

Diálogos

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4025.dialogos.v24i1>

ISSN 2177-2940
(Online)

ISSN 1415-9945
(Impresso)

Syrian-Lebanese Immigrants: Their Mechanisms of Social Insertion and Freemasonry in Costa Rica During the First Half of the Twentieth-Century¹

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4025.dialogos.v23i3.51945>

 Ricardo Martínez Esquivel

Universidad de Costa Rica, Costa Rica. E-mail: ricardo.martinezesquivel@ucr.ac.cr

<p>Key words: Freemasonry; Syrian-Lebanese immigrants; Sociability; Associationism; Costa Rica.</p>	<p>Syrian-Lebanese Immigrants: Their Mechanisms of Social Insertion and Freemasonry in Costa Rica During the First Half of the Twentieth-Century) Abstract: This research carries out a prosopographic and social network analysis on the processes of Syrian-Lebanese emigration to Costa Rica at the turn of the nineteenth century, the mechanisms of social insertion used by this migrant group, and relations between Syrian-Lebanese and Masonic sociability networks during the first half of the twentieth century. It is concluded that the Syrian-Lebanese immigrants actively participated in a process of readjustment of the social relations of the State and contributed to forge new cultural representations of nationhood in the country.</p>
<p>Palabras clave: Masonería; inmigrantes sirio-libaneses; sociabilidad; asociacionismo; Costa Rica.</p>	<p>Inmigrantes sirio-libaneses, sus mecanismos de inserción social y la masonería en Costa Rica durante la primera mitad del siglo XX Resumen: Esta investigación realiza un análisis prosopográfico y de redes sociales sobre los procesos de emigración sirio-libaneses a Costa Rica en el cambio de siglo del XIX al XX; los mecanismos de inserción social utilizados por este grupo migrante; y las relaciones entre los sirio-libaneses y las redes de sociabilidad masónicas durante la primera mitad del siglo XX. Se concluye que los inmigrantes sirio-libaneses participaron activamente de un proceso de readecuación de las relaciones sociales del Estado y contribuyeron a forjar nuevas representaciones culturales de lo nacional en el país.</p>
<p>Palavras-chave: Maçonaria; Imigrantes sírio-libaneses; sociabilidade; associacionismo; Costa Rica.</p>	<p>Imigrantes sírio-libaneses, seus mecanismos de inserção social e maçonaria na Costa Rica durante a primeira metade do século XX Resumo: Esta pesquisa realiza uma análise de rede social e prosopográfica dos processos de emigração sírio-libaneses para a Costa Rica na virada do século XIX para o século XX; os mecanismos de inserção social utilizados por esse grupo de migrantes; e as relações entre as redes de sociabilidade sírio-libanesa e maçônica durante a primeira metade do século XX. Conclui-se que os imigrantes sírio-libaneses participaram ativamente de um processo de reajuste das relações sociais do Estado e contribuíram para forjar novas representações culturais do nacional no país.</p>
<p>Artigo recebido em: 26/01/2020. Aprovado em: 12/02/2020.</p>	

¹ An advance of this research (or a short version of it) was presented nine years ago on the *14th International Congress of Spanish Specialists in Latin America* on September 2010, in Santiago de Compostela, Spain (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2010b, p. 267-280)

I

In the context of the current Syrian civil war, now extended to Lebanon, and the subsequent global refugee crisis in the region, the President of the Republic of Costa Rica Luis Guillermo Solís Rivera (2014-2018) decided, on the symbolic date of September 11, 2015, to rule out the possibility of receiving Syrian or Lebanese refugees in the country arguing a "cultural barrier" issue (EFE. COSTA RICA, sept. 11, 2015). The statement was not taken lightly, not only because of Costa Rica's historical openhearted stance towards immigration and the importance of the Syrian-Lebanese community, settled for more than a hundred years in the country, but also because the person who made this statement is a renowned historian with an important academic career at the University of Costa Rica.

However, rather than debating, criticizing or keeping track of what was said by the president-historian, it is interesting to analyze the Syrian-Lebanese immigration in Costa Rica on historical terms. Related research studies include the doctoral thesis of María Cruz Burdiel de las Heras (1988), as well as the various research works conducted by Roberto Marín Guzmán (1996, p. 557-606; 1997a, p. 155-198; 1997b; 1999-2000, p. 17-20; 2000; 2008, p. 9-38), one of them co-authored by Manuel López Brenes (2015, p. 121-149). Nevertheless, none of these works has delved into the mechanisms of social insertion developed by this migrant community and, much less, its relationship with Costa Rican Freemasonry.

The paper is divided in three parts. First, the context of the Syrian-Lebanese emigration is roughly outlined based upon the research of Roberto Marín Guzmán; secondly, the social insertion mechanisms of this migrant group are analyzed upon the existing adverse and unequal legal framework due to the entry prohibition decreed by the Costa Rican State and; third, their participation in local freemasonry —a subject which remains unstudied—, is examined as one of the many strategies of adaptation and social integration, as well as of "evasion" of ethnic-racial laws inflicted upon this community. Which were the features of the Syrian-Lebanese emigration process to Costa Rica at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century? Which social insertion strategies did this migrant group deploy? How did the relations between Syrian-Lebanese and Masonic Costa Rican networks develop during the first half of the 20th century?

II

The first time the Syrian-Lebanese community entered Costa Rican soil was in the midst of a mass migration from the Middle East to the American continent at the end of the 19th century (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1997a, p. 155a-198, and 2000; MARTÍNEZ ASSAD, 2008, p. 133-155;

AKMIR, 2009; AGAR, 2009; BÉRODOT AND POZZO, 2011; RHENALS DORIA, 2013). But why did they migrate to such a remote and distant place? What was the cause that led people to take such a radical measure? What were the life conditions and social peculiarities on this region of the world?

Since the 16th century, the coast of Lebanon was annexed to the Ottoman Empire (VEISTEIN, 1992, p. 361-387) and although its administrative development remained beyond imperial control (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1997b, p. 45-46), religious conflict has always been one of its most prominent historical features (PRIEGO Y CORRAL, 2007, p. 57-70), for the southern part remained under the control of the Druze², and the northern part under the control of the Maronites³, who developed strong commercial relations with Christian Europe.

By the end of the 19th century, when imperialism and European neo-colonialism began to rapidly move forward towards Africa and Asia (OSTERHAMMEL, 2015, p. 398-409), the Ottoman Empire got caught amid an international relations system determined by a rising global order led by the British Empire. Little by little, the Ottoman dynasty government was soaked in debts due to countless loans, which, along with its technical, industrial and income mismanagement, unleashed a crisis from which it could never recover (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1997b, p. 67-69).

Regarding the current territories of Lebanon and Syria, they have had a significant foreign influence, historically speaking. First Egypt, then the Ottoman Empire and finally Europe. During the second half of the nineteenth century, namely the period of the diaspora from the Middle East to America, these lands experienced one of the most violent and convoluted moments of its recent history: the Maronite-Druze conflict intensified, modern ideas and new forms of association emerged -among them Freemasonry⁴-, insertion within the global market system was sought at all costs and insurrections proliferated due to high taxes. Also, during these years, the *Tanzimat* legal reforms were enacted with the aim of achieving equality of the different minorities before the law. For example, the Maronites attained the right to acquire property, although the Druze impositions remained influencing the dynamics of buying and selling land (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1997b, p. 72, 75 and 83).

² The Druze are a religious minority settled mainly in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine (and Israel). This ethnic group speaks Arabic and it defines itself as belonging to the Islamic religion, despite the fact that most Muslims do not accept them as such. The Druze have one only god and originated somewhere between the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, when some Ismailis considered Huséin al-Hakim Bi-Amrillah, sixth Fatimid Caliph of Egypt (996-1021) a divine manifestation. In addition, the Druze religion, combines Islamic elements with Greek, Jewish, Christian and Gnostic (some even believe in reincarnation) elements. They also practice the *taqiyya shiite*.

³ The Maronite Christian Church was born in Antioch on the turn of the four to the five century. With strong Eastern traditions, in the mid-5th century the Maronites radically sustained that Jesus Christ was both God and man, thus he had two wills: one human and one divine (*Council of Chalcedony* of 451). Due to these beliefs, they were persecuted and killed, so many emigrated to Lebanon. In 1736, due the *Luwayza Synod*, the Maronites joined the Catholic Church.

⁴ The first Beirut lodge was founded in the mid-18th century and Masonic activities in Lebanon have been constant since 1868 (SOMMER, 2009, p. 53-84; and 2014).

By this moment, the production and export of silk became the main economic activity of Lebanon (a situation which strengthened its ties with Syria). The development of its silk industry allowed Lebanon to compete on equal terms with French emporiums (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1997b, p. 93-97). Due to this fact and also to the subsequent insertion in the global market, capital was successfully spread due to the expansion of monetary economy, trade, and waged labour in factories. These countries became mono-exporters, allocating extensive areas of their territories to the cultivation of mulberry trees.

Wealth and prosperity were ephemeral (assuming they ever existed). Both peasants and silk producers began to get into debt with European bankers. Furthermore, between the 1870's and 1890's, the prices of silk and Ottoman bonds fell to the ground. In fact, in 1868 the caliphate formally declared bankruptcy, consequently reducing the subsidies and budgets granted by the *Mustasarriyya*. This led to an exodus of merchants and foreign capital, which in turn led to the contraction of credit and to a severe decline in local investment, which increased the processes of indebtedness and the closure of factories.

Thus, with the aim of striving for better conditions, the Syrian-Lebanese diaspora began. The first wave of mass migration was intended to reach the United States, Australia or Brazil. For the last forty years of the 19th century, one hundred and twenty thousand people emigrated, and between the early 20th century and the beginning of the First World War, around two hundred and ten thousand more did (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1997b, p. 100-109; CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 130-145). Emigrant boats sailed along the Mediterranean Sea to the ports of Genoa and Marseille, where the transshipments to the American continent occurred. The majority of these emigrants were adepts to the Maronite Church, meaning they were also running away from Druze persecution (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 75-82 and 131-132).

In the case of Costa Rica, the first Syrian-Lebanese to immigrate were a Damascene couple: Pablo José Sauma Aued and Susana Tajan Mekbel. They were in Cuba since 1880 and arrived to the country in 1887 (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 130 and 142-162), initiating a migratory process which extended until 1980. In fact, until that year, almost three hundred immigrants of these ethnic group entered Costa Rican soil (LA GOUBLAYE DE MÉNORVAL R., RIVERA BRENES, April 2009-February 2010). In what conditions were they received? What were the mechanisms of social insertion they used to blend in?

III

The Syrian-Lebanese diaspora overlaps with a key moment in the development of the Costa Rican progressive project: a project of economic growth focused on the export of coffee and

bananas, allowed the country to play along the dynamics of the global economic system, as well as to modernize its infrastructure, along with its communication and transportation means. However, due to the lack of capital, trained professionals, agricultural workers, and sufficient settlers to ensure an effective control over the national territory and the proper exploitation of its resources, the Costa Rican state raised a series of policies to attract immigrants⁵.

