

# ANTOINE ISAAC SILVESTRE DE SACY AND THE MYTH OF THE HACHICHINS: ORIENTALIZING HASHISH IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

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**Abstract.** Building on recent historical scholarship on drugs and European empires, this study shows how early French conceptions of hashish use emerged from a popular imperial imaginary developing across Europe and the West during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that routinely envisaged drugs as stereotypical markers of Oriental barbarism. The first section examines the discursive process through which the mythic connection between hashish and Islamic assassins, first established by French linguist Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in 1809, became *a fait prouvé* in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. The analysis shows that Sacy based his studies of the Islamic assassins on Orientalized fantasies rather than facts and thus inaccurately portrayed hashish as an evil intoxicant used by certain Muslims to transform disciples into blindly obedient and blood-thirsty murderers. Ignorant of, or indifferent to, the inaccuracies in Sacy's contentions, scholars and scientists working in a range of academic disciplines routinely referenced Sacy's myth when discussing hashish, Muslims, and the Islamic world. With their repeated, mostly uncritical citations of Sacy's work, French and European scholars steadily transformed the myth of the Hashish-eating Muslim assassins into common knowledge requiring, by the middle of the nineteenth century, no citation or reference to prove its veracity.

On 19 May 1809, Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy delivered a lecture on the "Dynasty of Assassins and the Etymology of their Name" at the Institut de France in Paris, the country's academic nucleus since its creation in 1795.<sup>1</sup> Many in his audience likely had read or heard of the infamous medieval cult of Islamic Assassins, first popularized in Europe by Marco Polo's fourteenth-century travelogue, *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*.<sup>2</sup> Sacy changed little from Polo's original telling,

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citing five pages verbatim from Polo's account of the sect's leader, the Old Man of the Mountain, his fortress paradise at Alamut in Northern Persia, and his use of an "intoxicating potion" to inebriate his disciples and transform them into mindless assassins.<sup>3</sup> Polo's mythic account of the Islamic assassins circulated widely throughout Europe during the early modern era. And through the Eighteenth century numerous French scholars published monographs on the assassins of Alamut and their affiliation with the Nizari Ismaili branch of Shia Islam, giving Polo's myth added historical context and academic veracity.<sup>4</sup> But up to the time of Sacy's lecture in 1809, no one could explain the origin of the term "assassin" or the contents of the mysterious potion used by the Old Man to drug and deceive his devotees.

In his speech to the Institut in May of 1809, Silvestre de Sacy declared he had solved both mysteries and confidently argued that Arabic manuscripts from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries referred to the assassin cult as *al-Hashishiyya* – translated from the Arabic as "hachichins" in French, roughly "hashish-eaters" in English – because of the sect's regular and ritualistic use of hashish. And as corroborated by the prohibition passed in October 1800 by the French army in Egypt, hashish induced a "violent delirium" in users comparable to that described in Marco Polo's famous travelogue.<sup>5</sup> How else but through this evil intoxicant, Sacy thus reasoned, could the Old Man deceive so many young men into such "blind obedience" to his murderous designs? "I thus am inclined to believe," he concluded, "that among the Ismailis, called *Hachichins* or *Haschasch*, there are people that are specifically raised to kill, that were delivered, through the use of hashish, to this absolute resignation to the will of their leader."<sup>6</sup>

A professor of Arabic at the *École spéciale des langue orientales vivantes* and of Persian at the Collège de France – as well as the resident Orientalist in the French Foreign Ministry since 1805 – Sacy spoke that day as the country's (and arguably Europe's) leading expert on "the Orient," its languages, and its history.<sup>7</sup> By 1809 he had published several memoirs on the histories of Persia and Arabia and numerous textbooks on Arabic and Persian grammar, including *Chrestomathie Arabe* (1806), considered one of the foundational texts of Oriental scholarship in nineteenth-century Europe. Therefore, Sacy's lecture and subsequent publications on the medieval cult of Islamic Assassins and their etymological connection to and devious use of hashish offered France's scholarly community certified "facts" about the Orient *and* hashish that French scholars, scientists, and policymakers absorbed, echoed, and built upon for centuries.

But as numerous historians, and notably Bernard Lewis and Farhad Daf-tary, have pointed out, Sacy's conclusions about the link between the Ismaili assassins and hashish were, in the end, incorrect.<sup>8</sup> And interestingly, Sacy's etymology faced criticism as early as September 1809 when "M. R., ancient citizen of the Levant" penned a letter to a newspaper in Mar-

seille offering an alternative derivation that (also incorrectly) connected the sect's name not to hashish use but to the word "hassas" used widely by Syrians and Egyptians to describe a "thief in the night" or someone with evil intentions.<sup>9</sup> Despite these past and recent refutations, however, Sacy's false linkage of the Ismaili assassins and hashish has time and again appeared in print as an established fact and, more problematically, has been used by French and American politicians to justify the creation of heavy-handed anti-drug legislation. Perhaps most alarmingly, this false filiation of assassin and hashish appeared since the terror attacks in Paris of January and November 2015 as an explanation for ISIS activities in Europe and a justification for implementing emergency decrees and stricter prohibition measures.<sup>10</sup>

This article examines the discursive process through which this mythic connection between murderous Islamic assassins and hashish, first established by Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in 1809, became a *fait prouvé* in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Building on recent scholarship on drugs and nineteenth-century European empires and imperial culture, this study shows how early French conceptions of hashish use emerged from a popular imperial imaginary developing across Europe and the West that routinely envisaged drugs as stereotypical markers of Oriental barbarism.<sup>11</sup> The first section introduces Silvestre de Sacy and scrutinizes two of his works, *Chrestomathie Arabe* (1806) and "Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins et sur l'Étymologie de leur Nom" (1809), which feature lengthy discussions of hashish use in the Islamic world and particularly among the Nizari Ismaili. As my analysis shows, Sacy based his narrative of the Hachichins on Orientalized fantasies rather than facts and thus inaccurately portrayed hashish as an evil intoxicant used by Islamic assassins to transform recruits into blindly obedient and bloodthirsty murderers. The second section then examines how, despite immediate and public disputations, this myth of the Hachichins became by the 1830s firmly interwoven into French scientific discourse as an established fact. Ignorant of or indifferent to the inaccuracies in Sacy's contentions, scholars and scientists working in a range of academic disciplines, including medicine, pharmacy, psychiatry, history, linguistics, geography, botany, and agricultural science, routinely referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins when discussing hashish, the Nizari Ismailis, and the Islamic world. And with their repeated, mostly uncritical citations of Sacy's memoir on the dynasty of assassins, French and European scholars steadily transformed the myth of the Hachichins into common knowledge requiring, by the middle of the nineteenth century, no citation or reference to prove its veracity.

In his illuminating work *Silencing the Past*, Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot investigates the production of facts and narratives in

French history, from the moment of fact creation (i.e. making and archiving sources) to the moment of fact assembly and retrieval through narrative (i.e. researching and writing histories).<sup>12</sup> Drawing from Foucault's notion of discourse as a "unifying instance of knowledge and power," Truillot portrays the production of historical facts and narratives as a process largely determined by the power to define what is and what is not a source.<sup>13</sup> Put simply, "in history, power begins at the source."<sup>14</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth century in western Europe, no scholar had more power over the selection and narration of historical sources from the Orient than Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1757-1838), widely considered the father of the academic discipline of Oriental studies in France and throughout the continent. For forty-two years and through four successive regime changes in France between 1795 and 1838, Sacy cemented his legacy as the field's "inaugural hero" with over 430 translations and publications, numerous professorships in France's top academic institutions, and hundreds of devoted advisees who went on to occupy Europe's top academic posts, thus exporting his curriculum, textbooks, and pedagogy to universities across the continent. As Edward Said argued, "every major Arabist in Europe during the 19th century traced his intellectual authority back to him... [He] was one of the builders of the field, creators of a tradition, progenitors of the Orientalist brotherhood."<sup>15</sup> So when Sacy spoke or wrote about the Orient, most took his words at face value as scientifically verified facts.

Born on 21 September 1757 to a bourgeois family of Parisian Jansenists, Antoine-Isaac Silvestre grew up a devout Catholic and, much like his father, Jacque Abraham Silvestre, a steadfast monarchist and supporter of the Bourbon dynasty.<sup>16</sup> This religious background nurtured in Sacy a lifelong curiosity in the medieval Crusades to the Holy Lands between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Many biographers point to a fateful meeting in a Parisian garden near Saint-Germain-des-Près between the young Sacy and the Benedictine monk and crusades scholar, Dom Georges-François Berthereau, as the moment when Sacy's curiosity transformed into a disciplined obsession. Berthereau, who left over 1100 folio pages of Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic translations and exegeses at his death in 1794, convinced Sacy to learn the native languages of the Holy Lands and to continue his efforts to translate and catalogue Oriental sources on the Crusades.<sup>17</sup> With Berthereau's guidance, as well as that of famous dragoman Etienne La Grand, Sacy proceeded to learn Arabic, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopian, Persian, Turkish, Chaldean-Aramaic, and Mandaic, in addition to all major languages of Europe, by his mid-twenties.<sup>18</sup> Impressively, the majority of this education in foreign languages took place outside the formal setting of an academic institution. In fact, Sacy formally studied law and in 1781 became an administrator at the Royal Mint in Paris where he

worked up to and through the first years of the French Revolution.

