DOI: 10.35549/HR.2025.2025.54.004
Original paper

Dmitry R. Zhantiev

Department of Middle and Near East History, Institute of Asian and African Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow, Russian Federation.
E-mail: zdimitry@mail.ru

The Emergence of Syrian Patriotism in the 19th Century: the Case of Butrus al-Bustani and His Contemporaries

Abstract

The article examines the activities of Syrian Christian intellectuals and their role in the emergence of Syrian national consciousness in the mid-19th century within the context of the Arab Literary Renaissance (*an-Nahda*). These issues require in-depth study to understand the modernization processes within the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat reforms (1839–1876) and to appreciate the special significance of Beirut as a center of literary and educational publishing activity. The study hypothesizes that the idea of Syrian patriotism first emerged in the writings of Butrus al-Bustani and a number of his Arabic-speaking Christian contemporaries under the influence of contacts with American Protestant missionaries; however, the primary impetus for its development was reflection on the

fate of Christian communities in Syria following the tragic events of 1860 in Mount Lebanon and Damascus. Based on an analysis of biographical data and key theses of Butrus al-Bustani and his associates, as reflected in their works, it is possible to conclude that they directly borrowed European ideas of supra-confessional patriotism and enlightenment as tools to overcome communal insularity. The most important source for understanding the spiritual, moral, and socio-political questions addressed by the first generation of Arabic-speaking figures of the Nahda is the periodical *Nafir Suriyya*, published by Butrus al-Bustani in Beirut in 1860–1861. Representatives of the emerging Christian intellectual elite in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire advocated for the creation of a Syrian (Syro-Lebanese) supra-confessional national community based on territorial and ethno-cultural criteria, while maintaining loyalty to Ottoman sovereignty and the Sultan's authority.

Keywords:
Ottoman Syria, modernization, Tanzimat, Beirut, Butrus al-Bustani, Syrian patriotism

For Citation:
Zhantiev D.R. The Emergence of Syrian Patriotism in the 19th Century: the Case of Butrus al-Bustani and His Contemporaries // The Historical Reporter. 2025. Vol. 54. P. 180–197. DOI: 10.35549/HR.2025.2025.54.004

By the mid-19th century, significant socio-political transformations occurred in the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire due to the Tanzimat reforms (1839–1876). The core of these reforms involved strengthening direct links between the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman government) and the provincial periphery, as well as subordinating provincial elites to the state-imposed modernization framework. In the Syrian provinces, as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, influential Muslim landowning families were compelled to comply with the reformist dictates of the central bureaucracy. Urban and rural life saw the growing importance of reformed administrative and judicial structures. A notable indicator of a tighter integration between Ottoman Syria and Constantinople was the expansion of state schools, which became a prerequisite for entry into government service during the Tanzimat period.

The integration of Ottoman territories into the global capitalist system as a source of raw materials and as a market for European manufactured goods in the 19th century stimulated economic growth in the Syrian provinces (*eyalets*, from 1864 — *vilayets*) on a commercial basis. Traditional artisanal production in cities gradually yielded to European imports, while trade and money-lending activities intensified. Consequently, alongside Syria's main commercial and artisanal centers — Damascus and Aleppo — coastal Beirut gradually acquired particular economic significance. By the second half of the 19th century, with the development of steamship connections to Western and Southern Europe, Beirut became the primary "maritime gateway" of Ottoman Syria. Growing trade and transit commerce brought significant profits to local merchants, both Muslim and Christian. At the same time, Damascus and Aleppo found it increasingly difficult to compete with Beirut, prompting the merchants to focus on distributing imported European goods in the domestic market. Rising resentment among the Muslim urban majority toward the more successful Christian competitors, who were often under foreign consular protection, contributed to the Aleppo uprising of 1850 and the mass killings

Beirut, 1868–1869.
Lenkin Family Collection of Photography at the University of Pennsylvania Librarie. photo no. 4060

of Christians in Damascus in 1860[1]. Repressive measures by the Ottoman authorities in punishing those responsible weakened the political influence of the provincial landed elites (*ayanlar*) and the ulama. Meanwhile, Beirut's reputation as the safest city on the Syrian coast grew, attracting many Christians from Mount Lebanon and other parts of Ottoman Syria. The presence of Ottoman troops and European warships guaranteed security for Beirut's multi-confessional population and foreign residents. By the mid-19th century, Beirut, with its prosperous and religiously diverse merchant community, European trading houses, and network of Christian missionary schools, stood as a vivid example of economic and social modernization.

