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UNKNOWN PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN-LEBANESE RELATIONS

Abstract. The article deals with the history of Ukrainian-Lebanese diplomatic relations and the times of the Mount Lebanon Mutasarrifate in the context of the rule of Muzaffer Pasha or Władysław Czajkowski (1902–1907) – Lebanese governor and the Ottoman Empire representative of Ukrainian origin. Relying on historical and informational sources, the author asserts Ukrainian origin of the Lebanese governor and reveals interesting facts about life of Mykhailo Chaika-Czajkowski, father of Muzaffer Pasha. The article also analyzes the political activity of the mutasarrif of Mount Lebanon in the area of land, economic, tax, legal, electoral relations and its impact on the development of Lebanon in the whole.

Keywords: Mount Lebanon, mutasarrif, rule, governor, Ukrainian-Lebanese political history.

Lately, we celebrated the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Lebanon. This noticeable event has become the basis for researching the little-known pages of the common Ukrainian-Lebanese history. It should be noted that diplomatic relations between the countries date back to ancient times, particularly the time of the Ukrainian People's Republic, when the first Ukrainian representative was appointed in Beirut and Damascus (1923).

At that time, the Bolsheviks drove the Ukrainian government out of its territory and the Ukrainian SRR formed part of the Bolshevik's union state. However, the Ukrainian diplomacy was still resisting and spreading information about the existence of an independent Ukraine around the world and protected Ukrainian citizens who had moved to distant lands. An important element of the diplomatic and consular service at that time was the institute of honorary consuls. It was established during the UPR Directorate, although the idea to introduce positions of honorary consuls in foreign countries was discussed as far back as when drafting regulatory documents based on the authority of Hetman Foreign Ministry. The first appointments of honorary consuls testified to the feasibility of the existence of Ukrainian consular institutions under the backdrop of the actual loss of the state territory. As diplomatic missions and consular institutions discontinued their activities, consuls provided assistance to Ukrainians for a while, who had hard time abroad. At that time the last consular certificate of the Honorary Consul in Beirut and Damascus was issued at that time to

Professor Oleksii H. Boholiubskiy. According to analytical sources, the primary task of the institute of honorary consuls was to withstand diplomatic missions of Bolshevik Russia, manifesting the presence of Ukraine in European countries and infusing Ukrainian citizens forced into exile the hope that they would be protected and supported by the country.

It is curious that 20 years before that, another mutual chapter of the Ukrainian-Lebanese political relations had been written as described below. For the first time, in this article the author examines activities of the Lebanese governor, who appeared to be of Ukrainian origin.

After the end of reign of the Shihab dynasty in 1842, the Ottoman government divided Mount Lebanon into two administrative districts: the North headed by the local Christian governor, and the South under the authority of the Druze religious community. However, relations between Christians and Muslims remained strained. In 1860, the total number of 11,000 Maronites (Christian group) in Lebanon died because of the Druze's assaults. In return, France assigned an expeditionary force to provide aid to Christians in Lebanon.

On September 5, 1860, a meeting of the international commission comprising representatives of France, Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Empire took place. As a result, it was decided to detach the part of Mount Lebanon into a separate subdivision called Mutasarrifate. It was enacted by the document entitled "The Organic Statute of Mount Lebanon" in 1861.

The above-mentioned territory was integrated into a single autonomous area – Mutasarrifia headed by a governor (mutasarrif), who was a Christian appointed under the agreement of European states. Under the leadership of the governor, there was established an administrative council that acted as an advisory and representative body. The representatives of various Lebanese communities were elected to the council: the Shia, Maronites, Druze, Orthodox, Sunni and Melchite, proportionally to their number.

In 1895 the Christians amounted to 79.9% (319,296 people), while Muslims – to 20.1% (80,234 people). The overall number of the population of Mount Lebanon citizens was nearly 400,000 people. However, in the course of the First World War, the population reduced drastically because of the Great Famine. Just like Ukraine during the Holodomor of 1932–1933, Mount Lebanon lost almost a half of its population.