Sacy's formal academic career only began after the Revolution, when in December of 1795 the Directory appointed the amateur scholar to a teaching position at the recently created *École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*. A Catholic and monarchist, Sacy had retired from the Royal Mint in 1792 and weathered the Terror in seclusion with his family in a small cottage in the commune of Nanteuil-le-Haudoin, about fifty kilometers northeast of Paris.<sup>19</sup> He spent most of his time studying, translating, and writing, and in 1793 he published *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, a study of the Sassanide dynasty. By the end of 1795, the newly established and moderate Directory appointed Sacy professor of Arabic at the *École spéciale* and the following January offered him a seat in the newly created Institut de France, a rebranded and reorganized version of the *ancien régime* academies dissolved by the National Assembly in 1793.<sup>20</sup> Sacy accepted the teaching post but refused the seat in the Institut, believing the new association to be haphazardly constructed and overly ideological.<sup>21</sup>

It was during his forty-two-year tenure at the *École spéciale*, where he became director in 1824, that Sacy helped create the academic field of Oriental Studies in France and Europe. Building on the efforts of Dom Berthereau, Sacy amassed, archived, and translated sources from the medieval Islamic world for European study and consumption. Though he never stepped foot outside of Europe, only traveling as far as Genoa in his lifetime, Sacy devoted much of his professional life to the accumulation of manuscripts and the creation of an Oriental archive at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>22</sup> Sacy used these archived sources, such as the historical treatises of thirteenth-century Egyptian scholars al-Makrizi and Ebn Abd-Aldhaheer, to teach Arabic to his pupils at the *École spéciale*. In 1806 Sacy compiled these sources into a textbook and published them in three volumes as *Chrestomathie Arabe*, described by the author as a “tableau historique” or general survey of the Arabic language and the medieval Arabo-Islamic world.<sup>23</sup> Using these textbooks, Sacy trained the continent's brightest linguists, including Jean-François Champollion (translator of the Rosetta Stone), Étienne Marc Quatremère (scholar of Egypt), Johan David Åkerblad (Swedish diplomat and orientalist), and Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer and John Martin Augustine Scholz (considered the fathers of German Orientalism).<sup>24</sup> Sacy also trained most of the interpreters who accompanied the French Army of the Orient to Egypt during the summer of 1798, including Pierre Amédée Jaubert, who served as Napoleon's personal interpreter and advisor during his year in Egypt.<sup>25</sup> At nearly every stage in the production of knowledge about the Orient in early nineteenth-century Europe, from fact creation through narration to diffusion and application, Sacy played a vital role in shaping Europe's first academic conclusions, popular perceptions, and even diplomatic impressions of the Orient, its

people, and their histories.

One of the more lasting and influential of Sacy's assertions about the Orient dealt with the culture of hashish consumption among medieval radical sects within Islam, and particularly the Suffis and Ismailis. In *Chrestomathie Arabe* Sacy included a forty-page chapter on the "Herbe of the Fakirs" built around his translations of medieval works on hashish consumption among Sufi priests penned by notable Sunni scholars, including Muhammad al-Makrizi, Hassan ben-Ahmed, and Hosaïn ben-Ishak.<sup>26</sup> Sacy opens the chapter with a description of a valley just outside Cairo known as the Land of the Timpanist. In this valley, Sacy writes, one can find a garden called Djoneïna where

all manner of abominations are committed by the hashish-eating dregs of society. The use of this cursed plant has become today very common; the libertines and people of weak mind become addicted, and use hashish excessively and without shame... In truth, there is nothing more dangerous to the temperament. As it is known to everyone in Egypt, in Syria, in Iraq and in the lands of Rum, we believe we should speak with you about it in some detail.<sup>27</sup>

Sacy repeats this warning throughout the chapter, even as his sources reveal a more complex and nuanced history of the drug in the Islamic world. For example, Sacy continues his narrative with an anecdote about the "happy discovery" of cannabis's intoxicating properties in the early thirteenth century by a Sufi fakir called Haydar of Khorasan, as recounted by Hassan ben-Ahmed in his fourteenth century treatise *Praise of Cannabis*.<sup>28</sup> According to ben-Ahmed, Haydar discovered the intoxicating properties of cannabis around the year 1200 AD while on a contemplative walk near his monastery in Khorasan, a region in modern day northeastern Iran. Haydar shared this happy discovery with his Sufi followers and swore them to secrecy until his death, a duty he described as "an oath with the most high God, who has given you a special favor, the knowledge and the virtues of this leaf so that you can make use of it to dissipate the worries that cloud your souls, releasing from your minds anything that could tarnish the shine."<sup>29</sup> When Haydar died in 1221 AD, his pupil Djafar ben-Mohammed Schirazi planted cannabis around his grave and shared the "virtues of the plant" with the people of Khorasan. Schirazi reported that the people quickly adopted the use of *kannab* and that it spread to "various departments of the province of Persia." Sacy corroborates this anecdote by citing another Persian scholar from the thirteenth century, Ahmed ben-Mohammed ben-Resam Halebi, who likewise praised the virtues of hashish and credited Haydar with its discovery: "This is hashish, grass of joy," Halebi wrote "it is a holy institution, one that brightens the soul and makes it accessible to pleasure."<sup>30</sup> Thus while Sacy framed his discussion of hash-

ish with a warning to his readers about the dangers of the “cursed plant,” his first two sources conflictingly praised the drug’s holy virtues.

The author explains this paradox, or rather explains it away, by redirecting conversation into a haphazard mélange of anachronistic sources offering increasingly negative assessments of hashish. After citing the ambiguous descriptions of the drug in the ancient Greek texts of Galen and Hippocrates, Sacy recounts in detail a personal conversation he had in Paris with the Ottoman diplomat and Sunni jurist Tadj-eddin Ismuil, during which the jurist condemned hashish. “The use of this drug produces low inclinations and debases the soul,” Ismuil informed Sacy. “We have always found those who had contracted the habit, and we consistently noticed that all their inclinations deteriorated and that their faculties diminished more and more; so that at the end there remained in them, so to say, none of the attributes of humanity.”<sup>31</sup> Sacy couples this contemporary critique with the work of Syrian physician Ibn al-Baitar who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century that excessive hashish use caused a “sort of dementia” and could lead to “manic disorders or even death.” Siding with the condemnations of Ibn al-Baitar and Tadj-eddin Ismuil over the praise of Schirazi and Halebi, Sacy implores his reader to again heed his warning against ever touching the vile substance. “See, I pray you, listen to this man [Ibn al-Baitar], who spoke with knowledge of cause, and keep yourselves from the evil consequences that occur in your constitution and your natural qualities, if you become addicted.”<sup>32</sup> As several historians have pointed out, Sacy focused the majority of his professional energies on translating medieval texts written by Sunni scholars and jurists and thus adopted their prejudices against Sufis, Shias, and other heterodoxies within Islam.<sup>33</sup> According to Robert Irwin, Sacy was “obsessively interested in heterodox Islam [but] tended to view it as if from a Sunni perspective, perceiving Shi’ism as a breakaway from mainstream Sunni Islam and regularly judging Shi’ism in terms of the way it deviated from the alleged norms of Sunnism.”<sup>34</sup> Thus it is not surprising to see Sacy uncritically siding with the condemnations of Ibn al-Baitar and Tadj-eddin Ismuil over the praise of the Suffi fakir, Djafar ben-Mohammed Schirazi, when drawing ultimate conclusions for his readers about the physical and moral dangers of hashish.

