

RESEARCH IN THE LAST YEARS OF FEUDALISM 1840-1868

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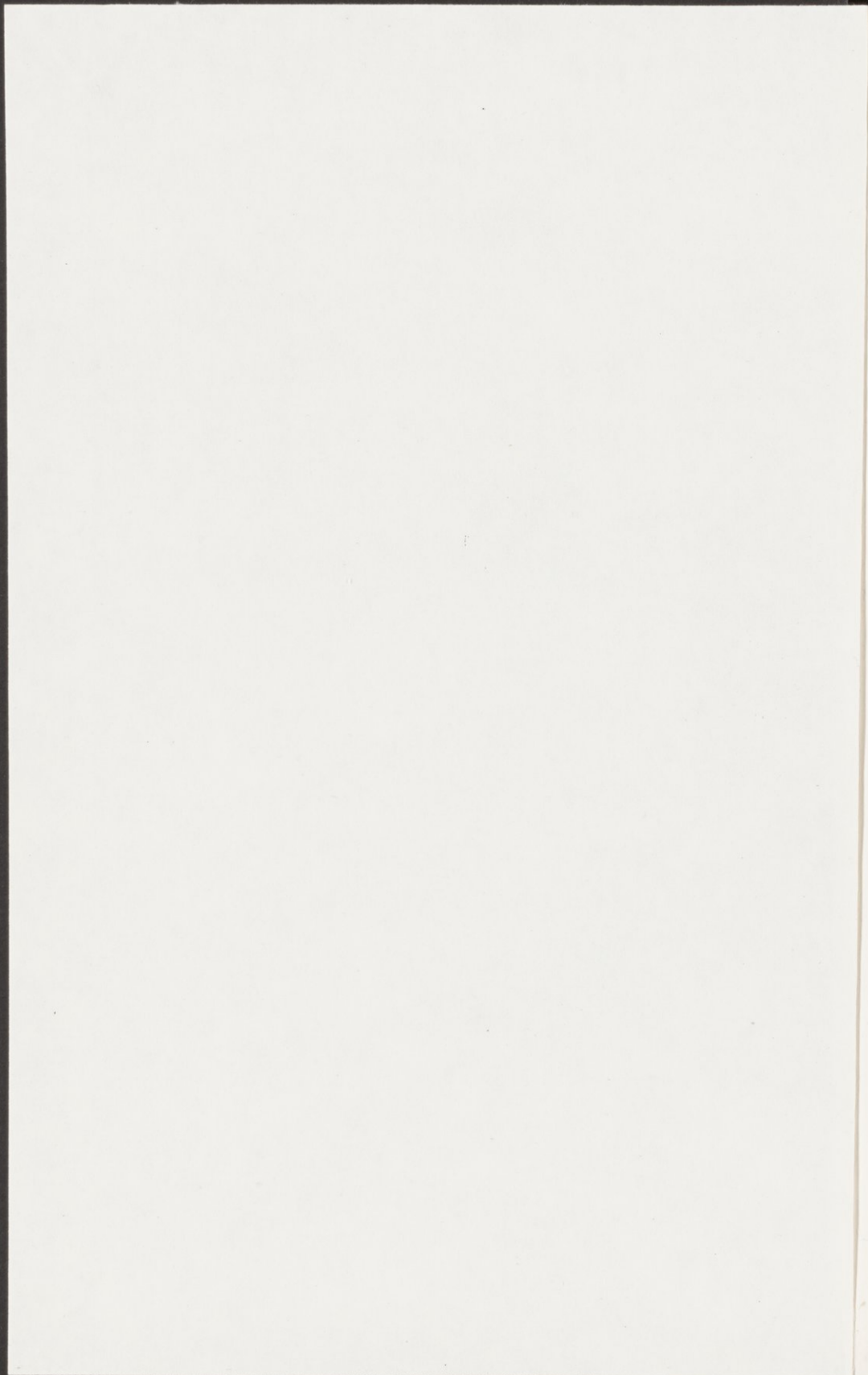