Therefore, a series of guidelines were established to encourage the social integration of immigrants in Costa Rica. Europeans and Americans were invited, Creole Afro-descendants from the Caribbean were reluctantly received and, since 1897, Chinese were forbidden to enter Costa Rica (SOTO-QUIRÓS, 2009, p. 165-224), along with “Arabs, Turks, Syrians, Armenians and Gypsies of any nationality.” Since 1904, “given that their race⁶, life habits and daring spirits are unadaptable to an environment of order and work, they would likely lead to a physiological degeneration in the country as well as to the spread of laziness and vice.” (OFICIAL, 1904, p. 308-309)⁷. However, and despite the ethno-racial inequalities in the legal migratory framework of Costa Rica, a considerable number of individuals from such geographic origins arrived at the country⁸.

Although a better understanding of the processes of ethno-social and racial integration of these migrant communities still requires further prosopographic and social network analysis, through the application of theoretical-methodological principles (in the case of the present essay: the Syrians-Lebanese) new approaches to their situation in the country can be developed. For this, in the following lines, the analysis has been conducted cross-referencing censuses and genealogical, nationalization, and masonic registers, which, in turn, are complemented by other bibliographic sources on the subject.

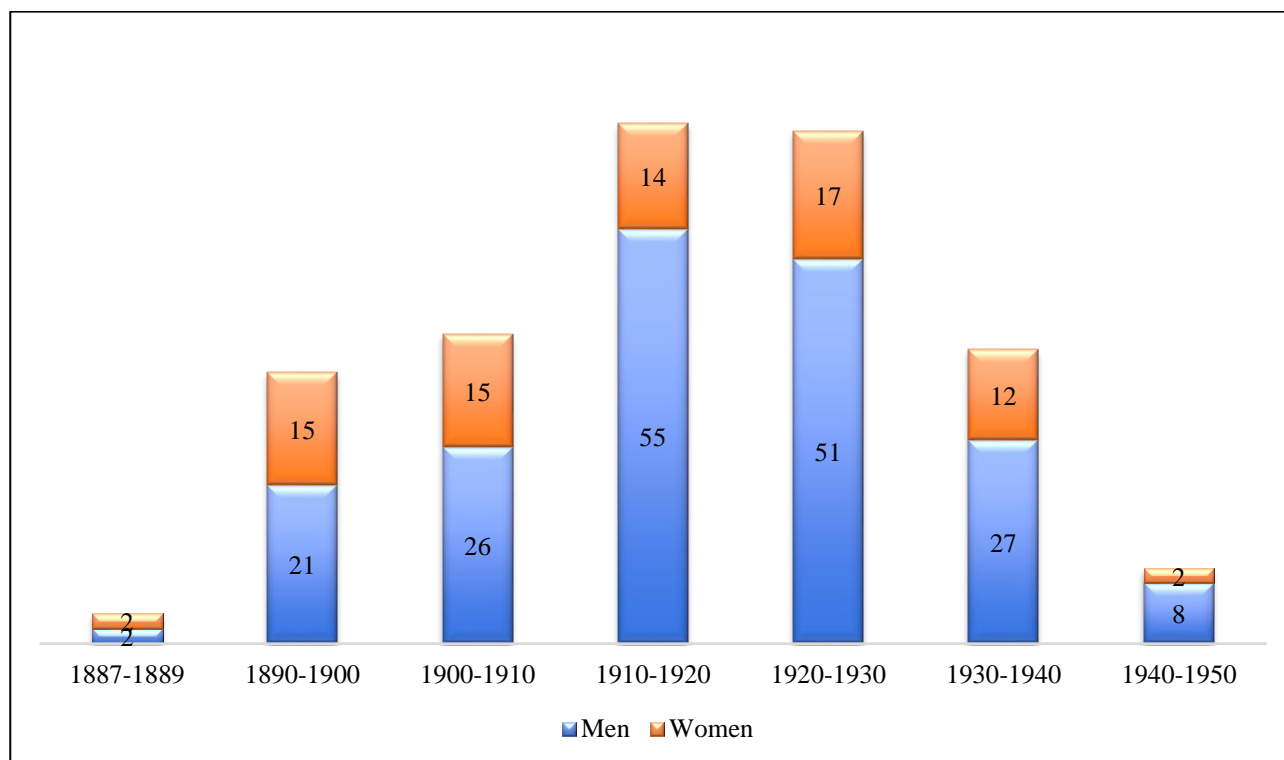
To begin with, in Figure 1, the process of entrance of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants to Costa Rica can be chronologically observed.

⁵ Broadly speaking, the same situation occurred all throughout Central America (CARDOSO and PÉREZ BRIGNOLI, 1977, ACUÑA ORTEGA, 1993).

⁶ Between the last third of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, a considerable part of the West was filled with theories inspired on scientific racism and the superiority of certain human groups. Latin America (and therefore Costa Rica) underwent a process of adaptation to the ideas of social Darwinism and eugenics, for its population was mainly composed of ethnic miscegenation and diversity. Thereupon, in Costa Rica the image of the “national race” was reinvented to become white and homogeneous and historically inherited from the colony, whereas miscegenation and racial degeneration were pejoratively represented as synonyms (PALMER, 1996, p. 99-121).

⁷ In 1904, Ascensión Esquivel Ibarra (1844-1923), President of Costa Rica, and his Secretary of State, José Astúa Aguilar (1858-1938), signed the decree which enacted this prohibition. These two characters were members of Costa Rican freemasonry: Esquivel in the lodge *Unión Fraternal* in the city of San José during the 1880s, and Astúa in the lodge *Regeneración*, also in the capital, but during the following decade (1890) (AGLCR, 1883-1887 and 1888-1899).

⁸ Due to the “shortage of hands,” during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Costa Rican government enacted a series of laws and decrees, which allowed the entry of foreigners, both from the “desired races” as well as from the “unwanted races”. The promotion of the relationship between migration and agricultural colonization was based on three strategies: the agricultural colony, the promotion of wage labor and the strengthening of internal migrations (JARA, 2016, p. 540).

Fig. 1: Evolution in the entrance of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants to Costa Rica (1887-1950)

Sources: (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 15-173; LA GOUBLAYE DE MÉNORVAL R., RIVERA BRENES, April 2009-February 2010).

Figure 1 shows the arrival of Syrian-Lebanese in gender terms (190 and 77 respectively). This relationship is important since, at least until 1910, many of them emigrated with their respective partners. Fourteen married couples entered the country during the last decade of the 19th century (Fig. 1). Miguel Sauma and Bane Sibara arrived in 1889, after the Sauma-Tajan couple, and also José Tabush Fallat and Ignacia Haquím Zaglul, who resided in Puerto Rico since 1870, in 1892 (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 30; LA GOUBLAYE DE MÉNORVAL R., RIVERA BRENES, April 2009-February 2010, p. 10)⁹. This situation evidences, as can be seen in more detail in tables 1 and 3, that the first generation of immigrants was, as far as it was possible, comprised of complete family nuclei.

This fact was also related to the circumstances of their departure from Syria and Lebanon. These first immigrants adhered to the Christian faith, in particular to the Maronite dogma; they were of peasant origin, had little education, were in search of religious and political freedom and escaped from the Druze persecution (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 1999-2000, p. 17-20). In other words, migrating for them became a part of their family project. A completely different phenomenon occurred with Chinese immigration during those very years, for in this case mainly young men came to Costa Rica

⁹ Although by this year the figure could have been higher, for the population census of 1892 (p. 14-16), shows twenty foreigners from Hindustan (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Bhutan and Nepal) and Turkey (including Syria and Lebanon), without major specifications (OFICIAL, 1893).

(MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, ARAYA ARIAS, 2015, p. 47-62) in search of new opportunities amid the socio-economic and political crisis caused by the decline of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) (KUHN, 2009; BICKERS, 2011) and did not flee from persecution due to their socio-cultural background.

Another detail to highlight in Figure 1 is the 1910-1930 period, years in which the largest number of Syrian-Lebanese emigrants arrived in Costa Rica: 137 people out of a total of 267, that is, 51 percent overall. This situation can be understood by the fact that these people were part of a global migration process. In order to utterly grasp the causes of this mass migrations, the Great War (1914-1918), its economic and political consequences until the beginning of the Second World War, and the Middle Eastern situation of that time must be addressed.

In the years between the waning of the Ottoman Empire and the First World War, the British Crown imposed Faysal ibn Husayn (1883-1933) as King of Syria. He was the son of Husayn Ibn Ali (1853-1931) Emir and Sharif of Mecca during that time, but the imposition intensified a series of political and military events which aggravated the socio-economic crisis in the region.

First was the *Sykes-Picot Agreement* (1916), meant for the British-French distribution of the Middle East. Second, Faysal's efforts to remain in power, including the request for intercession to the *Zionist Conference* with contacts in London, despite the fact that, by that time, Palestine stance on being part of the Kingdom of Syria was unclear (this triggered the Palestinian rejection of Faysal). Third, the French attack, bombing Syrian ports and expelling Faysal, who again the British imposed in power, this time as King of Iraq, where the Hashimite dynasty was established until 1958 (MASALHA, 1991, p. 679-693; SIMON, 1974, p. 314-327); and fourth, the resulting Syrian revolution during the 1925-1926 period.

All these events led thousands of Syrian-Lebanese to desperately run away from their former homes, this time not only because of ethnic persecution, but rather as the only possibility of literally surviving. In the case of Costa Rica, this can be assessed by the sort of immigrants who entered the country during those years, by themselves or without their nuclear family, although in many cases, as indicated in figure 1, with some kinship relations.

Table 1: Kinship relationship of the Syrian-Lebanese at the time of their arrival in Costa Rica (1887-1950)

<i>Period</i>		<i>1887-1889</i>	<i>1890-1900</i>	<i>1900-1910</i>	<i>1910-1920</i>	<i>1920-1930</i>	<i>1930-1940</i>	<i>1940-1950</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Total Syrian-Lebanese</i>		4	36	41	69	68	39	10	267
<i>Total Syrian-Lebanese Relatives</i>		4	34	28	44	47	25	5	187
<i>Type of identified relationships *</i>	<i>Husband/Wife</i>	4	10	4	2	2	4	0	26
	<i>Father / mother-son / daughter</i>	0	11	11	22	12	23	0	79
	<i>Siblings (or cousins) **</i>	0	17	9	30	41	19	5	121
	<i>Brothers/sisters in law</i>	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3

* The number of relationships exceeds the total of related individuals, because many of them had more than one type of relationship of kinship.

** In the sources of consultations, it is difficult to differentiate the relationship between siblings or cousins at some level.

Sources: same as in Fig. 1.