Sacy concludes his crescendo of criticism against hashish with a brief discussion of past and present prohibitions in Egypt to further convince his readers of the drug’s dangers. He first recounts the anti-hashish laws passed by Egyptian emir Soudoun Scheikhouni in 1373 AD, which notoriously punished hashish cultivation, sale, and use with de-teething. But by the 1390s hashish again was tolerated in Egypt under the new emir, Ahmed ben-Awis, and the use of the “cursed drug” grew among the “dregs” of society. As a result of this mass return to the drug, Sacy warned his students, “the baseness of the sentiments and manners became general; shame and

decency vanished from men; one was no longer ashamed to speak most shamefully; many boasted of their vices. All lost every sense of nobility and virtue and vices of all kinds and base inclinations were exposed.”<sup>35</sup> This widespread and liberal use of hashish among the dregs of Egyptian society continued into the nineteenth century, Sacy contended, and only again met resistance with the arrival of the French Army of the Orient in Alexandria in 1799. In a final footnote on the chapter’s last page, Sacy writes “I must not forget to mention here of an order made by a French general in Egypt, on 17 Vendémiaire year IX (8 October 1800), against hashish and intoxicating liquors made from this plant.”<sup>36</sup> News of the hashish ban passed in Egypt by French general Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou had reached Paris as early as January 1801, when the entire order signed “Abd. Mennou” appeared in print in the popular *Magasin Encyclopédique*.<sup>37</sup> Sacy relayed what he had read or heard about the ban, but for whatever reason he omitted key historical details, chief among them the identity of the ban’s creator, Abdallah Menou. Sacy thus portrayed the first anti-drug law in modern French history, not as the product of Menou’s integrationist colonial policies in French occupied Egypt, but rather as confirmation of the West’s need to outlaw and even militarily interdict the production, sale, and consumption of the violence-inducing and quintessentially Oriental drug, hashish.<sup>38</sup>

These historical revisions and reductions in Silvestre de Sacy’s chapter on hashish in the Orient speak to the ideas of critical theorist Edward Said, who accused Western scholarship of systematically reducing the histories, cultures, and peoples of the Arabo-Islamic world to textual typecasts that misrepresent the “Orient” as a monolithically static, backward, and barbaric society in dire need of European assistance and civilization (i.e. colonization). Said called this system of thought “Orientalism” and argued that it first developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries around the work of European scholars, and particularly Sacy, who helped “place Orientalism on a scientific and rational basis” by building an archive, writing a curriculum and textbooks, and thus creating “vocabulary and ideas that could be used impersonally by anyone who wished to become an Orientalist.”<sup>39</sup> Said points to Sacy’s *Chrestomathie arabe* as a primary example of this attempt by Western scholarship to discursively reduce the histories and cultures of the Islamic world to anecdotal fragments that typify anti-values Europeans believed to characterize the Oriental essence.<sup>40</sup> While there is much to contest in Said’s theories – and particularly his de-emphasis of the personal role of “Orientals” themselves in the construction and reproduction of their own identities and even typecasts – his portrayal of Sacy as the “inaugural hero of Orientalism” rings true when one considers Sacy’s depiction of hashish in the medieval Islamic world in *Chrestomathie arabe*.<sup>41</sup> In his chapter on the “herbe of the fakirs,” Sacy ignores the contradictions



and complexities in his fragmentary sources and uses his academic authority to codify hashish consumption as both intrinsically evil and Oriental. With this short chapter Sacy thus initiated the processes of historical excision and revision that have shaped official French perceptions of hashish and the Islamic world from that moment through present day.

Three years after the publication of *Christomathie Arabe*, Sacy deposited another factoid about the evils of hashish into his growing Oriental archive when on 7 July 1809 he delivered a speech entitled “On the Dynasty of Assassins and on the Origin of their Name” to the Institut de France in Paris. In his speech to the Institut’s Friday’s public *séance*, Sacy claimed to have solved the mysteries surrounding the name and practices of the infamous medieval cult of Islamic Assassins first popularized in Marco Polo’s *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*.<sup>42</sup> By the time of Sacy’s talk in 1809, the legend of the Assassins and their leader, the “Old Man of the Mountain,” was well known throughout Europe, thanks in large part to the lasting popularity of Marco Polo’s travelogue but also to a spate of scholarly treatises on the Assassins that appeared during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries throughout the continent and particularly in France.<sup>43</sup> And the now-Emperor Napoleon’s abortive but exalted Egyptian Campaign (1798-1801) only stoked the flames of curiosity in France for all things Oriental. Sacy took advantage of growing European interest in the Orient and delivered a paper connecting hashish – that inherently evil and Oriental substance recently encountered by the French army in Egypt – to the etymology and practices of the Crusades-era Ismaili Assassins. “I have no doubt,” Sacy confidently declared, “that the mixture of hemp leaf with some other drugs can lead to violent mania... I thus am inclined to believe that among the Ismailis, called *Hachichins* or *Hasschasch*, there are people that are specifically raised to kill, that were delivered, through the use of hashish, to this absolute resignation to the will of their leader.”<sup>44</sup> With this hour-long presentation on the etymology and practices of the Assassins – which turned out to be both historically and linguistically inaccurate – Sacy concretized his initial condemnation of hashish as both evil and Oriental from *Christomathie arabe* with philological science, at the time considered one of the primary engines of knowledge production in Western academia.<sup>45</sup>

At the time of Sacy’s speech in 1809, most of what was known in France and throughout the West about the Nizari Ismailis came from the fantastic account in Marco Polo’s *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*. Uninterested in or unaware of the actual history of the radical sect, Polo instead treated his readers to fictive tales about the Syrian branch’s last leader, “Aloadin,” known by the Crusaders as the “Old Man of the Mountain,” and his supposed use of a potion and staged Garden of Paradise to inculcate in devotees a fidelity so absolute they would leap to their deaths from the walls of the castle at his mere command.<sup>46</sup> But as numerous scholars have

shown, Marco Polo sourced this folkloric description of the assassins from a variety of prominent “black” legends about the sect that circulated first in the Arabo-Islamic world and then in Crusades-era works penned by Europeans, including Benjamin of Tudela, Arnold of Lübeck and William of Tyre.<sup>47</sup> In Marco Polo’s recounting we find a mélange of four of the most popular of these black legends about the assassins, what Farhad Daftary labeled the “hashish legend,” the “paradise legend,” the “training legend,” and the “death-leap legend.” As Daftary argued, these fictions were “meant to provide satisfactory explanations for behaviour that would otherwise seem irrational or strange to the medieval European mind.”<sup>48</sup> Although hoping to offer new etymological insights into the infamous Assassins cult, Sacy relied on Polo’s mythic account of the sect as a satisfactory historical primer, thus lending academic legitimacy to the black legends about the Nizari Ismaili, including the invented idea that hashish use played a central role in transforming the sect’s devotees into mindless but deadly assassins.

In terms of etymology, Sacy transformed the hashish legend into a scientifically verified fact by arguing that contemporaries in Syria and Egypt called the Nizari “Hachichins” because of their leader’s use of the drug hashish to deceive and indoctrinate devotees. He based this assertion on the thirteenth-century writings of Syrian scholar, Abu Shama Shihab al-Din (1203-68 CE), who used the term *al-Hashishiyya* when describing an Ismaili attack in 1174 CE on the first Ayyubid Sultan Saladin in the Syrian city of Azaz.<sup>49</sup> From this one source Sacy concluded rather confidently, “there is hardly any need to prove that the Hashishiyya and the Ismailis are the same people, or if you like, the same sect... There would be no use looking for other authorities to prove this identity.”<sup>50</sup> As it turns out, Sacy’s confidence was misplaced and his etymological conclusions incorrect. One can find no explicit mention in known contemporary sources of hashish use among the Nizari. Moreover, as Marshall Hodgson, Bernard Lewis and Farhad Daftary have shown, when the term is used in extant Arabic (and often Sunni) sources it “is used only in its abusive, figurative sense of ‘low-class rabble’ and ‘irreligious social outcasts’” rather than as a practical designation of the sect’s practices.<sup>51</sup> Sacy failed to comprehend the nuanced meaning of the term *Hashishiyya* used disparagingly by Sunni scholar Abu Shama to describe the sect and thus propagated a flawed etymology and history of the Nizari Ismaili that falsely implicated hashish as both the philological and physical source of the violent Assassins of Alamut.

False etymology and narrative established, Sacy concluded his speech on the Nizari Ismailis with a crescendo of criticism against hashish supported by the biased judgments of medieval Sunni scholars and the reductive and racist accounts of hashish use in the eighteenth-century Islamic world by European explorers. Just as he did in *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Sacy pulled heavily and uncritically from the thirteenth-century writings of the

Sunni Egyptian scholar al-Makrizi, who wrote of hashish, “only people of the lowest class dare eat it; and even they are loath to hear themselves called by a name derived from this drug.”<sup>52</sup> He also cited a brief passage in which al-Makrizi bemoans the presence of an Ismaili hashish dealer in Cairo around 1392.<sup>53</sup> With little reflection or regard for anachronism, Sacy coupled these anecdotal critiques with lengthy quotations from the eighteenth-century travel writings of Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini, Carsten Niebuhr, and Guillaume-Antoine Olivier, all of whom recounted critical stories about hashish consumption and its dangerous consequences in the modern Islamic world.<sup>54</sup> Sonnini’s stories of poor Egyptians using hashish to “charm away their misery,” Olivier’s testimony to the “delirium, stupor, and death” caused by excessive hashish consumption in Persia, and Niebuhr’s descriptions of Arab hashish users exhibiting violent outbursts of irrational courage together attested to the ubiquity of hashish consumption in the Orient and highlighted drug’s adverse effects. To further underline these dangers, Sacy cited the hashish prohibition passed in October of 1800 during the French expedition to Egypt, which he also mentioned in *Chrestomathie Arabe* three years earlier.<sup>55</sup> Though none of these sources provided a shred of direct evidence to support his philological assertions, they did provide Sacy with sensational descriptions of hashish use in the Orient that resembled those Marco Polo’s travel tales, thus lending added credibility to his ultimate contention concerning the etymological and material connection between hashish and the Ismaili Assassins.

