Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883)
A Study of his Life, Achievements and Ideas

Pierre Georges Raffoul

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of European, Asian and Middle Eastern Languages and Studies

The University of SYDNEY
2001
ABSTRACT

This study of aspects of Buṭrus al-Bustānī: his Life, Achievements and Ideas is based primarily on his own writings that have been accessible to me. These include not only Nafīr Sūriyyā and Al-Jinān, but also his contributions to the proceedings of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (al-Jamʿiyah al-Sūriyyah lil-ʿUlūm wal-Funūn), as well as his introduction and relevant articles in his extensive Encyclopaedia (Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif) and in his major Arabic Dictionary (Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ). The main themes discussed in the chapters of this thesis are as follows.

Chapter one discusses the historical background and context of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s times, including the special position of Mount Lebanon within the Ottoman Empire, and the impact of foreign interference, Ottoman politics and local communal differences and conflicts. This chapter also discusses certain relevant social and economic factors especially in Beirut, and cultural and intellectual influences at work during the period in which Buṭrus al-Bustānī began his career. This historical background paved the way for al-Bustānī’s reform thinking.

Chapter two presents a brief discussion of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s life, including his formative schooling, and his activities in the fields of writing, translation, education and cultural life. He decided to lead an educational Arabic renaissance. His activities went far beyond theories and dwelled deeply on successful practical endeavours.
Chapter three deals with Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s role in journalism where he established four journals: *Nafīr Sūriyyā, Al-Jinān, Al-Jannah and Al-Junaynah*, and examines his part in the cultural reform through the societies that he participated in founding and was a crucial member of. He started his activities from the day he left Mount Lebanon to settle in Beirut. Al-Bustānī was a role model in his eagerness, enthusiasm and diversified works. His main focus was on what he perceived as helpful and beneficial to his people.

Chapter four discusses his practical role and contribution in the field of education and teaching, particularly his founding of the National School (*al-Madrasah al-Waṭaniyyah*) for all his compatriots, based on modern methods and programs. He applied in his School a secular curriculum and focused on the national patriotic idea. This chapter also examines the educational and cultural significance of his Dictionaries: the Circumference of the Ocean (*Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ*), the Diameter of the Ocean (*Qūṭr al-Muhīṭ*) and his Encyclopaedia (*Dā’irat al-Maʿārif*). His Dictionaries and his Encyclopaedia filled a huge gap in the Arabic educational circles, making him an outstanding pillar in the Arabic literary and cultural renaissance.

Chapter five concentrates on al-Bustānī’s political ideas, especially the notions of patriotism, freedom, government and authority, socialism and democracy, and separating religion from politics. Al-Bustānī focused on the patriotic and national concept. He based his vision on the basis of the land and the language plus mutual interests. He also advocated the need of separating religion from politics. He called for putting very clear borders between religious
and civil authorities. He argued that blind fanaticism stemmed from lack of faith and misunderstanding of religion. While al-Bustānī supported the Ottoman authorities and did not call for a revolution against them, he called for reform, civilization and equal rights between Turks and other inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter six discusses al-Bustānī’s social and cultural thought, especially his views on civilization and progress, and education-teaching, including the education of women. He identified civilization as internal and external ethics, knowledge, and moral values. He refused the artificial and false aspects of civilization. Al-Bustānī focused on the teacher’s efficient role as well as the home environment. He called for using the Arabic language because this benefited the language and made those who utilized it more helpful to their country. At the same time, he explored the potentials of learning foreign languages and applying western educational methods and strategies in the Arabic schools. For him, the education of women was a social and patriotic obligation.

The concluding chapter provides an overview of Buṭrus al-Bustānī role as a pioneer thinker, educator and reformer. The fact that he carried the torch of change and had an encyclopaedic mind enabled him to kindle the candle that enlightened the path for those who came after him.

The five appendices reflect an important aspect of al-Bustānī’s role in drafting constitutions, his views of the practical role of his National School, and his networking with his contemporaries.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have encountered many difficulties in the process of preparing and writing this thesis. However, my work was made easier through the help provided by a number of wonderful people. Heading this group is Professor Ahmad Shboul who supervised this research and thus I must commence by extending my sincere thanks and appreciation to him for his advice, guidance and support. He additionally allowed me to use his personal library, and dedicated much of his time for supervising this study. I also thank Dr. Nijmeh Hajjar who checked parts of my work during Dr. Shboul’s study leave and provided me with advice and guidance. I likewise extend my thanks to Dr. Maroun Kisrwani for his comments and help. I also thank the late George Khoury, Mr. Elias Bijjani and Mr. Sarkis Karam for their help in preparing the English version. My thanks also go to the helpful staff of the Fisher Library at the University of Sydney. I am also grateful to the Administration of the Library of the American University of Beirut from which I was able to obtain a number of copied issues of the Al-Jinān journal through the good offices of engineer Fares Melki and his colleague Ziad Abs, and Miss Aida Tabet. My thanks also go to Mr John Bisharah who allowed me to borrow some of his books, and to Mr. Boutros Indari who supplied me with some books and other material. Furthermore, I thank Mrs. Viviane Ghabach, Mrs. Lina Chahine, Mr. Anthony Geaitani and Mr. Joseph Finianos for their contribution towards the typesetting of this Thesis. I would like to thank my wife Nelly, my parents and family for their valuable and unconditional support.

Finally, I extend my best wishes for all these people, hoping that God would grant them ever more good health, happiness and prosperity.
DECLARATION

This work is the author’s own original research on the basis of sources available as of August 2001. All sources of information have been acknowledged. The author takes responsibility for errors and omissions.

Pierre Raffoul
# Table of Contents

**Abstract**

I - III

**Acknowledgements**

IV

**Declaration**

V

**Abbreviations**

IX

**Introduction**

X - XV

- References

XVI

## Chapter One

**Buṭrus al-Bustānī: Historical Background and Context**

The Historical Context:

Mount Lebanon, the Arab lands and the Ottoman Sultanate in the 19th Century.

- Political Background  
  2 - 13
- Economic and Social Conditions  
  13 - 19
- The Intellectual Milieu  
  19 - 23
- Aspects of the Intellectual Milieu in Mount Lebanon and the Coastal Cities  
  24 - 27
- Impact of the French Revolution on al-Bustānī’s Thinking  
  27 - 31
- References  
  32 - 36

## Chapter Two

**Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Life and Activities: A Brief Survey**

- Buṭrus al-Bustānī - a Biographical Sketch  
  38 - 50
- Range of Activities  
  50 - 58
- References  
  59 - 62

## Chapter Three

**Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Contribution to Translation, Journalism and Cultural Activities**

- Translation  
  64 - 67
- Journalism  
  67 - 68
- Nafrī Sūriyyā  
  68 - 71
- Al-Jinān  
  71 - 75
- Al-Jannah and al-Junaynah  
  75 - 76
- Al-Bustānī’s Role in the Founding of Cultural Societies  
  76 - 81
- The Syrian Scientific Society (al-Jam‘īyyah al-‘Ilmiyyah al-Sūriyyah)  
  81 - 84
- The Flower of Art Society (Jam‘īyat Zahrat al-‘Ādāb)  
  84 - 85
- The Eastern Scientific Academy (al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-Sharqī)  
  85 - 86
- Al-Bustānī’s Cultural Contribution Through Public Lectures  
  87 - 89
- References  
  90 - 93
Chapter Four
Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Role in the Field of Education
- Teaching and Program Preparation  96 - 98
- The National School (al-Madrasah al-Wataniyyah)  98 - 113
- The Educational and Cultural Role of al-Bustānī’s Encyclopaedias  114 - 114
- The Dictionaries  115 - 118
- Ḥusr al-Muḥīṭ  118 - 120
- Dāʾīrat al-Maʿārif  120 - 129
- References  130 - 134

Chapter Five
Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Political Ideas: Patriotism and Related Concepts
- Freedom (Ḥurriyyah)  137 - 138
- Government and State  138 - 140
- Sovereignty and Authority  140 - 141
- Socialism and Democracy  141 - 142
- The Lessons of the Civil War  142 - 144
- Motherland and Patriotism (Wataniyyah)  144 - 150
- Ottomanism and Nationalism  150 - 154
- References  155 - 157

Chapter Six
An Assessment of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Social and Cultural Ideas
- Civilization (Tamaddun) and Progress (Taqaddum)  159 - 162
- Education (Tarbiyah) and Teaching (Taʿlīm)  162 - 167
- Education of Women (Taʿlīm al-Nisāʾ)  167 - 173
- References  174 - 176

Chapter Seven
Buṭrus al-Bustānī: Pioneer of Social, Educational and Cultural Reform
- References  178 - 194
195

Conclusion  196 - 199

Appendices  200

Appendix 1
Constitution of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences  200 - 203

Appendix 2
Constitution of the Library of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences  204 - 205
Appendix 3
Members of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences According to the Joining Date 206

Appendix 4
Some Members of the Syrian Scientific Society 207

Appendix 5
Butrus al-Bustani’s Report on his National School at the End of its Eleventh Year 208 - 211

Bibliography 212 - 227
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Ādāb al-‘Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJS</td>
<td>Aʾmāl al-Jamʿiyyah al-Sūriyyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJ</td>
<td>Al-Jinān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>Buṭrus al-Bustānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI²</td>
<td>Encyclopaedia of Islam New ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJMES</td>
<td>International Journal of Middle East Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Nafīr Sūriyyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TN</td>
<td>Taʿlīm al-Nisāʾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The 19th century represented an important period of transformation for Lebanon and the Arab region. It is considered as an era of new intellectual and political awakening for Arabic culture. The introduction of Western influences helped the emergence of new attitudes, including the acceptance of equality among Muslims and Christians of the Ottoman Empire. This Arabic awakening, initiated by reformers and pioneers, has since occupied the interest of researchers and historians. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was one of the most important pioneers of this awakening. For example, he was the first to call for separation of religion from state affairs, to advocate women education and the appointing of officials on the basis of their qualifications and not on their social background. He was among the first to call for freedom, brotherhood, tolerance and equality. This present thesis focuses on the role of Buṭrus al-Bustānī the teacher as one of the leading intellectual and cultural activists who contributed significantly to the enrichment of knowledge among his people, and to the growth of patriotism and the ideas of progress in his society by calling for justice and equality among his compatriots, and thus becoming a role model. The work and influence of this great master and the substance of his aims are still relevant to our own times.

This thesis, which is entitled Buṭrus al-Bustānī: A Study of his Life, Achievements and Ideas, consists of seven chapters as well as this introduction and a conclusion. A number of scholars have dealt with the Arab awakening and alluded in one way or another to the activities and ideas of Buṭrus al-Bustānī.
Among the important modern studies, the work of George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (1938), has become a classic study of the Arabic movement. He identifies the political trends, which were prevalent in Syria, including Lebanon and the Arab East since the founding of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (*al-Jamʿiyyah al-Sūriyyah li-l-ʿUlūm wa-l-Funūn*) in 1847. Both Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī were instrumental in the founding of this Society.¹ Antonius points out that *Nafīr Sūriyyā* was “the first political journal ever published in the country” and it “contained the germ of the national idea.”² In his treatment of the intellectual aspects, George Antonius identified Buṭrus al-Bustānī as a great intellect who commanded a number of languages and left considerable Arabic scholarly production such as his Dictionary (*Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*) and his Encyclopaedia (*Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif*).³

In his book *Modern Arab Thought* (Arabic, 1943, English translation, 1983) Raʿīf Khūrī concentrates mainly on the effect of the French Revolution on Arabic thought in the Arab East, including the introduction of such new concepts as separating religion from state affairs, political freedom, patriotism, equality, and so on. Perhaps his real contribution was to put together samples of writings by Arab thinkers, including Lebanese, who were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution. Although Raʿīf Khūrī refers to Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Encyclopaedia in connection with the French Revolution and with such thinkers as Rousseau, he does not discuss Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s ideas and role.

Philip Hitti devotes chapter thirty-one of his book *Lebanon in History* (1957) to the impact of Western civilization on Lebanon and its modern awakening. In
his discussion of the intellectual renaissance, he puts Buṭrus al-Bustānī in the forefront of the leading and productive writers and scholars and considers him "one of the most learned in the entire Arab East." (4)

Zeine N. Zeine in his book *The Emergence of Arab Nationalism* (1958, revised in 1966) while discussing Arab-Turkish relations during the 19th century, also deals with the rise of ideas of Arab nationalism and Arab political awareness. His discussion is also useful for patterns of social and cultural change.

‘Abd al-Karīm Gharāybeh, in his book *Syria in the 19th Century* (*Sūriyyā fī al-Qarn al-Taṣīr* ‘Ashar 1962) highlights the leading role which the Syrian Christians played in the Arab awakening “and their leadership of scientific and intellectual movement in Syria, and also their considerable contributions in Egypt” (5) In a chapter devoted to cultural developments, he considers *Nafīr Sūriyyā* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī as “the first journal that called for brotherly relations between the religious communities of Syria (*Barr al-Shām.*)” (6)

Albert Hourani in his classic study *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (1962, revised 1983) highlights the role of al-Bustānī in “the growth of a sentiment of patriotism” (7) and in striving to create a new Arabic prose. Hourani examines the theme of Arab awakening in a number of other studies. In his *Islam in European Thought* (1991) he refers to Buṭrus al-Bustānī as a distinguished teacher, translator and scholar, who was highly regarded among Arab readers and within the foreign community living in Beirut, and he considers him as a competent Lebanese intermediary between Eastern and Western cultures.
Kamal Salibi devotes the seventh chapter of his book *The Modern History of Lebanon* (1965) to the Lebanese awakening, placing Buṭrus al-Bustānī high on the list of Christian pioneers who advanced the thought of renaissance. He argues that politics distracted Muslim reformers; “So it was that the age which in the Moslem world produced fiery revolutionaries like Nāmiq Kamāl and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, produced in Lebanon scholars and linguists like Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, writers like Jurjī Zaydān, and enterprising journalists like Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf, Fāris Nimr and Salīm and Bishārah Taqlā”⁸

Hisham Sharabi in his book *Arab Intellectuals and the West* (1970) reviewed a number of modern concepts introduced from the West, including the ideas of nationalism, Christian secular orientation and the notion of socialism, pointing out the widely influential role of Buṭrus al-Bustānī who dedicated his efforts to teaching, publishing journals, writing dictionaries and the ideas of patriotism and progress.⁹

In his book *Toward a New Society* (*Nāḥwa Mujtama‘ Jadīd* 1981), Nāṣīf Naṣṣār deals with the emergence of anti-sectarian thought in modern Arabic culture highlighting the role of two major thinkers: The first was Buṭrus al-Bustānī “one of the founders of the intellectual and linguistic renaissance” and the second was Shibli Shumayyil who was one of the shining lights of the philosophical renaissance.⁰ Nassār also singles out *Nafīr Sūriyyā* for discussion.

xiii
Halim Barakat, in his important book *The Arab World* (Arabic 1984, revised English edition in 1993), deals with the liberal current, which existed within the first generation of the Arab renaissance thinkers, a current that was especially represented by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī, among others who called for social liberty, rationalization and secularism. Halim Barakat’s study throws light on a number of significant issues in the history of Arab society, culture and politics.

Wajīh Kawtharānī in his book Social and Political Trends in Mount Lebanon and the Arab East from the Ottoman Mutesarrifate to Great Lebanon (*Al-Ittijāhāt al-Ijtima‘īyyah wal-Siyāsiyyah fi Jabal Lubnān wal-Mashriq al-‘Arabī min al-Mutašarrifiyyah al-‘Uthmāniyyah ilā Dawlat Lubnān al-Kabīr*, 1986) provides a general view of social and political developments during the first half of the 19th century, a discussion of the nature of political authority in Mount Lebanon, highlighting trends in the region, and the struggle against the Ẓāhirī tyrannical rule, as well as early 20th century history of Lebanon and Syria.

Charles Issawi’s *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa* (1982) illuminates the role and development of economic, commercial, industrial activities in the Arab East including Lebanon (and North Africa) during the 19th century and 20th century.

Apart from broader studies such as the above, mention should be made of two specific monographs, Jean Dāyeh in his Buṭrus al-Bustānī the Master (*al-Mu‘allim Butrus al-Bustānī*, 1981) concentrates on his political “nationalistic” thought (*Qawmiyyah*). However, Dāyeh tends to over-estimate this aspect of
Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s contribution. The second work is Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī’s A Man ahead of his Time (Rajul Sābih li-ʿAṣrihi 1994) is broader in its conception and treatment, and more balanced in its discussion. Al-Khūrī’s book deals in two long chapters with the life of Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his work, and Al-Jīnān magazine respectively. Although he examines various aspects of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, he concentrates primarily on his life and a general survey of his achievements rather than analysing important issues. Thus the perspective of Buṭrus al-Bustānī on religion, civilization, government, political authority, and the education of children are still in need of further study. This is also true of the need to consider Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s crucial role in the establishment of cultural-scientific thinking through the Societies and the press. This is what the present thesis attempts to do.
REFERENCES

2. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, pp. 49-50
9. Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West*, pp. 59-64
CHAPTER ONE

BUṬRUS AI-BUSTĀNĪ: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT
Buṭrus al-Bustānī was one of the most active and effective pioneers in the Arabic Renaissance not only in Lebanon, but also in the wider Arabic world. In attempting to study the significance of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s achievement and thought, it is crucial to consider certain political, socio-economic and educational factors that shaped his life and the era in which he lived. The historical and socio-political concepts which played a vital role in shaping the Arabic Renaissance, have been discussed by a number of modern scholars. (1) The main purpose of the discussion in this chapter is to set the historical background and context for al-Bustānī’s life and activities.

**Political Background**

Mount Lebanon in the 19th century was officially part of the Ottoman Sultanate, however it enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. This autonomy had its background in the Emirate period (1590-1840). Throughout the 19th century, Mount Lebanon suffered periods of rebellion, anarchy and sectarian conflict. This included resistance against the rule of Ibrāhīm Pasha, towards the end of the Egyptian interregnum in 1840, the subsequent discord between Christians and Druzes in 1840 and again in 1845, and the Maronite farmers’ rebellion in 1858 that erupted in Kisrawān against the feudal al-Khāzin and Ḥubaysh Maronite families. Perhaps the most brutal hostility for the period was the bloody conflict between Christians and Druzes in the year 1860. (2)
The historical background of the autonomy associated with Mount Lebanon had its origins with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'ānī, who was a muqaddam (chief) and multazim (tax farmer), but was eventually appointed by Sultan Salīm I (after 1516) as Sanjaq-Bey for the Sidon, Beirut and Safad districts, although theoretically under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Governor of Damascus. The Ottoman authorities did not practice direct hegemony over Mount Lebanon mainly due to difficulty of access for their army to this region with its diverse but fierce and strong cohesive communities. Thus the Ottoman authorities had to deal with Mount Lebanon Emirs in a special manner, entrusting them with the collection of taxes and the maintaining of security, peace and the guaranteeing of freedom of worship. This privilege of the Emirate remained with two successive families: first the Ma‘ānīs and then the Shihābs. In this realm, the Lebanese Emir enjoyed a distinct internal administrative independence.

The Druze Ma‘ānī family ruled Mount Lebanon through successive princes until 1697. The most prominent among them was Emir Fakhr al-Dīn II. His reign is associated with far reaching developments in the region under his control, such as recruitment of European engineers, doctors and experts in fortification, as well as encouragement of agriculture, forestation and development of the silk industry. Upon the death of the Ma‘ānī Emir ʿAḥmad Ibn Mulḥim, the Emirate was transferred from this Druze family to the Sunni Muslim Shihābs after a general meeting for the Mountain dignitaries in Marj al-Samqāniyyah in 1697, which decided on nominating Bashīr al-Shihābī of Ḥāsbayyā (Ahmad’s maternal nephew) as the Emir.
of Mount Lebanon. This decision was approved by the Ottoman authorities.\(^{(4)}\) Some modern Lebanese scholars have tended to consider this as an important indication of the kind of independence Mount Lebanon enjoyed during this period: Had the Ottoman Empire ruled Lebanon directly like it did with other provinces it would have been natural for the Sultan to appoint a Wali (Governor) in the Mount Lebanon as he did with other provinces. \(^{(5)}\)

Among the Shiḥābs, Emir Bashīr II (1788-1840) was most outstanding. The Ma'nī, and more especially the Shiḥābī period, witnessed increasing population movement between various parts of Mount Lebanon and between countryside and towns. During this whole period, there does not seem to have been any sectarian conflicts between the different communities of Mount Lebanon. In particular, Maronite-Druze co-operation characterized this period. Among other things, this period witnessed a process of population movement among the Christians of Mount Lebanon, particularly Maronite families, from the north to Shūf Mountain further south. \(^{(6)}\) It was in fact in this period that the Bustānī family seemed to have moved to this region. \(^{(7)}\) Emir Bashīr II also sent “the first Lebanese student mission to Egypt to study medicine in al-Qaṣr al-ʾAynī hospital and medical school that were founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī along modern lines.”\(^{(8)}\) Upon graduation most of these returned to Mount Lebanon as medical practitioners.

It was during Bashīr II’s reign that the Egyptian army of Muḥammad ʿAlī, under the command of his son Ibrāhīm Pasha, conquered Lebanon and Syria (1831). \(^{(9)}\) Bashīr II succeeded in maintaining his position and allied himself to
Muḥammad Ṭālib and his son's regime. Ibrāhīm Pasha gave more encouragement to European Christian religious missions thus enabling them to establish more schools in the region and strengthened the commercial exchange between Mount Lebanon and the rest of the Syrian areas under his control and European markets. On the whole, he practiced an open-minded policy towards the various religious communities and was known for his tolerance and magnanimity. He also established a council of twelve advisers divided equally between Muslims and Christians. Despite the numerous positive achievements of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the population of Mount Lebanon, and other parts of Syria, revolted against his policies of high taxes, military conscription and the obligatory disarming of the population. The rebellion united Druzes, Maronites, Sunnites and Shi’ites in defiance of the authority of Ibrāhīm Pasha and his ally, the Emir Bashīr II, and a general meeting (‘āmmiyyat) at Mār Ilyās Church in Anṭilyās, on the 4th of June 1840, of representatives of these communities pledged to maintain their resistance.\(^{10}\) Bashīr's campaign, on the orders of Ibrāhīm Pasha, to disarm the Lebanese rebels was unsuccessful.

European interference in Lebanon's affairs and the region began to take place at various levels. The Ottoman Empire at that time was getting weak. Muḥammad Ṭālib seems to have relied on French support, while England supported the rebels and provided them with armaments and ammunition. Ibrāhīm Pasha was forced to withdraw from the increasingly hostile region of Mount Lebanon, and the whole of Syria and Palestine, mainly under British and Ottoman pressure. As a result, his
ally, Emir Bashîr II, was sent into exile to Malta. It was in these circumstances of 1840 that the young Buṭrus al-Bustânî first appears in our records, acting as a translator for the British military expedition that arrived in Beirut at that time. Accordingly the exile of Emir Bashîr II to Malta resulted in the eventual ending of the Shihâbî Emirate in 1842, when Emir Bashîr III was ousted by the Ottoman Sultan and replaced by the Ottoman Army officer, ‘Umar Pasha, also well known as the Austrian “al-Nimsâwi.” (11) It was during Bashîr III’s reign that the first sectarian incident occurred between Druzes and Maronites. France was at that time supporting the Maronites, while England supported the Druzes.

Modern scholars have argued that the period of Ibrâhîm Pasha’s rule had significant consequences for the subsequent history of Lebanon (as well as Syria in general). This is especially in view of his policies, which led to the improved status of the Christians, and his use of Maronites to suppress the Druze revolt in Hawrân (1838). All this contributed to negative reactions against the Christians.

European powers and Ottoman authorities both played their role in fuelling elements of explosion and collision between the different religious denominations of Mount Lebanon. (12) Both British and French agents are perceived to have stirred up communal animosities. The Ottomans resorted to the imperialist tactic of divide and rule (furriq tasud). This vicious policy was personified in a dialogue that took place in Damascus in May 1860, between al-Mushîr Ahmad, Ottoman Governor of Damascus, commander of the ‘Arabstânî column on one side, and Mr. Brent, the English Consul in Damascus. They both met to look into the causes behind the
Druze-Maronite discord. The Governor is reported to have remarked that "There are two disasters in Lebanon, the Christians and the Druzes. When they slaughter each other we consider the event a big gain to the Sublime Porte."(13)

It is worth mentioning that prior to İbrāhīm Pasha’s rule religious diversity had not resulted in sectarian conflict in Mount Lebanon. Political affiliation had generally taken shape along tribal feudal lines, comprising in its ranks Christians, Muslims and Druzes side by side. The division was more along tribal lines often expressed as Qays and Yaman. (14) In times of conflict the population usually supported leaders on the basis of political, rather than religious affiliation. This was demonstrated, for example, when both the Maronite Ma’nīs Lama’iyyūn and the Druze Nakads opposed Emir Bashīr II and supported the sons of his cousin Yūsuf. Meanwhile Emir Bashīr II was supported by the Druze Janbalāt and ‘Imāds families. During the same period, the Druze Shaykh Bashīr Janbalāṭ is known to have built churches and monasteries for Christians in the Shūf region with his own money, including the Mukhallis Monastery (Dayr al-Mukhallis) for the Catholic Melchites, and the Mashmūshi Monastery for the Maronites. It is thus reasonable to conclude that political divisions in Mount Lebanon during that era were not necessarily based on religious affiliation.

The Ottoman authorities were perhaps becoming less interested in establishing communal harmony in Mount Lebanon, while European countries were more interested in interfering in Lebanon’s internal affairs for their own interests rather than those of the Lebanese. Against this background one can explain the agreement
between the European countries and the Ottoman Sultanate in 1842 on dividing Mount Lebanon into two administrative units, or Kaymakamates (Qā'īm Maqāmiyyat), along sectarian lines, whereby one of them was to be ruled by a Druze Emir and the other by a Maronite Emir. By dividing the region of Mount Lebanon into two along the Beirut-Damascus highway, England sought to establish its influence over the Druze Kaymakamate in the south, while France sought a similar role in the Maronite Kaymakamate in the north. On December the 1st of 1843, the Ottoman authorities appointed Emir Ḥāydar Abū l-Lamāʾ governor for the Christian Kaymakamate and Emir ʿĀḥmad Arslān ruler for the Druze Kaymakamate. Emir Ḥāydar had converted recently to Christianity while Emir Ahmad was unable to force his authority.

The population of the Northern Christian Kaymakamate according to official Ottoman documents was 47,700 and that of the Southern Druze Kaymakamate was as follows: “Druzes: 25,450, Maronites: 17,350, Melchites Roman Catholics:15,590. In addition 10,150 Druze residents lived at the Dayr al-Qamar Christian Kaymakamate. The total population of Mount Lebanon, in the double Kaymakamate, during that era was 213,070 residents, denominationally divided as follows: Maronites: 95,350, Catholic Melchites: 41,090, Christian Orthodox: 28,400, Druzes: 35, 600, Shiʿites: 21,330, Jews: 200. This official division did not help in easing the situation but eventually led to increasing sectarian tension. The bloody conflict between Maronites and Druzes in 1845 can be understood against this background.
With the introduction of the Kaymakamate’s regime, the Sultan became more directly involved in the appointment of administrative governors. England was successful in uniting the two Druze feudal families, Yazbaks and Janbalâts, who called for a general Druze meeting in the Mukhtarah town in Shûf. On the other hand, France and Austria’s diplomatic consuls arranged for the Maronites to hold a similar meeting in their Kaymakamate in response to the Druze activities. As a result of fear, mistrust and foreign interference, the spark of the 1845 discord took place. The bloody confrontation that followed led to numerous victims from both the Maronites and the Druzes, in addition to acts of destruction and harm that shook the whole of Mount Lebanon.

Another important event unfolded during the Kaymakamate era. The peasants in the Kisrawân Maronite region of Mount Lebanon declared a rebellion that was led by Tanîyûs Shâhîn against the al-Khâzin and al-Ḫubaysh Maronite muqāṭa’ī ‘feudal’ families in 1858. This Maronite peasant movement was a significant and unusual public phenomenon, the first of its kind in Lebanon’s modern history. It was the first revolt against iqtā’ lords, which aimed to free the oppressed peasants from injustices inflicted on them by ‘feudal’ families in every aspect of their life. The religious factor played no role in this movement.

Historians of that era looked into the most important elements that led to this revolution including: Absence of equality between the peasants and the iqtâ’ Sheikhs, absence of any guarantees given by the iqtâ’ families to the peasants, the personal safety of the peasants was not provided, the Sheikh’s abused the authority
granted to them by the Ottoman Sultans. Furthermore, an increased awareness about western concepts that made the people eager for milieus of freedom, equality and for the right to live in peace under the umbrella of justice and law.

The peasants in their revolution raised the following demands: The equality in paying taxes, that Sheikhs pay also tax to the Sultanate not only peasants, the cancellation of the marriage and feast gifts imposed by the Sheikhs, the application of general equality granted by the Sultanate to all subjects, not to the Sheikhs only. They also demanded the giving of the Ma‘mūr position (the responsible individual appointed by the Ottoman authority) to a righteous person capable to rule with justice and protect the people from harassment and unjust practices. They asked that one or two deputies be chosen from the people to help the Ma‘mūr. They wanted the Ma‘mūr to have the legal power that enabled him to put the Sheikhs on trial like the rest of the people when they break the law. (17)

The Kaymakamate system brought with it some advantages. One of them was the new role granted to Lebanon’s different religious denominations. They were given the opportunity to participate in ruling the country through advisory councils. This participation was a prime preparatory step towards democracy; it paved the way for the public representation concept. It is worth mentioning the effects of the Paris treaty that was signed by the Ottoman Empire and the European countries in 1856 following the Crimea war. This agreement had a great impact on the Empire’s policies towards its non-Muslim subjects, on the Arab Renaissance, and on the seeds of revolution. (18)
“In 1856, during the Crimea War, the sultan issued a further declaration of principles: *Hatt-i Humayun*, which defined his aim as being the happiness of all his subjects alike, confirmed all the guarantees given in the previous Decrees, and all spiritual privileges ever given to non-Muslim communities, and declared that there would henceforward be no inequality on grounds of religion, language, or race.”(19)

The Ottoman authorities interpreted the Paris treaty as an European vehicle to weaken both its grip and authority over its own territories, and as a form of bold interference in its own internal affairs. It was very clear that the Ottoman Sultanate did not intend to force equality among its different subjects who were of numerous ethnicities and religions, by its decree. It was more a camouflaging manoeuvre aimed to appease the European countries and put an end to their alleged right in protecting the Christian residents of the Ottoman Empire. Russia claimed to be the guardian for the Christian Orthodox and wanted to protect them. France and Austria had the same pretensions towards the Catholics and claimed that their intention was to protect them from persecution. England also played the same game and appointed itself a Godfather for the Druzes. In a real sense, these pretensions of protection were deceptive, manipulative and fake. The main objective of the European powers was to protect their own interests and strengthen their presence in the East at a time when the Ottoman Empire was at its lowest point.

The Ottoman authorities decided to establish a Council in each of the two Kaymakamate and endowed them with the responsibility to look in all judicial
cases. The members of the two Councils were dignitaries from each denomination known by their ability. They were elected by majority of votes and fulfilled the Sultanate requirements: No prior employment with the foreign embassies or consulates, never before living under foreign protection, only from the residents of the villages and towns that are located in the Mount Lebanon region. (20)

The Kaymakamate system lasted for seventeen years during which the 1860 discord erupted, best known as the “Sixties Slaughter.” The European powers as well as the Ottoman authorities fuelled the discord and played a devious role in its escalation. In August of 1860, France sent its troops to Lebanon under the disguise of protecting the Christians, but by the time they arrived the conflict was over. In 1861 Mount Lebanon entered the al-Mutasarrifiyyah era as a result of an agreement between the European powers on one side (France, England, Russia, Austria and Prussia) and the Ottoman Empire on the other side. This new system lasted until 1914. The Mutesarrifate era, was a crucial period in Lebanon’s history. Seven Ottoman non-Lebanese, Christian Mutesarrifs governed Lebanon under its jurisdiction. Corruption and discords characterized their reign. The Ottoman authorities, through the governors inflicted numerous atrocities, pains and infringements on Lebanon and its people during the Mutesarrifate reign, including extensive official corruption, mismanagement and bias.