As we can see in Table 1, during the different periods of arrival of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants into Costa Rica, 70 percent of the total (187 of 267), entered the country along with family members, mainly brothers or cousins (121 brothers and cousins in total). In that respect, it must be pointed out that the kinship relationships were of many sorts: some were at the same time couples, parents, siblings, cousins and in-laws. Table 1 only shows the kinship relations at the time of arrival into the country; the already existing relationships are not factored in and there were periods in which no relationship could be observed. This does not necessarily mean that there was no relationship whatsoever, but rather that there was a prior entrance into the country, as it can be seen in the husband-wife or father/mother-son/daughter cases during the 1940-1950 period.

Unquestionably, the Syrian-Lebanese migration to America during the turn of the century from the 19th to the 20th century embodies a family-oriented strategy of socio-economic mobility. Immigrants did not intend to be on their own, but rather had a family project in mind. The life story of Miguel Sarkis is a perfect example. He arrived in Costa Rica after 1905, then successfully integrated into the social dynamics of the country through his commercial activities -he owned a store in the city of San Jose by 1907- (OFICIAL, 1909) and in 1909 became a Costa Rican citizen (CIHAC, s.a.). Once properly settled, Sarkis decided to go back to Middle East in search of his wife. On May 9, 1912, the couple arrived in Puerto Limón on the steamer *Prinz Sigismund*. However, there was an issue with her documents (language issues, perhaps?) so Sarkis had to pay a fine and commit to pay a “One thousand Colones bail, which would become a fine in the case the marriage or the proper conduct and clean background of the woman were not duly demonstrated.” (ANCR, Serie Gobernación 3419). Finally, the couple was able to demonstrate the legitimacy of their relation and, by 1915, the aforementioned store was still operating (OFICIAL, 1917)¹⁰.

Besides, considering the social profile of this group of immigrants, it is important to analyze in which Costa Rican communities did the Syrian-Lebanese decide to settle. Table 2 shows the geographical areas and arrival periods.

¹⁰ Antonio Jara has identified similar cases in his research: the brothers Juan and Jorge Albdelnour; Calile Breedy Jureidini's cousin Marzook Georges Breedy and his wife Rosa Mirty Jureidini; or the cousins Samuel Ameen Breedy Sahab, Said Mitre Breedy and Mitre Breedy Breedy (JARA, 2016, p. 551), all of them engaged in commercial activities (OFICIAL, 1909 and 1917); and Juan Albdelnour, Marzook Georges Breedy and Said Mitre Breedy afterwards initiated in Freemasonry (note 12). The above demonstrates the importance of the participation of foreigners in both the networks of sociability as well as in the possibilities for their integration into the Costa Rican society of the time.

Table 2: Geographical locations of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants in Costa Rica (1887-1950)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Total of Immigrants</i>	<i>Central Valley</i>		<i>Port areas</i>		<i>Unidentified</i>
		<i>Cities (San José)</i>	<i>Outskirts</i>	<i>Pacific (Puntarenas)</i>	<i>Caribbean (Limón)</i>	
<i>1887-1889</i>	4	4 (4)	0	0	0	0
<i>1890-1900</i>	36	19 (18)	0	5	11 (9)	1
<i>1900-1910</i>	41	13 (4)	0	13 (3)	8 (6)	7
<i>1910-1920</i>	69	26 (11)	2	9 (4)	23 (23)	9
<i>1920-1930</i>	68	21 (3)	2	26 (16)	10 (7)	9
<i>1930-1940</i>	39	10	7	10 (10)	3 (1)	9
<i>1940-1950</i>	10	1 (1)	0	0	0	9
<i>Total</i>	267	94 (41)	11	63 (33)	55 (46)	44

Sources: Same as in Fig. 1: (ACUÑA ORTEGA AND MOLINA JIMÉNEZ, 1992-1997; OFICIAL, 1909 and 1917).

As it can be seen in Table 2, 94 out of the 267 Syrian-Lebanese immigrants settled in cities within the Central Valley, while 118 did so in port areas (that is, 44% of the group under research). This situation makes sense, for the most common way to enter the country was by sea. To the previous data it can be added that 173 of the Syrian-Lebanese immigrants settled in cities, whereas only 50 (within the ones identified) in peripheral villages. Likewise, it can be seen that 41 of them settled in the capital city of San José and 79 in port cities: 33 in Puntarenas and 46 in Limón.

Regarding the Pacific and Caribbean cases, precisely in 1904 (when the prohibition law on the entry of Syrian-Lebanese into the country was enacted), the governors of Puntarenas and Limón warned the Minister of Police about the strong presence of this ethnic group in the aforementioned port cities. The leader of Puntarenas stated: "We are under the threat of a complete invasion by this race. Individuals pertaining to the aforementioned race are coming in streams in boats sailing from south; they are like sponges and also harmful to our limited commercial activities..." (ANCR, Secretaría de Policía, 1520); meanwhile, his counterpart in Limón said: "There is a considerable number of these individuals in the country, and they are even worse and more harmful than the Chinese." (ANCR, Secretaría de Policía, 1591). Regarding these statements and leaving aside their racist nature, it is interesting to analyze terms such as "invasion" or "a considerable number", considering that the number of Syrian-Lebanese in the country by that time did not even reach 50 individuals (Fig. 1). Indeed, the prohibition law had more to do with the xenophobic and racist policies that pervaded Costa Rica (PALMER, June 1996, p. 99-121), and also, probably motivated by the expulsion decree of this ethnic group launched by the Panama Government a few months earlier (JARA, 2016, p. 543).

Therefore, the Syrian-Lebanese immigrants sought to integrate mainly in these cities (45 percent). San José embodied the avant-garde of the new bourgeoisie, a result of the arrival of modernity in civil society; whereas Puntarenas and Limón had a more cosmopolitan atmosphere due to the majority of foreigners amongst its population, who arrived on account of the

development of supranational commercial networks, thus multiplying the possibilities of social insertion, sociability, and identity for the immigrant. In these three cities, as will be seen later, masonic networks developed with the participation of the Syrian-Lebanese (Table 7).

In 1904, the Municipality of San José conducted a population census which is a very valuable source for the purposes of this research to approach the social insertion mechanisms of the Syrian-Lebanese in Costa Rica. Table 3 allows us to continue analyzing the importance of San José for the integration of this ethnic group, the family nuclei inclusion within the Syrian-Lebanese migratory project and the first occupations of these immigrants in the country.

Table 3: Socio-occupational profile of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants in the city of San José (1904)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>Relationship to the Head of Household</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Num.</i>
0-4	4	Married	24	Son or daughter	19	Merchant	22
5-9	5	Single	23	Husband or wife	6	Domestic works	9
10-14	5	Widower	2	Boss	6	Student	3
15-19	3			Guest	4	Taffy maker	1
20-24	7			Other	3	Carpenter	1
25-29	7			Grandson or granddaughter	2	Unreported	13
30-34	4			Son-in-law or daughter-in-law	2		
35-39	3			Nephew or niece	2		
40-44	6			Unknown	2		
45	1			Parents	1		
50	4			Brother or sister in-law	1		
				Brother or sister	1		
Total	49	Total	49	Total	49	Total	49

Source: (ACUÑA ORTEGA and MOLINA JIMÉNEZ, 1992-1997).

By 1910, 81 Syrian-Lebanese had arrived in Costa Rica (Fig. 1), out of which 26 first settled in San José (Table 2). However, Table 3 shows that, by 1904, 49 of them had already settled in the capital and that only 9 of them (guests, others and unknown) did not have kinship relations, which underlines the family character of the migratory project. Almost half of them were between 20 and 40 years old (21) or married (24), although only six of the latter had their respective spouses in the country, but not their children (19). Concerning single immigrants (23), this includes fourteen out of the nineteen children, the two nephews, the two grandchildren and two out of the four guests, as well as all the seventeen children under 20 years old.

In regard to other social characteristics, the 49 individuals registered in the census declared to be followers of the Catholic religion -the main religion in Costa Rica-, although they were actually, most likely, adepts to the Maronite church. Concerning the group's literacy, only twelve of them stated to be able to read (amongst them one said to be unable to write). Nine men and three women, nine merchants (eight men and one woman), two students (one boy and one girl) and one woman devoted to housekeeping. Four individuals between 8 and 16 years old, three between 24 and 27 years old, and five between 40 and 50 years old. Both the adherence to the main local

religion and the acquisition of the language of the local society collaborated in the social insertion of this migrant group.

Finally, Table 3 shows that 22 out of the 49 Syrian-Lebanese settled in the city of San José in 1904 were engaged in commercial activities. Upon this matter, other research works focused on the Costa Rican central Pacific area at the beginning of the 20th century (CHEN MOK, BARTELS VILLANUEVA, MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2011, p. 225-246; MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, ARAYA ARIAS, 2015, p. 47-62), have proven that commerce was indeed the main mechanism of social insertion in the Costa Rican society for foreigners. To what extent did the same occur with this migrant group? Commercial censuses shed light upon this question. Table 4 has been crafted by taking data from 1907 and 1915.

Table 4: Relationship between the total of merchants, foreigners and Syrian-Lebanese immigrants in Costa Rica, according to the commercial censuses of 1907 and 1915

Year	Total of merchants	Foreign merchants		Syrian-Lebanese merchants		
		Total	Percentage (in regard to total)	Total	Percentage (in regard to total)	Percentage (in regard to foreigners)
1907	3,851	1,646	42,7 %	61	1,6 %	3,7 %
1915	4,814	1,976	41,0 %	58	1,2 %	2,9 %

Sources: (OFICIAL, 1917).

In Table 4, the relationship between the total number of merchants, foreigners and Syrian-Lebanese immigrants in Costa Rica is pointed out in accordance with commercial censuses. In these sources the foreign element stands out quantitatively (always over 40 percent of the total) and, although the figures in Table 4 do not highlight the quantitative importance of Syrian-Lebanese, if this information is studied in detail and cross-referenced with other data, different results will be thrown. To begin with, while until 1910, 81 of these immigrants had entered the country (Fig. 1), the commercial census of 1907 listed 61 merchants of Syrian or Turkish origin and, for example, it is known that by 1904, only in San José, 22 out of these 49 immigrants were engaged in commercial activities (Table 3). Thus, there was a growing interest among this migrant group to engage in commerce. By 1920, the Syrian-Lebanese community in Costa Rica had grown to 150 individuals (Fig. 1), when five years earlier, 58 of them were already engaged in commerce (Table 4). The figures remain to be noteworthy.

Other relevant data in the commercial censuses are, for instance, the genre of the merchants, their geographical location, and the type of business they run. In the case of genre, the 1907 census listed seven women engaged in commercial activities, and eight in the 1915 census. Curiously enough, with only eight years of difference, they were fifteen different individuals. This suggests that the censuses listed the people who were actually there at the moment they were conducted and

not necessarily its owner, preventing us from knowing how many Syrian-Lebanese women were actual owners, and directly affecting the possibilities of researching the life story of these women.