[1] The Damascus massacre of 9–18 July 1860 was a mass killing of Christians (between 2,000 and 6,000 victims) in Damascus, accompanied by the looting of their property. The tragedy resulted from the collective refusal of Christian communities in Damascus to pay a special tax exempting them from military service and was also connected to the escalation of the Druze–Maronite conflict in Mount Lebanon.

The Ottoman government's strategy of promoting state schools faced competition in Beirut and Mount Lebanon from missionary educational institutions, primarily established by American Protestant and French Catholic missionaries[2]. Missionary activity intensified in the 1830s during the occupation of Syria by the forces of Egyptian governor (*wali*) Muhammad Ali Pasha. Under the protection of French consuls, Jesuits established a school in Beirut in 1839 and expanded collaboration with the Maronite Church. An important step was the establishment of a Jesuit college-seminary in 1843 in Ghazir (Mount Lebanon[3]) to train Maronite clergy. This college was later relocated to Beirut in 1875 and became the Catholic *Université Saint-Joseph de Beurouth*, still considered the most prestigious Catholic higher education institution in the Middle East.

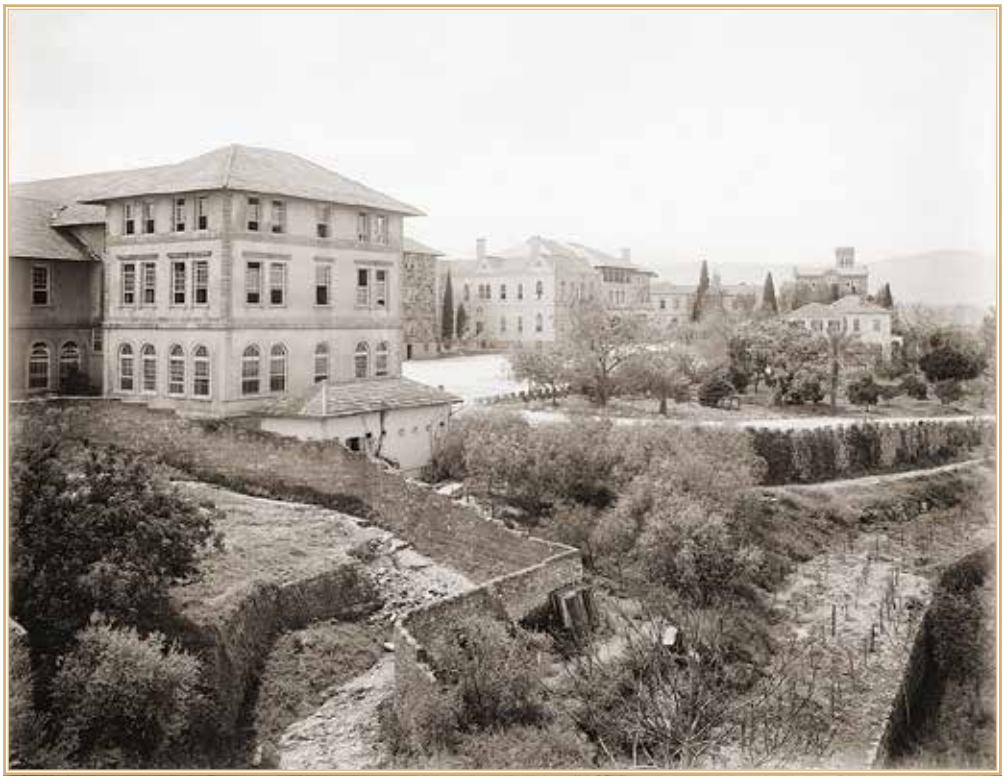
The educational model established by Catholic missionaries on the Syro-Lebanese coast targeted both Eastern Catholic clergy and laypeople. Throughout the 19th century, however, it faced persistent competition from Protestant schools, particularly those established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). The printing press of the American mission in Beirut, founded in 1835, allowed missionaries to widely distribute new Arabic translations of the Gospels and other religious texts[4], while expanding their network of schools, thereby contributing significantly to the intellectual and literary Nahda among Christian communities in Ottoman Syria, including Mount Lebanon. By the