Despite difficulties, hardships and infringements, the active hard working, and determined Lebanese people were able to adapt and build their own country and prosper. On the whole, security and peace prevailed, economy and education
flourished. Lebanon became a distinguished country among all the Ottoman Empire’s, Asian and European provinces.\(^{(21)}\)

During the Mutesarrifate era, Lebanon lost the privilege that distinguished it from other Ottoman colonies. The Lebanese people lost the right to have their own governors. This has been considered a setback, which came as a result of the European-Ottoman conflict and Lebanon paid the price. Butrus al-Bustānī’s career spans the Kaymakamate and part of the Mutāṣṣarifīyyah period.

**Economic and Social Conditions**

Trade links between the Arab East and the European West began long time ago. A number of social and economic developments eventuated in Beirut and the region during the middle of the 19th century. The period that stretched from 1845 until 1863 experienced a vast improvement. The population of Beirut had increased from ten thousand to forty thousands,\(^{(22)}\) together with cultural, social, commercial and urban growth. The number of merchants had increased in the Ottoman provinces, because of free trade and the trade exchange between the region and European and American countries. “While one silk factory was built in 1845 in the village of Btātir (in the Shūf town), the number of such factories had increased in 1860 to five or six.”\(^{(23)}\) Buṭrus al-Bustānī realised that Lebanon’s position is crucial as a central meeting point for the Arab East and the West. He thus argued that it must be effectively utilised for extreme benefit in a similar fashion to what our ancestors the people of Phoenicia had done. This position represented a source of
richness for the East, which would attract the fortunes of the West and its industries, as well as a door that the West could use to enter through to the East and vice versa. (24)

During the reign of Emir Fakhr al-Dīn II, commercial activities took place between Mount Lebanon and parts of Europe. European Commercial ships from France, England and Venice brought numerous foreign goods to the port of Beirut. On their way back home, these ships carried to their own countries Lebanese and Syrian-Palestinian goods e.g. cotton, wheat, liquor, honey, wax, wood etc. With the progress of commerce, many European countries opened their own consulates in the Lebanese coastal cities of Sidon, Tripoli and Beirut, as well as Aleppo and Damascus.

The Egyptian occupation of Lebanon and Syria helped Beirut port to become the prime port in the region. Meanwhile Beirut itself became a regional headquarter for foreign consulates and a prime centre for commerce and industry. It was regraded as one of the most prosperous cities in the whole Ottoman Empire. Beirut’s proximity to the Mount of Lebanon gave it many advantages. During the late 19th century it was known as the pearl of the Ottoman Crown. (25)

After the defeat and withdrawal of the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha, England and the Ottomans entered Beirut. It soon became the main port city and urban centre instead of Sidon. Schools and roads were built and the city started to attract more residents.
Beirut’s population increased by many thousand, and its residents started to build their homes outside the old city’s borders. Before 1831 it was not familiar to see an European lady dressed with a green outfit walking the Beirut streets, or to see a man holding the hand of a woman outside their home. “Christian and Muslim women at that time used to wear veils when in public areas.”

The social life changed dramatically in Beirut after Europeans started to move in and out freely. Their number increased and reached one hundred families in 1840. Jurjī Zaydān attributes this development to numerous factors which included “Tremendous increases in commercial activities (import and export), establishment of many modern schools.” Many cafés were opened to provide services to the Beirutis and their guests. Residents used to spend their leisure time at these cafés drinking coffee, smoking the Narghile (Nārjīlah) and listening to heroic tales about ‘ Antar Bin Shaddād, Šalāḥ al-Ḍīn al-Ayyūbī and Baybars. Hundred and fifty was the estimated annual number of commercial English ships that entered the Beirut Port during this period. The Beirutis were very proud that their city had the best European markets with shops owned and run by Greek, Maltese and Italian businesspersons. Italian and Greek merchants came to invest in Beirut. They built several modern hotels and ran them effectively. The foreign language in common use was initially the Italian, but later on the Beirutis shifted to the French Language. At the present time certain Beirutī families still carry foreign surnames. Basillā, Abellā, Yannī, Bādlī and Castaflis are among the many surnames carried by many Beirutis in our day. This exhibits plainly their foreign roots that
could be traced to that era. This phenomenon gives a good idea about the successful mingling of the different races that took place in the city of Beirut at that time because of its well-known port. Zeine N. Zeine attributed to Gregory Wortabet the following narrative of Beirut: “Beirut stores were stocked to the brim with numerous and different goods made in Europe and the United States. Tourists did not find any difficulty seeing in the Beirut shops an assortment of exhibited goods imported from the Western Indies, as well as cotton textile from Manchester in England and from Scotland, silk from France and handkerchiefs from Switzerland. Those who knew Beirut twenty years ago (in year 1835) and recognize how it turned to be now (1855) can tell the difference. This change is like the difference between night and day”. (29) Soon, the banking system witnessed tremendous progress and enormous growth on all levels. (30) Between 1859 and 1862, a French construction company established the Beirut-Damascus highway. (31)

Meanwhile a wealthy group of Christian and Muslim merchants emerged and formed a new social class. They joined the other wealthy class but had no aristocratic roots like its members. This new class controlled the country’s economy and formed with other groups of professionals a third social class. The other two were the old iqtā’ī class comprised of Emirs and Clergymen, and the lower class encompassed peasants and labourers. (32)

According to Lewis Farley, who resided in Beirut in 1863, with the following anecdote: “These merchants who were foreigners initially were replaced by Lebanese nationals. They mastered the import- export business and became
extremely professional in this field. They even hired private ships to import and export their own goods to and from Beirut. They built for themselves big Eastern and Western style palaces surrounded by beautiful gardens.” (33) Lebanon also was importing goods from England, Austria, France, Italy (Napoli, Rome, Sardinia) Tuscany, Greece, Russia, Norway, and Holland. At the same time it was exporting goods to England, Austria, France, Turkey, Jerusalem, Sardinia, Tuscany, Greece, Russia, United States of America and Holland. (34)

The two way open commerce policy between the Mutessarrifate and Western markets left the local industry crumbling and unable to compete with the imported goods. The leather and dying industries was hit badly in many villages. The baskets and pottery industry as well as many other manual industries could not continue in business. All the local industries that were run by simple and primitive machinery lost the local markets and could not compete with the quality and prices of the foreign imported goods. Many manual historic trades in numerous towns and villages, especially in Mount Lebanon, ceased to exist because of the unfair competition.

Other local privately run industries had to modernize their machinery and production processes in a bid to remain in business e.g. furniture, shoes and pipes factories. Very few industries were less affected e.g. weaving of decorated textile and manufacturing of silk.

Agriculture was the other sector that was negatively and vastly affected. Many farmers abandoned their mountain farming land and headed to the big cities
searching for work that yielded more profit. Farming during that era was a laborious task with very little profit, if any. Many Lebanese during that time immigrated not only to the big cities, but also to other countries.

The social set up of the mountain communities was agricultural in nature. Apart from Christian and Druze iqṭāʾi men as well as clergymen, the rest of the population were peasant farmers who worked as partners on a land that they did not own. Their share was at most only one third of the yields with no other benefits what so ever. Crops were sold through middlemen merchants like the Maronite al-Dūmānī family of Dayr al-Qamar town. The Shihāb Emirs used to sell most of their silk crops through these merchants. Meanwhile another middleman, Mr. Buṭrus al-Aṣfar used to sell al-Khāzin family silk to Damascus and to other cities. Mīkhāʾīl Țūbiyyā was the only middle man with the sole privilege to sell the entire Dayr Qazhāyyā Monastery products and crops. He was also the businessman whom the Matn Christian rulers, Abūʾl Lamaʿ Emirs, trusted and dealt with.”

Mount Lebanon’s peasants lived a very simple life. The walls of their houses were built either of mud or of untrimmed (uncut) stones, while the roofs were made of tree logs, wood and soil. The house had very small windows and the majority of the village houses were similar to each other. Meanwhile, iqṭāʾi men houses were very big, spacious, built from trimmed stone and had red tile roofs. This type of roofing was introduced to Lebanon under Emir Fakhr al-Dīn II. The Europeans, specially the Italians, used it in building the Princes’ palaces. Peasants wore the
classic Mount Lebanese attire that was different from the expensive European style outfits which the rich *iqṭāʿ* families were able to afford.

Lebanon’s peasants lived a very cohesive and gregarious social life. They supported each other in good and hard times and practised their religious rituals freely. Christian women and men did not mingle publicly, but did so during work. “Women in public had to cover (with a veil) their head, neck, both arms up till the wrist and both legs.”(36)

**The Intellectual Milieu**

Mount Lebanon’s intellectual openness toward the West can be said to have started with the establishment of theological educational institutions as well as the Maronite School in Rome in 1584, sixty-eight years after the Ottoman conquest. The Maronite School produced the elite of highly educated Lebanese Maronite clergymen who had a considerable impact on the education sector not only in Lebanon but also in the whole region. Some of these clergymen settled in Europe and taught in its universities, while the majority returned to Lebanon and served their Maronite Church and its educational institutions. They became leaders in initiating the cultural interaction between the West and the East.

They established modernized Westernized schools, especially in the Mount Lebanon. These schools taught the Arabic, Syriac, French, Latin and Italian languages. “They paved the way for the literary renaissance movement that later...
spearheaded the scientific and intellectual renaissance movement in the whole region.” (37)

While the Maronite School of Rome played a pioneering role in channelling and structuring Arabic studies in European universities, (38) it also led to the spread of Western languages and sciences in the Eastern Arabic World. The Maronite clergymen established the first Lebanese campus for the Maronite School of Rome in Lebanon in 1624. (39) It was located in North Lebanon and known as the Hawqā School. In 1707, the Jesuit Monks established the first ‘Aynṭūrā School; and the Zghartā School in 1735. In 1752, the first public school was built in the town of Dayr al-Qamar by the Lebanese-Aleppine Maronite Monastic Order. It was the first school that both Princes’ children and those of the peasants could attend together. The Sitt Ammūn Shihāb, mother of Emir Yūsuf Shihāb initiated this project. She endowed to the monks a huge piece of land in Dayr al-Qamar and encouraged them to build the school. Her conditions were documented in the monastic order's record as follows:

"The Lebanese-Aleppo monastic order has built a church in Dayr al-Qamar the Emir’s town and his headquarters, and established on the same estate a school to teach children. This school hosted children (boys) of the Maronites, princes and also all those of the village." (40)

In 1831, the Lazarists Order (al-Ābā’ al-‘Azāriyyūn) established the second ‘Aynṭūrā School at the ‘Aynṭūrā village. At the same time the Three Moons School (Ma‘had al-Thalāth Aqmār) was established in Beirut. In 1843, the Jesuit Monastic
Order established their school at the town of Ghazīr. In 1834, the American Missionary established in Beirut the first school for girls, where female education was neglected in the country. \(^{(41)}\)

All these schools taught Arabic as the first language, in addition to English, Latin, Italian, Syriac and French languages. The Arabic language maintained its vitality and ability to survive despite numerous attempts to marginalize contain and cancel it. When the renaissance movement started to flourish, the Arabic language came out of its temporary dormancy and played an important leading role in the intellectual revival. As Mārūn ʿAbbūd once put it, “the Arabic language did not die to re-emerge, but it was temporarily protected and shielded in two safe caves: the Monasteries of Lebanon and the Muslim Azhar University of Egypt.” \(^{(42)}\)

It is worth mentioning too that the Shīʿah scholars of Jabal ʿĂmil in South Lebanon maintained the Arabic language in their teachings. The material taught in that Lebanese region was limited at that time to theology, Arabic language, principles of mathematics and the Shīʿah history. The important contributions of these isolated scholars helped to a great extent in preserving the Arabic language. \(^{(43)}\)

The Druze theology teaching at their secretive worshipping shrines (Khalwāt) was also carried solely through the Arabic language. At the same time the process of manually writing the Druze religious books have helped in preserving, protecting and promoting the Arabic language.
‘Ayn Waraqah School was one of the most outstanding educational facilities the Maronite clergymen, the graduates of the Maronite School of Rome have established in Lebanon. Many of Lebanon’s renaissance movement pioneers taught at this school like Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Bishop Yūsuf al-Dibs, Rashīd al-Dāhdāh and many others. Originally, ‘Ayn Waraqah School was the Saint Anthony Monastery. Patriarch Yūsuf Iṣṭīfān a graduate of the Maronite School of Rome changed the monastery’s name in year 1789 and made it the ‘Ayn Waraqah School. “He wanted it like the Maronite School of Rome.” (44) It was inaugurated by Iṣṭīfān’s successor Patriarch Yūsuf al-Tayyān who himself was also a graduate of the Maronite School of Rome. ‘Ayn Waraqah School taught in four languages, Arabic, Syriac, Latin and Italian.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, France invaded and occupied Egypt. To serve their policies and aims the French under Bonaparte’s command, brought with them an Arabic printing press and the equipment needed for the establishment of two Arabic newspapers.

The French impressive educational activities in Egypt opened the Egyptian eyes on a new world of linguistics, sciences and education as can be gauged from al-Jabarti’s History. Later on, Muḥammad ‘Alī, the Ottoman Albanian Governor of Egypt, resorted to education as a vehicle to solidify the pillars of his reign. He established schools and sent educational missions to the West. All these activities helped in promoting the Arabic language.
In the same realm, the Egyptian military campaign against Syria and Lebanon that was led by Ibrāhīm Pasha helped in encouraging and facilitating the educational activities by both local and foreign groups. "It awakened Arabic national awareness among students." (45) Ibrāhīm Pasha provided the appropriate milieu of tolerance and freedom for Western missionaries to move in to Lebanon and start their activities and opening modern Western-style schools. These missionaries played an important role in the emergence of the intellectual renaissance movement. The nineteenth century witnessed the modern Arabic renaissance movement; (46) and the Lebanese intellectuals played a leading and outstanding role in this renaissance.

This period witnessed the establishment of modern Arabic and foreign printing presses. The first was located at the Saint Qazhayyā Monastery in 1610. It used the Karshūnī (Arabic written in Syriac alphabet) alphabet letters. Deacon ʿAbdallāh Zāhkir established the first Arabic printing press in Lebanon, in the Greek Catholic Monastery of al-Shwayr in the North Matn region in 1731. The first printing press established in the Lebanese capital, Beirut, was the Saint George press in 1751. In 1834 the American Protestant missionaries moved to Beirut the press that they had in Malta. The Jesuit Catholic Order established their own printing press in Beirut, in 1848. (47)
Aspects of the Intellectual Milieu in Mount Lebanon and the Coastal Cities

The 19th century witnessed such literary and intellectual activities expressed in Arabic that this period is generally considered as the period of Renaissance in modern Arab history. The Western enlightenment movement appealed to the Arabs and fascinated them. As Jabbour Abdel-Nour observes, “In the 19th century many Arab individuals were fascinated by the West and dazzled by its achievements. They stood helpless unable to describe their experience or express their reactions. Meanwhile a minority of them maintained their balance deriving the power of resistance energy from their ancient roots. They looked on the Western development and examined its evolution in the realm of a social phenomenon.” (48)

Butrus al-Bustānī was among that minority, although he did not visit any Western country. The role of educational institutions established by Catholic and Protestant missions was important in providing the fertile soil for the emergence of translation and linguistic movements. Mastering foreign languages was a prime factor especially in Mount Lebanon and in Egypt.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt and the Ottoman Sultanate were determined to utilize Western science in developing their armies and administrations. They hoped to learn from the West in the military, economic, administrative and educational sphere. However, the Lebanese leaders of the renaissance movement aimed to spread education, scientific knowledge and technology because they believed in the importance of educational enlightenment in the development of society.
The Arab intellectuals through their activities contributed to the growth and spread of attitudes of tolerance and rationalism. They dreamed of erecting a new kingdom for knowledge and reason. They wanted to assess from a rational point of view and re-evaluate all prevailing social concepts and the standards behind them. The enlightening movement was also characterized by a strong belief in the urgent need for social and educational development and progress. At the same time the intellectuals strived to liberate their society’s thinking from being subservient to the tyranny whether political, economic or social.

The Lebanese thinkers were greatly influenced by the contemporary European social and intellectual concepts, practices and applications in the realm of social rationalization. Many of the French Revolution ideas were appealing to the educated classes in the Arabic World and well understood by them. The Arab educated class looked with hope for change, national achievements and progress. They despised tyranny, stagnation, and ‘feudalism’, that dominated the regimes in the region.

The emergence of this milieu could be attributed to several factors, including the tremendous effects of the international market, and the increase in the Western-style education. In this context the Arab intellectuals were fascinated by well known French theories, especially those of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau. Montesquieu came with very interesting analysis and challenged openly the prevailing social status quo. His theories were revolutionary and appealed to certain classes of people that were endeavouring to liberate themselves. The same positive
receptive attitude was taken in regards to Montesquieu’s concept of “specific needs and specified circumstances”, “time and space”, were basic determining factors of laws and constitutions provided a wholly fresh vantage point from which to understand history and society.”  

Even a preliminary survey of the writings of the Arab renaissance pioneers would show clearly the impact of the new ideas. These included the idea that People must participate in the ruling of their country, and accordingly they must be well prepared for this task. Laws and regulations must be changed with the change of circumstances. What could be useful at a certain time and in a certain milieu might not be so under a different milieu and another time. An apparent stress on the importance of geographical circumstances and their effects on formulating legislation. These concepts support the right of societies and cultures to be heard and respected when any country puts legislation.

Meanwhile Montesquieu’s concepts addressing the need for separating the state’s authorities have led to revolutionary results. “Not only for the existing political system but also for the theoretical foundations of the traditional Islamic views of society and the state.” According to Hisham Sharabi, the Lebanese Christians considered these concepts as vital rational means for change, evolution and development. At the same time they adopted Montesquieu’s concepts that preached tolerance and forgiveness. They advocated the application of these ideas and recognized fully the advantages that could be yielded if such new concepts addressing political and social tolerance could be applied.
On the other hand, Rousseau's concepts addressing public sovereignty and will, as well as those focusing on natural and human rights were not fully understood, and accordingly their effects on the Middle East societies were not clear. "His influence remained uneven: the impact of *contrat social*, which was enthusiastically read in French as well as in Arabic, was probably owing more to its tone rather than to its content. This work had a strong emotional appeal, and it generated much enthusiasm for Rousseau's more romantic aspects." (52)

Voltaire's writings were very influential on the Arab intellectuals because of his critical style, open opposition to clergymen, criticism for blind fanaticism and fight against lack of tolerance. Meanwhile, Arab intellectuals who received their education in American Schools were fascinated by the ideas of Mill, Darwin, Spencer and Huxley that advocated individual freedom, evolution and social-religious principles of tolerance.

**Impact of the French Revolution on al-Bustānī's Thinking**

The ideas associated with the French Revolution and its period in Europe had a significant impact on the Arab lands and the Ottoman Empire. (53) These ideas influenced the theoretical anti-despotism that led to liberation later on. Liberal European ideas associated with the French Revolution appealed to Turkish and Arab intellectuals and made them dream of freedom, fraternity, equality, and justice, and encouraged intellectuals to walk paths of revolution, defiance and
rebelliousness.\(^{(54)}\) It also made the people aware of vital causes and issues including national affiliation, freedom, equality, natural and human rights.\(^{(55)}\)

The influence of the ideas of the French Revolution can be seen in Butrus al-Bustānī's famous statement highlighted in his famous journal *Al-Jinān* that the most essential of human rights of man is freedom: freedom of thinking, freedom of expression and freedom of work. He was convinced that the most important factors in the progress of nations were social freedom, political freedom, and religious freedom. Al-Bustānī argued that the first indication of a free civilized life is exhibited by the kind of liberty people enjoyed in expressing and fulfilling all their natural and human rights with equality. Another indication was peoples' readiness to fight for these rights when deprived of them because of oppression or other reasons, and their continuous striving to protect these rights, improve them and solidify their presence. The most important foundation for free and independent governments is a legislation that protects basic rights of the people and renders them accountable in defending their rights in the face of tyrants and rulers who infringe on them.\(^{(56)}\)

All these concepts that reflect inspiration from the French Revolution made a number of Arab intellectuals focus on new ideas and pursue means for applying them in everyday life. The more these intellectuals became aware and acquainted with European thought and culture, the more they became scientifically driven in their thinking.
The Arab intellectuals, specially the Lebanese who had established close relationships with the West through missionary schools, did not feel the need to justify to their people these Western ties or the Western influence on their production and life style. Instead, they deemed it beneficial to make their people aware of the advantages of modern progress.

The focus on education and knowledge and the great interest in concurrent world issues did not necessarily make all Arab intellectuals adopt Western scientific trends. Many of them were only interested in European literary and not in European scientific revolution.

One of the first notable modern Arabic educators in the region in the 19th century was Shaykh Nāṣif al-Yāzījī. Most of the Arab writers during that era were directly or indirectly al-Yāzījī’s students. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was another leading educator in this era although his impact was in a different track from that of al-Yāzījī. Buṭrus al-Bustānī devoted his life to writing and teaching. He devoted considerable time and energy to reviving the Arabic language and making it more appealing to Arabs. He and his students were important pioneers of modern Arabic journalism and Arabic literary revival in general.¹⁵⁷ Nāṣif al-Yāzījī, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and their students were pioneers in creating a modern Arabic style of writing characterized by simplicity, precision of expression and ability to convey concepts of modern thinking.

A significant aspect of al-Bustānī’s effort was his emphasis on promoting an attitude of openness towards the West in modernity as he believed in and advocated
particularly illiteracy, ignorance, hatred, sectarianism, blind fanaticism, spirit of revenge and lack of faith. (59)

By the time the 1860 conflicts were over, Lebanon was crippled in all aspects, very weak, distorted and lacking harmony and unity among its people. Winners and losers of these conflicts alike, found themselves facing the same consequences of civil war, including hardships and problems of poverty, massive destruction, immigration and displacement of people. Devastating social and moral ailments affected the Lebanese Society. They led to decline in living standards and to distortion of human values and principles. On the top of all these difficulties, hatred and revenge were widespread.

In the midst of all these Lebanese problems and disasters Buṭrus al-Bustānī found himself shocked and helpless but motivated to do some thing. He started thinking of means and ways appropriate to change, not only in the Lebanese society, but also the Arab East in a bid to put an end to the state of the prevailing social disintegration and backwardness. His teaching, writing, and public career were all devoted to actively promoting tolerance, education, knowledge, respect of human rights, openness and patriotism.
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 1

1. See in particular, George Antonius, Albert Hourani, Hisham Sharabi, Yusuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Ra‘īf Khūrī, Kamal Salibi, 'Alī al-Mahāfẓah, and others as listed in the Bibliography.

2. For diverse interpretations of the circumstances that led to this disastrous event, see the works of K. S. Salibi, G. Corm, A. K. Gharāybeh, D. Chevallier, P. Khoury, G. Antonius


4. Philip Hitti, Lebanon in History, p. 387


7. BB, “Bustānī”, in DM. vol. V. p. 416
8. Philip Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 419; see also Asad Rustum, *Bashīr bayn al-Sultān wal-‘Azīz*, p. 173


12. Mārūn Ra’d, *Lubnān min al-Imārah*, p. 66


18. Roy Andersen, *Politics and Change in the Middle East*, p. 56; see also Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, pp. 126-131,


29. Zeine N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish Relations*, p. 48


31. Charles Issawi, *An Economic History*, p. 53

32. Philip Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 471

33. Zeine N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish Relations*, p. 48

34. Asad Rustum, *Lubnān fi 'Ahd al-Mutaṣarrifīyyah*, pp. 122-123


- 34 -


41. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 30; see also Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, p. 133

42. Mārūn ‘Abbūd, *Judd wa Qudamā*, p. 77


44. Jurjī Zaydān, *Ṭārīkh Ādāb al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah*, p. 396

45. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 39


47. Louis Cheikho, “*Ṭārīkh Fann al-Tibā ‘ah fī al-Sharq*”, in *Al-Machriq*, vol. III, 1900, p. 706


49. Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectual and the West*, p. 67

50. Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, p. 100; Ra‘īf Khūrī, *Modern Arab Thought*, p. 11

51. Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West*, p. 67
52. Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West*, p. 67


55. Ra‘if Khūrī, *Modern Arab Thought*, p. 8


57. David Gilmour, *Lebanon, the Fractured Country*, p. 57


CHAPTER TWO

BUṬRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ'S

LIFE AND ACTIVITIES: A BRIEF SURVEY
Buṭrus al-Bustānī - a Biographical Sketch

The essential aspects of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s biography and family background are presented here as a preliminary to the discussion of his activities and ideas as a social and educational reformer. It is mainly based on an article in Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif, volume number seven, that combines material from Al-Muqtaṭaf newspaper and other Arabic periodicals. (1) His genealogy is given as follows: Buṭrus al-Bustānī came from a prominent Lebanese Maronite family that originated in the small town of Bqerqāshā in the Bsharrī region in North Lebanon. Buṭrus was the son of Būlus, son of ʿAbdallāh, son of Karam, son of Shādīd, son of Abū Shādīd, son of Mahfūz, who was the son of Abū Mahfūz al-Bustānī. Buṭrus was born in 1819. (2)

One of his early patriarchal forefathers, Abū Mahfūz al-Bustānī, moved with his family to the small picturesque town of Dayr al-Qamar in the Shūf Mountain in 1560. This town had its prominence during the reign of the Ma‘n Emirs in the middle of the sixteenth century. (3) In the beginning of the eighteenth century, some members of the family moved to the Shūf coastal region and settled eventually in the village of al-Dibbiyyah in Iqlīm al-Kharrūb in Mount Lebanon, north of the city of Sidon. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was born in al-Dibbiyyah.

From the family’s beginnings, the al-Bustānīs had their reputation in farming as their name (the Gardner) indicates. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, the family has continued to produce several famous members in fields
other than farming, including diplomats, clergymen and prominent civilians in the
domains of literature, science, education, civil planning and so on.

Bishop ʿAbdallāh al-Bustānī (1780-1860) was one of the first ʿAyn Waraqah
famous school graduates. He studied extensively the Arabic and Syriac languages
and later on he taught theology in all its diversified fields at the same school. (4)
Patriarch Yūhannā al-Hilū ordained ʿAbdallāh al-Bustānī as Bishop in 1819 for the
Sidon and Tyre diocese. ʿAbdallāh al-Bustānī made the small mountain town of
Bayt al-Dīn his permanent official seat and built for himself a residence beside the
church. He was very close to Emir Bashīr II, who admired his intelligence and
knowledge. ʿAbdallah had a great deal of official influence that he utilized to help
those who needed it from all the Mount Lebanon denominations without
discrimination. (5) In 1838 he established a school in the village of Mashmūshī in
the Jazzīn region, although this was not very successful because of difficult
political situation that prevailed at that time.

Bishop Buṭrūs al-Bustānī, Bishop ʿAbdallāh’s nephew, was another well-known
al-Bustānī clergyman (1819-1899). He had studied at the ʿAyn Waraqah School
and mastered the languages of Arabic, Syriac, Latin and Italian, in addition to
philosophy, literature, theology, and the principles of law.

Bishop Yūsuf Rizq, who was the theology principal at the ʿAyn Waraqah
School, ordained Buṭrūs as a priest in 1842. This Buṭrūs was then appointed as a
teacher at the Mashmūshī School for two years. After that, Patriarch Būlus Masʿad
ordained him Bishop of the Acre (ʿAkkā) diocese. (6) Later, he was to accompany
Patriarch Mas‘ad to Rome on several occasions when he met the Pope. He then went with Patriarch Mas‘ad to Paris and met Napoleon III, and also visited Istanbūl, capital of the Ottoman Empire, and met with Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān. This bishop seems to have been popular with his diocese. (7)

Apart from the subject of this study, Buṭrus al-Bustānī himself, there have been several important members of al-Bustānī family who participated in various fields of endeavour throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, including his son Salīm (1846-1884) and his cousin Sulaymān (1856-1925) who was a prominent notable, member of the Ottoman Parliament (Majlis al-Mab‘ūthān), and the translator of Homer’s Iliad (Iliyâdhāt Homîrûs). (8)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī studied the Arabic and Syriac languages and their grammar under the supervision of his relative, Father Mīkhā’il al-Bustānī, in the village of al-Dibbiyyah. In 1830, Bishop ‘Abdallāh al-Bustānī managed to enrol the young Buṭrus at the ‘Ayn Waraqah School, where he studied Arabic, Syriac, Latin and Italian, in addition to theology. At the same time, he apparently studied the English language too. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was later to describe ‘Ayn Waraqah School as “the mother of all national schools.” (9)

During his years of study at the ‘Ayn Waraqah School, Patriarch Yūsuf Ḥubaysh wanted to send Buṭrus abroad to continue his studies at the school of theology in Rome, Italy. Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s mother refused because the family was without a father, Buṭrus’ father having died when the boy was only five years
old. Buṭrus spent ten years in ‘Ayn Waraqah studying and then tutoring at the same time, in order to help his mother to raise his brothers.

In 1840, when he was twenty-one years old, he left the Mount Lebanon region and moved to live in Beirut. At that time, Lebanon was going through a chaotic political crisis. Emir Bashīr was sent into exile, after his allies, the Egyptian troops led by Ibrāhīm Pasha, were forced to leave Lebanon and the whole of Syria. At this point, Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s knowledge of the English language, which he had started studying at the ‘Ayn Waraqah School, proved an asset for him. For he secured an interpreting job with the English troops,\(^{(10)}\) which had just landed on the Lebanese coast that year to help the Ottoman Army drive out the troops of Ibrāhīm Pasha, whom the English saw as an ally for both Emir Bashīr II and the French.

It was during this time that Buṭrus al-Bustānī met the American Evangelical missionaries and started teaching them the Arabic language. He also taught at their schools, composed and translated many of their educational and religious books.\(^{(11)}\) His relationship became very close with two of these missionaries, Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck. He and Dr. Van Dyck shared the same house and became very good friends. Dr. Van Dyck asked Buṭrus al-Bustānī to help him in translating the Old Testament into Arabic. Buṭrus al-Bustānī agreed to do the job and thus started learning the ancient Hebrew and Greek languages. By studying these two languages, in addition to his knowledge of Syriac, he was able to master the old languages of the Holy Scriptures. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was fluent in the proverbial "seven tongues": Arabic, Syriac, Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Italian and English.\(^{(12)}\) In
the same context, George Antonius adds that Buṭrus al-Bustānī was also fluent in two more languages, French and Aramaic. It is documented in his Encyclopaedia (Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif) that he had mastered the French language.

It will become one of main educational preoccupations of Buṭrus al-Bustānī to advocate strongly the learning and benefits of foreign languages and sciences, while at the same time stressing the importance of using the Arabic language in teaching and writing.

Perhaps an important turning point in the life of Buṭrus al-Bustānī was when he converted to the Protestant Christian denomination and deserted his Maronite church as a result of his meeting with the American Evangelical Missionaries. Nothing could be traced in any of his books or writings that could explain exactly in a direct way why he did so and why he abandoned his ancestral faith, nor do we have a date for his actual conversion. Nevertheless, it must have happened after his move to Beirut in 1840. At the same time, the circumstances of this change could be related to two factors, a positive and a negative one.

The positive factor could be attributed to the Evangelical American preachers themselves. These Western preachers came to Lebanon with other foreign missionaries encouraged by the religious openness and tolerance provided during and after the rule of Ibrāhīm Pasha who was in the region between 1831 and 1840. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was fascinated and greatly influenced by the personalities of two of these preachers, Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck. They opened his eyes to the horizons of freedom that the West had been enjoying since the American and
French revolutions that led to proportional Western liberation from both religious constraints and clergymen hegemony. This kind of social revolution was still too remote from the Arab region and none of its achievements were practised in the Arab East at that time.