Regarding the geographic location, the 1907 census reveals that, out of the 61 Syrian-Lebanese who had settled in Costa Rica, 27 lived in the province of Limón (14 in the city and 13 in the outskirts), 20 in San José, 6 in the city of Alajuela, 4 in the port city of Puntarenas, and the remaining 10 in the Guanacaste towns of Liberia, Nicoya, Cañas and Carrillo. That is, 55 out of the 61 immigrants settled in cities or port areas. This trend continued in the 1915 census and confirms the data shown in Table 2.

Regarding the type of trade, in both commercial censuses (1907 and 1915) the majority of the businesses were “pulperías” (small grocery stores) (5 and 32) and convenience stores (53 and 21); although considerably less, they were also wholesale stores, pharmacies, bakeries, “taquillas” (tobacco and stamp stores) and “truchas” (one of each in 1907); “tilicherías” —a kind of gift shop— (six in 1907, all in the city of Alajuela), tailor’s shops, wood stores and wineries (one of each in 1915), pubs, soda fountains and restaurants (two of each in 1915), and “truchas” (six in 1915). During these years, there were no Syrian-Lebanese engaged in the early industrial development of the country.

While analyzing these data, mistakes or absences in the censuses should not be neglected. For example, it is difficult to identify the same merchant in both censuses, for names and surnames are written differently in different documents (for instance, names are used as the surnames and vice versa), a fact which only signals the necessity to carry out a prosopographic analysis of the Syrian-Lebanese population in the country. Nevertheless, even with this type of limited sources, we are able to observe the mobility and social integration of the members of this community.

An example of the aforementioned case is Pedro José Sauma Aued. Sauma was born in Damascus, capital of Syria, in 1877. In 1896 he arrived in Costa Rica with his sisters Rosita (or Rosa) and Wajba (or Juana or María), who were 20 and 24 years old respectively by 1904, according to the Municipal Census of San José. At the beginning they settled in the city of Cartago, but by 1904 they were already living in the capital city. He was 25 years old and lived together with his 50-year-old father Pablo José (who may have arrived in 1887), his 45-year-old mother María, his sisters, his 27-year-old brother Salomón, his 25-year-old wife Felipa (or Udepa) Dahger (or Dager) and his children Saida (or Saidi) and Rachid (or Rashia) who were 8 and 3 years old respectively. Curiously enough, there is no register of his daughter Ignacia de las Mercedes, born in the city of Alajuela in 1899 (COSTA RICA. REGISTRO CIVIL, 4, 2015) and, furthermore, it is known that by 1916 he already had another son: Michel (THE LATIN AMERICAN PUBLICITY BUREAU INC., 1916, p. 155).

In 1904, Sauma is known to be a merchant. By 1907, he is registered as the owner of the “Pedro Sauma é Hijos” convenience and wholesale store in the city of San José. By 1915, still running his business, he starts promoting his store in the prestigious *Libro Azul de Costa Rica* (*Blue Book of Costa Rica*), a guide published by the Government of Costa Rica and edited by the *Latin American Publicity Bureau Inc* (Fig. 1) with the aim of promoting the country abroad. In this publication, Sauma emphasizes on the antiquity of his business (20 years), his family, and the fact that he speaks the English language.

Image 1: Announcement of the store of the Syrian immigrant Pedro José Sauma

TIENDA

Este acreditado establecimiento de artículos de fantasía está situado en la calle 6ª Norte, frente al Mercado, en San José y tiene servicio telefónico número 97.

Fundado hace 20 años, ha ido prosperando de día en día y en la actualidad es uno de los comercios mejor surtidos y más acreditados de la capital.

Está abierto desde las 7 de la mañana a las 8 de la noche y en él se encuentra siempre un variado surtido de artículos especiales de perfumería, bordados, peinetas, mercería, joyería falsa, pasamanería, medias, driles, etc., etc.

Su dueño, don Pedro Sauma, nació en Siria en 1877 y contrajo matrimonio en Hilano con doña Felipa Daghor, de la que tiene cuatro hijos: Saïda, Rachid, Michel e Ignacia. Habla Inglés.

Comerciante laborioso y experto, ha dado gran impulso a su negocio y en la actualidad, goza merecida fama, por su seriedad y honradez comercial.

PEDRO J. SAUMA



Tienda — EXTERIOR — Store

STORE

This establishment is situated on North 6th. Street, fronting the market in San José. Founded 20 years ago. Its telephone number is 97. It has prospered from day to day and it is at present one of the best equipped and most accredited concerns in the capital.

It is opened from 7 a. m. to 8 p. m. and always carries a varied assortment of specialties in perfumery, embroidery, hair ornaments, haberdashery imitation jewelry, laces, stockings, drill, etc.

Its owner, Don Pedro J. Sauma was born in Syria in 1877 and married in Hilano, Doña Felipa Dagner. They have four children: Saïda, Rachid, Michel and Ignacia. Mr. Sauma speaks English.

An industrious and shrewd merchant, Mr. Sauma has given great impetus to his business and at the present time enjoys a well deserved reputation on account of his seriousness and his commercial honesty.



Tienda — INTERIOR — Store

Source: (THE LATIN AMERICAN PUBLICITY BUREAU INC., 1916, p. 155).

In order to fully grasp Sauma's social profile, here are some important details regarding his activities in freemasonry: Sauma underwent his initiation in the lodge *La Luz* (*The Light*) of San Jose in 1905. During these years, the lodge was almost totally integrated by foreigners, mainly from Europe and the United States, as well as by some Jewish descendants, mostly Sephardi, yet all Protestants and English speakers, so the meetings were held in English (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2017, p. 98-143). Sauma was associated to *La Luz* for over twenty years; he achieved the degree of Master Mason and, until this very day, he remains as the only Syrian-Lebanese immigrant initiated in this lodge. Besides, given that most of the members of *La Luz* were engaged in commercial and business activities, the question of to what extent did the masonic sociability play a role in the

process of integration and social upward mobility of Sauma should not be neglected. We shall come back to this point in further lines.

In order to understand the importance of commercial activities as a mechanism of social insertion for an “unwanted” migrant group such as Syrian-Lebanese, the fact that this activity meant a contribution to the State in the form of commercial taxes cannot be overlooked. In other words, political and intellectual modernity discriminated them and did the most to keep them under control on the grounds of race and ethnicity, but economic modernity allowed them to integrate to the very same society which labelled them as “unwanted”. These are some of the paradoxes and contradictions of the world of modernity developed in Costa Rica back then.

In this sense, as Antonio Jara (2016, p. 550) has accurately pointed out, the material capacity of the Syrian-Lebanese unfolded into a double purpose: it allowed them to enter into the country’s commercial networks and become part of the national economy, and it also institutionalized the practice of injecting money to the state coffers as a normal part of the process of entering the country. This can be clearly seen in the aforementioned case of Miguel Sarkis and his wife, or in the case of the merchant Kaleb Breedy, who despite the fact of being a resident, after a business trip he had to request in December 1904 his re-entry “on bail, subject to verify he lived and had business there to be allowed to freely stay in the country.” (ANCR, Secretaría de Policía 1591).

Another strategy of particular historical significance for the social insertion of foreigners is naturalization. In the case of Syrian-Lebanese, this implies yet another contradiction of political modernity, considering that the Costa Rican society prohibited their entry. The construction and invention project of the Costa Rican national state embraced a phenotypic profile in which the features and physical characteristics of the Semitic race, in this case, were considered to tarnish the purity of an imaginary racial ideal. Therefore, Syrian-Lebanese, as well as indigenous people, Chinese and Afro-descendants were disregarded, controlled and excluded from the dynamics of society. However, as has been previously pointed out, through commercial activities and the subsequent tax-payment, the Syrian-Lebanese were able to merge into the Costa Rican state logics and, despite such undeniable discrimination, the same thing happened when they became Costa Rican citizens, as can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5: Sample of naturalizations of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants in Costa Rica (1900-1930)

Period	Total naturalization cases	Total Syrian-Lebanese *	Naturalized Syrian-Lebanese		
			Total **	Percentage (with regard to total)	Percentage (with regard to the immigrant group) ***
1900-1910	1,527	82	9	0,6 %	11%
1910-1920	372	151	24-33	6,5%	22%
1920-1930	1,344	219	22 (55)	1,6 %	25%
Total	3,243	219	55	1,7 %	25%

* For every decade we have added the Syrian-Lebanese immigrants who arrived in the country in previous years.
 ** In brackets: the total of naturalized Syrian-Lebanese until that moment.
 *** The percentage corresponds to the total ratio of the immigrant group in the country and to the total of those naturalized until that moment.

Source: The same as in figure 1: (CIHAC, s.a.).

Table 5 shows how important it was for the Syrian-Lebanese to acquire the Costa Rican nationality. A sample taken between the years 1910 and 1930 shows that 25% (55 people) out of a group of 219 individuals made use of this mechanism for social insertion. The participation of the Syrian-Lebanese community in the economic modernity (through their commercial activities) and afterwards in the political modernity (through naturalization) eased down the Costa Rican society, who were not by any means diametrically anti-Arab or anti-Semitic, in spite of the national legislation. Evidence of this assessment is the case of the first legislator of Lebanese descent: Miguel Al Mekbel Carón (1930-1938), or the establishment in 1928 of an exclusive association for this ethnic group: the *Lebanese Society*.

The fact that the Syrian-Lebanese established their own organization (as did other migrant groups in the country) only further highlights the fact that they were a marginalized community endowed with the possibility of exercising their constitutional association rights. Similar cases occurred with the Afro-descendants in Limón and with the Chinese in Puntarenas (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2012, p. 105-122; MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, ARAYA ARIAS, 2015, p. 47-62). That is to say, in the port cities of the Caribbean and the Pacific, far from the “National Invention” processes set in motion in the Central Costa Rican Valley (the latter a space historically linked with the predominance of European-mestizo origin where the elites concocted the models of State and Nation since the nineteenth century), the *Lebanese Society* stands out, as they settled in the capital city of San José.

The *Lebanese Society* aimed not only to build comradeship and support amongst fellow countrymen, but also to rescue or reinvent Lebanese identity abroad, and particularly in Costa Rica. The association by-laws outline the profile of its members: “All Lebanese, son or grandson of Lebanese (even if his father, his grandfather, or he himself has acquired a different nationality) with their residence within the Republic can be part of this association.” (CASA LIBANESA DE

COSTA RICA, 2016). Thus, the *Lebanese Society* fostered Lebanese traditions such as music, dance, and cooking; there was awareness in regards of the current situation in Lebanon and by the 1940s, Arabic language lessons were taught.