---

2 For more on the establishment of Catholic and Protestant missionary schools in Beirut and Mount Lebanon during the nineteenth century, see: *Murre-van den Berg H.* (ed.), New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Pp. 19–41, 65–91, 211–239; *Makdisi U.* Rethinking American missionaries in nineteenth-century historiography of the Middle East. *Philipp T. and Schumann C.* (eds.). From the Syrian Lands to the States of Syria and Lebanon. Beirut: Orient-Institute, 2004. Pp. 209–224. See also: *Zeuge-Buberl U.* The Mission of the American Board in Syria. Implications of a transcultural dialogue (translated by E. Janik). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017. 296 p.

3 Gazir — a settlement in Mount Lebanon, located in the predominantly Maronite Christian Keserwan region

4 See: *Zeuge-Buberl U.* The Mission of the American Board in Syria. Pp. 41–42.



The Syrian Protestant College in Beirut.
From open sources

mid-1830s, American Protestant missionaries had established the first secondary schools in Beirut, and by 1859 ABCFM oversaw 33 schools with 967 students[5]. A qualitatively new stage of missionary activity began with the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College in 1866[6].

Through expanding intellectual contacts among local Syrian Christians, American missionaries introduced Protestant spiritual perspectives and European scientific knowledge. Under the protection of American and British consuls, a small Arabic-speaking Protestant community emerged, formally named the "Syrian Evangelical Church" (*al-Kanisa al-Injiliyya al-Suriyya*) in 1847. Access to a rationalist-based education in missionary schools, combined with

5 A Brief Chronicle of the Syrian Mission: 1819–1870. Beirut: American Mission Press, 1901. P. 14.

6 The institution was renamed the American University of Beirut in 1920.

instruction in literary Arabic and European languages (especially French), fostered critical thinking among students, overcoming traditional communal insularity. Nonetheless, only a few local Arabic-speaking Christians — whether Maronites, Orthodox, or Greek Catholics — converted to Protestantism, as such conversion entailed a nearly complete social and spiritual estrangement from their original religious communities, including many family members[7]. One notable individual who took this step was the distinguished Arabic-language writer, philologist, scholar, educator, and public figure Butrus al-Bustani (1819–1883), who became a key figure of the Nahda.

Born into a respected Maronite family from Mount Lebanon, Butrus al-Bustani completed an eight-year course at the Maronite Seminary in Ain-Warqa, mastering Catholic theological disciplines, literary Arabic, Classic Syriac, Latin, and Italian. At the age of 20, the talented youth refused the plan of his high-ranking uncle, Metropolitan Abdallah al-Bustani, to send him to Rome for advanced studies, and instead remained a lay teacher at the seminary. In 1840, however, following the dramatic expulsion of Egyptian forces from Syria and the restoration of Ottoman control, al-Bustani made a decisive turn in his life: he chose to "align his future with the rapidly Europeanizing Beirut"[8] and converted to Protestantism under the guidance of three American missionaries — William Thomson (1806–1894), Eli Smith (1801–1857), and Cornelius Van Dyck (1818–1895)[9]. Serving as dragoman at the American consulate in Beirut, al-Bustani began teaching at the Protestant school in Abeih

---

7 *Zeuge-Buberl U.* The Mission of the American Board in Syria. Pp. 51–52.