Before assuming the appointment of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to "the country of milk and honey" I learned the history of Lebanon and examined the list of mutasarrifs, consisting of eight persons:

- Garabet Artin Davoudian (Davud Pasha), 1861–1864 (Armenian Catholic);
- Nasri Franco Coussa (Franko Pasha), 1864–1873 (Greek Catholic (Melkite));
- Rüstem Mariani (Rüstem Pasha), 1873–1883 (Roman Catholic);
- Pashko Vasa Shkodrani (Wassa Pasha), 1883–1892 (Albanian Catholic);

- Naum Coussa (Naoum Pasha), 1892–1902 (Greek Catholic (Melkite));
- Władysław Czajkowski (Muzaffer Pasha), 1902–1907 (Polish Catholic);
- Youssef Coussa (Yusuf Pasha), 1907–1912 (Greek Catholic (Melkite));
- Ohannes Kouyoumdjian (Ohannes Pasha), 1912–1915 (Armenian Catholic).

Incidentally, to make children remember mutasarrıfs' names, Lebanese teachers have devised a kind of verbal abracadabra (or mnemonic word) that is formed from the initial letters of their names – DaFRüWNAMYO (دا فریدون امیو in Arabic). Certainly, my attention was captured by the surname “Czajkowski” that seemed to be Polish-Ukrainian at first glance. My guesswork was all the more ignited by the article “Muzaffer Pasha, New Governor of the Lebanon” which I had discovered in the reputable weekly illustrated newspaper *The Illustrated London News* (issued since 1842) dated October 11, 1902. It designated the name of a new governor of Lebanon as Tchaika Tchaikowsky and reported that the decision on the appointment was made by ambassadors of super powers in Constantinople. There was also given a translation of the name of Muzaffer as “Victorious”.

I started to investigate the genealogy of the Chaika-Czajkowski family and found that Muzaffer Pasha (“Basha” in Lebanese, as there is no “p” sound in the Arabic language) was of Ukrainian origin. His father was Mykhailo Chaika-Czajkowski, who went down in history as a Ukrainian and Polish writer and even the Ukrainian father of the Polish novel, praising the glory of the Cossacks.

In his article, the author refers to works of Ukrainian scientists who research the historic personality of the father of the Lebanese ruler (V. Poltorak, O. Radyk, I. Hubanova, I. Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, A. Liubka, R. Kukharenko, V. Herei, etc.). Some of them consider Chaika-Czajkowski to be the author of *Divine Law or Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People* that is a rebel action treatise of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius. He is also known as Sadik Pasha, General of the Turkish army, who fought against Moscow, when serving to the Turkish Sultan. His *fata morgana* was the revival of the former Cossack Ukraine. Chaika-Czajkowski believed that “there could be no powerful Poland without powerful Ukraine” even when the Polish-Ukrainian slogan of Polish democrats “For our and yours freedom” appeared.

The biography of Chaika-Czajkowski impresses with its “somersaults”. Just imagine that he had five wives and three times converted to different faiths – from Catholicism to Islam, and then to Orthodoxy.

Mykhailo Czajkowski was born on September 29, 1804, in Halchynets village, Zhytomyr Oblast (now the village of Halchyn, not far from Berdychiv) in a wealthy Ukrainian-Polish family. His mother, Petronella Hlembotska, was a great-granddaughter of Hetman Briukhovetskyi. His father Stanislav was a nobleman from Volyn, whose Cossack generation takes its rise from Hryhorii Chaika-Czajkowski, who is said to die during the defense of the Zaporizhian Sich.

In his notes (Notes of Mykhailo Czajkowski (Sadik Pasha), “Old times of Kyiv” paper, No. 1, 1891) M. Czajkowski writes, “My mother, along with the love and attachment... put every effort to turn me into a Cossack both in terms of spirit and flesh. Hounds, horses, falcons – I had everything in abundance. My first teacher was Mr A., a passionate Ukrainian Cossack, and a great bulk of my lessons I took on the horseback.

Apart from this teacher, I had old uncle Levko, who told me tales about sorcerers and healers, delivered Cossack retellings, showed nearby tracts, where various battles took place, and sung Cossack dumas.”

M. Czajkowski gained excellent education (in “granite” Zhytomyr region it is better to say “hit the grindstone”) at the Berdychiv Lyceum of John Wallsey, where outstanding storyteller Petro Hulak-Artemovskiyi gave classes of literature and another teacher was a godson of Ivan Honta.

With such a decent schooling, a 16-year-old bachelor of mathematical and literary sciences enrolled at the University of Warsaw with ease. He wrote that he arrived to study at the time when “Warsaw danced, Krakow prayed, Lviv was falling in love, Vilnius admired catches and old Kyiv played cards.”

In 1825, the fate brought Mykhailo to outstanding personalities of Polish history who played an important role in his life: Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Adam Czartoryski.

