name to the American University of Beirut. Having accumulated experience through his teaching at the College and two trips to the United States (in 1904 and 1919), Khauli was instrumental in the running of the University, working closely with the energetic, albeit difficult, Nickoley, and then with Bayard Dodge, who was inaugurated as president on 28 June 1923.

Dodge knew Khauli well, having worked with him on several projects[2] before the Great War, and they had continually kept in touch through correspondence. In addition to being old acquaintances, they shared an affectionate tie,[3] no doubt carried over from Howard Bliss, as Dodge had married Mary, the eldest daughter of Khauli's beloved friend. In assessing the University in the last years of his presidency and enumerating the figures that had served it, Dodge wrote that by that time Bulus Khauli had come "to the end of his useful life."[4]

Khauli had served the College and the University some forty-three years as a faculty member, as well as in the administrative position of acting dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1931–1932.[5] He retired in 1941, but continued teaching until 1947. During the war years, from 1942 to 1947, Khauli worked for the US Information Agency in Beirut. He returned to the University in 1946–1947 to again fill the post of acting dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science. His entire life had been devoted to the University, linked to the campus near which he had chosen to take up residence. Through his assiduous work, his constancy, and his unswerving support for the University, his retirement (along with that of H. G. Dorman and T. Ladakis) was so dreaded in its time that Penrose wrote: "To readers familiar with the University in its earlier years it must appear that the pillars of the institution are crumbling."[6] His longevity at the University made him an important biographer of the men whose contributions had raised the College to University: it was incumbent upon him to write obituaries for William Hall (1927), Dawud Kurban (1935), and Harvey Porter.[7] He was also among those who paid tribute to Alfred Day when Day resigned (1924) from the deanship of Arts and Sciences to fully devote himself to teaching. Khauli had witnessed the development of the campus and its buildings, and in several contributions to early issues of *al-Kulliyah*, he describes the premises and their usage. His assessment of the College in its forty-eighth year, for instance, in *al-Kulliyah* (November 1913) constitutes a treasure trove of University history. Starting as an instructor in the Preparatory[8] Department of SPC, Khauli worked all his way up to become a full professor of Pedagogy (1909, subsequently termed Education from 1920 on) at the College. He practically built the Department of Education. How he served the College and then the University, his contribution establishing *al-Kulliyah*, how he fared as an Ottoman subject in an American educational institution, the trip he took to New York in 1904 for his Master's degree, and how he devoted himself to promoting training in the field of education for the Middle East region, building it up piecemeal and forming a legion of students to carry on his efforts, constitute a story never told before.

The most concrete and lasting evidence of the work of Khauli at SPC-AUB are his students, many of whom dedicated their work to him.[9] Several of those he taught played distinguished roles in academia, including Philip Hitti, the noted historian of Princeton University; and Constantine Zurayk, Asad Rustum, Anis al-Maqdisi, and Nabih Faris, all well-known at AUB. Maqdisi and two other former students of Khauli's - Abdalla al-Mashnouq and the writer Sa'id Taqi al-Din - spoke at the memorial service held for Khauli on 6 May 1949 at the American University of Beirut. Many of Khauli's students were later encouraged to go to Teachers' College, where he had been a pioneer long before. Thus Fadhil Jamali, Habib Kurani, Emile Dumit,[10] and Abdalla al-Hajj[11] were, at different periods, part of the Teachers' College experience. Nor were all his students in the humanities. Some, like Amin A. Khairallah (BA 1906, MD 1911) and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kayyali (MD 1914), studied medicine. The latter lived in Aleppo and was involved in politics; he sent Khauli his writings opposing the Mandate, with the affectionate greetings of a former student. Another student who had a prominent political career, Habib Abi-Shahla, gave his former professor a copy of the doctoral dissertation in Law (on Turkish Capitulations) that he defended at the University of Paris in 1924. Bulus Khauli also had many connections with the Arab College in Jerusalem, where Salim Katul, among his other students, was later teaching. They were all keen to show their gratitude to their old teacher. The most outspoken tribute to Khauli, however, came from Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, who taught at the Arab College in Jerusalem. Khalidi was proud to present to him his book, an Arabic adaptation of the classroom management principles of Bagley, which Khauli had covered in his classes, with a printed word: "To my distinguished teacher and wise educator Bulus Khauli, in gratitude and in recognition of his teachings that have been greatly beneficial to me personally, as well as to many of his students who now teach in sundry Arab regions."[12] In 1985, in the midst of civil strife, discord and division in Lebanon, more than fifty years after having been a student of Khauli's, Omar Farrukh, remembered his professor in a newspaper article explaining how this "unifying teacher's principles shone on his students."[13]

EARLY LIFE AND FORMATION

Bulus Khauli was born in 1876 into a seemingly "enlightened" household in Bterram,[14] in the Kura district. His father, Quzma, valued learning and had taken up rudimentary medicine with a retired army doctor who had campaigned with Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt before settling in Kura. He also owned a fair library (for the period), including the earliest volumes of *al-Muqtataf*. Young Bulus was sent to the "American school" in the area, and later, in 1890, went to Beirut to attend the Preparatory Department of SPC. His teachers there were SPC graduates: Jabr Dumit (graduated 1876), Najeeb Saleeby (graduated 1888), Labib Jureidini (graduated 1890) and Luis Baddur (graduated 1888). Subsequent to two years at the Preparatory Department, he finished his freshman year at the College (1892-1893) and then spent the next academic year (1893-1894) teaching in Beino, Akkar. It is there, his family conjectures, that he came in contact with Protestant missionaries and was so impressed with their uprightness and their ways that he followed them into the Protestant faith. What he taught in Beino is not clear, but his initial interest in the Arabic language became an obsession. He filled notebooks with poetry and word definitions in beautiful calligraphic script. He drew from several sources, especially from Jurjani's *Ta'rifat*. He noted down odd words and usages from Shidyaq's famous *al-Saq 'ala al-saq*, copied out poetry lines from Mutanabbi, and popular sayings and words of wisdom by 'Ali bin Abi-Talib. His first flush in teaching, however, marked his life, and he decided to immerse himself in everything educational. He had chosen his career as a teacher.

A TEACHING JOB

Khauli returned to the College in 1894, finished his Bachelor's degree in 1897, and was hired as an instructor in the Preparatory Department, alongside Faris al-Khuri, Khalil Tabit, Nasib Badr, and Shukri Ma'luf.[15] He noted in his autobiographical sketchbook that, after three years, his friends and colleagues Faris, Khalil, and Nasib left the College, whereas he was promised a permanent job by Professor Robert West, who had occupied the post of principal when William Hall relinquished it to return to America. With Robert West, he started working on a book on arithmetic in Arabic, which was published as *al-Mustahdath fi al-hisab* in 1903 for use as a textbook at the College; it was reprinted six times by the American Press (the sixth printing in 1922). His teaching load was impressive; other than Arabic, he taught arithmetic, algebra, the Bible, and other subjects. In addition to teaching, he busied himself with forming debate circles and literary societies. The Association for the Education of Syrian Youth (*Jam'iyyat tahdhib al-shabiba al-Suriyya*) was born then, in 1903. Displaying a will to bypass the sectarian structure of society, the aim of this association was to promote learning by organizing lectures, debates, and gatherings, bringing Muslims and Christians together and collecting funds to help needy, but promising students; it extolled the benefits of education. Among its guest

speakers was Sheikh Abd al-Qadir al-Maghribi (1867-1956) of Tripoli, whose lecture in 1910 was on "Tolerance and national education.[16] This speech described the unique route to national unity that education provides, expressing Kauli's feelings exactly, the only difference being that its points were argued by a notable religious figure who stressed on the spiritual dimension of Islam.

Another of Khauli's activities was the creation of *Zahrat al-isti'dadiyya*,[17] which focused on improving the Arabic of students through competition. He taught at the Preparatory Department for seven years, rising from instructor to Arabic master (1902-1904). Language, inasmuch as it provides a vehicle for national character, remained for him of paramount importance. Much later, in his obituary speech in memory of his colleague and friend Dawud Kurban at West Hall on 16 June 1935, he insisted that the greatest legacy of Kurban was his mastery of Arabic and his devotion to teaching it,

> for it is clear that language, as a tool of communication and writing, is the basis of thought and the means to thinking, so when someone's language weakens, his thought also slackens . . . and when we learn in a foreign tongue and cannot communicate our learning in our national tongue, we become strangers amongst our own folk . . .[18]

Kauli believed that the best kind of learning of his day came from the West, but he never tired of repeating that in conjunction with any other language of instruction, one must, as much as possible, master Arabic. Reading extensively, he constantly endeavored to find an Arabic rendering of the terms used in English in the social sciences. His approach seemed bilingual from the start. Even when he enlarged the curriculum with advanced education courses, he had in mind Arabic-speaking students and prepared his course notes in Arabic while lecturing in English. This double-headed aim of broadening one's knowledge and focusing on Arabic was to color the rest of his views. Learning, however, as Khauli readily discovered, is an art that can be brought to greater and higher refinement, and can provide the answer to many of the evils suffered in the Near East. The term "education" carries with it three different aspects to which Khauli constantly referred: teaching (*ta'lim*), cultivating (*tathqif*), and refining and polishing manners (*tahdhib*). Becoming knowledgeable, refined, cultured, and polite, and living according to principles and ethics was for him the goal of education.

The economic situation under Sultan Abdulhamid II was difficult, the heavy hand of the authorities oppressing, and the empire's censorship policies stifling. These were trying times through which Khauli suffered and was "in internal rebellion and turmoil," as he recorded in his "Sketchbook"; as emigration increased, he yearned to leave. In a 1903 speech to the Association for the Education of Syrian Youth, mingling verse and poetry, without mentioning Ottoman oppression, Kauli expressed the state of stagnation the Syrian faced and vented his bitter feelings. Published by *al-Muqtataf*,[19] some of the verses became famous among his contemporaries. He argued, in his speech, both the positive and negative sides of emigration, and drew a portrait of the character of the Syrian, with all his strengths and weaknesses. He emphasized that against decay energetic action was needed and that emigration was a solution on the condition that one would come back to serve the homeland. Beneficial education and spotless ethical conduct, he reiterated, were keys to success. His personal choice in going abroad in order to better his situation was to study further; his mind was set on Columbia University.

STUDIES IN NEW YORK (1904-1905)

Luckily for him, arrangements were made allowing Khauli to spend the 1904-1905 academic year at Teachers' College, then part of Columbia University. Earlier that year, 1904, Bulus Khauli had been very productive, publishing five articles, three of which were originally speeches of his that appeared in *al-Muqtataf*. Through these articles, he demonstrated definitively that he was at home in the field of education. At SPC, in 1903, to honor the new president, Howard Bliss, Khauli had given a speech on the importance of education as a field in the world of learning, although education was not yet part of the SPC curriculum. Another speech in a school in Sidon focused on the principles of education. A third at *Jam'iyyat al-ijtihad* in Beirut dealt with gender differences in education. His paper on the ideas of Herbert Spencer in education, although not an original assessment, but rather a translation and adaptation of the work of William Harris in the *Educational Revue*, resonated with the readers of *al-Muqtataf* and marked the beginning of Khauli's lasting interest in Spencer.[20] The opportunity to study at Teachers' College came as a crowning achievement to his deep interest in education.

Khauli's trip to New York - reached in mid-August 1904 on board the ship "Prinz Adalbert" - fills a notebook, minutely described in a hardly legible quick hand in pencil. In America, Khauli breathed freedom and wrote as he wished. This formative year in the United States was not only spent studying, but also traveling around. Before he started his studies, stunned by the noise and restless activity of New York City, he went on to investigate the quiet life of a rural Pennsylvania village, and then visited the St. Louis Exposition and attended the inauguration of President Theodore Roosevelt in

Washington DC, before swinging north. He passed through Chicago, and could not resist the attraction of such a wonder of nature as the Niagara Falls.[21] On the third of October 1904, back in New York, Khauli attended the 151st anniversary of Columbia University, where science and religion, he noted, were assembled under the same roof. In "Maqam al-'ilm fi America" [The High Esteem of Learning in America], he describes the ceremony awarding the Archbishop of Canterbury - present then to commemorate a tradition linking Columbia University to the Bishopric - with an honorary doctorate. Witnessing with amazement the subordination of all present, from the head of church to the head of the university, to learning was a most significant event for Khauli, who wrote that "as long as the tyranny of the heads of religion remains dominant in our homeland, in addition to the tyranny of the rulers, then the time-frame that God would have set on Syria's backwardness is open-ended."[22]

Khauli did not really understand the underlying driving force in American life, as he says in a piece he entitled "Hadith dhu shujun,"[23] until he started studying and living in New York, reading its newspapers, experiencing its pace of life, and pondering its wondrous facets. Quite perspicacious, lucid, and objective about both good and bad in what he saw, Khauli left a very incisive analysis. Not all was rosy in the New World; the Americans were not all of the missionary type one met at SPC. Abject poverty was not uncommon, and vice and unethical conduct were rampant; but the greatness of America, as he saw it, lay in the tendency of its people to strive for justice and to value education in the highest. What he admired was not the land as much as the people whose mentality was geared to hard work. Nevertheless, the mercantile aspect of its civilization and its need for markets did not escape his notice, though America, in his view, had no interest in the East. This first-hand lesson of mercantilism brought him, however, to distrust Europe, and to warn of its rapacity. The Europeans were linked to empire whereas America was seen as an extremely dynamic entity with no threatening political designs.

"EDUCATION IN TURKEY"

We do not know much about Khauli's course work at Columbia's Teachers' College,[24] but we know he obtained a Master's degree with a thesis entitled "Education in Turkey" (by Turkey, he meant the Ottoman Empire). Submitted in May 1905, his thesis is an interesting testimony to the overall mood in the Ottoman Empire under Abdulhamid II (Sultan 1876-1909). It also contains a lot of information on the SPC. In a handwritten document of over a hundred pages, Khauli strove to analyze all types of schooling in the Ottoman Empire. His first-hand knowledge of schools and teaching methods obviously constitute his strong points. The voice of a mature and experienced educator comes out. As for the problems of education in the Empire, Khauli asserted that they could be almost all grouped under one heading: misgovernance. The same went for poverty in the Empire. The sultan's own attitude did not show any encouragement of learning, and his fears had an impact on objectivity in news reporting, which was kept neutral so as not to incite a reaction. No information on political disturbances of any sort was reported. For example, "no particulars of the assassination of King Humbert and of President McKinley were allowed to be published, only the announcement of their deaths."[25] The Empire was divided along sectarian lines, and instead of using education as a unifying tool, as Khauli thought it should be, it was used for the purpose of further division. The Hatt-i-Humayun writ (1856) of Sultan Abdulmejid declaring equal rights for all subjects was never put into force, "and with all respect to the sagacity of H. M. Abdul-Hamid we cannot deny (while safe on American soil) his aggressive plans to check the wholesome influence and spread of liberal education."[26] The winds of liberalism had, however, already been sown by missionary work. Instead of weakening the non-Muslims of the Empire, as the Ottoman authorities wished would happen, Khauli argued that Protestantism proved "an uplifting agency that is destined to ***regenerate*** the Empire and bring about the revival of learning"[27] with the spread of Western education. The thesis wraps up on an optimistic note about progress.

In 1904, Khauli writes, SPC had eight hundred students,[28] enrolled in five departments - Collegiate (established in 1866), Medical (started in 1867), Preparatory (started in 1871), Pharmaceutical (started in 1873), and Commercial (started in 1900); a sixth department to promote research in Biblical archeology was in the making. The language of instruction prior to 1879 was Arabic, and Khauli adds that a very valuable contribution of scientific books was achieved during that period. "The Arabic is still taught very thoroughly and the graduates and the Arabic speaking students have always demonstrated their superior education in that tongue."[29] Students had to study two languages, in addition to their own - English and a choice between French, German, and Turkish. Of the five Forms of the Preparatory program, he described Forms One and Five thoroughly. On the College level, we learn that "a public exercise, consisting of declamations and orations is held every Wednesday afternoon, throughout the four years." [30] History extended over four years, the first years taught through text-books, and seniors taught chiefly through lectures. As for the course in the senior year, it "embraces constitutional history of England and the philosophy of history." Economics was taught to

the senior class in the second term and was based on Walker's ***Political Economy***,[31] with supplementary lectures and studies.[32] Some details are also given on the sciences: math, physiology, and the natural sciences, as well as on moral philosophy and psychology. President Emeritus Daniel Bliss "gives weekly exposition of the Bible to each class . . ."[33] Besides this note on Bible studies, Khauli does not speak much of the spiritual and religious vocation of the College. A separation between learning and devotion is kept, in opposition to what Catholic institutions provided. These, he stresses, were unable to impart a "broad and progressive education. Their foremost aim of course is to uphold and spread Catholicism. Their education then is a means and not an end."[34] The SPC, for Khauli, offered a religious dimension, but in a liberal and spiritual way. He never lectured or spoke of dogma, and was not interested in nor promoted salvation theories; his personal emphasis was chiefly on ethical conduct and useful action. He rarely spoke of Christianity outside Church gatherings,[35] but his unattainable ideal, like that of Daniel Bliss, was in the imitation of the Master, following a line of conduct that concentrates on service to others. He concluded one of his later lectures with these words: "let our guiding principle ever be the word of our great leader - '[He who is] greatest among you shall be your servant.'"[36]

EDUCATION AND NATIONALISM

Khauli returned from America in 1905, having "tasted the joy of democracy and the spirit of nationalism." Both these features, he believed, were the product of education, so he longed to make them part of his career as an educator, and to help embed them in education and inscribe them as part of upbringing in the Near East.

Upon his return to the College in Beirut, he found in Howard Bliss a ready ally. President Bliss was an idealist who took the role of the good shepherd seriously and treated the students as his flock. Deeply religious and spiritual, liberal, humble, and generous, his house was open to both faculty and students. Khauli recalled Bliss repeating with sincerity, "we are in this land to serve and to exchange the best we have with the best you have. We learn from each other."[37] He held high principles, and saw these same traits in Khauli, whose potential he recognized. This could be seen throughout their long association, which only ended in the United States, where Khauli visited the dying Bliss for the last time and carried back to Beirut the last message President Bliss had given him: take care of the College.[38]

Under Howard Bliss, the college became a community. A real spirit of brotherhood was emerging, and this symbiosis between "nationals" (thus Khauli termed the local staff) and Americans worked well, in spite of inequalities. The story of West Hall is a case in point. Robert H. West, an outstanding "staffite," died in 1906, after holding many posts at the Preparatory Department and the College. He was beloved by his colleagues, who decided to launch a fundraising campaign in order to build a needed hall that would bring comfort to the students and also commemorate West's name. Khauli had worked with West and shared the affection his colleagues had for him. He joined the campaign, and in 1907 wrote a circular letter in Arabic, explaining how both Americans and Syrians had joined in their efforts for this cause; he referred to an ***al-Muqtataf*** article, further explaining the need for this building.[39] The joint effort fell short, but a generous contribution from Cleveland Dodge enabled them to see the project through, and West Hall was constructed and dedicated on February 24, 1914.[40] With this modern amenity, student life took a new turn. The College, which boasted many fine buildings by 1902 - the year Howard Bliss took charge - expanded considerably in the first decade of his presidency. With the growing number of graduates, the need to bring them together as an efficient voice was now necessary, and Bliss felt it even more so when he visited SPC graduates living in Egypt, under British rule, who had faired rather well.

In the academic year 1905-1906, along with Dawud Kurban, Khauli became an adjunct professor of Arabic. He remained in this position, teaching Arabic, but also working diligently on education, which became a field of study at the College much later when academic establishments at large discovered the need to add "pedagogy" to their curriculums. It was, therefore, only in 1910 that Khauli achieved the rank of full professor of pedagogy.[41] In 1911, the College also started a training section for teachers, which awarded an Education diploma,[42] at which point Khauli stopped teaching at the Preparatory level and specialized entirely in the art of pedagogy. The first lecture he gave was on the philosophy of education.[43] In his traditional specialty, the field of Arabic, with his former teacher and friend, Jabr Dumit (1859-1930), he composed a book proposing a new way of understanding Arabic grammar: ***Kitab Fakk al-taqlid***.[44] Their innovative approach, made clear in the title (translated as "Untying the Knot of the Traditional Approach"), was approved, and the text-book was adopted for use at SPC. A new project and a new challenge, however, awaited this educator who wrote Arabic with such ease and clarity.

At that point, in 1910, the College needed its own publication, a focal point that would link the graduates to the alma mater and provide a space where College events could be recorded and interesting articles could be read. It was decided that the language of this publication would be

English, but since the pre-1879 graduates had poor English, an Arabic section was kept for them; Khauli was given the general editorship of the Arabic section. This new publication, ***al-Kulliyyeh*** - the "Journal of the Syrian Protestant College," starting in February 1910, was set to come out every month of the academic year, from November to July, in nine issues.[45] Of the nine subject headings that the journal proposed to treat, there was one on education. The rest were: college news; names of visitors or lecturers; articles and papers; students' writings; alumni news; book reviews; queries and answers; and miscellaneous. Khauli also recorded, in the first issue, its purpose and guiding principles.[46] It is interesting to note that politics was avoided unless it touched on civilization (***al-wujha al-'imraniyya***). Criticism and partisanship were prohibited, and great efforts were exerted to answer the question: how do we reform our eastern form of education?[47] From the outset, however, the thrust of Khauli's concern was "to show that the spirit of real education is the spirit of faithful service of one's country in the line of any duty, no matter how humble it may be."[48]

The lasting impact of this new publication was in creating a real bond between the graduates. It combined serious topics and light writings on social aspects and campus events. All the articles were short and some in serial sequence. Another fluid pen in Arabic was soon found to assist Khauli - Anis Maqdisi. The larger family of SPC figures also contributed to ***al-Kulliyah***, including Jabr Dumit, Dawud Kurban, Philip Hitti, Anis Maqdisi, Youssef Aftimus, Mansur Jurdaq, Murad Baroody, and Najib Nassar. Little by little, other voices were added, and the journal's regularity was maintained by the constant zeal of its Arabic editor, Bulus Khauli. He was to remain the editor of the Arabic section for twenty years, producing fourteen volumes.[49] In his effort to make it a repository of College history, Khauli pushed his older colleagues to record their reminiscences in articles for ***al-Kulliyah***. Dawud Kurban (BA 1882) wittily recalled how Khauli relentlessly urged him to compose his entertaining articles, "The College in the days we were students" and its sequels.[50] Khauli, himself, became a kind of historian of SPC with articles on the new features of the campus and on the state of the College over the years.[51] Off campus, Khauli's work on ***al-Kulliyah*** did not go unnoticed.[52] With ***al-Kulliyah***, the College had acquired a reliable publication with a semi-journalistic, semi-scholarly apparatus and a growing book review section. Its Arabic editor had built himself a solid reputation and, as a representative of the College on tour of Palestine in August 1913, he was invited to give a presentation about Jurji Zaydan at a celebration honoring the presence of the writer and his family in Jerusalem.[53]

Al-Kulliyah not only channeled Khauli's thoughts on education with the numerous articles it published, but also prepared the groundwork for the official creation of the alumni association[54] by gathering together the graduates into a community and strengthening their bonds. With his frequent visits to the graduates in Egypt and Palestine, Howard Bliss had already set the pace for cultivating a continuing relationship between the College and its graduates. The success of SPC graduates in Egypt, especially in terms of their roles in the intellectual revival of that country and their publications, were an inspiration. In June 1910, the "Beirut Alumni Association was started by the appointment of a committee to discuss a method of organization," although, as Howard Bliss was in America at the time, the project had to await his return. The Alumni Association was officially launched on 14 March 1911, when about seventy graduates and faculty members met in the study of the president. "There they were addressed by Dr. Webster on his recent trip to Egypt; by Prof. Brown on the College as a centre for Scientific Study; by Prof. Crawford, who has recently returned from India, on College Men in India; and by Prof. Khauli on ***Al-Kulliyeh*** [*sic*]."[55] The articles of the Alumni Association were set, outlining its objectives, membership, dues, meetings, and sections and branches; the College magazine, ***al-Kulliyyeh***, was to be its official paper. The Association was thus launched and it met twice a year.

The years preceding the First World War marked many great changes that were taking place in the Empire, including the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908, with great hopes for radical reform of the Empire. The College publication reflected some of these events. Howard Bliss would seize any occasion to encourage progress and the awakening of nationalism, and ***al-Kulliyah*** was instrumental to this purpose. He insisted on high principles, on ethics, and the love of nation; many celebrations held in Bliss Hall displayed the Ottoman flag next to the star-spangled banner. When a Turkish correspondent from ***Tanin***, the main voice of the Committee of Union and Progress in Istanbul, attacked the SPC for teaching ideas that were alien to those of the Ottoman Empire, Khauli answered in the May 1911 issue of ***al-Kulliyah***, defending his alma mater by questioning such ideas. "As an Ottoman who is enthusiastic for '"Ottomanism"' (al-'Uthmaniyya)," he says, "my aim is to construct and not demolish, to unite and not separate..." What everyone at SPC wished for, he contended, was a strong, unified state that would uphold the law and establish a just rule. If one chanced to find, among SPC graduates, some who hated "Ottomanism," they would probably be expressing their abhorrence for the injustice they had experienced at the hands of Ottoman state employees. Who, he asked, would love a government that neglected its citizens or treated them like slaves? Khauli took up themes he had developed elsewhere: the weakness of the Ottoman state with its total dependence on the West

for everything. The first duty of nationalism, he maintained, was to keep faith in the capacity of the Ottoman Empire to advance and take its place among truly civilized nations. In his mind, the graduates of SPC were the kind of Ottomans that could help attain this goal.[56] He explained his views with more substance in a talk given on June 19, 1913, published in ***al-Kulliyah***. Only a constitution and liberties could revive a nation, but they remained hollow words. His essay is packed with historical examples and socio-economic arguments. Putting his ideas in the context of the struggle between East and West over economic sources, Khauli tolled the bells of the dangers facing the Empire. Five years after the Ottoman Constitution, which had thus far proved ineffectual, he feared the coming catastrophe: "we cannot survive as a nation except by standing together and uniting our forces in organizing our administrative and economic matters first and foremost."[57] Most of these thoughts had matured through his American experience and were expressed in his writings, particularly in ***al-Muqtataf***.

Progress and liberal ideas, identity formation, and nation building were also among the ideas championed by Howard Bliss. In a meeting of the "Zahrat al-adab" Society in January 1912, which Bliss attended, the topic discussed was how to serve the nation, now that it had a Constitution, and the answer was clear: by producing men of ethics and principles.[58] When, on 24 February 1912, in the course of the Balkan Wars, Ottoman warships were attacked in Beirut harbor by the Italian navy, the event was covered with great sympathy by ***al-Kulliyah***,[59] and the concern of Bliss and the help he provided to the local authorities was truly appreciated. In addition to his solidarity with the authorities, he constantly praised hard work and firmly believed that a sure path to the love of nation was through honoring its great men. In 1914, two Ottoman pilots, Fathi Bey and Sadik Bey, captured the imagination of the nation with their exploits when they flew over Beirut, circled around the campus in their flying machine, and dropped an Ottoman flag. The inhabitants of Beirut, as well as SPC students, watched them with enthusiasm. However, on 27 February 1914, the two pilots crashed in the Golan Heights and were both killed. President Bliss seized the occasion to boost national feelings by stressing their achievements. On 3 March 1914, in a talk that Khauli rendered into Arabic, Bliss described the two pilots as great heroes whose example should inspire excellence, a bulwark against the dejection that aspects of corruption and backwardness produced in the Ottoman subjects' minds. He asserted that great men uplift the nation and strengthen it, so "be you like these men!" He waved the flag the pilots had dropped and promised to cherish it and keep it in the SPC museum. "Glorious is the life that is spent in the service of the nation and more glorious the death that renews the love of the nation and breathes in the chests of its children the spirit of courage, dedication and sacrifice."[60]

On several occasions, President Bliss and Bulus Khauli worked together to further the nationalist cause. In 1914, Bliss invited two newly elected deputies to the Ottoman parliament - Faris al-Khuri, a friend and classmate of Khauli, and another friend of his, Salim 'Ali Salam -to give a speech at SPC before they left for Istanbul. Bliss ended the celebrations symbolically by brandishing a set of many keys and wishing for a master key, thus imparting the sense of making of many, one.[61] It was not, however, a parochial or blind kind of nationalism that Bliss called for. His liberal intentions were clear, and in his view SPC was there to modernize the thoughts of its students and prepare them to serve the Ottoman Empire. He therefore asked Khauli to lecture on the state of education in the Empire, which Khauli did apologetically, insisting that it would be flawed as it lacked fresh documentation.[62] This lecture came out in a series of three articles in which Khauli tackled various aspects of teaching and schooling in the Empire. He described how the system that had started well had become corrupted and lacked the elements that led to thinking and the advancement of knowledge. In the vast Ottoman Empire, only Istanbul, with its Dar al-Funun, had something close to a good centre of learning, but it lacked the unity that would have made it a university. "Prof. Khauli did not fail to appeal to the patriotic zeal of his listeners in the urgent presentation of the national need,"[63] says the assessment in the English section of ***al-Kulliyah***. In the final analysis, it argued, SPC represented the viable model that had to be followed.

Next to a just government, the spread of a solid education was an imperative for the regeneration of the Empire - a lesson Khauli had internalized in America. Lecturing in mid-September of 1913 at the first Council of Teachers of the American Mission in Tripoli, Khauli unfolded his own ideas on education and outlined the criteria for a good educator. In a series of five highly sophisticated articles published in ***al-Kulliyah***, he demonstrated that he was a professional educator with state-of-the-art knowledge, abreast of the latest thoughts in the field, and able to quote such other leading educators as William James, F. Tate, S. Dayton, E. Everett, J. P. Wickersham, H. Mann, W. Harris, and S. Hall, as well as H. Spencer, M. Arnold, Cicero, Montaigne, Fénélon, and Rousseau.[64]

Bulus Khauli and his colleagues realized they were living in a privileged world at SPC, something wholly different and new. The discrepancy between the mood at the College and the mentality of those who ran it in contrast with that of those who governed the Empire was stark. In 1912,

Howard Bliss sent a series of pictures of the College campus and its buildings to His Imperial Majesty Muhammad V, and received in return a note of thanks. A part of this imperial letter, which was published in *al-Kulliyah*, described as having a "quaint phraseology," stated the following: "The album which you have presented to the Exalted Dust of the Foot of the Padishah has come to the notice of his lofty vision."[65] In such settings, the advancement of learning was hardly possible, and the symbiosis between Turkish and other nationalities under their domination seemed, for Khauli, to be fraying at the seams. He was, nevertheless, grateful for this "new age," and insisted, like Bliss, on the role of the individual who, with his moral make-up, hard work, and desire for progress, could make a difference in a society where change was needed and was indubitably coming.[66] He clung to his Ottoman identity throughout and in warning of the dangerous game of nations threatening the Ottoman possessions, he delivered in *al-Kulliyah* articles with a sharp analysis of the political situation prevalent on the eve of the First World War.[67]

The war years were very harsh. *Al-Kulliyah* stopped publication, as did the SPC Catalogue after 1916, the year marking the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College. Howard Bliss faced grave difficulties in keeping the College running, which dealt a blow to his declining health. Khauli, on the other hand, continued to increase education courses. The College Catalogue identified him as "responsible for Education" and listed fourteen education courses as offered in 1918-1919, including a course on the history of education, offered in the first semester, based on a Teachers' College manual by Paul Monroe.[68]

The end of the First World War, however, brought about a new turn of events. Due to his deep knowledge of the people of the area, Howard Bliss was called by the American Delegation to make a statement at the Peace Conference in Paris. He left Beirut on 9 January 1919, and he gave his assessment to the "Big Ten" on 13 February and again on 26 February 1919. He insisted on an inter-allied commission to examine how the people of Syria wanted to be governed (in accordance with the Twelfth Point of President Wilson - the right of self-determination), and he solemnly declared that the honor of America was at stake.[69] At the same time, Bulus Khauli traveled to the United States as well. The College Catalogue mentions him on a leave of absence in 1919-1920. On the basis of his integrity, his clear nationalist tendencies, and his knowledge of the United States, Emir Feisal had asked him to accompany his group and to represent Syria at the third World Christian Citizenship Conference, taking place November 9-16, 1919 in Pittsburgh.[70] He almost certainly had been asked by Bliss to attend that Conference as well since he carried a recommendation from him specifically for that purpose.[71] Upon arrival in New York, Khauli was attacked in a local Arabic newspaper, *al-Sha'b*, for bringing a "hijazi" project with him, to which he retaliated a week later, saying: "I do not make my conscience subservient to the government of Emir Feisal (as they call it) nor to any creature in the world. What I really believe in I will maintain whether Emir Feisal agrees or gets angry."[72] He sums up his stand in five points: a) Syria is for the Syrians; b) to be divided into independent areas or states (like the US); c) linked together by a parliamentary democratic central government; d) with an absolute separation between religion and state (a point H. Bliss also insisted on in his statement); and e) Syria would be put under the protection of one of the allied powers that would help it attain independence within a set period of time. In November of that year, in his speech at the Christian Citizenship Conference, Khauli reminded the participants how the Turks had sown division in Syria, and expressed his fear that old factions would be perpetuated by the occupying forces of the moment - since October 1918, the British, French, and Arab armies. He added, "I believe that the peace and prosperity of the East will never be accomplished by promoting the interests of the Christians alone . . . There will be no real peace to the Christians if the Moslems are oppressed and vice versa."[73] In the new configuration for which Khauli was hoping, nationality would be a uniting factor, replacing religious identity as a focal point, therefore, it was crucial to adopt the principle of separating the Church from the State. He insisted, "if there is going to be a democracy in Syria, this principle must be maintained and the relationship between Christians and Moslems must be adequately adjusted. This adjustment will be more effective if it could be introduced by the leaders of the ruling majority, which is Mohammedan."[74] He also noted that this principle had been adopted by Emir Feisal as well as by the National Conference assembled at Damascus. Khauli's insistence on secularism and on the idea that only the Muslim majority could impose it was of the utmost importance and presented a unique opportunity in the history of the region.[75] Thus his stand was an amalgam of SPC and nationalist ideas that Bliss would have certainly endorsed, while the idealist Bliss was almost sure that the "Protective Power" the Syrians would clearly choose was that of America because of his belief in her "entire disinterestedness."[76] In another speech delivered in Philadelphia before returning to New York, Khauli appealed to philanthropic Americans, saying that the aide the US had given to Armenian and Syrian relief through the Near East Relief Committee[77] testified to the deep humanitarian involvement of America. He believed that the help the Americans extended was without colonial aspirations. "The East," he said, "is no more blind to the helping hand of Europe . . . colonizing policy coated with the brightly painted camouflage of charity and goodness."[78] He noted that a commission of inquiry found that 75 percent of the Syrian people wished for an American mandate, but he argued that it remained ineffectual as long as America had not joined the League of Nations so as to check French and British ambitions in the Middle East. A clear example of the beneficial work of the United States was to be ascertained by their administration of the Philippines, Khauli observed, as established through the huge economical and educational advancements achieved there in the space of twenty-two years.[79]

Returning to New York, Bulus Khauli met up with his old friend and former SPC teacher, Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby.[80] The latter had made a great name for himself in the Philippines as a surgeon and first medical doctor of St. Luke's Medical Centre in Manila, after serving in the medical corps of the American army there, and then working in the civil administration in Mindanao. He knew the ropes of the American administration, and it was from him that Khauli had obtained his knowledge about American progress in the Philippine Islands. Under the wise leadership of Saleeby, many SPC men in the United States had united their efforts and formed the "United Syrian-American Societies" on 22 November 1919. Comprised of eleven sub-societies from several states, their aim was to form delegations and to lobby Congress to further the interests of the homeland. An appointment was taken for them by the lawyer James Sheridan to meet with Secretary of State Robert Lansing in Washington, DC on 5 January 1920. Ten delegates, among them Khauli, attended that meeting, where they requested "help and influence to prevent further bloodshed in Syria, safeguard peace and defend the National Unity of Syria before the Peace Conference."[81]

Most important of all SPC events in New York during that period was the decision to turn the College into a university by a charter granted by the Regents of the University of the State of New York. It was signed on 18 November 1920 by John H. Finley, President of the University.[82] Though Khauli was armed with a letter dated January 22, 1920[83] from Bliss addressed to Finley, recommending him as someone deeply involved in the educational problems of the Near East, it remains undetermined whether Khauli had any hand in the making of the AUB charter.