In line with the insertion within the Costa Rican public sphere, during these years the first Lebanese journal in Costa Rica was released: the newspaper *Sheikh (Al-Shaykh)* (1944-1946) (MARÍN GUZMÁN, 2008, p. 9-38; LÓPEZ BRENES, MARÍN GUZMÁN, 2015, p. 121-149). The journal was ran by the first-generation Lebanese descendant Said Simón Aued, and focused on spreading news about the activities of the Lebanese community in the country and Latin America, and in releasing translations into Spanish of Arab poets such as Gibran Jalil Gibrán (1883-1931) (CALVO OVIEDO, 2011), the great Lebanese poet of the Mahjar, or the work of Lebanese-Costa Rican writers such as Vera Yamuni, Gladys Malick, George Malick or Farid Beirute.

We have so far identified how religion, language, commercial activities, naturalization, associative practices, and a periodical publication enabled the integration of the Syrian-Lebanese community in Costa Rican society during the first half of the twentieth century. However, there was yet another social practice, related to the previous mechanisms of insertion, in which the Syrian-Lebanese had their own participation quota: Masonic sociability networks.

IV

In Costa Rica, Freemasonry was organized in 1865, thanks to the initiative of a group of foreigners and Costa Rican expats who, already initiated in the order, arrived or returned to the country. Until 1871, the guild mainly relied upon the Grand Orients of Cuba and Colombia, for in that very year a masonic project of Central American character started. With the *Gran Logia de Costa Rica* (GLCR), Costa Rica left this project in 1899, in the midst of a period of creation of national institutions, which was part of the construction of the Costa Rican nation state (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2017). On this situation, the foreign element played a fundamental role in the development of masonic activities, as it can be stated by the fact that for the last third of the 19th century it comprised around 60% of the country's lodges¹¹, and during the first 34 years of the 20th century, it held the great masters of the GLCR (OBREGÓN LORÍA, BOWDEN, 1950; GUZMÁN-STEIN, 2004, p. 1209-1272; MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2007a, p. 124-147). Briefly said, the quantitative and qualitative impact of foreigners in the history of Freemasonry in Costa Rica is undeniable.

¹¹ In fact, until the 1930s, foreigners constituted the majority of the Costa Rican masonic lodges' social composition (table 6).

The context of this process was the advent of modernity in the country, which also meant the arrival of immigrants from all walks on earth, mainly due to the requirements of both skilled and cheap labor within the country. Likewise, the entry into the global system of commercial relations took place due to foreign capitals and agents. As time went by, port cities played a fundamental role in the modernization of the country. Through them, contacts, relationships, and international exchanges intensified as they merged with new ideas, forms of organization, commodities, and individuals. U.S., Spanish, German, and British merchants, bankers, educators, and engineers (MURCHIE, 1981, BARIATTI LUSSETTI, 1987, HERRERA BALHARRY, 2000), along with some members of the Costa Rican elites, were part of the avant-garde of these transformations, which took place during the decades before and after the turn of the 19th to the 20th century.

Many of these foreigners found in Masonic lodges an ideal mechanism of insertion, sociability and identity. In this sense, the lodges of port cities such as Puntarenas and Limón acted as cosmopolitan, fraternal, and social integration spaces for those foreigners far from home (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2010a, p. 105-142, and 2012, p. 105-122), yet participants in global projects of infrastructure, transportation, commerce and, why not, imperialism. Therefore, Freemasonry was able to integrate those individuals identified with supranational dynamics in line with the ideals of modernity (HARLAND-JACOBS, October 2013, p. 70-88; MOLLÈS, May-November 2014, p. 1-32; MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, December 2017-April 2018, p. 1-18).

In spite of the above, natives or descendants from Asian, African (Caribbean Creoles), and Middle Eastern regions also entered Costa Rican Freemasons lodges. This situation raises many questions for, theoretically speaking, these individuals were not related to the inherent sociability of modernity (such as lodges), and their diasporas stemmed from a socioeconomic crisis and the necessity of cheap labor of the recipient country. Furthermore, as it has been pointed out in prior lines, during this period Costa Rican had laws against immigration of individuals from these particular origins (SOTO-QUIRÓS, 2005, p. 119-133).

However, structural requirements spoke louder than Law and thus a considerable number of Chinese (LEÓN AZOFEIFA, 1987), Afro-descendant Caribbean Creoles (MURILLO CHAVERRI, 1999, p. 187-206), Indians (MADRIGAL, WARE, HAGEN, BLELL AND OTAROLA, 2007, p. 330-337), Jews (BARUCH SCHIFFMAN, 2000) and Syrian-Lebanese (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988) entered Costa Rican soil. These unwanted immigrants had to develop, as one of their strategies for social insertion, relational dynamics with Costa Rican Freemasonry. Three types have been identified: (1) in Puerto Limón, initiation and mixed societies were organized for Chinese and Afro-descendants (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2009, p. 157-188; GUTIÉRREZ ARRIETA, 2017, p. 201-212); (2) in “normal, masculine, official and national” Freemasonry (meaning elitist, “white” and of restricted access), Chinese and Afro-descendants were admitted, but they also

participated in commercial networks alongside freemasons from Europe and the United States (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2007b, p. 93-108); and (3) also in this last form of Freemasonry, Jewish immigrants (both Sephardic or Ashkenazi) were accepted. They were, though, culturally European and, in some cases, came from countries with a strong Masonic tradition (GUZMÁN-STEIN, December 2009-April 2010, p. 88-120).

In the case of Syrian-Lebanese immigrants, Freemasonry became another possibility of social integration because it provided them with social upward mobility opportunities and access to other sociability encounters; amplified sociability networks, mainly, where the economic-commercial factor was the key bonding link and masonic activities, thus, the venue for sociocultural encounters. For the first half of the twentieth century, the identified Syrian-Lebanese were only in the “regular, masculine, official and national” Freemasonry, sponsored by the GLCR. Thus, the yearbooks of this Grand Orient and the record books of the lodges are the main sources of research. In Table 6 the quantitative relation between the total of freemasons, foreigners, and Syrian-Lebanese affiliated to lodges in Costa Rica during the period 1900-1950 can be observed.

Table 6: Syrian-Lebanese Masons in Costa Rica (1900-1950)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Total freemasons *</i>	<i>Foreign Freemasons</i>		<i>Syrian-Lebanese Freemasons</i>		
		<i>Total*</i>	<i>Percentage (with regard to total)</i>	<i>Total*</i>	<i>Percentage (with regard to total)</i>	<i>Percentage of foreigners</i>
<i>1900-1910</i>	354	212	60 %	4	1,4 %	1,8 %
<i>1910-1920</i>	289	177	61 %	13	4,5 %	7,3 %
<i>1920-1930</i>	225	142	63 %	16	7 %	11 %
<i>1930-1940</i>	302	157	52 %	11	3,6 %	7 %
<i>1940-1950</i>	471	144	30,5 %	11	2,3 %	7,6 %
* Because many people socialized in Freemasonry for more than a decade, their names are repeated in the total of the following decades.						

Sources: (AGLCR, 1902, p. 40-42, 1904, p. 66-69, 1906, p. 40-42, 1907, p. 50-58, 1911, 1914, 1924, p. 89-111, 1934, p. 22-43, 1937, p. 33-45, 1939, p. 4-23, 1941, p. 7-37, 1943, p. 6-36, 1949, p. 8-63; and OBREGÓN LORÍA, BOWDEN, 1950, p. 292-322).

Table 6 highlights the quantitative importance of foreigners in Costa Rican Freemasonry, which was over 50% of the total, at least until 1940. The Syrian-Lebanese freemason group was represented by 24 individuals¹², that is, 12.6 % out of the 190 males (Fig. 1) who immigrated to

¹² In order of entry to lodges sponsored by the GLCR: Juan Azar, Salomón Esna Muses (or Moisés), Pedro José Sauma Aued, Bejos Miguel Yamuni Abdala, George (or Jorge) Rafael Breedy, George Breedy, Saeed Mitry Breedy Haddad, Salem Breedy, Selim Breedy, Teófilo Esna, José Jalet Bichra (Bechara or Fara), Pedro Jalet Francis (or Fara), Juan Assad (or Asad) Albdelnour Mousaly, William S. Allem, Horacio N. Allem, Abraham Maleck (or Malick), Teófilo

Costa Rica until 1950. Although this number seems inconsequential (in fact, Syrian-Lebanese maximum participation reached up to only 16 people, 11% of all foreigners during the 1920's), if other relationships are studied it will be easier to identify significant data regarding the possible social roles of Freemasonry for this migrant group.

For instance, the 24 aforementioned Syrian-Lebanese devoted to commercial activities, which was clearly their main occupation (Tables 3 and 4) and, perhaps, also the main mechanism of social insertion for this migrant group. Indisputably, participation in networks of economic modernity, such as commercial networks, granted them access to restricted areas, often forbidden to people of their ethnic and phenotypic characteristics. Furthermore, these individuals were adepts to the Maronite Church, but in Costa Rica they declared themselves as Catholics (Table 3). This is of major significance, because the GLCR Freemasonry of those years had a strong Christian ideological foundation (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2017, p. 98-143); in fact, the rites mainly practiced were The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite and the York Rite. On this regard, we can observe a Costa Rican cultural modernity feature, yet inherent in the country's Freemasonry practices.

With the aim to shed further light on the reasons why the Syrian-Lebanese community intertwined with Freemasonry, the Masonic life of said 24 people has been reconstructed in Table 7.

Table 7: Masonic life of Syrian-Lebanese associated with lodges in Costa Rica (1900-1950)

<i>Arrival period</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>Period of association</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>Association lodge (city)</i>	<i>Num.</i>	<i>Years in Freemasonry.</i>	<i>Num.</i>
1890-1900	2	1890-1900	0	Unión Fraternal (Limón)	13	0-5	12
1900-1910	3	1900-1910	4	Regeneración (San José)	4	6-10	1
1910-1920	14	1910-1920	13	Hermes (San José)	4	11-15	1
1920-1930	4	1920-1930	1	La Luz (San José)	1	16-20	1
1930-1940	1	1930-1940	4	Maravilla (Alajuela)	1	21-25	3
1940-1950	0	1940-1950	2	Osiris (Puntarenas)	1	26-30	2
						31-35	0
						36-40	3
						55	1
Total	24	Total	24	Total	24	Total	24

Source: Same as in Figure 1 and Table 6.

Table 7 shows the main features of Syrian-Lebanese freemasons, highlighting the decade from 1910 to 1920, period in which the largest association to Freemasonry of this migrant group happened. Thirteen Syrian-Lebanese entered Costa Rica during this period, and twelve of them

were associated to the same lodge: *Unión Fraternal* in the Caribbean city of Limón¹³. What can we imply from this data?