There are various perspectives on the history of the first marriage of M. Chaika-Czajkowski. One version is concerned with the baptism of fire: during the uprising in Poland (1830–1831), Czajkowski formed voluntary Cossack troops and went into the rebel army. Czajkowski is known to be adjutant of one of the leaders of the revolt – Karol Ruzhytskyi, and in 1830, according to a disputable version, he married Karol’s daughter, who gave birth to two boys and two girls. But it is likely that the first wife of Sadik Pasha was a Frenchwoman, as Czajkowski went to France after the defeat in the revolt. At first, he lived in Bourges, where he married to Leonide Gabaret, and then moved to Paris.

In France, M. Czajkowski took up literary activity and published a number of novels, stories and tales about Ukrainian history: “Cossack Tales” (“Powieści Kozackie”, 1837), “Vernyhora” (“Wernyhora”, 1838), “Stefan Charnetskyi” (“Stefan Czarniecki”, 1840), “Koshovyi” (“Kosh otaman”), “The Man from Ovruch” (“Owruczanin”), “Hetman of Ukraine” (“Hetman Ukrainy” tells about life of Ivan Vyhovskiyi, 1841), etc. They are translated into several Slavic languages. After many years, famous Polish rocker Czesław Niemen wrote the song “The Prophecy of Vernyhora” (1977) featuring words by Juliusz Słowacki based on his books.

Another decisive twist of Mykhailo’s fate happened in 1850. Cossack Chaika joined the service of Sultan Abdulmejid and converted to Islam. His new name was Mehmed Sadik (translated as “loyal”) and only later he would be known in

history as Sadik Pasha. Mehmed Sadik also renamed his two sons Adam and Vladyslav to Enver and Muzaffer, despite that they preserved the Roman Catholic faith.

In 1851, he married again, yet by the Muslim tradition, to Liudovika (Yadviha) Sniadetska, the daughter of the gymnasium director from Vilnius, in Constantinople. Among people, with whom she maintained friendly relations, was even the Queen of Great Britain Victoria as well as Eugénie, wife of Napoleon III. A legend has it that as a young girl she was in love with Juliusz Słowacki.

Sadik Pasha formed the Cossack Cavalry Regiment (“Kazak Alay”) in the Ottoman Empire. Even a Cossack flag of Zaporizhian Sich was delivered from Constantinople especially for the regiment.

The Sultan himself assigned Mehmed Sadik such honourable titles as “the eye, the ear and the right hand of the throne” and “Mirian Pasha” (Kosh otaman).

Adam Mickiewicz was a sincere friend of Czajkowski and even fought a war with him side by side. He wrote with excitement about Sadik Pasha calling him new Khmelnytskyi and named him Chaiko-Vernyhora. Regrettably, Adam Mickiewicz unexpectedly was taken ill of typhus and died on Chaika’s hands.

The end of war in 1853–1856 became the triumph for Sadik Pasha. Russia, his enemy, was defeated. Nevertheless, after abortive backroom intrigues, Chaika would not have been himself, if he had not turned everything upside down again. Having been through “both Rome and Crimea” (or rather the Crimean War), a 69-year-old Cossack returned to his origins to his native Halchynets in 1873 with honours, adopted Orthodoxy and married for the fifth and last time. His new wife was 19-year-old Greek Princess Gabriele Theoscollo. For some time they resided in Kyiv in his apartments (today Pushkinska Street). After coming back home, Mykhailo Czajkowski kept in touch only with Adam (Enver), his eldest son, who returned along with his father to Poland of those days and joined the Polish and Russian armies as an officer, building up a successful career.

In fact, the last known mention of Adam Czajkowski was accidentally found among the archives... When conducting the search in accordance with the warrant of Crimea Extraordinary Commission in the apartments of retired Major General A.M. Czajkowski in Simferopol, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission discovered “On May 9, 1919, along with other valuable possessions a family historic heirloom – a sabre owned by Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Briukhovetskyi, which was expropriated, however, disappeared without a trace afterwards.”

In the twilight of his life, Czajkowski purchased a manor in the village of Birky in Chernihiv region. But everything went in the doldrums: the manor burnt down, the young wife left him for a landlord of his estate, his fellow orderly and concurrently a close friend died... All he was left to do was to write the memoirs published in “Old times of Kyiv” paper (his archive subsequently was found by Mykhailo Hrushevskyi). Still, the lonesome General marked a decisive end to

his life in January 1886 – he made up his mind to put a gun to his head. Before his last breathing, Czajkowski wrote down the following lines to one of his long-time friends, “There is a weird series of accidents – on this land between Oster and Desna – Kyrylo Rozumovskyi evolved into Hetman of Ukraine from a shepherd of turkeys, whereas Michał Czajkowski turned from a Cossack leader into a shepherd of turkeys. I will pasture turkeys until I become a deceased.”