On a more personal level, while in New York, Khauli met with his old students, now friends, Philip Hitti and Amin A. Khairallah. Extant letters show the subjects they discussed: mainly university affairs and the promotion of locals ("nationals") on the faculty, where "they will be treated on the same level with the others," as well as the profile of the next probable president, Bayard Dodge.[84] While in New York, Khauli received a letter dated 31 March 1920 from his colleague Jabr Dumit, describing the terrible economic situation in Syria, giving details about the price of foodstuffs (wheat, oil, meat, potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, . . .) that were hardly affordable. The upshot was that salaries at SPC were increased, but not enough, so Khauli was asked to intercede since he became, as Dumit put it in his humorous way, "an expert in the psychology of the Dodges and the Blisses"![85]

Bulus Khauli left the United States for Beirut on April 17, 1920. One week earlier, he had visited Howard Bliss at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York, where Frederick, the president's brother, was also present. It was a very moving moment for Khauli, seeing his beloved friend, the much-admired president of SPC, for the last time. "God bless you Bulus," Bliss had told him.

> Go back to Syria and continue the work we have begun . . . Keep in touch with the powers that control the country - with the French. Do not waste time waiting for somebody else to do the things you ought to do for yourselves . . . In this period of reconstruction more depends on the Syrian teachers than on their American colleagues. Have patience. Never give up! Never give up! Remember the basis of the college is religion - a true religious spirit, a sound intellectual training and a sweet social environment.[86]

Howard Bliss died on May 2, 1920 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Khauli returned to Beirut carrying with him Bliss's words like a burning flame that he toiled to keep alive, although it was transformed along the way. The message's spirit took on a secular spirituality, an energy dedicated to the service of others that, Khauli thought, would not have displeased the late president. On campus, the splendid study of Howard Bliss in Marquand House was rededicated in October 1923 by members of the faculty and their wives. "President Dodge read appropriate selections, Prof. Hall spoke of the room itself, Dr Van Dyck spoke of personal recollections of President Bliss, prayers were offered by Dr. Dorman and Prof. Khauli and the service closed with singing of one of Dr. Bliss's favorite hymns."[87]

Both the Near East and the University entered a new era, for which all the preceding years of effort at SPC had laid the groundwork. Bulus Khauli's involvement with the American University was very eventful throughout this period, but it is a story that cannot be fully told here for lack of space. However, some significant features can be touched upon, and a noteworthy one was that Khauli moved gradually from a "Syrian" to an "Arab" kind of nationalism. This can be clearly seen in his

article on the occasion of the jubilee of *al-Muqtataf* in 1926.[88] Moreover, he was the mentor of many members of the Arab nationalist movement, al-'Urwa al-wuthqa, at AUB.[89] Nickoley and Dodge were aware of this movement and seemed to back it, managing the French authorities and safeguarding the freedom of the campus, which turned the University into a hub of nationalism, a center that invited such fervent nationalists as Ameen Rihani and others to lecture at West Hall. A curious remnant of the old tensions of SPC, bearing on the language of instruction, resurfaced in 1922. Khauli was president of the Alumni Association for several years and, at one of its meetings in West Hall, a proposal was advanced by Sulayman Abu-Izzeddin to make Arabic the language of instruction at AUB. A committee was formed to study the matter and write a report, but the University probably buried it, for that was the end of it.[90] For Khauli, the matter did not seem of pressing importance. He believed firmly in the American-Arabic symbiosis, and did not see an opposition between English and Arabic.

Edward Nickoley served as acting president from 1920 to 1923, after which he headed the School of Arts and Science as dean until his death in 1937. Throughout, he strove for a bigger role for the humanities at the University. He was a very able administrator, and an indefatigable writer of memorandums and letters carrying suggestions, inquiries, thoughts, advice, appreciations, accounts, plans, doubts, and expressions of apprehension and disappointment (with the attitude of some faculty). The Khauli archives are full of Nickoley's "My dear Bulus" letters written from numerous places: the campus, Bhamdoun, ships (SS Exeter), and different towns in Illinois, his home state in the US.

In 1923, Bayard Dodge became the president of AUB. He and Khauli had remained in touch while both were in America and had probably seen one another in New York at several SPC gatherings and dinners organized there. A letter by Dodge to Khauli in New York, dated April 8, 1920, apologizes for the inability of Mrs. Dodge, for health reasons, to accompany Khauli in his visit to the Lincoln School, and mentions a "splendid list of books" on education that Khauli had recommended, which Dodge would order from Scribners.[91] With the newly formed Arab states, the influx of students from Iraq became more important. The University clearly was gaining prestige in the region: two letters from Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Sa'id were addressed to Khauli thanking him for taking care of Iraqi students.[92] As a new president, Dodge opened the first issue of *al-Kulliyah* that year by welcoming the students coming from Egypt, Palestine, and Iraq. He praised the cohesiveness of the faculty and added that "one of the brightest things about the New Year is the fact that a number of young men have come from different places to fit themselves to be teachers. Prof. Khauli is organizing a special class to fit men for elementary school work, and he is also developing courses to train high school teachers."[93] Thus Khauli resumed his preferred domain - education - and to his students, now spread to all corners of the Arab world. He added two courses in 1921-1922: the philosophy of education and the psychological principles of education. The next year there were also graduate courses in education, and soon after, a course on school administration. He taught about Dewey's *Democracy and Education* in 1925-1926, and courses on the technique of teaching, high school teaching, and studying the mental life as a substratum of learning. He was seconded by Donald Hudson as an adjunct professor, and soon two of his students - George Shahla and Habib Kurani - started assisting him in the department.[94] The University Catalogue for 1938-1939 enumerates the education courses as: special education; psychology of education; philosophy of education; history of education; comparative education; classroom organization; methods of teaching in the secondary school; practice teaching; and methods of teaching special subjects.

The most serious difficulties the University encountered in the post-war years were financial. The entire world was in difficulty, but a new consciousness of the need to help their alma mater was forming among both the "nationals" on the faculty and the graduates. A letter in Arabic was circulated among alumni suggesting that it was time they showed the Board of Trustees their gratefulness and goodwill; it was signed by Khauli, as president, and Hitti, secretary.[95] The year before, in a private correspondence between Khauli and friend and classmate, Dawud Himadi, who had settled in New Jersey and ran a chemical plant, the two had dreamt up the idea of coming to the aid of the University by raising "something like a million dollars." Himadi spoke of an auxiliary Board of Trustees, a kind of association that would ensure the continuation of the University "under native leadership," should the American trustees relinquish their mission in the Near East "for political reasons or otherwise."[96] The project grew and took different turns, and involved other people like Fadlo Hourani, and eventually reached Brazil, where the SPC community was strong, numbering such tycoons as Na'mi Yafeth (of the Jafet family).[97] The fundraising campaign was highly appreciated by the Board in New York, and Nickoley reported, "our representatives in America have been very deeply and agreeably impressed by the movement on the part of the alumni to assume a share of the financial burden of the University."[98]

University matters continued to occupy Khauli, and he never lost an opportunity to visit schools for both recruiting and inspirational purposes, and to leave an impression on students. His archives

contain mention of a number of such visits and speeches at International College's French section (inaugural speech, June 18, 1932); Makassed (March 1, 1937); Brummana High School (June 18, 1937); and the National School in 'Aley (no date listed). Schools had become such a passion that when he went by convoy to Iraq and northern Syria in the spring of 1933 with a group from AUB (among them Roger Soltau), he could not refrain from paying a visit to the Iskandariyyah school and the American school in Baghdad.[99] The school in Beirut that he looked after the most was al-Ahliyah. Started by Mary Kassab in 1916, it represented his ideals, and he served on its board all his life.[100] His expertise in education was sought at the first Cultural Conference held at Beit Mery[101] in the summer of 1947, organized by the Republic of Lebanon and the Arab League in order to unify schooling methods and materials in the Arab world. It was a great idealistic task that would have normally captured Khauli's enthusiasm; however, personal worries and declining health dampened the effect of his impact. More stressful for him and disappointing was the news coming from Palestine, where he had many friends and students, as well as old ties with the Arab College in Jerusalem.

Bulus Khauli began as a simple instructor at SPC and worked his way up to become one of its pillars. The old guard of SPC – Jabr Dumit, Dawud Kurban, Bulus Khauli, Anis al-Maqdisi, and Mansur Jurdak – the "staffites," referred to as "nationals" by Khauli, had worked with great conviction and enthusiasm along with the founders to lay the groundwork and pave the way for the institution that became AUB. Eventually, equality was established among the faculty members, and the "nationals" gained "voting power" and were officially admitted to share in the responsibilities of the University.[102] Through the relentless toil and devotion of Khauli, the University had acquired a solid Education Department that is expanding to this day.

ENDNOTES

[1] In his sincere obituary message on the death of Khauli, Constantine Zurayk insisted that Khauli had spent fifty years of his life serving the University. A number of his students wished to honor their teacher with a Festschrift. More than a teacher, Zurayk added, Khauli was a true educator. (*an-Nahar*, no. 3894, 1948).

[2] They went together to the Fourth Educational Congress for Protestant Missions in Syria and Palestine, held in Baalbek, 15–17 April 1914; they also worked together within YMCA.

[3] At the death of Bulus Khauli, Bayard Dodge wrote to Khauli's son, Bahjat, asking for a photograph of his late father for the Faculty Room, adding: "Needless to say your father was so especially beloved, that we are anxious to have a good photograph in a place where all can see it and remember him." (handwritten and signed note, June 2, 1948. Bulus Khauli archives, hereafter cited as BK archives, in the possession of this author).

[4] Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: A Brief History of the University and the Lands which it serves* (Beirut: Khayat's, 1958), 93.

[5] *Al-Kulliyah* (spring 1988), 10.

[6] Stephen Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866–1941* (Beirut: AUB, 1970), 257.

[7] Hall in BK archives; Kurban in *Lisan al-Hal*, June 19, 1935; Porter in *al-Kulliyah*, 9, no. 3 (February 1923): 138–141; reprinted in *The Founding Fathers of the American University of Beirut: Biographies*, comp. G. Y. Khoury (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1992), 63–66 Arabic side.

[8] The Preparatory Department and the College formed one unit, not separated as would happen much later when the Preparatory Department, remaining at the same location on campus, became the International College, an independent school.

[9] Very little is left of Khauli's large library so this list of students cannot be exhaustive.

[10] H. J. Almond, *Iraqi Statesman: A Portrait of Muhammed Fadhel Jamali* (Salem, OR: Grosvenor Books, 1993), 27.

[11] W. Ma'luf, *Na'ib al-sha'b al-kadih: sirat Abdalla al-Hajj (1899–1975)* (Beirut: *an-Nahar*, 2007), 34–38.

[12] Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, *Turuq at-tadris al-muthla (of Bagley)* (Jerusalem: Beit al-Maqdis, 1937), 3.

[13] Omar Farrukh, "Bulus al-Khauli, al-ustadh al-muwahhid, sha'at ususuh 'ala tullabih," *an-Nahar*, 2 October 1985. Farrukh, a zealous Muslim, launched a virulent attack on missionary activity, linking it to colonialism; see M. Khalidy and O. Farrukh, *al-Tabshir wal-isti'mar fi-l bilad al-'arabiyya* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-'asriyyah, 1953, reprinted 1956, 1986). His criticisms of American education did not blind him to the great benefits brought by AUB (p. 101), and he exonerated some of its teachers, especially Khauli (p. 104).

[14] An autobiographical sketch found among his papers and a good biographical outline, though brief, by his friend, the poet Jurji Niqula Baz – (*Dhikra afdal al-ustadh Bulus al-Khauli 'ala Kulliyat al-banat al-ahliyya min ta'sisiha (1916) ila (1948)*, printed, but unpublished pamphlet, 16 June 1949) – has helped with tracing his early life.

[15] A photo taken on the porch of the Chapel (now Assembly Hall) in 1898 with Daniel Bliss, Graham, Post, Porter, West, and the rest of the "staffites" shows Khauli and his colleagues (Khuri, Tabit, and Badr) before they left SPC. Ma'luf joined the library. Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 62. The date of the photo in Penrose is set as "About 1902," whereas in *Awraq Faris al-Khoury*, vol. 1, p. 75 (Damascus: Dar Tlas, 1989), the date given is 1898, which is more probable. This photo is also found on p. 110 in *The Moore Collection: Franklin T. Moore Photographs (1892–1902)* (Beirut: AUB Press, 2006).

[16] *Al-tasahul wat-ta'lim al-watani*, Beirut, al-Matba'a al-adabiyya, 1910. Another such association Khauli was involved in, promoting secularism and debates (with Khalil Zaydan [BA 1876], as Khauli mentions in his "Sketchbook") was *Shams al-birr*, founded in 1872 by, among others, Faris Nimr, which would later have Masonic connections.

[17] An Arabic Literary Society started by Khauli to improve the composition of students of the Fourth Form. Meeting bi-weekly, students made elaborate speeches, and debates were organized between two opposing sides. "Miscellaneous," *al-Kulliyah*, July 1910, 232. Khauli also formed the *Zahrat al-adab* ("Flower of Culture") Society, with emphasis on debates on the College level, "College Notes," *al-Kulliyah*, February 1914 (English section), 122.

[18] *Lisan al-Hal*, 19 June 1935. Kurban mastered also English, Khauli added, which his translation of Breasted, *al-'Usur al-qadima* (1927) clearly shows. He became the official College translator.

[19] *Biladi la ara fiki al-iqama liman yahwa al-ta'azzuza wal-karama* . . . [My homeland, I do not see how one can in thee remain, when good life and honor are sought in vain...], "Al-Suri," *al-Muqtataf* 28 (1903): 913–918.

[20] "Qimat al-tarbiya," *al-Muqtataf* 29 (1904): 9–14; "Kalam fi al-tarbiya," *al-Muqtataf* 29 (1904): 782–789; "Nahnu wa hunna," *al-Muqtataf* 29 (1904): 531–534; "Ráy Spencer fi al-'ilm," *al-Muqtataf* 29 (1904): 289–295.

[21] The St. Louis Exposition, celebrating the centennial of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, took place between April 30 and December 1, 1904. The second swearing-in of Theodore Roosevelt was on March 4, 1905.

[22] "Maqam al-'ilm fi Amerika," *al-Muqtataf* 29 (1904): 995–997.

[23] "A talk with sad notes": this piece of travel literature formed the basis of a talk given to "Shams al-birr" upon Khauli's return from America in 1905, and came out as "'Azamat Amerika," *al-Muqtataf* 31 (1906): 885–887.

[24] Both William James and John Dewey were faculty members at Teachers' College at the time. Khauli probably sat for courses given by these fine minds.

[25] Bulus Khauli, *Education in Turkey* (Master's thesis, Columbia University's Teachers' College, 1905), 97.

[26] Ibid., 84–85.

[27] Ibid., 20.

[28] Section on SPC in Khauli, *Education in Turkey*, 72–83.

[29] Khauli, *Education in Turkey*, 73.

[30] Ibid., 78.

[31] Francis Amasa Walker, *Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1892).

[32] Khauli, *Education in Turkey*, 78.

[33] Ibid, 80.

[34] Ibid., 60.

[35] He served on the Board of Elders of the National Evangelical Church in Beirut for a number of years.

[36] "Al-insan bi-sharaf mabadi'ih," *al-Kulliyah*, June 1914, 243; *Matthew* 23:11 RSV (the expression is used out of context).

[37] "Al-mu'tamar al-ta'limi al-rabi'," *al-Kulliyah*, April 1914, 189.

[38] I am indebted to Maria Abunnasr for the moving account of Khauli's visit to Howard Bliss at the Presbyterian Hospital on April 10, 1920. Amherst College Archives, Bliss Family Papers, Series 3, Box 2, Folder 55.

[39] This letter is signed by Bulus Khauli, as representing the "Syrian" committee. BK archives.

[40] See the articles in the English section of *al-Kulliyah*, March 1914, 127–139, and in the Arabic section, *al-Kulliyah*, April 1914, 190–195. In the same issue was a "Zahrat al-adab" prize-winning piece on West Hall, 185–187.

[41] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 70. There is a discrepancy in dates between Penrose and the SPC Catalogue for that year, as well as in Penrose's work itself, between pages 70 and 123.

[42] "Miscellaneous: far' i'dad al-mu'allimīn," *al-Kulliyah*, January 1912, 94. The training section later became a teachers' institute.

[43] "Sketchbook," BK archives.

[44] Jabr Dumit and Bulus Khauli, *Kitab Fakk al-taqlid* (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-adabiyya, 1908), reprinted in 1925.

[45] Starting in February 1910, the first volume had only six issues. Subsequently, there were 8, then 9 issues per academic year (i.e., per volume). The English title spelling remained "al-Kulliyyeh" until March 1922 (volume 8, number 5), when it was changed to the more correct "al-Kulliyyah." Subsequently, the spelling changed again to "al-Kulliyah", which has been used throughout this volume.

[46] "Fatihat al-majalla," *al-Kulliyah* (February 1910), 3–5.

[47] *Al-Kulliyah*, March 1910, 4, 37.

[48] *Al-Kulliyah*, July 1910, 34.

[49] Jurji Niqula Baz, *Dhikra afdal al-ustadh Bulus al-Khauli*.

[50] Kurban says, "the editor [Khauli] insisted time after time..." in *al-Kulliyah*, April 1913, 158. Also *al-Kulliyah*, December 1910, 31–36; *al-Kulliyah*, January 1911, 51–54; *al-Kulliyah*, February 1911, 61–67; and Kurban's sequel, "Zakha'ir al-mahfuzat," *al-Kulliyah*, April 1913, 158–162; *al-Kulliyah*, May 1913, 176–180.

[51] "Ma al-ladhi istajadd fi al-Kulliyya," *al-Kulliyah*, November 1911, 24–27; *al-Kulliyah*, November 1913, 1–4. "Al-Kulliyya al-jami'a fi 'amiha al-thamin wal-arba'in," *al-Kulliyah*, November 1913, 1–4.

[52] Philippe de Tarrazi mentions the work of Khauli in his *Ta'rikh al-sahafa al-'arabiyya*, vol. 2 (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-adabiyya, 1913), 53 (photograph and caption) and p. 56. He sent a copy to Khauli, who wrote an appreciative book review with two criticisms: information sources were missing; the use of superlatives in his acknowledgements (vol. 1, p. 37) were unnecessary. *Al-Kulliyah*, June 1913, 220–222.

[53] His speech was published in its entirety in *Filastin*, August 6, 1913. He focused on the genius of Zaydan, a self-made man, who had attended SPC for a year and a half only. Typical of Khauli's appreciation of the role of women, he concluded his speech with a kind word about Zaydan's wife.

[54] The idea of an alumni association goes back to 1879. An early attempt was started and met yearly, the first time under the leadership of C. Van Dyke, Wortabet (1880), Post (1881), and Lewis (1882), and then stopped completely. See the *al-Kulliyah*, December 1910, article by D. Kurban, p. 35–36.

[55] *Al-Kulliyah*, March 1911, 179–180 (English section). Khauli, who was on the executive committee, wrote a more explicit version and published the articles in the Arabic section, pp. 101–107.

[56] "*Al-Kulliyyah* wa al-fikrah al-'uthmaniyya," *al-Kulliyah*, May 1911, 133–137.

[57] "Bi-madha tahya al-umam," *al-Kulliyah*, June 1913, 194–203.

[58] "Jam'iyyat zahrat adab al-kulliyyah," *al-Kulliyah*, February 1912, 122–123.

[59] *Al-Kulliyah*, March 1912, 139–145. At a reception for the Patriarch Gregorius IV, Bliss had spoken (through Jabr Dumit) of an Ottoman concept of "*e pluribus unum*," an "Ottomanism" ('Uthmaniyya) based on "concord, solidarity and reciprocity," *al-Kulliyah*, January 1912, 90.

[60] "Kunu min ha'ula' al-rijal," as rendered by Bulus Khauli, *al-Kulliyah*, March 1914, 138–139.

[61] Bulus Khauli, "Mab'uth wilayat Dimashq: Faris al-Khuri," *al-Kulliyah*, April 1914, 195–197; "Mab'uth wilayat Bayrut: Salim 'Ali Salam," *al-Kulliyah*, April 1914, 197–202.

[62] "Al-Ma'arif fi al-mamalik al-'uthmaniyya," *al-Kulliyah*, February 1913, 87–97; *al-Kulliyah*, March 1913, 115–123; *al-Kulliyah*, April 1913, 154–158. He acknowledges the Director of Education in the Province of Beirut, Ahmad Hilmi Bey, as well as the help he received from Fayiz Khuri, Husayn Afnan, and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kayyali, *al-Kulliyah*, March 1913, 117, note 1.

[63] English section of *al-Kulliyah*, February 1913, 116.

[64] "Bab al-tarbiya li al-mu'allimin wa arbab al-tahdhib," *al-Kulliyah*, November 1913, 13–19; *al-Kulliyah*, December 1913, 43–46; *al-Kulliyah*, January 1914, 74–8; *al-Kulliyah*, February 1914, 114–117; *al-Kulliyah*, March 1914, 139–144. The entire cycle was also printed separately under the title *Muhadarat fi al-tarbiya* (Beirut: Matba'at al-ijtihad, 1915).

[65] *Al-Kulliyah*, January 1912, 95.

[66] "Al-insan bi-sharaf mabadi'ih," *al-Kulliyah*, June 1914, 237–243.

[67] "Taghayyur al-muwazana al-dawliyya," *al-Kulliyah*, December 1913, 55–59; *al-Kulliyah*, January 1914, 87–92; *al-Kulliyah*, February 1914, 101–106.

[68] Monroe, of Teachers' College at Columbia University, visited the campus in February 1924. *Al-Kulliyah*, 81.

[69] Z. Zeine, *The Struggle for Arab Independence* (Delmar, NY: Caravan books, 1977), 65–71. The statement by H. Bliss is in Appendix F, p. 222–225.

[70] Other members of the group included Nuri al-Sa'id, Amin Tamimi, Sameh al-Fakhuri, Amin Arslan, and Faiz al-Shahabi. Rustum Haydar, *Mudhakkarat Rustum Haydar*, ed. N. F. Safwat (Beirut: Al-Dar al-'arabiyya lil-mawsu'at, 1988), 477–478.

[71] Recommendation dated October 30, 1919 from H. Bliss in New York for Khauli's attendance at the 3rd World Christian Citizenship Conference in Pittsburgh. BK archives.

[72] The attack was published in *al-Sha'b*, November 1, 1919; the reply was in *al-Sha'b*, November 7, 1919.

[73] B. Khauli, "Conditions and aspirations of Syria," in *The World's Moral Problems: Addresses at the third World Christian Citizenship Conference* held in Pittsburgh, PA. November 9–16, 1919 (Pittsburgh: The National Reform Association, 1920), 370.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Though it failed in Syria, it was imposed in Turkey by Ataturk.

[76] Z. Zeine, *The Struggle for Arab Independence*, 66, n. 11.

[77] Khauli quotes $33,387,439 in aid, with another $30 million needed to save people from starvation and disease, and to support orphanages. The director of the Near East Relief Committee in Beirut was Bayard Dodge.

[78] "Post-war conditions in Syria," a speech given in Philadelphia in 1919. BK archives.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby (1870–1935) was an extraordinary SPC man. Forgotten today by most in his homeland, he deserves commemoration in an entire monograph. Scholars remember him as the foremost ethnologist of the Muslims of Mindanao with several publications, including: *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905); *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1908).

[81] "Report of the Washington Delegation," 5 January 1920. BK archives.

[82] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 311–312.

[83] H. Bliss, handwritten letter to B. Khauli. BK archives. J. H. Finley (1863–1940) headed the Red Cross Commission in Palestine during the war.

[84] Khairallah letter to B. Khauli, June 1, 1920; Hitti letters to B. Khauli, July 30 and August 18, 1920. BK archives.

[85] Jabr Dumit letter to B. Khauli dated 31 March 1920. BK archives.

[86] Rough transcription by Maria Abunnasr. See note 38.

[87] *Al-Kulliyah*, November 1923, 3.

[88] *Al-Kitab adh-dhahabi li-yubil al-muqtataf al-khamsini 1976–1926* (Cairo: al-Muqtataf Press, 1926), 99–101.

[89] First issue of *'Urwa*, the publication of 'Urwa al-wuthqa, was published on March 2, 1935. Its editor was Constantine Zurayk, and contributors included M. 'Aqrawi and Fuad Mufarrij.

[90] Al-Kulliyah, July 1922, 417–418 (Arabic section). A curious letter from Nickoley, dated June 29, 1928, asks Khauli to hold sessions of civics at the Teachers' Institute (which later became part of the Department of Education), insisting these sessions should be given in Arabic to make sure the teachers understand how to inculcate the duties of citizenship.

[91] BK archives.

[92] Dated Jan 17, 1922 and June 22, 1922. BK archives.

[93] "The new college year," *al-Kulliyah*, November 1923, 2.

[94] B. Dodge, *The American University of Beirut: A Brief History*, 67.

[95] May 1922. BK archives.

[96] D. A. Himadi letter to B. Khauli, October 31, 1921. BK archives. Himadi contributed to the University on other occasions; see Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 256, 296–297.

[97] Hourani, *al-Kulliyah*, November 1923, 35–40. Yafeth speech, *al-Kulliyah*, November 1923, 41–44.

[98] Edward Nickoley, letter to B. Khauli, July 17, 1922. Nickoley was then acting president of AUB.

[99] Photo album with inscriptions by Professor Roger Henry Soltau. BK archives.

[100] See the letter of Bayard Dodge discussing this school's finances with Khauli, dated July 13, 1919. BK archives.

[101] Proceedings of the conference in Beit Mery, September 2-11, 1947, published as *Lubnan fi 'ahd al-istiqlal* (Beirut: Dar al-ahad, 1947) and al-Mu'tamar al-thaqafi al-'arabi al-awwal (Cairo: Arab League Publication, 1948).

[102] Penrose, *That They May Have Life*, 203.

20 Narrating the *Nahda*: The Syrian Protestant College, *al-Muqtataf*, and the Rise of Jurji Zaydan[1]

Elizabeth M. Holt

Published in Cairo in 1892, the first issue of Jurji Zaydan's Arabic journal *al-Hilal* contained a history of the Arabic press, including a list of the journals published in Beirut in the 1870s and 1880s, when Zaydan was a young waiter and finally a Syrian Protestant College medical student and leader of the 1882 protest. Listed too are the Arabic journals of Egypt, as the journal *al-Muqtataf* staged a migration in 1884 from its Beirut years at the Syrian Protestant College to Cairo. In his *Yawmiyyat rihla bahriyya* (Memoirs of a Sea Voyage), penned in 1886, Zaydan recounts in great detail his own journey from Beirut to Cairo via London. At the end of this long journey, he is welcomed in Cairo by former students and faculty of the Syrian Protestant College, including Faris Nimr and Ya'qub Sarruf, editors of the freshly relocated *al-Muqtataf*. This chapter traces Zaydan's humble Beirut beginnings as an aspiring Syrian Protestant College medical student and reader of *al-Muqtataf*, to become one of the most prolific editors, authors, and novelists of the *Nahda*, often translated as a time of Arab renaissance. At the heart of the *Nahda*, unfolding at the end of the nineteenth century in Beirut, Cairo, and other cities of the region, was a growing number of periodicals.

As Zaydan secured his place in Arabic letters, his story of migration, his past at the Syrian Protestant College, and the continued presence in his life of its faculty and students shaped the narration of the *Nahda*. The *Nahda*, apace in Arabic by the start of the twentieth century, animates a significant body of new critical work in Arabic literature and intellectual and social history. While scholars have attended to the Egyptian national experience of the *Nahda* in fine detail,[3] much less has been said about Cairo's Syrian *émigrés*.[4] In the historiography of the *Nahda*, and particularly in the work of literary scholars, the larger Syrian *émigré* community is often reduced to the figure of Jurji Zaydan, who comes to stand in at the threshold of Cairo's inheritance of the "Recent Literary *Nahda* in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon."[5]

An article by just that title can be found in the index of the fourteenth year of *al-Hilal*, a retrospective citation from early twentieth-century Cairo of a Beirut left behind. One finds upon turning to the entry for *al-Nahda al-adabiyya fi Suriya* not the contributions of Arabic authors and intellectuals in Syria to the *Nahda*, as the title would seem to suggest, but rather a fragment from Zaydan's earlier geography. The reader opens to: "The Memoirs of Doctor [Cornelius] Van Dyck from 1830–1851 or The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary *Nahda* in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon," an intimation of Zaydan's historiographical posture toward the Syrian Protestant College, on whose faculty Van Dyck would later serve. This posture emerges more fully in Zaydan's 1892 novel *Asir al-Mutamahdi* (a title we might translate as the So-Called or Self-Made Mahdi), a novel that also looks from Cairo to the "Recent Literary *Nahda* in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon," and presents the foundational legacy of the Syrian Protestant College, this time during the years when Zaydan himself was aspiring to join its student body.

As *Asir al-Mutamahdi* begins, Su'da is in her Cairo apartment on Shari' al-Abbasiyya. The year is 1878, and she is reading a copy of the journal *al-Muqtataf*. Founded two years earlier in 1876, *al-Muqtataf* established itself soon thereafter as a pivotal scientific and cultural journal among Beirut's growing number of periodicals. The Syrian Protestant College was instrumental in the production of *al-Muqtataf* far beyond its physical publication at its press; as Nadia Farag notes, Syrian Protestant College instructors Ya'qub Sarruf and Faris Nimr "in 1876, under the able guidance of Cornelius Van Dyke [*sic*] . . . published *al-Muqtataf* utilizing the resources of the College library, laboratory, periodical literature, and obtaining literary contributions for their journal from members of the staff and College graduates."[6] Makariyus Shahin also served on the editorial staff, and *al-Muqtataf* became one of a small but growing number of periodicals – such as the Bustani family's *al-Jinan*, *al-Janna*, and *al-*

Junayna, as well as others such as *al-Zahrah*, *al-Najah*, *al-Nahlah*, and later in the decade *Thamarat al-Funun* and *Lisan al-Hal* - beginning to be published in Beirut in the 1870s, joining *Hadiqat al-Akhbar*, which from 1858 had been the city's only newspaper.[7] Looking back at the late nineteenth-century periodical scene of the early *Nahda*, Philippe de Tarrazi recalls in the second volume of his seminal history of the Arabic press that as *al-Muqtataf* grew in esteem, "readers bestowed upon it the nickname 'the sheikh of Arabic journals.'"[8]

While in 1892, Jurji Zaydan was living in Cairo, printing the first issues of *al-Hilal*, and publishing his new novel *Asir al-Mutamahdi*; in 1878, the year that novel begins, Zaydan had only just heard about the journal called *al-Muqtataf* for the first time. As he recalls in his memoirs of his younger days in Beirut, the students and teachers from the Syrian Protestant College would frequent Zaydan's father's *lukanda* for lunch, where Zaydan cooked, waited tables, and attended to guests. Zaydan relates in detail the day that some teachers from the local schools showed him an issue of *al-Muqtataf*. He was sixteen years old, "and during that time *al-Muqtataf* was in its second year I believe. Some schoolteachers who would pass by [the *lukanda*] showed me an issue of it [. . .] and my desire to study the laws of nature increased."[9] This intense "desire to study the laws of nature" drew many readers of Arabic in the late nineteenth century to the burgeoning press,[10] whose ranks Zaydan joined in 1878.

The intellectual community around the Syrian Protestant College, like the larger Arabic reading public, was actively cultivating new ideas of the self in the late nineteenth century.[11] Sarruf, for instance, not only taught at the Syrian Protestant College and edited *al-Muqtataf* with Faris Nimr, but he had also translated Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* into Arabic in 1880 at the suggestion of Cornelius Van Dyck and with the support of the Syrian Protestant College.[12] As Timothy Mitchell notes in *Colonising Egypt*, the book was then used as a reader at the Syrian Protestant College, and "its vocabulary and ideas influenced a generation of students there."[13] It was a book Zaydan read when he matriculated at the Syrian Protestant College, whose students and faculty he had once only admired from beyond its gates.

Over the course of his memoirs, the young Zaydan emerges as deeply ambitious, attempting to find ways to leave behind his life of attending to the pots and pans, books, and customers of his father's *lukanda*. After a brief stint as a bookkeeper for a silk merchant after mastering a course in double-column bookkeeping,[14] as he tells us in his memoirs, he began to aspire to become one of the likes of his father's customers. He studied the affect and memorized the speech of frequenters of the *lukanda*, such as Sheikh Ibrahim al-Yaziji and 'Abdullah al-Bustani,[15] and bought himself a subscription to *al-Muqtataf*; Zaydan recalls in his memoirs that "I had subscribed to *al-Muqtataf* in order to read it, and I took pride in being a subscriber and I liked for people to know that I read it."

Al-Muqtataf, like many journals of the *Nahda*, invited its readers to become writers and to share their thoughts on the sciences, household management, education, industry, and agriculture; *al-Muqtataf* even had a special section devoted to reader correspondence. Zaydan wrote in his memoirs of the desire to:

> embark on writing for it. I wrote an article and strove to revise and embellish it to the extent of my abilities, though I did not know *i'rab*, but rather felt my way through writing it; its topic was a critique of fathers who do not educate their children when they are young, for if they grow up the opportunity to educate them will be missed. That was my situation in those days.[16]

After watching issue after issue of *al-Muqtataf* be published without his piece appearing in its pages, Zaydan was sorely disappointed the day that Shahin Makariyus came to the *lukanda* for lunch. To his inquiry, Makariyus's response, which hoped that his next letter would be better, set Zaydan's "self confidence back by ten years."[17] In the pages of his memoirs, we see Zaydan, in turn, become determined to attend the Syrian Protestant College medical school, studying in the evenings and in spare moments at the *lukanda* for his entrance exams. In 1881, he finally entered the College to study medicine, where he became a student of Faris Nimr and Ya'qub Ṣarruf, the editors of *al-Muqtataf*, both of whom would go on to have a lasting influence on his early career in the Arabic press, despite Zaydan's stumbling start.