With his chapter on the “herbe of the Fakirs” in *Chrestomathie Arabe* and his speech to the Institut de France on the “Dynasty of the Assassins and the Etymology of their Name,” Silvestre de Sacy transformed biased anecdotes and folktales about hashish and the Nizari Ismaili into scientifically-verified facts. As the leading expert on Oriental languages in France and Europe, Sacy used his academic authority to frame hashish as a moral and physical threat to the West emanating from the Orient. He then promulgated an interpretation of the Nizari Ismaili built on biased Sunni sources and mythic legends penned in medieval Europe that portrayed hashish as a magic potion used by crazed Imams to stupefy and transform devotees into cold-blooded assassins. Sacy’s work on the Hachichins and corresponding portrayals of hashish as their drug of choice thus privileged fantasies over facts, reduced the Nizari Ismaili to caricatures of Oriental savagery, and codified hashish as an inherently evil, Oriental, and violence-inducing intoxicant that threatened the virtuous and rational Occident. This caricature of the Nizari Ismailis first introduced and academically authorized by Sacy in 1809 quickly became and remains today a readily employed shorthand that scholars, scientists, writers, and law makers in France and across the West have cited for centuries as evidence of the dangers of hashish.

There is a famous saying, often credited to Vladimir Lenin, that “a lie told often enough becomes the truth.” Origin and historical baggage of this truism aside, it applies rather well to the story of how Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins became an established fact in France and Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite numerous disputations in press and print,<sup>56</sup> Sacy’s speech on the Assassins and the etymology of their name time and again appeared in the footnotes of French and European publications associated with an array of academic disciplines, including medicine, pharmacy, psychiatry, history, linguistics, geography, archeology, and agricultural science. Unaware of, or unconcerned by, the errors in Sacy’s contentions, scholars and scientists publishing in France during the first half of the nineteenth century routinely cited his work as verified facts about hashish, the Nizari Ismailis, and the Islamic world in general. And with each citation, Sacy’s erroneous myth of the Hachichins gained increased veracity, becoming by as early as the 1830s an established detail in the fabric of Western knowledge about the Orient and hashish.

This process of producing facts (as well as myths) through academic citations and references is known among literary theorists and scholars of communications as intertextuality.<sup>57</sup> Understood in a general sense as an interrelationship between texts, intertextuality in an academic sense, sometimes called “manifest intertextuality,” implies the explicit and repeated reference by a community of scholars to previous publications considered relevant or vital to the creation of new knowledge. “The construction of academic facts is a social process,” linguist Ken Hyland wrote, “with the cachet of acceptance only bestowed on a claim after negotiation with editors, expert reviewers and journal readers, the final ratification granted, of course, with the citation of the claim by others and, eventually, the disappearance of all acknowledgement as it is incorporated into the literature of the discipline.”<sup>58</sup> Scholars of communications, such as Karim H. Karim, have examined the ways in which modern news and entertainment media in the West “intertextually weaves” the Assassins myth into their content and in so doing “reinforces the ingrained image of the violent Muslim.”<sup>59</sup> But no study on either side of the Atlantic to date has examined exactly how Sacy’s claims first became intertextually woven into French and Western academic discourse and popular historical consciousness. As this section will show, French and European scholars, with their repeated, mostly uncritical citations of Sacy’s memoir on the dynasty of assassins, steadily transformed the myth of the Hachichins into common knowledge requiring, by the mid-nineteenth century, no citation or reference to prove its veracity.

The first academic disciplines to accept and cite Silvestre de Sacy’s contentions about hashish came from the field of medicine, and particularly the specialties of pharmacy, psychiatry, and medical history. Within months

of Sacy's speech to the Institut in May of 1809, several medical journals, including the *Bulletin des Sciences médicales* and the *Journal de pharmacie et de chimie*, printed excerpts of the speech focused on "intoxicating preparations made with cannabis" for France's scientific community.<sup>60</sup> The extracts outlined key facts from Sacy's speech, including the various intoxicants made from cannabis in the Orient, the range of symptoms induced by the drugs, the French prohibition in Egypt from October 1800 (*sans Menou*), and a brief recounting of Sacy's myth of the Hachichins and corresponding etymological connection between "assassin" and "hashish." And as in Sacy's original speech, the excerpts emphatically warned their readers that hashish "sometimes produces a state of frenzy or violent fury" in the user. But the editors of the *Bulletin des Sciences médicales*, which first published the excerpt in its September 1809 edition, urged their readers not to dismiss the substance outright as entirely dangerous or worthless medically. "Cannabis deserves the attention of chemists," the editors concluded at the end of the excerpt. "Could they not ensure, through analysis and different tests, some principles that we can extract and some preparations that it can furnish?"<sup>61</sup>

This wary yet hopeful ambivalence shaped discussions about cannabis and hashish among French pharmacists through the first half of the nineteenth century. Many scholar-practitioners of pharmacy at this time, including Pierre Charles Rouyer, J.J. Virey, Edmund De Courtive, and Joseph-Bernard Gastinel, ambivalently viewed hashish as a dangerous, violence-inducing intoxicant that, once released by Western science from its primordial Oriental form, could provide the civilized world with potentially useful medications.<sup>62</sup> By the late 1840s these and other pharmacists working both in and outside of France had experimented widely with cannabis-based medications and published dozens of dissertations, journal and newspaper articles, and treatises on methods of extracting the plant's active properties, the various medicines prepared from those extracts, and the scientific results of using those medications to treat a variety of illnesses, including typhus, plague, cholera, and dysentery, among others.<sup>63</sup> Although many of these pharmacologists often praised the medicinal virtues of hashish, the vast majority of them based their studies of all cannabis-based medications on the faulty premise (authorized by Sacy) that hashish, in raw form from the Orient, induced a violent delirium in users. French chemists and pharmacists thus treated this central mistruth about hashish as a control variable in their experiments with cannabis-based medications, which potentially tainted their conclusions, whether laudatory or critical, and further ingrained Sacy's myth of the Hachichins into Europe's epistemic culture.

A similar ambivalence and uncritical acceptance of Sacy's contentions about the Hachichins can be found throughout debates about hashish among French physicians and particularly psychiatrists practicing during

the 1830s and 1840s. For some of these doctors, such as Louis Aubert-Roche, Appollinaire Bouchardat, Antoine Barthelemy Clot, and Jacques-Joseph Moreau, hashish offered numerous medicinal benefits and could be used effectively to treat both physical and mental illnesses.<sup>64</sup> Psychiatrist Jacque-Joseph Moreau, who later hosted the famous *Club des Hachichins* in Paris during the 1840s, believed hashish intoxication induced a temporary state of insanity that could be used by the seasoned psychiatrist to both study and treat mental illnesses. “To comprehend the ravings of a madman, it is necessary to have raved oneself, but without having lost the awareness of one’s madness,” Moreau argued in his 1845 treatise *Du Hachisch et de l’alienation mentale*. And “there is not a single, elementary manifestation of mental illness that cannot be found in the mental changes caused by hashish.”<sup>65</sup> Many French physicians shared Moreau’s optimism concerning the medical usefulness of hashish, including Louis Aubert-Roche and Antoine Barthelemy Clot, both of whom lived and practiced in Egypt and served as medical consultants to Muhammad Ali Pasha al-Mas’ud ibn Agha during the 1820s and 1830s. Both doctors regularly used hashish to treat patients with the plague, cholera, and typhus and often published their results in metropolitan journals in France.<sup>66</sup> But other physicians, and most vocally psychologist Briere de Boismont, believed the dangers outweighed the benefits of hashish. In several publications from the late 1830s, Boismont referenced the infamous “prince of the assassins, well known as the Old Man of the Mountain” to support his conclusions that prolonged hashish consumption caused insanity and “as is well known among Orientals, gives rise to serious troubles.”<sup>67</sup> Whether proponents or opponents of the drug, then, French psychiatrists based their medical conclusions on the idea that hashish induced a psychosis in users and, on all sides of the debate, referenced Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins as substantiated evidence for their diagnostic link between hashish and insanity.

Authors of medical reference books and medical histories in France likewise referenced Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins in numerous publications appearing throughout the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, further concretizing this mythic association between hashish and violent delirium as a scientific fact. In his 1826 publication, *Histoire médicale des Marais et traité des fièvres intermittentes causés par les émanations des eaux stagnantes*, historian and physician Jean-Baptiste Monfalcon of Lyon cited Sacy’s memoir on the assassins when discussing the toxic influence of hemp cultivation, and particularly the retting process, on soil and surrounding water sources in swampy areas where the water table is near even with ground level. After outlining the dangers of hemp retting water, Manfalcon offered his readers a final warning on hashish. “The poisonous smell that emanates from cannabis/hemp is very strong,” he wrote.