Unlike General Czajkowski, about whom there are a lot of records, the biography of his son Vladyslav has still many blank spaces. Indeed, researchers give only rough dates of his birth, “Muzaffer was born sometime between 1837–1840, named at birth as Ladyslav Czajkowski, son of Polish Count Mykhailo (Izador) Czajkowski. There is no reliable information about his place of birth. His father was an active member of the struggle movement against Russia for the independence of Poland...”

However, the accuracy of these dates is doubtful, since V. Poltorak notes in his article that the date of birth of the eldest son of M. Chaika-Czajkowski – Adam – is July 4, 1841. It is stated that he was born “in Paris of the marriage with the Mykhailo’s first wife Leonida (née Gabare) and immediately was brought under the custody of uncrowned King of Poland Adam Czartoryski. Being on the first eastern business trip in Athens, Mykhailo wrote to Prince Czartoryski a letter, asking him to become a godfather for the firstborn, who was named Adam after his custodian. At that time, Leonida and Mykhailo had already two daughters Karolina and Mykhailyna.” This proves that Muzaffer Pasha could not have been born earlier than in 1842.

Characterizing his sons, Sadik Pasha writes, “Here in Turkey, one of my sons – the youngest – could have substituted me... but in Ukraine, in Cossack land, my eldest son could have taken the lead, because the youngest son is a soldier-diplomat and the eldest one is a Cossack.”

Muzaffer enrolled at the prestigious French Special Military School of Saint-Cyr. After graduating in 1863, he joined the Cavalry Corps of the Ottoman army. Muzaffer became a military adjutant of Sultan Abdülaziz in 1867 and accompanied him in a journey around Europe in 1870. Like previously his father, Muzaffer fought in the war against Russia (1877). Then he became an adjutant of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and served in the capacity of a member of the committee on military reforms and military inspection committees. Later on, Muzaffer was appointed to a quite critical position of a Commander of the Imperial Stables. This testified to the high level of credit the Sultan gave to him.

In 16 years, following the father’s death in 1902, the youngest son suddenly became an applicant for the post of mutasarrif of Mount Lebanon. His rivals were more well-known in diplomatic circles: Yusuf Franko and his brother Fethi Franko were high-ranking officials in the Ottoman Foreign Service; Danis Efendi and Morel Bay were advisors at the Ottoman Embassy in Berlin.

Perhaps this was because of a negative response to his predecessor – a representative of the Kusa family and its local allies in Mount Lebanon, as well as due to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, at which a single candidate for Muzaffer post was approved. According to the protocol as of September 2, 1902, and the imperial decree No. 28 C 1320 (October 2, 1902), Muzaffer was appointed the Governor of Mount Lebanon for a five-year term and received the title of *müsir* (Pasha).

Similar to his father, he had two sons, and... problems with his wife. Muzaffer was married to the daughter of an interpreter of the Russian Embassy in Istanbul. Because of her fastidiousness and ambitions, Muzaffer on and off had difficulties with making two ends meet. They had two sons – Fuad and Rezid, who were employed at the Ottoman Foreign Ministry. Fuad managed to build not that distinguished, but a stable career, having been appointed as an adviser in Brazil.

Rezid, by contrast, caused pretty much problems for his family. During his service in France, he was dismissed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because of the inclination to gamble and riotous conduct. Subsequently, he was nudged to leave France on the charges of fraud. He returned to Mount Lebanon, though his behaviour made Porte to order Muzaffer to oust his son out of the country. Rezid moved to Italy, where eventually spent last days of his life in prison resulting from his reckless, rich in ventures, behaviour.

The activity of Muzaffer Pasha in a position of *mutasarrif* is occasionally assessed in totally opposite ways. Namely, Karol Hakim writes in the “National interest of Lebanon” monograph, “In 1902, the new *mutasarrif* astonished everyone, presenting on the day of his inauguration a solid reform program that provided for the advancement of administration’s functions, law enforcement and police, as well as the regulation of financial matters.”