Al-Muqtataf, before its departure for Cairo, served to connect the Syrian Protestant College to the world outside its gates, inviting readers, such as those in a dining room of one of Beirut's *lukanda*s, to join so many others in Beirut, Mount Lebanon, and further afield, in Cairo, Baghdad, and eventually Europe and the Americas. While Zaydan had finally found his place among Syrian Protestant College students, his time on campus was brief, and his life, until then lived in Beirut, was destined to change significantly. Along with Sarruf, Nimr, Van Dyck, and others following the 1882 student protests at the college, Zaydan found himself outside the gates of the Syrian Protestant College from the early 1880s onwards.[18]

Like many,[19] Zaydan eventually left Beirut. He settled finally in Cairo in 1886, to found the journal *al-Hilal*, still publishing today, and to pen more than twenty novels. In one of his first novels, the aforementioned and little-studied *Asir al-Mutamahdi* (1892), Zaydan stages a plot of macabre secrets

that leads its late nineteenth-century Cairo-resident protagonists to return to the Syria they left behind. The novel's geography is woven between various settings, first around Cairo and especially by Ezbekiyya; later joining the British expedition in the Sudanese desert; and, upon the return to Beirut, alighting at the gates of the Syrian Protestant College, the home of a retired professor, and the snowy slopes of Mount Lebanon; all haunted by scenes of the bloody fighting on Mount Lebanon and Syria in 1860. It is a story of star-crossed love that finds its resolution in the secrets that drove an earlier generation of Syrian *émigrés* to Cairo.

The itinerary is the young Zaydan's own in reverse,[20] something he comes to flaunt as he advertises the novel in the pages of his newly founded journal. The fourth issue of Zaydan's *al-Hilal*, appearing in December 1892, advertised a number of texts, including the early novel *Asir al-Mutamahdi*, identified as a historical novel that "includes the 'Urabi and Mahdi events as well as what happened in 1860 in Damascus." In an advertisement for the same novel appearing in June 1897, *al-Hilal* provides a longer description, informing those who might wish to buy that novel that "the author [i.e., Zaydan] witnessed most of the Sudanese events as an eye witness and was present at the battles and saw the country and its people."[21] Spliced between accounts of the intrigue surrounding the 'Urabi affair, the devastation in Alexandria following the British bombardment, a main protagonist's sojourns and chance encounters in the Sudanese desert, and bloody intrigue in the mountains between Beirut and Damascus in 1860, are shards of the Syrian Protestant College community of Beirut that Zaydan left behind. Zaydan consolidates his authority to narrate the *Nahda* by penning a semi-autobiographical historical novel woven of contemporary events. *Asir al-Mutamahdi* bridges the Syria of his youth and the Cairo of Zaydan's present - a Cairo occupied by the British, who had designs extending south down the Nile into the Sudan - and as the novel is reprinted, Zaydan inhabits the paradoxical stance of being the self-advertised eyewitness to the historical fictions animating late nineteenth-century Arabic.

Zaydan had lingered in Beirut in the early 1880s before relocating to Cairo later that decade. *Al-Muqtataf*'s obituary for Jurji Zaydan, published in September of 1914 - though Zaydan had died on July 22, just before midnight, at his desk, having put the last touches on that year's last issue of *al-Hilal* - remembers Zaydan as having been:

> born in the city of Beirut in 1861 and pursued his medical studies at the Syrian Protestant College when we were among its teachers. We found in him the attributes of excellence and high aspirations. At the beginning of his second year occurred the event that led many of the medical students to leave the College, and he was among those who left, completing his studies with some of the teachers that year, abbreviated to what was needed for the pharmacy trade such as chemical analysis and pharmacology.[22]

After the protests and ensuing fragmentation of the Syrian Protestant College community, the Beirut home of Doctor Cornelius Van Dyck briefly served as a new campus,[23] and it was there that Zaydan participated in the kind of graduation ceremony he had only watched as an observer years earlier, receiving his diploma in pharmacy in 1882. That same year, Sarruf, Nimr, and Van Dyck formed al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-Sharqi (The Eastern Scientific Academy) "for research in sciences and industries, and how to benefit from them in order to return the country to wealth and prosperity." As Muhammad 'Abd al-Ghani Hasan notes in his book *Jurji Zaydan*, "Dr. Ya'qub Sarruf, Dr. Faris Nimr, Dr. Van Dyck, and Mawsuli Pasha [. . .] were joined later by Dr. Wortabet, Dr. Iskandar Barudi, Salim al-Bustani, Sheikh Ibrahim al-Yaziji and others."[24] A group of intellectuals, writers, and leading figures in the Arabic press - many of whom had eaten lunch in Zaydan's father's *lukanda*, published in *al-Muqtataf*, or belonged to the Syrian Protestant College faculty in the late 1870s - briefly came together in Beirut in the early 1880s as a short-lived scientific society, in many respects reviving the late 1860s Syrian Scientific Society, an ephemeral manifestation of a moment of Beirut's *Nahda*.

Zaydan soon relocated to Cairo with plans to continue his medical studies at Qasr al-'Ayni. However, instead he briefly edited the small newspaper *al-Zaman*, though once again the historical juncture overwhelmed his scholarly aspirations, and in 1884, as *al-Muqtataf*'s editors would recall in his obituary, Zaydan "accompanied [the British on their] Nile expedition to the Sudan [. . .] spending ten months there as a translator for the Intelligence Service. The next year, he returned to Beirut and studied Hebrew and Syriac with his friend, the teacher Jabr Dumit" - a former student of the Syrian Protestant College - "and wrote a book on linguistics."[25] (His notes from these years now rest in the American University of Beirut's Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections) In 1885, Zaydan also joined al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-Sharqi, though, as Hasan records, "this academy did not remain long after the owners of *al-Muqtataf* moved to Cairo."[26] Zaydan had not returned to Beirut planning to stay and, in 1886, he and Dumit left the city again. This time, Zaydan passed through London before returning to Cairo, recording his daily musings in *Yawmiyyat rihla bahriyya* [Diary of a Sea Voyage].

Zaydan is greeted, in the final pages of his *yawmiyyat* in July of 1886, by none other than his former teachers at the Syrian Protestant College, Ya'qub Sarruf and Faris Nimr, still editors of the now newly relocated *al-Muqtataf*. Upon his arrival in Cairo, Zaydan stayed in Bayt al-Zuhar with his friend As'ad al-Hishma. As he recalls,

> A moment after I arrived, al-Mu'allim Faris [Nimr] came down as he was living on the floor above us, and met me and greeted me and invited me to dinner saying that the people of the house await you. So after washing and changing my clothes I went up with As'ad to the *Muqtataf* house and there we sat down to dinner with al-Mu'allim Ya'qub [Sarruf] and Faris [Nimr] and Shahin Makariyus and the Lady Yaqut and Mariam. After dinner we spent the evening and the night talking of travels.[27]

Zaydan continued to pass by Bayt *al-Muqtataf* in the coming weeks, "discussing with them many matters and one day al-Mu'allim Faris [Nimr] revealed their need for someone to take over managing the affairs of the journal and help them work the press and review the proofs. He confided that they could not rely on just anyone in this matter. And he hinted that they would be at ease if it were me."[28] Zaydan's apprenticeship in editing and operating the printing press for *al-Muqtataf* lasted for "a year and some," as Nimr and Sarruf recall in their obituary,

> before [Zaydan] stepped down to focus on writing, completing *Tarikh Misr al-hadith* [The History of Modern Egypt], and then founding *al-Hilal* [in 1892] and writing novels and historical and literary books such as *Tarikh al-tamaddun al-Islami* [History of Islamic Civilization] and *Tarikh adab al-lughah al-'Arabiyyah* [History of the Literature(s) of the Arabic Language]. His Novels of the History of Islam number eighteen, and the remaining four are historical novels.[29]

Asir al-Mutamahdi is one of the remaining four, and in its opening pages, as we recall, a copy of Nimr and Sarruf's *al-Muqtataf* appears in the hands of an anxious Su'da, mother of Shafiq, patiently awaiting the chance to share an article from the journal with her son.[30] The year is 1878, the same year that Jurji Zaydan himself began to read *al-Muqtataf* after that fateful day in the *lukanda* dining room. A reading public of Arabic emerges between the pages of *Asir al-Mutamahdi* and Zaydan's private writings. Arabic journals like *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Hilal* served not only to connect disparate individual readers in a new experience of simultaneity, but they also materially substantiated a shift in the Arabic press's center of gravity in the mid-1880s from Beirut to Cairo.

Reading Zaydan's early fiction alongside his private diaries, that story of simultaneity and migration appears to be at once his and Arabic's at a moment of *nahda*. It is not just that Zaydan was a translator for the British during their Sudanese expedition; or that some of *Asir al-Mutamahdi*'s characters peer through the gates of the Syrian Protestant College; or that they happen to be reading *al-Muqtataf* right when Zaydan himself became a subscriber to the journal. It is also that the novel begins in Cairo with a promise to reveal the contents of a small wooden box at midnight, a box containing a bloody lock of hair, testament to the bloodshed of 1860 Syria, a remainder of what was left behind, and an augury of what was to come. Zaydan was a son of that war; he was conceived as his parents fled the violence that drives the protagonists of *Asir al-Mutamahdi* to Cairo; and like them, he has a secret he has left behind (his diaries only published posthumously), namely his own rise from humble beginnings to someone in a position to tell and even edit "The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary *Nahda* in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon" - humble beginnings he will bury in issue after issue of *al-Hilal*, and in novel after novel in his series, Novels of the History of Islam.

Much later in *Asir al-Mutamahdi*, in the early months of 1884, trying in vain to cure the young Fadwa – enamored of Su'da's son Shafiq - of love sickness with the diversions of travel, her father the Pasha will return from Cairo to the Beirut of his youth, where they stay at a seaside hotel. Ultimately he will be driven one morning to seek out the "most famous doctor in Beirut,"[31] one Dr. Nun, known for his kindness and expertise. He will not be able to see them, though, until the afternoon, as he spends his mornings "administering medicine to the poor in some of the hospitals for free." He is described as "having lived here [in Beirut] for fifty years practicing and teaching medicine," having "adopted the manners of its people." [32] Following Fadwa's check-up, Dr. Nun invites the Pasha and his daughter to visit his home, which "is by the lighthouse and looks out over the sea in one direction, and the mountain from the other."[33] The road to the doctor's home is long; Fadwa and her father ride a carriage to where it ends "at a building containing a lighthouse." The house is situated in a series of gardens leading finally to one "overlooking the sea - the entire house was set high on what appeared to be a large hill."[34] "Wearing the black *'abaya* of the Beduin atop his foreign suit, and on his head instead of a hat an *'araqiyya* of blue velvet embellished with gold thread from which hung [another] lock of gold thread,"[35] Dr. Nun greets the Pasha, inviting him to have coffee and an *argileh* with him. When the Pasha later asks him about his having taken on "Eastern customs," Dr. Nun explains that "it is most days my custom to do so, for I came to these lands and adopted them as my own, and I loved its people as I love my children."[36]

Zaydan continues the reader's tour of the Syrian Protestant College community in *Asir al-Mutamahdi*'s Ras Beirut. After their lunch by the lighthouse with Dr. Nun, the Pasha and his daughter set out to return to their seaside hotel in their carriage, but "near the medical school on the way to the hotel," the horse stumbles and though "the driver of the carriage tried in vain to right its course. The Pasha and Fadwa fall from it." Awaiting the return of their servant with a new carriage, they:

> took to walking on the road in front of the [Syrian Protestant C]ollege [*madrasa*] until he returned.
>
> As they were walking along in front of the college and contemplating its beautiful building overlooking the sea, unexpectedly the heavens began to rain down on them, and so they had to enter the college seeking protection from the rain. As they stood there waiting for the arrival of their servant with the carriage, the *bawwab* brought them two chairs to sit.
>
> An hour passed without the servant returning, and when the time of dismissal from the college arrived, the students and teachers came out together.[37]

As we behold this spectacle of the medical college, "contemplating its beauty" for the first time from a vantage point enframed by the doors of the college, the wheels of a carriage approach. When the Pasha goes to the road to check if it might be their servant returning with a new carriage, he comes upon one of the college teachers, another foreigner, with grey hair, a long beard and glasses, yet unlike Dr. Nun, this one is dressed only in "foreigner's clothes."[38] The teacher kindly offers to lend the Pasha and his daughter his carriage back to the hotel, as they leave the gates of the Syrian Protestant College behind them.

Van Dyck's memoirs ("Or The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary *Nahda* in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon"), posthumously published years later in 1906, in Cairo, in the pages of *al-Hilal*, visit the prehistory of 1860 Syria, long before the Syrian Protestant College was founded, as Van Dyck traveled in the Levant conducting missionary work. Anne Laure Dupont, in her book-length study of Zaydan, asserts that "the ideal missionary remained Cornelius Van Dyck who Zaydan did not consider a foreigner for he spoke Arabic well and had adopted Syrian manners."[39] Indeed, the description is more than reminiscent of Dr. Nun's manners and customs. As Van Dyck relates in the following passage from the memoirs that *al-Hilal* published in 1906:

> At that time [late 1840s] I used to imitate the dress of the people of the land among whom I was to reside for the remainder of my life, so I would wear the *sirwal* and the *tamaqat* and the *damir* embroidered with cane, which was the costume worn by the notable princes of [Mt.] Lebanon at that time.[40]

Soon, though, Van Dyck changed course after nearly losing his life in Mount Lebanon when he was mistaken for just such a notable Shihabi prince. From that day, as he remembers, "I was determined to exchange the national costume for foreign clothes and replace my *sarawil* and *damir* for a jacket and pants."[41] Zaydan published his teacher's memoirs with renderings of him, two that enframe Cornelius Van Dyck's face, and another of him "in Eastern dress,"[42] the image[43] that endures.

A decade earlier in 1895, upon Cornelius Van Dyck's death, *al-Hilal* ran an obituary that, like *Asir al-Mutamahdi* or "The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary *Nahda* in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon" memorializes the generation that built the Beirut of the early 1880s, even as it claims the authority to narrate that legacy. The obituary visits yet another funeral of the *Nahda*, that of Butrus al-Bustani, who in the decades before passing away in 1883 had founded al-Madrasa al-wataniyya, and, with his son Salim, had published two of the most important journals of 1870s and early 1880s Beirut - the newspaper *al-Janna* and the literary journal *al-Jinan* - in which Salim serialized a number of historical novels. Zaydan, memorializing his teacher Van Dyck in the pages of *al-Hilal*, remembers how, at Butrus al-Bustani's funeral, Van Dyck's "tongue stuttered and his lips shook and the words choked him and he was unable to speak except to say 'oh my friend and companion of youth' as he repeated the words over and over again with a voice shaking with tears, as everyone present cried."[44] In 1883, Van Dyck mourned Butrus al-Bustani; in 1895, Zaydan mourned Van Dyck mourning al-Bustani, laying claim to his place in the chain of transmission for the authority to memorialize Syria's *Nahda*. In 1914, the editors of *al-Muqtataf* will in turn mourn Zaydan, as the legacy of the fractured intellectual community of early 1880s Syrian Protestant College reverberated thirty years later in Cairo in the pages of the Arabic press.

ENDNOTES

[1] I remain very grateful to the American University of Beirut and especially to Nadia El-Cheikh and Bilal Orfali for inviting me to present a paper at the 2013 conference on 150 years of the American University of Beirut. My thanks to the audience members for their thoughtful questions and comments, and to Ali Wick, Dahlia Gubara, and Sonya Meyerson-Knox for their hospitality in Beirut. I am also indebted to the generosity of the National Endowment for the Humanities for supporting research on Jurji Zaydan at Dar al-Hilal in Cairo.

[2] Assistant Professor of Arabic, Division of Languages and Literature, Bard College.

[3] To note only some of the more recent works dedicated to the subject: Samah Selim, *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt, 1880–1985* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004); Elliott Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Antiquity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Ziad Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation Through Popular Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); Shaden Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[4] For more on the Syrian *émigré* community in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Egypt, see Thomas Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt: 1725–1975* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985); Ilham Khouri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). My forthcoming book, *Novel Material: Speculating in Arabic from Beirut to Cairo, 1870–1907* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), considers the legacy of nineteenth-century Beirut in Arabic literary history with later chapters focusing on Syrian *émigrés* in Cairo, especially Jurji Zaydan and Ya'qub Sarruf.

[5] More recently, this can be attributed to the efforts of the Zaidan Foundation, such as their growing series of translations from Zaydan's Novels of the History of Islam series, as well as the symposium the foundation held on Jurji Zaydan's Contributions to Modern Arab Thought and Literature at the Library of Congress in June of 2012, and the resulting book volume co-edited by George Zaidan and Thomas Phillip. For an example of Zaydan as the Syrian *émigré par excellence* in earlier histories of the *Nahda*, consider consider ʿAbd al-Muhsin Taha Badr, *Tatawwur al-riwayah al-ʿArabiyyah al-hadithah fi Misr, 1870–1938* (Cairo: Dar al-Maʿarif, 1963 first edition; 1992 fifth edition). I treat the implications of this focus on Zaydan for the historiography of the Arabic novel in a recent article; see Elizabeth M. Holt, "From Gardens of Knowledge to Ezbekiyya after Midnight: The Novel and the Arabic Press from Beirut to Cairo, 1870–1892," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 16, no. 3 (2013): 232–248.

[6] Farag, 74.

[7] See Elizabeth M. Holt, "Narrative and the Reading Public in 1870s Beirut," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40, no. 1 (2009): 37–70.

[8] Filip di Tarrazi, *Tarikh al-sihafa al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 2 (Beirut: al-Matbaʿa al-adabiyya, 1913), 54.

[9] Jurji Zaydan, *Mudhakkarat Jurji Zaydan*, ed. Salah al-Din al-Munajjid (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, 1968), 36.

[10] See Elshakry, in particular, for more on *Reading Darwin in Arabic*.

[11] Consider Stephen Sheehi's *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*, not least for its tremendously valuable bibliography – Stephen Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity* (Miami: University Press of Florida, 2004). The institutions of this new sense of self are explored in Jens Hanssen, *Fin-de-Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[12] Donald Ried notes that "Ṣarrûf's translation was made at the suggestion of an American teacher at the Syrian Protestant College, Dr Cornelius Van Dyke, and it had the financial support of the College." Donald Ried, "Syrian Christians, the Rags-To-Riches Story, and Free Enterprise," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, no. 4 (1970): 362.

[13] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991 (1988)), 108–109.

[14] Zaydan, *Mudhakirat*, 39.

[15] Ibid., 41.

[16] Ibid., 42.

[17] Ibid., 42–43.

[18] On Charles Darwin and the Lewis Affair at the Syrian Protestant College, see Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic: 1860–1950* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013); Shafik Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College (Now the American University of Beirut)*, trans. Sally Kaya (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 2004); Nadia Farag, "The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of *al-Muqtataf*," *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, no. 1 (January 1972).

[19] See Philipp and Khuri-Makdisi for more.

[20] Elsewhere, I show that this novel's geography has much to say about changes apace in late nineteenth-century Cairo and the rise there of finance capitalism. See Holt, "Gardens of Knowledge to Ezbekiyya after Midnight" and *Novel Material*.

[21] *Al-Hilal* 5, no. 20 (15 June 1897): 800.

[22] *Al-Muqtataf* 45, no. 2 (September 1914): 284–285.

[23] Zaydan, *Mudhakirat*, 96–97.

[24] Muhammad ʿAbd al-Ghani Hasan, *Jurji Zaydan* (Cairo: Al-Hayʿa al-Misriyya al-ʿAmma li-l-Taʾlif wa-l-Nashr, 1970), 11.

[25] *Al-Muqtataf* 45, no. 2 (September 1914): 284–285.

[26] Jurji Zaydan, *Tarikh adab al-lughah al-ʿarabiyyah* vol. 4 (Cairo: Dar al-Hilal, 1957 (1914)), 73.

[27] Jirji Zaydan, *Yawmiyyat rihlah bahriyyah: Makhtutah tunshir li-l-marrah al-ula*, ed. Jan Dayh (Beirut: Fajr al-Nahdah, 2010), 68.

[28] Ibid.

[29] *Al-Muqtataf* 45, no. 2 (September 1914): 285.

[30] Jurji Zaydan, *Asir al-Mutamahdi* (Beirut: Dar Maktabat al-Hayat, 2002-2003), 12.

[31] *Asir al-Mutamahdi*, 111.

[32] Ibid., 112.

[33] Ibid., 113.

[34] Ibid., 119.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., 120

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 120.

[39] "Le missionnaire idéal, au demeurant, restait Cornelius van Dyck que Zaydan ne considérait pas comme un étranger tant il parlait bien l'arabe et avait adopté les mœurs syriennes." Anne-Laure Dupont, *Ǧurǧī Zaydan (1861–1914): Écrivain réformiste et témoin de la renaissance arabe* (Damascus: Institut Français du Proche Orient, 2006), 505.

[40] *Al-Hilal* 14, no. 4 (January 1906): 277.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "Al-Duktur Fan Dayk," *al-Hilal* 4, no. 1 (September 1, 1895): 4.

21 On Anis Frayha

Anis Frayha's professional career was an illustrious one and inextricably tied to AUB. His life story was in many ways the personification and personalization of the history of AUB for much of the twentieth century. He was a jewel in the crown of AUB's Department of Arabic and Near Eastern Languages, and the more he shone, the more the Department and AUB radiated learning and drew respect. He began his career at AUB as Adjunct Professor of Semitics 1929–1932, and concluded it at AUB as Emeritus Professor of Semitic Studies 1967–1976 and Emeritus Professor of Arabic 1978–1994. It was said of Anis Frayha that he was "one of the standards of exceptional intellectual and scientific endeavour."[1] George Jeha of that same Arabic Department noted of him back in 1992 that "he is now in his ninetieth year and still he has preserved his jovial spirit and that contentment (*al-rida*) which radiates from him."[2] In his autobiography *Qabla an Ansa* [*Before I Forget*], Anis Frayha wrote the following concerning his birthday:

> I came into this world without having been given the choice on the morning of the 21st of September in the year 1902, and after my father was given the good news of a male child he hurried to the family Old Testament and in it there is a blank page for recording great events and there he recorded my birthday.[3]

His father, Elias Khoury Frayha, was a Quaker and a schoolteacher who taught at the local primary school, which was run by the Quakers. Anis Frayha was born in a shared *'illiyyeh*, or loft room, of which his father and family occupied only a part, in the village of Ras al-Matn, in the Baabda district of Mount Lebanon. He loved Ras al-Matn, that quintessential Lebanese village about which he sang, wrote, and dreamt throughout his life. It was always his dream to spend his last years in Ras al-Matn, and he built a beautiful, comfortable, yet simple house there and a grave in the graveyard of the "Friends," or Quakers, to which he belonged. The Lebanese Civil War, however, deprived him, like so many others, of that and similar dreams.

Anis Frayha began his education in the village school, which, unusually, was not under the proverbial oak tree, but in the grandeur of the local serail, which had belonged to the Abi l-Lam' emirs of the Matn and was later bought by the Quakers for the purpose of setting up a primary school. In 1913, he entered Brummana High School as a boarder – a school which to this day is to be found on a pine-covered belvedere overlooking Beirut and which was founded by the Swiss Quaker, Theophilus Waldmeier, in 1873. At the end of his first school year, Frayha returned to Ras al-Matn, but was unable to resume his second school year due to the eruption of the First World War (1914–1918), which was referred to in Arabic not as the Great War, but as the Famine War. He remained in his village of Ras al-Matn for the whole duration of that war. In his memoir, Frayha says of this period: "As for us children, we did not pay attention to the matter of the war and news relating to it. During the summer of 1914 we were happy to return to our peers and to our playgrounds."[4] Brummana High School closed during this period and was, in fact, occupied by Ottoman troops, who set up a battery of canons there. After the end of the war, Frayha entered the School of Choueifat, which many Syrian and Palestinian students had also recently joined and who were strong supporters of the Arab Revolt. During this period, Michel Hajjar, the Arabic language teacher of the Souk el-Gharb School in the District of Aley, and who had made a great impression on the young Anis Frayha, convinced him to move to the Souk el-Gharb School.[5] School life there was monotonous and at times positively boring, while discipline was strict and sources of entertainment few and far between.

In 1920, various missionary movements established an institute in Souk el-Gharb for teaching newly arrived missionaries the Arabic language. Anis Frayha was offered and eagerly took up a job teaching them Arabic at a wage of 24 dollars a month.[6] From this first official position teaching Arabic as a

foreign language to English, American, Dutch and Danish missionaries, Frayha, at the age of just fifteen, began to discover his great love of and wonderful talent for teaching both Modern Standard and colloquial Lebanese Arabic, marking the beginning of a long and illustrious teaching career that would span much of the twentieth century. Frayha received his high school diploma from the Souk el-Gharb School, and continued teaching Arabic to foreign missionaries for two more years. It was one of his American students who successfully convinced him to pursue his tertiary education at the American University of Beirut (AUB). It was also during this pivotal period in his life that he met Dr. Bayard Dodge, a scholar of Islamic Studies inaugurated as the third president of AUB at a ceremony on 28 June 1923. Seeing great potential in this young man, Dr. Dodge told him during their first encounter: "We might need your help with teaching Arabic to newly arrived American faculty."[7] Dodge's insightful prediction traced the first lines of what was to be a long and prestigious career in Arabic Studies. It was during this same period that Frayha's interest in Syriac was aroused by his tennis partner, Dr. Philip Hitti. Hitti had also been a student at the school of the American Presbyterian Mission in Souk el-Gharb and at the American University of Beirut. After graduating in 1908, he taught at the American University of Beirut before moving to Columbia University, where he taught Semitic languages and received his PhD in 1915. After World War I, he returned to the American University of Beirut and taught there until 1926. In February 1926, he was offered a Chair at Princeton University, which he held until he retired in 1954. Between rounds of tennis, their conversations would revolve around the "secrets of colloquial Arabic."[8] Frayha would ask Hitti why the syntax in colloquial Arabic, as well as some of its vocabulary, differs from the "Fusha," or classical Arabic. Hitti responded: "This is due to the influence of Syriac. If you study Syriac, you will understand a great deal relating to these matters."[9] This early advice by Philip Hitti was to prove instrumental in motivating Frayha to study Syriac while at AUB and initiated his lifelong passion for the Syriac language and Semitic Studies.

Soon after registering for his first year at AUB, Frayha met President Dodge once again. President Dodge's famous ability to spot talent led him to ask Frayha to teach Arabic to some of the American faculty wives. This opportunity marked the modest beginning of Frayha's long and illustrious teaching career at AUB, started while still a student. The significant increase in his income as a result of this teaching allowed him to cover the tuition fees of his first year at AUB.

During his second year at AUB, President Dodge informed Frayha that demand for his Arabic class had increased, and that he would be teaching it on a daily basis. Frayha was overjoyed at the prospect of being able to cover his tuition fees in this way and also paying for his own Syriac lessons, which was a priority he had maintained. He had not forgotten Philip Hitti's advice: "Study Syriac, boy, and study Hebrew if you want to know the secrets of colloquial Arabic. In the colloquial, there are Syriac linguistic traces as well as Semitic traces from ancient languages which used to be spoken in this part of the world."[10] Before leaving for Princeton, Philip Hitti had advised him to study Syriac under the learned Syriac Catholic priest, Ishaq Armalet, which he did in his second year. In addition, he studied Hebrew under Salim al-Mann, who was from the Lebanese Jewish community living in Wadi Abu Jamil in Beirut, where Anis Frayha would go once a week for his hour of Hebrew.[11]

After four years of study at the AUB, Frayha received his Bachelor of Arts in Arabic Literature, and was sent by the University with a scholarship to study Semitic Languages in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago under the guidance of Professor Martin Sprengling. This momentous turning-point in the life and career of Anis Frayha was, once more, thanks to President Dodge, who had explained to him before his departure to the US that he wished to establish a department for Semitic Languages at AUB, which would be under the auspices of the Department of Arabic, and for this reason he wanted Frayha to specialize further in this domain. At Chicago, during his fourth semester of study for his MA, Frayha's advisor informed him that President Dodge was keen to send him to Germany in order to complete his education there where the most famous orientalists were to be found; therefore he needed to finish his dissertation by the end of that year.[12] In August of 1928, Frayha duly submitted and successfully defended his MA thesis, entitled "The Scholia of Barhebraeus for the Books of Joshua and Judges."[13] Alongside Ephrem, Bar 'Ebroyo in Syriac or Barhebraeus, which is how he was referred to in Latin, is perhaps the most famous of all Syriac writers and a polymath of great renown from the thirteenth century.

Armed with an MA from Chicago, Frayha travelled to Germany and was admitted into the University of Tübingen, where he learned German, as a requirement, and deepened his knowledge of the Semitic languages. Frayha fell in love with the beauty of the German cities, forests, and countryside; however, his love for Lebanon was far greater and never waned during his time abroad. A deep melancholy and homesickness for Lebanon and AUB gradually overtook him, and by the end of the academic year, in 1929, he wrote to President Dodge that he wished to return to AUB.

In the fall of 1929, Frayha was appointed Adjunct Professor of Semitics at AUB and began to teach an Arabic literature course, an introduction to Hebrew - which proved to be very popular - an introduction to German, and a history of Semitic civilization. Frayha recounts how a certain young man by the name of Antun Saade - future founder of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party - who would often be found in the Faculty Lounge discussing research with faculty members, had asked him for permission to audit this last course. A fond friendship developed between them. After having audited the class for a number of weeks, Antun Saade approached Frayha and expressed his objection at his historical description of atomized Aramaic states at war with each other, saying: "I don't like the way you teach this civilization: you teach it as though it is broken up and scattered, rather than focusing on the fact that it is a single Syrian civilization."[14] Frayha's reply, of course, was scientific and objective: "I teach it based on historical sources, both written and archaeological."[15]

In the early 1930s, there were many Palestinian students at AUB, including Jews who had been born in Palestine.[16] Frayha states in his memoir that in those days dealings and communication between Jews and Arabs happened quite naturally.[17] After a conversation with a Jewish student from Palestine at AUB, Frayha decided to spend the summer of 1930 in Tel Aviv learning Modern Hebrew. He then returned to Ras al-Matn to spend the rest of his summer, stating: "I left Palestine returning to beautiful Lebanon. A true Lebanese does not live at ease except in his village!"[18]

During his second year at AUB as Adjunct Professor of Semitic Studies, Frayha's roommate was the poet Ibrahim Touqan, who was the first to call him "Abu al-Rida before Rida was born."[19] During this year, the University faced a severe financial crisis, the result of the start of the Great Depression of the 1930s. Anticipating that his contract might not be renewed under such circumstances, Frayha saw it as an opportunity to complete his studies. He wrote to his old adviser at the University of Chicago, Professor Sprengling, asking for approval to begin his doctoral studies under his supervision. Sprengling approved and, more importantly, secured a full scholarship for Frayha to cover the costs. In 1935, Frayha successfully defended his doctoral dissertation, which was entitled "Quadriliterals from the dialect of Ras al-Matn (Lebanon)."[20] It was perhaps inevitable that Frayha would honour his village, the source of all his inspiration and the centre of all his dreams, in both the title and data of his doctoral dissertation, which was the crowning achievement in his academic education. After graduating, he was offered a job teaching Arabic and Syriac at the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago. However, after two years, Frayha once again began to miss Lebanon and AUB terribly, and he returned to Lebanon in 1938. Upon his return, he found that the financial crisis at AUB had not yet improved, and departments were looking for ways to cut back rather than expand.[21] Frayha consequently found a teaching job in Najaf, Iraq, where he spent two pleasant and experience-filled years.

After returning to Beirut, Frayha was approached by Dr. William Stoltzfus, who was one of the first presidents (1937-1958) of LAU - at that time known as the American Junior College for Women, and later as Beirut College for Women - to teach Arabic language and philosophy.[22] At the end of the first year, Dr. Stoltzfus offered him a full time position. Frayha, however, turned down the offer, as AUB had finally found a way to bring him back "home," and he was offered the position of assistant professor to teach Semitic languages through the shared initiative of the Arabic and History Departments.

In 1943 Anis Frayha, married Nelly Gibran Salloum and, in time, they raised a family of three children - Rida, Hoda, and Maya. Frayha had inherited the love of teaching from his father, who had taught generations upon generations of children in the village school, and he duly passed this love on to his son, Rida Frayha, who eventually became an assistant dean of the AUB Medical School before leaving for the US during the Lebanese Civil War. After his retirement in 1967, Anis Frayha continued to teach Semitic languages and the history of the Near East at AUB on a part-time basis, from 1967-1970, and also taught Semitics and history at the Lebanese University from 1967-1974. Throughout his years of retirement, Frayha would often been seen on the AUB campus taking a walk or playing with his grandchildren. His dream was ultimately to retire to Ras al-Matn and tend his little garden; however, the Lebanese Civil War prevented him from realizing that dream, and he remained in Ras Beirut for the rest of his life. Anis Frayha passed away in Beirut on 21 November 1992, and his last farewell was, fittingly, in Assembly Hall in the presence of the faculty and student body - at his alma mater, which had nourished his mind, body, and soul from his early days as an undergraduate student to the heights of his academic career as a professor of Semitic Studies.

During his career, Anis Frayha wrote more than thirty books and as many articles on specialist and various topics. His memoir, ***Before I Forget*** (***Qabla an Ansa***), first published in 1979 after his retirement, not only recounts the events of his own life, but inevitably also is a personal history of AUB from the 1930s to the 1970s. It is the celebration of a lifelong relationship between Anis Frayha, the man and academic, and AUB, the institution and home. His publications from the 1950s and 1960s are also

well-known, and include: *A Dictionary of Non-classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon* (1947);[23] *Simplifying the Grammar of the Arabic Language* (1952);[24] *A Dictionary of the Names of Towns and Villages in Lebanon* (1956);[25] *Listen O Rida!* (1956);[26] *Ahiqar, a Wise Man from the Ancient Near East* (1962);[27] and *Epics and Legends from Ugarit* (1966).[28]

Anis Frayha's works fall, in the main, into three categories: 1. Language, dialect, and dictionaries; 2. Ugaritic legends; and 3. The Lebanese village. The greatest of these three passions was the Lebanese village - its culture, its traditions, and above all, its language. From his doctoral dissertation to *Qabla an Ansa*, upon his retirement, to his dying day, Anis Frayha's interest in his home village of Ras al-Matn, as an epitome of the Lebanese village, occupied his mind and heart. It is this subject, among many others, which will preserve his name among both academic and general readers. His books and articles on this and the other two subject areas are written in a simple and transparent Arabic that directly, yet respectfully, addresses the reader, sharing with him in a very straightforward manner the information he wishes to convey.