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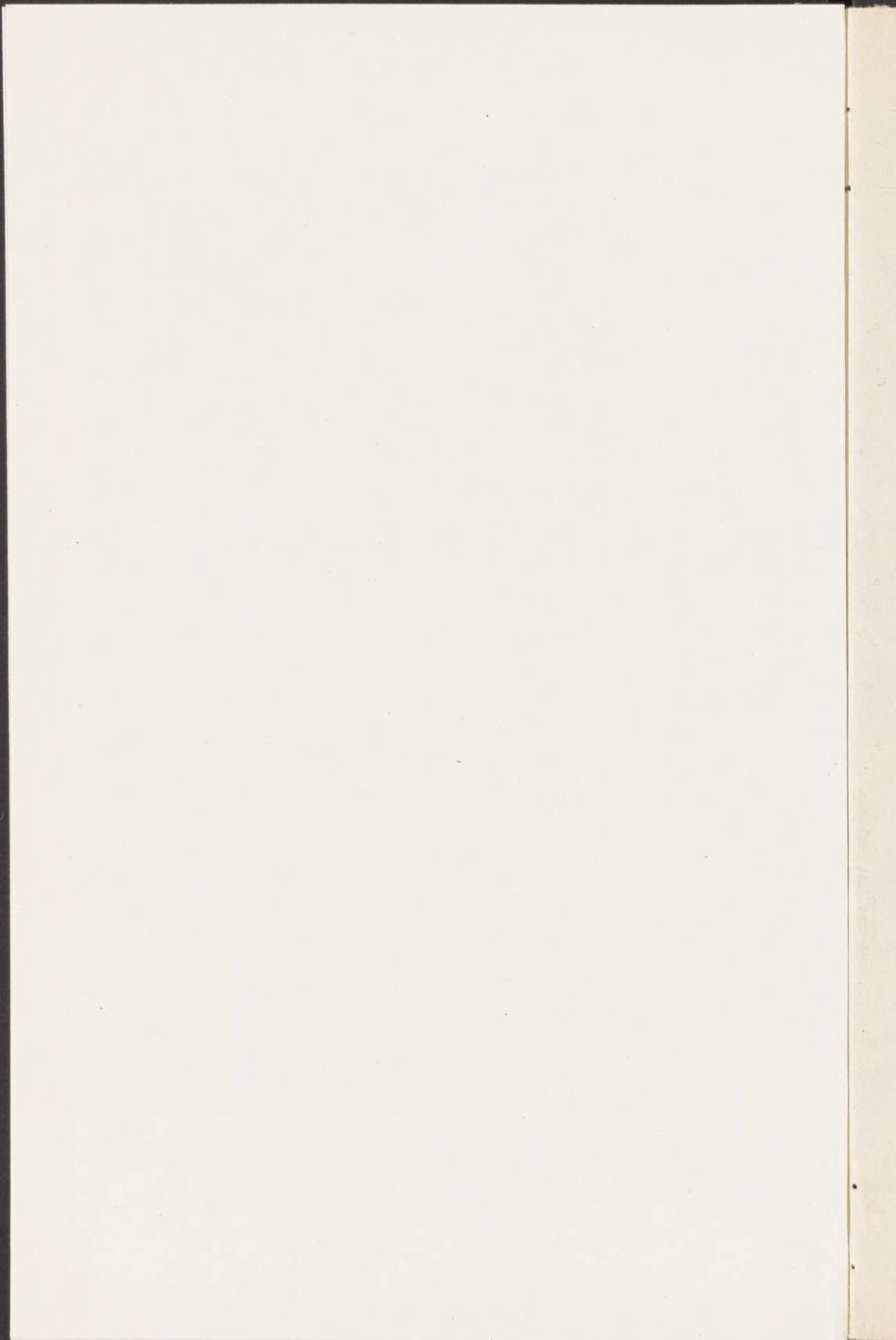
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