Those who are seized with tiredness from fields covered with this plant, sometimes experience waking dreams, dizziness and a sort of intoxication. They prepare in the Orient, since time immemorial, a very strong drink called hashish. Its use throws one into a kind of ecstasy like that produced by opium, and even causes a kind of passing dementia. (See the Memoir of the scholar M. Silvestre de Sacy for more on hashish liquor).<sup>68</sup>

Unaware that the toxicity of retting hemp results from bacteria during the fermentation, Monfalcon assumed a correlation between the toxicity of retting water and the psychoactive properties of cannabis itself and used Sacy's myth of the Hachichins to further evidence this association. In the 1833 pharmacopeia *Flore Médicale*, François Pierre Chaumeton and his co-editors argue that hashish, "which is sought with a sort of fury by the Orientals," cripples those who use it with "torpor, feelings of powerlessness, and stupidity."<sup>69</sup> Like Malfalcon, the editors of this volume – a mixture of botanists and physicians – supported their classifications of hashish with references to the aforementioned excerpts of Sacy's speech published in the September 1809 edition of the *Bulletin des Sciences médicales*.<sup>70</sup> Much as their contemporaries in pharmacy and psychiatry, these and other French scholars of medicine helped transform Silvestre de Sacy's myth of the Hachichins into a scientific fact and as a result produced and spread scientific knowledge about cannabis based on myth and legend.

Scholars working in the "softer" sciences of history and linguistics also readily referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins when discussing hashish or the peoples, cultures, and histories of the Islamic world in their works. As it had for the abovementioned pharmacists and physicians, Sacy's Assassins legend functioned for French historians and linguists as scientifically certified shorthand for the supposed irrational and violent nature of both hashish and "Orientals." As one can imagine, historians of the crusades were especially interested in Sacy's work and often cited his memoir on the Assassins when discussing encounters between Crusaders and the Syrian branch of the Nizari Ismaili during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the second volume of his internationally bestselling work *Histoire des croisades* (1812-22), for example, royalist historian Joseph-François Michaud discussed the Nizari Ismaili and included as a source in the volume's "pièces justificatives" a letter he received from an avid reader about the sect's origins and ties to hashish.<sup>71</sup> The author of this letter, a retired naval officer and count from Marseille, M. Am. Jourdain, outlined the "marvelous powers" of hashish and a rudimentary history of the Hachichins based faithfully on Sacy's "Mémoire sur les Assassins," because as any reader knew, "it is impossible to raise doubt about the truth of the etymology proposed by Sacy."<sup>72</sup> By including Jourdain's letter as supporting documentation, Michaud embedded Sacy's myth of the Hachichins into a historical

narrative that stood for decades in France and across Europe as *the* comprehensive account of the Crusades.<sup>73</sup> One can even find histories of the Crusades published in France during the 1820s and 1830s that referenced Sacy's myth of the Hachichins through a citation of Michaud's *Histoire des Croisades*.<sup>74</sup> Citation by citation, then, historians in France helped weave Sacy's mythic depictions of the Nizari Ismailis and corresponding condemnations of hashish into the fabric of French historical knowledge about the famed Crusades.

Not only in France did Orientalists and historians of the Crusades routinely cite Sacy's mythic portrayals of the Nizari Ismailis and their supposed drug of choice, hashish, as fact. In 1818, Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall published a full-length history of the Assassins based on a combination of primary and secondary sources, including Persian and Arabic manuscripts at Vienna's Imperial Library and, principally, Sacy's memoir from 1809.<sup>75</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, who served as a translator and diplomat in Istanbul for the Habsburg Empire during the early 1800s, shared Sacy's disdain for the Nizari Ismailis, and similarly culled his history from an array of Sunni and Western sources all highly critical of the Shi'ite sect.<sup>76</sup> A committed royalist and staunch anti-revolutionary, Hammer-Purgstall saw in the Nizari the origins of secret societies, such as the Templars, the Illuminati, or the Freemasons, and the beginning of their "pernicious influence" on social order and good government.<sup>77</sup> He thus described the Nizari as a "union of imposters and dupes," an "order of murderers," and an "empire of conspirators," and correspondingly portrayed hashish as a "pernicious substance" that inspires "violent mania" and thus "threatens public order."<sup>78</sup> To substantiate these claims, Hammer included in his endnotes translations of Sacy's memoir from 1809 as well as a letter he wrote to the newspaper, *Moniteur*, defending his etymology against the abovementioned contentions of "M.R. from Marseille." Thus, with his publication of *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*, which became the most widely read history of the Nizari Ismaili in Europe throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hammer-Purgstall internationally verified Sacy's myth of the Hachichins and thus transnationally spread his mistruths about hashish and the Nizari Ismaili across Europe and by the 1830s into the English-speaking world.

Scientifically proven and internationally verified by the mid-1820s, Sacy's erroneous etymology connecting hashish and assassin appeared with increasing frequency in French dictionaries and encyclopedias, evidencing a gradual acceptance of Sacy's contentions as common knowledge. In the 1822 edition of the *Dictionnaire Chronologique et Raisonné*, which its editors described as "a truthful survey of the progress of the human mind in France from 1789 to 1820," the entry for "assassin" simply contained an abridged version of Sacy's 1809 memoir on the Nizari Is-



maili and excerpts from his letter to the *Moniteur* from the same year defending his etymology against public criticism.<sup>79</sup> The editors of this work, a collection of unnamed scholars employed by Parisian publisher Louis Colas, clearly believed that Sacy's myth of the Hachichins offered the best definition of the term "assassin" and its heady origins for French readers. In *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (1829), Jean Roquefort-Flaméricourt offered a more concise definition of "assassin" but similarly connected the term to hashish via Sacy's myth of the Nizar Ismailis. The entry read: "ASSASSIN: someone who kills through treachery and ambush; derived from *Hachichins*, people of Syria, also called Ismailis, or the Haschischa, and who would assassinate the enemies of their master, the Old Man of the Mountain while on hashish."<sup>80</sup> Roquefort here repeated the well-established "facts" of the Assassins but interestingly failed to cite Sacy as the source of the information. In the 1833 publication *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde*, we again find un-cited reference to Sacy's myth of the Hachichins in the entry for "assassin." After defining the term "assassin" as "murder committed with premeditation, that is to say with designs formed in advance of the attack on the life of the individual, or with ambush, that is to say after having waited more or less time for an individual with the plan of killing them or exercising on them an act of violence," the author Prosper-Alexis de La Nourais, who that same year published the aforementioned French translation of Hammer-Purgstall's *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*, provided the reader with a historical précis on the mythic Hachichins and a footnote on the origins of their name. "This name," he wrote, "was given to the Ismailis on account of their use of an intoxicating preparation yet known in the Orient by the name of *hashish*. This hashish...is taken either in pellets or smoked, and the intoxication that it causes usually throws the user into ecstasy or delirium, and we easily see why the use of hashish was general among the Assassins, so they received the name Hachichins (eaters of hashish)."<sup>81</sup> Though de la Nourais ended his entry with a plug for and thus citation of his recently published translation of Hammer-Purgstall, he failed explicitly to mention Sacy as the architect of this epistemic link between assassin and hashish. This lack of citations in these and other French reference texts demonstrates that by the 1830s Sacy's false association of hashish and assassin built on a fabricated myth of the Nizari Ismailis had become so well-known and accepted across the academic disciplines in France, so tightly interwoven into scientific discourse, that mention of the affiliation required no explicit reference to the original source.<sup>82</sup>

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, scientists and scholars across the French academy accepted Sacy's specious conclusions about the Nizari Ismailis and the origins of their name and routinely cited his work when discussing the sect, hashish or the Islamic world in general. Taking

their cues from Sacy, French pharmacists viewed hashish as a dangerous, violence-inducing intoxicant that, once released by Western science from its raw Oriental form, might provide the civilized world with beneficial medicines. Their contemporaries in psychiatry similarly drew from Sacy's caricature of the Hachichins to fabricate a diagnostic link between hashish and insanity that codified both as intrinsically Oriental. And French historians and linguists concretized Sacy's contentions about the sect's origins and hashish use in the history and language of France, the former as a primary source in nationalist histories of the Crusades and the latter as the official etymology of the French word "assassin." Through their repeated and uncritical references to Sacy's work on the Nizari Ismailis, these scholars steadily transformed the myth of the Hachichins into a scientifically verified fact that linked hashish to the act of assassination and codified both as essentially "Oriental."