8 *Крымский А. Е.* История новой арабской литературы. М.: Главная Редакция восточной литературы, 1971. С. 399.

9 William McClure Thomson (1806–1894) was an American Protestant missionary who worked for many years in Beirut and was among the founders of the American Protestant College. He authored *The Land and the Book* (1859), describing his spiritual and practical experiences in Syria; Eli Smith (1801–1857), another American missionary and scholar, a Yale graduate, founded the first Arabic printing press in Beirut and initiated the Protestant translation of the Bible into literary Arabic. Cornelius Van Alen Van Dyck (1818–1895) was a missionary, physician, and translator who, together with Thomson, founded the Protestant school in Abeih (Mount Lebanon) and the American Protestant College.

Butrus al-Bustani
AUB Libraries Online Exhibits, accessed October 6, 2025

and collaborated with Eli Smith on translating the Bible from Hebrew and English into Arabic for publication by the American mission press.

In order to facilitate constructive and, as far as possible, non-conflictual relations with the Christian communities on the Syro-Lebanese coast, Protestant missionaries established in 1847 "The Society of Arts and Sciences", composed of Americans and collaborating local Arabic-speaking Christians. Despite its brief five-year existence, the Society served as an important model of joint efforts to disseminate Western scientific knowledge and promote literary Arabic as a medium for its communication to an Arabic-speaking audience. In 1857, following the closure of the Society, a new Syrian Scientific Society (*Al-Jam'iyya al-'Ilmiyya al-Suriyya*) was founded in Beirut. Within its first years, membership grew to 150, including not only Christians but also Sunni Muslims and the Druze[10]. Butrus

[10] *Antonius G.* The Arab Awakening. The story of the Arab national movement. Philadelphia — New York — Toronto: J. B. Lippincot Company, 1919. Pp. 50–54.

al-Bustani and his contemporary, poet and publicist Nasif al-Yaziji[11], played a central role in establishing this society. Notably, the Sunni and the Druze participants agreed to join on the condition that the society remain free from foreign missionary control and include only local Arabic-speaking members.

As evident from the facts presented above, the Nahda intellectuals among the local Christians, who enjoyed the patronage of foreign missionaries and consuls, largely linked their educational and reformist activities to these external supporters. However, reliance on the protection and advocacy of Western Christian powers proved fateful, culminating in tragedy for many Christians in both Mount Lebanon and Damascus, who became victims of the bloody events of the spring and summer of 1860. The catastrophe, which had been brewing for several years, introduced confusion and horror into the collective consciousness of the Christians of Ottoman Syria. After the tragic summer of 1860, they could no longer rely on European or American protectors, nor on the safeguards of the Ottoman government. Many Christians from Mount Lebanon and the interior regions of Syria chose to emigrate during 1860 and in subsequent years, seeing flight abroad as a preferable alternative to the constant threat of recurring tragedy. At the same time, the Ottoman authorities, while punishing the direct perpetrators of the massacres, continued reforms in administrative, judicial, and military spheres, thereby expanding social opportunities and contributing to the gradual overcoming of the isolation of Christian communities (*millets*). Within this context, Butrus al-Bustani and some of his associates gradually came to the conclusion that it was both possible and necessary for representatives of different religious communities in Ottoman Syria to cooperate not only in scientific and educational endeavors but also in socio-political activities under the unifying patriotic banner of "love of the homeland"

[11] Nasif al-Yaziji (1800–1871) was an Arab poet, translator, and educator, and one of the leading figures of the nineteenth-century an-Nahda movement. He belonged to the Greek Catholic (Melkite) community.

Cornelius Van Dyck
https://alumni.aub.edu.lb

(*hubb al-watan*). Thus, all-Syrian patriotism appeared to them as the most effective means of preventing future inter-confessional conflicts, while simultaneously providing an ideological basis for collaboration among fellow countrymen regardless of their religious affiliation.