Since the last years of the 19th century until the first half of the 20th century there was an inter-ethnic transnational network of commerce and financial flows which developed throughout the Caribbean, helping the social insertion of immigrants regardless of their origin (PUTNAM, 1999, p. 139-186). The twelve masonic Syrian-Lebanese were engaged in trade, and the *Unión Fraternal* has been historically composed by a majority of merchants (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2007a, p. 139-140). Before these twelve individuals became members, there was merchant Salomón Esna, who was a member of this lodge since 1903, year in which he already held the third degree of Freemasonry, a fact that suggests that his Masonic initiation happened abroad. Thus, the Syrian-Lebanese may have joined this lodge because of its engagement with business activities and also due to the close to twenty-year experience of a fellow countryman. These facts, coupled with their needs to insert themselves within a social circle in a foreign country where they did not have any social bond whatsoever, can explain the association to Freemasonry. However, 9 out of the 12 individuals barely stayed five years in the lodge, despite the fact that 6 of them became Master Masons. In fact, 17 out of 24 reached the rank of Master Mason and four of them attained the membership of the GLCR, which, in any case, evidences the commitment (at least at the initial stages) of these people with Freemasonry.

The case of the individuals in the *Unión Fraternal* can clearly explain the reality of the 24 Syrian-Lebanese engaged in Freemasonry in Costa Rica. That is, their association with Freemasonry stemmed mainly from the social insertion mechanisms package, but not so much from the dynamics of sociability inherent to this famous order. However, Syrian-Lebanese immigration and its relations with Freemasonry show some elements with which we can build a laboratory of observation to further research on the insertion strategies developed by this migrant group in Costa Rica. Such is the case of Bejos Miguel Yamuni Abadala's (1881-1961) life story.

Bejos Yamuni was born on November 11, 1881 in a small village called Serel. His family was originally from Deir el-Ahmar, a city located about a hundred kilometers from the Lebanese capital and characterized by a predominantly Maronite population settled since the 6th century (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 82). Due to the socioeconomic instability of the country, their parents decided to emigrate: first the mother Miriam Abdala along with Bejos, the firstborn; the remaining three children: Jamil, Juan and Cilia stayed with the father. They first went to Australia, but failing to get used to it, they decided to return to Lebanon. Afterwards, they sailed towards Paramaribo (current capital of Suriname), but due to similar reasons, they decided to go to

¹³ The only exception was the merchant José Pedro Jalet, grade three by 1923, who went through a Masonic career that lasted from ten to fifteen years and was a member of the lodge *Regeneración* in the city of San Jose.

the United States. On the route to North America, the ship in which they travelled suffered a mechanical problem, so it had to stop in Puerto Limón. While the ship was being repaired, the Yamuni Abdala took the opportunity to visit other fellow countrymen in Costa Rica. After listening to their experiences and considering the possibilities the country offered, they decided to stay in Costa Rica. This happened in 1901 (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 135-137). By that time, forty Syrian-Lebanese immigrants had settled in the country, eleven of which lived in the Caribbean city of Limón (Figure 1 and Table 2).

Miriam Abdala and Bejos Yamuni established a food stand in the main market of Puerto Limón, and another ambulant stall on the railroad line to San José (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 137). When they managed to raise enough money, they moved to the capital city, where they developed their commercial activities further. In the course of the following years, the Bejos' siblings immigrated along with a relative called Miguel Dumany; Miriam Abdala's niece Rosa and her son, Antonio (ANCR, Secretaría de Policía 797, 4510). By 1904, according to the Municipal Census of San Jose, the Yamuni Abdala family lived under the same roof.

At the beginning, Yamuni made a business partnership with his fellow countryman Sarkis Bejos Massad (ANCR, Gobernaciones 2728). The 1907 commercial census reports him as the owner of a store in the city of San José, and the 1915 census as the owner of one of the most important European products (in particular laces, silk, feathers and fabrics) import store in the capital (OFICIAL, 1917, p. 14). The store was located in the surroundings of the Central Market of San José and was called *La Poupée* ("The Doll"), a name that itself reflects the Europeanization of consumption patterns in San José (QUESADA AVENDAÑO, 2001; FUMERO VARGAS, 2005). Along the 20th century, the business activities of the Yamuni family grew significantly, to the point of having one of the most important commercial houses in all Costa Rica: "Bejos Yamuni e Hijos S.A." (ANCR, Ministerio de Finanzas 19256, 22029 and 27807; Economía 2425). The role of commerce in the integration of this family into Costa Rican society is evident.

The life history of Bejos Yamuni also shows other mechanisms of upward mobility and social integration. On March 29, 1912, after he declared to be of Syrian origin, he chose to become a Costa Rican citizen (OFICIAL, Naturalization 3613). Two years later (1914), he married the Costa Rican Mercedes Tabush Haquím, first generation Syrian-Lebanese, daughter of José Tabush and Ignacia Haquím, the third couple to arrive in the country (1892). Yamuni also stood out amongst the organizing group of the *Lebanese Society*, where he served as president in 1930 (CRUZ BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, 1988, p. 232-234). Asociacionism, in the case of Yamuni, was not only for cultural organization purposes, but it also had to do with his involvement in Masonic sociability networks. In fact, Yamuni is the only mason with "55 or more years" (Table 7)

and, incidentally, one of the main nodes of freemasonic activities in Costa Rica during the first half of the 20th century.

Yamuni was initiated in the lodge *Regeneración (Regeneration)*, located in the city of San José, on July 5, 1905 (AGLCR, 1905). In the following years he joined five other lodges: *Libertad (Freedom)* (1910) (AGLCR, 1910); *Hermes* (1927), where he became a Venerable Master in 1938 (AGLCR, 1927 and 1938); *Maravilla (The Wonder)* (1940), where he also became Venerable Master and promoted the construction of this lodge's temple (1943) (AGLCR, 1940-1943); *Osiris* (1945), where he was a founder member along with another Master Mason, the Syrian-Lebanese Saed Mitry Breedy Hadad¹⁴; and *La luz (The Light)* (1950), an English-speaking lodge of Christian Protestants (AGLCR, 1950). Summing up, Yamuni was a member of five of the six Costa Rican lodges where Syrian-Lebanese were initiated (Table 7). The only exception was the lodge *Unión Fraternal* at Puerto Limón.

In 1949, Bejos Yamuni was appointed treasurer and lieutenant of the GLCR, and a few months later he was elected Grandmaster of this organization (image 2). His first project consisted in the construction of a Masonic mausoleum in the General Cemetery of San José. His endeavor, however, was unfinished, for in June 1950 he renounced the Great Master due to a trip to Europe. He was replaced by the American merchant Eric C. Murray (AGLCR, 1950, p. 5), with whom the importance of the participation of foreigners in the extended commercial and fraternal-Masonic network in Costa Rica remains to be observed.

Image 2: Bejos Miguel Yamuni Abdala, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Costa Rica (1949-1950)



Undated.

Source: (CHAVERRI and CALVO, 2008, p. 48).

¹⁴ Regarding the nodal importance of Yamuni and Breedy in the intertwining of social networks surrounding the lodge *Osiris* (MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2010a, p. 105-142).

In 1949, Bejos Yamuni achieved the 32nd degree of Freemasonry “Sublime and Courageous Prince of the Royal Secret” at the same time that his son Miguel Yamuni Tabush did, at the early age of 29. Father and son then became part of the philosophical chambers of the ancient Scottish rite, accepted by the GLCR. This should be highlighted, because for some families, since the nineteenth century until this very day, masonic sociability has defined a part of their *ethos* and identity (GUZMÁN-STEIN, December 2009-April 2010, p. 88-120; MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, 2017, p. 98-143). Image 3 shows Miguel Yamuni with Alexander Murray Anderson and Rafael Obregón Loría, Great Masters of the GLCR (MÉNDEZ ALFARO, MOLINA VARGAS, December 2015-April 2016, p. 28-69)

Image 3: Alexander Murray Anderson, Rafael Obregón Loría and Miguel Yamuni Tabush



Undated.

Source: (AGLCR, “Black Book”, unpagged).

Unlike his father, Miguel Yamuni did not devote himself to commercial activities. In 1960 he entered the diplomatic service of Costa Rica and was appointed to serve as Ambassador in Lebanon (1963-1966), Spain (1972-1976, image 4), Kuwait (1979-1981), Kenya (1982-1985), Panama (1986-1989) and Great Britain (1989-1990). He also served as a concurrent in Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait and Syria (1964-1966), in Egypt, Morocco (1973-1976) and Tunisia (1974-1981), and in Saudi Arabia (1978-1981), the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon (1980-1981). In addition, he also served as honorary consul of Lebanon in Costa Rica, and honorary advisor to the Costa Rican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To what extent did his association to a Masonic lodge allow

Miguel Yamuni to integrate and move upward in the social ladder through diplomatic service? This question still requires further prosopographic and social networking research to assess the participation of individuals in both Costa Rican Freemasonry and Diplomatic Services, as it happened on the very genesis of the fraternity in the country during the 1860's (MARTINEZ ESQUIVEL, 2017, p. 119).

Image 4: Miguel Yamuni Tabush, Ambassador of Costa Rica in Spain (1972-1976)



Description: from left to right: Justino Sauson Balladares, Ambassador of Nicaragua; Lucas Moncada, Ambassador of Honduras; Miguel Yamuni Tabush, Ambassador of Costa Rica. In the lobby of the Hotel Meliá Madrid, Spain, September 15 (no year registered).

Source: (ANCR, Fotografía 2491).

For the Syrian-Lebanese immigrants in Costa Rica (as well as for other foreigners) Freemasonry sponsored by the GLCR served to facilitate upward mobility and social integration. Christianity and European consumption patterns (cultural modernity) and engagement in commercial activities (economic modernity), enabled a migrant group without Freemasonry traditions because of their nationality, ethnicity, and physical appearance to participate in a closed space without prior experience in sociability with Middle-Easterners. Apparently, similar situations occurred in Cuban and Mexican Freemasonry (MAALOUF, 2004, p. 161-164; KATZ GUGENHEIM, 2009, p. 307-308). Nevertheless, in order to make a better assessment of the conclusions of this essay, further analysis is required on prosopographic and social networking of Masonic Costa Ricans Lodges', and also concerning the regional and supranational dynamics of the Syrian-Lebanese community during those years.

V

Syrian-Lebanese, as well as other migrant groups, played an active role in the process of reconfiguring the social relations of the State and contributed in shaping up new cultural representations of nationhood in Costa Rica. Since they first arrived in the country, they sought to integrate within Costa Rican society and, indeed, their different roles fulfill all spheres of modernity. This certainly deserves to be highlighted for, just like the case of other unwanted migrant groups with clear laws against their entry into the country, they managed to insert themselves into the dynamics of civil society and to plunge into the public sphere.

Concerning economic modernity, commerce became their main strategy for social integration. With the itinerant sale of meals on the railway lines, the gigantic warehouses dedicated to the importation of luxury commodities, and their involvement in inter-ethnic and supranational commercial networks, the Syrian-Lebanese winded up contributing a significant share in the collection of state taxes, with which they earned their place as part of political modernity. Furthermore, naturalization, the adoption of Catholicism as their religion, the acquisition of the Spanish language, marriage with local Costa Ricans, and their economic capabilities, as well as their associationism or expression practices (all of them also a part of cultural modernity), whether in the *Lebanese Society*, a masonic lodge or in *El Sheikh*, enabled Syrian-Lebanese to develop a civic life just like any other Costa Rican.