Sacy's myth of the Hachichins endured as a persuasive and pervasive *fait prouvé* throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, and not only in France but also in the United States. Henry J. Anslinger, the first commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (a forerunner of today's Drug Enforcement Agency) and key proponent of the 1937 Marijuana Tax Act, supported his anti-cannabis campaign in the late 1930s with Sacy's myth and etymological linkage of hashish and assassin. During a congressional hearing in late April of 1937, Anslinger relayed a brief and humorously inaccurate account of the "Assassins of Persia" and their supposed use of hashish: "In Persia, a thousand years before Christ, there was a religious and military order founded which was called the Assassins and they derived their name from the drug called hashish which is now known in this country as marihuana. They were noted for their acts of cruelty, and the word 'assassin' very aptly describes the drug."<sup>83</sup> Anslinger and his associates used nineteenth-century French stereotypes of Oriental barbarity in tandem with anti-immigrant and racist rhetoric against Latinos and African Americans to typecast marijuana as an "assassin of youth" and danger to white America. The implicit and explicit racism at the heart of America's first federal drug regulation arguably opened the door for the creation of the nation's current drug laws that, as legal historian Michelle Alexander so aptly demonstrated in her tremendous study *The New Jim Crow*, disproportionately target and systematically oppress ethnic minorities and especially the African American community.<sup>84</sup>

Thirty years later French politicians similarly drew from Sacy's myth when debating the need for more severe drug laws in the wake of the May 1968 student protests. During open debates in the National Assembly, socialist deputy René Chazelle declared, "Not only does the young drug addict destroy himself, but he also becomes a social danger. The word assassin, moreover, does it not phonetically derive from the word for the sect of hash-

ish smokers? The filiation between drugs and crime is not only assonance; it is a reality.”<sup>85</sup> Politicians across the political spectrum echoed Chazelle’s concern over this growing “Arab plague” on French society.<sup>86</sup> The resulting 1970 *Droit de la Drogue*, which still structures French drug laws today, hardened penalties and lengthened jail time for drug trafficking while giving police forces unprecedented power to suspend basic civil liberties in the pursuit of suspected traffickers and distributors.<sup>87</sup> And as a 2009 study conducted by Open Society Justice Initiative and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) revealed, France’s current war on drugs disproportionately targets the nation’s ethnic minorities, believed by legislators and police to be the primary traffickers and distributors of illegal substances in France.<sup>88</sup> The joint study concluded that “black” and “Arab” Parisians were respectively six and eight times more likely to be arrested for marijuana possession than their white counterparts.<sup>89</sup> From its humble origins as a factoid in a conference paper given in 1809, then, Sacy’s myth of the Hachichins transformed citation by citation into a generally accepted set of Orientalized “facts” about hashish and the peoples and cultures of the Middle East that have been used on both sides of the Atlantic to underpin ineffective and draconian drug laws that disproportionately target ethnic minorities.

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#### ENDNOTES

1. M. Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins et sur l’Étymologie de leur Nom (Lu le 19 Mai 1809),” *Histoire et Mémoires de l’Institut Royal de France, Classe d’Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne*. Tome Quatrième (Paris: L’Imprimerie Royale, 1818), 55, 83; First published under the same title in *Moniteur* 210 (June, 1809).

2. Jean de Mandeville translated and published the first French edition of Marco Polo’s travel adventure, *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*, in Liège between 1355 and 1357. Simon Gaunt, “Travel and Orientalism,” in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, ed. William Burgwinkle et al. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 129-31.

3. Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie,” 56-60; Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, trans. and ed. Sir Henry Yule, third edition, revised by Henri Cordier (London: J. Murray, 1903), 139-43.

4. Denis Lebey de Batilly, *Traicté de l’origine des anciens Assassins porte-couteaux* (Lyon: Vincent Vaspaze, 1603); Bartholomé d’Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale ou Dictionnaire Universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connaissance des peuples de l’Orient* (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1697); M. Camille Falconet, “Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple, d’Asie, première partie,” and “Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple d’Asie, second partie,” *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l’Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xvii (Paris, 1751), 127-70.

5. During Napoleon’s military campaign to Egypt a French general named Jacque François “Abdallah” Menou – who converted to Islam – passed a colony-wide prohibition against hashish in October 1800 after personally observing rampant addiction among both French

soldiers and Egyptians. Jacques “Abdallah” Menou, “Ordre du Jour de 16 Vendémiaire An 9” (8 October 1800), Service Historique de la Défense, Chateau de Vincennes, Paris, France, Dossier B6 “Armée d’Orient,” Fichier 59; Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie,” 63.

6. Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie,” 83.

7. Henri Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy et ses correspondants, Extrait du Journal de Savants* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1919) and *Silvestre de Sacy, 1758-1838, ses contemporains et ses disciples* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1978), 123-30; Robert Irwin, “Orientalism and the early development of crusader studies,” in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume 1*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 219-22; Sylvette Larzul, “Sacy, Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de,” in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2008), 897-98.

8. Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, second edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 10-11 and *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Ismailis* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 1994), 213-15; Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967), 24-25.

9. “Extrait du *Moniteur* de 1809,” *Dictionnaire des découvertes en France de 1789 à la fin de 1820*, Tome 1 (Paris: L. Colas, 1822), 447-48. Also see Sacy’s rebuttal, in which he refutes the opposing etymology and simply restates his own: “Lettre de M. Silvestre de Sacy, au rédacteur du ‘*Moniteur*,’ sur l’etymologie du nom des Assassins,” *Moniteur* 359 (1809): 1-6.

10. Christian, Makarian, “Tobie Natahn: ‘Pour Daech, les temples sont des idoles modernes,’” *L’Express* (9 Octobre 2015). See Christopher Brooks, “BBC censures itself for telling the truth about ‘global warming’ – Christopher Brooks examines a case of BBC group-think and a curious silence over cannabis and violence.” *The Telegraph*, 12 December 2015, [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/12047679/BBC-censures-itself-for-telling-the-truth-about-global-warming.html#disqus\\_thread](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/12047679/BBC-censures-itself-for-telling-the-truth-about-global-warming.html#disqus_thread); and Dr. Reuven Berko, “Beer, drugs and sex,” *Israel Hayom*, 19 February 2016, [http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter\\_opinion.php?id=15101](http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_opinion.php?id=15101).

11. Virginia Berridge, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth-century England*, Revised Edition (London: Free Association Books, 1998); Jean Jacques Yvovel, *Les poisons de l’esprit: Drogues et drogués au XIXe siècle* (Paris, Quai Voltaire: 1992); James H. Mills, *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade, and Prohibition 1800-1928* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003); James H. Mills and Patricia Barton, eds. *Drugs and Empires: Essays in Modern Imperialism and Intoxication, c. 1500-c.1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Howard Padwa, *Social Poison: The Culture and Politics of Opiate Control in Britain and France, 1821-1926* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); Mike Jay, *Emperor of Dreams: Drugs in the Nineteenth Century*, second edition (Dedalus Books, 2012).

12. Michel-Rolph Truillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

13. Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), 37.

14. Truillot, *Silencing the Past*, 28.

15. Said, *Orientalism*, 123, 130.

16. Notable studies of Silvestre de Sacy include J. Reinaud, “Notice historique et littéraire sur M. le baron Silvestre de Sacy,” *Journal Asiatique*, Séries III, Vol. 6 (1838): 113-95; Pierre Claude-François Daunou, “Notive historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy,” *Mémoire de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. 12, pt. 1 (1839): 507-31; Hartwig Derenbourg, *Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838)* (Paris, 1895); Henri Dehérain, *Silvestre de Sacy et ses correspondants* (Paris, 1919); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, “La vie de Silvestre de Sacy,” in *Comptes rendus séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 82e année, N.1 (1938): 64-73; Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa, Bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954); Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 94-130; Robert Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe’s Rediscovery of India and the*

*East, 1680-1880*, trans. by Gene Patterson-Black and Viktor Reinking (New York, 1984); Daniel Reig, *Homo orientaliste: la langue arabe en France depuis le XIXe siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1988); Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London: Penguin, 2007); and Michel Espagne, "Silvestre de Sacy et les orientalistes allemands," *Revue Germanique Internationale* 7 (2008) <https://rgi.revues.org/398>; M. Espagne, N. Lafi and P. Rabault-Feuerhahn, eds. *Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838). Le projet européen d'une science orientalist* (Paris: Cerf, 2014); Alain Messauodi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale, 1780-1930: Savants, conseillers, médiateurs* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2015), 25-82.

17. In 1801 Sacy edited and published a collection of Berthereau's manuscripts as *Notice des Manuscrits laissés par Dom Berthereau, religieux bénédictin de la c. de S. Maur, mort en 1794* (Paris, 1801). In the introduction Sacy credits Berthereau with amassing Europe's first substantial archive of Oriental manuscripts. "D. Berthereau gave himself with all the ardor and diligence he was able to the preliminary studies that gave us all access to the monuments of the history of Oriental dynasties" (pp. 3-4).

18. Alain Messauodi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale*, 33-34.

19. Sacy famously defied the Convention's ban on Catholic worship passed in October of 1793 and conducted illegal Sunday mass in his cottage in Nanteuil-le-Haudoin. Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing*, 45; Alain Messauodi, *Les arabisants et la France coloniale*, 44.