An example of the first category of books that he wrote relating to the subject of Near Eastern languages - Arabic and Syriac, in the main - is a book entitled *On the Arabic Language and Some of its Issues* (first published in 1966)[29] and dedicated "To every teacher who teaches the Arabic language." The work represents a culmination of his thoughts about Arabic, and language, and how it should be taught, which were far ahead of his time. During his lifetime, his thoughts on the Arabic language and his critique of how Arabic is taught in institutions of learning were not always welcomed and hardly ever applied. He himself states that his call, in a number of books and articles, for the reform of Arabic syllabi and teaching techniques was: "A cry which did not have any effect except for the reaction of a certain friend of ours ... who saw it as a destructive call accusing it of heresy and a withdrawal from Arabism."[30] In fact, his approach to teaching the Arabic language is only now being applied as a modern methodological approach that does away with the traditional patterns of instruction. Let us consider, for example, his argument that "Every literary and formal language was once a dialect and every dialect becomes an official language due to 'a higher power' that imposes it on society."[31] His great respect for and value of colloquial Arabic, his study of it throughout his career, and its inseparability from classical Arabic in his approach is only now being reflected in textbooks for teaching Arabic as a foreign language, where the teaching of colloquial Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic are fully integrated. Unlike many of his more conservative contemporaries who looked down on colloquial Arabic as a language without grammar, Anis Frayha never forgot the words of advice given to him by Philip Hitti about the influence of Syriac grammar and syntax on Lebanese, and he himself reminds the reader that even classical Arabic was once a dialect which was later formalized.[32]

Above all, his pioneering approach to teaching Arabic is reflected in his advice -anticipating today's teaching methods - namely, that language learning should be through practice and not theory;[33] that language teaching should take place in levels,[34] meaning that the same grammatical issue should be returned to a number of times, each time at a higher level of understanding and instruction; that Arabic should be primarily taught through roots and forms, rather than through grammatical instruction;[35] that grammatical instruction should be reduced to a bare minimum, and replaced by many and varied practice exercises;[36] that three books over a period of three years should be used to teach primarily the three elements of vocabulary, expressions, and syntax, in that order of priority;[37] that grammar should be presented and explained descriptively;[38] and that writing exercises should emphasize clarity in communicating ideas in a straightforward unornamented style.[39] Incredibly, all of these points of advice, without exception, which Anis Frayha made nearly forty years ago and which were not heeded according to his own admission, are now being implemented in the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language, not only at AUB, but also throughout the United States and Europe.

In another chapter of the very same book, *On the Arabic Language*, with the title "The Influence of Syriac Philologists in Establishing the Principles of Morphology and Grammar of the Arabs,"[40] Anis Frayha makes the important argument that "if there was to be found the influence of Greek logic and Greek philosophy on Arabic morphology and grammar then this reached the Arabs indirectly. It reached them through the Syriac philologists who were closely connected to the Arabs."[41] Frayha proceeds to prove his argument by demonstrating that the same letter joining rules apply to both Syriac and Arabic,[42] and that the influence of East Syriac vowel pointing is clearly traceable in the development of the Arabic vowel system, quoting Ibn al-Nadim, who refers to Syriac points when describing an early form of Arabic vowelling that used points in exactly the same way.[43] However, the greater part of this chapter and the most instructive is a long list of Arabic grammatical terms (over fifty terms) that include all the most common and important ones, whose Syriac origins Frayha explains by citing the equivalent terminology in Syriac.[44] By way of example, he cites the Arabic term *ismu l-fā'il* as the exact semantic equivalent of the older Syriac term *shmo d'obdo* or *shmo 'obūdo*, which has the same sense of the "doing noun"; and the Arabic term *al-iḍāfa*, which has exactly the same meaning as its older Syriac equivalent *malūtūto* from the Syriac root *lwo*, which means "to add, stick or follow"; and the Arabic term *al-jazm*, whose older Syriac equivalent for the same is *gdomo* from the root *gdam*, which means "to cut or cut off."

Anis Frayha's writing style is exceptional in its fluency and simplicity, reflecting his own character in life and his relationships with friends and acquaintances. His entire life was characterized by modesty, love, and service - characteristics that are and have always been the core values common to the spirit of the Lebanese, the Quakers, and AUB. When Lebanon was struck by the plague of the Civil War, Anis Frayha was deeply saddened at the senselessness of the violence in his homeland, and at the fact that war did not spare AUB, his second home and, in many ways, a unique microcosm of Lebanon itself. When College Hall was blown up in 1991, Anis Frayha lost not only his old office, but also, almost, his hope for Lebanon. Yet like the proverbial phoenix from the ashes, both Lebanon and College Hall did rise again and, with them, a manuscript emerged that was found in the rubble of College Hall, which Anis Frayha had written many years earlier, but had lost. One year later, in 1992, after the end of the Civil War and the same year in which Anis Frayha passed away, this manuscript was published by Naufal Publishers with the title *On the Ancient Hebrew Narratives*.[45]

ENDNOTES

[1] Dr. George Jeha, *Al-Anwar*, 30 January 1992.

[2] Ibid.

[3] A. Frayha, *Qabla an Ansa* (Tripoli: Irus Press, 1989), 17.

[4] Ibid., 50.

[5] Ibid., 75.

[6] Ibid., 81.

[7] Ibid., 85.

[8] Ibid., 85.

[9] Ibid., 85.

[10] Ibid., 104.

[11] Ibid., 106, 116.

[12] Ibid., 134.

[13] A. Frayha, "The Scholia of Barhebraeus for the Books of Joshua and Judges," (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1928) (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Information Service, 1997).

[14] *Qabla an Ansa*, 157.

[15] Ibid., 157.

[16] Ibid., 162.

[17] Ibid., 162.

[18] Ibid., 165.

[19] Ibid., 166. Rida is the name of his son, who was born many years later.

[20] A. Frayha, "Quadriliterals from the dialect of Ras al-Matn (Lebanon)," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 1935.

[21] *Qabla an Ansa*, 184.

[22] Ibid., 196.

[23] A. Frayha, *A Dictionary of Non-classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebonon* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1947) (in Arabic).

[24] A. Frayha, *Simplifying the Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Jounieh: n.p., 1952) (in Arabic).

[25] A. Frayha, *A Dictionary of the Names of Towns and Villages in Lebanon* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1956) (in Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew).

[26] A. Frayha, *Listen O Rida!* (Jounieh: n.p., 1956) (in Arabic).

[27] A. Frayha, *Ahiqar, a Wise Man from the Ancient Near East* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1962) (in Arabic with Aramaic and Syriac).

[28] A. Frayha, *Epics and Legends from Ugarit* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1966) (in Arabic with Ugaritic).

[29] A. Frayha, *On the Arabic Language and Some of its Issues* (Beirut: Dar en-Nahar, 1966) (in Arabic with Syriac).

[30] Ibid., 48.

[31] Ibid., 58.

[32] Ibid., 59.

[33] Ibid., 65.

[34] Ibid., 66.

[35] Ibid., 67.

[36] Ibid., 69.

[37] Ibid., 70.

[38] Ibid., 71.

[39] Ibid., 79.

[40] A. Frayha, *On the Arabic Language*, 23.

[41] Ibid., 23.

[42] Ibid., 30.

[43] Ibid., 34–35.

[44] Ibid., 38–46.

[45] A. Frayha, *On the Ancient Hebrew Narratives* (في القصص العبري القديم) (Beirut: Dar Naufal, 1992) (in Arabic).

22 Kamal Salibi: The Man and the Historian, 1929–2011

Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn

The day he granted me my doctorate, Kamal Salibi gave a brief speech that I have treasured to this day. In it, he offered the wisdom of his own experience and the principles that guided his research: "humility is the most highly prized virtue among scholars. The title of doctor is a mockery when it is not coupled with this virtue." If one had not known the man, it would seem bizarre to hear such words coming from a scholar of such renown. However, the importance of this belief is evident in his willingness to retread old ground in the search for understanding, even at the risk of critiquing his own previous judgments about the past. Perhaps one could consider that it *was* this philosophy and his unwavering dedication to this virtue that defined his achievements both in academia and in his life.

For those who knew Kamal Salibi, it is clear that one cannot ever truly separate Kamal Salibi, the historian, from Kamal Salibi, the man; nor is it advisable to do so. His attitude towards authority in all forms was incurably irreverent, a characteristic that says as much about his outlook on life as it does about his scholarship. This is amusingly apparent in the lengthy biographical letter that he composed upon the request of the editors of *Der Spiegel* in preparation for the publication of his book *The Bible Came from Arabia*. In it, Dr. Salibi treats the editors to a lengthy biographical sketch where he and his family become integral characters in the story of Lebanon, either consciously or unconsciously, focusing on the rebels, mischief makers, and bad seeds who so clearly delighted him. Whereas most biographers would most probably have emphasized the contributions his family made to the fields of medicine and education in Lebanon as pioneer founders of the Lebanon Schools in the mountains, his primary description of his grandfather was not of his actual work as a physician, but of his participation in the rebellion against the Syrian Protestant College administration during the Darwin Affair of 1882 that forced him to leave the College prematurely and to take the exams for his medical license in Istanbul. Similarly, the first mention of his family after their move from the Anti-Lebanon to northern Mount Lebanon was their alliance with a Shi'ite clan of the Baalbek region in one of the notorious "goat wars" which led to the extermination of the dynasty of muqaddams of the Ibn Ayoub in Bcharre in 1547. His next account was a gleeful aside about an obscure clansman, Qamar al-Din Salibi, whose misbehavior was enough to warrant an official Ottoman order for his arrest; and so on. In their flaws, it seems, he saw their humanity, an element of his subjects that he never neglected to highlight in his work.

From his own description, we are lucky to have had him as an historian. Young Kamal's first experience in education was a poor prediction of his academic future. Disinclined to commit himself to any subject other than Bible studies and music, his principal at the Brummana High School, at the end of Salibi's second year, sent a letter to his father suggesting that "he discontinues my education and sends me to his farm to learn agriculture by practice instead, as my teachers were unanimous in finding me unteachable." The elder Salibi responded by offering jobs on the farm to the school's instructors since clearly none of them were any good at teaching. Kamal continued along a path of scholastic mediocrity through his years at the International College and most of his undergraduate years at AUB, which he blamed not on his lack of effort, but rather on his exuberant distractibility. Rather than settling into his assigned studies during his hours in the library, he would find himself leafing through books on botany, geology, zoology, and astronomy, devouring Shakespeare and al-Mutanabbi, and developing his vivid, expressive writing style apparently for sheer amusement. His scholastic listlessness pushed him from focus to focus, as he experimented with music (a hobby that led him to compose a number of musicals, some of which were actually played at the West Hall

theatre: *The Marchioness of Saden Saden* and *The Ladies of Gulhane*), biology, literature, political science, European history, and Semitic studies, until he was finally forced into the study of a local Maronite historian for his Master's thesis for lack of sources on his original topic, Arabian mythology. This was a lucky choice that eventually led him to the University of London, where Bernard Lewis convinced him to expand his unfinished thesis into a study of early Maronite historiography, effectively launching him as a historian of Lebanon.[1]

The development of Salibi's academic career paralleled the development of Lebanese history as a genre. Salibi constructed a personal historiography of Lebanon from the primary sources that he knew almost by heart that still stands as the central pillar of secondary literature on the topic. It is significant that aside from his 900-year survey, *Muntlaq tarikh Lubnan, 634-1516*, he never compiled a comprehensive history of the country in one text in the manner of many others, choosing rather to focus on discrete blocks of time with defined physical and conceptual boundaries.[2] Because of this, his judgments were decisive and generally free of the brittleness of anachronism that often accompanies the melding of distinct time periods within one geographical space. But perhaps even more important than his substantive contributions to our knowledge of Lebanon and its past were the historiographical and critical works that bookended his career. It was important that he taught us about Lebanese history, but it is a far greater thing that he taught us how to think about Lebanese history. This was something he himself came to terms with over the course of his career, as he confronted the contradictions of the past that emerged in the conflicts of the present, eventually leading the country he loved into a self-destructive spiral.

Salibi's career has spanned a number of highly divergent topics, ranging from the Biblical to the contemporary, and stretching from the Arabian Peninsula through Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. In my paper, however, I will only discuss his work on Lebanese history.

If one were to categorize his work in this field, it would appear to fall within three distinct areas: historiographical, political or traditional history, and most importantly, his critical works. The final phase of his scholarship reflects as much a phase of his life as a phase of his scholarship. A number of his most critical appraisals of Lebanese history were reflections of the long civil war in Lebanon and the hollow historical mythologies that helped justify and propel it. For Salibi, the history of Lebanon had a value that lay deeper than simply the words on the page. Through his writing, he attempted to teach the nation about itself, perhaps in the hope that it would discard those assumptions and misunderstood beliefs that were tearing it to pieces. Though his iconoclasm was not always appreciated, it arose from his rejection of the idea of history as tradition if it stood on a poor factual footing. Though he fiercely critiqued the flaws in the histories and methodologies of other Lebanese historians, his reasoning and motives were humbler than they might appear. Unlike the objects of his criticism, Kamal Salibi sought to advance knowledge rather than divine truth.

HIS HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PHASE

In a conference whose proceedings would become Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt's *Historians of the Middle East*,[3] a young Kamal Salibi launched barbs at the Lebanese historical field: "Despite the fact that most of the works of the Maronite historians have appeared in print, modern Lebanese scholarship has paid little attention to the critical treatment of these works, and, while tending to use them as absolute standards of reference, has left their reliability almost unquestioned."[4] His work on the histories and historians has provided the field with a number of indispensable works that clarify the historical narrative by both using and also considering the historical validity of the sources as he analyzed them. His most notable contributions to this effect, *Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon*,[5] analyzed the persons and primary historical works of three principal Maronite historians, Jibra'il Ibn al-Qila'i; Istifan Duwayhi, on whose work much of the early Lebanese historical narrative has been constructed; and Tannous al-Shidyaq, who produced a detailed secular historical overview of the notable families of Lebanon in his *Akhbar al-a'yan fi Jabal Lubnan*. Salibi's later essay, "The Traditional Historiography of the Maronites," critically dissected the sources, offering praise for their achievements, but also highlighting their flaws. At the time of the publication of *Maronite Historians*, no such critical work had been undertaken regarding the Lebanese historical sources, although they were and continue to be used by all historians in their writing on Lebanon in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The sources themselves are not of insignificant quality. The lives and histories of the major families, actors, and places are sketched out in great detail – and in the case of Ibn al-Qila'i, with a strong sense of good and evil. However, because of this, a naïve reading of these sources can be misleading.

Because there are few corroborative texts on which to rely, even current historians who have attempted to challenge the traditional Lebanese historical narrative have fallen consistently into the pitfalls of the same convenient sources, making arguments from the sources they seek to critique. Worse, a trend seems to have developed among some historians to challenge Salibi's work for the sake of challenging it, relying upon the partial judgments or claims of Duwayhi, in particular, without acknowledging the excellent reasons that both Salibi and I have given for doubting the motives or the veracity of the claims in the first place.[6]

Maronite historiography, in particular, throughout the early historical era of Lebanon, has been closely linked to the historical and parochial interests of the Church, and is at times reflective of the political and ecclesiastical tensions in the mountain. The premier early historical works on Lebanon came from the Maronite Patriarch Istifan Duwayhi, whose detailed, well-researched texts, *Tarikh al-ta'ifa al-maruniyya*[7] and *Tarikh al-azmina*,[8] were the most authoritative sources for later historians like Shihab, Shidyaq, and Yusuf Dibs, among others. Both Duwayhi and Ibn al-Qila'i were educated in Rome and were to some extent concerned with ensuring, justifying, and confirming the historical purity of their community for pious and/or bureaucratic reasons. Ibn al-Qila'i's most notable work, *Madiha 'ala Jabal Lubnan*,[9] combined historical analysis with didactic moralization and political attacks on the influx of Jacobite heretics into the region, all projected with a sense of Old Testament cosmic justice. Duwayhi's more professional historical analysis is, for that reason, deceptively dangerous for the historian.

Duwayhi's use of non-Maronite sources in addition to the Maronite church records, papal bulls, local histories, and the works of provincial historians like Ibn al-Qila'i was a profound step in the historiography of the region. Moreover, his intent to provide a general history of the geographical region of Syria following the invasion of the Crusaders was revolutionary in that it presented the history of the region and the history of the Maronite inhabitants and church as part of the same overall historical unit. In his defensive overview of the Maronite community, *Tarikh al-ta'ifa al-maruniyya*, Duwayhi seeks to prove the Maronite community's unbroken ties with Catholic orthodoxy, in part to counter charges of heterodoxy that had emerged from Rome following an inquest into Maronite practices, which had necessitated a mission to the mountain to re-educate the wayward Maronite flocks, much to the chagrin of the Maronite leadership. Likewise, Salibi has observed that Duwayhi's close ties with the rebel Druze emir Ahmad Ma'an led his accounts of history pertaining to the Druzes to take a subtly partial historical account of the Ma'anid emirate that flatters his protagonists while conveniently concealing historical events that would reflect poorly on his allies. This is perhaps most notable in his portrayals of the Druze Emir Fakhr al-Din, whose alliance with the Maronite church and, in particular the Khazin family of Kisrawan, was portrayed in such a manner that Salibi later notes in *A House of Many Mansions* that the Druze leader had assumed a more heroic role in Maronite historiography than in that of his own community.[10]

It is perhaps appropriate that the first major contribution that Kamal Salibi made to the field of Lebanese history was a critique of its history and historians. Indeed, the lines of his rather aggressive paper, "The Traditional Historiography . . ." could have been read from *A House of Many Mansions*. In 1962, he concluded:

> The apologetic trend in the traditional historiography of the Maronites continues to embarrass Maronite scholarship. The Maronite historians of today, no less than their predecessors, continue to write in defense of their community and to exaggerate its importance . . . Fresh departures cannot be expected in Maronite historiography as long as contemporary Maronite historians fail to make a thorough revaluation of their traditional historiography in the light of modern scholarship.[11]

LEBANESE POLITICAL HISTORIES

Though Salibi was, by the end of his career, disillusioned and critical of the traditional Lebanese historical narrative, he was nevertheless a distinguished contributor to it. However, unlike much of the confessionally politicized historiography that he has so thoroughly challenged, Salibi's intention as an historian was to always present his subject matter as accurately as he could, even if it meant directly challenging historical precedent and, occasionally even, the primary sources when he found conflicting evidence and a motive for dissemblance. His commitment to this was such that, as a young scholar, he was lightly chided by Albert Hourani for his rough treatment of the distinguished Jesuit scholar of Syria, Henri Lammens, after Salibi's paper on Lammens – "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens" – roundly criticized the scholar for the manner in which his politics impacted his work.[12]

His investigatory style was aided by an incurable sense of curiosity and fascination with the minutia and hidden problems that emerged from his research. He often recalled, with his usual wry wit and disarming self-deprecation, presenting an offprint to one of his friends, saying "look how many venerable people I have rescued from obscurity and brought to light!" to which she replied, "I would hardly speak here of obscurity and light. You have simply exhumed these people from one obscurity to bury them in another."[13] His attention to detail and obscurity was undeniably a valuable aid to him throughout his career. Since the political history of Mount Lebanon and its surrounding regions are generally neglected

in the Syrian and Ottoman historiography unless the inhabitants were delinquent or in some form of open revolt, Salibi's detailed historical work required him to critically examine the Lebanese sources while picking what limited information he could obtain from external contemporary writings. Through all of his works, however, he maintained the refreshing perspective of a Lebanese writer writing local histories. It was clear from his writing that he was not only familiar with the names and places, but was inured to the polemics of the historical narrative to the extent that his only judgments on the matter were on a rather personal basis. If a historical personality was abused, it was for his personal shortcomings or actions, rather than the reputation he had developed or his relationship with a particular member of the spiteful sphere of the mountain's historical politics. Even when such criticism was overt, it was effected through his characteristically devastating understatement.

Some of Salibi's finest contributions to the field came as the histories of the notable families through which he projected the political history of the country and region. In addition to his contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* regarding the Harfushes of Baalbek and Fakhr al-Din II, he published a series of articles that covered Lebanese history from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. His first such work was an overview of the reign of the Buhturid emirs, "The Buhturids of the Garb: Mediaeval Lords of Beirut and of Southern Lebanon,"[14] a clan of Druze Tanukhid emirs who ruled the Gharb from the early twelfth century until their line of succession was erased by 'Ali 'Alam al-Din and his Yamani Druze faction after the death of Fakhr al-Din in 1635. Salibi's approach never neglected the complexities or absurdities of local and imperial politics and, as he was apparently not shocked by such irregularities, he rarely judged his subjects for them. The Buhturids were prime examples of this. Tasked with harassing the Franks who settled in Beirut, the Buhturids took advantage of the power afforded them by their military power, the difficult terrain of the mountainous region they commanded, and the fact that they straddled the only pathway between Beirut and Damascus to develop complex relationships with the Franks and counter-crusaders that they manipulated as suited their interests. After a brief interlude following Qalawun's conquest of coastal Syria, in 1292 the Buhturids used their local ties to justify reappointment of members of their clan as hereditary rulers over the Gharb as part of the *halqa*, the irregular forces of the Mamluk sultanate. Though he was forced to rely almost exclusively on the work of the Buhturid historian Salih Bin Yahya, *Tarikh Bayrut wa al-umara' al-Buhturiyyin min bani al-Gharb*,[15] his conclusions reflect the long-term significance of the establishment of the system of feudal aristocracy that was maintained almost consistently by the Mamluk and then the Ottoman sultanates until the end of the Shihabi emirate and the creation of the double Qaymakamate in 1842.

Beginning in 1967, Salibi returned his focus to such works, publishing between 1967 and 1973 a series of six articles that dealt with the late Mamluk and early Ottoman era Lebanese governors, emirs, and muqaddams. Four of them – "Northern Lebanon under the dominance of Gazir (1517–1591),"[16] which focused on the Turkoman strongmen of the Kisrawan district, the 'Assafs; "The Sayfas and the Eyalet of Tripoli 1579–1640"[17]; and his investigations into the Ma'anid dynasty, "Fakhr al-Din al-Thani wa al-fikra al-lubnaniyya"[18] and " The Secret of the House of Ma'an"[19] – explored an overlapping set of political dynasties whose rivalries, rebellions, and shifting allegiances dominated the Lebanese countryside from the late Mamluk era until the end of the seventeenth century. In addition to these, Salibi produced two articles on the history of the Maronite community, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099–1516)"[20] and "The Muqaddams of Bsharri: Maronite Chieftains of the Northern Lebanon, 1382–1621,"[21] which used primarily Maronite sources to detail the internal relationships within the Maronite leadership and their relationships with the Europeans and Muslim powers that surrounded them. These articles on the ruling elites and their ascent, impact on the countryside, and ultimate demise are invaluable contributions to the literature on Lebanese political history and, in a sense, represent an early attempt to revisit and question the traditional Lebanese historical narrative.

In most cases, Salibi introduced his topics by providing a detailed outline of the group and relevant information that would contribute to a general understanding of his discussion. For example, in his earlier article on the Buhturids, he began with a brief history of the Druzes, a description of their faith, and a discussion of their origins in the region; and in his discussion of the Turkoman 'Assaf emirs of northern Lebanon, he offered an explanation for the presence of Turkoman groups in the mountain, in the process linking them with the Buhturids, who had been similarly relocated and granted hereditary positions in the region. Salibi used such introductions effectively, not only bringing out obscure and necessary information about the origins and characteristics of his subjects, but more importantly drawing links between them and the imperial center and rival powers that would influence their history. For certain dynasties – notably the compliant and highly regarded 'Assafs – these links were rather minor, as they maintained excellent relations with their Maronite subjects and ensured peace and prosperity in their *iqta'* during a time when their more aggressive neighbors to the north, south, and east involved themselves in vicious power struggles.

For dynasties like the Ma'ans and Sayfas, on the other hand, the relationships between the rival emirs were complicated and often changed violently according to personal rivalries and vendettas, regional upheavals, and the ever-dangerous shifts in the prevailing winds of Istanbul. Salibi primarily investigates this feud in "The Sayfas and the Eyalet of Tripoli 1579-1640" and, to a lesser extent, in his article on the *muqaddams* of Bsharri, whose relationship with the Sayfas resulted in the loss of their traditional position following the conquest of Tripoli by Fakhr al-Din Ma'an in 1621. This was made permanent after the *muqaddam* was strangled and thrown from a bridge after he visited Fakhr al-Din to protest the execution of his son for murder. For Salibi, the Ma'ans and Sayfas provide an interesting contrast in terms of the root and application of their power. For the Ma'ans, as with the Buhturids and the Maronite feudal lords, their influence derived from their support within their communities which, in the case of the Ma'ans, included a large contingent of Maronites and the Maronite Church. Salibi observed that Fakhr al-Din's genius lay in part in his opportunism and willingness to deal openly with Europeans to enrich himself and expand his power. In contrast, as an external fixture (either Kurdish or Turkomen based in 'Akkar), Yusuf Sayfa's relationship with the Ottoman state and his neighbors was often stormy due to – as Salibi interpreted it – his dual role as Ottoman governor and Lebanese political figure, which required him to both placate Istanbul and maintain good relations with the Maronite subjects of his region, as well as to negotiate relations with the neighboring 'Assaf, Ma'an, and Harfush emirs. Because of this, the success of the Ma'ans and the collapse of the Sayfas were linked in not just a literal sense – in that the Sayfas were excluded from the governorship of Tripoli by Fakhr al-Din and never attained their previous power because of the Ma'ans and their allies – but also in a figurative one. The Sayfas were ultimately weaker than the Ma'ans simply because they lacked the organic support of the people that sustained the Ma'anid emirs and justified their status in Istanbul, no matter how many times they breached protocol and the faith of the capital.

Perhaps the most rebellious of these articles from the Lebanese historical perspective was Salibi's "The Secret of the House of Ma'an," which heretically explored the genealogy of Fakhr al-Din II and what, Salibi concluded, was the attempt by Duwayhi and Haydar al-Shihab to suppress discussion of rival Ma'anid emirs and his rival Yamanite party in the Druze community. Salibi notes the curious issue of Fakhr al-Din's lineage and the mysterious emergence of the 'Alam al-Din family, apparently from thin air, after Fakhr al-Din's death. In his investigations, Salibi discovered a reference to a certain 'Alam al-Din Sulayman, who he believed had served as an advisor to the young emir Korkmaz (Fakhr al-Din's father) when he assumed control of the community. He surmised that at a certain point the families had vied for control of the Druze community, with the Ma'ans emerging temporarily victorious. The fact that the historians of the emirate were so close to the seat of power – first Fakhr al-Din's personal biographer Ahmad al-Khalidi of Safad, and later Duwayhi, with his close relations with Ahmad Ma'an – lends credibility to this claim. Concealing the history of the 'Alam al-Dins would legitimize the Ma'anid claim to the undisputed leadership of the community. This is so insidious because the foundation myth of the Lebanese historical narrative was based on the notion of a unified Lebanon under the control of Fakhr al-Din II. If Lebanon – indeed, the Druze community itself – was not unified in its support of its glorious leader, this casts doubt on the validity of the narrative itself.

Salibi's most impressive contribution to the traditional history of Lebanon was undoubtedly his descriptive work, *The Modern History of Lebanon*,[22] which traced the political and intellectual history of Lebanon from the eighteenth century to the Mandate period. In this, Salibi's focus inevitably shifted to the political conflict and change that swept over the mountain throughout the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, and how this impacted the development of various strains of Lebanese nationalistic thought among the intelligentsia. Such notions and grand narratives would later be challenged by *A House of Many Mansions*, but since Salibi's work was published a mere three years after Albert Hourani's monumental work on Arabic intellectual history, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, it fit the intellectual climate. While Salibi does not contest Hourani's arguments, which were mainly against the inflated notions of George Antonius in *The Arab Awakening*, his focus on the creators of a notion of a unified and independent Lebanon gave these thinkers, perhaps, a more accurately fitting place in the nationalist literature. Salibi dealt with a number of particularly tense periods of Lebanese history in *The Modern History* as simply part of the social and political developments that had changed the demographic and socioeconomic status quo of the mountain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His dismissal of sectarian differences as a causal factor departed significantly from the traditional Maronite interpretation of the events, but provided a clear and well supported analysis of the causes of the conflicts and the effects that they produced.

Although they did not achieve the renown of his more widely available works, some of Salibi's most interesting and personal contributions to the field were published in conference proceedings or through local historical societies. These conference papers served to either revise previous publications – as with his article "Mount Lebanon under the Mamluks,"[23] which clarified and updated

his perspective on the era in question, which he had covered earlier in his career - or to allow him to delve into areas of personal interest with exceptional candidness and humor. Very often these conference papers paid homage to Salibi's poorly disguised fascination with place and space, and how the progression of history and the location of these events were tied. Perhaps the best example of this is his article "Beirut under the Young Turks," which posed as a political history centered on the figure of Salim 'Ali Salam, but was crafted as a majestic portrait of Beirut and its political aristocracy in the early twentieth century.[24] The nostalgia of place was equally on display in his history of his ancestral town, Bhamdoun,[25] and the paper on Lebanon under the French Mandate that he wrote near the end of his career for the memorial volume of a friend and long-time colleague.[26] In both, he interwove his own personal and familial history into the history of the country and those who passed through it. This recurrent theme of his historical style is significant since it is such a departure from the tendency in academia to write "about" a topic - indeed, some of his most profound observations came when he wrote from within his topic, in some cases even becoming a subject of it.

REWRITING LEBANESE HISTORY

Thorough reviews of historiography require impudence and confidence. Fundamentally, they are critiques of the prevailing work and trends, and aim to guide the works to follow. For Salibi, whose entire career had been dedicated to the history of Lebanon, this also required a measure of humility, as his fresh judgments ultimately revised some of the theses that he had put forward in his earlier work. For a man so dedicated to his craft and its betterment, this was merely a necessary revision of the record that he himself began at the start of his academic career. At my dissertation defense, he pressed upon me the need for humility and change for the sake of clarity and progress:

> you must always stand ready to reconsider the validity of your findings in the light of new research; to defer to more accurate judgment from others should it at any time obtain, to delight in the acceptance of criticism when such criticism is sincerely meant to advance rather than obstruct knowledge.

He published his revolutionary critique of Lebanese history, *A House of Many Mansions*, a few years later.

Salibi's pursuit of knowledge, rather than truth, made *Mansions* a new starting point for the history of Lebanon, and ultimately the point from which all current histories of the country must begin. Though his disregard for the inviolability of the icons and myths of Lebanese history has rubbed some the wrong way, he felt that such an historical "reconsideration" was necessary for the health of the nation. Once the old foundations had been smashed and brushed aside, a national identity based on common understanding and mutual respect could emerge to form a more stable society. Dr. Salibi sometimes joked in private that Lebanese history was all lies, but it is this very critique that most powerfully impacted the field of Lebanese history. The publication of his universally acclaimed *A House of Many Mansions* is in many ways a complete revolution in the way in which we view and treat Lebanese history. In it, he addressed what he viewed as the major flaws of Lebanese history, namely, that there are too many histories that disagree on fundamental issues due to parochial sensitivities. Salibi wondered,

> Could it be that both sides in the war over Lebanese history were wrong, and that the historical truth lay elsewhere? Or were both sides right, but viewing the same historical truth from different angles? And in either case, is there such a thing as an absolute historical truth regarding the matter in question? . . . Would there be winners and losers; or was it an endless game which no side could win or lose?[27]

In a country that had, by the late 1980s, been demolished by sectarianism and civil war, the use of the word "war" was not metaphorical or in jest. The feuding visions of Lebanese identity had been drawn from a misunderstanding of Lebanese history that had served to politically and morally justify the bloodshed.

In his concluding chapter to *A House of Many Mansions*, Salibi observed that in divided nations like Lebanon, "to gain the degree of solidarity that is needed to maintain viability, their best chance lies in getting to know and understand the full truth of their past, and to accommodate to its realities." This sentiment is important since it places *Mansions* in a unique class among scholarly works; though its historiographical overview was clearly written for scholars of Lebanon who knew the sources, its accessible style and pointed arguments were clearly aimed at the Lebanese themselves. Always teaching, Dr. Salibi sought to educate an entire nation of the errors in their ways - and no one else could be more suited to the task.

On the morning of Thursday, September 1, 2011, Lebanon's greatest historian, Kamal Suleiman Salibi, died from complications following a stroke. He is survived by his work, his dear friends, and his living legacy of those students who passed under his tuition, many of whom continue to pass on his knowledge and the principles on which he based his life to a new generation of historians. For this, we must all remain in his debt, and strive to live up to the high standards that he held for every part of his life.

ENDNOTES

[1] Salibi covers his years at Brummana High School in chapter 5 of his autobiography (in Arabic), *Ta'ir 'ala sindiyanah: mudhakkirat* (Amman: Dar al-shuruq, 2002), 89–106.

[2] Kamal Salibi, *Muntalaq Tarikh Lubnan, 634–1516* (Beirut: Dar Naufal, 1979).

[3] Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[4] K. Salibi, "The Traditional Historiography of the Maronites," in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 212.

[5] K. Salibi, *Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon*, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series no. 34 (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1959).

[6] The latest example of this is the otherwise excellent survey of W. Harris, *Lebanon: A History, 600–2011* (London: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[7] Istifan al-Duwayhi, *Tarikh al-ta'ifa al-maruniyya* [History of the Maronite Denomination], ed. Rashid al-Khuri al-Shartuni (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1980).

[8] Istifan al-Duwayhi, *Tarîh al-azmina, 1095–1699*, ed. Ferdinand Taoutel (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1951).

[9] Published along with other texts of Ibn Al-Qila'i with a commentary by Bulus Qara'li under the title: *Hurub al-muqaddammin* (Bayt Shabab: Matba'at al-'ilm, 1937).

[10] A. Abu Husayn, "Duwayhi as a Historian of Ottoman Syria," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Interfaith Studies* 1 (1999): 1–13.

[11] Salibi, "Traditional Historiography . . .," *Historians of the Middle East*, 225.

[12] "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens," in *Historians of the Middle East*, 330–342.

[13] He also recounts this in his autobiography, 228.

[14] K. Salibi, "The Buhturids of the Garb: Mediaeval Lords of Beirut and of Southern Lebanon," *Arabica* 8 (1961): 74–97.

[15] Salih Bin Yahya, *Tarikh Bayrut wa al-umara' al-Buhturiyyin min bani al-Gharb*, eds. F. Hours and K. Salibi (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq, 1969).

[16] K. Salibi, "Northern Lebanon under the Dominance of Gazir (1517–1591)," *Arabica* 14 (1967): 144–166.

[17] K. Salibi, "The Sayfas and the Eyalet of Tripoli 1579–1640," *Arabica* 20 (1973): 25–52.

[18] K. Salibi, "Fakhr al-Din al-Thani wa al-Fikra al-Lubnaniyya," *Ab'ad al-qawmiyya al-Lubnaniyya* (Kaslik: Jami'at al-Ruh al-Qudus, 1970): 85–111.

[19] K. Salibi "The Secret of the House of Ma'an," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 6 (1973): 272–288.

[20] K. Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099–1516)," *Arabica* 4 (1957): 288–303.

[21] K. Salibi, "The Muqaddams of Bsharri: Maronite Chieftains of the Northern Lebanon, 1382–1621," *Arabica* 15 (1968): 63–86.

[22] K. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965).

[23] K. Salibi, "Mount Lebanon under the Mamluks," in *Quest for Understanding: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Malcolm H. Kerr*, eds. S. Seikaly, R. Baalbaki, and P. Dodd (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1991), 15–32.

[24] K. Salibi, "Beirut Under the Young Turks, as Depicted in the Political Memoirs of Salim Ali Salam," in *Les Arabes par leurs Archives (XVI–XX^e Siecles)*, eds. J. Berque and D. Chevallier (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1976), 193–215.

[25] K. Salibi, *Bhamdoun: A Historical Portrait of a Mountain Village* (Oxford: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1997).