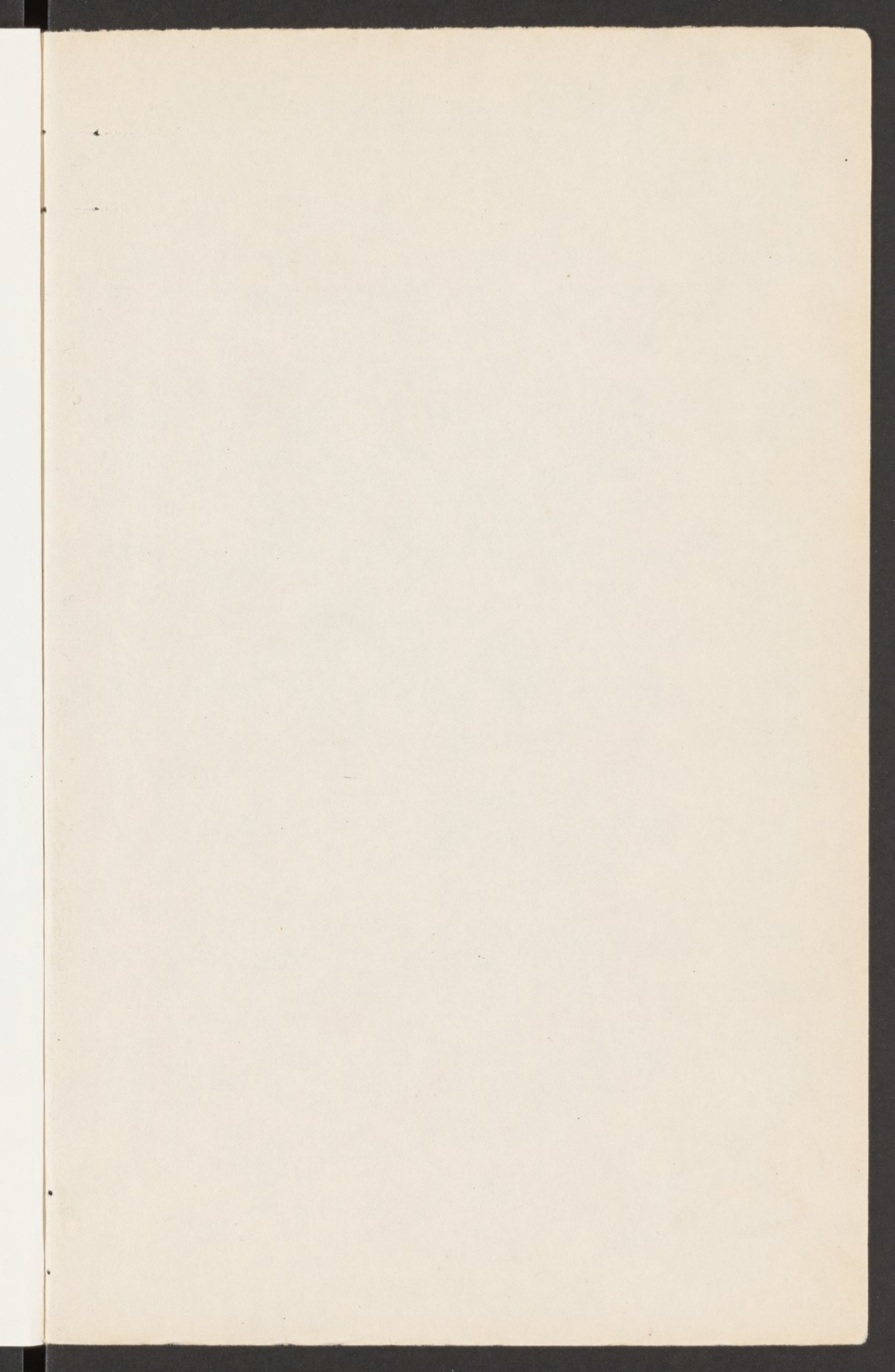
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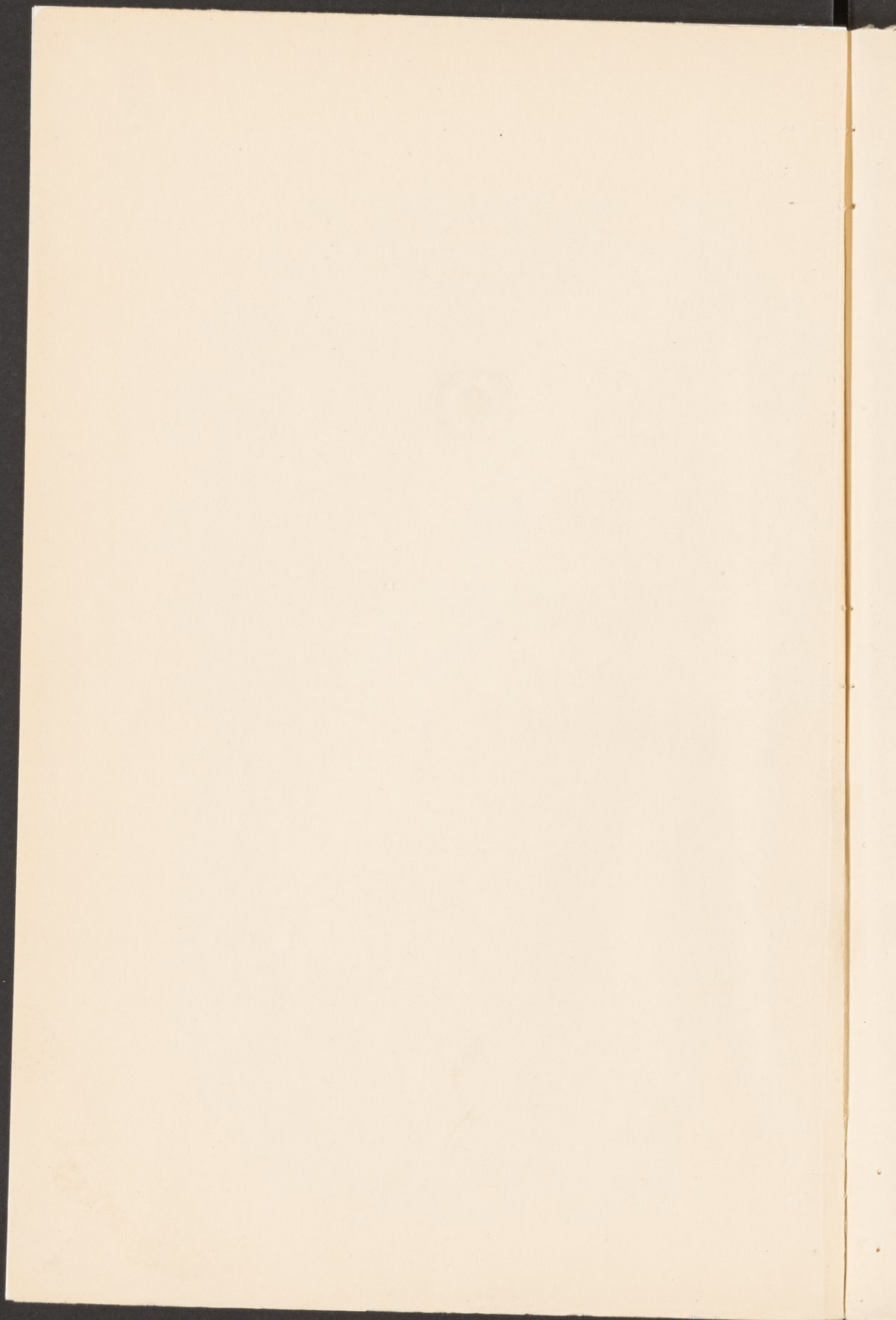












AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

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ORIENTAL SERIES NO. 33



A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT BY
ANTON DARR AL-AQIQI
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

Translated with notes and commentary by
MALCOLM H. KERR

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OF FEUDALISM, 1840-1868

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A CONTINUOUS ACCOUNT BY
ANTON DAHIR AL-AJLOU
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PREFACE

This book offers a translation from Arabic of the manuscript materials published some years ago by the Lebanese writer Youssof Ibrahim Yazbec under the title *Thawra wa Fitna fî Lubnân: Şafha Majhûla min Târikh al-Jabal min 1841 ila 1873* («Revolution and Sedition in Lebanon: an Unknown Page from the History of the Mountain from 1841 to 1873»).^1 The manuscript materials fall into two parts, translated below in Chapters II and III respectively: an historical narrative by one Anṭûn Dâhir al-‘Aqîqi, and a series of letters found in the files of the Maronite Patriarchal residence at Dair Bkirki, Lebanon. Mr. Yazbec’s own commentary, which forms a major part of his publication, is not included in the present translation because it is not itself a contemporary record.

The ‘Aqîqi manuscript does not offer a detailed account of the entire period mentioned in Yazbec’s title, but rather concentrates unevenly on certain incidents of varying importance. It makes only the most casual reference to the major changes of 1845 and 1861 in the administrative régime of the country; its description of the 1860 massacres, while extensive, adds nothing worth mentioning to accounts already published in Arabic, French, and English;^2 its treatment

(1) Published by *Al-Tali‘a* magazine, Damascus, 1938.

(2) See in particular the contemporary account by Iskandar Ya‘qûb Abkâriûs, “Book of the Marvels of the Time Concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country”, translated with annotation and commentary by J. F. Scheltema under the title *The Lebanon in Turmoil: Syria and the Powers in 1860* (Yale Oriental Series, VII; New Haven, 1920). See also the Druse version of Ḥusain Ghaḍbân Abû-Shaqrâ, *Al-Ḥarakât fî Lubnân ilâ ‘Ahd al-Mutaşarrifiya* (Beirut, n.d.). A representative French version is François Lenormant, *Histoire des Massacres de Syrie en 1860* (Paris, 1861).

of Yûsuf Karam's career dwells on the details of his various battles with Dâwûd Pasha rather than the political issues at stake. The historical interest of the manuscript lies chiefly in its description of the disintegration of political and social authority in the northern half of Lebanon, especially 'Aqîqi's own district of Kisrawân, and the subsequent uprising of the Kisrawân peasants against their feudal superiors in 1858-1860. These developments represent changes of great significance for the 19th Century history of the Lebanon with respect to the institutions of feudalism and sectarianism. As symbols of these changes they have been overshadowed by the spectacular massacres of 1860, but wrongly so in terms of historical perspective, for an excellent case can be made for the view that the issues of feudalism, and of other forms of institutionalized authority also, were of more fundamental importance than those of intersectarian relations. The role of the Maronite higher clergy, for example, as a rival of feudal social and political authority, was probably more significant than its role as a champion of Maronites as such against Druses as such. Viewed from this starting point, the massacres were a by-product, in part at least, of the weakening of the feudal system.

Despite their importance, the events in Kisrawân have received scant attention in English and French-language historical writings. A rare exception is *La Question du Liban*, written by a Lebanese, Bûlus Nujaim, under the pseudonym M. Jouplain as a doctoral dissertation and published in Paris in 1908. Published Arabic documentary sources remain slight;¹ Nujaim himself relied in his treatment of the

(1) The most extensive published account is *Nubdha Târikhiya fi-l-Muqâta'at al-Kisrawâniya* (Beirut, 1884), by Manşûr al-Ḥattûni. This is a narrative memoir by a contemporary, comparable in general style of presentation to 'Aqîqi. Undocumented accounts written much later include Yûsuf al-Bish'alâni, *Lubnân wa-Yûsuf Baik Karam* (Beirut, 1925) and Yûsuf al-Mizhir, *Târikh Lubnân al-'Amm* (no date, place of publication, or publisher given, but evidently since 1953). The latter offers only a collation of passages from other works. A collection of local Arabic documents and foreign diplomatic documents in unreliable Arabic translation is Philip and Farîd al-Khâzin's *Majmû'at al-Muḥarrarât al-Siyâsiya wa-l-*

subject mostly on the diplomatic correspondence published in Volume VI of Baron de Testa's collection.¹ The 'Aqîqi manuscript, however fragmentary its information, is therefore a step forward, particularly, it is hoped, in this translation.

The letters published in Yazbec's volume, appearing below in Chapter III, deal wholly with events in Kisrawân from 1858 to the start of the intersectarian warfare in May 1860. They include petitions by the various parties to the Maronite Patriarch and other authorities, messages between members of the insurgent peasantry led by Ṭanyûs Shâhîn and messages between representatives of the Maronite clergy who sought to mediate between the parties. These letters are of greater value than the 'Aqîqi manuscript, offering an inside view of events. The remaining files of Patriarchal records at Bkirki doubtless contain much more such information yet to be uncovered.

In recent years the Lebanese National Museum, through the efforts of its director, Amîr Maurice Shihâb, has acquired several thousand documents from among the family records of the Khâzin family, the principal feudal chiefs of Kisrawân until 1861. Many of these documents date from the early and middle 19th Century. These await editing and study and promise to be of great value, if we are to judge by one interesting publication based on them that has already appeared.²

Beyond this, and beyond whatever other privately

Mufâwadât al-Dawliya (3 vols.; Jûniya, Lebanon, 1910). Other accounts make only brief references to the Kisrawân affair. It is noteworthy that Maronite ecclesiastical biographies make no references to the important role played in the events in Kisrawân by members of the higher clergy of whom otherwise extensive biographies are given: for example, Yûsuf Khaṭṭâr Ghânim, *Barnâmiġ Akhawîyat al-Qiddîs Mârûn* (2 vols.; Beirut, 1903); also Yûsuf al-Dibs, *Al-Jâmi' al-Mufaṣṣal fî Târikh al-Mawârinat al-Mu'aṣṣal* (Beirut, 1905).

(1) *Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les Puissances Etrangères*. Vol. VI. (Paris, 1884).