20. Louis Bazin, "L'École des Langues Orientales et L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1795-1995)," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139:4 (1995): 983-96.

21. Sacy eventually accepted a seat in the *Institut* in 1803 after receiving a personal invitation from First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte imploring him to join the association. He went on to serve five times as the association's president and participated in its activities until his death in 1838. René Dussaud, "L'activité académique de Silvestre de Sacy," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 82:1 (1938): 101.

22. Historians often criticize Sacy for never traveling to the Middle East and for his resulting inability to speak many of the languages he could translate. I question the absolutism of these claims, as his works and personal letters are replete with discussions of pronunciation and dialect. See Silvestre de Sacy, *Lettres d'Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy*, Manuscrits de l'Institut de France, Chateau de Chantilly: cote 2375-2377; *Correspondance d'Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy: lettre de correspondants avec minutes ou copies de lettres de réponse de Silvestre de Sacy*, Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Paris – MS 1896.

23. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe, ou Extraits de divers écrivains arabes tant en prose qu'en vers d'usage des élèves de l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, Tome 1. (Paris: Impr. impériale, 1806), ix.

24. Antoine Carrière, *Notice Historique sur l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883); Michel Espagne, "Silvestre de Sacy et les orientalistes allemands."

25. Jaubert went on to work as an interpreter for numerous French ambassadors in Persia, Egypt, and Turkey, and after 1830 became a professor of Persian at the Collège de France. Jaubert later gave the eulogy at Sacy's funeral in February of 1838 and took over as third director of the École spéciale that same year. Antoine Carrière, *Notice Historique sur l'École Spéciale*, 55-56.

26. Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Tome II, 115-55.

27. *Ibid.*, 119.

28. Hassan bin-Ahmed wrote "Praise of Cannabis," sometime around 1260 AD, and he claimed personally to have received his information from a meeting with Scheikh Djafar ben-Mohammed Schirazi, a Sufi devotee of Haïdar. Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Tome II, 120.

29. Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Tome II, 122.

30. *Ibid.*, 125.

31. Tadj-eddin Ismuil, fils d'Abd-alwahhah, quoted in Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Tome

II, 131.

32. Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Tome II, 132.

33. Farhad Daftary, ed. *Mediaeval Ismaili History and Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 10-11; Robert Irwin, "An Orientalist Mythology of Secret Societies," *Orientalism and Conspiracy: Politics and Conspiracy Theory in the Islamic World*, ed. Arndt Graf, Schirin Fathi, and Paul Ludwig (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011): 101-34.

34. Robert Irwin, "An Orientalist Mythology of Secret Societies," 130-34. Similar critiques of Sacy's work can be found in Vladimir Ivanov, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948).

35. Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Tome II, 134.

36. *Ibid.*, 154.

37. Louis Millin, *Magasin encyclopédique, ou Journal des sciences, des lettres et des arts* VI Année, Tome V. (Paris: Chez Fuchs, 1801): 111-12. The ban also appeared in René Nicolas Dufriche Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale de l'Armée d'Orient* (Paris: Chez Croullebois, An X/1802): 184-85; Citoyen Mongez, "Recherche sur l'emploi du chanvre dans l'antiquité de moyen âge," *Mémoires de l'Institut national des sciences et arts... Littérature et beaux-arts*. (Paris: Baudouin, 1804): 477.

38. The hashish ban from October of 1800 was part of Abdallah Menou's colonial policies which aimed to better integrate Egypt's Sunni elite into the colonial administration of the Egyptian Sister Republic. By omitting these key details, Sacy published the first inaccurate account of the French hashish ban in Egypt from October of 1800, thus opening opportunities for future misrepresentations of the prohibition and its historical context.

39. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 123.

40. *Ibid.*, 123-30.

41. Malcolm Kerr, "Review of Edward Said's *Orientalism*," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 12 (December 1980): 544-47; Ernest Gellner, "The Mightier Pen? Edward Said and the Double Standards of Inside-out Colonialism," *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 February 1993: 3-4; Bernard Lewis, "The Question of Orientalism," *The New York Review of Books*, 24 June 1982; Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2007), 5-11.

42. Simon Gaunt, *Marco Polo's Le Devisement Du Monde: Narrative Voice, Language and Diversity* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 1-12.

43. Notable Seventeenth and Eighteenth century studies of the Ismaili assassins in Europe include Barthélemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* (Paris 1697); T. Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (Oxford, 1700), 36, 493; J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* V. II (Rome, 1723), 214-15, 318-20; M. Falconet, "Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple, d'Asie, première partie," and "Dissertation sur les Assassins, peuple d'Asie, seconde partie," *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, xvii (1751), 127-70; Anonymous, "Éclaircissements sur quelques circonstances de l'histoire du Vieux de la Montaigne, Prince des Assassins," *ibid* xvi (1751) 155-65; M. J. Mariti, *Memoire istoriche del popolo degli Assassini e del vecchio della montagna, loro capo-signore* (Livorno: Appresso Carlo Giorgi, 1787); S. Assemani, "Ragguaglio storico-critico sopra la setta Assissana, detta volgarmente degli Assassini," *Giornale dell'Italiana Letteratura* 13 (Padua, 1806), 241-62.

44. M. Silvestre de Sacy, "Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins et sur l'Étymologie de leur Nom (Lu le 19 Mai 1809)," later printed in *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France, Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne*. Tome Quatrième (Paris: L'Imprimerie Royale, 1818), 55, 83.

45. On the central role of philology in academia in nineteenth-century Europe, see Pascal Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans M. B. DeBovoise (Cambridge University Press, 2004): 30-45; Karla Mallette, *European Modernity and the Arab Mediterranean: Toward a New Philology and a Counter-Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 56-93; and James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Hu-*

manities (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 123-210.

46. Marco Polo, *The book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, 139-43.

47. Arnold of Lübeck is believed to be the first to mention the “hashish legend” in his description of the Nizari Assassins in his *Chronica Slavorum*, Book 4, chapter 16, first published in 1168. See Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 12, and *The Assassins Legend*, 49-87.

48. Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 12.

49. Abu-Shama, *Kitab al-rawdatayn* (History of Nur al-Din and Saladin) Arabic Manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, no. 707 A, year 570 (1174 CE), fol. 127v.

50. Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins,” 45.

51. Quotation from Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 10, 24. Also see Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins*, 11-12; Marshall Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 133-37.

52. Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins,” 54.

53. *Ibid.*, 54.

54. Carsten Niebuhr, *Description de l’Arabie faites sur des observations propres et des avis recueillis dans les mêmes*, 2 Tomes, trad. Ferdiand-Louis Mourier (S.J. Baalde: Amsterdam, 1774); Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la haute basse Egypte: fait par ordre de l’ancien gouvernement et contenant des observations de tous genres*, (Paris: F. Buisson, 1798); Guillaume Antoine Olivier, *Le Voyage dans l’Empire Othoman, l’Égypte e la Perse* (Paris: Chez H. Agasse, 1807). Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins,” 50-51, 64, 84.

55. Sacy only cites Article I of the October 1800 ban and, as he did in *Chrestomathie Arabe*, fails to mention Jacques-François “Abdallah” Menou, the general who passed the measure, or the nuanced colonial context which produced the ban. Sacy, “Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins,” 63-64.

56. “Extrait du *Moniteur* de 1809,” *Dictionnaire des découvertes en France de 1789 a la fin de 1820*, Tome 1 (Paris: L. Colas, 1822), 447-48; Francois-Joseph-Michel Noel, *Nouveau dictionnaire des origines, inventions et decouvertes dans les arts, les science, etc.* Tome 1. (Paris: Janet et Cotele), 74-75.

57. Ken Hyland, “Academic Attribution: Citation and the Construction of Disciplinary Knowledge,” *Applied Linguistics* 20:3 (1999): 341-67; B. Ott and C. Walter, “Intertextuality: Interpretive Practice and Strategy,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 17 (2000): 429-66. For more on the history of the term for linguistics, from which it first emanated in the 1960s, see Maria Jesús Martínez Alfaro, “Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept,” *Atlantis* 18: 1/2 (June-December 1996): 268-85.

58. Hyland, “Academic Attribution,” 344. Also see Karin Knorr Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How Sciences Makes Knowledge* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 1-10.

59. Karim H. Karim, “The Legends of the ‘Assassins’ in the News Coverage of Muslims,” *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American News Media*, ed. Diane Winston (Oxford University Press, 2012), 230-31.

60. Silvestre de Sacy, “Des préparations enivrantes faites avec le chanvre; Mémoire lu à l’Institut par M. Sylvestre de Sacy, le 7 Juillet 1809,” *Bulletin des Sciences médicales*, Tome IV (Septembre 1809), 201-6; also in *Bulletin de Pharmacie*, Vol. 1 (Novembre 1809), 523-26.