In the meantime, in his book about the history of the city of Deir al-Qamar, Antoine L. Boustany writes, “His (edit. Muzaffer Pasha) rule in Lebanon was marked by a very profound and large-scale phenomenon: an open war between Freemasonry and the clergy. These were the times when radicalism reached its climax both in the first and second camp. One side was reluctant to enter into a dialogue, the other side expressed extreme anti-clericalism.” The author also quite negatively described “associates” of Muzaffer Pasha, “One do not need to be a genius to understand that by virtue of his flabby nature and impulsiveness, he fell into the clutches of his corrupt company influenced by his wife and son.”

The reason for such negative assessment was the fact that Muzaffer became *mutasarrif* of Mount Lebanon without having relevant experience of political activity, therefore he at once faced entirely opposite interests of various groups that strove for power and influence.

In this regard, there are examples in the literature proving that he was a “soldier without experience in provincial just as in imperial politics.” Researchers

also notice that the new mutasarraf tried to listen to the public and at the same time did what he thought best for the people of Mount Lebanon. With those intentions at the beginning of his governorship, Muzaffer adopted a range of decisions supported by the minority of the Lebanese political elite. In his monograph, A. Engin outlines major components of the action plan of Muzaffer Pasha – six key reforms he sought to fulfil:

1. Muzaffer was convinced that the shortage of farmland prevented Lebanese people from welfare and provoked them moving from Lebanon in search for a better life. He appealed to the Grand Vizier and the governor of Damascus to join the western part of the Bekaa Valley to Mount Lebanon. However, this proposal was overruled “in high cabinets of power.” Along with that, Muzaffer continued to allude in his letters to Porte (edit. government of the Ottoman Empire) to the existence of that “problem” and the necessity of its resolving.

2. Another controversial issue that attracted Muzaffer’s attention was an agreement concluded between his predecessor Naum on a rather sensitive matter of the French monopoly on hookah and tobacco, since it was difficult to imagine a Lebanese without argile or cigar at a table. Muzaffer refused to renew this agreement on the same terms and made a stand for a group of Lebanese businessmen in their efforts to found a self-governing organization aimed at regulating import, export and distributing hookah and tobacco in Mount Lebanon. The organization guaranteed more revenues for the local government, investments in the Hijaz Railroad project and the compliance with the Ottoman customs regulations. In the end, Muzaffer’s proposal was rejected by “other players” – the Ministry of Finance and the French side.

3. In early 1903, Muzaffer actively supported aspirations of a part of the Lebanese people to create an international seaport in Jounieh. This intent was deemed as an attempt to form an autonomous monopoly, which was taken into consideration by the Ministry of Finance. Yet, Muzaffer enjoyed this idea mostly because he was concerned about disrespect for Lebanese passengers in Beirut, rather than due to business or political interests. Along with the liberalization of the migration regulations, the number of Lebanese travelling abroad or returning home extremely increased. This led to the appearance of various officials who controlled the water area of Beirut and speculated on Lebanese travellers by imposing various fees. Muzaffer attempted to take measures on discontinuing such swindle towards the Lebanese people, but the officials of Beirut hindered settlement of this issue.

4. The increase of indirect taxes, which resulted in violent protests, including those among the citizens of Deir al-Qamar.

5. Muzaffer tried to introduce special identification documents for Lebanese citizens partially to raise national budget revenues, partially to satisfy the interests of the bureaucracy.

6. The governor of Mount Lebanon sought to enhance activities of the regional representative body – the Council. He was first to suggest the introduction

of secret ballot and unbiased supervision at all stages of the election process. At this moment it is difficult to define to which extent these changes were accomplished in different areas of Mount Lebanon, but according to available information, the elections became more organized, free and competitive.

Muzaffer died of a heart attack on July 28, 1907, three months before the termination of his rule.

The evaluation of activities of any political figure is always a thankless task. Nevertheless, it's more important for us that with his origin and activity Muzaffer Pasha has become one more "common link" in the Ukrainian-Lebanese political history.

When shooting a documentary film about Ukrainian Lebanon, I travelled to Halchyn village (the time "swallowed" three letters of the old name) on the way to Berdychiv and tried to imagine how the main character returned to his native village after 60 years of break. I saw an old Greek-style building with a colonnade of that time, being a secondary school nowadays. Also I had a chance to see a church, where, possibly, the 70-year-old general got engaged to 19-year-old Gabriele. Leaving the village, I noticed a "deep-brown horse", whose ancestors might have witnessed his return to the village with great honours.