This short essay also intends to make the readership ponder if Costa Rica is a country where real “cultural barriers” exist for the reception of refugees, regardless of national, regional, ethnic or phenotypic origin, whether Syrian-Lebanese or not.

References

Primary sources

ACUÑA ORTEGA, Víctor Hugo, MOLINA JIMÉNEZ, Iván. *Base de datos del Censo Municipal de San José de 1904*. San José, C.R.: CIHAC, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1992-1997.

ARCHIVO DE LA GRAN LOGIA DE COSTA RICA (AGLCR). Actas de tenidas Respetable Logia Hermes 7 (1927 y 1938).

AGLCR. Actas de tenidas Respetable Logia La Luz 3 (1950).

AGLCR. Actas de tenidas Respetable Logia Libertad 4 (1910).

AGLCR. Actas de tenidas Respetable Logia Maravilla 10 (1940-1943).

AGLCR. Actas de tenidas Respetable Logia Regeneración 1 (1905).

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1906*. San José, C.R: Imprenta de Avelino Alsina, 1907.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1910-1911-1912-1913*. San José, C.R.: Alsina, 1914.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1922-1923*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Alsina, 1924.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1933*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Alsina, 1934.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1936*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Juan Arias, 1937.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1938*. San José, C.R.: Trejos Hermanos, 1939.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1940*. San José, C.R.: Trejos Hermanos, 1941.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1941*. San José, C.R.: Trejos Hermanos, 1943.

AGLCR. *Anuario de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948*. San José: Tormo, 1949.

AGLCR. "H□ Bejos M. Yamuni Abdala". *Gaceta Masónica*, San José, C.R., n. 1, Aug. 5, 1950, p. 5.

AGLCR. *Informe Anual de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1901*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta de José Canalías, 1902.

AGLCR. *Informe Anual de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1903*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Alsina, 1904.

AGLCR. "Libro Negro", sin paginado.

AGLCR. *Procedimientos de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica 1905*. San José, C.R: Imprenta Alsina, 1906.

AGLCR. *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Costa Rica 1907-1908-1909*. San José: Alsina Press, 1911.

AGLCR. Registro de firmas de la Respetable Logia Regeneración 6 (1888-1899).

AGLCR. Registro de firmas de la Respetable Logia Unión Fraternal 19 (1883-1887).

ARCHIVO NACIONAL DE COSTA RICA (ANCR). Economía 2425.

ANCR. Gobernaciones 2728, 3419.

ANCR. Fotografía 2491.

ANCR. Nacionalización 3613.

ANCR. Ministerio de Hacienda 19256, 22029 y 27807.

ANCR. Secretaría de Policía 797, 1520, 1591 y 4510.

CASA LIBANESA DE COSTA RICA. San José, 2016. Retrieved from: <http://casalibanesacr.org/>. Accessed on: Sep. 27, 2016.

CHAVERRI, Milton; CALVO, Luis. *Ciento Veinte Aniversario Respetable Logia Regeneración N° 1*. San José, C.R.: Logia Regeneración N. ° 1, 2008.

CIHAC. Base de datos nacionalizados costarricenses, 1829-1939. San José, C.R.: CIHAC, Universidad de Costa Rica, sin año.

COSTA RICA. REGISTRO CIVIL, 1860-1975, database with images, *Family Search* (April 4, 2015). Retrieved from: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVM5-R9SG>. Accessed on: Sep. 27, 2016. Ignacia de las Mercedes Sauma Bager; citing Birth Registration, Alajuela, Costa Rica, v. 36, entry 331, p. 377, Archivos Nacionales (ANCR), San José; FHL microfilm 1, 102, 496.

EFE. COSTA RICA descarta ofrecer refugio a sirios debido a barreras culturales. *ElPaís.cr*, San José, Sept. 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.elpais.cr/2015/09/11/costa-rica-descarta-ofrecer-refugio-a-sirios-debido-a-barreras-culturales/>. Accessed on: Oct. 3, 2016.

LA GOUBLAYE DE MÉNORVAL R, Yves de; RIVERA BRENES, Esteban José. Familias de origen libanés en Costa Rica. *Boletín electrónico de la Academia Costarricense de Ciencias Genealógicas*, n. 92, abr. 2009- feb. 2010. Retrieved from: <http://www.genealogia.or.cr/index.php/publicaciones#seccion2>. Accessed on: Jul. 5, 2016.

OFICIAL. *Censo General de la República de Costa Rica. 18 de febrero de 1892*. San José, C.R.: Tipografía Nacional, 1893. Retrieved from: <http://ccp.ucr.ac.cr/bvp/censos/1892/pdf/extranjeros.pdf>. Accessed on: Sept. 11, 2016.

OFICIAL. *Colección de Leyes, Decretos, Acuerdos y Resoluciones 1904*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Nacional, 1904.

OFICIAL. *Censo comercial el 31 de diciembre de 1907. Comercios e industrias patentadas*. San José, C.R.: Tipografía Nacional, 1909.

OFICIAL. *Censo comercial del año 1915*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Nacional, 1917.

THE LATIN AMERICAN PUBLICITY BUREAU INC. *Libro Azul de Costa Rica*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Alsina, 1916.

Secondary sources

ACUÑA ORTEGA, Víctor Hugo. *Historia General de Centroamérica*. Tomo IV. Las Repúblicas Agroexportadoras (1870-1945). Madrid: Ediciones Siruela S.A., 1993.

AGAR, Lorenzo, *et. al.* *Contribuciones árabes a las identidades latinoamericanas*. Madrid: Casa Árabe, 2009. Retrieved from: <http://www.pensamientocritico.org/casara0511.pdf>. Accessed on: Sep. 5, 2016.

AKMIR, Abdeluahed. *Los árabes en América Latina. Historia de una emigración*. Madrid: Siglo XXI-Casa Árabe, 2009.

- BARIATTI LUSSETTI, Rita. *La inmigración italiana en Costa Rica (1821-1968)*. 1987. Disertación (Licenciatura en Historia) – Escuela de Historia, Universidad Nacional, Heredia, 1987.
- BARUCH SCHIFFMAN, Bernardo. *Judíos costarricenses*. San José, C.R.: Editorial Génesis, 2000.
- BÉRODOT, Solène; POZZO, María Isabel. La inmigración sirio-libanesa en la ciudad de Rosario, Argentina: continuidades, desvanecencias e intercambios socioculturales. *Amerika*, Rennes, n. 5, 2011. Retrieved from: <http://amerika.revues.org/2746>. Accessed on: Sept. 11, 2016.
- BICKERS, Robert. *The Scramble for China. Foreign Devils in The Qing Empire, 1832-1914*. London: Penguin Books, 2011.
- BURDIEL DE LAS HERAS, María Cruz. *La emigración libanesa en Costa Rica*. 1988. Disertación (Doctorado en Estudios Árabes e Islámicos y Estudios Orientales) – Facultad de Letras, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Madrid, 1988.
- CALVO OVIEDO, Marlen. El Medio Oriente también es poesía: memorias en el *Sheik* a propósito del 50 aniversario de la muerte de Gibrán Jalil Gibrán. *Revista Estudios*, San José, n. 24, jul. 2011. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/estudios/article/view/22782/22948>. Accessed on Sep. 5, 2016.
- CHEN MOK, Susan; BARTELS VILLANUEVA, Jorge; MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Comerciantes, empresarios e industriales en la región Pacífico Central de Costa Rica, durante la primera mitad del siglo XX. In: ABARCA HERNÁNDEZ, Oriester; BARTELS VILLANUEVA, Jorge; CHEN MOK, Susan; MARÍN HERNÁNDEZ, Juan José. *Poder, Colonización y Arquitectura. Región Pacífico Costarricense: 1780-2010*. San José, C.R.: Sociedad Editora Alquimia 2000, 2011. [cap. 6], p. 227-246.
- KATZ GUGENHEIM, Ariela. Judíos y masonería en México. Un acercamiento inicial al estudio de su interacción. In: GOLDSMIT BRINDIS, Shulamit; GURVICH PERETZMAN, Natalia. *Sobre el judaísmo mexicano: diversas expresiones de activismo comunitario*. México DF: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2009. [cap. 10], p. 287-342.
- KUHN, Philip A. *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.
- GUZMÁN-STEIN, Miguel. De cómo el Generalísimo Francisco Franco Bahamonde, jefe del estado español, otorgó la Orden de Caballero de Isabel la Católica a un masón gallego que fue dos veces Gran Maestro de la Gran Logia de Costa Rica. In: FERRER BENIMELLI, José Antonio. *La Masonería en Madrid y en España del siglo XVIII al XXI*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón - CEHME, 2004, [v.2], p. 1209-1272.
- GUZMÁN-STEIN, Miguel. La lapidaria fúnebre-masónica en Costa Rica como fuente de investigación de una comunidad inédita. *REHMLAC*, San José, v. 1, n. 2, p. 88-120, dic. 2009-abr. 2010. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/REHMLAC/article/view/6619/6308>. Accessed on: Apr. 6, 2012.
- FUMERO VARGAS, Patricia. *El advenimiento de la modernidad en Costa Rica: 1850-1914*. [Cuadernos de Historia de las Instituciones 20]. San José, C.R.: EUCR, 2005.
- GUTIÉRREZ ARRIETA, Fernanda. La cuestión étnica en los espacios de sociabilidad moderna de Costa Rica a principios del siglo XX. In: RUIZ SÁNCHEZ, José-Leonardo; POZUELO ANDRÉS,

Yván. *La masonería hispano-lusa y americana*. De los absolutismos a las democracias (1815-2015). Zaragoza: CEHME y Universidad de Zaragoza, 2017, [v.1], p. 201-212.

HARLAND-JACOBS, Jessica. Global Brotherhood: Freemasonry, Empires, and Globalization. *REHMLAC. Hors série n°1. Special Issue UCLA-Grand Lodge of California*, San José, p. 70-88, oct. 2013. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/rehmlac/article/view/22543/22685>. Accessed on: Aug. 5, 2015.

HERRERA BALHARRY, Eugenio. *Los alemanes y el Estado cafetalero*. San José, C.R.: EUNED, 1988.

JARA, Antonio. Estado, Nacionalidad y Raza: Políticas de restricción migratoria en Costa Rica (1896-1942). In: VIALES HURTADO, Ronny; DÍAZ ARIAS, David. *Historia de las desigualdades en América Central. Una visión interdisciplinaria siglos XVIII-XXI*. San José, C.R.: CIHAC, 2016, [cap. 22], p. 535-558.

LEÓN AZOFEIFA, Moisés Guillermo. *Chinese immigrants on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. The economic adaptation of an Asian minority in a pluralistic society*. 1987. Dissertation (PhD History) – Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans, 1987.