The *Story of As‘ad al-Shidyāq* was the negative factor. As‘ad al-Shidyāq was the brother of both Ģannūs al-Shidyāq the historian and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq the philological and literary scholar. Aḥmad converted first to Protestantism and later to Islam because of the dilemma of his brother As‘ad. As‘ad al-Shidyāq was detained in Bkerkī by the Maronite Patriarch Yūsuf Ḥubaysh in a bid to force him to abandon Protestantism. As‘ad al-Shidyāq had converted to Protestantism through an English Mission where he had been teaching its members the Arabic language. As‘ad al-Shidyāq was adamant not to go back to his father’s Maronite faith and was later able to escape from his detention. He was arrested again and detained in al-Dīmān, the summer seat of the Maronite Patriarchate in North Lebanon. He was beaten and tortured till he died in detention.\(^{(15)}\)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī was touched by As‘ad al-Shidyāq’s dilemma, which had remained unknown and mysterious in the eyes of the public for a long time. After converting to Protestantism he decided to write As‘ad’s actual detailed story risking all the consequences and dangers he might encounter. He published the story first in 1860 in a book titled As‘ad al-Shidyāq’s Story (*Qissat As‘ad al-Shidyāq*). The book was republished twice after that, in 1878 and in 1882.\(^{(16)}\)
During the intervals when al-Bustānī lived in Beirut, he met a girl by the name of Rāhīl ‘Aṭā. She came from a Christian Orthodox family and was born in Beirut in 1826. Rāhīl was the first female to join the Syrian Women's Missionary School that was founded in 1834 by Eli Smith's wife, Sarah. Sarah adopted Rāhīl and made her a member in the Smith Household. After Rāhīl's father died, she deserted her family's house because of her mother's intolerant conduct. She converted to Protestantism in 1843 and refused to go back to her mother in a court case held under the auspices of the Beirut governor. She decided instead to settle in with the Smith family.

It is obvious that al-Bustānī met Rāhīl in the American missionary circles with which he had very intimate relations. Buṭrus and Rāhīl married in 1844 and had four sons and five daughters. Rāhīl's upbringing by the Evangelical missionary and her good conduct were behind the enthusiasm shown by al-Bustānī and his eldest son, Salīm, to advocate the education of women and defending their rights. Both men, Buṭrus and his son Salīm, believed that such education would be invaluable because they have witnessed in reality within their own family through Rāhīl, how an educated wife and mother can serve her society and in particular her husband and children.

We can conclude that al-Bustānī had converted to Protestantism through the American missionaries and became one of them. The missionary, especially Eli Smith, tried to ordain Buṭrus al-Bustānī as a pastor, but he refused, although his
refusal did not stop him from assuming the duties of a lay preacher delivering religious sermons.

In 1844, Buṭrus al-Bustānī moved to the town of Ḥāṣbayyā in Wāḍī al-Taym in South Lebanon, after some of its Christian Orthodox residents had converted to Protestantism. He helped them establish a school in their own town, and together with his colleague Ilyās Fawwāz, taught in the new school while being engaged in preaching activities there as well. (19) Buṭrus al-Bustānī stayed in Ḥāṣbayyā for a few months and then returned to Beirut. In Beirut he worked as a private Arabic teacher for the members of the Evangelical missionary. He also worked as a preacher for the new denomination and as an assistant to the Evangelical Mission in the American press.

In 1846, al-Bustānī moved to the town of ‘Abay in Mount Lebanon, where he helped his friend Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck in renewing the local school. In ‘Abay, he taught mathematics and Arabic grammar. “The ‘Abay School was at the time one of the greatest and most famous schools in all regions of Syria.” (20)

Every two weeks, Buṭrus al-Bustānī used to go to Beirut and participate in the meetings of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (al-Jam‘īyah al-Sūriyyah lil-‘Ulūm wal-Funūn) which came into existence in the year of 1847. (21) He stayed in ‘Abay till the end of year 1848, when his eldest son Salīm was born. After that, he returned to Beirut to work as an interpreter for the American Consulate until 1862.

In 1847, al-Bustānī and a group of Lebanese dignitaries, who had converted to Protestantism, such as Tāniyūs al-Ḥaddād, Ilyās Fawwāz and others, decided to
establish a National Evangelical Church (*Kanīsah Injīliyyah Waṭaniyyah*). Their main objective was to set up a Syrian-Lebanese Protestant Church that was run and managed by Syrian-Lebanese followers. This was to be separate from that of the Evangelical American mission. In this context, a meeting was held under the chairmanship of Buṭrus al-Bustānī in June 1847. The group decided to send a letter to the American missionaries serving in the Syrian region, asking for their approval. They also requested a National Church that would have its own independent rules and regulations. The American missionaries granted them this right in the spring of year 1848. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was a member of the new Church’s Board and gave a speech during the inauguration of its new building in Beirut in 1867. (22)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī chaired the Evangelical Organization, acted as a member in the Evangelical Church and wrote its charter. Because of his outstanding activities, he was named an honorary member of the famous American religious academy (*al-Majma‘ al-Dīnī*) that chose him to direct the religious teachings. He became an honorary member in the Eastern Scientific Synod (*al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-Sharqī*) and “chaired the Sunday School for fifteen years and volunteered to translate many of its messages for free.” (23)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī had a strong and healthy body that enabled him to work very hard and for long hours every day. He was known for his solid determination, will power and focus. He would pursue all his national and educational projects with perseverance, patience and strength of mind. It was said that a Western
contemporary scientist called him the powerful (al-jabbār), as an indication of his courage and perseverance. The famous Lebanese historian and Scholar Jurjī Zaydān said of him, “when Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s family members looked for him whether during day or night, they would always find him in his office with his books and papers.”

He was able to acquire a broadly-based knowledge, combined with deep understanding of Western ideas, and to produce an extensive output as an author. His energy and determination enabled him to conquer intellectual and writing difficulties. This was evident in his National School, and in his contribution to teaching and the founding of cultural and religious societies. He was modest in both dress and conduct, friendly and sincere in his feelings and emotions. He despised deceit and was always willing to sacrifice. He espoused patriotism, and had a great devotion for the Arabic language, and a real sense of pride in his Arabic heritage. He highlighted many of the achievements of the Arabs and their contributions to human civilization. At the same time, he considered all Arabs as brothers who were bound by the common bonds of language and blood. He was outstanding in his open-mindedness, intellectual ability, perseverance, capacity for hard work, and religious tolerance.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī liked to indulge in smoking the water pipe (al-Nārjīlah). He was unable to write except when standing in front of a high table. He did not enjoy long visits, although he believed visitation was “one of the greatest means for
familiarity, intimacy and friendship." (27) He also believed that fostering intimacy and closeness lead to the improvement of social and public standing.

On the quiet eve of Tuesday the first of May 1883, Butrus al-Bustānī passed away at the age of sixty-four. His sudden death resulted from a massive heart attack. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was considered a martyr of both education and the Motherland (al-Waṭan) and he died while still writing and composing. "Encyclopaedias, schools, intellectual circles and churches felt the impact of his death". (28) Although bishop Yūsuf al-Dibs was the only one to mention that Buṭrus al-Bustānī did somehow preserve his Maronite faith throughout his life, and also claimed that al-Bustānī was about to convert back to Catholicism prior to his death. (29) Prayers over al-Bustānī’s body took place at the Evangelical Church in Beirut. It was a massive funeral. "Lebanese citizens from all walks of life, foreign and local dignitaries, diplomats, scholars, clergymen and politicians participated in the funeral. Police and army regiments carried his casket and put it on a chariot pulled by four horses and covered with a black cloth." (30) This was a true indication of the appreciation and respect that was held for him among his many friends and peers. "His body was buried with full respect and great honour at the Evangelical cemetery located in the Damascus road in Beirut." (31)

In a sincere and emotional eulogy, delivered at the church after praying over the body, his closest friend, Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck said: "My dear friend Buṭrus, if you did not have any role in criticizing men, look at death how it is criticized because it took you from us. This horrible device, it walks this earth with an
insatiable appetite and from among her people, chooses a noble one. Today, as a eulogist, I am put in a very awkward position, because I believe strongly that my right place is among you, my friends. Among you I can freely weep and lament my beloved brother Buṭrus, whom death has kidnapped from all of us. My teacher, my professor, my friend, how many nights have we spent studying, discussing and composing together, in a united quest..."(32) Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck then told the mourners this story: "After the first steam press in Syria was installed and started rolling, Butrus gazed in my face and said, "Do you understand what this press has just uttered"? I replied, "No, I do not". Buṭrus answered, "I can hear this press saying with each circle, "I am here for Syria's benefit." (33) Poets, writers, philosophers and intellectuals delivered other eulogies at the funeral. These included Adīb Ishāq, Khalīl al-Yāzījī, Dr. Shākir al- Khūrī, among others.

Many prominent Lebanese magazines and newspapers wrote obituaries on this great thinker and reformer. They praised his talents and achievements in the field of translation, education and writing. Such articles were published in Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār (The Garden of News), Al-Nashrah al-Usbū‘iyyah (Weekly Bulletin), Al-Taqaddum (Progress), Thamarāt al-Funūn (Fruits of Arts), Al-Misbāḥ (The Lamp). Many leading articles were also published in other Arabic journals of that period outside Syria-Lebanon, especially in Al-Rā‘id al-Tūnisī (Tunisian Pioneer), Al-Jawā‘ib, Al-Busfur, Al-Ahrām, Mir‘āt al-Sharq, Al-Burhān, and Rawdat al-Iskanadriyyah.(34)
On 26 December 1919, the centenary of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s birth, a celebration in his honour was held at the American University of Beirut. Present at the ceremony was Jurjī Nqūlā Bāz, author of various works on famous world personalities, “the well-known world historian, was the eulogist of the celebration.”

Sixty-five speakers from all walks of life participated in the event. Scientists, writers, poets, journalists, lawyers and medical doctors, including nine female writers, were all present. Among the assembly were poet Khalīl Mutrān and Shaykh Khalīl al-Yāzījī.

George Antonius has observed that Buṭrus al-Bustānī “had a remarkable power for assimilating knowledge, and yet his output was as abundant as his appetite was insatiable.” Buṭrus al-Bustānī devoted his life for the spread of science, education and knowledge among his people. His main quest was to spread the spirit of liberation and progress among his fellow compatriots and among the Arabs all over the Arab world.

**Range of Activities**

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s life was rich with outstanding intellectual, educational and scholarly achievements. To begin with, he was an interpreter and writer of many books. He also taught extensively and was occasionally an Evangelical preacher as well. He played an active role in the establishment of several scientific organizations, in delivering lectures on diverse topics, and in undertaking scholarly, including philological and lexicographical projects. Al-Bustānī compiled two...
extensive Arabic dictionaries and a modern encyclopaedia, which were the first of their kind in the modern Arab world. He also published several journals and established the first private national school in the Arab East. The importance of al-Bustānī lies in the fact that he was the main driving energy in every task in which he participated or endeavoured to accomplish.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s activities prior to 1860 were significant in the establishment of several scientific organizations, participation in opening the ‘Abay School, giving speeches and public lectures, writing articles and books, teaching and translating. His activities after the year 1860 focused on publishing journals, the establishment of his National School and composing dictionaries and the Encyclopaedia. It is clear that he did not want his own life to be a monotonous routine, especially after he had been well acquainted with Western education, science and reform activities.

After his graduation from the reputable ‘Ayn Waraqah School, he started exploring ways and means required to improve educational and social standards of his society. Motivated by this goal, Buṭrus joined his friend Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck in the ‘Abay School, making it a modern educational institution. He was the mastermind behind its curriculum, which focused on the acknowledgment of the importance of education in the citizens’ life. “Buṭrus al-Bustānī was an active member in a special committee assigned to supervise the English schools in Lebanon and Syria and acted as its secretary since 1856.” (38) He also prepared the curriculum for the Dāwūdiyyah School (al-Madrasah al-Dāwūdiyyah) located in
‘Abay, on a special assignment by Mount Lebanon’s Mutessarif, Dāwūd Pasha who “assigned him to prepare the regulations for this Druze School (al-Madrasah al-Dāwūdiyyah al-Durziyyah), which was a government funded school especially for the Druzes. (39)

Very few educational school books were available in the Arabic language at the time. To fulfil the educational needs, Buṭrus al-Bustānī took the initiative to compose such books. He published his famous book on arithmetic (Kashf al-Hijāb fī ‘Ilm al-Hisāb) in 1848. This book remained in Lebanese school curriculum for half a century “and was a fundamental resource for teaching mathematics in the whole region. Because of the way it was put together, its contents, and its simplicity, was greatly admired by teachers, schools and students.” (40) In 1854 al-Bustānī composed another outstanding educational book, the Student’s Lamp for Searching for Subjects (Miṣbāḥ al-Tālib fī Bahth al-Maṭālib). In this book, he focused on the grammar content of another well-known educational book, Discussing Subjects, (Bahth al-Maṭālib) composed by Bishop Germānūs Farḥāt. It was a book of grammar for the Arabic language. He published a directory for its usage the Lamp’s Key (Miṣlāḥ al-Miṣbāḥ) that was reprinted in 1868. This directory was a summary of the major textbook, for which he also prepared a complementary grammar exercise. This exercise was a unique and innovative educational grammar manual. He also compiled another Arabic grammar book entitled Bulūgh al-‘Irab fī Nahū al-‘Arab, although this was not printed or published during his lifetime.
Besides his educational publications, al-Bustānī supervised the printing and publication of *Akbhār al-A‘yān fi Jabal Lubnān* of Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq. He also edited and wrote a commentary on al-Mutanabbī’s poetry (*Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*), which was printed in Beirut early in 1860. The book’s printing expenses were carried by the Literary Society (*al-Jamʿiyyah al-Adabiyyah*) of which he was a founding member. In 1860 Buṭrus al-Bustānī wrote *Asʿad al-Shidyāq’s Story* in a bid to expose injustices inflicted on people by clergymen. Buṭrus al-Bustānī also translated into Arabic several books and stories, (as discussed in chapter 3, below). Buṭrus al-Bustānī wrote poetry too, but very little of his poems survived after his death. He decorated his articles, books’ prefaces, magazines and speeches with some of the short poems he composed.

To propagate their Protestant Christianity and Western education, the Evangelical school's managers in Lebanon and Syria recognized that it was extremely vital to establish educational and scientific societies. These were to be establishments in which new Western education and science were to be spread to people of the region. For this reason, they founded numerous scientific clubs and societies in a bid to fulfil the needs and bridge the gap. The members of these groups would meet on a regular basis to exchange views, analyse articles and commentaries, and prepare studies and plan for future projects. Al-Bustānī was among the founders of all these societies and an active member in each and every one of them. In 1847 Buṭrus al-Bustānī with a group of elite Christian Syrian-Lebanese intellectuals like Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, and Evangelical missionaries including
Cornelius Van Dyck, Eli Smith and William Thomson established a new educational and scientific society (al-Jam‘iyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-‘Ulūm wal-Funūn). It remained active until 1852. The total of its enrolled members reached 50, and all of them were Christians. As a result of pressure from Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his other Arab colleagues, Arabic was the official language of the society.

In 1857, a number of Muslim and Druze thinkers responded to an invitation extended to them by Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī to join the society. They discussed, in several successful meetings, common grounds for mutual understanding and unity between all denominations in the country. They established a new cultural society (al-Jam‘iyyah al-‘Ilmiyyah al-Sūriyyah) with no interference from the Protestant mission. The objectives were similar to the previously founded Society (al-Jam‘iyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-‘Ulūm wal-Funūn). The 1860 civil war between Maronites and Druze negatively affected the organization’s activities. Soon afterwards, it was reactivated again widening the scope of its activities. The Ottoman government recognized the society in 1868, and new prominent intellectuals from outside Syria and Lebanon joined its membership, especially from Istanbūl and Egypt.

**Journalism**

The beginning of the intellectual renaissance in the nineteenth century coincided with the flourishing of printing and publishing facilities that helped in fulfilling the needs for the dissemination of newspapers, magazines and books.
Buṭrus al-Bustānī was quite active in this field. In the first place, he helped his friend, Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, in running the American Missionary Press. In 1868, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his brother-in-law, Khalīl Sarkīs, as full partners, started their own Ma‘ārif Press (Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif). The preface of the business agreement signed between the two men read as follows: "We the undersigned, party number one, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, and party number two, Khalīl Efendi Sarkīs, have agreed on establishing a press for printing in accordance with public decency and the Ottoman State's regulations that governs this field of business."(46) Khalīl Sarkīs assumed the press management responsibilities, while Buṭrus al-Bustānī took the responsibility of editing the books for printing. No book was to be printed if not signed by al-Bustānī and approved by him. Other management responsibilities, like purchasing paper and other requirements, were shared between both men and required their joint approval. Both had equal salaries and profits were divided equally among them. This partnership ended after seven years in 1875. Khalīl Sarkīs, after the contract with his relative Buṭrus al-Bustānī expired, established his own Literary Press (al-Maṭba‘ah al-Adabiyyah) and later he established the Lisān al-Ḥāl newspaper in 1877.(47)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī often contemplated the idea of publishing a dictionary for Arabic and scientific terms. He eventually made his dream a reality and composed Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ dictionary in two big volumes. It was published in 1870, and consisted of 2308 large size pages. (48) After that he published Qutr al-Muhīṭ Dictionary, a concise version of Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ. It fell in two volumes, medium
size 2452 pages. It was designed to meet student needs and match the level of their school curriculum.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī described Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif, as a dictionary “for all arts and literary needs” and chose its name as a translation of the Western term for encyclopaedia. He issued six volumes of this Encyclopaedia between 1876 and 1883. After his death, his son Salīm and then his two other sons Nasīb and Najīb continued this huge project. Unfortunately, their fruitful attempts came to an end in 1900 with the eleventh volume reaching the term ‘Uthmāniyyah (Ottoman).

Buṭrus al-Bustānī felt the urgent need for such a series of dictionaries and encyclopaedias, because he recognized that his people, at that time, lacked the appropriate required knowledge in the domains of agriculture, industry and commerce. All of these factors formed an impetus for his work success. He achieved these remarkable publication feats not only through his own effort and hand work, but also with the support and help of many professional and specialized Lebanese and Arab intellectuals.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī recognized that journalism was a most powerful and effective means for spreading knowledge and science, and was also aware that the more journalism is able to open new diversified avenues for its readers, the greater its circulation, reputation and influence would become. He published between September 22, 1860 and April 1861 Nafīr Sūriyyā (the Clarion of Syria) newspaper. Its publication coincided with the unfortunate bloody sectarian civil war between the Christian Maronites and the Druzes in Mount Lebanon and in some
neighbourhoods of Damascus in Syria. Buṭrus al-Bustānī called on his countrymen to affiliate and commit themselves to their country and not to sectarian loyalty.\(^{55}\)

In the beginning of 1870 he published \textit{Al-Jinān} journal.\(^{56}\) Its permanent motto was: Love of the Homeland is a Part of Faith (\textit{Hubb al-Watan min al-Īmān}). It was the first privately owned Arabic journal in the whole region that catered for a broad spectrum of knowledge and included analytical material addressing both internal and external issues. Its main focus was on knowledge as a vehicle to enrich minds, channel intelligence, discover and adopt talents. In June of 1870 he issued \textit{Al-Jannah} and in 1871 \textit{Al-Junaynah}.\(^{57}\)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī's activities were not limited to preaching, writing, translating, editing and publishing. He was also deeply involved in actual real life endeavours, trying to apply and put in practice his numerous social, educational and patriotic ideas and projects. In 1863 he established the National School for Boys in Beirut,\(^{58}\) hiring a highly qualified teaching team and making the school accessible for students from all religious backgrounds. His school was not a religious institution, but a centre for national integration, tolerance and common living. He chose the name The National School in a bid to foster the national spirit and instil the idea of serving the society as a public duty. In all his activities, he focused on the Arabic language, which he believed must be mastered by all his compatriots and used in all domains, especially in literary and scientific expression.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī worked in his National School as a teacher and at the same time assumed its administrative responsibilities as Principal. He was close to his
students as well as their parents, meeting frequently with both and was very open for suggestions and quite tolerant and appreciable of constructive criticism. At the same time, Buṭrus al-Bustānī respected the teachers and continuously tried to help them through organized lectures and studies. This outstanding National School remained functional for fifteen years. Its graduates carried the torch of education and progress and hundreds of them became well-known journalists, writers, politicians, professionals and leaders in their fields of specialty, not only in Lebanon but also in the neighbouring Arab countries.

After surveying in this chapter the various aspects of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s life, as well as his numerous activities and achievements, the following chapters will concentrate on his role in the fields of journalism, cultural activities, teaching, education and social reform, and on his political and social ideas.
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 2


8. J. Abdel-Nour, “Al-Bustānī”, in El² Supplement, Fascicules 3-4, 1981, pp. 159-161; see also A. Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, p. 99


13. George Antonius, the Arab Awakening, p. 48
15. ʿImād al-Ṣulḥ, Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, p. 30; see also Jean Dāyeh, al-Mu’allim Buṭrus al-Bustānī, pp. 12-13
16. ʿImād al-Ṣulḥ, Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, p. 268
17. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, pp. 28-30
18. A.I. Tibawi, American Interests in Syria 1800-1901, p. 121; see also Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, p.16 (from A.I. Tibawi: The American Missionary in Beirut and Buṭrus al-Bustānī. Middle Eastern Affairs. St. Anthony’s papers, no.16, p. 158)
21. BB, AJS, p. 19
26. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, p. 115
29. Yūsuf al-Dibs, Min Tārikh Sūriyyah al-Dīnī, p. 533
35. Fā‘ād Afrām al-Bustānī, al-Mu‘allim Butrus al-Bustānī, p. 72
37. George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, p. 48
38. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, p. 53
42. BB, article "Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif", in DM, vol. VII, p. 596
43. BB, NS, no. 7, P. 37, BB, DM, vol. I, p. 1
44. BB, AJ, p. 12; see also ‘Alī al-Mahāfzah, al-Ittijāhāt al-Fikriyyah ‘inda al-‘Arab, p. 26
45. Munīr Mūsā, al-Fikr al-‘Arabi, p. 192; see also ‘Alī al-Mahāfzah, al-Ittijāhāt al-Fikriyyah ‘inda al-‘Arab, p. 26
46. Nicola Ziadeh, Lubnāniyyāt, p. 66
47. Nicola Ziadeh, Lubnāniyyāt, p. 66

49. BB, article "Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif", in DM, vol. VII, p. 590


52. BB, "‘Uthmāniyyah", in DM, vol. 11, p. 717


54. BB, Introduction to DM, vol. I, p. 4


57. Fūʿād Afrām al-Bustānī, al-Muʿallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī, pp. 77-78


CHAPTER THREE

BUṬRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ’S CONTRIBUTION TO
TRANSLATION, JOURNALISM
AND
CULTURAL ACTIVITIES
After Buṭrus al-Bustānī left ‘Ayn Waraqah School in the Emirate of Mount Lebanon in 1840 and moved to the Wilāyat of Beirut, he engaged in several activities and accomplished many achievements. This chapter considers his contribution to literary translation into Arabic, including his participation in preparing a modern Arabic version of the Bible, as well as his role in establishing cultural and scientific societies, his contribution through public lectures on educational and cultural subjects, and his activities as a prolific author, compiler and publisher. His pioneer efforts in all these fields, as well as his establishing the National School and his impact as an inspiring teacher, indicate his great influence on what has been called the modern Arab renaissance.

**Translation**

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that proficiency in foreign languages in the 19th century was one of the most important factors in the foundation of the educational and cultural Arab Renaissance (*al-Nahḍah*) as it opened the door for modern science and Western ideas to influence the Arab East. “The 19th century translation movement in Egypt and Lebanon was to prove as significant in the Arab renaissance.”

The translators played a major role in the introduction of new ideas, and among the leading translators was Buṭrus al-Bustānī whose proficiency in languages contributed greatly to this cultural revival and modernisation in the Arab East.
The arrival of Buṭrus al-Bustānī in Beirut (1840) coincided with the landing of the British naval ships on the Lebanese and Syrian shores to assist the Ottoman Empire in defeating Ibrāhīm Pasha’s armies. The British army called on the services of al-Bustānī as a translator. It was at this time that al-Bustānī met with leading American missionaries, especially with Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s contribution to the modern Arabic translation movement may be summed up as follows:

First, he played a significant role in the first complete modern Arabic translation of the Bible between 1848 and 1865 when he helped and collaborated with the two prominent American Protestant missionaries, Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck together with Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī (1800-1871) and Yūsuf al-Asīr (1815-89). His role in this venture seems to have included drafting translations of successive parts of the biblical text, which Eli Smith would check, and later al-Bustānī himself would check the drafts produced by Van Dyck. (2)

Secondly, he translated works on Christian religious history. These included such works as Eli Smith’s religious articles published in 1843 under the title The Open Door in the Work of the Spirit (al-Bāb al-Maftūḥ fī A‘māl al-Rūḥ), which focused on the religious doctrine of the Evangelical Christian Church. Other works in this group are the History of Reformation (Tārīkh al-Islāḥ), and History of Redemption (Tārīkh al-Fidāʾ). He translated Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe under the title al-Tuḥfah al-Bustāniyyah fī al-Asfār al-Krūziyyah in 1861. (3) This
was partly connected with his work for the Protestant mission. A critical review of this translation was published in *Al-Machriq* journal in which it is said that “the translator of the illustrious Robinson Crusoe story added two articles to the original text in which he criticized the Catholic Church and praised the Protestants.” (4) He also translated *The Pilgrim's Progress (Siyāḥat al-Masīḥī)* as well as its missionary aims in 1870. The text of *Siyāḥat al-Masīḥī* had some parallels to the Robinson Crusoe story “in terms of its religious essence and missionary objectives.” (5)

Thirdly, al-Bustānī translated historical works, including *A History of France's Emperor, Napoleon I (Tārīkh Nābūlyün al-Awwal Ambarāţūr Fransā)*, (6) as well as several other works which he incorporated in his ambitions Encyclopaedia project (*Dā'irat al-Ma‘ārif*), where al-Bustānī often translates directly from English and French encyclopaedias and reference works particularly for articles connected with Western countries, individuals, concepts and inventions.

Needless to say that the impact of translation was considerable on the literary, cultural and educational life of the Arab East and especially on the Arabic language itself “in renewing its style, its vocabulary, and enriching its dictionaries.” (7)

Western civilization had a place of respect in the modern Arab renaissance as it transferred to it several works of science, including natural sciences, mathematics, military science, religious books, judicial and legal sciences, modern economic and social sciences, as well as creative literature. (8) Buṭrus al-Bustānī played a leading role in this. His main objective was to “simplify the means of knowledge for his compatriots” (9) and to introduce into Arabic only what was useful and beneficial. (10)
The role of Buṭrus al-Bustānī was distinguished in the field of translation into Arabic, which is a difficult and complicated field. His contribution was conducted without any support, official or private, which is in contrast to al-Tahtāwī who enjoyed official support by the Egyptian ruler in order to commence the objective of reform and modernization. For all that Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his contemporaries and successors have contributed in the field of translation, the issue of translation is still a complex one in the Arab East. Until this day, Arab countries have failed in “Arabicizing university education in the Arab nation”. (11) For example, in the field of medicine during al-Bustānī’s days, lectures and classes were given at the Syrian Protestant College (American University of Beirut later) in Arabic. This practice was later discontinued. The issue of simplifying the language for which al-Bustānī worked is still unresolved up to this day. In connection with the still existing contest between the spoken dialogue and the written varieties of Arabic, al-Bustānī favoured the written one and presented his reasons for that. It is important to highlight the fact that al-Bustānī was confident that Arabic was fit to be a living language of modern science and civilization.

**Journalism**

The Arabic press of the 19th century played a significant and leading role in the Arabic literary and cultural renaissance and in political revival. Buṭrus al- Bustānī defined the benefit of journals (jarāʿid). In his Encyclopaedia, he outlines the benefits and power of journals that are meant for the public good. Much progress
and reform as well as the spread of civilization, knowledge and technology in many countries have been attributed to the power of the press. For the papers to be really useful they must not publish any thing that would corrupt public moral or go against good principles or any material that would stir up discord and rebellions for personal aims and private advantages. We have also found that for a paper to be a useful and an influential force in the life of a nation, it must enjoy the freedom according to the conditions of that nation. We have also noticed that the growth or deterioration of papers in all countries always depended on the extent of freedom given to them or the restrictions imposed on them." (12)

Newspapers began to appear in Beirut towards the middle of the 19th century. Butrus al-Bustānī was the founder of several of them. The first paper to appear was The Garden of News (Hadīqat al-Akhbār) which was established by Khalīl al-Khūrī in 1858. Butrus al-Bustānī was enthusiastic about its publication and gave an incisive assessment of the significance of this epoch-making event: "without any doubt journals are the best means of civilizing people, and the increase in readers if used properly would help to serve those means. It is hoped that this 'young lady', the Syrian printing press of Hadīqat al-Akhbār which is the first Arabic press for newspapers will get stronger and that the efforts of its owner Khalīl al-Khūrī will be crowned with success, and his name will be remembered by the people as the conqueror of this great citadel that was neglected by the others. I can see him standing at the shore of the great sea that separates between the old and the new worlds, now looking ahead towards the new, now casting his eye on the old." (13)
**Nafīr Sūriyyā**

Two years after the appearance of al-Khūrī's *Hadiqat al-Akhbār*, Buṭrus al-Bustānī published his own *Nafīr Sūriyyā* (Clarion of Syria) in 1860, a one-page broadsheet appearing more or a less fortnightly for about seven months. It is important to note the time and circumstances of his publication of this journal. For it appeared very soon after the 1860 civil war. Thus, as soon as this terrible episode of communal violence ended (August 1860), al-Bustānī was moved to bring out his Clarion. Between September 29, 1860 and 22 April 1861, he was able to publish eleven issues of this broadsheet, which took the form of pamphlets addressed to his compatriots. This publication, although described as "modest" by later historians of the early modern Arabic press, was in fact quite a significant instrument of public enlightenment in its time, and a strong voice of sanity and wisdom urging the people of Syria-Lebanon to love their country and work for national unity. In *Nafīr Sūriyyā*, al-Bustānī "repeatedly calls for a secular education and civilization to confront the sectarian legacy." 

Al-Bustānī addressed each broadsheet as an open letter to his compatriots (*abnā' al-waṭān*) and signed it "Lover of the Motherland (*Muḥibb al-Waṭān*)". Beginning with the fourth issue, al-Bustānī highlighted the concept of patriotism and the adjective 'patriotic' in his paper, by actually using the word *al-Wataniyyah*, followed by the issue number: thus *al-Wataniyyah al-Rābi‘ah*, etc. The topics of *Nafīr Sūriyyā* were varied, starting with deploiring the events of the civil war considering them "acts of savage barbarians, thieves and road robbers."

- 69 -
It is possible to identify the following central themes, which al-Bustānī addressed in this pioneering patriotic broadsheet. 1. He endeavoured to define the meaning and significance of the concepts of the Motherland (al-Wāṭan) compatriots (abnā' al-wāṭan) and to explain that loyalty to the Motherland takes priority before everything else. 2. He highlighted the principles of tolerance, cooperation, mutual brotherhood (taʿākhkā) as essential for the sake of national unity (al-wahdah al-wataniyyah). 3. He asserted that war was ugly and that it had resulted from ignorance (al-Jahl) and fanaticism (al-taʿaṣṣub), and that it leads to terrible consequences, including great loss in human lives and property. 4. Al-Bustānī called for separation between religious leadership (al-riyāṣah) and politics (al-siyāsah). 5. He called for relying on qualification and ability as the criteria for the choice of those in charge (ikhtiyār al-masʿūlin) for public office, and that these should be honest (ṣādiqin) and above suspicion of corruption (nazīhīn). 6. Al-Bustānī argued his compatriots to embrace civilization (tamaddun), progress (taqaddum), and advancement (ruqīyy) development and evolution.