[26] K. Salibi, "Living in Changing Times," in *Franco-Arab Encounters: Studies in Memory of David C. Gordon*, eds. L. Carl Brown and Matthew S. Gordon (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1996), 155–178.

[27] K. Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1988), 215.

23 Constantine Zurayk: Beginnings, 1931–1939

Samir Seikaly

By any account, Constantine Zurayk's formal association with AUB was remarkable in terms of its longevity, versatility, the intellectual aura he generated, and the student discipleship that he inspired. This essay does not present an overview of Zurayk's entire association with AUB, which spanned roughly two-thirds of the twentieth century, nor does it even pretend to be a survey, let alone a critical assessment, of Zurayk's commanding intellectual legacy.[1] Rather, it aims to focus on a briefer time span, a single segment covering the early teaching years of his career when he returned to AUB as a young assistant professor in 1930, continuing up to 1939, when the normal functions of the institution were interrupted by World War II. I want to excavate these years in an attempt to resolve the riddle of how it was that a youngster – Zurayk was only twenty-one when he joined faculty ranks – came to exercise such a profound and lasting influence over a body of students who belonged to his own generation and who, moreover, were no more than a couple of years or so younger than he.

Constantine Zurayk was born to a modest middle class family of traders in the Qaymarriyah quarter of old Damascus on April 18, 1909.[2] Less than fifteen years later, benefitting from a scholarship earned in recognition of his brilliant performance in a local Orthodox parish school, and at the instigation of the visiting professor Philip Hitti, Zurayk enrolled in the Preparatory Section of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) for the spell of a single academic year in 1924.[3] He graduated with high honors; ironically his lowest grade was in history, in which he scored 85 percent.[4] He then joined the mother university, intending to major either in the mathematical sciences or in engineering. As is well known, this did not happen. Under the twin influences of Philip Hitti and Asad Rustum, two giants who played a pioneering role in the regional rooting of what at the time was described as scientific history, Zurayk saw the light and switched his studies to that subject. His academic performance was of such quality that upon earning his BA and upon the recommendation of his twin mentors, the University administration granted him a two-year scholarship to do advanced studies in order to eventually replace Philip Hitti, who in the meantime had accepted a post at Princeton University.[5] In a way, the offer was more in the nature of a back-handed compliment; even a superhuman effort was unlikely to yield a doctorate in two years. But Zurayk rose to meet the challenge, and in the course of two academic years, including summer sessions, he first earned an MA from Chicago and a year later a PhD in Islamic history from Princeton.[6] His principal advisor at Princeton was Philip Hitti; his dissertation was entitled ***Miskawayhi's moral philosophy: being a translation, with annotations and an introduction of Miskawayhi's Tahdhib al-Ahlaq***. That was in 1930, when Zurayk – two years out of his teens- began a glittering career at AUB that was to last well into the 1970s.

Given the purpose of this study, as described above, the question that immediately arises is the following: where and when did the trajectory of the novice teacher intersect with those of the many students who sought an education at AUB? There were, in my opinion, at least three venues at which the encounters could have occurred – first, in the classroom (usually in College Hall); second, in the location set apart by the University for the purpose of the moral and spiritual uplifting of its students, namely, the Chapel, now more neutrally known as Assembly Hall; and third, in the broader public space largely populated by a host of student societies and clubs active on campus, principally housed in West Hall (then endearingly described by students as the Capital of the University).

Although there is no full listing of the courses taught at the University during the decade under consideration, it is yet possible, in view of his field of specialization and of the scattered information

that can be culled from University archives, to form a rough idea of the courses Zurayk taught as a junior adjunct professor of history. Surviving catalogues of the College show that throughout most of the 1930s the history courses being offered included medieval history of the Arabs, a two-semester course that, in its first part, focused on pre-Islamic Arabia to 850 AD, and in the second part covered the period extending from that date to 1517. A second course was entitled History of Arab Science, while yet another dealt with the history of Arab thought. Although the catalogues do not provide the names of teachers giving the courses, there is cause to believe that most, if not all, the courses listed were actually taught by Zurayk himself at some time or another. This assumption is corroborated by evidence supplied in a rare 1934 ***Registration Number*** (by which is meant either guide or manual), which specifically posts the name of Zurayk as the teacher for the History of the Arab World and the History of Moslem (given as such in the original) Thought. None of his courses appear to have suffered from under-enrollment. In fact, a 1936 issue of the in-house weekly ***al-Kulliyah*** included the following observation: "Dr. Zuraik's [*sic*] classes have assumed such proportions that they could no longer be accommodated in 108 and have been moved to 114 lecture room. What is the secret?"[7] In other words, his courses were very popular. The question that poses itself here is: why was this the case? It is unlikely to have been due to generous grading; in fact, throughout Zurayk's long teaching career he maintained the reputation for being rather parsimonious when it came to grading. The secret, at least partly, lay in the fact that his courses were taught in the Arabic language for the duration of the decade under consideration. In other words, he spoke to the students in their mother tongue. But while that might have facilitated matters for some students, it cannot fully explain why, of all teachers using Arabic in their classes, it was his courses that generated such a pull factor. More significant must have been the fact that he drew the students in by the vigor of his youth and enthusiasm, by his determination to disclose to them their own Arab past in a reasoned and dispassionate manner, underscoring its glories, but not concealing its blemishes, transforming it from being a burden or an exercise in mystification into an incentive and a stimulant for action and change.[8] The facts were not what captivated his students' hearts and minds; rather, it was the manner of delivery: the honesty and sincerity exhibited, the power of synthesis, and the message that was carried across, to the effect that historical study, besides being an exercise in self-discovery and identity confirmation, also prefigured the crucial role that they, as educated elites, were destined to play in constructing a new, forward-looking, national Arab present and future.[9] Or so Zurayk's students have affirmed in the many memoirs that they have left behind.[10]

In addition to College Hall, where Zurayk met his students formally, and West Hall, where the encounters were less formal, probably warmer, and characterized by greater exchange, the students also encountered him and other members of the faculty in the Chapel or, as he once affectionately called it, "the home of our spirit." It's not clear how many hours each week the students were required to participate in the solemn ritual of Chapel talks, but in the 1930s, it appears to have been close to three. Other than those of Zurayk, the content of the speeches given in the Chapel seem not to have been preserved and is largely unknown, but it is likely that the speakers intended to buttress the moral and ethical standing of the students, an early example of moral rearmament! By contrast, we are privileged to know what Zurayk himself said owing to the fact that he religiously kept a record of his many talks delivered during the years under consideration as well as beyond. These are to be found in his private papers, now in the custody of the Archives and Special Collections section of Jafet Library, and can be consulted more or less without restriction. Given the amount of faculty time and labor that the exercises consumed, I, for one, am thankful that AUB eventually abandoned its earlier efforts at moral engineering. Yet, in all likelihood, this sentiment of relief is one to which Zurayk is unlikely to have subscribed. Whatever the case might be, it is nevertheless undeniable that he attributed great importance to those exercises, viewing them as a timely opportunity to mold tender personalities still in the early process of formation and to elevate them to the realization that individual moral growth is a precondition for any form of personal or collective advancement.

The talks given by Zurayk in the course of the decade are too many to list.[11] Instead I will examine a handful of the ideas that he put forward in order to reveal some of their content and to convey the affective power that they are likely to have exercised over a captive student audience. In one of his talks, given in 1934, he explained that the general aim behind the Chapel gatherings was to "enrich and tone-up the intellectual and spiritual life of the University," arguing that the institution's most valuable contribution lay not merely in providing superior professional training, but in building students of sound character who would dedicate their lives to the common good. Invoking the notion of "crisis," a refrain that permeated much of what he wrote both then and subsequently, he noted that what the Near East needed in its transition from a decayed past to a modern present was "men of

high ideals and noble spirit who will guide their countries with unselfishness and loyalty to the safe shores of stability and happiness."[12]

In line with his opinion that the Chapel was the most suitable venue for the enhancement of matters spiritual, Zurayk frequently spoke, both directly and circuitously, about religion as he understood it. Religion, he informed his young audiences, did not necessarily entail rigid theological doctrines, the performance of a prescribed body of rituals, or sectarian belonging. These, beside the futile squabbles they occasioned or the divisions they inflamed, were devoid of spiritual power and therefore morally impoverishing. To him, religion is fundamentally a liberating spiritual force: "It is a force that liberates one's personality from its own selfish desires and aspirations and tends to unite it with something outside of itself and supremely greater than itself." It is an expansion away from the self towards the universe, towards nature and towards other men. To quote him verbatim: ". . . the really religious man is expansive towards a higher ideal, a noble cause to which he is devoted and for the fulfillment of which he dedicates his life."[13] I have not encountered a similar detailed or systematic treatment of religion in his later Arabic writings, although he does allude to Muslim mystics, largely because he sees them as adhering to his own comprehension of religion as a matter relating to the heart and spirit.[14]

As is generally known, the higher cause, the noble ideal, to which Zurayk devoted his entire life, was Arab nationalism – a recent doctrine which, according to him, invaded every heart and spread its wings across the Arab world. This being the case, it comes as no surprise that he dedicated a series of Chapel talks to what he called the "Spiritual Aspects of Nationalism," in which he affirmed his belief that true nationalism, including its Arab variety, is essentially and fundamentally spiritual, born of a unique and pure spirit which flows from the heart. In its true form, it aims to liberate the nation, as he put it, from its ***external*** yokes, occasioned by transient colonial domination, economic disparities, and restrictive social practices. But necessary as these forms of emancipation might be, they were of secondary importance, ceding primacy to the liberation of the nation and its constituent individual members from paralyzing ***internal*** shackles represented by ignorance, greed, and sectarian schisms.[15] The struggle against external obstacles and the more intractable internal perils, Zurayk warned his audience, would be long and painful, requiring unceasing labor, faith, and self-sacrifice. Yet when victory is achieved, the citizens of the nation will have attained the "highest degree of physical, moral, and spiritual development." At that stage, the Arab nation is ready to fulfil, in line with its genius and its past cultural legacy, its supreme historical mission comprising the establishment of a unique civilizational order based on a "new synthesis" between "spirit and matter, between individual and society, between East and West."[16] In the unfolding of this new age, Zurayk explained, students at AUB and other Arab universities have a decisive role to play: they, as the privileged, enlightened, and literate Arab vanguard, animated by a rejuvenated national spirit, an inward self-replenishing core, were duty-bound to materialize the liberating essence of their nationalism and bring about the rise of a future world order which would secure the fullest life for their nation, for themselves, and for mankind as a whole, a life of abundance, characterized by spiritual growth, feeling, and creativeness.[17]

It is difficult to downplay the impact that such rhetoric, brimming with sentiment and undisguised commitment, is likely to have had on the students. Here was a young faculty member, a visionary, painting an appealing picture of an imagined future that contradicted every aspect of the present in which the students lived. Some may have failed to understand the message, and others may have mocked its stark idealism; but for most, it was something that they could think about and strive to attain. Long after the Chapel talk rituals were over, indeed long after the students had completed their education, the inspiration of Zurayk appears to have endured.

Much of the public space that existed on campus was at that time occupied by a host of student societies and clubs, including, for example, the Pharmaceutical Student Society, the Egyptian Student Society and its Iraqi counterpart, the Kadimah Jewish Society, the West Hall Brotherhood Society, the Village Welfare Service and, of course, the al-ʿUrwa al-wuthqa Student Society. Zurayk had an interest, sponsored, supported, or was represented in his faculty capacity in at least the last three. But it is al-ʿUrwa al-wuthqa that will receive most attention here because it is there that the influence of Zurayk was most palpable. That society came into being even before he became a student at the SPC, and lasted until 1955, when, ironically, it was dissolved by the University during Zurayk's tenureship as acting president.[18] My interest is not in the Society's origins nor in its dissolution, but rather in its function as one of the leading domains for the interaction between Zurayk and his students – for how he influenced their national and intellectual orientations, how he energized them into the active life, and how, in the process, he earned their respect and lasting admiration.

Due to the loss of pertinent records, it is difficult to trace the exact path that led to Zurayk's appointment as society advisor in 1936. Prior to that date, he had welcomed its role as a shining example of student initiative and self-help, and he endorsed its ambition to cultivate interest in the Arabic language and literature, to sponsor lectures and student debates, and to develop the arts of oratory and rhetoric among its members.[19] In 1934, his support went beyond the merely verbal. In fact, existing society minutes indicate that he was chosen to be lead speaker in the society's 1934 inaugural ceremony held in West Hall. His address, centering on the need to surmount the fatal ills that impeded Arab national progress, was much appreciated and roundly applauded. Impressed by what he had to say, and probably on account of his rising reputation as a captivating lecturer advocating the cause of Arab nationalism, the society's elected cabinet recommended that Zurayk become its official advisor and that he be included on a future joint student-faculty committee considering the amendment of by-laws governing the society's operations.[20] Two years later, either in response to student demand or as a result of his own promptings, he was officially appointed advisor to what was, in effect, the largest, most active, and most vocal society on campus. During his tenure and under his guidance, the society charted a new course, redefining its identity, its mission, and its reach – as is the consensus of the society's membership.[21]

In terms of its identity and mission, the society transcended – though it did not totally abandon – its original identity as a literary club, becoming an Arab society that embraced all Arab students on campus, uniting them, building-up their common national bonds, and charting and pursuing the historic role they were destined to play in the unfolding of Arab nationalism; it became an early microcosmic prefiguration of a future unified Arab order, as envisioned in the many speeches and Arabic writings of their newly appointed advisor and mentor.

Zurayk also succeeded in getting the University administration to sanction the appearance of a new printed version of the society magazine, renamed *al-ʿUrwa*. More importantly, he re-oriented the society away from its preoccupation with literary subjects and motifs in favor of addressing the real problems surrounding Arab societies on the condition that their causes are first rationally and critically examined before they could be tackled.[22] It is true, of course, that much of Zurayk's thinking was futuristic and concerned with the spiritual at the expense of the material. Nevertheless he was keen to point out to his audience, both men and women, the fact of their contemporaneity, their being the children of their own "marvelous age," conscious of their real Arab environment, and therefore able to address its problems and strive to eliminate them.[23] The magazine's shift in orientation was, therefore, in line with his thinking, and was marked by the appearance, for the first time, of entire issues dedicated to examining the multiple ills affecting Arab societies. Thus an entire number was devoted to examining the complex socio-economic and cultural problems facing Arab society as it transitioned to modernity.[24] Another issue focused on the status of science and scientific education in the Arab world,[25] a third on the position and prospects of Arab women,[26] while a fourth, in light of the magazine's developing orientation, surveyed all the countries which were regarded as constituting the Arab world.[27]

Under Zurayk's leadership, *al-ʿUrwa* functioned as a medium through which students, as intellectual leaders, heightened Arab public awareness about the existing social and political problems afflicting their societies and openly agitated for their resolution. Neither the existing Mandate authorities nor the native governments that they had sanctioned were singled out for criticism, but in criticizing none, all were equally implicated. Measured and restrained as the separate articles of *al-ʿUrwa* generally were, they nevertheless constituted a potential manifesto for change, a virtual rejection of a spent Arab status-quo, and an argument for its necessary displacement by a new Arab order that was free, modern, and secular; that is, an order in which tolerance, reason, science, and industry prevailed and which, moreover, was cognizant of its genius and the historic role it was called upon to perform. Such, of course, was the discourse of Zurayk himself, a discourse that the student writers of the magazine had first encountered in his classes or during his Chapel talks, had internalized and, through *al-ʿUrwa*, were actively popularizing. In the process, the literary magazine became politicized, frequently by insinuation, but at times directly, which was a development that the University administration could not condone. It surmised Zurayk's responsibility and attempted, unsuccessfully, to replace him with the more compliant Bulus Khauli. The collective resignation of the elected officers of the Society and the virtual cessation of its cultural activities forced the reappointment of Zurayk as joint faculty advisor, a face-saving compromise that allowed Khauli to withdraw without further ado. In effect, the University's back-tracking was tantamount to a grudging acknowledgement of Zurayk's leadership and his sway in student circles, at least among those who identified themselves as Arabs working for an Arab cause.[28] He remained *al-ʿUrwa*'s faculty advisor until 1939, when he led the Society's formal visit to the Iraqi capital, an occasion which simultaneously testified to his rising prominence as a principal ideologue of Arab nationalism and to the public recognition of the Society's nationalist stance.

At the time of its creation in 1917 and well into the 1930s, al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa, like other sister societies on campus, was essentially intramural, catering to the cultural needs of native Arab students, and issuing a popular handwritten, illustrated magazine which commented on campus events and reproduced humorous anecdotes, student short stories, and poems. Following the end of WWI and the influx of Arab students from the politically reconstructed region, the Society's intramural walls were effectively breached when it took to inviting external literary and artistic celebrities to address its members as well as other University students. But it was only following Zurayk's appointment as advisor that the Society became, in terms of identity and reach, truly extramural and effectively pan-Arab, as attested by its mouthpiece, *al-ʿUrwa*,[29] by existing records of its activities, and by the affirmation of Society members.

All volumes of the magazine appearing between 1936 and 1939 contain an item titled the *ʿUrwa's* Register (*sijill al-ʿUrwa*), summarizing the Society's activities over the course of each given academic year. The information imparted reflects the dramatic degree of change brought about by Zurayk in the Society's intramural activities and what can be described as its pan-Arab sensitivities and connections. He inspired and assisted the Society in organizing what, in effect, was a cultural Arab festival marking the one thousandth anniversary of the death of the great Arab poet al-Mutanabbi. Poetry had been a staple commodity in the Society's previous activities, but never before on such a grand scale or to the degree of distinction of the participants coming from "the different countries of the Arabic-speaking East to join with the courageous young students in their creditable and gigantic undertaking." Scholars (such as Anis Khuri al-Maqdissi and Fuad Afram al-Bustani), men of letters (such as Sami al-Kayyali and Hussein Haykal Bey), and poets (such as Shafik Jabri, Ibrahim Tuqan, and Maʿruf al-Resafi) all paid their tributes from the rostrum of the Chapel, which, according to one report, was filled to overflowing. The correspondent filing the report deemed it necessary to congratulate the Society and its "patient and indefatigable Faculty Advisor, Dr. Costi Zurayk . . . on their bright idea and on their successful achievement." The outgoing president of the Society, Farid Yaʿish, expressed the hope that the example set by the occasion would inspire Arabic-speaking countries to unify their aims and ultimate objectives. Although the occasion was held on campus, the Society and its young faculty advisor had effectively moved beyond the walls, addressing a broader Arab constituency and beginning the task of molding it in line with the blueprint that their articles in *al-ʿUrwa* had already envisaged.[30] Over the three years during which Zurayk served as advisor (*murshid*), contacts with sister Arab organizations – mainly in Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Jordan – grew in number and in frequency, visits were exchanged, and a distribution network for the Society's journal was established in the same four countries.[31] Perhaps the high-point of the Society's growing pan-Arab stature was reached when the Iraqi Ministry of Education formally extended it an invitation to visit Iraq for the purpose of deepening relations between it and similar national organizations operating in the country that had recently wrested a modicum of independence from British mandatory control. Fifty in number, comprising a mixed group of male and female students and five faculty members, with Zurayk acting as leader, the delegation left Beirut on April 1, 1939. Once in Iraq and accompanied by state officials – among them early members of the Society itself – the delegation made its official rounds, visiting the Ministry of Education and educational institutions – among them the co-educational *dar al-muʿallimin* – as well as the prime minister's office. There they were met by Prime Minister Nuri al-Saʿid, who underscored his past and on-going service to three Hashemite kings and reaffirmed his commitment to Iraq and the Arab cause. Zurayk, who in his writings tended to defer to government authority, appeared to believe him. On behalf of the delegation, he thanked the prime minster for his services to his country and for his unwavering devotion and commitment to the worthy cause of Arab nationalism. The climax of the visit, which was to have been a royal audience with King Ghazi, did not, however, materialize, as the youthful monarch died prematurely from injuries sustained in a driving collision.[32] Although the delegation tarried in Baghdad for a while longer, visiting historic sites and civil and military institutions, it nevertheless quickly fell out of the limelight in a nation suddenly consumed by loss and mourning. Before departure, Zurayk broadcast an extended radio eulogy for the departed king, overflowing with sorrow and sentiment, yet affirming the Society's resolve, represented by its sons and daughters foregathering in Baghdad and inspired by the never-dying example of the late Ghazi, to struggle for the achievement of the noble aims of the Arab nation, to attain for it prosperity and glory so as to fulfill its destiny and enrich mankind as a whole.[33]

A few months after the delegation's return to Beirut, the normal running of the University came to an end following the outbreak of World War II. Teaching operations continued more or less normally, but student societies were dissolved, among them al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa. The journal carrying its name continued to appear, sponsored, not by the Society itself, but at the initiative of individual students enrolled at the University. It may be that Zurayk retained some administrative oversight over the publication, but his name was never again displayed either as editor or advisor. Predictably, the contents of the various issues appearing during the war period, although incorporating material

relating to sundry aspects of contemporary Arab life, were rather distant from the Arab nationalist discourse that had prevailed during Zurayk's tenure. To some, it appeared as if an era had come to end.[34]

The historian of al-'Urwa al-wuthqa, Amjad Ghanma, a student of Zurayk's and president of the society during the period that Zurayk served as advisor, described the 1930s as representing the nationalist stage of its history; at that stage its members, in his words, regarded Zurayk as their "spiritual father." In fact, he was much more. He was a co-worker for a cause that united him and his students as comrades (though Zurayk may have disliked the term) who felt alike, thought alike, and dreamt alike; they - students and mentor - energized by the soft power which the word generated, toiled together to transform their society in order to restore it to the historical limelight. Theirs was a reciprocal relationship, their bond indissoluble, in particular since it was regularly re-enforced by the classes Zurayk taught, by his many intense Chapel talks and public lectures, and by the early Arabic writings he published in the press. In his long academic career, Zurayk was never as close to his students and as committed to his overt role as nationalist educator and ideological guide as he was during the decade surveyed here. During that period, he set in motion a student dynamic that, in a later incarnation, he, ironically, would neither be able to control nor condone.[35]

ENDNOTES

[1] The most comprehensive in-depth analysis of Zurayk's career and thought is Aziz al-Azmeh, *Qustantin Zurayq: 'Arabi lil-qarn al-'ishrin* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-dirasat al-filistiniyya, 2003). Aspects of his thought are also discussed in Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi, *Contemporary Arab Thought: Studies in Post-1967 Arab Intellectual History* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 296–317; and Suzanne Kassab, *Contemporary Arab Thought: Cultural Critique in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 65–74. See also her "An Arab neo-Kantian Philosophy of Culture: Constantine Zurayk on Culture, Reason and Ethics," *Philosophy East & West* 49, no. 1 (1999): 494–512.

[2] Zurayk makes only passing reference to his parents in his writings. A wistful evocation of his youth in Damascus is to be found in a Damascus speech he gave entitled "Ruh al-'asr." *Alif Ba* (6 and 8 September 1931). Also found in his private papers (Z-PP, 1931).

[3] Hitti got to know about Zurayk's superior educational achievements through the latter's maternal aunt, Najibeh Habib Khoury, who had earlier studied nursing at the SPC. See *Directory of Alumni of the American University of Beirut, 1870–1952* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1953), 136.

[4] For aspects of Zurayk's performance in the Preparatory Section see 'Umar Farrukh's charming reminiscences in his *Ghubar al-Sinin* (Beirut: Dar al-Andalus, 1985), 245–255.

[5] Zurayk consistently underlined his personal and professional indebtedness to both Hitti and Rustum. For Hitti, read Zurayk's notice marking the death of his mentor in *an-Nahar* (29 December, 1978), as well as his speech at the AUB Hitti memorial ceremony held in February 1979. For Rustum, see Zurayk's "Isham al-duktur Asad Rustum fi 'ilm al-tarikh," in *Asad Rustum al-insan wa al-mu'arrikh, 1897–1965*, ed. Lamia Rustum (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Bulusiyya, 1984), 187–201.

[6] Besides the rather modest stipend of about $1200 per year received from the University, Zurayk was the recipient of additional financial assistance from a wealthy Syrian immigrant living in New York called Salim Malluk. In al-Azmeh, *Qustantin Zurayq*, 25.

[7] See *al-Kulliyah Review* 4, no. 2 (October 1936): 5.

[8] A relatively early Zurayk treatise on history as a discipline is "Kayfa afhamu al-tarikh," in *al-Funun al-adabiyya kayfa yafhamuha* (Beirut: n. p., 1937).

[9] See his "The Consciousness of the Past," delivered as Chapel talks in December 1938 (Z-PP, 1938).

[10] See Anis Sayegh (ed.), *Qustantin Zurayq: 65 'am min al-'ata* (Beirut: Maktabat Bisan, 1996) for the laudatory testimony of H. Abu 'Izz al-Din, "al-Duktur Constantine Zurayk wa al-'amal al-qawmi," 61–74; S. Jeha, "al-Duktur Qustantin Zurayq al-mu'arrikh," 75–89; and A. Sayegh, "al-Duktur Qustantin Zurayq al-insan," 3-24.

[11] Relying on Zurayk's private papers, al-Azmeh has compiled a virtually complete listing of unpublished talks and lectures, both in Arabic and English, given by Zurayk in the course of the period under discussion. See al-Azmeh, *Qustantin Zurayq*, 258–297.

[12] This was a recurring theme in the many talks and speeches that he gave in the course of the decade under discussion, including the 1934 speech opening the meetings of the Brotherhood Society (Z-PP, 1934). He highlighted the same theme in the brief autobiographical sketch introducing his multivolume collected works. See Qustantin Zurayk, *al-A'mal al-fikriyya al-kamila*, I (Beirut: Markaz al-wihda al-'arabiyya, 1994), 15–16.

[13] Quotes are taken from his 1933 Chapel talk "What does Religion Mean to Modern Men and Women?" (Z-PP, 1933). Important as well is his 1934 "Statement of my Supreme Belief about the Meaning of Life and the Power behind the Universe" (Z-PP, 1934).

[14] See his 1934 three-part series of Chapel talks carrying the title "The Message of Mysticism" (Z-PP, 1934).

[15] The precedence of the "internal" over the "external" figures prominently in what Zurayk said and wrote. See, for example, his "al-Hurriyya al-kamila," *al-Makshouf*, (August 26, 1936). Also in Z-PP, 1936, and the relevant parts in "Mashru' in'ash al-qura wa al-fikra al-qawmiyya," *al-Tali'a* 6 (1938): 488–491. The later article is incorporated in his *al-Wa'i al-Qawmi*, 63–66.

[16] For an extended version of his views about the matter, see the 1930 three-part series of Chapel talks carrying the title "The Spiritual Aspects of Nationalism" (Z-PP, 1930). Also relevant are the 1934 Chapel talk on "The Spiritual Regeneration of a Nation" (Z-PP, 1934) and the later 1943 talk "Rebuilding our National Life" (Z-PP, 1943). Many of the ideas appearing in these talks were to surface in more extended form in the first essay entitled "Ma'na al-wa'i al-qawmi," included in his later 1939 celebrated book carrying the title *al-Wa'i al-qawmi*. See his *al-A'mal al-fikriyya al-kamila*, I, 19–32.

[17] Both in writing and in his many public lectures, Zurayk frequently elaborated on student agency in the spread of Arab nationalism and the greater unfolding of world history. See, for example, his 1933 Chapel talk carrying the title "Some Simple Questions on Life" (Z-PP, 1933). In 1934, Zurayk wrote an extended study, which does not appear to have been published, carrying the title "The ideals and Activities of Arab Youth." (Z-PP, 1934). In Arabic, see his "al-Shabab al-jami'i wa mashakil al-hayat," *al-'Urwa* 1, no. 4 (1937): 3–4; also the relevant part dealing with Arab youth in his statement defining his vocation contained in *Hadafi fi jihadi*, 28–29. (Z-PP, 1939).

[18] A general, rather descriptive, overview of the Society is in Amjad Ghanma, *Jam'iyyat al-'urwa al-wuthqa: nash'atuha wa nashatatuha* (Beirut: Riyad al-Rayess, 2002).

[19] Besides Ghanma, *Jam'iyyat al-'urwa al-wuthqa*, 35–43, see the reminiscences of several of its early members, including Matta 'Aqrawi, Jibra'il Jabbur and Muhyi al-Din Nsuli in *al-'Urwa*, 1(1936): 1–4; 2(1936): 1–2; 3(1936): 1–2.

[20] Ghanma, *Jam'iyyat al-'urwa al-wuthqa*, 95–142; al-Azmeh, *Qustantin Zurayq*, 42–47.

[21] Besides the individual mention in fn 10, above, see for instance the testimony of Halim Abu 'Izz al-Din, *Tilka al-ayyam: mudhkkarat wa dhikrayat* (Beirut: Dar al-afaq al-jadida, 1982), 57–80; and Yusuf Shadid, *Bayna al-Siyasa wa al-diplomasiya: dhikrayat wa mudhkkarat* (Beirut: Dar an-Nahar, 2001), 25–46.

[22] See, in this respect, his important intervention carrying the title "Kalima fi al-'adad," in *al-'Urwa* 4 (1938): 1–2, lamenting Arab cultural production favoring literature and its branches at the expense of the sciences, understood broadly as covering socio-economic and historical subjects as well.

[23] Chapel talk entitled "Some Simple Questions on Life," given in 1933 (Z-PP, 1933). A concrete example of self-help pioneered by Arab students for the purpose of alleviating the poverty and ignorance prevalent among Arab peasants was the Village Welfare Service.

[24] *Al-'Urwa* 2, no. 4 (1937). Precedence was given to economic problems, followed by social and, lastly, cultural ones.

[25] *Al-'Urwa* 3, no. 4 (1938). Nine articles explaining what is meant by science and modes of application in the Arab countries.

[26] *Al-'Urwa* 3, no. 3 (1938). Twelve articles discussing various facets of female activities in contemporary Arab society.

[27] *Al-'Urwa* 3, no. 1 (1938). As conceived by the writers, the Arab World comprised all the countries whose populations spoke Arabic, i.e., from the Atlantic seaboard, southward, to incorporate the Sudan, and to the Persian Gulf, a marker that was not so named in the text.

[28] There are allusions to the strained relations between the University administration and the student publishers of the journal, advised by Zurayk, in the *al-Kulliyah Review* Commencement Number 1938: 20–21.

[29] In addition to its standing on campus, affirmed the Society, *al-'Urwa* had earned recognition in Arab society on account of its efforts to cultivate a common Arab national spirit among the youth of the Arab world. See *al-'Urwa* 1, no. 1 (1936): 59. For a self-view of *al-'Urwa* as a medium for cementing Arab student connections, see *al-Kulliyah Review* Commencement Number 1937: 17.

[30] For the student report and further details about the ceremony, see *al-Kulliyah Review* 21, no. 6 (1934/35): 195–197.

[31] Accounts of the Society's pan-Arab stance and activities can be culled from the Society's Register (*Sijill al-'Urwa)* found in *al-'Urwa* 1, no. 1 (1936): 59–60; 1, no. 3 (1936): 56–58; 3, no. 4 (1938): 94–96; 4, no. 4 (1939): 157–160.

[32] Incomplete details of the Society's visit to Iraq penned by a delegation member are provided in *al-'Urwa* 4, no. 4 (1939): 158–160. The same account is available in Shadid, *Bayna al-Siyasa wa al-diplomasiyya*, 38–41.

[33] The complete address is contained in Z-PP 1939.

[34] For the post-1939 history of the Society and its magazine as well as Zurayk's continuing association with both, see Ghanma, *Jam'iyyat al-'urwa al-wuthqa*, 143–239.

[35] This is an allusion to the 1955 dissolution, during Zurayk's tenure as acting president of the University, of the more radicalized and more confrontational Society which emerged following the end of World War II.

24 Mentors and Disciples: Faculty Politics at the American University of Beirut Post-WWII

Makram Rabah

It was not long after its founding in 1866 that the Syrian Protestant College (or SPC; later, the American University of Beirut, or AUB) acquired a reputation as a leading institution for liberal arts education both in Lebanon and beyond. In addition to its offering a fine education, AUB has also been branded as a "Guerrilla University," fostering radical youth geared towards destroying the same Western values to which they are exposed to in the classroom.[1] This so-called "brand" or reputation was strengthened with the rise of the Palestinian Revolution following the 1967 *Naksa* (defeat), as the names of such AUBites as George Habash, Wadih Hadad, and Leila Khaled became icons in the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. However, the tradition of student dissidence goes back further to the early days of the institution when AUB was still known as the Syrian Protestant College.

In 1882, the SPC administration, under its founding president, Daniel Bliss, summarily dismissed Edwin Lewis, professor of Chemistry and Geology. The young and popular Lewis was accused of promoting a pro-Darwinist rhetoric in an address he delivered at the commencement exercises that year, greatly disapproved of by the Protestant missionary establishment at the time.

The Lewis Affair, as this incident became known, saw the students of the SPC -more specifically, the medical students - stepping forward to defend their professor and to challenge the authority of the administration. In addition to being the first incident of student protest in the Arab East, the Lewis Affair demonstrated the role that popular and charismatic faculty members could wield in the student movement.[2]

This faculty-student alliance would play out at different occasions in the history of AUB. Over the years, various student organizations and student activists sought the advice, patronage, and possible protection of faculty members who sometimes shared their political views. As early as the 1920s, the names of renowned faculty members were associated with political movements that used the AUB campus as an incubator, but whose activities and messages were not restricted to the campus. Such professors as Constantine Zurayk, Nabih Amin Fares, Charles Malek, Anis Freiha, Walid Khalidi, Fawaz Najiya, and Kamal Salibi, among others, were instrumental in providing AUB student movements with ideological frameworks as well as logistical support on campus when needed. These faculty members also benefited from their association with the student groups, extending their own ideas past consecutive administrations with varying success. Furthermore, each of these faculty members used their networks of contacts to empower and give their students more exposure and outreach. However, in no way did these mentorships take away from the agency of each of the political groups, which, as this article will show, did not always dance to the "piper's tune."

This study will highlight AUB faculty involvement in student movements after the Second World War and, more generally, faculty politics in the overall affairs of the campus. This is an aspect of campus life that usually remains outside the realm of public interest and scholarship. Moreover, an attempt will be made to trace the roles that these professors played as mentors to generations of student activists who, after graduation, became involved in political processes in Lebanon or abroad. This will hopefully give credence to the argument that student activism in and around AUB involved the entire University community and was not exclusive to student circles, since faculty politics were at times instrumental in the failures or successes of the movements that chose the AUB campus as their home

ACTIVISM ON THE RISE

Prior to WWII, AUB student activism was monopolized by the famous student group, al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa. Established in 1918, directly after the end of the war, al-'Urwa acted as a platform for Syrian Protestant College students to promote the Arabic language and the practice of Arabic rhetoric. However, this University-sanctioned student group gradually grew into a venue for recruiting young men and women who were disenchanted with the new political reality imposed on the region following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Mandate. Al-'Urwa, however, did not transform into an ideology-driven entity until after the appointment of Professor Constantine Zurayk as its faculty advisor in 1934. Zurayk, a recent graduate of Princeton University and an ardent Arab nationalist, through his classroom and public lectures on and off campus, was able to "enchant a large segment of the population who saw in his calling for Arab unity a much needed emotional release."[3] In parallel to al-'Urwa's activity, Zurayk also helped set up what is commonly referred to as the Clandestine Arab Movement, which set out to implement its agenda by force, if needed. Through the extensive research conducted on this movement by Shafik Jeha, in particular, the sources seem to indicate that the movement remained an elitist intellectual exercise and never extended beyond the circle of its membership.