An important intellectual manifestation of al-Bustani's patriotic ideas was the publication of the periodical *Nafir Suriyya* ("The Clarion of Syria") in Beirut in 1860–1861. This periodical, which A. E. Krymsky somewhat wryly described as a "newsleaf bulletin"[12], consisted of a series of patriotic pamphlets authored by al-Bustani and issued under the pseudonym *Muhibb li-l-Watan* ("Lover of the Homeland") in the form of a modestly sized newspaper. It can be asserted that, influenced by the tragic events of 1860 in Mount Lebanon and Damascus, al-Bustani

[12] Крымский А. Е. История новой арабской литературы. С. 569.

founded the first periodical of socio-political orientation in Ottoman Syria. From the pages of *Nafir Suriyya*, the Christian educator and public figure called for the replacement of "blind prejudices" with patriotism, concord, and unity for the sake of ending "civil wars" (*khurub ahliyya*)[13]. It is noteworthy that the very title of the periodical, *Nafir Suriyya*, contained an implicit appeal to conceive of Ottoman *Syria* as a single geographical and culturally-historical space in which followers of different confessions were to perceive themselves as compatriots. Remarkably, al-Bustani employed the somewhat uncommon ancient toponym *Suriyya* (Syria) instead of the more conventional term in Arab geography, *Bilad al-Sham*[14], which may indicate direct influence from Western European literature[15]. On the pages of his periodical, al-Bustani expressed unconditional loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan and the Sublime Porte, while simultaneously invoking the ancient glory of the Arabs and Arab culture. He also called for the dissemination of enlightenment so that his Syrian compatriots (*suriyun*), regardless of their religious affiliation, could occupy, in his view, a higher and more appropriate position within the Ottoman state system[16].

The patriotic advocacy in *Nafir Suriyya* was combined with a sharply critical, rationalist perspective on the contemporary state of the country: "Syria remains one of the most beautiful countries in terms of natural resources and commercial centers. The country and its people would not have fallen into such a state of degradation, humiliation, and backwardness had it not been for

---

13 *Al-Bustani, Butrus*, Nafir Suriyya (Beirut: Dar Fikr li-l-Abhas wa-n-Nashr, 1990). P. 28.

14 *Al-Bustani, Butrus.* The Clarion of Syria. A Patriot's Call against the Civil War of 1860. Introduced and translated by Jens Hanssen and Hichame Safeddine. Foreword by Usama Makdisi. Oakland:University of California Press, 2009. Pp. 46–47.

15 On the influence of American Protestant missionaries on the social and political worldview of Butrus al-Bustani, see also: *Zachs F.* Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? Revisiting the American Presbyterian Missionaries. *Die Welt des Islams.* New Series. Jul. 2001: 41 (Issue 2). Pp. 165–169.

16 *Al-Bustani, Butrus*, Nafir Suriyya. Pp. 49–50.

the absence of unity and love among Syrians, their indifference to the welfare of their country and compatriots, and their foolish and ignorant capitulation to the dominance of fanaticism and the allure of doctrinal, communal, and familial prejudices (...)"[17]. The conclusion that al-Bustani reached in the last issue of *Nafir Suriyya* (22 April 1861) was expressed with a marked pessimism: "Even if we acknowledge that the Syrians know what is best for them, we cannot assume that all of them agree. Moreover, if they have decided to agree, there is little hope that they will be allowed to act upon it. Consequently, this country is moving in an extremely dangerous direction. There is no hope of restoring it or saving it from ruin unless God guides its people rightly, or, through His extraordinary providence, provides effective and impartial means for the development of civilization, or at least guides it on the path of security and success. At present, all we can do is mourn this unfortunate country, a land that has fallen victim to such conflicting prejudices and personal interests, and in which so few patriots reside..."[18]

The rationalist worldview presented in *Nafir Suriyya*, inspired by European Enlightenment ideals and the assertion of the necessity of separating spiritual authority from political and civil power[19], nevertheless bore the clear imprint of the author's Christian identity, which is evident in his emphasis on the virtues of Christianity as a religion that calls one to love even one's enemies[20]. Yet the principal unifying element fostering the cultivation of a sense of territorial (particular) Syrian patriotism in al-Bustani's writings was the Arabic language and pride in a shared historical past[21]. The perception of Syria as a distinct, geographically unified country with its own

---

17 *Al-Bustani, Butrus*, Nafir Suriyya. P. 48.