(2) Dominique Chevallier, "Aux Origines des Troubles Agraires Libanais en 1858", *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, XIV, No. 1, (January-March 1959), pp. 35-64.

owned papers may exist, the most extensive sources of information on the Kisrawân events available to the historian in any language are the diplomatic documents. These would include, primarily, the dispatches of the consuls of the European powers in Beirut (particularly those of the French Consul), their files of memoranda and petitions from local persons, and the Ottoman archives in Istanbul. Most of this material remains unpublished,¹ although there are considerable records in print dealing with the massacres of 1860 and their aftermath.² I was permitted to study the complete file of consular dispatches covering this period, preserved in unpublished form at the British Embassy in Beirut, some of which are referred to in the following pages.³ These are of considerable interest, but are probably of less account than the corresponding French records.

I have attempted in Chapter I below to provide an introductory analysis of the most significant historical developments of the period covered by 'Aqîqi, based upon a preliminary and by no means exhaustive study of various Lebanese as well as European narrative accounts and documentary collections. Nothing of real depth can be said of the Kisrawân affair with much confidence without a serious investigation of some of the unpublished materials mentioned above, such as the Khâzin papers and the French diplomatic archives.

(1) Notable exceptions are Testa, Vol. VI, and Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Despatches from Her Majesty's Consuls in the Levant Respecting Past or Apprehended Disturbances in Syria, 1858 to May 1860* (London, 1860). There are also seven volumes published by the Foreign Office dealing with events from 1839 to 1845.

(2) See in particular Great Britain, Foreign Office, *Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Syria, June, 1860*; *Further Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Syria, June, 1860*; *Further Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Syria: Copy of a Despatch from Earl Cowley (Paris), August 3, 1860, Enclosing Copies of Two Protocols*; and *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria, 1860-1861*. See also the French Foreign Office's *Documents Diplomatiques, 1860* (Paris, 1861); also Testa, Vol. VI.

(3) Dispatches are referred to below in footnotes only by number, date, author, and addressee. Some of these are published in *Despatches From Her Majesty's Consuls in the Levant... 1858 to 1860* and a few translated into French in Testa, Vol. VI.

Hence the conclusions in Chapter I are no more than provisional. I have passed over the subject of the 1860 massacres because the factual record is widely published elsewhere and because it does not fall strictly within the scope of the subject to which I have sought to draw attention, namely, the Kisra-wân insurrection. 'Aqîqi is therefore left to speak for himself on the massacres.

'Aqîqi's brand of Arabic, and that of almost all the letters in Chapter III, is a semi-literate mixture of Lebanese colloquial and formal literary language, full of bad grammar and spelling. The phraseology is for the most part simple and rather tiresomely repetitious, with occasional departures of bombastic pomposity. An entirely literal translation preserving this flavor of home-bred boorishness might prove entertainingly quaint or, more likely, irritatingly clumsy, and I have preferred to strive for a more natural and tolerably readable brand of English without any alteration of the original meaning.

The task of translation and supplementary study was first undertaken in the form of an M.A. thesis at the American University of Beirut in 1955. Both translation and accompanying remarks have now been considerably revised. I am indebted to Professors Nabih Faris, Anis Frayha, Jibrail Jabbur, and Kamal Salibi, whom I have consulted on doubtful points of translation and other details; to Professor Zeine Zeine, who originally supervised preparation of the thesis; to Professor Nicola Ziadeh for his advice and assistance in arranging for the present publication; to Mr. Youssof Ibrahim Yazbec for permitting me to collate the original 'Aqîqi manuscript with the published Arabic text and verify the accuracy of the latter and for other information and suggestions; to the British Embassy in Beirut for making available their consular files; to Dr. Asad Rustum, who kindly read the draft of this book and made many valuable suggestions; and to my wife Ann, who patiently helped prepare the index.