The approach of WWII and the Mandate authorities' tightened measures over political activism forced both al-'Urwa and other small literary groups, such as the Arab Cultural Club, to temporarily close shop and remain inoperative until the end of the French Mandate in 1945.[4] During this hiatus, however, Zurayk was able to gather around him a new breed of student activist who, with the passage of time, remained respectful to their mentor, but opted to pursue a more proactive approach to political activism. This group of activists included people who would later on become household names within Arab nationalist circles, such as George Habash, Wadih Hadad, Hani al-Hindi, and Ahmad al-Khatib (from Kuwait), among others, who later came together to form *Harakat al Qawmiyyin al-'Arab*.

The main factors that led to a future rift between these activists and their mentor are many. First, in 1945, after the resumption of al-'Urwa, Zurayk left AUB to assume the post of First Counselor at the Syrian delegation in Washington DC, and in 1946, was appointed Minister of Syria in Washington as well as a delegate to the United Nations. During Zurayk's absence from AUB, the task of mentoring al-'Urwa fell on Zurayk's colleague and fellow Princetonian, Nabih Amin Fares. Fares, like Zurayk, was an accomplished scholar of Arab history, and was highly respected and revered within Arab nationalist circles. However, the changing face of the region following the Second World War, especially regarding the question of Palestine, left both these mentors appearing, perhaps, too timid in the eyes of their student followers. After the 1948 Arab debacle, activists were no longer content with confining their resentment and political frustration to lecture halls or to the pages of various pamphlets and communiqués. Therefore, al-'Urwa, which in 1949 controlled the AUB student council, started to mobilize the student body in support of the Palestinian cause and of other issues orbiting within the realm of anti-imperialist rhetoric. Al-'Urwa, in blatant defiance of the administration, published on the front page of ***Outlook***, AUB's student publication, the following headline: "The 'Urwa society has decided to hold a demonstration today against the "Peace with Israel" and the "Common Defense Pact" on the occasion of the visit of John Foster Dulles, United States secretary of state."[5]

Such actions, which were repeated, placed al-'Urwa at odds with the AUB administration, which had never intended for student groups to act exclusively as an arena for political activism that might disrupt academic operations. Coincidently, on the 9 December 1954, Stephen Penrose, AUB's fourth president, died prematurely. Replacing him as deputy president was none other than Zurayk, the first Arab to assume such a post since the inception of the institution. The appointment of Zurayk was perhaps perceived as a triumph by the Arab nationalist movement, as its ideological guru was now at the helm of one of the most respectable educational institutions in the East, then a hub of nationalist activism. However, this Arab nationalist jubilation was short-lived, as Zurayk's appointment as deputy president proved, in reality, to be a curse rather than a blessing, not only for al-'Urwa, but also for the entire student activist movement at AUB. Almost one month after his appointment, Zurayk ratified the University Senate's decision to dissolve al-'Urwa and to place twenty of its leading cadres on special probation.[6] It seems that Zuryak's fervor for Arab nationalist activism had to take a backseat to his responsibilities as deputy president, whose success depended on running a tight ship - one not at the mercy of rowdy student activists. Furthermore, his five-year stint as a Syrian diplomat seemed to have distanced him from campus politics as well as from that generation of activists. That generation, while appearing to remain loyal to Zurayk - their ideological guru - and his legacy, at the same time was no longer tolerant of his "white glove" approach to politics.

The suspension of al-'Urwa and the events that followed were an important juncture that not only introduced a new breed of student activist to the campus, but also saw the emergence of several

young faculty members who were not afraid of getting involved in the logistics of campus politics as opposed to remaining merely active spectators.

Despite the loss of venue, the Arab nationalists continued to dominate campus politics. However, instead of simply investing themselves inside the parameters of the campus, they looked to the Ras Beirut area and beyond to recruit as much support as possible. Directly after the closure of al-'Urwa, its members set up shop at the nearby Arab Cultural Club, established in 1944. This venue slowly became a flagship for Arab nationalist activities as well as a safe house for student activism. These events also coincided with the rise of Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser, who gave *Harakat al Qawmiyyin al-'Arab*, whose leadership was in contact with him, the required push and regional exposure, while the Arab nationalists reciprocated by providing a young Nasser with ideological and doctrinal depth.[7]

ARAB NATIONALISM CHALLENGED

The Cold War introduced a new element to AUB politics. The establishment of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958 and the subsequent collapse of the Iraqi monarchy spilled over into what was branded a mini-civil war between the pro-western Christian faction, on one side, and the pro-Nasser Muslims on the other. Prior to 1958, most political activism was mainly restricted to pan-Arabism, and rarely took Lebanese particularism into consideration. Coincidently, al-'Urwa's anthem, which was adopted as the official AUB student anthem extoling Arab nationalism, was written in 1939 by Sa'id 'Akl, an ardent supporter of Lebanon's Phoenician anti-Arab camp; but this was to change.[8] Following the 1958 conflict, a group of Lebanese students came together under the banner of the Lebanese Student League, or ***al-Rabita***, and challenged the Arab nationalists' hegemony over AUB politics. Like all student groups on campus, ***al-Rabita*** sought a faculty advisor to provide guidance as well as the necessary patronage for its success.

Their initial choice was Anis Freiha, professor of Semitic languages. Yet while Freiha possessed, in theory, all the necessary qualifications to make a great faculty advisor, he deemed himself not fit in this capacity and asked ***al-Rabita*** to approach a student of his, a young Lebanese historian who had recently returned to AUB after finishing his doctoral work at SOAS. Kamal Salibi was a third generation AUBite whose father and maternal grandfather had both graduated from the AUB medical school, and whose grandfather, Ibrahim, had been one of the casualties of the Lewis Affair who, after being expelled, finished his last year of medical school in Istanbul.

Salibi, who was born in 1929, exemplified what a liberal education could produce. Having lived almost his entire life in Ras Beirut and studied at the Preparatory School (now International College) and later at AUB, Salibi had read history and Semitic languages under such great teachers as Constantine Zurayk, Nabih Amin Fares, Anis Freiha, Subhi Mahmassani, and others. Interestingly enough, Salibi, according to his own testimony, was never interested in "the day-to-day politics that bored him."[9] Moreover, he was not a key political player at the time within the anti-Nasser, pro-Lebanese faction, either on campus or beyond. Charles Malik, professor of Philosophy and the Lebanese minister of Foreign Affairs under President Camille Chamoun, was in a much better position to lend support to ***al-Rabita***. However, Malik had been appointed as Lebanon's ambassador to the newly established United Nations in 1945 and, like Zurayk, had been away from the campus for over fifteen years. Furthermore, even among his supporters, Malik was perceived to be somewhat pompous and condescending. According to one AUB student, when Malik made his way down the steps of the Main Gate, some students would amusingly remark, "Here comes the Truth," referring to Malik's philosophical rhetoric and serious nature.[10] The fact that Malik, in 1958, was fifty-two years old, while Salibi was only twenty-nine gave the latter a generational edge, to say the least.

Al-Rabita was never intended, according to its founders, to overtake the pro-Nasser and, later, the pro-Palestinian factions, but instead this small group of students felt, in the words of Salibi:

> A need to make a public stand in support of Lebanese sovereignty and independence, which they felt were threatened by the prevailing pan-Arabism. As I saw it, there was a job to be done, and someone had to do it . . . The continuing Arab nationalist clamors in favor of the United Arab Republic, unless forcefully countered by a voiced and vigilant Lebanese patriotism, would sooner or later erode the ability of Lebanon to survive as an independent and truly sovereign country.[11]

Beyond the ideological concurrence of the faculty advisor and the ***Rabita*** students, what Salibi provided was far more valuable. First, Salibi, who by 1958 had been exposed to the Lebanese political elite, was highly liked and especially embraced by the ***Nahij***, President Fuad Chehab's circles. By using his newly acquired fame, Salibi was able to get official governmental licensing for ***al-Rabita*** after the AUB administration refused to do so, and to set up its offices outside campus and away from the preying eyes of opponents and the AUB administration.[12] ***Al-Rabita*** chose 22 November

1958 – Lebanese Independence Day – to throw a grand celebration that hosted local and foreign dignitaries. More importantly, Salibi, a bachelor, always opened his house on Bliss Street as well as his summer chalet to the *Rabita* members, who would casually go back and forth and communicate freely with their friend and mentor. In its initial year, *al-Rabita* was not a major player on campus, but remained ready to pick a fight with the pro-Palestinian factions if they publically opposed Lebanese sovereignty or its symbols through communiqués or casual speeches at West Hall insulting the president of the Lebanese republic.

Interestingly, while Salibi was always vigorous in his activism in campus politics, his attainment of tenure in 1965 gave him the career security needed to increase his involvement in the University Senate. While the AUB administration allowed its faculty to express their thoughts publically, non-tenured professors always found it difficult to stand up to their deans or chairpersons. The affair of the famous Sadek Jalal al-'Azm is a case in point.

THE 'AZM AFFAIR

In November 1967, Sadek al-'Azm, a professor of philosophy, a graduate of Yale University, and the scion of a notable Damascene family, was informed that his AUB contract would be terminated. While the administration announced that this measure had no political motives, but was procedural and, moreover, involved twenty-three other faculty members, public opinion saw it differently.[13] Al-'Azm, a self-professed atheist and leftist intellectual, was never on good terms with the chairman of the Philosophy Department, Charles Malik. Malik and his successor, Majid Fakhry, refused to renew al-'Azm's contract, and thus placed him in a form of administrative limbo, which finally led to his dismissal.[14] While al-'Azm's academic credentials were spotless, his politics stood in contrast to Malik's pro-Western inclinations and, thus, so to speak, put him out of a job. The local media joined in the debate by launching an attack on Charles Malik, branding him "President of the World" in reference to his tenure as head of the UN General Assembly. In its March 14 issue, *al-Sayyad* magazine ran a two-page story entitled "The President of the World is victorious over Sadik Jalal al-'Azm." The main undertone of this article was to paint Malik as a dictator who:

> Considers the Philosophy Department as well as the rest of the departments as his fiefdom where he is the ultimate lord and where the rest are his lackeys that don't dare defy him. Therefore it is normal that any liberal intellectual would clash with such a "Maliki" mentality that refuses anything other than his medieval style of thinking.[15]

AUB students tried to rally around al-'Azm's predicament, establishing an unofficial body called the Committee for Academic Freedom, which launched an all-out attack against the University for not upholding its ethical obligations and for curbing academic freedom.[16] The students also tried to assert their ongoing demand that the University form a student council so "that AUB students may practice their right to self-government and strive at fulfilling their general aims to demands like any other student body in other universities."[17] However, neither the students nor the general public could convince the AUB administration under the leadership of President Samuel Kirkwood to retain the services of al-'Azm. Interestingly, however, at the end of the same year, perhaps as a compromise, the AUB administration allowed its students to set up their first ever student council. In addition to many indicators, the al-'Azm affair proved that faculty-student collaboration was not always a successful venture unless carefully handled, such as by exerting enough pressure on the administration without damaging its prestige or disrupting the academic functions of the institution.

Salibi, according to his close circle of disciples/activists, seemed to be aware of these facts. In his activism and his work with *al-Rabita*, he never committed to making a single demand, but rather asserted, in an abstract fashion, support of Lebanon as a country. Furthermore, Salibi never assumed any senior administrative post other than the occasional chairmanship of the History Department. He also opted to remain at AUB throughout his career, going as far as to decline an offer by the renowned Gustav E. Von Grunebaum to join the Center for Near Eastern Studies at UCLA (the same position to which the late AUB President Malcolm Kerr applied later on).[18] Salibi, perhaps purposefully, avoided the power struggle between Kirkwood and Terry Prothro, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which raged on throughout the early 1970s. According to many of the people I interviewed, Prothro and Kirkwood were never on good terms, as the former continually coveted the post of president. Many faculty alliances at that time took the form of pro-Kirkwood or pro-Prothro stands. For example, Lutfi Diab[19] (at the time professor of psychology and, later on, between 1985 and 1997, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences) was part of the pro-Prothro axis and collaborated with his brother, Bassam, who was on the Student Council, to attack and discredit Kirkwood. On the opposite end were people like Elie Salem, dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences between 1975 and 1984, and Provost Samir Thabet, both of whom supported Kirkwood in his ongoing efforts to appease the faculty as well as the student body. This feud was vivid during times of crisis, particularly during the 1971 and the 1974 student occupations of AUB. It is notable that Salibi never took sides within this raging war, but took his decisions based on how they might affect the standing of *al-Rabita* and its allies.

Another important factor that made Salibi an effective faculty advisor was his long-standing relationship with what people assumed where his ideological opponents. While many people viewed Salibi as a right-wing enthusiast, going as far as to call him the "Patriarch of al-Rabita," he was on excellent terms with both the Palestinian and Lebanese faculty members and students. Having grown up with and befriended people like Habash, Hindi, Khatib, Walid Khalidi, and others allowed him to cross ideological boundaries with ease. This was particularly the case when *al-Rabita* and the pro-Palestinian factions on campus clashed repeatedly in 1972. Consequently, Salibi, with the help of his close friend, the eminent Palestinian political scientist Walid al-Khalidi, mediated a cessation of hostilities and formed a committee which would ensure that no future clashes occurred in and around the campus.[20] Prior to that incident, Salibi took on the role as faculty advisor to the Jordanian students, known as *al-Tanzim al-Urduni*. *Al-Tanzim* and *al-Rabita* joined forces to challenge the pro-Palestinian factions that considered the Jordanian monarch to be an agent of the West. *Al-Tanzim*, however, was a short-lived experiment, as it was forced to shut down after its president was abducted by a pro-Palestinian faction.

Salibi's supervision of *al-Rabita* steadily diminished with the rising tensions in Lebanon and the region. In 1973, following the Lebanese army's clashes with the PLO, the members of *al-Rabita*, who were card-carrying members of the Lebanese Phalangist Party (*Kataeb*) and the National Liberal Party, decided to confront the Palestinian factions on campus. In obvious defiance of the wishes of Salibi, *al-Rabita* students, having coordinated with the Lebanese security agencies, assaulted their Palestinians colleagues on campus. What was new in this fight was that *al-Rabita* used slingshots and hard hats, which marked a departure from earlier patterns of student clashes. Following this incident, Salibi began to disassociate himself from *al-Rabita*, which by then had officially broken with the tradition of only electing nonpartisan members (non- card-carrying members of a political party) to its presidency. In contrast, Salibi remained on good terms with most students, including pro-Palestinian student activists. Fathi al-Biss, a militant Palestinian student activist, recalls how Salibi came to the aid of the Palestinian students who, by 1974, were in a deadlock with the AUB administration.[21] While Salibi, in 1971, had opposed the student occupation of the University, by 1974, he was actively involved in trying to help his former opponents. Salibi's efforts, however, failed as the AUB administration resorted to calling in Lebanese security forces to clear the occupation of the campus, and consequently expelled one hundred and three of the students involved.

The outbreak of the Lebanese civil war placed political activism on campus in an extended hibernation. During these times of crisis, both the faculty and students came together to shield AUB from the destruction and carnage of the war. During that period, it was people like Kamal Salibi, Ibrahim Salti, Maroun Kisrwani, Samir Khalaf, Makhlouf Haddadin, Constantine Zurayk, and so many others who weathered the storm to ensure that AUB remained operational.

In 1990, following the end of the civil war, Salibi addressed AUB's Board of Trustees on behalf of the faculty, reminding them of the plight of the AUB community throughout the war years:

> For the AUB to have survived the test was enough of an accomplishment. Far more significant, however, was the manner of the survival. The AUB, subjected to one hardship after another, did not merely continue to stand while the city around it was crumbling to ruins.... More important, the University and its hospital operated for sixteen years far beyond the call of duty, the rump that remained of the faculty and staff rendering countless services to the community which seemed, at the time, abandoned by the world. The AUB, in those terrible years stood as a bastion of hope amidst the surrounding despair, playing a leading part in the defense of a helpless civic society against forces which were out to destroy it.[22]

In concluding his statement to the Board of Trustees, Salibi posed the following questions: Can you imagine a modern Arab world without Lebanon? Can you visualize a Lebanon without Beirut? And can you conceive of a Beirut without Ras Beirut and a Ras Beirut without AUB?

While a large segment of this study has covered Kamal Salibi's role, other towering figures have been as influential, if not more so, to AUB and its history, as well as to the region; these stories as well as others are waiting to be told. The legacy of AUB has been marked by the contributions of great men and women, students, faculty, and staff members who came together to make this educational institution a holistic experience rather than just a conduit to a career. And to properly understand and comprehend this phenomenon, we need to recognize the importance of faculty involvement inside and outside the realm of the classroom, as I have tried to do here.

ENDNOTES

[1] "Guerrilla U," *Newsweek* 6, no. 15 (October 5, 1970): 68.

[2] See Shafiq Jiha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College (Now the American University of Beirut)*, trans. Sally Kaya, ed. Helen Khal (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 2004).

[3] Shafik Jeha, *al-Haraka al-'Arabiya al-Sirriyya* (Beirut: Dar al-Furat, 2004,) 90.

[4] Despite the closure of al-'Urwa, its newsletter continued to be published under the supervision of Zurayk.

[5] *Outlook* (May 16, 1953).

[6] *Outlook*, January 22, 1955 [front page]. According to Amjad Ghanma, additional students were placed on probation, while others were permanently expelled. For further details, see Amjad Ghanma, *Jam'iyat al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa: Nash'atuha wa nashatatuha* (Beirut: Riyad al-Rayyes, 2002), 236.

[7] Makram Rabah, *A Campus at War: Student Politics at the American University of Beirut, 1967–1975* (Beirut: Dar Nelson, 2009), 36–37.

[8] Ghanma, 50.

[9] Kamal Salibi, "Living in Changing Times," in *Franco-Arab Encounters: Studies in Memory of David C. Gordon*, eds. L. Carl Brown and Matthew S. Gordon (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1996), 155–178.

[10] This pun may have originated from the many speeches Malik gave at AUB and elsewhere, stressing "the Search for the Truth." See https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/1952-01-01/near-east-search-truth. Last accessed 4-11-2015.

[11] Salibi, "Living in Changing Times," 175–176.

[12] Kamal Salibi, *Ta'ir 'ala-Sindiyana: Mudhakkarat* (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq, 2002), 200, 243–244.

[13] "Contract of 23 Professors Will Not Be Renewed Also," *Outlook* (March 13, 1968).

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Al-Sayyad* (March 14–21, 1968) article entitled "The President of the World defeats Sadek Jalal al-Azm" (author unknown).

[16] Communiqué of the Committee for Academic Freedom (March 20, 1968). Jafet Library Special Reserve, American University of Beirut.

[17] Ibid

[18] Salibi, *Ta'ir 'ala-Sindiyana*, 250.

[19] Interview with Kamal al-Tannir, *al-Rabita* member.

[20] This committee was composed of Walid Khalidi, Charles Malik, Kamal Salibi, Zuhar Alami, and Fawaz Najya.

[21] Fathi al-Biss, *Inthial al-Zakira, Hazha Ma Hasal* (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq, 2008).

[22] Statement of Prof Kamal Salibi on behalf of the AUB Senate for the 16 November 1990 Meeting of the Board of Trustees. AUB Archives and Special Collections, Kamal Salibi File.

25 The Creative Scholar: The Life of Wadad Kadi

Aram A. Shakkour

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH[1]

On 22 November 1943, Lebanon proclaimed its independence from France. On that same night, at 2 AM, 23 November 1943, Wadad Afif Kadi (Wadad al-Qadi, in most publications) was born in Beirut. She was named after her paternal grandmother, whose name was Widad, but was called Wadad in order to distinguish her from her namesake.

The person who had the greatest influence on the early intellectual development of Wadad was her maternal uncle, the Islamic jurist Sheikh Muhammad al-Mugharbil. It was he who instilled in her a love of books and reading. Sheikh Muhammad worked as a judge in the religious courts and, at the time of his retirement, had become the head of the Sunni *shar'i* court in Beirut. A model of integrity who kept his distance from politics, Sheikh Muhammad displayed a rare combination of historical and religious consciousness that strongly influenced Wadad.

At the time of the independence of Lebanon and for quite some time afterwards, it was typical for parents to send their children to French schools. However, Wadad's paternal grandfather, Hasan Kadi, decided that the future lay with the English language, and thus she and her sisters were sent to the British School for Girls (formally the British Syrian [later: Lebanese] Training College, and still later the Lebanese Evangelical School for Girls) in Beirut. Wadad began school in 1950. Although there were two other universities in Lebanon at the time - the Lebanese University and the Université St. Joseph - attendance at the British School almost automatically led to the continuation of her education at AUB, since there was an agreement between the two institutions that students could enter the University without needing to take entrance examinations.

While still in high school, Wadad decided that she would study Arabic at university, both as an undergraduate and graduate student, since she had a keen interest in Islamic civilization and Arabic literature. For her and other Muslims in Lebanon at the time, it was a question of identity that was intimately linked to the Arabic language. And what drove her in this direction were her maternal uncle, her personal interest, and the Lebanese civil war of 1958.

Wadad was in high school in 1958, and the war was relatively short, lasting from May to October. However, it had a great effect on her, not so much as a Muslim, but as an Arab. Due to the sectarian nature of the war of 1958, many in Lebanon felt the need to delineate their identity along sectarian lines. Yet, although Wadad is a Sunni Muslim, this did not affect her identity since, for her generation, Arabness (*al-'uruba*) was not necessarily connected to Islam in the religious sense. Rather, it was a nationalistic concept that was perceived as being connected to Islam historically and linguistically. In effect, Wadad's sense of identity, like that of many Arabs, was significantly shaped by the ideas of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Thus Wadad and her colleagues envisaged their heritage (*turath*) more as an Arab heritage than an Islamic one. For them, the study of heritage meant the study of Arabic literature, language, thought, and history. Additionally, there were many Christian Arab nationalists from that generation who, together with their Muslim colleagues, noted and lauded the significant role played by non-Muslims in the construction of Islamic civilization. Also important was the fact that by the time Wadad entered school in 1950, the migration from Palestine to Lebanon had begun; since there were only three English schools for girls in Beirut, and since Palestinians sought admission to English rather than French schools for historical reasons, a large number of Wadad's classmates were Palestinian Christian immigrants. Therefore, Wadad's concept of herself as an Arab

necessarily included non-Muslims, as they all shared the same identity, molded by the message of Nasser's nationalist thought.

UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE STUDIES

In the bourgeois circle to which her family belonged, young Wadad and her academic interests were considered unusual. The study of Arabic language and literature was not at all fashionable. It was commonly thought that only weak students, unable to gain admission to other departments, like science or medicine, studied Arabic. If one persisted in the unfathomable desire to study the humanities, it was expected that one would at least choose French or English literature. Those who studied Arabic language or literature – and in particular, Classical Arabic – were considered backward. But Wadad saw the study of Arabic as something vital and beautiful, and was not deterred from pursuing her interests. She entered AUB in 1961 at the age of seventeen. In her freshman year, Ihsan 'Abbas (1920–2003) moved to AUB from the University of Khartoum. She took her first course with him in her sophomore year, and he remained her mentor until she completed her PhD.[2] He would always be her role model. It was he who introduced her to Arabic manuscripts. One day, when she was still a junior in college, she saw him carrying a box with the label "Kodak." At first she thought that he was carrying a box of photographs, and indeed they were – photographs of manuscript pages. This was the first time that she had seen a manuscript in any form, and she became fascinated with them. When 'Abbas asked her whether she would be interested in copying the manuscript, she agreed. It turned out to be an extract from an already published book, *al-Fasl fi l-Milal wa-l-Ahwa' wa-l-Nihal* by the towering Andalusian scholar Ibn Hazm (384–456/994–1064). 'Abbas, however, did not reveal as much when he gave her the photographs of the manuscript. He wanted her to copy it because it was written in the non-standard Maghribi/Andalusian script, a script which she had not yet learned to read, but quickly did. 'Abbas also enlisted her help to look up references as he was editing volume seven of *al-Wafi bil-Wafayat* by the biographer al-Safadi.[3] This project, too, was undertaken before her graduation from college, and provided her with an opportunity to work on biographical dictionaries from a very early point in her career. Later on, while a student in the MA program, she and Yusuf Abdallah, another MA student of Arabic from Yemen, spent an entire summer compiling, in one volume, the indices of 'Abbas's seven-volume edition of *Nafh al-Tib min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratib* by al-Maqqari.[4] At that time there were no computers, and each name, in its various forms, was noted on an index card. On some days that summer, the floors were covered with cards! Once again, her introduction to Islamic onomastics came at an early age, before she had begun her doctoral studies. With another student of Ihsan 'Abbas, Izzeddine Ahmad Musa from the Sudan, Wadad compiled the indices for 'Abbas's eight-volume edition of *Wafayat al-A'yan wa-Anba' Abna' al-Zaman* by the influential biographer Ibn Khallikan.[5]

After obtaining her BA in Arabic Literature in 1965, there was no hesitation at all on Wadad's part to continue with her studies and pursue an MA and then a PhD. 'Abbas was more demanding of Wadad than other students and gave her heavier workloads, but he also provided her with opportunities to work on projects that would see publication and give her considerable experience in working with manuscripts. The first of these opportunities came about when a guest from Tunis, Ibrahim Shabbuh, brought with him to Beirut three manuscripts of a book on the rise of the Fatimids in the Maghrib, *Iftitah al-Da'wa*, written by the jurist and historian al-Qadi al-Nu'man. Shabbuh believed that the treatise was an important work that needed to be published, and suggested that 'Abbas edit it. But 'Abbas was too busy with other projects, and therefore proposed that Wadad do the edition from the manuscripts. Wadad took on the project as an "independent study" graduate course, and completed a critical edition of the treatise that was published as a book in 1970.[6] Another opportunity presented itself when 'Abbas met a friend from his student days in Egypt, Muhammad ibn Tawit al-Tanji (1918–1974), in Istanbul. The latter told 'Abbas that he had come across a manuscript that he believed was authored by the great Arabic prose writer Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, but that it was erroneously catalogued as having been written by another prose writer, Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani (357–398/969–1008), and he wondered if 'Abbas would be interested in editing it. At that time, Wadad was completing her Master's thesis, and had chosen to write precisely on al-Tawhidi, and more specifically, on his vision of Islamic society of the fourth/tenth century.[7] Therefore, 'Abbas suggested that she edit the text instead. 'Abbas brought a microfilm of the manuscript to Wadad, who identified it as being the seventh volume of al-Tawhidi's originally ten-volume book entitled *al-Basa'ir wa-l-Dhakha'ir*. Her critical edition of this volume was published in 1978.[8] Because of her work on al-Tawhidi, 'Abbas then encouraged Wadad to prepare a new edition of his *al-Isharat al-Ilahiyya* and helped her obtain the necessary manuscripts. This new critical edition was published in 1973, shortly after she obtained her PhD.[9]

The topic for Wadad's doctoral dissertation was the very first Shi'ite sect of the Kaysaniyya.[10] In this early period of her academic career, Wadad was deeply interested in Arabic prose and in Islamic sects. This interest began while taking a class in college with 'Abbas on Classical Arabic prose. Naturally, al-Jahiz (d. 255/868) was among the authors that were studied, and Wadad wrote a course paper on the theological sect that adhered to his Mu'tazili ideas, al-Jahiziyya. From that time onwards, sects, with their exoticism and anti-establishment ideologies, attracted her. Then, in 1969, soon after she had completed her MA, the renowned scholar of Islamic theology, Josef van Ess, came to Beirut and met Wadad for the first time. During that period, van Ess was writing an article on the *Kitab al-Irja'* by al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya (d. 98/717),[11] and he suggested that someone should write on the Kaysaniyya, on Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya (d. 81/700) and the movement of al-Mukhtar al-Thaqafi in Iraq in 66–67/685–687. At the same time, Mahmud al-Ghul (1923–1983), who served on both Wadad's MA and PhD committees, suggested that she should improve her German and urged her to go to Germany to study with van Ess. The following academic year, 1970–1971, with the aid of a scholarship from the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD – German Academic Exchange Service), Wadad studied in Germany, first at the Goethe Institut for two months of intensive language learning and then at the University of Tübingen, where she worked with van Ess.

The year in Germany was revolutionary for the young scholar. Wadad's two greatest scholarly influences were 'Abbas and van Ess. To Ihsan 'Abbas goes the credit for teaching her the close reading of classical Arabic texts, while Josef van Ess was the first to show her the importance of thoroughly examining secondary literature since that had broad methodological implications for research. Soon after Wadad's arrival in Tübingen, van Ess came to the Orientalisches Seminar and urged her to read Wilferd Madelung's seminal article on Shi'ite heresiographical literature,[12] pointing out to her that she could not write a book on the Kaysaniyya without critically assessing the sources, their relationship to each other, and hence their respective value.

PROFESSIONAL CAREER: FROM BEIRUT TO CHICAGO

After the year in Germany, Wadad returned to Beirut, and completed her doctorate in 1973, shortly after reaching her twenty-ninth birthday. Immediately afterwards, she obtained her first job at AUB. Curiously, she never applied for the position, but rather was appointed to it. A new program in Islamic Studies, chaired by Husain M. Jafri, had been started at the University, and Jafri offered Wadad this position upon her graduation; understandably, Wadad promptly accepted.

Two years later, in 1975, civil war engulfed Lebanon. Wadad worked incessantly throughout the first ten years of the war and was very active, publishing a number of edited volumes and various studies. Indeed, it was this work that shielded her from being traumatized by the events of the conflict. For her, academic work was the tether of life and a means of retaining one's sanity in an insane environment. During these years, Wadad continued to live in West Beirut, in the house built by her grandfather in 1915 in which she resided her entire life prior to her immigrating to the United States. The house itself was struck a number of times by rockets. One night, as the family lay asleep, she vividly remembers an eight-year-old niece suddenly rushing into her room, waking her up to say that "they" (i.e., the shells) were coming. Everyone in the house rushed down to a very small room under the staircase, as the old house did not have a bomb shelter. Once the shelling was over, they climbed back up the stairs and saw an outlandish sight: a dark night sky lit by bright stars, clearly visible from large openings in the ceiling made by two shells that had gone through the bedrooms of Wadad and her mother. The attack left shrapnel embedded in Wadad's copy of the Arabic dictionary, *Lisan al-'Arab*, by Ibn Manzur (630–711/1233–1311), as well as other books. Three times the family had to leave the house and move to AUB faculty apartments, usually assigned to foreign professors, but since many of them had left during the war, some Lebanese faculty took up residence there.

Three years after obtaining her PhD, Wadad became a fellow at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University while also teaching in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations for the 1976–1977 academic year. This was her first stay in the United States, and it came about because Harvard's Muhsin Mahdi (1926–2007) had visited Beirut just before the outbreak of the war and had strongly recommended that young Arab scholars should visit the United States since it was, like Europe, a center of scholarship in Islamic studies, and it was necessary for them to be acquainted with scholarship being done there. Mahdi had suggested to Wadad that she obtain a fellowship from the Center of Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard. This same year, she had also received a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung in Germany. Wadad sought the advice of Elie Salem, the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at AUB, about which institution to choose. He recommended that she should go to Harvard since it was a window to a new world from which other opportunities could arise.

After her year at Harvard, Wadad returned to Beirut and taught at AUB, both in the then-unique and vibrant Civilization Sequence Program and in her home department, the Department of Arabic and Near Eastern Languages. The decision to leave Lebanon again for the United States came eight years later in the spring of 1985. A telex from George Saliba offered Wadad the position of visiting associate professor at Columbia University for the following academic year, 1985–1986, since both Saliba and Jeanette Wakin (1929–1998) of the Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures had received fellowships and they wanted someone to teach in their places. By that time, ten years of war had left Wadad feeling both physically and mentally exhausted, and she agreed to go to Columbia University, planning on staying just one year in the United States

Once at Columbia, Richard Bulliet encouraged her to remain in the United States, telling her that she could continue to contribute to the field in the United States just as she had done in Lebanon. He informed her of a position at Yale University's Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, left vacant by the distinguished Islamist Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003) upon his retirement in 1985, and Wadad decided to apply. She was given the position and a five-year contract at the rank of associate professor. After one year, Yale opened a search for a tenured full professor in Arabic studies as a successor to Rosenthal to which Wadad applied. At the same time, she was unexpectedly contacted by Robert Dankoff from the University of Chicago, who invited her to come to Chicago as a candidate for a position of professor of Islamic Thought, whose search committee he chaired. This position had been held for many years by the celebrated Fazlur Rahman (1919–1988), who was to retire at the end of the following academic year. Both Yale University and the University of Chicago offered Wadad their respective positions, and she chose to go to Chicago. Wadad was supposed to work with Fazlur Rahman for one year before his retirement, but sadly he passed away two months before her move to Chicago. She remained at the University of Chicago for twenty-one years, until her retirement in 2009. In 1997, she was honored by the university with the appointment as the Avalon Foundation Distinguished Service Professor, and in 2004 with the Faculty Award for Excellence in Graduate Teaching and Mentoring.

RESEARCH AND SCHOLARSHIP

After immigrating to the United States, Wadad quickly realized the need to define herself, not as an Arab, a Muslim, or a woman, but first and foremost as a scholar. This helped her to survive the shock of emigration, as did the fact that her mother accompanied her and lived with her. Wadad believes that you are never a foreigner if you have your mother with you.

The Lebanese Civil War had changed Wadad's academic interests. As a young scholar, she had been interested in unconventional, colorful topics, such as rebellions, opposition movements, symbols, and messianic figures. An early group of her articles has been called by van Ess "detective type articles" in which Wadad attempts to ascertain whether certain documents or books can be authenticated. These include an article about the testament attributed to ʿAli ibn Abi Talib (d. 40/661) addressed to his lieutenant al-Ashtar when he appointed him as governor of Egypt,[13] and another on the collection of biographical notices and wise sayings of Greek and Muslim philosophers attributed to Abu Sulayman al-Mantiqi al-Sijistani (d. ca. 377/987).[14] She also edited a number of works, the most important of which is perhaps the complete, ten-volume critical edition of ***al-Basaʾir wa-l-Dhakhaʾir*** by al-Tawhidi.[15] Yet the Lebanese civil war, which broke out only two years after she had completed her PhD, influenced her to gradually change her focus entirely. She began to view the government in the formative, early Islamic period, especially that of the Umayyad dynasty (41-132/661-750), as a force of law, order, and stability, and she came to see rebellion as potentially destabilizing for society. That led to her developing a deep interest in the early Islamic bureaucracy as the durable and uninterrupted component of the government. She realized that, although the top echelons changed and dynastic families were replaced, the bureaucrats allowed the government to continue to function and provide political and administrative continuity and stability. Wadad thus began to investigate the causes of such stability and continuity.