61. Sacy, “Des préparations enivrantes faites avec le chanvre,” *Bulletin de Pharmacie*, Vol. 1 (Novembre 1809), 526.

62. Pierre Charles Ruyver, “Notice sur les medicaments usuels des Égyptiens,” *Description de l’Égypte*, État moderne Tome I (Paris, 1809), 217-32, also published in the *Bulletin de Pharmacie* 2:9 (1810): 385-415; J. J. Virey, “Du Népentès, Remède exhilarant, donné par la belle Hélène à Télémaque, selon Homère,” *Bulletin de pharmacie* Tome 5 (1813): 49-60; G. B. Gastinel, “Nouvelle préparation de hachich (lettres à l’Académie de Médecine), *Bulletin de l’Académie Royale (Nationale) de Médecine* (Paris, 1848), thirteen pages 675-78, 827-29, 1386-87; Edmund De Courtive, E. “Haschisch, étude historique, chimique et physiologique,” (Thèse, École de pharmacie de Paris, 1848).

63. The most complete and up-to-date bibliography of these publications can be found

in Jacques Arveiller, "Le Cannabis en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: une histoire médicale," *L'Évolution psychiatrique* 78 (2013): 451-84.

64. Louis R. Aubert-Roche, *De la peste ou typhs d'Orient: documens et observations recueillis pendant les années 1834 à 1838, en Egypte, en Arabie, sur la mer rouge, en Abyssinie, à Smyrne et à Constantinople: Suivis d'un essai sur le hachisch et son emploi dans le traitement de la peste* (Paris: Just Rouvier, 1840), 210-49, esp. 212; Appollinaire Bouchardat, *Nouveau Formulaire magistral (avec les poids nouveaux et anciens en regard), précédé d'une notice sur les hôpitaux de Paris, de généralités sur l'art de formuler*, Édition 16 (Germer Baillière: Paris, 1840), 87-89; A. -B. Clot-Bey, *Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte*, Tome II (Paris: Fortin, Masson, 1840), 9-11; Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, *Du Hachisch et de l'alienation mentale-études psychologiques* (Collection "Esquirol": Paris, 1845), 10-11.

65. In his first chapter on the history of hashish, Moreau cites a large portion of Marco Polo's legendary stories about the Nizari Isama'ili, which he frames with references to Sacy's memoir on the assassins. Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, *Du Hachisch et de l'alienation mentale*, 34-35.

66. Louis R. Aubert-Roche, *De la peste ou typhs d'Orient*, 212; A. -B. Clot Bey "Quelques réflexions sur les effets du Haschich," *L'Abeille Médicale* N. 1 (Janvier 1848), 93-94.

67. A. Brierre de Boismont, "Au rédacteur," *Journal des débats*, 17 novembre 1837, 3, and "Expériences toxicologiques sur une substance inconnue," *Gaz Med Paris* 8:18 (1840): 278-79.

68. Jean Baptiste Monfalcon, *Histoire médicale des Marais et traité des fièvres intermittentes causés par les émanations des eaux stagnantes* (Paris: Béchét Jeune, August 1826), 164.

69. François-Pierre Chaumeton, Jean-Louis-Marie Poirer, Joseph Tyrbas de Chamberet, et Mme, Ernest Panckoucke. eds. *Flore médicale*, Tome. II (Paris: Impr. de Panckoucke, 1833), 111-12.

70. Ibid., 112.

71. "Lettre à M. Michaud, sur les Assassins, par M. Am. Jourdain," in Joseph-François Michaud, *Histoires des croisades*, Vol. II (Chez L. G. Michaud: Paris, 1818), 529-62.

72. Ibid., 543.

73. Gary Dickson, *The Children's Crusade: Medieval History, Modern* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 23-27; John V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 3-4, 279-81; Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 1-22.

74. In a footnote attached to the word "assassin" in his translation of William of Tyre's *History of the Crusades*, famed historian and editor François Guizot wrote, "M. Silvestre de Sacy proved that this name was a corruption of the word *hachichins*, which was given to the Ismailis, true name of this unique tribe, because they used a liquor called hashish, extracted from a preparation of flowers of cannabis. One can find in *Histoire des croisades* by M. Michaud (t. II, p. 529-62) a letter from M. Jourdain that contains the most exact and curious details on the Ismailis." See François Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires Relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (Paris: Chez J.-L.-J. Brière Libraire, 1824), 297.

75. Joseph von Hammer, *Die Geschichte der Assassinen, aus morgenländischen Quellen, durch Joseph von Hammer* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1818); Published in France as *Histoire de l'ordre des assassins*. trans. J.J. Hellert et Propser-Alexis de La Nourais (Paris: Paulin, 1833). Oswald C. Wood published an English translation in 1835, *The History of the Assassin*, trans. Oswald C. Wood (London, 1835), which contains the first English translation of an excerpt of Silvestre de Sacy's memoir on the assassins. In 1818 Sacy published a favorable review of Hammer's work in Paris and offered only minor critiques; see *Journal des Savans* (Juillet 1818): 412-17.

76. Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 26-27, and *The Assassins Legends*, 5-7, 118-26.

77. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'ordre des assassins*, 236.



78. Ibid., 236-37.

79. Louis Colas, ed. *Dictionnaire chronologique et raisonné des découvertes, inventions, la littérature, les arts, l'agriculture, le commerce et l'industrie de 1789 à la fin de 1820... ouvrage rédigé... par une société de gens de lettres*, Tome I (Paris: Chez Louis Colas, 1822), 445-49.

80. Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française, où les mots sont classés par familles*, Tome I (Paris: Decourchant, 1829), 46.

81. Treuttel et Würtz, eds. *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde Répertoire Universel des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts*, Tome II (Paris: Libraire de Treuttel et Würtz, 1833), 403.

82. Similar un-cited references to Sacy's etymology and of the Assassins can be found in the following dictionaries and their entries for "assassin": C. Gaillardin, "Assassins" in *Encyclopédie du dix-neuvième siècle: répertoire universel des sciences, des lettres et des arts, avec la biographie de tous les hommes célèbres*, Tome IV (Paris: Au Bureau de l'Encyclopédie du XIXe Siècle, 1838), 45-47; L. Gaudeau et Léon Plée, et al. *Glossaire français polyglotte, dictionnaire historique, étymologique raisonné et usuel de la langue française et de ses noms propres* (Paris: Au Comptoir des Imprimeurs-Unis, 1846), 340; M. J. -P. Houzé, ed. *Encyclopédie Nationale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts ou Résumé Complet des Connaissances Humaines* (Paris: J. Bry, 1851), 375; Eustache Marie Pierre Marc Courtin, *Encyclopédie moderne: dictionnaire abrégé des sciences, des lettres, des arts, de l'industrie, de l'agriculture et du commerce*, Tome 6, Partie 1 (Paris: MM. Firmin Didot frères, 1857), 571-72.

83. Henry J. Anslinger, "Marijuana: Assassin of Youth," *The American Magazine* 124:1 (July 1937): 8-15.

84. Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010).

85. "Questions orales avec débat: Drogue – Séance de 24 Octobre 1969," *Journal Officiel de la République Française: Débat Parlementaire – Assemblée Nationale, Compte Rendu Des Séances* 63 (Paris: 24 Octobre 1969), 2945

86. Ibid., 2935-45.

87. The law called for a minimum penalty of five years in prison and fines amounting to no more than 50 million francs for all those convicted of drug trafficking and distribution. Then known as Public health Code L. 627, the law also allowed police forces to enter private residences (although not at night) without warrant if sufficient evidence of drug trafficking or distribution existed, and it also strengthened the power of the state to exile and deport suspected traffickers See *Journal Officiel de la République Française: Débat Parlementaire – Assemblée Nationale, Compte Rendu Des Séances* 4 (Paris: 18 Décembre 1970): 6704.

88. Sihem Souid, "La guerre aux drogues, une guerre contre les minorités ethniques?" *Le Point*, 11 July 2014), accessed 10 September 2016, [http://www.lepoint.fr/invites-du-point/sihem-souid/la-guerre-aux-drogues-une-guerre-contre-les-minorites-ethniques-07-11-2014-1879530\\_421.php](http://www.lepoint.fr/invites-du-point/sihem-souid/la-guerre-aux-drogues-une-guerre-contre-les-minorites-ethniques-07-11-2014-1879530_421.php); "Kim Hullot-Guiot and Cécile Bourgneuf, "La lute contre les drogues, une <<guerre raciale>>?" *Libération*, 15 avril 2015, accessed 10 September 2016, [http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/15/la-lutte-contre-les-drogues-une-guerre-raciale\\_1240975](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/04/15/la-lutte-contre-les-drogues-une-guerre-raciale_1240975).

89. A 2015 study conducted by the *Association Française de Réduction des Risque* also concluded that black and Arab communities in France are systematically targeted by police and nearly ten times more likely than white French citizens to be stopped by police for random identity checks that often lead to drug arrests. Hullot-Guiot and Bourgneuf, "La lute contre les drogues."