18 Ibid. Pp. 69–70.

19 *Al-Bustani, Butrus*. The Clarion of Syria. P. 117. On interpretations of al-Bustani's intellectual legacy, see: *Antonius G.* The Arab Awakening. P. 49–50; *Hourani A.* Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1789–1939. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. 101–102.

20 *Al-Bustani, Butrus*, Nafir Suriyya. P. 20.

21 Ibid. P. 21.

socio-cultural characteristics, rich historical heritage, and significant economic potential rendered it, in al-Bustani's depiction, not a Muslim or Christian country, but an Arab country. This perspective had already been evident before the tragic events of 1860 in the activities of Beirut scientific societies established by missionaries, and later in the work of the Syrian Scientific Society[22]. Subsequently, Butrus al-Bustani and his son Salim al-Bustani (1848–1884)[23] sought to popularize the idea of Syrian patriotism through the periodical *Al-Jinan*, which they published in Beirut from 1870 to 1886. In one of his articles, titled "Our Situation" and published in 1872, Salim al-Bustani reflected on Syria as a key country in economic terms within the Ottoman domains, describing it as a kind of "gateway through which the West enters the East, and the East gains access to the West"[24].

Salim al-Bustani's reflections on Syria as a country historically rich in human and agricultural resources, possessing advantageous trade routes, and occupying a distinctive economic role as a transit corridor between East and West, were closely linked to the aforementioned rapid demographic and economic growth of Beirut. The city's population, which in the first third of the nineteenth century barely exceeded 10,000, quadrupled between 1830 and 1860 and continued to grow thereafter, primarily due to the influx of Christian refugees and settlers from Mount Lebanon and the interior regions of Syria[25]. The migration to the city of numerous Christian artisans and merchants from Mount Lebanon, Damascus, and Aleppo contributed to Beirut's economic expansion, particularly as Ottoman Syria gradually integrated into the global capitalist system. Equally significant was the fact

---

22 *Zachs F.* Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? P. 168.

23 Butrus al-Bustani, was an Arab Lebanese journalist and writer, regarded as one of the most prominent figures of an-Nahda and the founder of the modern Arabic historical novel.

24 See: *Traboulsi F.* A History of Modern Lebanon. New York: Pluto Press, 2012. P. 55.

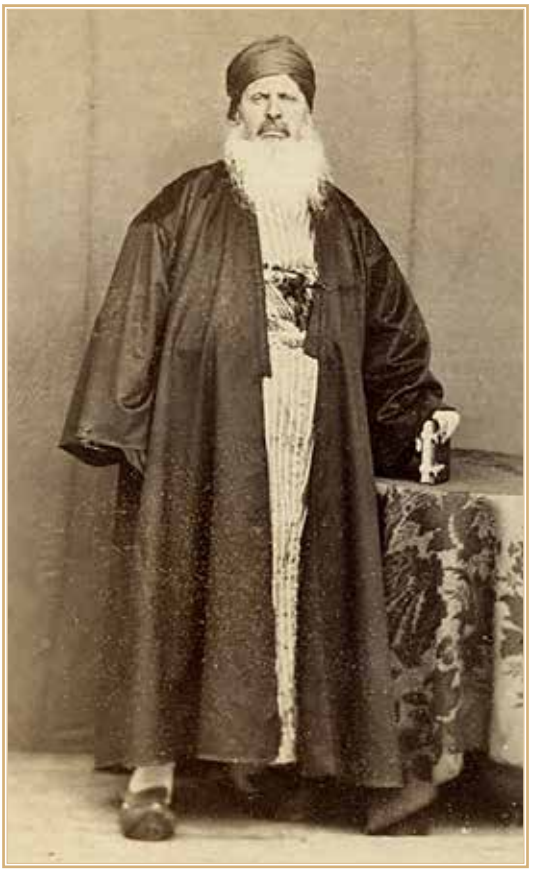
25 During the tragic year of 1860 alone, about 20,000 refugees arrived in Beirut and its surroundings, according to Lebanese historian *Fawwaz Traboulsi*. See: *Traboulsi F.* A History of Modern Lebanon. Pp. 55–56.