There is no doubt that the ideas presented by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, as well as the issues he dealt with in Naṣir Sūrīyyā were courageous and advanced, particularly that he advocated them whilst the blood had not dried yet and the intentions of vengeance were still at their peak. His ideas and contribution have been rightly considered as the first cornerstone in the national thinking of the Arab East. Dr. Nāṣīf Naṣṣār has highlighted this point in his book Toward a New Society. Naṣṣār justified his selection of al-Bustānī’s ideas by saying that those ideas came during a
decisive period of Lebanon’s history and also for the immense value and wisdom contained in those ideas.\(^{(17)}\)

As ‘Abd al-Karīm Gharāybeh, in his study on 19th century Syria, describes Nafīr Sūriyyā “the first Syrian journal that encouraged harmony among all religious denominations in Syria (Barr a l-Shām)”.\(^{(18)}\) Nāṣif Naṣār is right in saying that “Nafīr Sūriyyā could be considered as the first important document for national thought (al-fīkr al-qawmī) throughout the modern history of the Arab East.”\(^{(19)}\) Nafīr Sūriyyā is clearly the first Arabic paper to reflect both a new national orientation and a strong and frank critique of ignorance and religious fanaticism.

**Al-Jinān**

Buṭrus al-Bustānī founded *Al-Jinān* in 1870 and placed his son, Salīm, in charge of it. It was published fortnightly, and soon earned a wide reputation “due to its owner’s scholarly status through his published books, writings and the National School.”\(^{(20)}\) In its first issue, Buṭrus al-Bustānī set its objectives as “serving the truth and serving the well being of the country.”\(^{(21)}\) Just as al-Bustānī had emphasized patriotism as the guiding principle in his earlier Nafīr Sūriyyā, he now adopted the motto “Love of the Homeland is a Part of Faith (Ḥubb al-Waṭan min al-Īmān)” for *Al-Jinān*. Fū’ād Afrām al-Bustānī has rightly pointed out that this was the first time an Arabic newspaper had a motto.\(^{(22)}\) About the same time, we find that “the first leader of the first issue of Hürriyet (Freedom), the Turkish-
language journal published by the exiled Ottoman liberals in London in 1868, is headed with the same motto: Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān.\(^{(23)}\)

*Al-Jinān* represents a considerable step forward in the early history of the Arabic press. Apart from its sheer size (an average of thirty-two pages per issue), its range and appeal were meant to be quite broad and ambitious. In explaining the reasons for establishing it, Buṭrūs al-Bustānī wrote: “Since Syria and its neighboring lands (*al-bilād al-Sūriyyah wa mā yujāwiruhā*) lack such [publications] to meet its needs, we have embarked on the publication of *Al-Jinān*. The real aim is to cause the eruption (*infiżār*) of the spring of genuine benefit and the promoting of the means of progress of the Motherland”.\(^{(24)}\) *Al-Jinān*, whose title “The Gardens” indicated fruitful, attractive and varied knowledge, was the first Arabic paper that included a wide range of material covering politics, science, literature, history and humor.\(^{(25)}\) It is clear that al-Bustānī wished to go beyond the narrow political scope of the official gazettes (*gazittāt* as he called them), made available in Arabic by the authorities, and which were confined to covering both internal and external events. In doing this he seems to have been inspired by some contemporary European, and perhaps American, models. For in his editorial message to the readers, in one of the first year issues, he explained that apart from news accessible in the official *gazittāt*, “our Arabic language still lacks any major media organ (*wāṣitah min al-wasāyiṭ al-kubrā*) to publish general knowledge, including scientific, literary, historical, industrial, commercial and civic, in addition to anecdotes and humor, as is current in foreign countries.”\(^{(26)}\) Furthermore, Buṭrūs
al-Bustānī and his son Salīm opened Al-Jīnān's pages to talented writers. Alongside Buṭrus and his son Salīm, many active writers of the 19th century wrote in Al-Jīnān, including Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, Francīs Marrāsh, Martin Hartman, Mūsā Tannūs, Nawfal N. Nawfal, Yūṣuf Abī Fādīl, Ilyās Ḥabālīn, al-Qass Lewis al-Ṣabūnī, Mulhīm Shakkūr, among others.

Al-Bustānī also explains to his readers that "Due to the readiness and willingness we see among those who speak our honorable Arabic language, natives as well as foreigners, to have comparable means, our mind was preoccupied by the urgent need of satisfying our language and people thus we decided to establish a newspaper in Arabic called Al-Jīnān including the above advantages. He explained that Al-Jīnān would be printed in regular issues distributed directly to subscribers. The issues would be twenty-four per year, at the rate of an issue every two weeks at least. The last issue would include a table of contents of all year's issues, thus forming an annual volume by the end of the year.

The yearly subscription in Beirut and Lebanon was one Turkish pound, and for all other places, one English pound paid in advance. Whoever sent the subscription amount with their name and address would be sent Al-Jīnān. The yearly subscription began in January of each year. The fee for advertising on the outside page from one line to four lines was one franc. Above ten lines would cost one piaster and a quarter per line. There would be no charge for announcements of benefit to the public. He also explained that it was difficult to start anything new like this, but Al-Jīnān would try to improve and widen the scope of its coverage.
with time. Finally al-Bustānī called on intellectuals to supply him with what they have of benefit, so it could appear in Al-Jinān." \(^{(27)}\)

Al-Jinān's main focus was on knowledge as a vehicle to enrich minds, channel intelligence, discover and adopt talents. The topics of Al-Jinān may be summarized under six headings: The opening statement, the political statement or the editorial (al-ifītāhiyyah); items of news including speeches and translations; scientific articles, which included agriculture, industry and commerce; literary articles including serial stories; history including Ottoman laws translated into Arabic; humor and plays.\(^{(28)}\)

The chief editor Salīm al-Bustānī dealt with political themes “for the sake of acquiring material and moral progress for the Ottoman realm,” \(^{(29)}\) and “to promote a national patriotic common ground among the readers of the nation.” \(^{(30)}\) The summary of news and political events in the country and abroad included speeches as well as translations from the Times, the Levant Herald, Saturday Review, Le Monde, and Le Temps. It was apparent that some of the news was translated by “the department of Translation at al-Bustānī’s National School.” \(^{(31)}\) Scientific topics were of the kind that people could understand and related to this world in order “to educate the mind.” \(^{(32)}\) The literary material aimed to enhance the Arabic language and rid it of mistakes, so that it would be “pronounced correctly using the correct expressions” \(^{(33)}\) that were understood by the general public and acceptable to the elite. Historical material was meant to enhance understanding the past and “looking at the present events and the future events through the windows of the
future.” (34) Al-Bustānī argued that the subjects and events of history were always changing because the elements that affect them were “human desire, greed and needs. The products will be different in accordance with the conditions and characteristics of the doers. These are the changes in which history is evaluated.” (35) The comics and anecdotes were taken from plays and stories “similar to the cultured magazines of that era.” (36) Al-Jinān lasted for seventeen years. It was published in thirty-two pages where each page was divided into two columns. Without any doubt the principles of patriotism and tolerance reflected in Nafrīr Sūriyyā continued to guide his son Salīm in his editorials and articles in the Al-Jinān journal, as he constantly referred to its expressions, for example, “governance is the salt of the earth;” “the worst war is a civil war;” “civilization is the spirit of the age.”

**Al-Jannah and Al-Junaynah**

Buṭrus al-Bustānī established two lesser journals (37) with the help of his sons. The first, *Al-Jannah*, was launched on the 11th of June 1870 and was associated with Salīm al-Bustānī. It was a political, literary and commercial magazine. “The overwhelming issues were the political discussions and the news.” (38) Following the death of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, its copyrights were transferred to his son Salīm. Then following the death of Salīm in 1884, both copyrights of *Al-Jinān* and *Al-Jannah* went to his brother Najīb. Initially, *Al-Jannah* was published weekly, then twice a week until 1886.
Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s last journalistic endeavour was Al-Junaynah in 1871, a daily political and commercial magazine. It lasted only three years (39) "because of the epidemic of the yellow fever in Beirut." (40) Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s papers dealt with the national and educational objectives to which he dedicated his life to make his compatriots move with the developments of the age.

Al-Bustānī’s Role in the Founding of Cultural Societies

By the end of the first half of the 19th century, collective cultural activities had begun to be organized in Arabic starting from Beirut. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was a founding member of the earliest literary and scientific societies that were established in Beirut. Membership in those societies at the beginning was limited to Christian members but thanks to his influence and that of Nāṣīf al-Yāzījī, Muslim and Druze members were eventually admitted to such cultural societies. The activities of these societies were especially concerned with organising public lectures on cultural and educational issues and eventually also on the theme of patriotism and related political concepts.

Al-Bustānī was practically instrumental in the founding and activities of two influential societies: The Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (al-Jamʿīyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-ʿUlūm wal-Funūn), which was founded in 1847; and the Syrian Scientific Society in 1857. By studying and analyzing the constitution that defined the activities of the first society, we can gain some insight into its workings, and consequently into the contribution of Buṭrus al-Bustānī in the area of cultural
activities. This is particularly so since Buṭrus al-Bustānī played a major part in the preparation of this constitution. The constitution (*Dustūr*) consisted of fifteen articles: (see Appendix 1)

Here we must especially consider the third proposal of article two, because it represents the basic objective of forming the literary and scientific societies and clubs. Intellectuals recognized the damage caused by religious, political and economic fragmentation. This was one of the main reasons for forming the Syrian Society on a national rather than religious basis. That is why its President Eli Smith of the American mission, in his annual speech reminded the members that the constitution “prohibits us in all that we discuss in order to achieve our different objectives, from dealing with the different religious opinions pertaining to different religious sects in the country. So that all those who love sciences and their benefits can attend wholeheartedly, regardless of their religious affiliation where they would find in the Society a general platform.”({cite}41{cite})

The society had a library, which was placed within everybody’s reach. The library had a constitution (*Qānūn*) of seven articles: (see Appendix 2)

Membership of the Society reached 51. All of them were Christians. (see Appendix 3)

Despite the fact that all members of the Society were Christians, we perceive that those members had come from various towns and included Arabs and foreigners, which consequently points to another fact that the society attracted their interests and concern, as being a centre for collective thinking and activities. It also
attracted corresponding members from the main cities of Syria, Palestine and Lebanon and one member at least from abroad.

The Society held a meeting every two weeks. Butrus al-Bustānī attended all those meetings and his duties as Secretary (*Amin Sirr*) involved recording all minutes. From the founding of the Society in 1847 to the end of 1851, the Society held fifty-three meetings, in addition to the open meetings, which reached over twenty meetings. The working meetings were exclusively for members, whilst the open meetings were for the public, encouraging questions and discussions of various issues.

The topics in those public meetings centered on lectures on topics such as: The enjoyment and benefits of science by Cornelius Van Dyck, the advantage of pioneers over followers by Cornelius Van Dyck, the development of science in Syria during this generation by John Wortabet, the education of women by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Arab sciences by Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, plants by Nawfal Ni‘matallāh Nawfal, nature’s law by Salīm Nawfal, good luck & bad luck by Mīkhā‘īl Mishāqqāh and the city of Beirut by Buṭrus al-Bustānī.” (42)

One of the indicative factors is the range and standing of the people who made up this society. Its memberships reflected the changes in social life in Lebanon. Although it did not have non-Christian members for many reasons such as the control of its activities by American missionaries especially when it first started, we cannot deny the role it played in the cultural life in Lebanon’s society and the Arab East. The members directed their main efforts towards simplifying and
popularizing the natural science to facilitate spreading knowledge among the people and to tackling of educational issues. As its president Eli Smith said: "It is well known that the aim of all these societies is to widen the boundaries of science and the importance of technology." (43)

The emphasis in this Society was on the promotion of the importance of science, the growth of knowledge, and the development of collective cooperation among the people of the country (Ahālī al-Bilād) through regular meetings in which members will talk about research they prepared for this purpose.

The founders chose Arabic as the language of presentation for their lectures and speeches, for it was the language of the people of the country. Work inside the society required each member to place the result of his experiments and research under the disposal of all members in order not to waste time in researching what the others had already accomplished. "It is possible that someone does not know what someone else knows and this way he will spend time and money seeking something that someone else had already found out. For that reason, it was wise to form groups of people seeking a common goal to meet together and compare results of their efforts. This way one can harvest what another has planted and avoid wasting time repeating experiments of which the results are already known." (44)

The topics were of great benefit to the members and to those who attended the lectures in the acquisition of knowledge. Butrus al-Bustanī as Secretary wrote a report of the Executive Board, "What confirms our determination and strengthens
our hopes in the growth of this Society is that the people still talk about it and wish to join its members.” (45)

All the lectures and topics were given in Arabic and this increased the benefit for the country. Eli Smith after being elected president in 1852 gave a speech on the 6th of January acknowledging that the founders of the society decided wisely that all activities should be in the language of the country because its aim is to benefit the people of the country, not the foreigners. According to Buṭrus al-Bustānī, al-Jamʿiyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-ʿUlūm wal-Funūn was not the first educational society to be established in the region. In his letters to Eli Smith, he wrote that there was an attempt to establish an educational society in 1846. Al-Bustānī remarks in one of his letters dated January 10, 1846 “we organized an educational group in Beirut and called it Majmaʿ al-Tahdhib. (46) Its aims were to bring benefits to the region through education and fostering national thinking and affiliation.

The Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences played an outstanding and effective role in the region’s cultural and educational renaissance. Its members met twice every month, and at each meeting one of them delivered a lecture on a specific subject, and Buṭrus al-Bustānī contributed immensely to this activity. In addition to his role in establishing the society, Buṭrus al-Bustānī was a member of its Executive Board. The most prominent achievement of the Society in the long term is reflected in the book which Buṭrus al-Bustānī put together, edited and published under the title Transactions of the Syrian Society (Aʿmāl al-Jamʿiyyah al-Sūriyyah). This book comprised the Society’s constitution, activities, texts of
lectures and lists of the names of the Society's founders and members. The Society lasted six years, but despite its short life, its great merit was and will always remain in strengthening the concept of raising the level of knowledge through a well-organized collective effort, and the systematic use of the Arabic language in both its meetings and its publications.

The Syrian Scientific Society (al-Jamʿiyyah al-ʿIlmiyyah al-Sūriyyah)

The Syrian Scientific Society (al-Jamʿiyyah al-ʿIlmiyyah al-Sūriyyah) was established in 1857 through the combined efforts of Buṭrus al-Bustānī and Naṣīf al-Yāzījī. As a successor to the earlier Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (al-Jamʿiyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-ʿUlūm wal-Funūn), this new one was meant to continue the work and strive for the same objectives. However, there were two significant changes relating to memberships. First, unlike its predecessor, the new society admitted Muslim and Druze members. Secondly, its membership was confined to the people of the country understood broadly (abnāʾ al-bilād) and to the exclusion of foreign residents. Muslim and Druze thinkers joined. As George Antonius puts it, “The Moslems came forward with a proposal; provided missionary influence was eliminated, they would join in the formation of a new society to unite all creeds in the service of learning.” This enterprise achieved great success by responding to the call for cultural unity without discriminating on the basis of religious affiliation. For that reason, “the foundation of the Society was the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness.”\(^{(47)}\) Membership reached 150 in 1868, most
of the members were from Lebanon, including Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon and Ba‘alback, with several members from Damascus, Homs, as well as Egypt and Istanbul. Amongst them, there was a diversity of scientists, scholars and intellectuals. Since its establishment, many renowned identities joined it. (See Appendix 4)

The Society was forced to suspend its activities because of the sectarian fighting of 1860. However, it was able eventually to resume its activities and expend them after obtaining official Ottoman permission in 1868. Official support was notable in the attendance of its new first meeting by Kāmil Pasha the former Grand Wazīr (al-Ṣadr al-A‘ẓam) who was then the Governor of Beirut. Among the most important objectives of the society were promoting knowledge, arts, scholarship, enlightenment of the people and reminding them of their national duties and responsibilities.

As for its constitution, it was essentially the same as that of the previous Society. As Jurjī Zaydān notes, “it copied its rules and regulations even its name, and even a number of the previous Society’s members joined the new one.” (48) Buṭrus al-Bustānī and his son Salīm were active participants. George Antonius considered “its historical importance as a Society in that it formed the structure of a new political movement.” (49)

The uniqueness of this Society is in its bringing together of a large number of educated Arabs from all groups and religious denominations around common aims and objectives. These goals included not only the spread of all kinds of knowledge,
but also significantly the enriching of the principle of national unity and taking pride in the Arab heritage. “Never before in the Bilād al-Shām and since the Ottoman occupation, there had been such a national gathering of all groups and religious sects around common objectives based on the progress of the country through national unity, pride in the Arab heritage and the spread of Western scientific knowledge.” (50)

It is true that the new educated class in those days was relatively small in number but it stood out as a force capable of directing people’s demands for freedom. Because of this a new secret society (jamʿīyyah sirriyyah) emerged out of this society. Although Buṭrus al-Bustānī himself was not directly involved in this society, it is worth highlighting its role in this context. It was established in Beirut in 1875 by Salīm ʿAmmūn, Fāris Nimr, ʿDāhir al-Zīʿinnī, Amīn Mughabghab, Murād Bārūdī, Amīn Abū Khāṭīr, Mulḥīm Flayhān, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī, Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf, Bishārah Zalzal, Shāhīn Makkārīūs, Salīm Mūṣillī, Dāʾwūd Nahūl, and William Van Dyck. Husayn Bayhum joined them later. “Their main objective was to detach Syria and Lebanon from the Ottoman Empire.” (51)

The members of the secret society requested Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī to formulate the principles of the society and its policy. He wrote his famous poem “Wake up Arabs (Tanabbahu wa-ʾIstafiqū Ayyūhā al-ʿArab)” in 1879 and made copies of it and these were posted on the doors of mosques and churches in Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli, and Sidon at the same time.
That poem met with great acceptance and was sung by the Syrians and the Lebanese people, but the members of the society were afraid their activities could be discovered. They took all their records and papers and burnt them one night in November 1881.

This society was forced to completely halt its activities between 1882 and 1883 "because of the Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd oppression and police suppression. The organizers Fāris Nimr, Shāhīn Makkāriūs and Ya‘qūb Șarrūf were forced in 1885 to take refuge in Cairo where they established a daily political paper called Al-Muqattam and a magazine called Al-Muqtataf to continue publishing their ideas in a liberal line a continuation of what they started in Beirut."

The Flower of Arts Society (Jam‘īyat Zahrat al-Ādāb)

It is imperative that we consider this society because it was one of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s own personal projects to raise the profile of the cultural revival, and because it played a major role in the activities of its members. It represented an example for a number of societies and school clubs that were to include school students and graduates. The Flower of Arts Society (Jam‘īyat Zahrat al-Ādāb) was established in 1873, after the permission of Asa‘d Pasha the Mutesarrif of Beirut, for the purpose of promoting the study of, and the acquisition of knowledge, strengthening the aptitude for oratory, debating and language. Most of the members were graduates of al-Bustānī’s National School and other schools. Among them were his own relative Sulaymān al-Bustānī, Adīb Ishāq, Iskandar ‘Āzār, Ya‘qūb
Şarrūf, Fāris Nimr, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī and Dāwūd Naḥūl. The members paid special attention to writing plays, staging them and spending the income from such plays on charity. (53)

Other societies followed like the Islamic Maqāsid Charitable Society in 1380, Zahrat al-Iḥsān 1880, the Scientific Society at the American College whose president was Dr. Post in 1881, the Scientific Department (al-Dāʿirah al-ʿIlmiyyah) in al-Ḥikmah School in 1881, Jamʿiyat Bākūrat Sūriyyā in 1881 and the Society for Educating Syrian Youth (Jamʿiyat Tahdhib al-Shabībah al-Sūriyyah) in 1902. Al-Bustānī’s Flower of Arts Society, and similar societies after it, played a major role in teaching the young how to hold meetings, how to give speeches and conduct studies in scientific, social and historical subjects. The parents and community leaders of the city were invited to general meetings to experience the feeling of linguistic unity among students of diverse backgrounds.

The Eastern Scientific Academy (al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-Šarqī)

This Academy or Council (Majmaʿ) was, in one sense, a more strictly scientific version of the broadly conceived Syrian Scientific Society. In another sense, it was more open to non-native members, as is clearly indicated by the adjective Eastern (Sharqī), and from the wider range of its membership. It is important to note that it was not “about” the East but “for” the East. It was established in 1882 by Yaʿqūb Şarrūf, Fāris Nimr, William Van Dyck and Salīm Mūsīlī Pasha who laid down its rules. Butrus al-Bustānī was an honorary member. A number of the scientists of the
day like “Dr. Wortabet, Dr. Van Dyck, Dr. Iskandar Bārūdī, Murād al-Bārūdī, Sālīm Buṭrūs al-Bustānī, Dr. Mishāqqah, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, Ibrāhīm al-Hawrānī, Isbir Ashqar joined in. Among the corresponding members were Shafīq Bey Mansūr and Idrīs Bey Rāghib.” (54) Despite its short life 1882-1884, public lectures of this Academy reached 28, most of which were more or less on purely scientific topics.

What attracts the attention is that most of the societies were built on the shoulders of a group of educated people who mastered skills of planning, moved, pushed and put into practice most of the projects and activities. Nevertheless, the torch which those educated people carried helped immensely in enlightening the road for their compatriots who followed their footsteps on the way of acquiring science and benefiting from the West by embracing its innovations in most sciences and the arts.

It is possible to argue that Buṭrūs al-Bustānī was a significant initiator and example of the movement of collective cultural activities. He represented an inspiring example to be followed in words and actions. He took part in establishing, in laying down rules, in giving lectures and speeches on different subjects, and in transferring from an individual effort to the collective one within the framework of cooperation. A significant outcome of such efforts was the spreading of the scientific spirit and the promotion of modernity.
Al-Bustānī’s Cultural Contribution Through Public Lectures

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s role as Secretary (Amin Sirr) of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences, as well as his being an active member of many other societies, and his participation and contribution in collective activities in the Arab world have allowed him the opportunity to address audiences through delivering lectures in which he expressed his opinion regarding specific issues. He concentrated on the significance of education, openness to Western ideas, relinquishing invalid traditions and embracing Arabic in the quest for progress and development.

Buṭrus al- Bustānī was renowned for his public lectures or speeches (khutab) as they were called. The texts of these lectures were printed and published either separately or in books containing diverse contributions. The first such lecture given by Buṭrus al-Bustānī was on the subject of the education of women (ta’līm al-nisā’). He delivered this important speech in “an open session of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (al-Jam‘iyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-‘Ulūm wal-Funūn) on December 14, 1849 in Beirut.” (55) He envisaged the woman as the house holder and believed that depriving her from education is a serious obstacle that hindered progress in the region. He openly argued the fact that the woman is the one who brings up generations and is not born to be a statue or a decoration or to spend her time being idle, cleaning the house and chit chatting.

Despite Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s strong advocacy for the woman’s rights, he did not envision the woman's extended social role as we now recognize. For example, he did not believe she could substitute for the man in society’s affairs. He envisaged
her role essentially as a wife and mother within the family context. For him, she was the mother and housekeeper, and accordingly education will help her to soften her nature, awaken her conscience and straighten her will as well as her moral attitudes. He believed that by educating the woman one could ensure that she would be a righteous wife and a strong element in building an ideal society.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī delivered his famous lecture on the Arab’s culture (Khitāb fī Ādāb al-‘Arab) in Beirut “on February 15, 1859.” (56) Many resident Western dignitaries, Arab writers, politicians, clergymen and teachers were among the audience. In his frank and communicative style, he explained extensively the Arab educational status, and the required efforts and means to spread knowledge among them. He spoke at length about the degrading status in which the Arabs were going through, and called on them to promote and work for education as a crucial instrument for their renaissance. His speech contained numerous and specific observations about the causes behind the Arab’s literary and cultural decline. He also focused on the future of Arabic literature and on the means needed to revive it. In addition, he praised the Arabic language, which he considered one of the oldest and most excellent languages of the world.

In 1869, al-Bustānī delivered a Lecture on Society (Khitāb fī al-Hay’ah al-Ijtimā‘iyyah). (57) He compared Arab and Western habits, addressed both cultures and focused on advantages and disadvantages of their habits and traditions. He highlighted the fact that the difference between them related to differences in character, ethics and the dining style for example. He concluded by urging his
compatriots to accept modern civilization, signifying the critical factor of selecting only the positives features of that civilization, so they would avoid irrelevant copying.
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 3


12. BB, "Djarīdah" in *DM*, vol. VI, p. 447

13. BB, "AA", in *ajs*, p. 115

14. see P. Hitti, "Djarīda" in *El*, vol. II, p. 467

15. Ussama Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*..., p. 164; see also Halim Barakat, *The Arab World*, p. 246

16. BB, *NS*, n.1, p. 9


23. see Bernard Lewis, *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East*, p. 78


26. BB, *AJ*, (the date is not clear)
27. BB, *AJ*, (the date is not clear)


34. BB, *AJ*, vol. II (1873), p. 26


37. N.B. *Al-Jannah* and *Al-Junaynah* had no available records like *Nafīr Sūriyyā* and *Al-Jinān* had. Hence, it is not able to present more illustrated information.

38. BB, article "*Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif*", in *DM*, vol. VII, p. 591

39. BB, article "*Dāʿirat al-Maʿārif*", in *DM*, vol. VII, p. 591


41. BB, *AJS*, p. 25

42. BB, *AJS*, p. 13

43. BB, *AJS*, p. 24

44. BB, *AJS*, p. 23

45. BB, *AJS*, p. 19

46. BB, *AJS*, p. 5

47. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, pp. 53, 54

49. George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, p. 54

50. Muḥammad Kāmil Dāhir, al-Ṣirā‘ Bayn al-Tayyārāyn al-Dīnī wal-‘Ilmānī, p. 135

51. Asad Rustum, Lubnān fi ‘Ahd al-Muṭaṣarriḍiyah, p. 299; see also George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, p. 84

52. Wajīh Kawtharānī, al-ITTJĀHĀT al-Ijtima‘īyyah wal-STIYĀSIYYAH, p.113; A. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 37


55. BB, AJS, p. 45

56. BB, “AA”, in AJS, p. 117

57. Jean Dāyeh, al-Mu‘allim Butrus al-Bustānī, p. 163
CHAPTER FOUR

BUṬRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ’S ROLE

IN

THE FIELD OF EDUCATION
Traditional education in Mount Lebanon, and the wider region of Syria-Palestine, had been restricted before the 19th century to the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic at the primary level, and generally to religious education. Those who studied above this common level did so on an individual basis through Christian and Muslim clerics and teachers and not through the small number of schools. The schools and colleges of the day were divided into the Qur’ani schools for Muslims and the Monastery schools for Christians, which were spread throughout Syria and Lebanon. It is generally agreed that the ‘Ayn Waraqah ‘secular’ school, established in 1789, was the first institution of its kind that set the foundation of a significant renaissance in education in Mount Lebanon’. \(^{(1)}\) ‘Ayn Waraqah School was ‘secular’ in the sense that it was not a monastery school, although it was connected to the Maronite Church. The Lebanese established contacts with Europe towards the end of the 17th century and early 18th century when Lebanese students who studied in the Maronite School in Rome started returning to open schools and teach the foreign languages that became essential for cultural and commercial exchange. In addition, foreign missions started to come and open schools for religious and educational purposes. The real awakening began to mature in the fourth decade of the 19th century with the return of the Jesuits and the arrival of British and the American Protestant missionaries.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī played a vital role in this educational renaissance particularly through his great project of the National School (*al-Madrasah al-Waṭaniyyah*), which he founded on the basis of national patriotic values, as well as the modern
curriculum he adopted. In addition to a discussion of this aspect of al-Bustānī’s educational activities, this Chapter attempts to shed light on his two Dictionaries: *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ* and *Qutr al-Muhīṭ* and his Encyclopaedia (*Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif*), as practical instruments of spreading knowledge based on scientific methods. With these, he left a great legacy of knowledge among Arabic readers, provided them with reference tools, and assisted enormously in revealing the ability of the Arabic language to accommodate the modern sciences and modern concepts.

**Teaching and Program Preparation**

The inception of modern, Western-style schools in Lebanon and the Arab East is associated with the influence of foreign missions that opened schools based on modern Western-style programs in Syria and Lebanon. The missions’ education however had religious, political and commercial objectives. All those objectives have been perceived as directly or indirectly connected with the aim of Western domination of the Arab East. Under the shadow of the missions the sectarian attitude remained dominant in the Lebanese schools, because each group was determined to have one or more school to educate its youth in what would serve its objectives and interests.\(^2\) Dr. Cornelius van Dyck sought the assistance of Buṭrūs al-Bustānī, because of his proficiency in Arabic and the experience he acquired in teaching, to organize the school of ‘Abay, which was opened in 1846 using Arabic as the language of learning and accepting students from all religious denominations. For two years, Buṭrūs al-Bustānī taught Arabic grammar and
arithmetic at ‘Abay. Arabic was the official language of the school program, but English was taught to the top students who were chosen to become translators. The students were all treated as equals whether on school benches, in the yard, in the dining room or in sleeping quarters. The school of ‘Abay played an important role in preparing the youth to further their education. After leaving ‘Abay, Buṭrus al-Bustānī devoted more time and attention to translation. In 1855, he was appointed as the secretary of a private committee administering a group of schools whose activity was confined to the areas of the Matn, Jurd and Ghabr within the Mount Lebanon. (3)

Enthusiasm and eagerness spread to other religious communities who were trying to benefit from this educational tide, which was spreading in Mount Lebanon by establishing centres of education and knowledge. In 1862, two years after the 1860 events, Saʿīd Talḥūq, the Druze representative in the Council of Representatives for Religious Communities (Majlis Wukalāʾ al-Ṭawāʾif), approached the Mutesarrif Dāwūd Pasha and expressed the need for schools for his community suggesting “the establishment of a school for Arabic language sciences and foreign languages.” He also offered the revenues of the Druze religious endowment for that purpose and the possibility of transforming the religious retreats (Khalwāt) of the Druze Shaykh, Aḥmad Amīn, in ‘Abay into a school called al-Dāwūdiyyah, after the Mutesarrif’s name and “in recognition of his support of the progress of all religious communities.” (4) It is an indication of the high esteem, which Buṭrus al-Bustānī enjoyed that the Mutesarrif Dāwūd Pasha,
upon approving the project, asked al-Bustānī to prepare the necessary school regulations and program of study. In his plan, al-Bustānī recommended the selection of qualified teachers for the Arabic language, as well as for foreign languages and arithmetic, requesting that their salary be in accordance with their qualifications. The school program for students was designed for six days a week and for seven hours, a day divided into periods. Students were required to have an annual general examination based on what they had learned each year.

**The National School (al-Madrasah al- Waṭaniyyah 1863-1877)**

Although Būṭrūs al-Bustānī had participated in most educational projects belonging to foreign religious missions and local religious denominations, or perhaps because of this, he was convinced that all such schools ultimately lacked a true national outlook. He was of the opinion that such an outlook was essential to enhance the spirit of patriotism among the various groups of students, in a way that would unite their hearts instead of driving them apart, and would direct activities towards the general public good instead of the interests of one group. As Sulaymān al-Bustānī, a prominent graduate of the National School was to put it later: “Despite the important services, which were provided by the foreign (missionary) schools, they had left a wide gap, which couldn’t be filled except by changing the regulations. For who among the masters of such schools, despite his merit, would be concerned with the encouragement of the spirit of patriotism among his students? Or who among them, with their competing national loyalties, wouldn’t
try his best to draw his students towards the interests of his own foreign country? In this way, students were brought up with divergence in their ideas and persuasions. Thus, through education and knowledge, the foreigners tried to divide our minds while at the same time dividing our country through politics." 

While Buṭrus al-Bustānī appreciated the efforts and work of foreign missions, he had already realized that their activities were to serve their interests, and not the interests of Lebanon-Syria and the Arabs. It was this realization that impelled him to open his National School, especially after the wide experience he acquired in the fields of education, writing, supervision and administration. Earlier when he was employed as a teacher and translator, mostly working for foreign missions, his circumstances had prevented him from acting as a free patriotic and nationalist teacher. In his National School, which is rightly considered the first school to be established on non sectarianism, genuine secular and national principles, al-Bustānī was now free and better able to express and implement his ideas, with positive social and intellectual ramifications.