June 1959

M. K.

ZAHLA

CAIRO

ANN KERR

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTARY

LEBANON IN THE LAST YEARS
OF FEUDALISM, 1840-1868

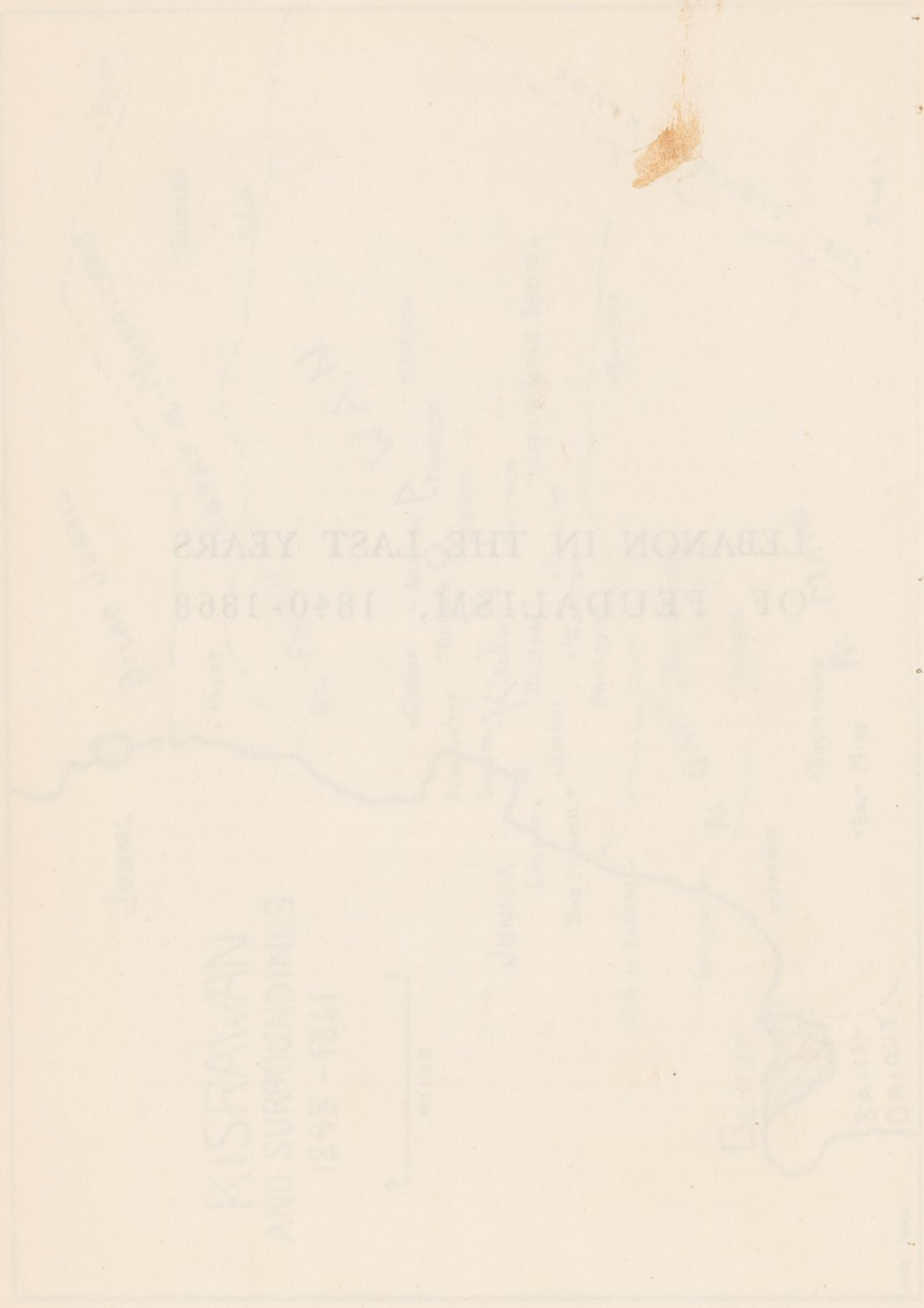
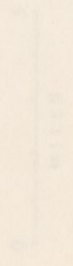
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and to a lesser extent the Maronite Catholics. During the last
year years of his rule his position was strengthened by the
defeat of the Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha, who on
behalf of his father Muhammad Ali had in 1820 seized control
of Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon from his Ottoman overlords,
with cooperation from Austria. When in 1840 Ibrahim was
expelled from these territories through the intervention of the
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and ruled. It is at this point that Kinnaird's narrative begins.

The loss of his power, feudal authority, and complete
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LEBANON IN THE LAST YEARS
OF FEUDALISM, 1840-1868

KISRAWAN
AND SURROUNDINGS
1845-1861



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTARY

The Kisrawân peasant sedition of 1858-1860 and the massacre of several thousand Christians by Druses in 1860 may be considered as the two points of culmination of several decades of social and political unrest in the Lebanon. [This unrest dates back at least to 1820, in which year the governor, Amîr Bashîr al-Shihâbi, was faced with organized defiance in his effort to collect taxes; indeed, the story could well be traced as far back as Bashîr's advent to the governorship of Lebanon in 1788.] No attempt will be made here to discuss the events of his long reign (1788-1840), however, except to note his severe taxation and, more significantly, his readiness to infringe upon the hereditary privileges of a number of feudatory families such as the Druse Janblâts, 'Imâds, and Abû-Nakads (whom he dispossessed outright in some cases) and to a lesser extent the Maronite Khâzins. During the last nine years of his rule his position was strengthened by the presence of the Egyptian army of Ibrâhîm Pasha, who on behalf of his father Muḥammad 'Ali had in 1831 seized control of Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon from his Ottoman overlords with cooperation from Bashîr. When in 1840 Ibrâhîm was expelled from those territories through the intervention of the Porte's British and other European allies, Bashîr was dismissed and exiled. It is at this point that 'Aqîqî's narrative begins.

The issues of taxation, feudal authority, and religious sectarianism, which became almost inextricably mixed together shortly after Bashîr's departure, all find their origins during the period of his rule. In 1835 Ibrâhîm had ordered the military conscription of Druses in Ḥaurân and Wâdi

al-Taim. This was refused, and the Druses, with help from their co-religionists in the Lebanon, repeatedly defeated expeditions sent from Damascus. It was after a notable Druse victory at Ḥaṣḥbayyâ that Ibrâhîm recruited and armed 4,000 Lebanese Christians, some of whom joined in finally defeating the rebels in 1838.¹

Egyptian rule had done much to raise the position of the Christians of Lebanon: greater equality in taxation, abolition of enforced petty distinctions of dress, exemption from conscription, and now the return of their arms gave them a new feeling of status and strength, heightened by the conversion of some branches of the ruling Shihâb family, including Amîr Bashîr himself, to Maronite Christianity. [After the battle of Nezib in the spring of 1839, however, when hostilities were resumed between Ibrâhîm and the Porte, an increase in taxation² and other requisitions from the population, plus the news that the Christians would again be disarmed and then conscripted, led some of the latter to join forces with the Druses in an alliance formed at Dair al-Qamar.³] Their subsequent revolt would have been crushed but for the intervention of the European powers, who, with the exception of France, sent forces to Lebanon and forced the Egyptians to abandon Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine to the Sultan.

The expulsion of Ibrâhîm not only was accompanied by the expulsion of Bashîr because of his collaboration with the Egyptians, but — regardless of all pledges made and policies declared to the contrary — created a situation in which the

(1) Ṭannûs al-Shidyâq, *Akhbâr al-A'yân fî Jabal Lubnân* (Beirut, 1859), pp. 584-588. See also Asad Rustum, *Ṣafha Jadîda min Târîkh al-Thawrat al-Durziya 1834-1838* (Beirut, 1938); Scheltema, pp. 59-60.