LÓPEZ BRENES, Manuel; MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. Algunas reflexiones sobre el periódico “*El Sheik*” en Costa Rica. *Intus-Legere Historia*, Viña del Mar, v. 7, n. 1, p. 121-149, 2013. Retrieved from: <http://intushistoria.uai.cl/index.php/intushistoria/article/view/124/110>. Accessed on: Sep. 16, 2016.

MAALOUF, Amin. Orígenes. GALLEGU URRUTIA, María Teresa trad. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2004.

MADRIGAL, Lorena; WARE, B.; HAGEN, E.; BLELL, Mwenza; OTAROLA, Flory. The East Indian Diaspora in Costa Rica: Inbreeding Avoidance, Marriage Patterns, and Cultural Survival. *American Anthropologist*, California, v. 109, n. 2, p. 330-337, 2007.

MARÍN ARAYA, Giselle. *Inmigrantes españoles en la ciudad de San José, 1850-1930*. 2000. Disertación (Maestría en Historia) – Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica, San José, 2000.

MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. Las causas de la emigración libanesa durante el siglo XIX y principios del XX. Un estudio de historia económica y social. *Estudios de Asia y África*, Mexico City, v. XXXI, n. 3, p. 557-606, sept.-dic. 1996. Retrieved from: <http://estudiosdeasiayafrika.colmex.mx/index.php/ea/article/view/1569/1569>. Accessed on: Aug. 17, 2016.

MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. El aporte económico y cultural de la inmigración árabe en Centroamérica en los siglos XIX y XX. In: KABCHI, Raymundo. *El Mundo Árabe y América Latina*. Madrid: Ediciones UNESCO y Libertarias/Prodhufi, 1997a. p. 155-198.

MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. *La emigración Libanesa en los Siglos XIX y XX. Análisis de sus causas Económicas-Sociales*. San José, C.R.: Editorial Alma Mater, 1997b.

MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. Los inmigrantes árabes en Costa Rica. Asimilación y legado cultural. *Herencia*, San José, v. 11-12, n. 1-2, p. 17-20, 1999-2000.

MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. *A Century of Palestinian Immigration into Central America. A study of their economic and cultural contributions*. San José, C.R.: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2000.

MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto. El periódico “*El Sheik (Al-Shaykh)* (1944-1946)” de la comunidad libanesa en Costa Rica. Una visión histórica. *Revista de Historia de América*, Colima, n. 139, p. 9-38, 2008.

MARTÍNEZ ASSAD, Carlos. Los libaneses inmigrantes y sus lazos culturales desde México. *Dimensión Antropológica*, Mexico City, n. 44, 2008. Retrieved from: <http://www.dimensionantropologica.inah.gob.mx/?p=2917>. Accessed on: Sep.-16, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Composición socio-ocupacional de los masones del siglo XIX. *Diálogos Revista Electrónica de Historia*, San José, v. 8, n. 2, p. 124-147, 2007a. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/dialogos/article/view/18344/18536>. Accessed on: Aug.-5, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Actividades masónicas en la Ciudad de Puntarenas (1870-1876). *Revista Inter Sedes*, Puntarenas, v. VIII, n. 15, p. 93-108, 2007b. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/intersedes/article/view/870/931>. Accessed on: Sep. 8, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Sociedades de ideas en Puerto Limón durante la década de 1890. *Revista Intercambio. Revista sobre Centroamérica y el Caribe*, San José, n. 7, p. 157-186, 2009. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/intercambio/article/view/3221/3127>. Accessed on: Sep. 15, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Sociabilidad moderna, impugnación católica y redes masónicas en la Ciudad de Puntarenas (1870-1951). In: ABARCA HERNÁNDEZ, Oriester; BARTELS VILLANUEVA, Jorge; MARÍN HERNÁNDEZ, Juan José. *De Puerto a Región: El Pacífico Central y Sur de Costa Rica 1821-2007*. San José, C.R.: SIEDIN - Universidad de Costa Rica, 2010a, [cap. 5], p. 105-141.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Inmigrantes libaneses en Costa Rica y sus participaciones en la masonería del país (primera mitad del siglo XX). In: REY TRISTÁN, Eduardo; CALVO GONZÁLEZ, Patricia. *200 años de Iberoamérica (1810-2010)*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, p. 268-280, 2010b. Retrieved from: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/file/index/docid/529294/filename/AT4_MartinezEsquivel.pdf. Accessed on : Sep. 10, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. La Franc-maçonnerie à Puerto Limon: un espace de réception privilégié du cosmopolitisme dans une ville portuaire. In: REVAUGER, Cécile; SAUNIER, Éric. *La Franc-Maçonnerie dans les ports*. Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2012. p. 105-122.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Hacia la construcción de una historia social de la masonería en Centroamérica. *Revista Estudios*, San José, v. 27, n. 1, p. 127-151, 2013. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/estudios/article/view/12703/11951>. Accessed on: May 12, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Prosopografía y redes sociales: notas metodológicas sobre el estudio de la masonería en Costa Rica. *REHMLAC+*, San José, v. 7, n. 2, p. 1-27, dic. 2015 - abr. 2016. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15517/rehmlac.v7i2.22689>. Accessed on: Ap. 15, 2016.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. *Masones y masonería en la Costa Rica de los albores de la Modernidad (1865-1899)*. San José, C.R.: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2017.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. Global History and Freemasonry: 300 years of Modernity, Sociability and Imperialism. *REHMLAC+*, San Jose, v. 9, n. 2, p. 1-18, dic. 2017-abr. 2018. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.15517/rehmlac.v9i2.31496>. Accessed on: Jul- 16, 2019.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo. *Los chinos de ultramar: Diásporas, sociabilidad e identidades*. México DF: Palabra de Clío, 2018.

MARTÍNEZ ESQUIVEL, Ricardo; ARAYA ARIAS, Andrey. Wa-Sion: una ventana a la reconfiguración de las sociedades portuarias centroamericanas (1909-1930). In: ARSOVSKA, Liljana. *América Latina y el Caribe - China. Historia, Cultura y Aprendizaje del Chino* 2015. México DF: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005. cap. 3, p. 47-62. Retrieved from: http://www.redalc-china.org/redalcchina_2015_historia.pdf. Accessed on: Sep. 10, 2016.

MASALHA, Nur. Faisal's Pan-Arabism, 1921-33. *Middle Eastern Studies*, London, v. 27, n. 4, p. 679-693, 1991.

MÉNDEZ ALFARO, Rafael; MOLINA VARGAS, Silvia Elena. Rafael Obregón Loría, el historiador del siglo XIX. *REHMLAC+*, San Jose, v. 7, n. 2, p. 28-69, dic. 2015-abr. 2016. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15517/rehmlac.v7i2.22691>. Accessed on: Jan. 2, 2016.

MOLLES, Dévrig. L'histoire globale et la question maçonnique: éléments pour une analyse. *REHMLAC*, San Jose, v. 6, n. 1, p. 1-32, may.-nov. 2014. Retrieved from: <http://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/rehmlac/article/view/15225/14524>. Accessed on: Aug. 5, 2015.

MURCHIE, Anita Gregorio. *Imported spices: a study Anglo-American settlers in Costa Rica 1821-1900*. San José, C.R.: Departamento de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Cultura, Juventud y Deportes, 1981.

MURILLO CHAVERRI, Carmen. Vaivén de arraigos y desarraigos: identidad afrocaribeña en Costa Rica, 1870-1940. *Revista de Historia*, Heredia, n. 39, p. 187-206, 1999.

OBREGÓN LORÍA, Rafael; BOWDEN, George. *La Masonería en Costa Rica. Tomo IV*. San José, C.R.: Imprenta Tormo, 1950.

OSTERHAMMEL, Jürgen. *La transformación del mundo: Una Historia Global del siglo XIX*. GARCÍA, Gonzalo (trad.). Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2015.

PALMER, Steven. Racismo Intelectual en Costa Rica y Guatemala, 1870-1920. *Mesoamérica*, New Orleans, v. 17, n. 31, p. 99-121, jun. 1996.

PRIEGO, Alberto; CORRAL, Carlos. El Líbano: crisol de culturas y pequeño próximo oriente. *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, Madrid, n. 14, p. 57-70, 2007.

PUTNAM, Lara Elizabeth. Ideología racial, práctica social y estado liberal en Costa Rica. *Revista de Historia*, Heredia, n. 39, p. 139-186, 1999. Retrieved from: <https://www.revistas.una.ac.cr/index.php/historia/article/view/2024/1923>. Accessed on: Apr. 17, 2016.

QUESADA AVENDAÑO, Florencia. *En el Barrio Amón: arquitectura, familia y sociabilidad del primer residencial de la élite urbana de San José, 1900-1935*. San José, C.R.: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001.

RHENALS DORIA, Ana Milena. *Del ideal europeo a la realidad árabe: Inmigrantes sirio-libaneses en el circuito comercial entre Cartagena, el Sinú y el Atrato (Colombia). 1880-1930*. (Doctorado en Historia de América Latina: Afroamérica) – Facultad de Letras, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla, 2013. Retrieved from: <https://rio.upo.es/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10433/1971/rhenals-doria-tesis13.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>. Accessed on: Aug. 15, 2016.

SANTANA CARDOSO, Ciro Flamarion; PÉREZ BRIGNOLI, Héctor. *Centroamérica y la economía occidental 1520-1930*. San José, C.R.: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1977.

SIMON, Reeve S. The Hashemite ‘Conspiracy’: Hashemite Unity Attempts, 1921-1958. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge, v. 5, n. 3, p. 314-327, 1974.

SOMMER, Dorothe. Early Freemasonry in Late Ottoman Syria from the 19th Century onwards - The First Masonic Lodges in the Beirut Area. In: ÖNNERFORS, Andreas; SOMMER, Dorothe. *Freemasonry and Fraternalism in the Middle East*. Sheffield: The University of Sheffield Press, 2009, [cap. 2], p. 53-84.

SOMMER, Dorothe. *Freemasonry in the Ottoman Empire: A History of the Fraternity and Its Influence in Syria and the Levant*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2014.

SOTO-QUIRÓS, Ronald. Discursos y políticas de inmigración en Costa Rica, 1862-1943. *Iberoamericana*, Madrid, v. V, n. 19, p. 119-133, 2005.

SOTO-QUIRÓS, Ronald. Percepciones y actitudes políticas con respecto a la minoría china en Costa Rica: 1897-1911. *Historia y Espacio*, Cali, v. 5, n. 32, p. 165-224, 2009. Retrieved from: http://revistas.univalle.edu.co/index.php/historia_y_espacio/article/view/1692. Accessed on: Jul. 16, 2019.

VEISTEIN, Gilles. L’Empire ottoman depuis 1492 jusqu’à la fin du XIX^e siècle. In: MECHOULAN, Henry. *Les Juifs d’Espagne. Histoire d’une diaspora, 1492-1992*. Paris: Liana Levi, 1992, p. 361-408..