Among al-Bustānī’s main pedagogical objectives in establishing his National School was to provide an environment that could nourish the seeds of unity within his country, while at the same time promoting science and knowledge among its youth. He wanted his School to be truly national and free from religious bigotry, to encourage a sense of national unity and mutual love among the students, and therefore be an expression of al-Bustānī’s beliefs in the role of education in preparing the young for positions of responsibility in society. As he himself wrote
in Al-Jinān (1870), "both the success and the lasting happiness of the people (al-Sha'b) depend on the people themselves. This aim can only be achieved through teaching, educating and refining the youth so that they become qualified to undertake public positions (ważā'if). Thus, the life of the country shall flourish and the happiness of the people shall increase." (8) The belief in the importance of education and the establishing of schools was often reiterated in Al-Jinān as an appeal to the people: "We call our compatriots (abnā' al-waṭan) to rise and acquire knowledge /education (al-'ilm), to establish its schools and to strengthen its institutions, an let us disregard the opponents of knowledge and education who seek to destroy education and tear down its structures." (9) Salīm al-Bustānī was only echoing his father's ideas when he asked rhetorically, "How can we not educate our children, if we aim to place ourselves among the civilized peoples, and consequently reach a position suitable for free advanced nations?" (10)

As a social reformer, Buṭrus al-Bustānī saw in education the means of achieving high moral and social aims for the benefit and progress (ruqiyy) of the human being (al-insān), thus strengthening true principles resulting in unity, love, and the sacrifice of personal interests for the sake of public good." (11) He sought to convince his people to pull up their socks, in order to catch up with Western civilization, and thus meet the demands of the modern age. In his opinion, it was not possible for the Arabs, struggling under the Ottoman burden and oppression, to arouse from its sleep and regain their former glory, without using the modern methods of awakening led by schools.
The National School, which al-Bustānī established, was a boarding school for boys, and was located in Zuqāq al-Balāṭ quarter in Beirut; it stood in the location of present day al-'Azariyyah between al-Bastā and al-Jummayzah. It was known for its spacious playgrounds, large buildings beautiful location and scenery. He established his school along modern lines, since he believed that to be essential to lift the society and participate in real progress. He wanted the School to be of a true nationalist patriotic character and to accommodate students from all diverse backgrounds. He believed that ignorance was the basic problem of the Arab East, hence establishing modern schools was the best means for uplifting the society and moving it forward towards real civilization, which he sought for his compatriots.

Butrus al-Bustānī gave his School all his attention and wanted it to be an example that would be equal to the West's modern schools, stressing its national identity. He wanted it to be a National School in every respect, opening its doors to his compatriots without reference to their religious affiliation. He dedicated his efforts to strengthening the Arabic language of the country on which the success of students in acquiring knowledge depended. He also believed that the progress of any people depended largely on their proficiency in their mother language. He expected his school to maintain the national outlook, so those who acquire their studies in it would not feel like foreigners in their own country and not miss the expected benefits of their education. He promoted the teaching of all fields of knowledge, which he considered necessary for the country in his times. He indicated that he wanted graduates of his school to find and fill important positions
in society. He put special emphasis on raising the love of the country in the hearts of his students, and on planting the principles of unity, loyalty and enthusiasm for their country, in preparation for the day when they occupy leading positions in the land, be it commercial, political or educational.

He worked hard on implementing these objectives; as he saw them necessary for the success of the country and paid special attention to developing the national element, which was one of the most important objectives of his National School.\(^{12}\)

In 1874, at the end of the eleventh year after the founding of his School, he presented a detailed Report about the state of the school. This Report throws significant light on the qualities of the National School, and indicates its progress, and the understanding of the role of the School of the day in term of teaching, and administration. Buṭrus al-Bustānī reiterated at the eleventh anniversary of his National School his call for his compatriots (abnā' al-waṭan) to work on enhancing the language of the Motherland (lughat al-Waṭan), to encourage the success of students in their scientific studies and to urge them to love their Motherland (maḥabbat al-Waṭan). He emphasized that al-Madrasah al-Waṭaniyyah succeeded in preserving national relations, and introduced teaching of foreign languages and knowledge, which were needed by the country (al-bilād). It strived to build a creative generation with patriotism that would enhance the construction and progress of the Motherland ('amār al-Waṭan). He expressed his pride that, since its foundation, the National School had maintained its independence and national patriotic way (al-nahj al-waṭanī).\(^{13}\) He also presented a detailed matter-of-fact
Report which emphasized the importance of the teacher and the school and its facilities. (See Appendix 5)

The objectives of the school as planned by Buṭrus al-Bustānī placed special emphasis by the founder on the national aspect, the aspect that distinguished it from the missionary schools. The word ‘national’ (waṭanī / waṭaniyyah) was repeated in a noticeable way in the National School. This intended repetition by al-Bustānī was not coincidental, it was deliberate to stress in the minds of the students of the National School the meaning of national and deepen the attachment to the ‘national’ soil and increase the enthusiasm and eagerness for every national issue.

The Report reveals that Buṭrus al-Bustānī had a complete preparation to match his expectation for his school, and therefore he surveyed every essential detail. A number of significant points attract attention in al-Bustānī’s Report on the National School. First of all, there is the articulation of the modern school’s concept that would be still relevant in the majority of its conditions up to the present day. This has placed his school as a model for every other boarding school, which was established later on in the Lebanese areas. Second, he chose the school’s location carefully. He located it in Beirut, in a distinguished suburb, Zuqāq al-Balāṭ, which was “a source of knowledge and literature all over the Arab East at that period of time” (14) Third, the Report emphasizes the importance of languages, subjects and progress: Teaching in the school was not limited to Arabic, but exceeded it to include teaching many other languages since that served the intentions of al-Bustānī who was aiming to acquire every benefit from foreign science in order to
bridge the gap of shortfalls existing in Arab society. This School taught all subjects, which were available then in advanced schools, such as grammar, syntax, geography, arithmetic, history, translation and geometry. Additionally, the School provides the students with the opportunity to learn music, photography and crafts. Fourth, the School paid special attention to religious tolerance, national attitude and competence. Al-Bustānī wanted a national school that would unite and would not be restricted to a certain section; religious education was not compulsory and hence the students had the freedom of religious study. He selected competent teachers belonging to various religions and instructed them to share meals with their students. Fifth, the School organized daily and weekly teaching times based on Western school’s agenda. Al-Bustānī as the Principal set out the teaching, study, sleeping and expedition hours. He determined the school year term to be ten months. Sixth, under range and quality of food, he pointed out that the School administration ensured quality foods for the student’s meals which would be served three times a day. Seventh, under supervision of security, medical and health care, his Report emphasized the responsibility of the Principal, the Deputy and the teachers who were required to provide constant care for students. Night security was another essential responsibility. He contracted renowned doctors to supervise the health of students, school members and their family members. Eighth, the human factor in teaching was emphasised by al-Bustānī. He assigned female teachers for the younger students, and separated younger students from older ones in separate classes, as well as in their sleeping and eating quarters. As Principal, he
was like a father to his students, guiding and directing them.

The National School was the leading high school in Syria and Lebanon of the time. And it was “the first National School established in the Arab East. He chose for it a selection of teachers from all denominations, from the country and foreigners. Its students belonged to all races and denominations. They were from Lebanon and neighbouring regions. In the words of Asad Rustum “In it the Lebanese, the Syrian, the Egyptian, the Turk, the Greek, the Iraqi and the Persian studied side by side.”

Buṭrus al-Bustānī was himself responsible for the administration of the School. He authorized the introduction of a new educational activity, which is acting, or drama. This was confirmed by one of his students, Shākir al-Khūrī, when he said, “We wrote a play for the end of the year and we learned it a month earlier. The play was that of Yūsuf al-Husn and the actors were the following students: Yaʿqūb was played by Ibrāhīm Rāshid, Yūsuf was played by William Khayyāt from “Yāfā” in Palestine who was handsome, Pharʿūn (the Pharaoh) was played by Yūsuf ʿAllām who was impressive, and the Minister was played by Mulhim Shakkūr from ʿAyn Zhaʿaltā who later joined the council of the Egyptian army, Phutīfār’s wife was played by Sulaymān al-Jāhil from Dayr al-Qamar who later became the Governor of Zahleh, Phutīfār was played by Shākir al-Khūrī from Bkāsīn who was also the author of the play.

Part of the play was a lament in which Yaʿqūb mourns his son Yūsuf written by Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī. The students learned this play well and we rehearsed it
on the stage erected in the home of the Master Buṭrus al-Bustānī. We also acted the
play before the vacation in the presence of the honourable Mukhliṣ Pasha the
Governor of Syria who visited the School at the time.” (18)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī gathered around him a group of believers in his point of view
of reform. In the words of Shafiq al-Biqā‘ī: “They carried the torch of reform to a
generation who in their turn carried the torch of reform to a generation who in their
turn carried the banner of national liberation.” (19)

The educational team of the National School consisted of:

“Principal: Buṭrus al-Bustānī who taught English.
Vice principal: His son Salīm al-Bustānī who taught Elementary English.
Lady Sārah his daughter: She taught an English class.
Nāṣif al-Yāzījī who taught Arabic.
Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī replaced his father when absent.
Shaykh Yūsūf al-Asīr: He taught Arabic grammar.
Shaykh Khattār Daḥdāḥ: He taught the first class French.
Shaykh Qabalān Daḥdāḥ: He taught the second class French.
Sa‘adallāh al-Bustānī: He taught the third class French.
Isbir Shuqayr and after him Sa‘īd Shuqayr: They taught the French language
Shāhīn Sarkīs: He taught the second class Arabic and Arithmetic
Yūsuf al-Bāḥūt from Kfarmattā: He taught Arabic and Arithmetic.
Ibrāhīm Nāṣif from Sūq al-Gharb: He taught the Arabic language.
Khalīl Rbayz: He taught the primary classes.
Salīm Taqlā: He taught Arabic for beginners.\(^{(20)}\)

Shaykh Aḥmad ʿAbbās al-Azharī: He taught Islamic studies.\(^{(21)}\) Other teachers were Shākir al-Khūrī and ‘Abdallāh Shīblī.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s main aims included the strengthening of the national spirit and the national outlook; and proficiency in all the fields of knowledge. He also wanted his School to raise a patriotic generation, free from bigotry; and to provide it with “an education based on religious tolerance and patriotic ideals.”\(^{(22)}\) He wanted a generation that would put an end to all massacres and strife and move the country towards what is better.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī considered his School to be the proper environment to enhance the habits of thought of his students and their character and to plant the love of country and devotion to it in them. He addressed the students twice a week urging them to adopt these principles.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī fulfilled his obligations towards his students through understanding and awareness of all the requirements of the modern school in accordance with the best expectations and real needs of that era. He genuinely implemented all the sound principles on which the National School was established, including freedom of belief and religious tolerance. One of the students of the school, Shākir al-Khūrī testified that “the students of this school were from different religious groups. The principle sent each student to his own church with a special teacher on Sundays and Holidays. All his life he never talked about religious denominations”.\(^{(23)}\) The teaching of the Islamic religion was entrusted to
Shaykh Ahmad ‘Abbās al-Azharī, as mentioned before, a graduate of the Azhar Mosque-University who returned to Beirut in 1874.

The standard of education at the National School matched the principles expressed in article two of the Report, which was said to be sufficient to prepare the students to enter the Syrian Protestant College (later to become the American University of Beirut). Our evidence for that is that the National School was acknowledged as a preparatory school for the College. On 2\textsuperscript{nd} November 1865 the Council of Directors mentioned that it was in the interests of the Syrian Evangelical College to have a well-organized preparatory department, and that to the National School, which is directed by Buṭrus al-Bustānī would be for three years a Preparatory Department after making some necessary changes to its bye-laws. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was to be Principal of the Preparatory Department with a fixed salary for him.

The Council of Directors was to appoint the teachers who would teach the set program and was to pay their salary. The Council of Directors was obviously aware of the good advantage of the National School especially in the efforts of Buṭrus al-Bustānī in urging the parents and guardians of students to pay the school fees, as it was easier for compatriots to deal with their own, while it was not easy for foreigners to deal with that issue. Some of the facilities provided by the National School to the College were the services and experiences of a well-organized preparatory department without extra costs. For that reason, the committee of the Council of Directors proposed such an arrangement for three years.
The principal of the National School shall be responsible for the teaching of English in addition to supervising the Preparatory Department. The program of studies in the Preparatory Department shall include Arabic, Turkish, English and Latin, the teaching of the other sciences and general education.

The National School signed a contract with the Syrian Evangelical College belonging to the American mission for three years. However, that experiment did not succeed at the end. Dr. Bliss attributed the failure to the fact that the contract did not meet the expectations of the Council of Directors but all the missionaries disagreed with him. But it seems that the main reason was that Butrus al-Bustānī insisted on the independence of his school and stressed the point that the cooperation between his School and the College will not allow the College administration to take control of his School. “Perhaps this friction between the School and College is due to the personalities of the two Principals. Butrus al-Bustānī wanted the independence of his School, while Dr. Bliss President of the College wanted to establish a Preparatory Department as an indivisible part of the College without worrying about the damage this new Department would cause to the other Schools that existed in Beirut.”

In reality, al-Bustānī’s National School succeeded remarkably well and attracted students from diverse backgrounds. Its graduates were among the best of educated men of that era. It was an example to be followed and copied by other school founders, thus fulfilling of al-Bustānī’s long-term aims. The School was built on national bases not sectarian, and one of its objectives “was to preserve the
Arabic language and acquire sciences and foreign languages.” (25) Its students excelled in more than one field and especially in Arabic literature, “and reached high positions in administration and politics.” (26) Among those students was the brilliant Sulaymān al-Bustānī, who was to translate Homer’s Iliad into Arabic and to become a member of the Council of Ottoman Deputies. Other graduates of the School included also Najīb al-Bustānī, the third son of Buṭrus al-Bustānī; Salīm Taqlā (founder of al-Ahrām newspaper, in 1875,) (27) who also later taught in the school, Shākir al-Khūrī who studied and then taught at the school, and later became a doctor, Shāhīn Sarkīs, Faḍl-Allāh Gharzūzī, Ibrāhīm al-Bāḥū, Jurjī Yannī, Ilyās Ṭrād, Rūfāʾīl Khūrī, Ibrāhīm Rāshid, William Khayyāt, Mulḥim Shakkūr and Sulaymān al-Jāhīl. Other students were Saʿīd al-Bustānī, the editor of the newspaper Lubnān, Tāmir Efendi al-Bustānī, a doctor in Damascus, Bishārah Efendi al-Bustānī who taught at the Jewish School, and the famous ʿAbdallāh al-Bustānī, (28) as well as Nasīb and Najīb Junbalāt who became leaders of the Druze community. (29)

By reviewing the names of staff at the National School, we realize how much Buṭrus al-Bustānī sacrificed in work and money and asking his children to share in this sacrifice to prepare for the nation men of education and letters proclaiming the message of knowledge, love, brotherhood and peace. Those were some of the members of the family of the National School who studied, taught and later contributed greatly to educating the public through establishing newspapers and journals and through writing, which strengthened the scientific, literary and
educational renaissance of which al-Bustānī was a pioneer.

The school soon established a sound reputation and attracted many students. In the second year after its establishment the number of students reached 150, “of whom 90 studied French and 60 studied English.” (30) One of the aims of the school was to introduce its students to the thoughts and inventions of Europe and America and to teach them how to express this knowledge in the Arabic language. Another objective was to instill in the Arabic students the notion that civilization is good in itself and that education is the foundation of civilization and that the Arab mind can and should learn it in Arabic. In the long term, the school aimed to encourage the understanding of scientific discoveries and scientific principles. This didn’t conflict with the policy of the Ottoman state and Butrus al-Bustānī won an Ottoman medal as a reward for establishing the National School which responded to the wishes of the parents and the Ottoman Governors who visited the school several times and encouraged the pursuit of the sound national program which combined the interest of the people and the government.” (31)

The attitudes of the Ottoman Governors of Syria, the Mutesarrifs of Beirut and Mount Lebanon towards the school were characterized by support and encouragement because the services it provided did not contradict the sovereignty of authority. When the Mutesarrif of Beirut, ‘Abd-al-Hādī Pasha, visited the National School, Buṭrus al-Bustānī gave a speech in which he pointed out that “this school can be proud of receiving the approval of the sublime government and its encouragement and attention. It has been honoured also by being visited by all its
great Wali's and honourable Mutesarrifs since its establishment until now (1863-1870) because it reflected the conditions of the State and strengthened in the minds the love of country and the principles taken by the Government in its provinces with regard to the equality and freedom of religion. This attention has been in its place and we request its continuation in the future in an even stronger way." (32)

The visits paid to the School by representatives of the Ottoman Turkish authorities and the letters they sent to Buṭrus al-Bustānī are indicative of their approval of the principles on which the school was built. Thus the Mutesarrif of the Liwā' of Beirut Muḥammad Raʿuf Pasha wrote to Buṭrus al-Bustānī on 26 Ramaḍān 1287 AH (= Dec. 1876 AD):

"What we saw during our visit to the National School this morning of the success and progress of the students in language, the arts, mathematics, and literature in Arabic or in French really deserves praise. As for what I observed about the teaching of the Turkish language, its arts and sciences, the language of the Sublime Government, the proficiency of the students, the care given by you and the teachers deserve our thanks. We trust that the care given by you for the progress of students and success in science and the arts shall day by day progress further so that from that will come the progress and development of the nation." (33)

No matter how much is said about the official encouragement given to the National School, there is no doubt about the pioneering role it played. It is true that Buṭrus al-Bustānī expressed his pride in the approval of the Government's support when the Mutesarrif of Beirut, for example, 'Abd-al-Ḥādī Pasha visited the school.
But this official encouragement did not prevent the graduates of the National School from carrying the banner of social freedom and the spirit of independence in due course. Although the National School lasted only for fifteen years (1863-1877), when the students were sent home because of the cholera epidemic, its impact went beyond these years.

The National School played an important role through its impact on succeeding generations at more than one level, in the fields of education, social reform and political life. The school followed the modern Western system. It brought together students and teachers without discrimination based on religious denominations. It strove to develop the personality of the students and train them to express their opinion while respecting the opinions of others, to free their minds from the chains of obsolete traditions, and the sediments of the past; and to direct them along the pattern that respects all religions, and to bring them closer to the secular liberal outlook.

The National School was distinguished by its clear secular, rather than religious, character. It was al-Bustānī’s wish to convince his compatriots to follow the Western modernity in accordance with the needs of the country. The School contributed to the strengthening of important positive traits in the Lebanese personality. In addition to being based on the principle of religious freedom and national unity, at the same time it fostered an openness to the modern world.
The Educational and Cultural Role of al-Bustānî’s Encyclopaedias

Because Buṭrus al-Bustānî could see the need of his people for educational resources and schoolbooks, he embarked on an ambitious project of writing and publishing major reference works in Arabic. He saw the importance of keeping up with modern sciences flowing from the West and the necessity of bringing the products of modern knowledge to a wider Arabic public. Since printing was considered one of the most effective means of the advancement of knowledge, he established a press to publish his works. (34) His Encyclopaedia (*Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif*), his two dictionaries *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ* and its abridged version *Qutr al-Muhīṭ*, saw the light through *al-Ma‘ārif* press which he established in 1867 in partnership with Khalīl Sarkīs, and became his sole property in 1874. In general, the importance of the printing presses in that period was in producing the scientific and literary books and the school books, and this helped in spreading education and knowledge widely and aided modern teaching methods.

The role played by Buṭrus al-Bustānî in the Arabic cultural renaissance was outstanding. Apart from his ability in translation into Arabic, his encyclopaedias which complement each other contributed greatly to the widening of the horizons of knowledge, and filled a gap in the Arab East. He compiled two major modern Arabic dictionaries the first of their kind; and embarked on the ambitious venture of producing the first modern Arabic Encyclopaedia.
The Dictionaries

Al-Bustānī's first and more extensive dictionary was *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ*. The production of this dictionary was the result of much effort and planning. Buṭrus al-Bustānī in a speech given in Beirut in 1859, referred to the need for compiling a dictionary for Arabic vocabulary and the scientific expressions related to it in a style "that would make it possible to learn within a year." (35) This idea of compiling a dictionary for Arabic vocabulary had come to the fore when he communicated his wish to Dr. Eli Smith in a letter dated the 18th of July 1855. (36) He also promised his readers at the end of his book *Miṣfāḥ al-Miṣbāḥ*, which was printed in 1862, that he would compile that dictionary. In the introduction to *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ*, he remarks that he had now fulfilled the promise made in *Miṣfāḥ al-Miṣbāḥ*.

He considered his effort a service to his compatriots whom he wished to see making progress in literature, knowledge, and civilization using their honourable language; and to provide the necessary practical tools to achieve this. (36) Expressing his pride in the Arabic language, he did not consider that fifteen years was too long to spend on the preparation of the dictionary; and he overcame the difficulties he faced to fulfill this service for the country. His ambition was to rejuvenate the Arabic language by simplifying access to it through providing a straightforward reference work. (37)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī embarked on *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ* in 1855 and completed it in 1869. He relied on the masters of classical Arabic lexicography, especially al-Fayrūzbādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muhīṭ*. In his introduction, he sets out the way in which
it differed from previous works. He organized it according to the letters of the alphabet considering the first letter of the three radicals, and indicated the short vowels. He introduced many common (‘āmiyyah) words and explained them in the standard level (fushā). He included words and expressions that had entered the language through modern sciences, and were derived from foreign languages. In addition, he simplified the vocabulary making the work easy to use and appropriate to the needs of Arabic students. He also added to it important new scientific and artistic terms.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī introduced his book by saying that it deserved: “to be called Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ because it embraced what has been collected from diversity of books of the language. (38) The book contains all that the Dictionary of al-Fayrūzabādī had, in addition to words found in other books as well as many supplementary material and expressions. (39) He points out many new words and common words that had not been included in previous Arabic dictionaries.

It is very clear that in principle Buṭrus al-Bustānī was against the use of the common language known as dārijah or ‘āmmiyyah, because in his opinion it threatened the Arabic language and vocabulary, since the spoken language differs significantly from the written one and thus represented a constant threat to it. He argued that if the common level of Arabic continued on the same track, it could kill many of the classical words, in addition to what it has already killed. He was afraid that the Arabs were in danger of doing to Arabic what the Greeks and the Armenians have done to their respective languages by using the common spoken in
place of the classical language. He was afraid that the classical Arabic language was in danger of becoming only the language of scientists and researchers like Latin had become for the Europeans up to his time. It is also likely that al-Bustānī was particularly concerned about the erosion of al-fushā under the pressure of foreign influences, through the use of Turkish, and to a lesser extent certain European terms.

In compiling his large dictionary, Buṭrus al-Bustānī added considerably to the original structure of al-Fayrūzabādī’s, including material useful to the student’s needs. He also added many modern terms, which he simplified to help students and readers to become familiar with scientific terminology. He distinguished between nouns and verbs, between the first stem (al-mujarrad), and the derivative forms (al-mazīd), and between the simple words and complex ones. Although he mentioned in the introduction that he would publish at the end of the book names of famous places, people and tribes, he had to admit at the end that “the short time and size of the book and pressure from subscribers” did not allow him to include this table.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī divided each page of Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ into two columns separated by a straight vertical line. He wrote at the top of each column a word indicating the last word explained in that column. He did not claim infallibility for his book but admitted that the book was subject to human errors and forgetfulness and asked those knowledgeable in the subject to draw his attention to any shortfalls. Three Arabic language experts responded to this challenge and criticised the dictionary. They were Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, and
Father Anastathius Marie al-Karmiî. Al-Shidyâq criticized al-Bustânî because he surrounded himself with a halo of pride and arrogance. Al-Yâziji’s objections were more in the nature of reminders than objections such as printing, punctuation and voweling errors. Father Anastathius, who was a leading scholar of the Arabic language, described al-Bustânî’s Muhît as not being a real authority on the Arabic language, and he criticized al-Bustânî for naming it Muhît al-Muhît.\(^{(42)}\) On the whole Arabic linguists showed great interest in the dictionary Muhît al-Muhît, some criticized it and some considered it a good dependable and easy to use modern dictionary. There is no doubt that it is “the first modern Arabic dictionary in the 19\(^{th}\) century.”\(^{(43)}\)

Regardless of the objections and faults directed against Muhît al-Muhît, its advantages remain above all considerations because it met a real need and filled a serious gap in the Arabic library in that period. Al-Bustânî’s work was emulated by most of those who came after him and who attempted writing and organizing dictionaries. We must therefore acknowledge that Buṭrus al-Bustânî participated in simplifying the Arabic language and in finding expressions for modern science.

**Qutr al-Muhît**

Buṭrus al-Bustânî produced an abridgement of his major dictionary which he entitled Qutr al-Muhît, for the use of students in order to meet their needs and make it easy to refer to and be at the level of their programs. “It shall be for the students like a lamp that will reveal to them the meaning of difficult words, since specialist
scholars consider this half the way to proper knowledge. (44)

In his abridged dictionary Qutr al-Muhīṭ, whose relation to Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ was that of "the diameter to the circumference of the circle," (45) he essentially followed the same plan, except that he simplified definitions and added or omitted where he saw necessary. He omitted some of what he wrote about letters and meanings, forms and expressions, titles. "What he added are only some derivatives of the future form of the past tense or its participle." (46)

Ḥusayn Nassār, in his brief discussion of Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s two Dictionaries, wrongly puts them under the heading of the Jesuits’ Dictionaries (Ma‘ājim al-Yasū’iyyūn). Nassār identifies al-Bustānī’s aim in his two dictionaries as the revival of the Arabic language, where he conserved most of the terminology of al-Fayruzabādī, added new ones and excluded others. Nassār also argues that Qutr al-Muhīṭ is the summary of Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ, and that the largest dictionary ever produced by the Jesuits was Aqrab a l-Mawārid by Sā‘īd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī in 1889, and pointed out that this dictionary "relied on Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ." (47) Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ was also used as a reference by Jirgis Hammām al-Shūwayrī who published Mu‘jam al-Tālib fī al-Ma‘nūs min Maṭn al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyah wal-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-‘Ilmiyyah w al- ‘Asriyyah. (48) Husayn Nassār makes the point that the American printing house in Beirut wanted to involve itself with the Jesuits’ language project, therefore, its management asked the copyright holders of Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ by Buṭrus al-Bustānī to reprint it after certain modifications. They quit the idea of reprinting, and appointed ‘Abdallāh al-Bustānī to write a new dictionary instead in 1917 which
was printed in two volumes entitled *Al-Bustān* in 1930. The contents, according to Naṣṣār, were the same as *Muhīt al-Muhīt*, nevertheless, the method was varied. Naṣṣār acknowledges that many dictionaries, which were published after Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s, were based on his work. But Ḥusayn Naṣṣār was mistaken when he classified al-Bustānī’s dictionaries among the Jesuits’ Dictionaries. Buṭrus al-Bustānī, who disowned his original Maronite Catholic Church and converted to Protestantism, was in fact in dispute with the Jesuits who were Catholics. Despite his friendship with the American Missionaries, Buṭrus al-Bustānī preserved his individuality and character in his school and writing, and hence his work was purely the result of his ideas and represented neither the Jesuits nor the Protestants.

On the other hand, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Baqī relied on *Muhīt al-Muhīt* when preparing his concordance of the Qur’ān: *al-Mu’jam al-Mufahras li ʿAlfāz al-Qur’ān al-Karīm*, in terms of determining the exact alphabetical order of radicals. Similarly the setting of *Muhīt al-Muhīt* was also used as a guide for *al-Mu’jam al-Wasīṭ* prepared under the auspices of the Arabic Language Academy (*Majma‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah*) in Cairo, as indicated in its introduction. *Muhīt al-Muhīt* is still valuable for Arabic students and scholars. It had been reprinted by the Librairie du Liban (*Maktabat Lubnān*) with the main entries highlighted in red.

*Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif*

Buṭrus al-Bustānī believed that encyclopaedias were the key and essential tool
to general knowledge and a shining lamp in an age that could have had no revolution, no civilization and no progress except with the acquisition of knowledge. He also saw that disagreement and diversity among the speakers of Arabic over the meaning of words was a stumbling block to the general acceptance of Arabic as the first medium of education and culture in the Arab countries. So he gave all he had of energy and perseverance to produce his two dictionaries *Muhīṭ al-Muhīṭ* and *Qūtr al-Muhīṭ*. In a way, this was an introduction to the compilation of his *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif* (Encyclopaedia). If the first step in the preparation of a modern Arabic Encyclopaedia must start by compiling a dictionary of the Arabic language suitable for use in different Arab countries, Buṭrus al-Bustānī have fulfilled that condition for compiling *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif* as a general Arabic Encyclopaedia.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī defined the word Encyclopaedia from the Greek word which meant "the cycle or department of education (*Dā‘irat al-Ta‘līm*)". (52) In its origin it was the name of the total group of arts and the seven educational subjects people learned in the olden days: grammar, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, logic and rhetoric. Its understanding developed and became the summary of human knowledge in one field or in all fields. It is either to be organized like a dictionary in line with the logical connection between subjects or like a dictionary in accordance with the system of the alphabet. For that reason, an Encyclopaedia was of two kinds general or topical in accordance with topics or like a dictionary according to the alphabet. (53) *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif* means the book that contains
everything or "a dictionary for general knowledge," (54) geographic, historical, scientific, industrial, political and literary. This kind of writing is known to the West as "one of the causes of general benefit which places before the reader every kind of learning and knowledge, art, industry and wisdom and every request of knowledge in the world so that he can do without hundreds of books and easily opens the doors for everything that has been mentioned. In other words every civilized people had introduced these writings in their language and decorated their libraries." (55) Because of the non-availability of such knowledge to his people, Buṭrus al-Bustānī thought of writing "an Arabic encyclopaedia to supply the different needs." (56)

Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif is a general dictionary for every art and subject. (57) Buṭrus al-Bustānī first chose al-Kawthar as a title for his Encyclopaedia, but because this name has religious connotations he gave it up for the more exact Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif. (58) This Encyclopaedia in general included what Buṭrus al-Bustānī said in his introduction:

"The religious sciences and philosophy like scholastic theology (‘īlm al-kalām), philosophy and its branches; civic and political sciences, like jurisprudence, politics, natural and legal rights, public, commercial and criminal laws, politics and education; historical sciences, like geography with its diverse branches, ancient history, ecclesiastical history, modern history, archaeology, Greek mythology and so on; mathematical sciences like arithmetic, algebra and geometry, mechanical and chemical sciences like natural philosophy, astronomy and chemistry; natural
sciences like geology (\textit{tabaqāt al-ard}), minerals, plants, human medicine, veterinary medicine in their different branches; literature, including linguistics, rhetoric, poetry, composition, history of literature and related topics; industry and the arts of discoveries, building, photography, music, agriculture, fishing, mining, printing presses, tools, commerce, weights and measurements.” (59)

The sources he used for his Encyclopaedia were numerous and from different languages. He aimed to introduce what was “beneficial for us and enjoyable.” (60) He relied specially on Western Encyclopaedias and reference works in English and French including American encyclopaedias. He translated from the French encyclopaedia of the 19th century (the 1852 edition) Pierre Larousse’s Dictionary of which he studied eight volumes. (61) He depended greatly on translating the American encyclopaedia (the 1876 edition) and copied practically all the pictures from it. (62) He also acquired from the English encyclopaedias of John Harris, Ephraim Chambers and others. (63)

In Arabic he relied on reviewing the work of Arab philosophers, scientists, thinkers and philologists and men of letters, such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Khwārizmī, al-Fārābī, al-Rāzī, al-Sakākī, al-Qazwīnī, al-Suyūtī, and the two Ottoman scholars Tash Kopru Zade, and Hajji Khalīfah. (64) He seems to have used Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Battūtah, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khallikān, al-Maṣūdī, al-Balādhurī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Fayrūzabādī, Ibn al-Wardī, al-Maʿarrī, and Yāqūt among many other classical Arabic authors. He also used other Arabic works by later authors such as al-ʿĀmilī. He collected a great deal of information from the collection of books given to him
as a gift by the Khedive Ismāʿīl including many published in Egypt. He also relied on contemporary men of letters and specialists in certain sciences to read the material before printing, like Shākir Shuqayr, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī who contributed some details to the article on “al-Bābiyyah”, Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck who wrote the two articles Circle “Dā‘irah” and Degree “Darajah”, Dr.Yūsuf Ḥajjār who wrote the medical articles Dropsy “Istisqā’” Diarrhea “Ishāl” and Inflammation “Ilṭiḥāb”. Yūsuf Qozmā al-Khūrī mentioned that Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī was the one who wrote the article entitled “al-Bābiyyah” in Dā‘irat al-Maʿārif, but it is more accurate to say that Buṭrus al-Bustānī wrote the article using al-Afghānī’s ideas as a source. ‘Alī Shalash has rightly doubted that al-Afghānī wrote that article. It is clear from perusing the article itself in Dā‘irat al-Maʿārif, that al-Afghānī did not write it.