(2) For a detailed description of the taxation system imposed by Ibrâhîm Pasha see Ferdinand Perrier, *La Syrie sous le Gouvernement de Mehemet Ali jusqu'en 1840*, (Paris, 1842), pp. 95-109.

(3) See Sulaimân Abû-'Izz al-Dîn, *Ibrâhîm Pasha fî Sûriyâ* (Beirut, 1929), pp. 256 ff.; Shidyâq, pp. 588-9; Perrier, pp. 364-6; Yazbec, *Thawra wa Fitna fî Lubnân*, pp. 27-30. See also the texts of the compacts and appeals drawn up in a subsequent meeting at Anṭilyâs, in Khâzin, *al-Muḥarrarât al-Siyâsiya*, I, pp. 2-3.

traditional Lebanese privilege of autonomy under hereditary rule was itself cast in doubt. The fluid state of affairs existing after Bashîr's exile gave the Porte an opportunity to seek to govern Mount Lebanon directly through her own Ottoman appointees. While this was more than the Powers could conceivably be expected to accept, it represented a bargaining position. France continued to call for the restoration of Bashîr himself or, failing that, another member of the Shihâbi family, until 1845, and renewed her campaign for Shihâbi rule in 1860; the British government initially favored a Shihâb other than Bashîr, but abandoned this position in 1842. It was under British auspices that in October 1840 Bashîr was replaced by his relative, Amîr Bashîr Qâsim Shihâb, who had led a band of Lebanese irregulars against Ibrâhîm. The Ottoman military authorities, however, failed to give him any material or moral support, even before Ibrâhîm's final withdrawal.¹ This lack of support, plus his own incompetence, led after a year to his deposition.

The chief point at issue was one which plagued Druse-Christian and peasant-fiefholder relations from 1840 to 1860: judicial authority over the population of the various muqâta'as (feudal districts) into which Lebanon was divided. The traditional authority of the muqâta'ji or fiefholder (who might or might not actually own the land itself, but often did, particularly in the south) included the right to collect taxes at a profit on behalf of the government; to maintain peace and order; to require a limited annual amount of unpaid labor from the peasantry; and, most important, to exercise judicial authority of first instance over all local civil and criminal cases involving penalties short of death (questions involving the death penalty being reserved for the exclusive jurisdiction of the governor).²

In the southern half of Lebanon all the major fiefs were under the hereditary authority of Druse feudatories but

(1) Shidyâq, p. 612.

(2) A summary of the authority of the muqâta'ji as it existed in 1833 is given by Nâsîf al-Yâzîji, *Risâla Târikhîya fi Ahwâl Lubnân fi 'Ahdihî-l-Iqtâ'i*, ed. Father Qushtânî al-Bâshâ (Ḥarîsa, Lebanon, n.d.), pp. 7-9.

contained large numbers — often majorities — of Christian inhabitants. To the north the fiefholders were Christian, and the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants were also Christian; the only exception was the Matn, where authority was held by the then still partly Druse family of Abî-l-Lami' and the Druse family of Mizhir, and where a large minority of the population was also Druse.¹ In those districts having a mixed population, therefore, tranquillity depended on good sectarian relations, which had begun to be disturbed in the latter part of Bashîr's rule; while in all districts tranquillity depended also on the general stability and firmness of political authority in the country.)

Amîr Bashîr Qâsim, at the instance of the Ottoman authorities, organized a dîwân or council of twelve men, two from each of the major religious sects (Maronite, Druse, Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Sunnite Muslim, and Shi'ite Muslim), to assist him in the administration of justice. The Druses refused to cooperate in this arrangement by declining to choose their representatives, because they saw in the dîwân an encroachment on the traditional authority of the fiefholders. Some Christian shaikhs objected as well and joined the Druse leaders in preparing to resist any invasion of their jurisdiction. Bashîr Qâsim's reaction was a violent threat to dispossess the Druse shaikhs and divide their holdings among his own followers. This he actually did in the case of the 'Imâd family, from whom he withdrew authority over the village of Shmistâr and gave it to a branch of the Abî-l-Lami' family.²)

Still more provocative was the circular sent by the Maronite Patriarch Yûsuf Hûbaish, and signed by certain Shihâbi and Lami'i amîrs and other leading Maronites, calling on those Christians living under Druse feudal authority to assume the judicial authority traditionally held by the fiefholders. This was tantamount to an assertion by the Patriarch of the power to withdraw authority from the Druse shaikhs. It was

(1) See the table of population by districts in the Appendix.

(2) Shidyâq, pp. 615-20.

duly resented by the latter, as well as by the Greek Orthodox Christians who were not disposed to be dragged into such an issue by the Maronite Patriarch.¹ But the proposal foreshadowed a comparable plan actually instituted by the Porte in 1845 for the mixed districts, and also the plan so violently set forth by the peasants of Kisrawân (a wholly Christian district) from 1858 to 1860.]

Following a dispute in November 1841 on the distribution of taxes, Bashîr Qâsim was besieged in the town of Dair al-Qamar by a party of Druses, was finally allowed to leave under humiliating conditions, and soon after was dismissed and sent to Istanbul under arrest.² [The incident touched off factional clashes throughout the Shûf district in South Lebanon; the disturbances extended to the Biqâ' valley and took on an aspect of sectarian conflict when the large Christian town of Zaḥla was attacked by Druses.]