that, unlike the older commercial and artisanal centers of Syria, Beirut had not yet developed a rigid structure of trade and craft guilds (*tawa'if*). In an environment marked by the influx of both internal and external capital, this fostered social mobility among newcomers and stimulated economic activity in trade and services.

According to Butrus al-Bustani and his fellow Nahda-era reformers, the multi-component and dynamic social environment of coastal Beirut could provide fertile ground for cultivating a Syrian patriotic consciousness capable of transcending traditional sectarian isolation. Guided by this lofty objective, al-Bustani established in 1863 the National School (*al-Madrasah al-Wataniyya*) in Beirut — the first private institution offering instruction modeled on Western curricula in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and French. Open to students of all confessions, al-Bustani's National School successfully competed with both Muslim and Christian educational institutions, including missionary schools. In this context, during the 1870s, philosophical and ethical debates on educational principles were conducted in Beirut periodicals such as *Al-Jinan*, *Al-Bashir*, and *Samārat al-Funūn*. In 1873, in *Al-Jinan*, al-Bustani, drawing on the example of the school he had founded, characterized education (*ta'lim, tarbiyya*) as the foundation for "cultivating love of the homeland" (*tarbiyat mahabbat al-watan*) among children of diverse confessions[26].

Another significant illustration of the emergence of a Syrian-Lebanese national consciousness is found in the works of the prominent Nahda figure, historian, and physician Mikhail Mishaqa (1800–1888). Raised in a Greek Catholic family in southern Mount Lebanon, Mishaqa converted to Protestantism in the 1840s under the influence of literature distributed by American missionaries. In 1859, he was appointed U.S. vice-consul in Damascus, thereby gaining the privileges of consular protection. His writings, *Mashhad*

[26] More on Butrus al-Bustani's views on education, see: *Ferguson S.* "A Fever for an Education": Pedagogical Thought and Social Transformation in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, 1861–1914. The *Arab Studies Journal.* 2018: 26, (№ 1). Pp. 62–63.



Mikhail Mishaqa
www.MIDEASTIMAGE.com

al-'Ayyan bi Hawadith Suriyya wa Lubnan ("An Eyewitness Account of the Events in Syria and Lebanon")[27] and *Muntakhabat min al-Jawab 'ala Iktirah al-Ahbab* ("Responses to the Proposals of the Beloved")[28], reflect Mishaqa's spiritual and intellectual development as a member of the new Syrian-Lebanese Christian intelligentsia. His self-consciousness remained religious, yet the blind faith in traditional religious authorities gradually gave way to a rational analysis of the essence of Christian doctrine. In 1860, Mishaqa experienced the tragic anti-Christian pogrom in Damascus and later recounted

[27] *Mishaqa M.* Mashhad al-'Ayyan bi Hawadith Suriya wa Lubnan (An Eyewitness to the Events in Syria and Lebanon). Cairo, 1908.

[28] *Mishaqah M.* Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder: The History of the Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Century. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988. 309 p.

it in his works. Like Butrus al-Bustani, he sought to regard Syria and Mount Lebanon as a unified country and its inhabitants, regardless of confession, as a single people called to display fraternal love toward their compatriots. By referring to the inhabitants of the Syrian provinces of the Ottoman Empire as "Syrians", Mishaqa emphasized their historically established territorial and cultural-linguistic cohesion[29]. In narrating the tragedy in Damascus in 1860, the Syrian-Lebanese historian criticized the Ottoman authorities for facilitating the anti-Christian violence, yet he simultaneously wished success for the Tanzimat reforms and never questioned Ottoman sovereignty over his homeland[30].