One of the authors and intellectuals who contributed articles to Dā‘irat al-Maʿārif is the illustrious Tunisian academic Muḥammad al- Sanūsī, Editor-in-Chief of Al-Raʿīd al-Tūnisī newspaper which was an official Tunisian newspaper started in 1861. Al-Sanūsī visited Beirut where he met with other intellectuals including Buṭrus al-Bustānī “who asked him to write an article on the history of Tunisia for Dā‘irat al-Maʿārif, a request he gladly accepted.” This is a valid example of the cultural networking among Arab intellectuals of that period.

Al-Bustānī valued in his articles the work of intellectuals and Arab heroes and their contribution. In a lengthy article, for example, about Ibn Khaldūn, the historian and social scientist, he considered his book the History (al-Tārīkh) as
beneficial and respected among people and his important Introduction (al-Muqaddimah) as rich in great insights and philosophy. He concludes by stating that Introduction of Ibn Khaldūn, which was translated into Turkish in a polished form, had demonstrated its importance. He also notes that his book al-Tārīkh was translated in a concise form into French. (72)

In this effort, it is important to realize the role played by Salīm al-Bustānī who was his father’s right hand man in writing the first six volumes. After his father’s death, Salīm printed volume seven of the Encyclopaedia and arranged volume eight for printing. His initials S.B. also appear under a number of articles in the first three volumes, for example, Mecaniques “Ālāt”, Aerography “Irūgrāfiā”, Asia “Āsiā” and Earth “Arḍ’’. (73)

A consideration of the range of Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif demonstrates that in addition to the articles, researches and translated subjects, it includes details on Arab personalities, countries and issues. For instance, in entries under the entry Ibn and Abū we would find hundreds of pages on distinguished Arab identities who have contributed in various fields. The importance of Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif is in that its issues were enhanced by many references thus providing a great wealth information. In examining al-Bustānī’s article on Irān, for example, we find that he refers to many Arabic, Persian and European sources. Arab students and intellectuals have been gaining beneficial information from Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif, which was reprinted recently to become obtainable for every one. Dr. Fū’ād Afrām al-Bustānī relied on it to prepare the new Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif in which he did not
advance past the first letter of the alphabet, however.

While literary and scientific support came from the intellectuals, some financial assistance came mostly from the Khedive Ismā‘īl Pasha and his government in Egypt who helped al-Bustānī and his family in publishing their Encyclopaedia. Ismā‘īl Pasha lent the hand of assistance to this project when Salīm al-Bustānī visited Egypt in 1875 and received five thousand golden Turkish pounds as first payment toward one thousand copies of the Encyclopaedia which enabled Buṭrus al-Bustānī to produce his book. Also the Ottoman authorities promised assistance and encouraged him.({74})

Buṭrus al-Bustānī organized the Encyclopaedia like a dictionary i.e. alphabetically so that whoever can read and can use a dictionary can use it, even if he is not familiar with grammar and syntax; for the subject could be looked up by the first letter of the word without returning it to its root. He thus adopted a similar method to the foreign encyclopaedias, rather than the traditional Arabic dictionaries. This was also the system already used by Yāqūt in his Geographical Dictionary (Mu‘jam al- Buldān) in the 13th century.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s Encyclopaedia was praised by the Arabic press of the time. Al-Ahrām newspaper wrote “The benefits of Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif are now clear enough for the intelligent Arabic speaking people in Syria and Egypt, since it has covered every subject and branch of knowledge. It would relieve a reader from referring to many Arabic books, except this one, which is unequalled among Arabic books. It contained the essence of the old and new Arabic and European books,
organized in an easy way for the reader to find what he wants in the twinkling of an eye. The author also facilitated the way to the benefits with introductions and explanations, making his book a great treasure of science and benefits that can’t be exhausted.” (75)

The prominent German Orientalist Professor Heinrick Fleisher, after the publication of Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, praised Buṭrus al-Bustānī saying: “Had Buṭrus al- Bustānī asked his many friends in Europe about what should be included in two verses of poetry he introduced the book with, they would have said the meaning should be; East and West have met and can’t be separated. The Arab East has to learn English, French, and Italian languages and the language of Goethe and Bismarck;” and he added: “the importance of Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif lies in the quotations taken from Arabic sources.” (76) Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī congratulated al-Bustānī for his interesting and important scholarly contributions, especially his Encyclopaedia. (77)

This Encyclopaedia is one of the most important of his projects; and is a pioneer work that no one in the modern Arabworld had beaten him to. Even though Ibn Sīnā, Yaqūt, al-Nūwayrī, al-'Umarī among others have published Arabic encyclopaedias in the pre-modern period, (78) the fact remains that al-Bustānī's Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif is a unique modern Arabic encyclopaedia which has not been matched, let alone surpassed by any other in the Arabic language.

From the beginning it is clear that al-Bustānī laid the structure and the basis for Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif: “The foundation of most works is the most difficult, and the
foundation of Dā'irat al-Maʿārif is the arrangement of its material from A to Z or from "Alif to Yā'" and mentioning all the books referred to in it indicating the pages. Al-Bustānī indicated that this table of references (Fahrasah) is bound and kept in the complete form in the editorial office of the Encyclopaedia. (79)

His wish to have this important work completed made him take the necessary precautions within his family that would secure its completion. After all the preparatory planning some members of the family were involved and would be able to complete the work should the need arise. So there is no need to abridge and lose some of the benefits of the book and there is no cause of fear for subscribers that the work would not be completed." (80)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s sudden death in 1883 was not supposed to affect the work on Dā’irat al-Maʿārif. His son Salīm repeated what his father had already said: “the book is fully planned and divided into sections.” (81) For that reason there will be no changes made and no delay in production. It is worth noting also that despite the many hands that worked on Dā’irat al-Maʿārif we find that the plan followed in detail or summary in accordance with circumstances and the inclusion of articles on medicine, history, literature, industry, and agriculture.

The greatest importance of Dā’irat al-Maʿārif is not simply in quoting information from European languages as commented by William Van Dyck (the son of the celebrated Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, who was then a professor in the American Protestant College), but in the material derived from Arabic and rare books that are not available to the average reader. (82) The Orientalist Martin
Hartmann noted that al-Bustānī’s Encyclopaedia (*Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*) was frequently used as a work of reference to check definitions and correct mistakes particularly for editing Arabic books printed in Europe.\(^{(83)}\)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī provided for his Encyclopaedia the best paper and best binding so that the production quality could match those of French, British and American Encyclopaedias. The Bustānī’s thus could boast that “those who know the history of early European encyclopaedias realize such books were not at the beginning one quarter of *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif* in the quality of writing, richness of subjects, printing, paper, binding and low price.”\(^{(84)}\)

In brief, it can be said that *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif* achieved the first of its objectives by simplifying science and providing a compendium of general knowledge in Arabic. Simplifying the sciences and the writing of encyclopaedias in that period was not limited to science, literature, history, geography and the translation of laws. It went beyond it to the fine arts like acting, theatre and plays most of which were adapted from the west.
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 4


2. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dūrī, al-Takwīn al-Tārikhī lil-Ummah al-‘Arabiyyah, p. 140

3. Kamal Salibi, the Modern History of Lebanon, p. 136


14. Mas'ūd Ḍāhir, *Bayrūt wa Jabal Lubnān*, p. 76
22. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 49
25. 'Azīz al-'Āṣmeh, *Al-Ilmāniyyah min Manzūr Mukhtalif*, p. 88
31. BB, article "Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif", in *DM*, vol. VII, pp. 590-591
33. BB, *AJ*, vol. II (1871), p. 17
35. BB, *AA* in *AJS*, p. 110
36. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, *Rajul Sābiq*, p. 81
37. BB, “Fātiḥat al-Kitāb”, in MM
38. BB, “Fātiḥat al-Kitāb”, in MM
40. BB, AA, in AJIS, p. 110
41. BB, “Fātiḥat al-Kitāb”, in MM
42. Yusuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, pp. 84-90
43. Hikmat Kashlī, Al-Mu‘jam al-‘Arabī fi Lubnān, p. 115
44. BB, Qutr al-Muhīt, (Muqaddimah), in (Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq li ‘Åṣrihi, p. 91).
51. Ibrāhīm Mādkūr, al- Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ, p. 5
52. BB, “Encyclopaedia”, in DM, vol. IV, p. 500

- 132 -
58. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, p. 97
60. BB, Introduction to DM, vol. I, p. 3
64. BB, “Encyclopaedia”, in DM, vol. IV, p. 503
65. BB, Introduction to DM, vol. I, p. 4
66. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq, p. 104
71. Nicola Ziadeh, Lubnāniyyāt, p. 97

- 133 -
75. BB, *Al-Ahrām*, in *DM*, vol. VIII, p. 762


78. BB, “*Encyclopaedia*”, in *DM*, vol. IV, p. 503

79. BB, article “*Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*”, in *DM*, vol. VII, p. 591


82. BB, *AJ*, vol. XI (1880), p. 748

83. BB, *AJ*, vol. XIV (1883), p. 748

84. BB, article “*Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*”, in *DM*, vol. VII, p. 591
CHAPTER FIVE

BUTRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ’S

POLITICAL IDEAS:

PATRIOTISM AND RELATED CONCEPTS
Buṭrus al-Bustānī was one of the pioneering scholars and thinkers of the Arab awakening in the 19th century, who were greatly influenced by Western ideas and methods. (1) The ideas of the French revolution and enlightenment were especially inspiring for these thinkers who introduced such ideas to the Arab East thus leading to crucial changes in Arab thought. (2)

Among the new important ideas were those of patriotism, liberty, equality and progress. There is no doubt that the important events connected with the civil war of 1860 in Mount Lebanon and other parts of Syria had a strong impact on Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s consciousness and contributed to the awakening and strengthening of his views on patriotism. Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s views on patriotism (waṭāniyyah) and nationalism (qawmiyyah) were shaped during a period when his homeland had just emerged from a drastic sectarian conflict. This factor has often been underestimated, and more attention has usually been given to the cultural aspect of his thought. (3) While remaining a committed Christian, al-Bustānī adopted a robust secular outlook and rejected fanaticism, and sectarianism. He advocated national unity, brotherhood, tolerance and openness to the civilized world. And against this background, he saw education as the most important means of reform.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s political ideas, particularly his emphasis on patriotism (waṭāniyyah) can be examined against the background of a consideration of his views on such key concepts as freedom (ḫurriyyah), government (ḵukūmah), state (dawläh), sovereignty (siyādah), authority (sultaḥ), socialism, democracy, homeland or motherland (waṭan), compatriots (abnā’ al-waṭan). His ideas on
patriotism and his national and political ideas in general can be gauged from various relevant articles in his Encyclopaedia (*Dā’irat al Ma‘ārif*), while his advocacy of patriotism in particular is clearly and strongly reflected in his *Nafir Sūriyyā* (1860-1861) and *Al-Jinān*.

**Freedom (Ḥurriyyah)**

The French Revolution gave the word freedom (*liberté*) a new meaning. That meaning reached the Arab countries with the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte and through subsequent contacts with France. Butrus al-Bustānī perceived freedom at several levels. He saw it in its simplest sense as the full negation of slavery. Apart from this traditional Arabic definition, he saw freedom as a state in which an individual is able to engage or disengage in any action at any given time through his freewill and choice. Furthermore, he conceived of it as the freedom of will, freedom of conscience, personal freedom, intellectual freedom, moral freedom and political freedom. In his view, freedom is practiced and demonstrated through the individual’s conscience, which monitors and watches actions and behavior.

In his Encyclopaedia, Butrus al-Bustānī explained different categories of freedom, culminating in civic and political freedom (*al-ḥurriyyah al-siyāsiyyah*), which he defines as a process in which the human individual (*al-insān*) enjoys the rights endowed to every citizen (*waṭanī*) by law enshrined by the political system (*al-nizām*). Associated with this freedom, is the concept of equality (*musāwāt*)
among all citizens, which is clearly reflected in his activities and writings. He interprets intellectual freedom precisely as the existence of the ability and power (qūwwah) of the human individual to express and demonstrate (izhār) freely and without obstacles his own ideas (afkār) in the domains of religion, philosophy, politics and other spheres. (5)

He envisaged freedom as an ultimate and essential path to independence. Moreover, he considered intellectual freedom as the foundation for the progress of nations and peoples. For it is through freedom that the human mind has been trained and was able to achieve inventions and discover Nature's resources. He argued that it was for the sake of freedom that political systems were established and laws (sharā'ī') were proclaimed, thus enhancing civilization and facilitating the growth and spread of science, arts and literatures.

**Government and State**

The word government (ḥukūmah) seems to have been used in its current meaning in Arabic language only since the 19th century. It originates from the Arabic root h.k.m with the meaning "to judge." (6) It appears that Buṭrus al-Bustānī was among the first Arabic thinkers who used it in its new Arabic meaning in the Arabic language. Al-Bustānī defines government "whenever it exists", as having the prime authority (sultah). It is composed of politicians who are authorised (tufawwad ilayhim) to exercise responsibility. He does not explain the process by which such authorisation is done, or the means by which such responsibility is exercised,
whether through consultation, democracy or by appointment. But he is clear that
the government is the source of authority in whatever country it is found.

His concept of the state (*dawlah*) still reflects the classical Arabic notion of a
particular dynasty or family in a given kingdom. In explaining this concept, he
actually uses the English term “dynasty”, which, he points out, is derived from the
Greek and signifies “authority (*al-sulṭān*)”. More broadly, he defines the concept
of the state (*al-dawlah*) as “applied to government and authority and all that which
relates to political conditions in general.”(7)

He subscribes to the well known concept in classical Greek and Arabic political
philosophy, that “Man is a social being (*al-insān kā‘in ijtīmā‘ī*)”, who can not live
in isolation. When people (*al-nās*) unite for a common existence, they establish a
government to safeguard their interests from internal and external dangers. As such,
government is essential for people, “because the human being tends by nature
towards evil.” In cases where religion alone is not successful, through its sceptre of
fear of divine punishment, in stamping out evil, people have no choice but to search
for another authority or power (*qūwwah*). This they find in government and thus
choose a ruler (*ḥākim*).

In his opinion, the government and the ruler are two concepts having the same
significance. It is however the people (*al-sha‘b*) who establish the government and
forms the state. It is for this reason that the state has to serve the people. He
remarks that cooperation between people and government does not in itself define
the form of governance (*shakl al-ḥukm*). Here al-Bustānī introduces what he calls
the spirit of the age (rūḥ al-‘aṣr) as a decisive element that defines every period of time and reflects the interaction (tafā‘ūl) of political, social and economic circumstances. This concept of interaction seems to inform al-Bustānī’s views on the possible future course of development in the political and social life of the Arab East. He however puts much of the responsibility and blame on the leading political elites. He argues that the East (al-Sharq) had experienced florescence in the past, but has subsequently descended into a period of decline (inḥīṭāt), and the reason for this has to do with “the corrupt great ones or notables (al-akābir al-fāsidūn)”.

Sovereignty and Authority

In Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s view, sovereignty (siyādah) signifies power and capability (qudrah) and kingship (mulk), and incorporates a sense of superior quality or excellence (afḍaliyyah) that enables its holder to have influence and impact. Al-Bustānī makes a distinction between two types of sovereignty, which are both legitimate. The first is sovereignty that derives from natural superior ability which certain individuals have over their peers, and which has no connection with teachings or the rights of obedience enjoined by any treaties or social laws. The second is a legitimate or legal sovereignty (siyādah shar‘iyyah) that is based on the choice and acceptance by those who are subject to it according to what prevails in republican governments.
Authority (*sultān*) in his view is the power or ability (*qudrāh*), which is invested in management of human society through its government. It is one of the essential needs which society cannot do without, since any number of people when they come together to undertake a certain activity, whether industrial or commercial, they must have an authority to restrain them and supervise their actions. One of the authority’s primary functions is to ensure that people respect the laws and regulations. It must also secure equality among people with regards to fair participation in serving society. “The basis of authority is government, legislation, justice and administration, thus assuring the individuals’ lives, comfort and the growth of their labour. Any society not based upon these principles ends up in chaos or finds itself subject to foreign repression.”

**Socialism and Democracy**

It should be pointed out that Butrus al-Bustānī also discusses the concept of socialism (*ishtirākiyyah*) and democracy (*dīmūqrātiyyah*) in his *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*. He defines it as equality among all members of human society who would share in every thing. This Socialism is divided in two kinds. One is called communism (*kumyunism*), which is strict socialism; the other is mutual support socialism (*al-ishtirākiyyah al-mu‘āqdidah*). Strict socialism is based on members sharing wealth and goods; whilst the supportive socialism consists of distributing work and its production among the community. According to al-Bustānī, the
philosophy of socialism touches every aspect of human life, including families, government, as well as cultural, spiritual and religious matters. Buṭrus al-Bustānī argues that the Arabs have experienced a similar concept, long time ago, in their tribal societies. As for the aims of socialism, it serves to improve the condition of societies by implementing community participation, thus distributing benefits among all members, especially the poorer ones. His contemporary Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, in his work “The Truth about the Neicheri Sect and an Explanation of the Neichers” in 1880-1881, translated communism as “Ishtirāk”, at some point; while rendering the French “socialistes” and “communistes” as ījtimāʿīyīn and ishtirākīyyīn.(11) Buṭrus al-Bustānī highlights the fact that democracy means the rule of the people where everyone has the right to voice his opinion within the rules and regulation. In his view, it is essential that this system must be stable and preserved through peace and security. A judge in the democracy system must obey the rules, which were set by the people. Democracy is elected rule that would be controlled by the law. Election (Intikhāb) is a concept that attracts public opinion without force. It is on this basis, that equality (al-musāwāt) among people (al-Ummah) and freedom can be seen secured. (12)

The Lessons of the Civil War

Buṭrus al-Bustānī described the 1860 civil war as the worst and the ugliest event. “The war that hit my country this year was the worst and the most devastating. Its destructive consequences touched every sector in our society and

- 142 -
crippled our life in all aspects. Its cost was very high as well as its hazards, losses and ill effects.” In his view, the 1860 civil war was instigated by ignorance, selfishness, lack of civilization, poor insight and lack of tolerance. (13)

He condemned acts of blind revenge, in which a family suffers because of the mistakes of one of its members, while the whole nation suffers because of some of its citizens’ actions: “This animal devious principle of blind revenge which was inherited from the barbarians” can take many forms, as Qays versus Yaman, Janbalāt versus Yazbak. Blind revenge was a devastating element during the 1860 civil war. It was concealed in holy labels within communities, initially, Christian and Durze and later on Muslim and Christian. (14)

He highlights thoroughly the Motherland’s losses, gains, debts, legislation and public interests. He devotes a considerable part of his writings to the Motherland’s material and moral losses during wars. At the material level alone, he estimated the material war losses of Syria to equal its income from crops of silk for three and a half years (worth 2000 tons of silk annually). (15) He focused also on the moral ill effects that hit familial ties inherited from fathers and grandfathers. (16) He spoke of the damage to principles and losses effecting peoples honor, honesty, as well as cultural losses of valuable books and useful libraries. (17)

In the same context, he discusses the Motherland’s potential moral gains. Wars have gains and losses, advantages and disadvantages, as well as disasters. People learn how harmful and destructive wars could be and how traumatic their consequences are. Wars make people appreciate the importance of tolerance,
openness, forgiveness and the ties of harmony and mutual affection. A fair
governing regime is a grace from God; it is the life and salt of the earth; absence of
legislation or the lack of its implementation leads to chaos, and unrest. The absence
of a good law and the relinquishing of legislation triggers trouble, no matter how
much a country is civilized and developed. A good law, as well as a good
legislation are like man’s health, one doesn’t appreciate their values unless one is
deprived of them. (18)

Motherland and Patriotism (al-Waṭan wal-Waṭaniyyah)

Halim Barakat rightly points out in his Book The Arab World that the writing
of Buṭrus al-Bustānī after the Lebanese civil war of 1860, went beyond this concept
of waṭan to call for replacement of sectarianism with nationalism. (19) When the
Lebanese civil war came to an end, Buṭrus al-Bustānī published his well-known
newspaper or rather News-sheet Nafīr Sūriyyā. It was the first Arabic political
newspaper in the Arab East, as mentioned previously, with Arabic patriotic aims. It
was a loud cry against ignorance and fanaticism. Dr. Nāṣīf Naṣṣār has rightly
considered Nafīr Sūriyyā as the first important document of nationalist thought in
the modern history of the Arab East. Each issue of Nafīr Sūriyyā included valuable
and honest patriotic views seeking to encourage unity among all citizens of
different religious denominations. Buṭrus al-Bustānī genuinely endeavored to foster
and encourage tolerance, common living, forgiveness, openness, education and
civilization. He called on his fellow citizens to read Nafīr Sūriyyā through the
simple spirit of love, sincerity and loyalty. He considered his work as patriotic, secular and free from any personal interests or gains. He envisaged his role to be patriotic and humanitarian. He called on his readers to trust him and to be guided by his advice since he shared their pain and suffering.\(^{(20)}\)

In his articles, political commentaries, speeches, books and pamphlets, Buṭrus al-Bustānī directly and thoroughly addressed the disasters, horrible acts, losses, poverty, hatred and miseries inflicted on his fellow compatriots as a result of the civil war. He elaborated passionately on the magnitude of the ill-fated events that made the majority of the people suffer. He called on his compatriots to focus on their national best interests: “My fellow compatriots, the destruction, losses and damage that hit our country has rarely been witnessed throughout history. The fact that you are aware of the reasons that led to these disasters is painful. The pain is felt by each and every patriotic citizen. It might appear that the destruction had affected certain sectors of our society, but in reality it had made all of you suffer. Any loss is a national one, for it affects the whole country and all of its people.”\(^{(21)}\)

From the first issue of *Nafir Sūriyyā*, Motherland (*al-Waṭan*) was the main focus of al-Bustānī. Although he did not elaborate on its fundamentals, “he stressed two factors: the land and the language. He also gave great importance to national common interests and common customs.”\(^{(22)}\) In this context he addresses the people by saying “My dear fellow compatriots, you drink the same water, breath the same air, you speak the same language, the land you live on is one, your common interests are one and your customs are the same.”\(^{(23)}\)
He envisaged al-Waṭan as the truth, where all opposing citizens should unite under its umbrella with love and forgiveness. He did not only call on Christians and Druzes to have tolerance, openness and live harmoniously in peace, but also sent similar message to all religious groups in the country. Al-Bustānī’s obsession and love for his nation prompted him to subtitle Nafir Sūriyyā issues, as from the fourth one, with the world nationalist or patriotic (waṭaniyyah) thus the fourth Nationalist / Patriotic [Message] (al-Waṭaniyyah al-Rābi‘ah), etc…

He was pleased with the Ottoman measures taken by the Sultan to put an end to the civil war. He commented on the goodness of these Ottoman measures which in his opinion, eliminated strife, stopped the prevailing corruption, ended the massacres and delivered security and peace. He called on the people to learn from the painful and traumatic consequences of the conflict and thus confront its disastrous outcome by cooperation, patience and open-minded attitudes. Since his focus was on the future, he did not elaborate much on the historical or recent factors that instigated the conflict. He was convinced that the majority of the people were fully aware of these factors. “It would not be of much help to look back on the past, instead we should focus on the future in order to eliminate any potential disasters, thus avoiding their grave influence and lethal consequences”.(24)

Buṭrus al-Bustānī defined citizens’ rights and obligations in the following terms: “Citizens have basic rights which the Motherland should respect and honor. Citizens at the same time must fulfil their obligations towards the Motherland.” He envisaged the Motherland as a series of con-centric circles. The first circle is our
family (members of our house) and the last one is our country (bilādunā) and all its inhabitants.”

He defines his Homeland as follows: “Syria, which is known as Barr al-Shām and the land of the Arabs (‘Arabistān) is our Motherland with all its different plains, rocky hills, coasts and mountains. All inhabitants of our Motherland regardless of their different religious persuasions, appearance, type, culture and sub-groups are the Motherland’s sons and daughters (ābnā’ al-Waṭan).” (25) Butrus al-Bustānī was probably the first Arabic nationalist, and the first thinker to identify Syria and the “land of the Arabs,” (he uses the Ottoman ‘Arabistān) as the focus of national loyalty, and to depict it as a distinct historical and geographical entity. (26) To him the Motherland (al-Waṭan) represents Syria and Arabia, or more generally “the land of the Arabs”. It is very clear that he did not advocate a particular ethnic nationalism (qawmiyyah). Rather, his starting point is love of the Motherland.

Butrus al-Bustānī understood religion as a special relation between man and his God, and not as obligation and rituals. For him man’s freedom was the core and essence of progress. He was against confusing religion with politics and against the interference of one in the affairs of the other. He points out that anyone who reads the history of peoples and religions would see clearly the harm that befalls peoples and religions themselves as a result of middling in politics. He argues that his people should consider each other as members of one big loving family whose father is the homeland. Proper religiousness in his view contradicted blind fanaticism, and should instead lead to mutual forgiveness, fraternity, and love.
Fanaticism reveals a lack of commitment to religion, in addition, to ignorance and lack of tolerance. Healthy relations among people cannot be created through fanaticism, but “through the teaching of tolerance, respect for other religious beliefs, love and family spirit.” All citizens should relate to the Earth and God its Creator. All members are made of the same clay and all are equal in destiny. He advocated fair and equal implementation of laws for all, and argued that laws were suitable for the relevant conditions, places and times, but not involved with religious laws. (27)

He identified a number of elements as essential for a governing authority. These included: The need for government (officials) to be alert and cautious in anticipating and handling problems before they occur, the need for capable, efficient, honest rulers loyal and true to the country and the people, and they need to have the will and strength in their officials and military capabilities. He also added loyalty to the will of his majesty the Sultan. There must be special consideration and attention to qualifications and ability and not mere race (jinsiyyah), genealogy (sulālah), wealth or prestige. There should be a distinction or barrier (hājiz) between political leadership and spiritual authority. He argues the need to undertake strong and effective measure to preserve the people’s resources and their commerce and industry, and that the governors and officials should take care of the subjects (al-ra‘āyā) and pay attention to those in special need or deserving special care; and ensure all means for their welfare, security and the success of their business. (28) Thus he emphasizes the need for honest and capable
government. He clearly advocates the separation between religion and politics, since religious authority related to essential principles, unlike political authority which is associated with changing worldly conditions. Here al-Bustānī's secular outlook is quite clear.

Al-Bustānī warns his compatriots against foreign interference in the internal politics of the country “since foreigners have their own different interests. He draws the attention of his compatriots to the fact that the improvement of their conditions and their country is dependent on their unity (ittihād) and their own efforts.” (29)

Al-Bustānī was deeply motivated by his appreciation of Western liberal concepts, and such ideas seem to have shaped his reforming political thought. He advocated a solid foundation for cooperation among different religions. He lived and wrote in a period which witnessed attempts at administrative and legislative reform in the Ottoman system, including the attempt in 1876 to establish a new constitution and representative assembly, although this attempt was only to succeed genuinely after his time. His urging of the Ottoman authorities to grant equal rights to all citizens with equality, justice and freedom should be understood in this context. He was the first “to make a point of articulating a secular Arab nationality, which he called Syrian, within the Ottoman political context.” (30) He believed that honouring of principles of justice, separation of political and religious spheres, public education, strengthening national patriotic feelings and affiliation, were the main foundations needed for any productive, effective, and efficient
government. He was convinced that the Arab East "could only revive through knowledge of the thought and discoveries of modern Europe." (31)

**Ottomanism and Nationalism**

Butrus al-Bustānī, like other Arab intellectuals of his time, acknowledged the political reality of the Ottoman Empire. He did not call at any time for revolution or any kind of rebellion against the Sultan. He called for reform, equal rights for all and unity of Ottomans under the Sultan. (32) In this way he was an Ottoman patriot.

The idea of nationalism started to spread in the Arab East in the 19th century. Anthony Smith observes that Nationalism involves four elements: a vision, a culture, a solidarity and a policy; and it answers to ideological, cultural, social and political aspirations and needs. (33) The idea of nationalism (*qawmiyyah*) as articulated by later generations of Arab thinkers is not discernable in Butrus al-Bustānī’s writings, but his followers advocated it later on. For him the concept of Arabism (‘Urūbah) was based on the principles of awareness, education and development. Butrus Abu Manneh has rightly pointed out that "al-Bustānī led the way culturally to Arabism, and politically to Ottomanism." (34) In spite of his support for unity within the Ottoman Empire, he had a distinct concept of the Motherland. The Motherland is a place to which one is tied by bonds of language, moral codes, heritage and culture. For him the language factor distinguishes Syria and the Arab East (‘Arabistān) as a Motherland within the frame of the Ottoman political unity. ‘Azīz al-‘Azmeh indicates in his book *al-‘Ilmāniyyah min Manzūr*
Mukhtalif that al-Bustānī perceived the Ottoman bond in relation to the modern perception of the Nation-State (al-Ummah al-Dawlah), which would coexist with the local Syrian nationalism.\(^{(35)}\)

Butrus al-Bustānī’s view of the role of the language is connected with history, civilization and land. Language is the foundation, which would accompany, distinguish and move the individual, by way of reaching his deepest thoughts and wishes. It is the dynamic principle behind achieving one’s self-identity. In this context, it could be said that the language was the main factor in launching the Arab national revival within the Ottoman Empire. And in this way, Butrus al-Bustānī has certainly done so much for the Arabic language, and insisted that it would reign supreme everywhere, as such he held a special position and influence in the Arab national revival. He saw the Ottoman Empire as a frame which would include all of the people within its borders under the leadership of the Sultan. But he saw that the people of Syria-‘Arabistān were united by language, traditions and heritage.

He dwelt extensively on the concept of Motherland in his writings, and in this respect he endowed the Arabic language with beautiful terms. In his endeavor to clear any confusion in this regard, he defined both terms, “Motherland” and “Children of the Motherland.” In his concern for the affairs of the Motherland (al-Waṭan), he particularly highlighted the importance of improving the conditions and way of thinking and action of the people (abnā’al-waṭan). For him, the quality of
human beings is what gives special value to the homeland, in accordance with a proverb that says: "the secret lies in the occupants, not in the house." 

It is clear that Butrus al-Bustānī does not reflect ideas of nationalism which were popular among European thinkers during that era. It may be thought that, as a man involved with religious teaching to a certain extent, he saw the ultimately "Man's real Motherland is in the world of the spirit that lies beyond the grave" reflecting something of St. Augustine: "City of God." However, al-Bustānī was very much a man of the world, and a child of his modern age. In reality his significance lies more in his worldly concept of *watan*.

For his writings reflect a genuine understanding of geographical and cultural unity between Syria-Lebanon and what he called *ʿArabistān*. His students and supporters were to call on their fellow citizens to unite; and he advocated Syrian and Lebanese autonomy. They also called for recognition of the Arabic language as the sole official language, and for removal of all restrictions on freedom of expression and knowledge.