One particular member of the Umayyad administration eventually captured Wadad's imagination and cemented her subsequent commitment to Umayyad studies. This is ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Yahya al-Katib, the head of the Umayyad administration during the reign of the last Umayyad ruler, Marwan II (d. 132/750), and one of the founders of early Arabic prose writing. Her research on this pivotal figure is based on the collection and edition made by Ihsan ʿAbbas of what has survived of ʿAbd al-Hamid's epistles.[16] In it, she presents a systematic view of political ideology at the end of the Umayyad period. In seminal articles, Wadad has argued for the authenticity of the epistles attributed to ʿAbd al-Hamid,[17] and has explained the political views developed in them,[18] as well as ʿAbd al-Hamid's use of the Qurʾan in his writing,[19] and on leaving one's homeland for professional advancement.[20] In

recognition of her scholarship on a number of early Arabic prose writers (including ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Yahya, Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, and Bishr Ibn Abi Kubar al-Balawi),[21] Wadad received the King Faisal International Prize for Arabic Literature in 1994 for her work on "Ancient Arabic Prose."

In more recent years, Wadad has dedicated her energies to the study of bureaucratic documentary evidence from the Umayyad period in literary sources, the historiography of this period, and the involvement of the bureaucracy in the writing of the history of this period.[22] The examination of documents, such as census and land survey records, is important because their existence indicates the existence of early Islamic and Umayyad institutions and a certain stable, identifiable political entity that can be compared to other contemporaneous polities, such as Byzantium. All of this research has opened new avenues for the study of early Islamic administration and historiography, and is indicative of a new orientation in which the material and documentary evidence is used side by side with the literary sources. Wadad's research on early Islamic history earned her the Lifetime Achievement Award from Middle East Medievalists in 2012.

Another important aspect of Wadad's scholarship has involved service to the field, as seen in her work as editor. From 1995 until 2013, she was the co-editor of the Brill series ***Islamic History and Civilization***, during which period more than one hundred volumes of monographs and collections of essays were published. She was also the editor of the ***Journal of Near Eastern Studies***[23] (2007-2009), an associate editor of the ***Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān***[24] (1996-2005), and an associate editor of ***The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought***[25] (2007-2013). She still serves as a member on the editorial boards of several academic journals.

TEACHING

From 1973 until her retirement in 2009, Wadad taught continuously, with the exception of one sabbatical year in 1997-1998, which she spent as a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford. Throughout these years, Wadad has had numerous students at all levels, from undergraduate to PhD. She has enjoyed teaching immensely, especially the graduate students with whom she has established strong bonds, resulting in their nominating her for the "Mentoring Award" of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) in 2013. By working with graduate students, she has had the opportunity to learn from them and grow with them as they embark on their journeys of exploration and discovery. She has tried to instill in them a number of interrelated principles: First, that they should not spare anything while pursuing scholarship, since scholarship is an absolute and complete commitment. She would often repeat in her classes the saying: "***al-ʿilmu idha lam tuʿtihi kullaka lam yuʿtika baʿdahu***" (If you do not give your whole self to knowledge, it will not give you part of itself). Second, the importance of discipline, since discipline is an expression of the respect the scholar has for knowledge, and since good scholarship is extremely tasking for the scholar mentally, emotionally, and often physically. As such, complacency, haste, and negligence are not allowed: at best they produce bad scholarship, and this is a betrayal by the scholar of the investment he has placed in himself and of the field he is meant to serve. Third, that scholarship is, morally, an exercise in humility because it involves the accumulation of knowledge, and the amount of knowledge a single individual can muster is invariably limited, whence arrogance cannot coexist with genuine scholarship. Fourth, that scholarly writing is an art that allows the scholar to be both creative and effective. Texts are the raw material from which the scholar starts, and it is the scholar who molds this oft-scattered and rough material in accordance with the vision he has of it, giving it a new smooth and polished shape which he can call his own. This creative process of shaping texts is the artistic aspect of the scholar's written work, and the more artistic it is, the more effective. It is the way through which academic research is transformed into beautiful art enjoyable by scholar and reader alike.

BACK TO AUB: FULL CIRCLE

Until 2012, Wadad was one of a few people who had three degrees from AUB: BA (1965), MA (1969), and PhD (1973). In June 2012, these degrees became four, as AUB honored her with the additional degree of "Doctor of Humane Letters ***Honoris Causa***." For Wadad, the occasion represented a full circle on more than one level and a return home.

ENDNOTES

[1] This biography is based, in great part, on a recorded interview between Professor Wadad Kadi and Jonathan A. C. Brown (now at Georgetown University) that took place in 2007. An autobiographical account can be found in the farewell address she gave at the University of Chicago on the occasion of her retirement in May 2009. See Wadad al-Qadi, "In the Footsteps of Arabic Biographical Literature: A Journey, Unfinished, in the Company of Knowledge," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68, no. 4 (2009): 241–252.

[2] For a brief account of Wadad's undergraduate and graduate years, as well as her continued connection with her advisor after obtaining her doctoral degree, see the autobiography of Ihsan ʿAbbas, *Ghurbat al-Raʾi: Sira Dhatiyya* (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq, 1996), 243–247.

[3] Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi (696–764/1297–1363), *Kitab al-Wafi bil-Wafayat/Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḫalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*, vol. 7, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas, Bibliotheca Islamica 6g (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1389/1969). Wadad herself would contribute to the publication of al-Safadi's biographical dictionary in the same series by editing volume 16, published in 1402/1982.

[4] Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqqari al-Tilimsani (ca. 986–1041/ca. 1577–1632), *Nafḥ al-Ṭib min Ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratib*, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1388/1968).

[5] Shams al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ibn Khallikan (608–681/1211–1282), *Wafayat al-Aʿyan wa-Anbaʾ Abnaʾ al-Zaman*, ed. Ihsan ʿAbbas (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1968–1972).

[6] Al-Qadi al-Nuʿman ibn Abi ʿAbd Allah Muhammad (d. 363/974), *Risalat Iftitah al-Daʿwa: Risala fi Zuhur al-Daʿwa al-ʿUbaydiyya al-Fatimiyya*, ed. Wadad al-Qadi (Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1970); 2nd ed., 1980; 3rd ed., Beirut: Dar al-Muntazar, 1996.

[7] A small part of this research resulted in her article "al-Rakaʾiz al-Fikriyya fi Nazrat Abi Hayyan al-Tawhidi ila l-Mujtamaʿ," *Al-Abhath* 23 (1970): 15–32. The rest awaits publication.

[8] ʿAli ibn Muhammad Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (ca. 310–414/ca. 922–1023), *al-Basaʾir wa-l-Dhakhaʾir*, vol. 7, ed. Wadad al-Qadi (Tunisia and Libya: al-Dar al-ʿArabiyya lil-Kitab, 1978).

[9] Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, *al-Isharat al-Ilahiyya*, ed. Wadad al-Qadi (Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1973); 2nd ed., 1982.

[10] The dissertation was published as *al-Kaysaniyya fi l-Tarikh wa-l-Adab* (Beirut: Dar al-Thaqafa, 1974). It was recently translated into Persian by Ihsan Musavi Khalkhali and is forthcoming in Tehran.

[11] His article was published as "Das *Kitāb al-irǧā'* des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya," *Arabica* 21, no. 1 (1974): 20–52.

[12] Wilferd Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur," *Der Islam* 43, nos. 1–2 (1967): 37–52.

[13] "An Early Fāṭimid Political Document," *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978): 71–108.

[14] "*Kitāb Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*: Structure, Composition, Authorship and Sources," *Der Islam* 58, no. 1 (1981): 87–124.

[15] Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, *al-Basaʾir wa-l-Dhakhaʾir*, ed. Wadad al-Qadi (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1408/1988). This has been reprinted several times.

[16] ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Yahya al-Katib (d. 132/750), *ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Yahya al-Katib wa-Ma Tabaqqa min Rasaʾilih wa-Rasaʾil Salim Abi l-ʿAla'*, collected and edited by Ihsan ʿAbbas (Amman: Dar al-Shuruq lil-Nashr wa-l-Tawzi', 1988).

[17] "Early Islamic State Letters: The Question of Authenticity," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, eds. Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1 (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1992), 215–275. See also "Nahwa Manhaj Salim fi Qadiyyat Mawthuqiyyat al-Rasaʾil al-ʿArabiyya al-Mubakkira," *al-Tasamuh* (Oman) 7 (2005): 107–124.

[18] "Mafhum al-Fitna wa-Suwaruha fi Adab ʿAbd al-Hamid al-Katib," in *Fusul Adabiyya wa-Tarikhiyya li-Majmuʿa min al-ʿUlamaʾ wa-l-Udabaʾ Muhdat ila Nasir al-Din al-Asad*, ed. Husayn ʿAtwan (Beirut: Dar al-Jil, 1993), 337–361; "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice," in *Saber religioso y poder politico en el Islam: Actas del Simposio Internacional (Granada, 15–18 octubre 1991)* (Madrid: Agencia española de cooperación internacional, 1994), 231–273 [Reprinted in *The Articulation of Early Islamic State Structures*, ed. Fred M. Donner, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 6 (London: Ashgate Variorum, 2012), 37–79]; "Identity Formation of the Bureaucracy of the Early Islamic State: ʿAbd al-Hamīd's "Letter to the Secretaries"," in *Mediterranean Identities in the Premodern Era: Entrepôts, Islands, Empires*, eds. John Watkins and Kathryn L. Reyerson, Transculturalisms, 1400–1700 (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 141–154.

[19] "The Impact of the Qurʾān on the Epistolography of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd," in *Approaches to the Qurʾān*, eds. G. R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef, Routledge/SOAS Contemporary Politics and Culture in the Middle East Series (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 285–313.

[20] "Expressions of Alienation in Early Arabic Literature," in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach*, Proceedings of the International Symposium in Beirut, June 25–June 30, 1996, eds. Angelika Neuwirth et al., Beiruter Texte und Studien 64 (Beirut: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1999), 3–31.

[21] "Sura min al-Nathr al-Fanni al-Mubakkir fi l-Yaman fi Daw' *Kitab Sifat Jazirat al-ʿArab* lil-Hamdani: Namudhaj Bishr Ibn Abi Kubar al-Balawi," *al-Fikr al-ʿArabi* 25 (1982): 329–359; *Bishr ibn Abi Kubar al-Balawi: Namudhaj min al-Nathr al-Fanni al-Mubakkir fi l-Yaman* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1985).

[22] "Non-Muslim(s) in the Muslim Army in Early Islam: A Case Study in the Dialogue of the Sources," in *Conference on: "Orientalism: Dialogue of Cultures," 22–24 October, 2002*, ed. Sami A. Khasawnih (Amman: The University of Jordan, 2004), 109–159; "An Umayyad Papyrus in al-Kindi's *Kitāb al-Quḍāt*?" *Der Islam* 84, no. 2 (2008): 200–245; "Population Census and Land Surveys Under the Umayyads (41–132/661–750)," *Der Islam* 83, no. 2 (2008): 341–416; "The Salaries of Judges in Early Islam: The Evidence of the Documentary and Literary Sources," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68, no. 1 (2009): 9–30 [Reprinted in *Community, State, History, and Changes: Festschrift for Prof. Ridwan al-Sayyid on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Beirut: Arab Network for Research and Publishing, 2011), 29-66]; "A Documentary Report on Umayyad Stipends Registers (*Dīwān al-ʿAṭā'*) in Abū Zurʿa's *Tārīkh*," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* (n. s.) 4 (2009): 7–44; "The Names of Estates in State Registers Before and After the Arabization of the *'Dīwāns'*," in *Umayyad Legacies: Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, eds. Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb, Islamic History and Civilization 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 255–280; "Al-Zajjāj and Glass Making: An Expanded Range of Options in a Comparative Context," in *In the Shadow of Arabic: The Centrality of Language to Arabic Culture: Studies Presented to Ramzi Baalbaki on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Bilal Orfali, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 221–248; "Security Positions Under the Umayyads: The Story of *'Maʿbad al-Ṭuruq'*," in *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam. Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag/Difference and Dynamism in Islam: Festschrift for Heinz Halm on His 70th Birthday*, eds. Hinrich Biesterfeld and Verena Klemm (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2012), 253–283; "Death Dates in Umayyad Stipends Registers (*Dīwān al-ʿAṭā'*)? The Testimony of the Papyri and the Literary Sources," in *From Bāwīṭ to Marw: Documents from the Medieval Muslim World: Proceedings of the 4th Conference of the International Society of Arabic Papyrology, Vienna, March 26–29, 2009*, eds. Andreas Kaplony, Daniel Potthast, and Cornelia Römer, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 79–102.

[23] This is the journal of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago.

[24] Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006, 6 volumes.

[25] Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

26 Art and Artists at AUB: "Art makes more sense than anything else"[1]

Helga Seeden[2]

The 150th anniversary of AUB presents an opportunity to appreciate the role that artists have played, not only in this institution's formidable history, but also in the larger context of Lebanon and the Arab world. This essay does not seek to reproduce the story of women at AUB. Nadia Maria El Cheikh and Samar Mikati have already outlined the remarkable story of women at the College during the first half of the twentieth century in Part I of this volume. Furthermore, several participants of the May 2013 conference entitled "*AUB: a Century and a Half*" have published extensive work on women students at the University; those scholars include Betty Anderson[3] and Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski.[4] Rather, this essay sketches the development of the arts in AUB and Lebanon, and, more pertinently, the roles of three AUB-affiliated artists – John Carswell, Helen Khal, and Huguette Caland – in this evolution.

AUB's involvement with the fine arts officially dates from 1955, the year when Pablo Picasso created one of his most influential works, *les femmes d'Alger*.[5] In that same year, President Stephen Penrose established the Art Department at AUB. Actually, Penrose's initiative had begun three years earlier, when he invited a young multidisciplinary artist, Maryette Charlton from the Art Institute of Chicago, to come to Beirut and offer non-credit art seminars to the general public through the new offices of the AUB Art Club. Several of her Chicago colleagues, including Georges Buehr and Arthur Frick, joined her in this venture. These art seminars were merged with the new Department of Fine and Performing Arts that was officially launched in 1957.[6] In the 1960s and 1970s, the Department occupied the top floor of Nicely Hall, erected in 1965 in memory of Trustee James M. Nicely (1899-1964). Its public outreach workshops and open access to all students without prerequisites and for a minimal fee were unprecedented in Lebanon, and made the arts accessible to a wider Beirut public.

JOHN CARSWELL (1931-) (TIME AT AUB: 1957-1976)

A graduate of the London Royal College of Art, John Carswell joined AUB in 1957, upon the invitation of Maryette Charlton, who had met him a year earlier at Kathleen Kenyon's Jericho excavations.[7] Over the next two decades, Carswell taught at AUB and chaired the Department at various junctures. Inspired by the fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Battutah, he also travelled widely in the Near and Middle East (Syria, Turkey, and Iran), as well as throughout South Asia (India, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives). These journeys inspired his production of meticulously researched and lusciously illustrated publications on subjects ranging from Armenian and Islamic tiles and architecture, across Chinese blue-and-white porcelain in the Middle East to Islamic bookbinding and printing, Coptic tattooing, and the history of painting in Lebanon.[8]

While at AUB, Carswell created what he called his "impossible four-dimensional objects," re-exhibited at the AUB Art Galleries in 2014-2015,[9] and he staged popular as well as not so popular exhibitions on campus. He also taught experimental art classes that were open to students of all majors. One of Carswell's memorable exhibitions, mounted in Jafet Library, was entitled *Plastic Art*. He described it as "a twenty-meter gigantic transparent plastic sausage filled with plastic detritus from the beaches of Beirut, carefully looped from the ceiling down the gallery."[10] He later mused that the students did not like it at all, particularly when the knotted sausage was filled "by lowering it over the roof of the library, and a miscellany of strange objects went whizzing down just outside the window of the reading room. The exhibition was actually quite serious about ecology and pollution, which was already rampant on the coast in the late 60s."[11]

Fig. 1. John Carswell (right) and Sylvie Agémian at his 1975 Jafet Library exhibition of blue-on-white Chinese porcelain from local collections (Photograph courtesy of American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections)

Another "installation" was conceived by Carswell in 1966, when AUB was celebrating its one hundredth anniversary. Prior to this centennial event, Post Hall's ground floor underwent substantial reorganization to enlarge the exhibition space of the Archaeological Museum. Among other changes, the taxidermy collection of preserved animals was relocated from Post Hall to the lower campus.

Fig. 2. The small elephant – trunk in place – in the animal collection of Post Hall's main gallery in 1902 (Photograph courtesy of American University of Beirut, Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections)

In the process of these migrations, the small elephant that had lost its trunk was abandoned in front of Post Hall next to what is currently the Mrs. Samia Nassar Macksoud's (BA 1948) memorial bench. At the time, the animal stood forlorn and obviously doomed, and was much bemoaned by children who wandered past, by archaeology students who had to circumnavigate it to attend classes in the Museum Study Collection hall, and by a considerable number of other members of the University community. It was left to John Carswell to take pity and rescue it. He begged to be allowed to take it to his Tabarja home, where he offered it a new coat of brilliant monochrome white and at least another decade of life. Thus, the discarded animal was brilliantly resurrected, much to the delight of the children at home and their friends.

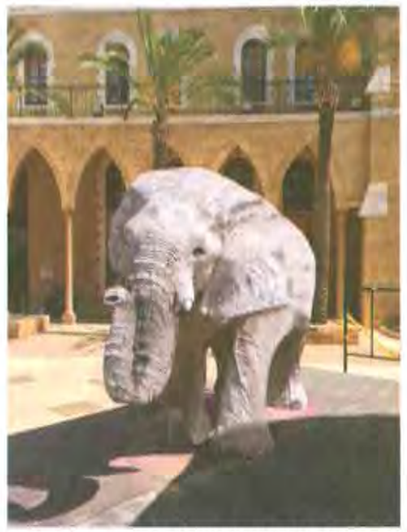

Fig. 3. Remembering Carswell's white elephant in 2015 (Photograph by Tamara Matouk; digital courtesy Doculand)

In 2014, AUB Art Galleries Curator Octavian Esanu showcased Carswell's seminal role as "achromatic" artist, scholar of Islamic art, and unconventional art instructor in the exhibition *Trans-Oriental Monochrome: John Carswell*.[12] The Department of Fine Arts has come a long way since Carswell's time. Under the direction of present chairperson, Henri Rico Franses, and in cooperation with artists and scholars from neighbouring departments at AUB, the present Department of Fine Arts and Art History has been organizing lectures and exhibitions that attract numerous viewers and receive considerable coverage in local and foreign media. Esanu and his team's 2014 exhibition in honor of John Carswell was a fitting tribute to a pioneering artist at AUB and in Lebanon.[13] While the stark monochrome sculptures could be viewed in the on-campus AUB Byblos Bank Art Gallery, tools, sketches, notebooks, and other personal items at the Rose and Shaheen Saleeby Museum off campus provided more intimate insights into the artist's personality. And in 2015, an elephant pair of mother and son returned to campus for the OUTDOORS celebrations. The theme was India, and the little elephant lost half of his trunk during the celebrations. Those who remembered the Carswell elephant salvage story, stepped in to save it, although this time, while the trunk was restored, only the image was preserved by digitally providing this elephant with a brilliant monochrome coat in time for the 150th anniversary of AUB.

HELEN KHAL (1923-2009) AND HUGUETTE CALAND (1931-)

While at AUB, John Carswell worked with two of Lebanon's most prominent women artists, Helen Khal and Huguette Caland. Helen Khal was born in Pennsylvania, USA, as the daughter of an immigrant from Lebanon, and relocated to Lebanon in the 1940s. A graduate of ALBA (*L'Académie Libanaise des Beaux Arts*), she taught at the American University of Beirut, where she and Carswell were colleagues, from 1967 to 1976 as an instructor of Fine Arts. Huguette Caland, daughter of the first president of Lebanon, Bechara El Khoury, studied drawing and design with John Carswell at AUB's Department of Fine Arts. At the time, news had spread that AUB offered a less conventional, more free-spirited art program than the more "classical" programs at ALBA,[14] which therefore drew many less conventional students to the Department, of which Caland was one.

Fig. 4. Helen Khal's 1966 *Sun Flowers* (oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm; courtesy Cesar Nammour. Source: Cesar Nammour, *Helen Khal* (Beirut: Fine Arts Publishing, 2004), 39)

Both Helen Khal and Huguette Caland impacted the Lebanese and the wider Arab art scene in numerous ways. Helen Khal's contributions nurtured the Lebanese art scene as well as the status of Arab women artists. She established Beirut's first permanent exhibition center, Gallery One, and later co-directed it with Leila Baroody.[15] Khal also

shone a spotlight on women artists in Lebanon, producing in 1987 a volume entitled ***The Woman Artist in Lebanon***, which was published by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World at the Lebanese American University. In it, Khal discusses and critiques the works of twelve Arab women artists; and introduces fifty others, covering the war-torn decade after 1976. This landmark volume was the first publication to deal explicitly with Arab women artists. In the book, Khal also paid tribute to Mariam Khiru, the first female nude model who began to sit for the students at ALBA in 1945 and left a lasting impression on Helen. She reminisced that every nude she painted after that bore a resemblance to Mariam.[16]

Fig. 5. Helen Khal's 1973 *Nude*, with Mariam on her mind (oil on canvas, 100 x 100 cm; courtesy Cesar Nammour; *Helen Khal*, 78)

As a painter and regular art critic, Khal suggested several reasons for the extraordinary number of successful women artists in Lebanon. She surmised that Lebanese women were less restricted than women in other, more traditional, Arab countries, and that Lebanon's lively and thriving art scene, accessible to a wide public and regularly covered in the media, contributed to women's freedom to make art.[17]

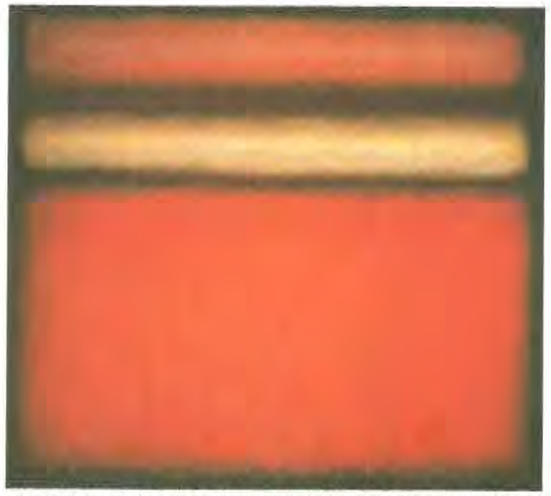

Fig. 6. Helen Khal's 1974 *Red Horizon* (oil on canvas, 200 x 200 cm; courtesy Cesar Nammour. Source: Khal, *The Woman Artist in Lebanon* (Beirut: Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, 1987), Plate 43)

Despite Khal's gusto in foregrounding women artists in Lebanon, her personal views on the issue were too nuanced and sophisticated to be characterized simply as "feminist." In a 2009 interview given shortly before she passed away, Khal denied being a feminist, saying instead that she was "an advocate of the human being."[18] For her, all Arabs, whether men or women, were oppressed, and she hoped to "advocate an end to human suffering whether male or female" through her art. She preferred to be known as an Arab artist, saying:

> I am an Arab artist, who happens to be a woman, in a society where thoughts about the female body have been stifled through the centuries. Exposure of the female body is largely taboo in our culture and in my humanistic portrayals of the body, I have sought to lighten animosity, prejudice, and oppression through dialogue.
>
> . . . I do not believe in woman's art and man's art. In every man there is a woman, and in every woman a man. I don't see myself as a woman artist, since male artists can accurately depict women and women can portray men. The present inability to do this is due largely to education and upbringing, rather than to anything inherent in the female and male entity. Indeed, sometimes you can even find a woman artist using the same voyeuristic technique on the female body as her male counterpart.[19]

Huguette Caland shared these views. She and Helen Khal were lifelong friends, and both are counted among the best known of Lebanon's artists. In 1970, the two women mounted a show at Huguette's Atelier Caland in Kaslik, while the latter also exhibited at the Dar El Fann in Beirut. The experience was disappointing for Huguette because the general local reaction focused less on her art and more

Fig. 7. Helen Khal's 1974 *Brigitte* (Caland) (oil on canvas 77 x 99 cm; courtesy Cesar Nammour, *Helen Khal*, 39)

on her background, with a tendency to attribute her success to her privileged social position as the daughter of the country's first president.[20] In fact, her fame rests soundly on her artistic sense – on the broad spectrum, extraordinary diversity, and sheer volume of her work. Caland's work greatly impacted the Lebanese art scene as it also did Parisian fashion design. Indeed, John Carswell spotted her gifts early on, admitting that she already knew the art when she arrived at AUB to learn from him. Carswell was, for a long while, a neighbor and a close friend; he movingly described Huguette's unique talent and originality in *Contact*, an art magazine reporting on the art scene in Beirut at the time.[21]

Fig. 8. Huguette Caland's 1968 *Self Portrait* (oil on canvas, 90 x 75 cm; reprinted, by permission, from *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 37)

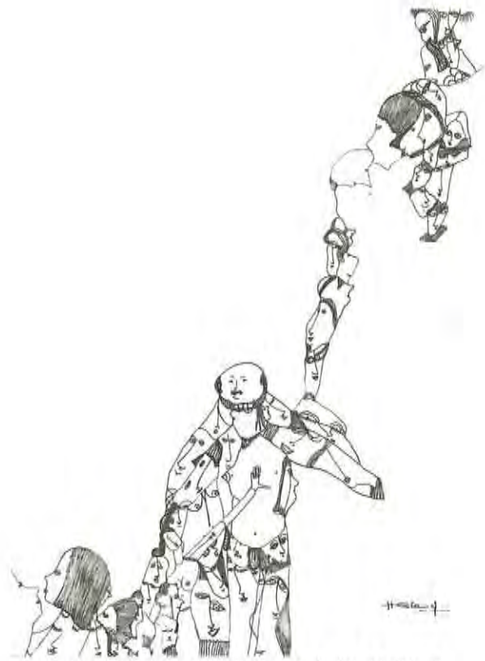

Fig. 9. Huguette Caland's 1970 *Mustafa "poids et haltères"* (ink on paper, 32 x 24 cm; reprinted, by permission, from *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 53)

Huguette was unconventional not only in her art, but also in her life. She said that she had known she would marry Paul Caland after she first met him when she was twelve, and so she did at the age of twenty.[22] But before that, in 1947, at the age of sixteen, having given up the habitual piano lessons, she began to paint with the Italian painter Fernando Manetti, who was living in Beirut at the time. It became her passion. Later, she and her husband also opened a very special seafront restaurant called "Chez Temporel" by the bay of Zeitouneh, which became a favorite hot spot for artists and connoisseurs. With artwork on view, an invitation to dine there was always much more than a culinary experience.

Caland was one of the first Lebanese artists to freely represent the nude human body and erotic subjects. Apart from Juliana Seraphim, not many other female artists did that in Beirut at the time. Although gender relations were freely discussed in some circles – Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxieme sex* was available and freely circulated among students, and not only at AUB – the aesthetic attitude towards representing nudity and erotic subjects was far from being shared by all. Members of the more conservative public in Lebanon were then not ready to accept the free artistic expression of some of Huguette's paintings.[23]

Fig. 10. Huguette Caland's 1978 *My Parents* (acrylic on linen, 38 x 51 cm; reprinted, by permission, from *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 129)

Fig. 11. Huguette Caland's 1981 *Guerre Incivile* (oil on linen, 163 x 163 cm; reprinted, by permission, from *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 138)

The disappointing experience of her early exhibits contributed to Caland's decision in 1970 to leave Beirut and move to Paris, where she lived and worked for the next two decades. It was in Paris that she first made an impact on French and, by extension, global fashion with her painted kaftans. Uncomfortable with the tight-fitting fashions of the period, Huguette had "liberated" herself by wearing loose robes of her own design bearing her art work, giving her the freedom to move at ease, and making her life much simpler on the wardrobe front. Pierre Cardin noticed Caland's embroidered and hand-painted silk kaftans and commissioned her to design a collection of over one hundred elegant kaftans, which was to become the *Nour* fashion line inspired by Islamic patterns and greatly acclaimed when unveiled in Paris in 1979. Huguette Caland has continued to create very original robes throughout her career, some of which serve as spontaneously designed "kaftan diaries."[24] (see examples, Fig. 15)

In 1987, Huguette Caland left Paris to cross the Atlantic; she moved to Venice, California, where she built the house of her dreams for the "magical world" of her art.[25] During the construction period, she found an ingenious way of producing small format artwork, easily carried around without needing a fixed workspace. She drew on small wooden panels that were mobile and resistant.

Fig. 12. Huguette Caland in 1981 (Photograph courtesy of Wadah Faris)

Both Helen Khal and Huguette Caland also expressed their social and political activism through their art. Helen Khal's 2000 series "Qana" captured her shock and grief at the massacre of Qana in 1996. She said,

> As a Lebanese artist who has lived, loved, and worked during and between the wars in Lebanon, the political and personal are intricately related. After Qana 1996, I went into a four year incubation period, shocked by the tragedy and searching for a way to express my sorrows and my rebellion against all kinds of violence and injustice through art.[26]

Khal also protested the neoliberal reconstruction of Beirut. Her May 2009 installation, "Places' Memories" featured Khal's former residence in an Ottoman-era building on Makhoul Street in Hamra. After having lived in it for fourteen years, it was bought by a developer in 2002 and demolished. Khal confessed that she "was heartbroken and like a woman grieving a lost lover."[27] She further elaborates,

> Everyone talks of the destruction of Beirut during the wars. But, what I see is that the real desolation came after the war, during the very rebuilding of Beirut. Indeed the ravages of war were much less than the ravages Beirut was exposed to after reconstruction when businessmen with pockets full of money came to town in search of construction sites, which entailed demolishing Beirut's landmark historical buildings and transforming them into buildings that could be located any place in the world. In doing so, they have been destroying Beirut's identity, which will weaken the attachment of people to the city, since it will soon resemble any other city in the world.[28]

Fig. 13. Huguette Caland's 1999 *Letter to Pierre El Khoury* (mixed media on canvas, 71x 84 cm; reprinted, by permission, from *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 211)

Fig. 14. Huguette at work in 2009 (Photograph reprinted, by permission, from *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 211)

In a similar vein, Huguette Caland devoted herself to the Palestinian cause through her artwork. Since 1969, she had been one of the founding members of the "Embroidery Project" of INAASH (The Association for the Development of Palestinian Camps). Women living in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon combine traditional motifs with modern designs, producing exquisite textiles for clothing, cushions and other decorative household items. These "*Threads of Identity*"[29] have become a powerful means of artistic expression for preserving Palestinian cultural heritage in exile. The valuable income gained by these gifted women and girls is the result of a successful marriage between artistic creation and economic need. The Palestinian embroidered textiles have become beautiful accessories in many homes in Lebanon, the Middle East, and abroad. In March 2003, Caland joined forces with Hanan and Farah Munayyer, and women like Widad Kamal Kawar and others raising funds for a Palestinian exhibition of embroidery from pre-1948 Palestine at the Craft and Folk Art Museum in Los Angeles. The exhibition, entitled *Sovereign Threads: A History of Palestinian Embroidery*, was accompanied by panel discussions on the effects of war and aspects of national identity, effectively raising awareness about the challenges posed by statelessness.[30]

Huguette Caland paints and draws in pencil, ink, crayon, acid, watercolor, acrylic, and oil, on paper, cardboard, canvas, linen, leather, wood, metal, and stone. Her patterns of grand brush strokes married to exquisitely drawn detail evoke thoughts of the soft feel of woven tapestry, dyed cloth and intricately painted embroidery.[31] Her close friend Helen Khal characterized Huguette's 1997 exhibition at the Galerie Janine Rubeiz in Beirut as ". . . pure visual delight in pencil and ink: never tormented, always amusing" and an art that "makes the heart smile."[32] The whimsical *Rossinante* paintings exhibited in Beirut and Paris in 2006 made hearts and minds smile,[33] as did the hilarious bichrome *Rossinante* sculptures on show in the United Arab Emirates in 2010 and 2011.[34] In 2013 – and several shows later – Huguette celebrated another birthday at her Grand Retrospective in the Beirut Exhibition Center.

Fig. 15. Huguette with daughter Brigitte in 2013 at her Grand Retrospective at the Beirut Exhibition Center. The girls are modeling silk gowns designed by the artist. (Photograph reprinted by permission)

CONCLUSION

The far reaching influence of these three salient artists and the impact of their creations extend well into the present. John Carswell's *Transoriental Monochrome* exhibit at the AUB Art Galleries in the winter of 2014-2015 has already been mentioned. Helen Khal's 2015 exhibition *Quiet Seduction* at the Mark Hashem Gallery in downtown Beirut was described by India Stoughton in *The Daily Star* as "Luminous abstraction: Khal in miniature."[35] Huguette Caland's 2015 exhibition at the Galerie Janine Rubeiz, simply entitled *Bronzes*, presented a series of metal sculptures cast in California after stone, wood, and terracotta models produced in Paris in the 1980s. Cynthia Issa characterized the exhibition in *The Daily Star* under the subtitle "Huguette Caland uses bronze to explore feminity and sexuality."[36]

John Carswell, Helen Khal, and Huguette Caland are three artists who either by birth or at one point in their lives have called Lebanon home, and have passed through the gates of AUB and left their mark upon the University. The life trajectories of Khal and Caland, in particular, showcase the peculiar challenges and contradictions facing Lebanese and Arab women of the twentieth century, but also the triumphs and courage they have exhibited in the face of adversity. Khal's denial of the feminist label in favor of a wider Arab identity, for example, enabled her and her art to speak for a larger community, which is in fact a more ambitious and admirable goal. Khal's and Caland's activism in social and political causes, too, are instructive for the next generation of AUB graduates, whose achievements, it is hoped, will equal those of the illustrious alumni of the past 150 years.

ENDNOTES

[1] Quoting Huguette Caland's acclamation made at an exhibition attended by the author in 1970.

[2] Thanks are due to my colleague Jean-Marie Cook, and to my friend and former student Roula Zein. They originally contributed to an earlier multi-author version of this article. Clare Leader – as always – has conscientiously read various versions and always gave welcome advice. Special thanks are due to our gifted graduate students, Koh Choon Hwee and Tamara Matouk. The first performed precise and successful surgical and aesthetic operations on an earlier body of text during her brief stay in Beirut in May 2015, while the second went trailing elephants on campus with me. Wadah Faris kindly searched for relevant photographs from his vast digital archive of artists and artwork, often exhibited in his galleries. Solidere allowed the reproduction of some of Caland's work and photographs from their splendid 2013 exhibition catalogue *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*. Above all, I am indebted to Brigitte Caland and, indirectly, Huguette Caland, for showing interest in this venture and generously agreeing to reproduce some of Huguette's paintings in this context.

[3] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut – Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

[4] Aleksandra Majstorac Kobiljski, "Women Students at the American University of Beirut from the 1920s to the 1940s" in *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East. Two Hundred Years of History*, edited by Inger Marie Okkenhaug and I. Flaskerud (Oxford and NY: Berg, 2005).

[5] *The Daily Star*, 13 May 2015, 16.

[6] Octavian Esanu, Kirsten Scheid, and Catherine Hansen (eds.), *Trans-Oriental Monochrome: John Carswell*, AUB exhibition booklet (Beirut: American University of Beirut, Art Galleries and Collections, 2014). Also available online at https://www.aub.edu.lb/art_galleries/current/Documents/pamphlet-carswell.pdf, accessed 30 October 2015.