The literary and intellectual activity of Syrian-Lebanese Christian publicists and educators in the early Nahda period, despite its apparent apoliticism, addressed important ethical and civic questions, which can be summarized as follows: what does it mean to be an Arabic-speaking Christian, a resident of Syria, while remaining a loyal subject of the Ottoman Empire? Should the Christians of Syria and Mount Lebanon rely on the assistance of European and American co-religionists in an environment dominated by the conservative Muslim majority, skeptical of granting Christians the equality proclaimed by the Ottoman government? Representatives of the emerging Arabic-speaking Christian intellectual elite of Ottoman Syria did not question Ottoman sovereignty or their loyalty to the Sultan and the Sublime Porte[31]. At the same time, they advocated for the formation of a Syrian (or Syrian-Lebanese) supra-confessional community based on territorial and ethno-cultural criteria. The continuation and development of the idea of Syrian patriotism

---

29 More on the socio-political views of Mikhail Mishaqa, see: *Zachs F.* Mikha'il Mishaqa — The First Historian of Modern Syria. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. 2001: 28 (№ 1). Pp. 77–78.

30 Mishaqah M. Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder. Pp. 244–249.

31 For a broader discussion of Christian and Muslim contemporaries' perceptions of the 1860 events in Mount Lebanon and Damascus, see: *Krimsti F.* The massacre in Damascus, July 1860. *Thomas D. and Chesworth J. A. (eds.)*, Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Leiden — Boston: Brill, 2018. Pp. 378–406.

persisted into the twentieth century, in the post-Ottoman period, significantly contributing to the emergence of national statehood in both Syria and Lebanon.

Conflict of interests

The author declares no relevant conflict of interests.

References

1. Al-Bustani B. *The Clarion of Syria. A Patriot's Call against the Civil War of 1860. Introduced and translated by Jens Hanssen and Hichame Safeddine. Foreword by Usama Makdisi.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2019. 175 p.
2. Ferguson S. «A Fever for an Education»: Pedagogical Thought and Social Transformation in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, 1861–1914. *The Arab Studies Journal*. 2018;26(1):62–63.
3. Hourani A. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1789–1939.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1983. 406 p.
4. Krimsti F. The massacre in Damascus, July 1860. In: *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History. Volume 18, The Ottoman Empire (1800–1914)* / Ed. by D. Thomas and J.A. Chesworth. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018. P. 378–406.
5. Makdisi U. Rethinking American missionaries in nineteenth-century historiography of the Middle East. In: *From the Syrian Lands to the States of Syria and Lebanon* / Ed. by T. Philipp and C. Schumann. Beirut: Orient-Institute, 2004. P. 209–224.
6. *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* / Ed. by H. Murre-van den Berg. Leiden: Brill, 2006. 339 p.
7. Traboulsi F. *A History of Modern Lebanon.* New York: Pluto Press, 2012. 308 p.

8. Zachs F. Mikha'il Mishaqa — The First Historian of Modern Syria. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. 2001;28(1):77–78. doi:10.1080/13530190120034567
9. Zachs F. Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? Revisiting the American Presbyterian Missionaries. *Die Welt des Islams. New Series*. 2001;41(2):165–169.
10. Zeuge-Buberl U. The Mission of the American Board in Syria.Implications of a transcultural dialogue. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag; 2017. 296 p. *e-book* (Electronic resurse). URL: https://e-book.fwf.ac.at/detail/o:959

Dmitry R. Zhantiev

C.Sc. (History), Associate Professor of the Department of Middle and Near East History, Institute of Asian and African Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University.
SPIN-код: 7825-3269
AuthorID: 320761

Received 10.09.2025
Revised 15.10.2025
Accepted 10.11.2025