Al-Bustānī considered the Arabic language as the most important factor that would help in uniting his people despite different religious beliefs and education. In a lecture he delivered as early as 1859, he spoke of an Arabic cultural entity and admitted to be affiliated to the Arabic culture. Therefore, it is indicative that Buṭrus al-Bustānī acknowledged the Ottoman legitimacy by calling for a unified Syria within the Ottoman authority, concentrating on the Arabic language as a common instrument of unity among his people. Accordingly, the idea of nationalism of al-
Bustānī represented both Arab and Ottoman dimensions. It is clear that he did not call for a Syrian Nationalism (*Qawmiyyah Sūriyyah*) contrary to the assertion of Jean Dāyeh in his book *Buṭrus al-Bustānī* the Master (*al-Muʿallim Buṭrus al-Bustānī*). Al-Bustānī did not think calling for a Syrian political body, within specified borders. As Ernest Dawn has demonstrated this was due to the fact that the Ottoman idea, then, was still dominant among Arab intellectuals and activists. (39) Nevertheless, this does not deny the fact that al-Bustānī’s secular ideas which he called for along with others, have found fertile ground for the following generations when Arab secret societies and congresses played a major role in preparing for its implementation. (40)

The communal tensions and the conflicts that gripped Mount Lebanon and the rest of Syria between 1840 and 1860 have prompted al-Bustānī to seek practical, intellectual and cultural remedies. Those solutions were embodied in his call for education, true religious practices, separating religion from politics and providing freedom and equality under a fair legal system and capable political and administrative authority. He did not adopt abstract political and ideological views, nor did he propose a full-fledged program with practical mechanisms. Rather, he called for national unity and true patriotism. He presented vital and essential ideas that influenced the thoughts of his successors who were concerned with politics. He also urged his compatriots who shared the same Arabic language and similar traditions and common goals and were bound by blood to unite in the Syrian and
Arab region. This was not an invitation to separate from the Ottoman Empire, but a comprehensive call for reform, progress and cultural advancement under its Sultan.
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 5


2. Philip Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 478. A survey of these ideas is given by Ra‘if Khūrī, *Modern Arab Thought*; see "Ra‘if Khūrī’s Introduction", pp. 45-54; Tabitha Petran, *Syria*, p. 49; see especially A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, pp. IV and 100


5. BB, "Hurriyya", in *DM*, vol. VII, pp. 2-4


7. BB, "Dawlah", in *DM*, vol. VIII, p. 157

8. BB, *AJ*, vol. 1, pp. 15-16


12. BB, "Dimuqrāṭiyyah", in *DM*, vol. VIII, pp. 232-233

13. BB, *NS*, no. 5, pp. 25-26

- 155 -
14. BB, NS, no. 5, pp. 26-27
15. BB, NS, no. 6, p. 30
16. BB, NS, no. 7, p. 35
17. BB, NS, no. 8, pp 41-42, and 45
18. BB, NS, no. 9, p. 52
19. Halim Barakat, The Arab World, p. 246
20. BB, NS, no. 2, p. 15
21. BB, NS, no. 1, p.10
22. Nāṣīf Naṣšār, Nahwa Mujtama‘ Jadīd, p.27
23. BB, NS, no. I, p.10
24. BB, NS, no. 3, p.18
25. BB, NS, no. 4, p. 21
27. BB, NS, no. 7, pp. 37-38
28. BB, NS, no. 10, pp. 55-59
29. BB, NS, no. 9, pp. 52-53
30. Kamal Salibi, a House of Many Mansions, p. 45
31. Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, p. 100

33. Anthony Smith, Nationalism in the Twentieth Century, p. 4


35. ‘Aẓīz al-'Aẓmeh, al-‘Ilmāniyyah min Manẓūr Mukhtalif, p. 128

36. BB, NS, no. 4, p. 22

37. Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī, Rajul Sābiq., p. 44

38. George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, p. 84

39. Ernest Dawn, From Ottomanism to Arabism, p. 132

CHAPTER SIX

AN ASSESSMENT OF BUṬRUS AL-BUSTĀNĪ’S
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDEAS
Buṭrus al-Bustānī's views on social and cultural reform constitute a very significant aspect of his contribution to the ideas of the 19th century awakening, or renaissance in the Arab East. He called for gaining real civilization (*tamaddun*) and knowledge. In this context, he called for the education of women so that they would be capable of performing their duties as mothers and contribute to the improvement of society. His ideas could be considered quite advanced in relation to the era in which they were introduced. This chapter focuses on his contribution to promoting the concepts of civilization and progress, the importance of education as a mean for achieving this and his views on the education of women.

**Civilization (*Tamaddun*) and Progress (*Taqaddum*)**

Buṭrus al-Bustānī pays considerable attention to the concept and significance of civilization, since it has occupied the thoughts of many people and “who discussed it and tried hard to acquire it and earn the fruits of its benefits”. (1) Buṭrus al-Bustānī was inspired in his drive for reform by the Western belief in science, literature and freedom of expression. He also matched these ideas with his view that education could not be split from manners. Above all, al-Bustānī considered civilization as the spirit of the age (*ruḥ al-ʿaṣr*). (2) He introduces and defines the concept of civilization (*tamaddun*) in a brief article in his Encyclopedia (*Ḍāʾirat al-Maʿārif*); while in his *Nafīr Sūriyyā* he devotes two issues (numbers. ten and eleven) to urging his compatriots to embrace civilization.

Starting from the traditional contrast between primitive nomadism and city life,
he warns his compatriots, who had recently become acquainted with Western ways and ideas, against the danger of false imitation of civilization, and called on them to take the useful aspects and reject the harmful ones. He understood civilization as involving both “internal and external educational processes, and as an adornment of knowledge, character and virtues”. Above all, he sees “real civilization is reflected in how societies organized themselves on the basis of justice, rights and enjoyment of riches. Anything else is lies and deceit.” He warns those blind imitators of contemporary European ‘civilization’ that although it was modern, it was still incomplete in many ways. He makes it clear that human progress knew no limits and that there was scope for improvement. He also advised them not to rush into anything and everything that might arrive from foreign countries, “without thorough analysis and experimentation in order to select what is only of benefit to them progressively and educationally, where they would not be deceiving themselves by accepting the genuine together with the false, and by patching up old clothes with new patches.” Ameen al-Rihani who was an outstanding intellectual and activist two generations after the era of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, and who lived in the United State of America for several years seems to agree with Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s ideas in this regard.

The idea of progress in Rihani’s thought is based on the concept of social evolution; and the law of evolution, in Rihani’s mind was reflected in society as “a spirit of social change (ruḥ al-tabaddul)”. Although “Rihani saw the danger of misunderstanding progress in the Arab world. He made a distinction between some
manifestations of material progress, such as the mere building of schools, printing presses, cinemas, etc.... and the real progress, which is essentially moral and intellectual." (9)

Al-Bustānī was convinced that true religion provides the foundation for real civilization. (10) On the other hand, he insists that a government, if it is genuinely interested in the welfare or its people, must be a role model for them, since there is no real existence of civilized people under the rules of an uncivilized government, and vice versa, "there would not be a civilized government that would rule uncivilized people." (11) As for schools, printing presses, books, papers and others, they serve "to strengthen communication and unity among people, and help bond them together as a family." (12) He also stresses that the introduction of modern ways requires a gradual process, and that the objective of civilization is to bring harmony among the people, encourage patriotism and place the interest of the nation above that of the individual.

Al-Bustānī called on his compatriots to agree on a clear set of principles aiming for one clear objective, which is capable of moving the Motherland (al-Watan) out of its primitive life to an oasis of culture, and the way for a better future. He also defended the Arabic language, in the face of those who doubted its ability to accommodate modern sciences, and disagreed with those who claimed that the Arabs could not acquire modern civilization in their mother tongue. In his view, such people "fail to realize the value of this language, and are ignorant of the ability of Arabs to gain culture through Arabic rather than in foreign languages. Or else,
Syria would become a Babel of languages, as it is already a Babel of religions, races and sects. (13)

**Education (Tarbiyah) and Teaching (Ta‘līm)**

Butrus al-Bustānī is considered as one of the first reformers of the Arab World who dealt effectively with the question of education. He dealt with it in (*Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*), then assisted by his eldest son Salīm, on the pages of the *Al-Jinān* journal. But above all he sought to implement his reform ideas in his National School. Butrus al-Bustānī pointed out the difference between education and teaching. He believed that it is not necessarily true that every educated person is well mannered; nor every mannered person is educated. Consequently, he considered that “the complete teaching is achieved through combining teaching sciences and morals.” (14) Again, Ameen al-Rihani agrees with him on this view. Rihani considers that true education is that which “combined the study of science and arts, as well as physical, intellectual training, and moral and spiritual refinement.” (15)

Butrus al-Bustānī contrasted traditional science and its principles in the past with the latest transformations that resulted from experiments and experiences based on modern science. He argued that present theories were good for their time, and until further developments. In other words he was in favor of modernity and progress especially in matters relating to pure scientific principles. (16) Later on, he studied the pedagogy available in the West and the possibility of applying it in the schools of Lebanon and Syria. He tried to implement the Western educational

- 162 -
system during his teaching at ‘Abay school, and particularly at his National School, introducing a modern program of education.

Education, in his opinion, begins in the family and starts within its members. This means that politics and philosophy could not interfere and have no role to play. Full authority and responsibility during this period is in the hands of the parents, where education is not imposed by force but through love, which brings the child even closer to the parents and learns from them how to become successful in the community. (17) In contrast, leaving the child alone by granting him total freedom will not satisfy this purpose, for parents must carry the burden of responsibilities in the upbringing of their children.

Reflecting views of the role of religion of his time, and perhaps of the missionary environment, he argues that no matter how satisfactory the family character is, there is always a need for religious values in raising its young members. Through religion a child would know, when he reaches a certain age, that there is an authority, which is higher than the parents' authority. That method of upbringing would have a great influence on correcting any natural misbehavior the child might possess, and combat any feeling of evil. It also grants him the growing virtue inside his heart that “religion is the safest path and strongest form for a descent upbringing.” (18)

Al-Bustānī also focused on the role of teachers, “since they have an effective influence to plant in the students every thing needed to educate and enhance their minds”. (19) Nevertheless, he believed that what the students had acquired in the
field of knowledge, in addition to what they had learned from the teachers, would not be enough in preparing them to be a match to those who combined knowledge with moral values. He particularly highlights the values of understanding, straightforwardness, good character, seriousness, humbleness, activeness, alertness, flexibility, freedom of thought, love of the Motherland (hubb al-Watan) goodness and peace. (20) That raises this question: If the school is a great place for reform why is it falling short in playing its role? The answer in Al-Bustānī’s opinion, is that any teacher regardless of his skills, intelligence and smartness, would be unable to change the habits of the child who lacked a good family background, as well as a good upbringing at home. (21)

He thus underlines the important role of the family atmosphere and the place where the child spends his early years. This he considers as “the place where the parents’ qualities reflect on the child”. (22) Al-Bustānī resorts to traditional proverbial expressions such as a child resembles his father, “just as the cub resembles the lion” (23) otherwise he would be like an ape who imitates others in what they do. He wonders how parents could neglect their children’s upbringing, and allow unreflecting parental love to stand in the way of their duties, even though their children’s happiness or misery depends on that. “Don’t they realize that the future of their children depend on the way they bring them up”? he asks. (24)

Al-Bustānī may seem to us too obsessed with the notion of obedience to authority. He does not hesitate to place a vital part of the responsibility on the mother’s shoulders: “Doesn’t she know that if the child disobeys her orders, he
would disobey his government as an adult? Doesn’t she know that by turning a blind eye on his misbehavior that might lead him to commit a murder as an adult”? In addition to pointing out the responsibility of the mother, he offers her advice: “Mother, do not smile at your child when he is doing something wrong. This will increase his ignorance. Do not lie lest he learns to lie. Do not tell him, ‘here is the beast’ lest he becomes a coward. Do not tell him there is a doctor that cuts tongues to stop him crying lest he learns to hate doctors. Do not tell him not to follow you and when you come back reward him with sweets lest he learns to deceive and consequently would not believe you. Do not use indecent or joking language in his presence lest he learns from you. Do not do in front of him what is not necessary lest he learns to become wasteful. Do not despise religion or religious duties lest he learns to despise them. Do not curse the poor lest he learns to hate the poor.” Al-Bustānī believed strongly that educational upbringing was a joint venture between the school and the home.

The project of education according to al-Bustānī, had its own rules and principles built on specific educational principles. He urged his compatriots to get in line with the intellectual enlightenment of modern times. This call was dictated by his desire to reform the terrible state of education, which existed in the Arab East, where the system of education was halted at the beginner’s stage. In addition, most books were religious and difficult, and the schools disorganized. He considered the school education had certain regulations that equal those of the upbringing at home. He places the same importance on the role of the parents as
both mentors and educators. He argued that a child should not be sent to school before the age of seven. In this he reflected the educational concepts of his time, because he believed that the child’s “school” must be built on the “foundation of guidance and wisdom.” (28)

To him the principle of this first school is the mother where the child should suckle with his mother’s milk the love of knowledge, the desire to acquire it and the willingness to climb the steps of progress. (29) Accordingly, he criticized strongly those parents who send their children to school at an earlier age aiming to rid themselves of the responsibility of their upbringing. (30)

He argues that a child, like a growing plant, needs warmth, fresh air and light. He highlights the benefits of sight-seeing, walking, running, playing and laughing for the child. For unless he is equipped with the necessary skills of mind and body he cannot shoulder the responsibilities of life or of meeting the challenges of knowledge and understanding. To imprison the child within four walls would curtail his freedom, to over burden him would destroy his strength; and all this would result in both physical and mental inadequacy. (31)

Al-Bustānī considered knowledge as one of the sources of civilization, and as the foundation of happiness and the basis of greatness. To ensure real achievements, knowledge require, in addition to a school, a good preparation, which starts at home with the mother, and then moves on from there to the school as the following step, then to life, or the “great school.” This preparation according to Buṭrus al-Bustānī “cannot be completed without educating the girls and planting
in them the principles of truth, wisdom and love of nature. (32)

Education, according to Buṭrus al-Bustānī must be gradual, as it is not possible to learn the difficult lessons before the easy ones nor is it right to learn all things at once. He asks “Have you ever seen a teacher teaching rhetoric before reading? Prior to commencing, we must enter the child’s heart by convincing him with tangible proofs. For after taking him around the base of the high mountains of learning, we can start climbing towards the summit, because the enjoyment and experience he would begin to have at the base would then encourage him to reach the top without being concerned about difficulties.” (33)

He also urged those who open schools, especially the foreigners, to teach all subjects in Arabic “as this will benefit the Arabic language and make those educated in Arabic more useful for their country and more acceptable to their compatriots.” (34) He believed that the Arabic language, in addition to its excellent linguistic qualities, was a common educational ground for all compatriots. (35)

**Education of Women (Ta‘līm al-Nisā’)**

The first public lecture that Buṭrus al-Bustānī delivered was the one he gave in 1849 under the heading of the “Education of Women.” The subject of his lecture was quite unusual for the period, where he raised the question of women’s education and rescuing them from the world of ignorance. He relied on the spirit of logical argument and compiling evidence to present a balanced, clear and convincing discourse.
In this lecture, he points out that "The woman who becomes the mother of the generation becomes the spirit of the generation. She can be the happiness of man, his misery or his pride. The future of his children and our future depend on her contribution." (36) Al-Bustānī stressed the necessity of educating women and considered their condition in the Arab East in a comparative perspective. He placed their status in the Arab East halfway between the status of their peers in advanced societies and those in less fortunate ones. "Compared to the women of India they are advanced and civilized but compared to European women they are far from that". (37) He identified some of the factors that necessitated the teaching of women, as well the subjects to be thought and the benefits resulting from their education. While pointing out the harm which would result from their state of ignorance, he argued that educating women was the first step in the ladder of the advancement and improvement of society.

He also sought support for his views by reference to the experiences of different ages and lands, and by highlighting the place of women in human societies in general as illuminated in the ideas of intellectuals and people of clear thinking. He thus placed a great sense of social responsibility before his compatriots. In his view, education leads to social satisfaction, while ignorance leads to difficulties and tribulations. He argued that all right thinking people and the historical experience of different periods and religions testify to the importance of the education for women. He assured his audience that those who oppose the concept of women's education were ignorant people who would seek to downgrade the woman's
position. "They lower the woman from the position accorded her by God and steal from her the rights that God gave her". (38) He points out that such people would reject education for men any way, and asks rhetorically "so how could they accept the education of women?"

In his discussion of the reasons for true education for women, al-Bustānī argues that the human being is born with emotional and physical needs that require constant care for a long time. This kind of care is the role of the woman whom God made "Mother of Creation". To be able to carry out this responsibility she must know its motives and methods. This can only be acquired through education. He alludes to the physiological formation of the woman as a relevant factor in connection with her education. He points out that, by nature, she is free of brute force and violence, but she is by no means devoid of the powers of understanding and knowledge, which deserve to be developed and nurtured. He identifies the subject matter for teaching the woman from the objectives of her education. These subjects should include religion, since it is one of her main rights and duties; she should learn her mother tongue properly, so her children can learn it from her. She should also learn some foreign languages to get exposed to aspects of world cultures. She should learn to read, since reading is the means of awaking and books always accompany her. She should learn the art of writing as well, so she can express her opinion and ideas. This is in addition to the essential art of raising children, home economics, geography, history and arithmetic. At the end, however, al-Bustānī sees all this as a means to help women in raising their children and to
widen their horizons, and to enable them to carry out their duties as wives and mothers. (39)

He does however put this in the context of enriching the whole human society. In his discussion of the benefits of women’s education al-Bustânî identifies three levels of benefit. In the first place, there is the benefit for the woman herself; then there is the benefit for her husband and children; and there is the benefit for the world. These benefits are seen in widening and sharpening of her mental powers, in awakening her conscience to realize her wishes, and in becoming fully worthy of respect, dignity and love. The benefit to her husband is that “she will complete his natural shortcomings,” (40) and she will also be to him an intelligent spouse, a faithful friend, and will be able to help him in his business and reduce his pains. Buṭrus al-Bustânî was of the opinion that the woman was created to complement the man and to provide him with support, both in opinion and action. This is only possible if the woman was educated, but not if she was ignorant. The benefits for the children would be reflected in good character and progress. In short, he argues that we will have a better and more successful family, a better society and a better world if we work hard in educating the mother. He did contrast such benefits with the inevitable harm which would result from the absence of such education for the woman, namely ignorance, bad taste, the loss of natural love even towards her children, and negative effects on her beliefs and character in general. Although Buṭrus al-Bustânî does not directly refer to any role for women in the field of teaching at schools, his daughter Sārah was one of the teachers at the National
School he founded in 1863.

Butrus al-Bustānī was convinced, and strove to convince his compatriots, that the education of women was the first gate that must be opened toward social reform and progress. That is why he insisted that their education should start at an early age. As for those who ignored the education of women, they were, in his opinion, like some one that puts one foot on the ground and the other in the clouds. He argues that such people fail to achieve anything, for what a man can build in a hundred years; an ignorant woman can destroy in one year. He believed that “a woman who rocks the cradle in her right hand can shake the world in her left one.” This saying has since become quite popular in Arabic, even though, in all likelihood it was originally adopted from French. Al-Bustānī seems to be among the earliest if not actually the first to use it in Arabic. He summed up by declaring that reforming society can be achieved by an educated woman and not by an ignorant one.

He was certain that there is an adequate desire for women’s education. In this way, society will be reformed, and the people will possess the love of the Motherland, truthfulness, and freedom of thought regardless of gender and religious affiliation. He also believed that the causes of backwardness were not limited only to the lack of qualifications or to ignorance. He warns that the progress of girls in important issues was still inadequate in comparison to what they had learned in the past because they are now in danger of being pre-occupied with shallow appearances.
Finally, he addresses his “compatriots” to teach your daughters the useful subjects in order to get what your hearts desire for them, otherwise the waves of bad education will defeat everything; because of the hands which are not relying on good upbringing.” (43)

The woman in al-Bustānī’s opinion is the head of the house, and keeping her without education would be the biggest handicap in the face of progress in the Arab East. Since she is the one who raises the young and since she was not created to be a statue or a decorative piece of art to be admired nor to spend her time in idleness and foolish talk or simply to limit her work to sweeping the house”. (44) She must have available to her all educational facilities just like the man. She has the ability to learn and acquire knowledge and culture. He considered true education of women as a social duty in the Arab East, and as one of the essential elements of its progress and development.

Butrus al-Bustānī gives the woman a clearly defined role. He does not see that she should replace the man in the affairs of society. In his opinion, her role is essential for the home and the family. Since she is the mother who raises the family, educating her in the first place would help her a great deal in refining her character, awakening her conscience and developing her will and moral sentiments. It will also help her to be a true wife and mother and to be a strong element in building a better society. “It is impossible for the family to be raised in a sound way if the woman, the essential element in it, does not understand her role or is not qualified for that role. Social reform, therefore, begins by raising her standard of
preparedness to undertake her specialist role of raising a family properly.” (45)

It is true that dealing with the topic of the education of women in our days may not seem so unusual. But in the days of al-Bustānī it was of a special importance because tackling that subject then required great courage. Butrus al-Bustānī showed a progressive and pioneering spirit and insight, as well as a sharp perspective concerning the future of the Arab nation and the initiation of the Arab awakening in this context.
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 6

1. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 63

2. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 63

3. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 63

4. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 64

5. BB, "Tamaddun", in *DM*, vol. VI, p. 214; see also Mājid Fakhrī, *al-Ḥarakāt al-Fikriyyah wa Ruwwāduḥā al-Lubnāniyyūn*, p. 27,

6. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 66

7. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 67


10. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 68; see also Mājid Fakhrī, *al-Ḥarakāt al-Fikriyyah wa Ruwwāduḥā al-Lubnāniyyūn*, p. 26

11. BB, *NS*, no. 11, p. 68

12. BB, *NS*, no. 11, pp. 68-69

13. BB, *NS*, no. 10, p. 60

14. BB, "Tarbyah", in *DM*, vol. VI, p. 88

15. Nijmeh Hajjar, *Political and Social Thought of Ameen Rihani*, p. 85

17. BB, "Tarbiyah", in DM, vol. VI, p. 87
18. BB, "Tarbiyah", in DM, vol. VI, p. 87
27. BB, "Ta‘īm", in DM, vol. VI, p. 166
34. BB, NS, no. 10, p. 60
35. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dūrī, al-Takwīn al-Tārīkhī lil-Ummah al-‘Arabiyyah, p. 147
37. BB, "TN", in AJS, p. 47
38. BB, "TN", in AJS, p. 45
39. BB, "TN", in AJS, pp. 49-50
40. BB, “TN”, in AJS, p. 51
41. BB, “TN”, in AJS, p. 53
44. BB, “TN”, in AJS, p. 48
45. ʻImād al-Ṣulḥ, Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, p. 214
CHAPTER SEVEN

BUṬRUS AI-BUSTĀNĪ AS A PIONEER OF SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL REFORM
Butrus al-Bustānī’s interests as an intellectual, teacher and writer were varied and multifaceted. He was active in significant fields of education, teaching, religion, language, literature, journalism and translation; and he addressed cultural, social and political issues. He strove to introduce his people to modern Western sciences and urged them to acquire as much of these sciences as they could in accordance with the needs of their society. He recognized the extent of backwardness that existed in the society in which he lived and realized the necessity for cultural reform.

In attempting to assess Butrus al-Bustānī’s contributions to the process of his people’s enlightenment, it is important to highlight his concern for modernity and progress, and his open-minded outlook towards modern western science, technology and inventions, which he saw as valuable tools in the service of humanity. This intellectual attitude also played an effective role in the beginning of the process that brought developing Eastern society out of its shell and into a new world of science and knowledge. It is important to remember that al-Bustānī’s work towards the Arab awakening, for which he dedicated his energy and capabilities, was undertaken through his own initiative and not in the service of any ruling monarch. It is true he occasionally received some funds from certain Ottoman Governors in Damascus or Beirut and from the Egyptian Khedive, in support of his Encyclopaedia project. But such funds came as a result of his efforts, and not as an initial incentive to commence his endeavours. For example, the financial contribution of the Egyptian Khedive Ismā‘īl, through which the Pasha expressed
his support for al-Bustānī’s project, was in the form of an advanced payment for the purchase of numerous copies of the Encyclopaedia (*Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif*). In comparison, the work of both of his two contemporary peers in the Arab awakening, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī, for example, was connected with their official roles in the service of the respective governments in Egypt in the case of the former, or Tunisia and the Ottoman capital, in the case of the latter.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī focused his interests on fostering national education, acquiring knowledge, rekindling the love for moral principles and love of the Motherland. He urged his compatriots to adapt the best ways and means for “the country’s progress and the building of the pillars of civilisation on solid foundations for progress and evolution.” (1) He was motivated to pursue these activities with all his capabilities and with an outstanding practical enthusiasm, and by his desire to lay the foundations of knowledge, meritocracy, science, art, literature and wisdom. He wanted his society and his people to be characterised by hard work, commitment, and tolerance in human conduct, politeness in speech, and useful utilization of human energy and intellectual and natural resources.

He devoted his whole life to reform the citizen that he believed is the nucleus of the entire society. His efforts included translating works as well as writing scientific and educational reference works unavailable until then in Arabic in order to make Western science appealing and accessible to his people.

Al-Bustānī’s efforts were motivated by his realisation that the Arab East will never rise and progress unless its people become familiar with the fruits of modern
Western thought and acquaint themselves openly with modern discoveries. His work in this field was not based on any sense of inferiority towards the Western world, but rather on the conviction that "the Western countries owe the Arabs much and now it is time for them to repay back and show some gratitude." (2)

He was deeply conscious of the great Arabic civilization that prevailed in the past, and hence he was very proud of its achievement and believed that all those who spoke Arabic, Muslims as well as Christians, were Arabs. It may be that al-Bustānī was one of the early modern leading Arabic writers to speak about his Arabic blood with pride. It is clear that Buṭrus al-Bustānī was one of the first Arab scholars in the 19th century who endeavored to promote a co-existence and shared living between Christians and Muslims. He advocated a healthy relationship between politics and religion by advocating the separation of religion from politics and vice versa; one of his important aims was to establish a balanced relation between the Arab East and the European West. (3)

He was convinced that Europe had taken science and knowledge abundantly from the Arabs, when they were a leading force in this field. Accordingly, the Arabs should now take back some of what was their own. He asked his Arab compatriots not to ridicule or show any kind of disrespect to modern Western science and knowledge; and wanted them to welcome all kind of useful knowledge and science regardless of their source, be it from China, Europe, Persia, India or other countries. In this respect he reflects a genuine humanistic outlook, of which earlier exponents in the Arab intellectual tradition include the philosopher of the
Arabs, Yaʿqūb Ibn al-Kindī (9th century AD). Al-Bustānī argues that “the Western world when it was going through the dark ages of backwardness did not neglect our science or literature. On the contrary they took all that they could from these sciences and made the best of them; and we should do the same.” (4)

Although he appreciated Western culture, thought and inventions, he was conservative in some regards. He called for the abandonment of foreign habits if they did not benefit or suit Arab society, and warned that some negative foreign habits could destroy the already fragile Eastern society. He rejected any blind imitation of Western ways that did not differentiate between what was beneficial and what was harmful. He believed that assimilating foreign habits just because they were foreign indicated an ignorant, naive and inferior attitude. He considered it a national duty to accept or refuse foreign habits based on their value. Accepting customs because they were foreign was as absurd as rejecting them because they were foreign, and that was something to which his compatriots were prone as he pointed out.

According to al-Bustānī, the first thing that the Arabs should learn from the West is the importance of national unity and the duty of citizens living in the same country to cooperate equally. They should recognize this as they recognize that they have, one father and one mother, Adam and Eve, one God, God of heavens and earth, one last home, from ash to ash, one end, the Day of judgement, day of reward and punishment.” (5) The Arabs should use the Europeans as a role model in issues of national unity and national feeling.
As has been indicated above, al-Bustānī adopted the motto "love of country is part of faith." This maxim, which is usually attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, was chosen by al-Bustānī as a motto for his most famous Journal, *Al-Jīnān*. The word Homeland or Motherland (*al-Waṭan*) recurs frequently in all his speeches and articles especially in the material he published in *Nafīr Sūriyyā* (1860-1861).

Al-Bustānī was a great believer in religious freedom, equality among people and mutual respect between different religions and denominations. He did not adopt these liberal beliefs only as a compromise because of the environment he lived in, but also because he was convinced of the soundness of these principles. Al-Bustānī stressed that national obligation should always come first and be given priority over everything else. Thus he considered genuine loyalty to the homeland (*al-waṭan*) as a duty; and he called upon his compatriots to serve their country effectively. He also called for national brotherhood, mutual affection and forgiveness in a bid to strengthen national unity and condemn conflicts that could lead to the destruction of the country.

Writing on the wake of the terrible 1860 events of civil war, he rejected bravely and intellectually all forms of sectarian conflict and considered this as stemming from ignorance and fanaticism. Al-Bustānī was conscious of serious problems hindering the progress of his society and he sought to overcome such problems. As his son Salīm al-Bustānī, who followed in his footsteps, testifies: "My compatriots will know no peace, progress, self-respect or gain the respect of the world unless they overcome blind fanaticism, laziness, procrastination, bribery,
retribution, corruption and unless they work genuinely and laboriously for their country's interests and progress.” (6)

Butrus al-Bustānī’s attitudes and convictions were secular; and in essence they were pioneering. He called for the separation of sectarian affiliation from politics and insisted on meritocracy as a criterion for public office rather than the old ‘feudal’ system based on family affiliations as the basis for filling jobs and positions. He was a pioneer in calling for the separation of religion from politics in a broader sense. He saw this separation as necessary to prevent fatal consequences that might emerge from conflicting interests. He consistently argued that the more complete the separation, the better chances for success and peace.

It is possible to say that as a reformer, al-Bustānī “nationalized” his faith and considered one’s love for the country to come from faith. He sought to humanize his country and help make an embodiment of his basic convictions that membership of the people of the same state should be based on justice and liberty. He strove for the realisation of modern advanced and progressive society.

One of Butrus al-Bustānī’s important efforts was his quest for the creation of a truly patriotic national loyalty to the country and not to religious sects, and the achievement of equality between citizens in both their rights and obligations, as this would bring them closer to each other so that none of them would feel inferior in his nation because of his religious affiliation.

He saw proper national education as a means to produce an open-minded generation that would keep away from fanaticism and ignorance. He strongly
believed that this process would fill the citizen’s heart with tolerance instead of fanaticism, would increase mutual affection and care among the people, and ultimately would help them to build together a new country, which would accommodate all its unified people and not be a place for feuding and divided factions and confused loyalties.

The well-educated knowledgeable citizen that al-Bustānī envisaged in his creative mind, was the cornerstone for building the future society of a ‘new’ country. Based on this, he realized that his efforts would have to be focused on redefining the 'true citizen'. He emphasises the nurturing of values of loyalty, courage, humbleness, rationalism, wisdom, altruism, benevolence, forgiveness, justice, generosity, nobility, righteousness, perseverance, tolerance and respect of others. With all these ideal ethical requirements, he widened his scope of expectations and went on to specify ideal conditions of the general conduct toward others. He envisaged a civilized patriot free from superstitions, and from being a hostage to inherited false habits and traditions. He aimed to help rid his people of superstitions and delusions hindering the stream of progress and civilization. Nevertheless, it seems that al-Bustānī was not satisfied with this amount of moral education. He also encouraged preferring the public interests to the personal ones as a means of advancement and better civilization (tamaddun).

Buṭrus al-Bustānī, like the majority of the reformers of his time, faced numerous obstacles and difficulties like civil wars, ignorance and fanaticism, but he confronted them with courage, hard work and by presenting practical ideas.
used ideas associated with the French Revolution and the European enlightenment, and advocated justice, equality, freedom and the separation of religion from the affairs of the state. In particular, he invested much effort to promote equality and mutual respect between religions. His stance in this domain was to a great extent called for by his deep awareness of the needs of the time. But it was also based on the code of ethics and humanitarian attitudes he strongly believed in. He drew a clear demarcation line between religious affiliation and religious practices on the one hand and the political sphere on the other. He strongly believed that blind fanaticism had been dragging Syria-Lebanon into the dark ages; and that mutual respect between different religions should unite and not divide. He was convinced of the urgent need for fair, just, equal and modern legislation to realize a civilized and modernized country. He called on his compatriots to recognize the needs of their country and to act accordingly. He saw the need for fair rules and regulations stemming from “the Spirit of the Age”.