[7] John Carswell, "Excavating with K," in *More Tales from the Travellers*, eds. Frank Hermann and Michael Allen (Oxford: Michael Tomkinson Publishing, 2005).

[8] Esanu et al., *Trans-Oriental Monochrome* (2014); for Chinese porcelain in the Middle East, see Carswell et al., *The Future of the Past – The Robert Mouawad Private Museum* (Beirut: Express International Printing Company, 2011); also his and C. J. F. Dowsett's *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem*, 2nd ed. (Antelias, Lebanon: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2005).

[9] India Stoughton, "The many faces of John Carswell," *The Daily Star* 10 December 2014, p. 16.

[10] Catherine Hansen quoting Carswell in Esanu et al., *Trans-Oriental Monochrome*.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Esanu et al. (2014).

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.; and Khal, *The Woman Artist in Lebanon* (Beirut: Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, 1987), 88, 90.

[15] "In Memoriam: Helen Khal sets her paintbrush to rest, one last time," *AUBulletin Today* 10, no. 7 (May 2009), http://staff.aub.edu.lb/~webbultn/v10n7/article43.htm, accessed 25 October 2015.

[16] Khal, *The Woman Artist in Lebanon*, 90; see also Kirsten Scheid, "Necessary Nudes: Ḥadātha and Mu'āṣira [*sic*] in the Lives of Modern Lebanese," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010): 203-30.

[17] Esanu et al., *Trans-Oriental Monochrome* (2014).

[18] Rebecca Joubin, "Helen Karam, on Childhood Inspirations, Her Artistic Quest to Preserve Beirut, and Strong Will to Survive on Her Own Terms," *al-Jadid* 15, no. 61 (2009), http://www.aljadid.com/content/helen-karam-childhood-inspirations-her-artistic-quest-preserve-beirut-and-strong-will-surviv, accessed 25 October 2015.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Wadah Faris, interviewed by the author, 23 December 2014.

[21] Reprinted in *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964-2012*, exhibition catalogue published by Solidere and Galerie Janine Rubeiz on the occasion of the Retrospective at the Beirut Exhibition Center (Beirut: Solidère, 2013), 13–15.

[22] Helen Khal, *The Woman Artist in Lebanon*, 128–129; also online "Huguette Caland by Helen Khal," http://www.onefineart.com/en/artists/huguette_khoury_caland/article.shtml, accessed on 2 November 2015.

[23] Wadah Faris, interviewed by the author, 23 December 2014.

[24] See *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 76–83; and Joanne Warfield, "Byzantium in Venice: A Visit with Huguette Caland," http://www.thescreamonline.com.art3-4/caland/huguette.htlm.

[25] Anne-Marie O'Connor, "Her magical world," Inner Life, *Los Angeles Times*, 19 June 2003. Also available at http://articles.latimes.com/2003/jun/19/home/hm-venice19, accessed 30 October 2015.

[26] Rebecca Joubin, "Helen Karam, on Childhood Inspirations, Her Artistic Quest to Preserve Beirut, and Strong Will to Survive on Her Own Terms," *al-Jadid* 15, no. 61 (2009). Also available at http://www.aljadid.com/content/helen-karam-childhood-inspirations-her-artistic-quest-preserve-beirut-and-strong-will-surviv, accessed 25 October 2015.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Widad Kamel Kawar, *Threads of Identity: Preserving Palestinian Costume and Heritage* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2011).

[30] Palestinian Heritage Foundation, exhibition announcement for "Sovereign Threads: A History of Palestinian Embroidery," http://www.palestineheritage.org/exhibit_sovereign_thread.htm, accessed 30 October 2015.

[31] *Huguette Caland: Works, 1964–2012*, 23.

[32] Cesar Nammour and Gabriela Schaub (eds.), *Resonances - 82 Lebanese Artists Reviewed by Helen Khal* (Beirut: Fine Arts Publishing, 2011), 70–71.

[33] Roula El-Zein, with photographs by Souheil Michael Khoury, "Huguette Caland, free and impulsive creativity," *Canvas* 2, no. 3 (2006):102–109, 143;

[34] Huguette Caland, *Works 1964–2012*, 283–295.

[35] *The Daily Star*, 12 February 2015, 16.

[36] *The Daily Star*, 16 February 2015, 11. See also "Les bronzes en liberté d'Huguette Caland," *L'Orient Le Jour*, 31 January 2015, also available at http://www.lorientlejour.com/article/908978/les-bronzes-en-liberte-dhuguette-caland.html, accessed 2 November 2015.

Conclusion

Reflections on Writing AUB History in a Global Age

Aleksandra Kobiljski and Cyrus Schayegh

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to further reflect on the 150th anniversary of the American University of Beirut (AUB). We do not propose a lordly ***How to (Better) Write AUB History*** manual, but wish to highlight how what we already know about AUB may allow us to see this fascinating institution in new ways.

The chapter has two parts. The first, by Aleksandra Kobiljski, deals mainly with the pre-World War II era, while the second, by Cyrus Schayegh, essentially treats the post-World War II period.[1] Both parts revolve around and are joined by two questions: what is ***One Hundred and Fifty*** a history of, and what were broader spatial contexts in which AUB has operated as a convergence point? The chapter ends with a joint conclusion.

GENESIS AND THE EARLY AUB: A COLLEGE IN AND OF BEIRUT

It is difficult to overestimate the scholarly importance of an institution in the Middle East whose archives survived two world wars, the dissolution of an empire, colonization, decolonization, a civil war, an occupation, and much more in-between. In that sense, it has a precious institutional memory. In a metaphorical as well as a practical sense, the University and its students were ***there*** – actors, not just observers – at the birth of the Iraqi, Lebanese, and Syrian states, to name a few. Yet the question is not rhetorical and, perhaps because of institutional longevity, the answer is not obvious, as a close reading of this volume reveals.

As A. Tylor Brand shows in his contribution, the relief efforts of the AUB community during World War I were not part of the College's mandate, but were inextricably connected to it. The ***College*** did not engage in aid work, but ***members*** of the College community – students, teachers, staff members, and their families – were deeply involved. If the relief work was not the doing of the College ***stricto sensu***, are these efforts then, part of AUB history? If so much of its constituency was involved in various relief projects, devoting their time and energies, how can it not be part of it? What does the officially non-existent, but de facto considerable implication of the College in World War I relief work say about the nature of the institution under study?

George Saliba's contribution to this volume is another example of how important it is to question what makes a history of a university. He reminds us that AUB's engagement with Arabic and Islamic sciences both ***predates*** the birth of the University and maps poorly onto the official history of AUB. For example, Cornelius Van Dyck was instrumental in fostering Arabic scientific culture though his science textbook writing in Arabic, a work that started two decades before AUB came into existence and Van Dyck joined its faculty. In the second half of the twentieth century, Edward Stuart Kennedy became a key figure in the chain of events that changed scholarly understanding of the relationship between Islamic and European science, but most of it, technically, did not happen on campus. Saliba reminds us that the famous "1970 seminar" took place within AUB walls, but was completely informal and a matter of contingency. At the time, it was practically invisible to the AUB administrators and would have remained so to the historians were it not for Saliba's precious testimony in this volume. Saliba's two examples – Van Dyck and Kennedy – raise another important question: If the history of the institution's engagement with a particular discipline predates the institution itself, what are the implications for the delimitation of the object of study? If campus is a point of convergence neither orchestrated nor even visible to the administration itself, how does one place it in that institution's history?

By making these questions evident, both Brand and Saliba put their fingers on a gray zone of the institutional margin and historical serendipity. That their two contributions found their way to the volume is not due to courtesy or editorial laxity in policing the border between "the main" and "the auxiliary" story. Rather, it is an invitation to rethink the relationship between the two. If episodes and initiatives of historical importance take shape unplanned, informally, and through a temporary convergence of actors and resources, do they simply add flavor to an institutional history, or do they change the very definition of the institution in question? Further examples abound in this volume, leading us to see AUB not simply as an educational institution bound by the campus walls and framed by the city that hosts it, but as a one of the points where different and far-flung intellectual universes come together.

With regard to the early history of AUB and using Saliba's metaphor, the importance of what was initially or ostensibly marginal can hardly be underestimated. As Samir Khalaf aptly reminds us, much of what came to be seen as the accomplishments of nineteenth-century Protestant envoys to Ottoman Syria were largely unintended consequences and accidents of history. ABCFM commissioners were not sent or paid to start opening common schools across Mount Lebanon. And yet, since the 1830s, this is what many of them endeavored to do against Boston's advice or under its radar. Hence, the constant talk of schools in missionary reports and correspondence was in large part a function of having to constantly justify spending time and money on teaching reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic; the brethren in New England were expecting them to plant native churches and move on. It is difficult to overemphasize the extent to which those ostensibly auxiliary missionary activities became an important part of the personal project and identity of some of the American missionaries involved with the early AUB. Teaching, it turns out, came to be their most lasting legacy in the region.[2] The establishment of AUB is one such example of an auxiliary outgrowing the main mission. The idea of establishing a college was considered as evil by Rufus Anderson, immediate supervisor of all overseas missionaries – including Bliss, Van Dyck, and Thomson. Hence, rather than smoothing over what now seems as embarrassing episodes and tensions between different visions of what constituted appropriate missionary work and of which AUB early history is made, it is potentially more fruitful to consider those tensions more closely as it would be likely to yield precious historical understanding of the process by which, in a space of two decades, AUB (and, to an extent, Robert College) went from an inappropriate idea for a missionary, – requiring Bliss (and Cyrus Hamlin) to leave the mission in order to pursue it – to becoming the showcase of Christian work in the Middle East. The nuancing of the story of what exactly was missionary and American in the genesis of AUB can also contribute to restoring non-missionary actors and voices to this story.

The second question concerns the idea of AUB as a point of convergence and contestation the unraveling of which continually redefines the campus and the University. A number of papers in this volume speak to the different ways various networks came together on campus and had a bearing on AUB's articulation of its own identity in an ever-shifting geo-political context. Most of the contributions in this volume dealing with the convergence of global networks pertain to the post-World War II period. Yet from its very inception, AUB's history was marked by its entry into various global networks. How quickly global influences can trump local exigencies is obvious from the speed with which the idea of an Arab president of the AUB was dropped in 1861 while the plan was still in its early months. In addition, the metropolitan networks were not the only global networks of reform ideas in the nineteenth-century. As Kobiljski has shown elsewhere, a new kind of college to educate youth for modern times was a need felt acutely from Tokyo to Beirut.[3]

In this volume, Kobiljski contributes an example from the 1860s; after being vetted by the Anglo-American philanthropic circles, the original idea of an Arab president for the AUB was quickly dropped while the original fundraising target was increased five-fold, going from a missionary request of $20,000 in 1862 to $100,000 prescribed by the donors the following year. Another shift, discreet and longer in the making, was to abandon a uniform hiring and promotion policy for Arab and American faculty. This seed of departure from the initial, more egalitarian, if paternalistic, vision of AUB first became visible in 1867 around the appointment of Dr. John (Juhanna) Wortabet. In that specific case, local exigencies overpowered pressure from the global networks. The objections to the appointment of an Armenian as a full professor "came from beyond the sea" and were countered by the likes of William M. Thomson – long-time missionary and author of the nineteenth-century American bestseller ***The Land and the Book***. He practically threatened those who objected when he said: "If the appointment of native professors is to be impossible simply because they are native, I must decline to have anything more to do with the college."[4] Seen as part of that history, along with the departures of Faris Nimr and Ya'qub Sarruf, about which much more has been written since the 1880s, these incidents can hardly be considered lone episodes, but rather represent the final acts of molding of the College according to the funders' ideas at the expense of local exigencies under way since the 1860s.

Abunnasr contributes an excellent example of the way in which AUB was physically (and mentally) cast and recast by interested parties from New England. In one of his letters to SPC President Daniel Bliss, Amherst's President William Tyler labeled the construction work on the Ras Beirut campus as the emergence of "another Amherst on the site of Ancient Berytus." While, to Daniel Bliss, this was a compliment paid by a former teacher and a friend, on at least three levels the remark begs historical analysis.

First, despite carrying the title of president, Bliss had far from Tyler's prerogatives in running AUB. In his own memoir, he describes that, in the late 1860s and 1870s, the College was run by a handful of faculty, and decisions were made in weekly meetings in which everyone had an equal vote.[5] Hence, simply put, early AUB was not Bliss's ship to run or model on Amherst.

Second, none of the founding documents or petitions mentions Amherst or any other college as a model or blueprint. As evident from the description of the proposed curriculum, the initial vision of AUB's founding fathers did not map comfortably on the liberal arts college model. Nor is this unexpected, considering that, with the exception of Bliss, none of the men involved with AUB's founding had an Amherst connection. There was no unique US college model as a reference among the founding fathers, and the institutions from which they came were so different that even the notion of a composite model has limited analytical utility. William M. Thomson graduated from Miami University in Ohio, Henry H. Jessup graduated from Yale, Cornelius Van Dyck graduated from Jefferson Medical College, and George E. Post from the College of the City of New York.

Third, the new AUB campus at Ras Beirut was not actually built on the site of ancient Berytus, as Abunnasr points out. And this ostensibly minor error hides the fact that Tyler missed the point entirely: the college was being built in an attempt to leave the city; not to be a part of it. As Kobiljski has shown elsewhere, rather than attempting to reclaim the city, College Hall was built in Ras Beirut, a far-flung suburb at the time, as an act of ***flight*** from the city of Beirut.[6] Despite all this, Tyler's metaphor remains a powerful, if not historically accurate, overseas projection on AUB; a nineteenth-century precursor of many other projections with which AUB would be involved in the twentieth century.

The materiality of missionary microcosm is perhaps the most obvious way the early AUB campus became a point of contact and negotiations between different networks. Abunnasr demonstrates the efforts made to legitimize the college by building out-of-scale and monumentally, while trying to construct a New England-like cocoon. Careful attention to the ostensibly tedious construction work on campus reveals a formidable spectrum of tensions: the missionaries' love-hate relationship with the city of Beirut, their will to dominate the situation and their surroundings, and their dire dependence on local help and cooperation every step of the way. Yet further research is needed to understand the nature of this cooperation in all its complexity, working with scattered and obscure references across different and disparate sources. It is precisely elements of the kind of research found in this volume that represent a refreshing direction for the history of early AUB (the SPC). Going beyond the reasons for which actors like Gharzouzi or Bustani were not given their due in missionary writing, it is for the next generation of early AUB historians to labor towards restoring local and hitherto marginalized actors to the formative years of the college.[7]

THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

The following, second part of this chapter deals primarily with the post-World War II period, which is the focus of many contributions to this volume. Shedding light on a range of aspects of AUB's history, these contributions also provide many insightful stories and fascinating bits of information. Building on them and on recent contributions to the transnational history of knowledge and education,[8] the rest of this chapter takes another look at AUB's history in light of three transnational contexts of that history. As will be seen, all three are known to the informed reader. As a matter of fact, if there is anything novel at all in what follows, it is how I have tried to conceptualize those contexts.

Let me start with a word on a context about which I know very little and hence am unqualified to talk about at any length (and which has not been addressed directly in the contributions): the Lebanese diaspora. All I dare say is that the sheer number of Lebanese AUB graduates living outside Lebanon who continue to visit their alma mater, to donate money, to be active in its alumni organization, and, crucially, otherwise to stay in contact with each other, suggests links between their and AUB's stories. Perhaps, AUB could be conceptualized as one of a handful of ***fixed*** institutions that lend some cohesion to a global diaspora whose very ***mobility*** inspired the saying "Would there be a road to the moon you would see a Lebanese ascending it."[9] Vice versa, the acquaintances fed by that mobility may be seen as part of the nature of AUB, if we think of it as a ***far-flung*** social universe rather than "only" as a ***fixed*** educational institution.[10]

Of the other two contexts, one is a variety of networks of knowledge, money, political power, and sociability: networks that, while global, had US and European gravitation points. The other context is a range of networks of applied knowledge, political-cultural ideas and practices, and sociability that linked AUB to the Middle East, and mainly to its Asian parts. (From now on, for simplicity's sake, I will call *global* transnational networks "global," and *regional* transnational networks "regional.") Even leaving aside the AUB-diaspora relationship, AUB was and is a very complex institution. It was, firstly, linked not to one, but to multiple global networks, and, secondly, was a key meeting point and arena of contestation between those networks and multiple regional networks. Sure, some networks were more powerful than others. But none was dominant to the point of simply eclipsing the others. In fact, and as we will see further below, the early post-war decades, which were the period of decolonization, witnessed increased contestation about questions of knowledge/education and of politics.

Let me turn, then, to global networks of knowledge and education with US and European gravitation points of which AUB was a part. I start with a general, non-AUB related, note on their genesis. The global networks that developed from the nineteenth century and during the twentieth differed from "the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment" of the eighteenth century.[11] "The concept of scholarly and scientific knowledge that prevailed during much of the twentieth century was inextricably linked to ... nineteenth-century forms – *university* and *discipline* –, and those forms in turn were dependent on the *nation-state* as the main organizer of scientific institutions."[12] Modern global knowledge and education networks were mainly built by academics and universities that belonged to specific nation-states and that were steeped in their specific knowledge traditions and interests. As a result, a "dialectic" was unfolding between "the national" and "the global." Nation-state universities and academics – the most powerful ones in the USA and Europe, but also others elsewhere in the world, e.g., in Japan or in South American countries – built global networks not simply to transcend and forget the nation-state. Rather, they did so in order to buttress their position within their own countries, and/or in order to help "perfect [their] national system" vis-à-vis global knowledge competition, and/or "to internationally push through [their] own [national] standards." Behind these moves were "considerations of national prestige, that is, in the colonial context, the objective of cementing power by consolidating cultural hegemony."[13]

On the one hand, the Syrian Protestant College (SPC)/AUB fits into this picture. After all, it was in some ways linked to the USA: to a nation-state, which also was a partly formal, but mainly informal empire. AUB's linkage to the US nation-state-*cum*-empire can be seen in many ways. It was institutionally chartered by Presbyterian Americans in the state of New York in 1863. It was for a long time overwhelmingly funded by private US money. Until today, many of its non-Arab faculty have been US citizens; and back in 1866, it was opened in Beirut and, until the mid-twentieth century, run by US missionaries who had come to the Middle East with deeply national concerns and considerations, as Maria Bashshur Abunnasr has shown here and Ussama Makdisi elsewhere.[14] It was part of a number of US schools opened in the late-nineteenth-century Middle East, including Robert College in Istanbul in 1863. Like its sibling schools, it competed with non-US, non-Presbyterian schools that were affiliated with other Western nation-state-empires; in Beirut, one its competitors was the French Jesuit Université de Saint Joseph, opened in 1875.[15] Such educational presence and accompanying competition was important not the least because the nineteenth-century United States was much less of a formal, political-territorial empire than, for example, France or Britain. Moreover, in the interwar period, education continued to be an arena in which American actors could, and wished to, mark global presence.[16] And after World War II – when US universities became central to global knowledge production and when air travel became much cheaper and easier[17] – AUB's *nation-state* link to the USA showed also in that AUB professors now commonly visited and taught at US (more than at any other nation-state's) universities, as John Meloy and Cyrus Schayegh remark.

On the other hand, AUB's linkage to the US nation-state-*cum*-empire was anything but straightforward. At its most basic, this is because AUB is not situated in the USA, i.e., not on nation-state territory, but overseas. (Not in Europe, though: hence, AUB differs from US institutions like the Johns Hopkins University SAIS Center in Bologna, Italy, or the American University of Paris, which were founded in 1955 and 1962, respectively, as a part of the US superpower's presence in post-war Europe.) As a result of AUB's position overseas, the nature of its place in global networks of knowledge and education differs from that of other (normal nation-state) universities, be they in the USA, Europe, or the global South. It has been woven into global networks not simply from a (US) nation-state base, but also through at least three additional ways.

First, the fact that US missionaries worked in different parts of the world, including East Asia, mattered (particularly during SPC/AUB's early decades). While the US base was powerful, it did not call all the shots. As Aleksandra Kobiljski has convincingly demonstrated here and elsewhere, experiences in one part of the world outside the USA – e.g., in the Middle East – influenced the US

base and operations in other parts of the world – e.g., Japan. Second, while many academic visitors to and teachers at AUB were Americans, AUB has also been tied into other, especially various European nation-state, networks of knowledge. (Historically, this may have had something to do with the fact that US universities became really dominant only after World War II.)[18] The magazine *al-Kulliyah* lists many examples of European visitors. And Hélène Sader's contribution to this volume indicates how in departments like archaeology, non-US research networks and styles – here, German and British – mattered.[19] Third and last, as Nuhad Daghir's contribution on agriculture makes clear, from World War II on, AUB graduates have made significant contributions to the region, not the least through their work for new international development agencies like FAO and UNDP, which have occupied an important place in the expanding universe of transnational expertise.[20]

Being situated in the Middle East, of course, has deeply shaped AUB.[21] Kobiljski has shown how competition with *nahdawi* institutions influenced AUB from its earliest days. An example was AUB's choice of Arabic as language of instruction up until the 1880s. Consider, also, Mansur Jurdak's "pride in our Arabism" that influenced his take on Islamic science, as George Saliba points out; and of the fourteen conferences in Arabic on contemporary Arab affairs featuring "the intellectual elite of the Arab world" that the Arab Studies Group organized from 1951 to 1967, as Meloy shows.[22]

Meloy's case excellently illustrates the networks of applied knowledge, political-cultural ideas and practices, and sociability that linked AUB, especially, to the Asian parts of the Middle East. As Kamal Salibi put it (in a Beirut-centric way), as related by Makram Rabah: "Can you imagine a modern Arab world without Lebanon? Can you visualize Lebanon without Beirut? And can you conceive of a Beirut without Ras Beirut and a Ras Beirut without AUB?" Of these regional networks, there are examples galore in this volume in addition to the cases mentioned by Meloy and Saliba. Sader notes that AUB-led excavations took place not only in Lebanon, but in Syria, too. Daghir shows how AUB-trained agricultural specialists worked in a number of Arab countries, and particularly in the Gulf. Daghir and Schayegh note the spread, especially in the Asian Middle East, of AUB alumni chapters. And one might argue that in the decades following the nakba, AUB functioned as the institution that de facto, though of course not officially, came closest to being the university of the stateless Palestinians.[23]

Two things are noteworthy about all these cases. First, there was no such thing as one single regional context for AUB operations. For example, different University departments, such as Agriculture or Archaeology, worked in different places. Presumably, this was because they operated under different constraints. Why, for instance, did AUB archaeologists work in Syria, but not, say, Iraq? The answer may have something to do with the independent politics of archaeology in post-Mandate Baghdad.[24] Second, the cases of Meloy and Saliba, each in its own way, indicate how the region "talked back." To be less dramatic: for the advocates of all sorts of nationalist causes – pan-Arab, Palestinian, as well as Lebanese, as Rabah and Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn show – AUB was prime real estate. While AUB certainly was not the only Beiruti arena for nationalist causes, it did play a significant role.

Why? Because, as noted earlier, AUB was a particularly dense meeting point and arena of contestation between multiple global networks and regional (Middle East) networks. More than that, in the early post-war decades – when Third World decolonization met the Cold War and student activism – questions of knowledge/education and politics became more contested, and state and non-state activism intensified at AUB. This was the case because AUB was highly accessible *from both* the USA and other parts of the globe, as well as from the Middle East. Hence, it also guaranteed easy access *to both* sides and great visibility *on both* sides. Such access and visibility were critical to Cold War state actors, as well as to decolonization-era non-state actors.[25] Moreover, AUB was autonomous from the Lebanese state and its organs, including its security forces; and although called "American" and well-networked to the US government, it was independent of Washington DC. Together, these two factors doubly facilitated state and non-state activism.

One set of actors were, as noted, (especially Arab and Palestinian) nationalists. Under the conditions of anti-imperialist decolonization, whether successful or failed, as in the Palestinian case, AUB became an arena for anti-colonial nationalist activism, which was aided by the very weak presence of the Lebanese state on campus. An exception, though not related to nationalist activism, is recounted by Michael Provence. In short, by the late 1960s, AUB was dubbed *Guerilla U*, as Betty Anderson has noted and Rabah shows here and elsewhere.[26]

Another set of actors were Americans. As Meloy and Schayegh indicate, following World War II the US government and "Big" US foundations like Ford and Rockefeller increased funding of AUB education and research programs for overlapping though not identical reasons. For all those actors, AUB's deep and wide regional networks and reputation made it the perfect place from which to develop technical-economic expertise for the region and to which to bring US government-funded students from across the region, a point addressed in Rasmus Gjedssø Bertelsen's contribution. Also, and almost

paradoxically, for the US government, an aiding factor was AUB's legal-institutional independence from Washington DC. This was an advantage in the charged climate of the Cold War, when any sort of formal, old-imperialist-style control was problematic for a superpower's Third World image.[27]

At the same time, this very independence gave agency to AUB's leadership. Schayegh's contribution suggests that both AUB professors and high AUB officials recognized AUB's worth to the US government and to US foundations, and that they used that knowledge to maximize fund-raising. This might have been important particularly because the University was expanding and because of the rising challenge posed by new state universities throughout the recently decolonized Middle East.

Last, but not least, it stands to reason that after World War II yet other sets of actors - specialists in new international agencies for instance, or student activists other than the afore-mentioned Arabs, Palestinians, and Lebanese - helped to extend and reshape the transnational and regional knowledge and social networks in which AUB played some role. Tracing such networks would be particularly interesting because it would extend our focus on AUB's US and Middle Eastern aspects.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we would like to identify certain historiographic gaps and to make four conceptual points. As is obvious from the table of contents, important swaths of AUB's institutional history have yet to be explored. Perhaps most acutely missing are studies of the interwar period. It is remarkable how little we actually know about AUB's relationship to the Mandate authorities and to St. Joseph University. Studies of institutional efforts to introduce physical education on campus during this period are still awaiting study, as is AUB's short-lived School of Music. Continued attention to the gendered nature of the work and life on campus would benefit from more attention to the entanglement of New England and Mediterranean social conservatism on campus. Similarly, attention to al-'Urwa's political activism has overshadowed the efflorescence of dozens of student societies during Bayard Dodge's presidency that were no less active or important to student life.

Our first conceptual point concerns Beirut. Fundamentally, the facets of AUB's story that we sketched out above - its three sets of networks: diaspora, global, and regional - were transnational manifestations of the phenomenal rise of Beirut from the mid-nineteenth century. As is well known, Beirut became a global trade and knowledge entrepôt, a regional economic and cultural gravitation point, an administrative center (and, from 1918-1920, a capital of its own country), and the transit point for hundreds of thousands of migrants, to boot.[28] Put differently, it turned into the most important transit space, meeting point, and arena of contest between people, goods, and ideas from ever-wider swathes of the Asian Middle East and the rest of the globe. For sure, AUB matters greatly to Beirut and is an integral part of it. But, as important - indeed more important, - AUB would not exist if Beirut had not become a global-regional (-diaspora) success story. In fact, as Kobiljski suggests, the very foundation of AUB is inextricably linked to the urban efflorescence that transformed a coastal town into a major port city and commercial hub between the 1860s and 1960s.

Second, it was precisely because AUB was woven into transnational networks and not simply (perhaps not even mainly) part of a (US) nation-state-*cum*-empire base that made it so attractive to political-cultural and knowledge actors during the Cold War and decolonization. Even in the age of nation-states - and perhaps *particularly* during it - institutions that were not (clearly) nation-state-centered filled a crucial function: whether in knowledge creation, in political-cultural activism, or in building social networks, they functioned as important meeting points.

Third, as a result, what ultimately characterizes AUB is not so much (simply) its missionary/US roots and networks, say, or its position in the Middle East. Rather, it is the multiple, stacked nature of the different transnational networks to which it belongs. Moreover, it does not have the same position in all networks. In some - most important, the regional ones - it can boast some centrality. In others - e.g., the global missionary ones - it was one node amongst others (e.g., in China). And in yet other ones - global knowledge and education networks that grew out of national interactions - it was and is quite peripheral.

Last, in view of the above, the unspoken working assumption that there is *one* AUB - i.e., that AUB is a singular thing - falls short of reality. The form and function of people at AUB in sociopolitical networks, say, could be quite different from those in knowledge networks. And even in the latter, some University departments were tied into different networks, some more US-centric than others, for instance. In sum, taken as a whole, this volume hints at the analytical utility of viewing and studying AUB not as "a thing," but as an arena of contestations and competitions. Converging and conflicting networks have forcefully shaped AUB history since its inception.

ENDNOTES

[1] Cyrus Schayegh would like to thank Emmanuel Szurek for comments on this text.

[2] Auxiliary work becoming *the* legacy of missionary labors is not particular to the context of Ottoman Lebanon or even the Middle East. For an example related to medical work, see Heather Sharkey, "An Egyptian in China: Ahmed Fahmy and the Making of World Christianities," *Church History* 78, no. 2 (2009): 309–326. See also Barbara Reeves-Elington's work on the informal work of women and domesticity as the core of missionary work: Barbara Reeves-Elington, *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013). For the repercussions and legacy of such work in the social and political sphere, see Beth Baron, *The Orphan Scandal: Christian Missionaries and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014). For examples beyond the Middle East, see for instance Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[3] For an insightful lay of the land of American philanthropic networks, see Kathleen D. McCarthy, *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700–1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[4] Henry Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910), 303.

[5] Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, edited by Fredrick Bliss (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920), 189.

[6] Aleksandra Kobiljski, "Learning to be Modern: American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto 1860–1920," (PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2010), chapter 4.

[7] For recent examples of the transformation of historical understanding through close attention to local actors, see Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Gregory Clancey, *Earthquake Nation: The Cultural Politics of Japanese Seismicity, 1868–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

[8] In particular, Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer, and Peter Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2004), esp. idem, "Editors' Preface," 9–14, Wagner, "Introduction to Part I," 17–25, Schriewer, "Introduction to Part III," 333–343, and idem, "Multiple Internationalities," 473–533; Eckhardt Fuchs, "Bildungsgeschichte als internationale und Globalgeschichte: Einführende Bemerkungen," in *Bildung International* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006), 7-25; idem, "Transnational Perspectives in Historical Educational Research," *Comparativ* 22 (2012): 7–14; Esther Möller and Johannes Wischmeyer, eds., *Transnationale Bildungsräume* (Göttingen: Vendenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013), esp. idem, "Transnational Bildungsräume," 7–20, and Sylvia Kesper-Biermann, "Kommunikation, Austausch, Transfer. Bildungsräume im 19. Jahrhundert," 21–42; Jürgen Schriewer and Marcelo Caruso, "Globale Diffusionsdynamik und kontextspezifische Aneignung: Konzepte und Ansätze historischer Internationalisierungsforschung," *Comparativ* 15 (2005): 7–30; Julia Hauser, Christine Lindner, and Esther Möller, ed., *Entangled Education. Foreign, National, and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon (19th–20th Centuries)* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2014). Last, the patterns I saw in the contributions to these volume obviously reflect my own thoughts: a study on why, in what we may call Greater Syria, inter-urban and regional socio-spatial networks grew tighter from about 1850, and hence after 1918 shaped the economies, culture, and even administrations of the new states, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, and Syria, while in turn being reshaped – "transnationalized," we might say – by those states. In that study, one aspect is Beirut's global connectedness, which turned that port city into the economic and cultural gravitation point of Greater Syria and, from the 1940s to the 1970s, of the Mashriq and much of the Arabian Peninsula too.

[9] Quoted from Hanna Hardan Khuri, *al-Akhbar al-Shahiyya 'an al-'Iyal al-Marj 'ayuniyya wa-l-Timiyya* (Beirut: Zaman, 1955), 94.

[10] The alumni magazine *al-Kulliyah* features countless notes about AUBites – often Lebanese, but of course also non-Lebanese – coming on visits, as well as about AUB chapters abroad. For a note on fundraising, e.g., see "The Educational Committee of the AUB in Pittsburg," *al-Kulliyah* 12, no. 6 (April 1926): 170–71.

[11] Wagner, "Introduction to Part I," 20.

[12] Charle et al., "Editors' Preface," 10. See also Wagner, "Introduction to Part I," 20.

[13] Möller and Wischmeyer, "Transnationale Bildungsräume," 7, 8, 8, 8. An example is Christophe Charle, "The Intellectual Networks of Two Leading Universities: Paris and Berlin, 1890–1930," in Charle et al., *Transnational Intellectual Networks*, 401–450. Already in the nineteenth century, US universities were also governed by market principles (unlike the two largest continental European university systems, those of Germany and France); see Pedro Krotsch, "Higher Education," in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), 482.

[14] Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), esp. ch.1. See also Sam Haselby, *The Origins of American Religious Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). I thank Aleksandra Kobiljski for this latter reference.

[15] As Kobiljski argues in her chapter to this edited volume, the other main competitor was the Wataniyya School. Larger view: Christophe Charle, "Enseignement supérieur et expansion internationale (1870–1930). Des instituts pour un nouvel empire?" in *Pour une histoire des sciences sociales*, ed. Johan Heilbron, Remi Lenoir, and Gisèle Sapiro (Paris, Fayard, 2004), 323–47.

[16] E.g., Sara Pursley, "'Education for Real Life': Pragmatist Pedagogies and American Interwar Expansion in Iraq," in *Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*, eds. Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan (London: Routledge, 2015); see also Brooke Blower, "From Isolationism to Neutrality: A New Framework for Understanding American Political Culture, 1919–1941," *Diplomatic History* 38, no. 2 (2014): 345–76.

[17] Compare, from the US perspective, Jenifer Van Vleck, *Empire of the Air. Aviation and the American Ascendancy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[18] For interwar roots of that dominance, see Krotsch, "Higher Education," 483.

[19] It would be interesting to ask how academics at AUB positioned themselves in transnational competitions between different national research styles.

[20] See, e.g., Amy Staples, *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945–1965* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2006).

[21] For how local conditions reshaped missionary work, see also Makdisi, *Artillery*, 9–10. Related, see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991) on colonized South Africans' appropriation of "white" Christianity; and see J. P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided. Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) for the contestations underlying colonial cooperation between the secular French state and Catholic missionaries.

[22] A separate note that is only tangentially related to AUB's transnational profile: until 1918, Ottoman imperial control of Beirut at times mattered. Tylor Brand illustrates this regarding administration and partly even education during World War I.

[23] This situation was rooted in the late Ottoman period as well as in the Mandate period, when neither Britain nor Palestinians built an Arab university in Palestine and, hence, many Palestinians studied at AUB.

[24] Magnus Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past: Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), ch. 5.

[25] Think of the reach and well-advertised nature of the post-war US "Point IV" Third World development program, for instance, and of spectacular Palestinian plane hijackings in the 1970s. Incidentally, Leila Khaled, who was involved in two hijackings in 1969 and 1970, and who "repeatedly stated that the aim of the hijackings was to gain international recognition of the plight of Palestinians," studied at AUB in 1962–1963 and was publicly active on campus. See http://www.answers.com/topic/leila-khaled, accessed September 15, 2014. Also, as Matthew Gordon notes, she gave "an appearance, on October 29, 1970, at the [AUB] Speaker's Corner."

[26] See Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), esp. chs. 5 and 6; Makram Rabah, *A Campus at War: Student Politics at the American University of Beirut, 1967–1975* (Beirut: Dar Nelson, 2009).

[27] This is an insight by Osama Khalil.

[28] Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-century Beirut* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: the Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Samir Kassir, *Beirut* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

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