In his fostering of national education, he insisted on the primacy of the Arabic language because Syria, as he said, should not become a Babel of languages, as it is currently a Babel of religions. He connected the Arabic language, which he considered one of the most ancient in the world, to God’s will, aiming to delineate its holiness. He argued that “God has preserved this great language for reasons man cannot grasp. It was protected from deterioration and pitfalls.” He then tied it to civilization to delineate its vitality and ability to cope with time changes and evolution. In answer to those who doubted its ability, he said: “Those who claim
that it is not possible to be civilized under the Arabic language must have forgotten
the virtues and qualities of that language."

He endeavoured to utilize the Arabic language extensively, for he was confident
of its resilience, flexibility, attractiveness and richness as a linguistic tool. He
wanted it to convey to his people Western progress, modernization and civilization.
He saw it as a significant focal point for all-national causes and intellectual
currents. With this open-minded outlook, al-Bustānī used the Arabic language in
all his encyclopaedic scientific and literary works, proving its effectiveness and
suitability in every field. He enriched it with his extensive work in domains of
translation, lexicography and in broadening and diversifying its vocabulary,
especially in science and modern fields of knowledge.

He stressed the principles of genuine Arabism through fostering the Arabic
language. He always used and advocated the use of classical Arabic. Because of al-
Bustānī's work, as well as that of his contemporary peers in the Arab awakening, it
was possible for the Arabic language to become, once again, a suitable modern tool
for the expression of scientific thought and living literature.

Butrus al-Bustānī never felt that Arabic was inferior or superior to any other
language. He took from other languages freely and arabicised what was needed to
help the modernization, civilization and progress of his country. He was successful
in proving, not only theoretically but also practically, that the Arabic language was
alive and rich and could be used efficiently in all walks of modern life: for
journalism, inventions, literature and all scientific domains. It had been used well
by the Arabs during their golden age and there was no reason why it should not be used in their modern renaissance.

His distinguished method was reflected in that he did not confine himself to addressing the elites of society. Instead he went to the public with his work, ideas and projects. He generously offered his encyclopaedic production, not only for intellectual amusement or entertainment, not only for writers, poets and linguists, but also for farmers, tradesmen and professionals and especially for the youth, students and learners. He appealed and addressed all of society in all its diversities in a bid to generate progress and increase intellectual production.

He worked on simplifying classical Arabic and contributed to its new vocabulary to enable it to cope with modern science. He always used and advocated the use of classical Arabic in his writings and translation; and he strongly opposed the use of colloquial Arabic (al-lughah al-dārijah or al-‘āmmiyyah). He led the way in enforcing the principles of a genuine Arabism, through fostering the Arabic language. Although he mastered many foreign and ancient languages, his publishing work was done completely in Arabic, which is a clear testament of his love for the Arabic language and his dedication to and pride in Arabism. Consequently, wherever he taught and in whichever society he joined, Arabic was the written and spoken language.

He spent most of his time composing, teaching, and advocating his ideas through the Arabic language. He wanted to make it more appealing and more likeable to his compatriots’ minds and hearts. The outcome of his efforts and those
of his disciples, friends, followers and sons was the emergence of modern Arabic journalism and new Arabic literary genres. This modernized Arabic was more precise and accessible for conveying modern thought and science.

Al-Bustānī was a real pioneer in raising the issue of women education as a major step in the social reform during a very difficult period. He insisted that this issue represented the corner stone for human development and social progress. He called for religious and language education for women, and criticized the shortfall of those Arabic writers who ignored the requirement of educating women and children. He thus called for providing women with proper reading and writing skills, along with teaching them the appropriate methods for the upbringing of children, house keeping, health care, as well as knowledge of geography, history and mathematics.

Al-Bustānī can be considered the first Arab intellectual who called for the education of women and the improvement of their condition in his first known public lecture at the meeting of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1849. For Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq started to touch on this subject only in 1861 through his newspaper *Al-Jawā'ib*. (8) Rifa‘ah Rāfī‘ al-Tahtāwī discussed women’s education in his book *Al-Murshid al-Amīn lil-Banāt wal-Banīn* which was published in 1872, (9) while Qāsim Amīn encouraged by Muḥammad ‘Abdūh, addressed the question more fully in his book on Liberation of the Woman in 1899, that is half a century after al-Bustānī’s lecture.

While Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s call preceded that of al-Tahtāwī, he and al-Tahtāwī
seem to agree on emphasizing that an educated woman has a reasonable role beside her husband, whereas al-Shidyāq appears to want her to be equal to the man. For al-Bustānī the education of women should follow a specified program and a planned curriculum, whereas al-Shidyāq doesn’t specify such a program.

Butrus al-Bustānī believed in teamwork, and therefore he participated actively as a member, secretary and president in numerous scientific, social and educational societies and institutions. He believed in the concept of collective work and in dialogue, as productive means for enriching, motivating and galvanizing the cultural life of his society.

Butrus al-Bustānī endeavoured for his work to move society’s wheels towards the direction of knowledge in all fields. He expended much energy towards making modern Western sciences appealing and beneficial to his people in the Arab countries. His great impact came from his ability to translate modern Western sciences and other related material into an extremely accessible modern literary Arabic. The process of simplifying sciences, translating them into Arabic and composing new works in attractive style required immense efforts. He used new and unfamiliar terminology that he introduced to the public through his articles, newspapers and Encyclopaedia. Prior to al-Bustānī’s time, no such works as his Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif or Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ were available.

He recognized the extent of backwardness that existed in the society in which he lived and he realized the necessity for cultural and intellectual reform. Accordingly, he endeavoured to create the right milieu needed for this through
translating, writing and through his active involvement in literary, scientific societies, journalism and education.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī was so deeply committed to the principles of modern Western education which he applied in his National School, which was fully operational from 1863 to 1978, and which produced a generation of leading intellectuals and literary and social figures.

His National School was open to all the country’s citizens without discrimination between religions and races. Buṭrus al-Bustānī’s school motto was the development of the personality and total freedom of expression. Understood under this motto was the respect of others’ opinions with an open mind and mutual acceptance. He fostered in his students’ minds the necessity to be free from the chains and obstacles of harmful customs and ignorant preconceptions, insisting on respect for all religions and striving for the secular ideal of modernity.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī accomplished the majority of his objectives during his lifetime. His disciples continued his work and many of them assumed influential positions in the country, as writers, journalists, government officials, professionals and some becoming prominent high-ranking officials in the Ottoman Empire. Most of them, directly or indirectly, played vital roles in journalism and literature not only in Lebanon, but also in Egypt, where some of them took refuge, to escape the Hamidian oppression. His disciples included Sulaymān al-Bustānī the translator of Homer’s Iliad and member of the Ottoman Parliament, Dr. Shākir al-Khūrī, Salīm Taqlā the founder of Al-Ahrām newspaper in Cairo among others. Also those who

- 190 -
came later were influenced by him. The scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī was influenced by him during his youth.\(^{(10)}\) Professor Fū‘ād Afrām al-Bustānī, the late President of the Lebanese University, acknowledged his debt to him in the following way: “From the Master Buṭrus al-Bustānī, the man who devoted his entire life to education and the preparation of a generation for civilization, I have gained the principle of instructing and benefiting the youth”\(^{(11)}\)

Numerous issues which were raised by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, have continued to occupy Arab thinkers up to this day, such as using the Arabic language in modern science, accepting modernity, relation between religion and politics, and relation with the West including what we must take from the West? How to preserve our tradition and culture? Many have raised these issues since, but they are still unresolved.

As a thinker and a cultural activist, Buṭrus al-Bustānī was, in a real sense, a revolutionary. He was a progressive intellectual who focused on the future, not on the past, although he was deeply conscious of his nation’s history and was extremely fascinated by its glory and offerings. He advocated learning from history, wisdom and any thing that is beneficial and matches the era’s spirit and progress. History for him was a vital impetus for the future and not a tool of isolation or seclusion. He believed that openness to Western culture and modern educational methods was essential to ensure success in the important process of adaptation to modernity and progress, provided that only what is useful and constructive for the rise of the East was adopted.

- 191 -
His attitude and personal conduct was rational, intelligent, and free from selfishness and transient individual impulses. His opinions, beliefs and convictions were genuine and open to others. Buṭrus al-Bustānī believed strongly that knowledge and intellectual awareness enlightened the mind and combated hatred and fanaticism. One of the most important objectives of al-Bustānī’s work was to demonstrate and strengthen the vital connection between rational attitudes, spiritual values and work ethics. He believed that “if man focused only on the nurturing of his mind [while neglecting both the spirit and action], the outcome might be the ruin of the whole globe”. (12)

Al-Bustānī pursued the kind of reforms that combated ignorance, public isolation, selfishness and fanaticism. He hoped that an educated, modern, developed society would produce a liberal leadership equipped with knowledge and respect for human rights. Such a leadership, once in power, would be able to lead the country to join the modern world of scientific development and civilization, discoveries and progress. It would be constructive for the future and able to recognize what is transient and what is permanent in domains of social structure and national building requirements.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī was one of the prominent figures of the modern Arab cultural revival in almost all of his pursuits. It is possible to highlight a number of “Firsts” in his contribution. He established (in collaboration with others) the first educational cultural society in the Arab world. He published the first comprehensive and committed newspaper Nafr Sūriyyā, and also the first inclusive
cultural private journal *Al-Jīnān*, which covered political, scientific, literary and historical issues. It is known that he was not the first to found the first school in the Arab East, but certainly he established the first *National School* and was the first modern Arab to address women's rights. He called for the improvement of the situation of women and for providing them with the prerequisite education to achieve that. He was also the first to compile a comprehensive modern Arabic dictionary in strict alphabetical order according to the first radical. He embarked upon the ambitious project of compiling and publishing the first modern Arabic Encyclopaedia. He was the first to warn against blind adoption of the ways of foreigners who "aim to enter our societies, and intrude into our traditions." He was also the first to articulate the defence of the Classical Arabic language as a national language and stressed the need to enforcing it in such a way that it would be clearer and more simplified, without forgetting the need for studying foreign languages as well. He was the first to call for the separation of religion from government, while remaining a believer in God and country and a practicing Christian.

Butrus al-Bustānī had the clear foresight to envisage a promising society, which he and a minority of his peers tried to make into a reality during a very difficult period, in the 19th century. Although he could not achieve all of what he had attempted, due to reasons beyond his control, during his relatively short life, he was able to build the foundation for those who followed in his footsteps.

Butrus al-Bustānī was not a philosopher, scientist, nor a political leader; he was essentially an educator, linguist, encyclopaedist and social reformer. He carried the
message of change and modernization through positive, practical peaceful means taking in consideration the potentials of his time. He was outstanding in his vision, general outlook and balanced stance that granted his thinking the encyclopaedic status, and thus he genuinely deserved the titles of being a reformer (muslih), a pioneer (rāʾid) and an educator (muʿallim).
REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 7

2. BB, "*AA*", in *AJS*, p. 112
4. BB, "*AA*", in *AJS*, p. 112
7. BB, "*AA*", in *AJS*, p. 108
8. ʿImād al-Ṣuḥḥ, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, p. 94
12. BB, Introduction to *DM*, vol. I, p. 2
CONCLUSION

The achievement of Buṭrus al-Bustānī has been demonstrated in part by means of his writings, publishing of journals, compiling of two dictionaries and the encyclopaedia (Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārīf), and his founding of the first National School in the Arab East. In all this, his contribution to the 19th century Arab renaissance or awakening has been immense. He has served the Arabic language in a profound way by demonstrating that it can be used as a language of modern science and learning.

Al-Bustānī contributed to the efforts of cultural awakening and modernity by his clarification of certain key modern concepts such as freedom, equality, patriotism and by his insistence on religious tolerance and shared living among all his compatriots. He wanted his people to join what he called the age of knowledge and enlightenment (Jīl al-Ma‘rifah wal-Nūr) while at the same time building on the basis of their cultural heritage. Al-Bustānī was a real pioneer in these respects, particularly when we realise that these are still crucial issues discussed by Arab intellectuals today.

Al-Bustānī distinguished between cultural dependency, which he rejected, and cultural exchange which he adopted and promoted. In this respect he is also a pioneer, since this is still a perennial question in contemporary Arab thought and culture.

Of the factors that contributed to al-Bustānī’s considerable success in his
cultural project were his mastery of several languages, his association with the protestant missionaries and his familiarity with the intellectual products of the European enlightenment to his day.

Buṭrus al-Bustānī was not a theoretician or a detached philosopher, but a practical concerned educator and cultural and social reformer. Although he was a practicing Christian and an active member and lay preacher of the new Protestant Church in the Arab East, perhaps as a result of this, he strongly advocated the separation between religion and politics. He devoted most of his energy to the service of education and the spread of modern knowledge and the strengthening of the Arabic Language as a medium of modern culture.

He called for mutual acceptance, respect and cooperation across the communal divide. For him, all these denominational communities formed one single national community bound by love of the Homeland (ḥubb al-Waṭan) which he saw as a demonstration of true faith. In this respect too he was a pioneer.

It is true that certain issues raised by al-Bustānī such as the education of women, is no longer unusual. But it is important to remember that in his time this ways a great innovation and indeed revolutionary. However, many of the issues, which he raised, are still aspects of an unfinished modernity in the history of the Arab East including Lebanon. Thus the question of national unity based on allegiance to the country rather than the religious identity, is still a problem. The realisation of a secular modern society based on equality and justice, the freedom of the individual in all spheres, including freedom of expression, are still in the future.

- 197 -
Many Arab intellectuals have continued to follow on the footsteps of al-Bustānī and other 19th century pioneers of the Arab awakening. For example, Constantine Zurayq, in many of his books, public lectures and articles, paid much attention to the question of how the Arab societies should prepare themselves to partake and contribute to civilisation in the modern world, and have addressed cultural issues of the future. Similarly, a survey of such journal as al-Mustqbal al-‘Arabī, and the published proceedings of numerous symposia of Arab intellectuals held in Beirut, Cairo, Kuwait, Tunis and other Arab capitals during the past few decades, demonstrate the continuity of Arab preoccupation with questions first raised by Buṭrus al-Bustānī.

However, al-Bustānī’s contribution should not be exaggerated. His achievement needs to be appreciated against the background of his life experience, and his own intellectual response to the challenges of his time. Al-Bustānī’s intellect was open to both modern Western influences and the positive aspects of the Arab cultural heritage. While he responded to the ideas of the European enlightenment, he was also influenced by leading Arab philosophers and historians, particularly Ibn Khaldūn. A survey of the articles of al-Bustānī’s Encyclopaedia relevant to leading Arab scholars and authors, indicates the range of his knowledge of Arab history and civilization. Obviously, he did not write about the history of every nation, nor did he deal with every issue, but Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārīf contains a general and comprehensive historical view and introduces many new ideas. In this context, al-Bustānī was not simply a “Man Ahead of his Time (Rajul Sābiq li-‘Asrihi)”, but

- 198 -
rather a true son of his age, in the most positive sense.
APPENDIX 1

Constitution of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences

Article 1. This Society shall be called: Syrian Society for the Acquisition of Arts and Sciences (Jamʿiyyah Sūriyyah li-Iktisāb al-ʿUlūm wal-Funūn) which is the same as The Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences (al-Jamʿiyyah al-Sūriyyah lil-ʿUlūm wal-Funūn)

Article 2. The aims of this Society shall be: a- To have its members benefit from the sciences and the arts through discussions, letters, speeches and news. b- To collect books, and journals, written, printed or in manuscript, especially what is in Arabic and suitable for the benefit of the Society. c- To promote the desire to acquire sciences and benefits, free from religious differences.

Article 3. The members of this Society shall be resident, corresponding or honorary member. Those who wish to join the Society must have their names announced first by the Board (al-ʿUmdah) in one of the constitutional meetings, and will be voted in the following meeting. Election will not take place without a two third majority of members present.

Article 4. Each “resident” member shall pay a joining fee of fifty piasters and a yearly subscription of twenty-five piasters. If a member stops paying the subscription fee for two consecutive years the Board shall remove his name from the member’s register. The Society shall also seek aid from friends and supporters who wish to assist in donating money or books. All such gifts shall be recorded in the book of the treasurer with the name of the donor.

- 200 -
Article 5. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Correspondence Secretary (Kātib Rasā'il), a Minutes Secretary (Kātib Waqā'i'), a Librarian and a Treasurer. These officers are elected annually by ballot and they remain in these positions for one year or until the next elections.

Article 6. The Officers of this Society and two members selected by the President will form the Board (ʻUmdah) known as the Executive Board, and by virtue of their position shall accept gifts for the Society and search for ways and means that complement the aims of the Society, prepare its activities, and authorize with the treasurer payments for running expenses and repairs for the Library, buying of books, printing and other necessary matters; and can inspect whenever they wish the conditions of the Library and funds. In the annual meeting of the Society, they shall present a general report about its present and prospective conditions. The Executive Board must meet once a month, or more often if requested by three members, except during the summer months, to deal with the affairs of the Society. No decision can be taken by this Board if fewer than five members are present. The Board can call all the members for a meeting for any reason, provided they are advised in advance about the purpose of the meeting.

Article 7. The Correspondence Secretary writes all the correspondences of the Society with the exception of writings that have special officers. He keeps the letters that come to the Society with a copy of the correspondence sent by the Society, except the journals and texts of speeches (lectures), which shall be kept in
the Library. He shall also advise the elected members about their election and any information about the Society or any meeting arranged by the Society.

Article 8. The Minute Secretary is the secretary composer of the constitution of the Society, by-laws and reports. He shall also record the minutes of the Society’s meetings, advise the members of meeting times, shall attend those meetings, record the activities of the Society and instructions and advise the Board of Directors and other officers about all decisions related to the Society.

Article 9. The Treasurer is entrusted with the Society’s funds from which all running expenses are paid by the Society or the Executive Board under the signature of the President, including any payment appointed by the Society. He shall record an account of every income and expenditure. At each annual meeting, an officer is assigned to audit the accounts and then he presents it to the Society.

Article 10. The Library Secretary is entrusted with all books, Journals and texts of speeches and every thing that related to the Library. He will keep the library book (catalogue) and the list of its papers; spend the money that is requested from time to time as ordered to buy books and to maintain them. He shall also present a report at the annual meeting about those purchases and expenses and the present and future condition of the Library.

Article 11. The Society shall meet at least once a month (or more often if requested by members). On the first Tuesday of January every year, an annual meeting is held in which the Executive Officers are elected by ballot, and at which other requirements of the constitution are carried out. In all ballots, the majority of
votes determine the election. If a majority is not reached in the first ballot the ballot shall be repeated between the two candidates who have the most votes, and whoever gets the majority is elected.

Article 12. If an administrative position falls vacant, a person shall be appointed to it in a special election in a constitutional meeting. He will complete the term of his predecessor until an election is held to replace him.

Article 13. A resident member who paid the joining fee and the annual fee has the right to vote in all of the Society’s meetings. No matter can be carried out without twelve resident members being present as a quorum.

Article 14. The President shall be the Chairman. If he is absent, a Vice President shall deputize for him. If no Vice President is present, a deputy is elected for that meeting. The Chairman shall have a casting vote as well as keeping order. If a member rejects the Chairman’s decision, he has the right to take his case to the meeting where the majority shall decide. The Chairman has the right to evaluate each Executive Officer unless the Society had already made a decision contrary to that.

Article 15. No changes can be made in the constitution and by-laws of the Society unless this is announced publicly in a previous meeting and is recorded in the book of minutes with the name of the member requesting the change. If two thirds of the members present agree to have it changed in a following constitutional meeting this shall be valid, other wise not.

Source: BB, AJ/S, pp. 19-21
APPENDIX 2

Constitution of the Library of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences

1. The Library shall open its doors for lending of books or returning them every Saturday of each week between 10 o’clock am and sunset.

2. A member who has paid his dues shall have a share in the library and for every twenty-five extra piaster above the fee he pays; he receives another share added during that year. A member can borrow only as many books as the number of shares he has in the Library.

3. No member of the Society can keep a book more than fifteen days except by permission from the Executive Board; otherwise, he will have to pay two piasters per week to the Librarian. After returning the book which had taken he can borrow it again unless other members had asked for it.

4. Whoever loses a book which he had taken will have to give the Library a replacement book like it or pay its price. If the book is spoiled or damaged, the borrower shall have to pay a due fine to the Librarian who in turn hands the money over to the Treasurer.

5. The Librarian and the Treasurer will value the missing books lost by borrowers or the damage caused to the books in their hands. Those who do not pay in accordance with this valuation will have their cases taken to the Executive Board for consideration. Its decision is binding. He will have no right to borrow other books until the decision of the Executive Board is implemented.

- 204 -
6. The Librarian must have a book in which he records the titles of the borrowed books and the name of the borrowers, the details of place and time, and the date for the return, and he should keep an audited account book for all the prices, fines and salaries of the library and so on.

7. The Librarian must collect all borrowed books by the third Saturday of December and shelve them in their proper places. No one can keep a book after that date.

Source: BB, AJS, pp. 21-22
APPENDIX 3

Members of the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences according to the date of joining it


Corresponding members: Mīkhā’il Mishāqqah (Damascus), Yūsuf Diāb (Tripoli), Anṭoniūs Yannī (Tripoli), Tannūs al-Sāḥbūnī (Beirut), Tannūs Karam (Ṣafad), Bitrājī (Europe), Ibrāhīm Nahkleh (Sidon), Jibrā’il Naṣrallāh (Ḥaifa) and ‘Abdallāh Nawfal (Tripoli).
APPENDIX 4

Some Members of the Syrian Scientific Society


APPENDIX 5

Butrus al-Bustānī’s Report on his National School at the End of its Eleventh Year

1. The School centre and buildings are one of the best in Beirut. Its buildings and location are among the best place as far as climate, air, scenery, and facilities, which include areas, planted with trees, which provide shade for the movement of students.

2. The languages of the National School are Arabic, Turkish, French, English, Greek and Latin and any other language for which there are six students or more in each class. This includes handwriting in all these languages and their grammar, meter, meaning, rhetoric, elocution, logic. Geography, history, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, surveying physics, chemistry, physiology, geology, plants, jurisprudence, translation, composition, writing, and speeches, in addition there are music instruments, photography and engraving at request. It has national and foreign teachers capable of getting their students to the highest levels of these sciences and languages. The School takes into consideration the benefits of the students, their readiness, the parents requests, and the needs of the country, and thus, will widen its departments and raise the levels year after year in accordance with conditions in the country and the requirements of the age so that the School will not be ahead of the age where the country will lose the benefit.

3. The National School accepts students from all sects and races without
interfering with their religious affiliation or asking them to follow a religious allegiance other than their parents' religious allegiance. It also gives them the opportunity to practice their religious beliefs in the School with teachers from that religious allegiance they are also allowed to attend, under supervision, their religious places of worship at the required time. The School also employed teachers from different denominations and sects taking into consideration only their qualification, piety and ability to teach.

4. Classes are held every day except Sunday and Wednesday afternoon: three hours and a half in the general room with the supervision for preparation. Seven hours in the special classes with teachers to take lessons, one hour for handwriting. The other hours are left for sleeping, eating, recreation and other duties.

5. The students eat three times a day, morning, noon and evening. For lunch they have two kinds of food, and in the evening at least three kinds, in addition to fruit. The bread and food in the School is like the best offered in the best of homes and equal to what students are used to in their homes. The teachers eat with the students the same food.

6. The School, in all hours of day and night, is under the supervision of its principal personally, his deputy and the teachers. It has also one of the most famous doctors. At night, there are guards who are trustworthy to care for the students and keep them covered. If the principal and his family live in the same school the students will be considered as members of the same family and receive the same care the principal’s family receives.
7. The School accepts students of all learning ages, since there are experienced women to look after the little ones, and also there is a partition between those who are minors and adults in the sleeping quarters, in the dining room and in playing areas.

8. Every student is accepted regardless of his level of knowledge, because there are, in the School, teachers for beginners, as well as for advanced students. The number of teachers is always in accordance with the number of students, so the number of students with each teacher, at any one time, should not be more than required.

9. The School year lasts ten months, beginning on the first day of October and ending on the 31th of July each year. During August and September students, spend school vacation months with their parents, except those whose parents want them to stay in school during the vacation, and pay for the two months additional fees. Those students will be cared for during that period, and would be given few hours of learning daily.

10. When parents do not pay school fees on time that would cause a burden on the School in the form of extra expenses without being of any benefit to parents. For that, it is hoped they will not forget what is due, and would deliver it to school directly. This way they will save themselves and the School the hated exercise of demanding the due payment.

11. When students arrived back late they harmed themselves by losing time, which would add a load on the School that is known well by those who have
experience in school matters. Although, the School year of a new student begins the day he enters, it is better for the new students to enter at the beginning of the New Year when the old students return.

12. The School offers the students teaching, full boarding and accommodation. The rest of supplies like books, paper, doctor’s fees and laundry are the responsibility of their parents. The parents are allowed to offer these supplies and wash their children’s clothes at home if they so desire.

13. The School fees for the year are twenty Turkish pounds, but for those who are not well off, a discount can be made to make the fees no less than fifteen pounds.

14. The year’s fees are collected in advance in two instalments, the first on entrance and the second after five months. If a student runs away or leaves for any reason before the end of the period paid for the parents cannot claim reimbursement, even if it is one day after the period is paid for. The miscellaneous expenses will be paid at the end of the first half of the school year with the second instalment and at the end of the year before the students leave for vacation and handing over of their personal effects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works by Butrus al-Bustānī

– Ādāb al-‘Arab


– Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif

– Al-Hay‘ah al-Ijtimā‘iyyah

– Al-Jinān
Fortnightly periodical, Beirut (1870-1883). The Journal continued until 1886.

– Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ
2 vols., Beirut 1870.

– Nafīr Sūriyyā
Published as a broadsheet in 11 occasional issues, from 29 September 1860 to 22 April 1861. (Compiled by Yūsuf Quzmā al-Khūrī), Beirut, Dār al-fikr, 1990.

– Ta‘lim al-Nisā‘

Other Works in Arabic

‘Abbūd, Mārūn,
'Abd al-Baqi', F. Muhammad,

'Abd al-Jabbār, Laṭīf (ed.),

'Abdel-Nour, Jabbour,

'Abdel Malek, Anouar,

Abu Deeb, Kamal (ed.)

Abū Ḥamdān, Samūr,

Adonis and Khālidah Sa`īd (eds.),

Anṣāri (al-), Muhammad Jābir,

'Aqīqī (al-), Najib,
'Atiyyah, Na‘īm

'Azmeh (al-), 'Azīz,

Bāzīlī, Q., M.,

Baydūn, Ahmad,

Biqā‘ī (al-), Shafi‘iq,

Boulos, Jawad,

Bustānī (al-), Fū‘ād Afrām,

Bustānī (al-), Sulaymān,
- `Ibrah wa Zikra, Cairo, Maṭba‘at al- Akhbār, 1908.

Cheikho, Louis,
Corm, George,

Dāhir, Mas‘ūd,

Dāhir, Muḥammad Kāmil,

Dāyeh, Jean,

Dīb (al-), al-Mutrān Yūsuf,

Dūrī (al-), ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,

Fāḥrūrī (al-), Hannā,

Fākhūrī, ‘Umar,

Fakhūrī, Mājid,
Gharāybeh, ‘Abd al-Karīm,

Haddād, Albert,

Ḥakīm (al-), Yūṣuf,

Ḥallāq, Hassān,

Ḥannā, ‘Abdallāh,

Ḥawī, Khalīl,

Ḥusnī (al-), Sāṭī‘,

Ilyās, Joseph,

Jābirī (al-), Muḥammad ‘Ābid,

Jabbūr, Jibrail (ed.),
- Kitāb al-‘Īd, American University of Beirut (1866-1966), Beirut, Matba‘at Salīm, 1967.
Jad'ān, Fahmī,

Jihād, Michel,

Kashfī, Hikmat,

Kawāki'bī (al-), 'Abd al-Ṭāhān,

Kawtharānī, Wajīh,

Khalīfah, 'Īṣām Kamāl,

Khūrī (al-), Shākir,

Khūrī (al-), Yūsuf Quzmā,

Lāghā, 'Alī Muḥammad,

Laureole, Amidi,

Loutsksy, Vladimir,

Al-Machriq (periodical)
Makdish, Ibrahim,

Mishayr, Yusuf,
- *Tariqh Lubnun*, Beirut, n.d.

Musaa, Munir,

Na‘man, Abdallah,

Nasr, Salim and Dubar, Claude,

Nassar, Husayn,

Nassar, Nafis,

Nassar, Salwa C. Foundation (sp. o.),

Nimr, Hanna,
Ra’d, Mārūn,

Rustum, Asad,

Rustum, Asad and al-Bustānī, Fū’ād Afrām,

Sawdā (al-), Yusuf

Ṣarrūf, Fū’ād,

Ṣarrūf, Fū’ād and Fāris, Nabīh Amīn (eds.),

Shāhīn, Fū’ād,

Shalash, ‘Ali,

Sharabi, Hisham,

Sharārah, Wāḍḍāḥ,
Shawābikah (al-), Ahmad Fahd Barakāt,

Şūlh (al-) ‘Imād,

Sulaymān al-Bustānī,
– ‘Ibrah wa Dhikrā, Cairo, Maṭba‘at al-Akhbār, 1908.

Timofiev, Igor,

Tūmā, Amīl,

Yāsūʾī (al-), Martin (al-Abb)
– Tārikh Lubnān, Beirut, Dār Naẓīr ʿAbbūd, 1996.

Yazbēk, Yūsuf Ibrāhīm,

Zarzūr, ʿAdnān Muḥammad,

Zaydān, Jurjī,

Ziadeh, Khalīd,

Zaytūnī, Latīf,
Ziādah, Ma'n, (ed.),

Ziadeh, Nicola,

Zurayq, Constantine,
- Mašālib a l-Mustaqbal a l-‘Arabī, Humūm wa Tasā'ulāt, Beirut, Dār al-‘Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1983.

Works in Western Languages

Abou Nohra, Joseph,

Abu Manneh, Butrus,


Antonius, George,

Armajani, Yahya, and Ricks, Thomas M.,

Baer, Gabriel,
Barakat, Halim,

Bill, James A., & Springborg, Robert,

Binder, Leonard,

Boulos, Jawad,

Buheiry, Marwan R. (ed.)
- *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890 - 1939*, Beirut, Centre for Arab and Middle East Studies, American University of Beirut, 1981.

Chevallier, Dominique,

Churchill, Charles H.,

Cleveland, L. William,

Cobban, Helena,

Corm, George,

Cragg, Kenneth
Dahdah, Nagib,

Dawn, Ernest C,

Djait, Hichem,

Gilmour, David,


Glubb, John,

Haim, Sylvia G. (ed.),

Hajjar, Nijmeh S.,

Hitti, Philip K.,

Hopwood, Derek (ed.),
Hourani, Albert,

Ismail, Adel,

Issawi, Charles,

Keddie, R. Nikki,

Kerr, H. Malcolm,

Khalidi, Rashid,

Khoury, Philip S.,
Khūrī, Raʿīf,

Lewis, Bernard,

Luciani, Giacomo (ed.),

Makdisi, Ussama,

Maoz, Moshe,

Meo, Leila M.T.,

Miquel, André,

Peretz, Don,

Petran, Tabitha,

Picard, Elizabeth,
Pipes, Daniel,

Polk, W. R.,

Rizk, Charles,

Sadgrove, P.C.,

Salem, Paul (ed.),
- *The Beirut Review: A Journal on Lebanon and the Middle East*, Beirut, the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, no. 6, Fall 1993.

Salibi, Kamal,

Sharabi, Hisham,
- *Arab Intellectuals and the West, the Formative Years (1875-1914)*, Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1970.

Shehadi, Nadim, and Mills, Dana Haffar (eds.),

Stephan, Paul Sheehi,
- "Inscribing the Arab Self: Butrus al-Bustani and Paradigms of Subjective Reform", in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27. 2000, pp. 7-24

Smith, Anthony Douglas,
Tibawi, A.L.,

Tibi, Bassam,

Vatikiotis, P. J.,

Watt, W. Montgomery,

Yale, William,

Zeine, Zeine N.,

Ziadeh, Nicola A.,

Zubaida, Sami,