The dismissal of Bashîr Qâsim amid such circumstances gave the Porte a welcome opportunity to appoint an Ottoman governor, 'Umar Pasha "al-Namsâwi" ("the Austrian"),³ to rule Lebanon directly, and meanwhile to encourage the local Christian population to petition for such direct Turkish rule on a permanent basis. Besides being unacceptable to the Powers, however, the plan was undermined by arbitrary treatment both of Druse and Christian leaders. [This led to open rebellion against 'Umar by a Druse faction led by the inveterate rebel Shibli al-'Aryân (leader of the 1835-1838 skirmishes against Ibrâhîm), which enjoyed the moral support of Maronite leaders.⁴] The latter met in December 1842

(1) Charles Henry Churchill, *The Druses and the Maronites under Turkish Rule, 1840-1860* (London, 1862), pp. 36-8.

(2) Shidyâq, pp. 621-2; Sir Charles Napier, *The War in Syria* (London, 1842), I, pp. 292-5.

(3) 'Umar Pasha was born Mikhail Lettes in Croatia, began his career as a tutor to Sultan 'Abd al-Majîd, and eventually achieved a distinguished civilian and military record, notably in the Crimean War. Scheltema, p. 21 n.

(4) Col. Rose, British Consul in Beirut, reported to London that "great as are the wrongs inflicted on them by the Druses, the more reflect-

at Antilyâs to consider openly joining the Druse insurgents, and decided to demand certain conditions including Druse agreement to the restoration of a Maronite Shihâb as governor.¹ But As'ad Pasha, the Ottoman authority at Beirut, now offered concessions such as a guarantee of Christian seigneurial rights, in exchange for Maronite acceptance of whatever governor the Porte should appoint. This gained the desired object; Christian support for Shibli was withdrawn, the revolt collapsed, and Amîr 'Abdullah Shihâb, the Maronite pretender to the governorship, sought the protection of the British Consulate.² Thus ended the last instance of Maronite-Druse political cooperation for several decades, inconsequential as it was.

The fate of 'Umar Pasha and the immediate prospects for direct Turkish rule had in any case already been decided as early as May 27, 1842. A conference of the five Powers and the Porte had agreed in principle to a scheme of partition proposed by Metternich, providing for a Druse and a Christian Qâ'im Maqâm (administrative deputy), each to rule over his co-religionists under the general supervision of the local Ottoman governor, the Mushîr of Beirut. This plan represented a compromise between the continuing French preference for the return of the Shihâbs and Turkey's desire

ing and respectable among [the Christians], as well as the clergy, wish well to the movement of the Druses; and singular to say, there is a sympathy on the part of the Christians for their hereditary [*sic*] enemies; they are glad when they are successful, and sorry when they are not so". (Rose to Aberdeen, No. 84, Nov. 19, 1842).

(1) Other conditions included restoration of property plundered in 1841 and confirmation of the feudal authority of the Maronite Abî-l-Lami' family over the Druses of the Matn. (Rose to Aberdeen, No. 89, Dec. 7, 1842).

(2) As'ad's terms are listed in the text of a letter from Amîr 'Abdullah Shihâb to Col. Rose, found in the British Consular files. 'Abdullah himself had only the previous June solemnly undertaken to desist from further political activities or advocacy of a Shihâbi restoration. (Consular files, miscellaneous papers). Shibli al-'Aryân was brought to surrender through betrayal by one of his own Christian followers. (Rose to Aberdeen, No. 2, Jan. 7, 1843). See also Eugène Poujade, *Le Liban et la Syrie, 1845-1860* (Paris, 1867), pp. 43-5.

for her own direct control. Both France and the Porte appear to have regarded the plan as temporary, and indeed the subsequent measures taken by the latter to implement it were so half-hearted and at times obstructive as to suggest that she detected in the plan the seeds of its own destruction; by cultivating these seeds she could hope to regain direct control by default. According to the agreed scheme each Qâ'im Maqâm would exercise authority over his own co-religionists. But this meant that no geographical boundary line would be practicable, because of the large Christian population living under Druse feudal authority in the south. Accordingly the Porte, seconded by Britain, insisted that to safeguard the feudal rights of the Druse muqâta'jis and to avoid conflicts of authority or a repetition of the affair of the Maronite Patriarch's circular of 1841, the only sensible solution would be to limit the jurisdiction of each Qâ'im Maqâm within set boundaries. To this the French objected that Christian peasants would have no means of appeal in judicial or tax matters to a Christian authority. They remarked that, technically, feudal privileges were not hereditary but appointive — the implication being that it would not be inconvenient to effect a wholesale dispossession of Druse fiefholders.¹

The success of the partition plan was not helped by the manner in which it was inaugurated by As'ad Pasha, the Mushîr. On January 1, 1843, he appointed Amîr Haidar Ismâ'il Abî-l-Lami' and Amîr Aḥmad Arslân as Christian and Druse Qâ'im Maqâm respectively, without waiting for a satisfactory settlement of the jurisdiction question. Amîr Aḥmad was brought to his new post from the jail where he had been put only a few weeks before for his part in the uprising of Shibli al-'Aryân. His selection was attributed to his ineffectual character which had rendered him acceptable to the rival Janblâṭi and Yazbaki Druse factions and to As'ad Pasha himself. He voluntarily returned each night to the jail to consult his colleagues; after only three days As'ad dismissed him for demanding confirmation of Druse feudal rights and

(1) According to Churchill, pp. 80-1.

the release of the interned Druse leaders. He was returned to jail to spend his days as well as nights, until on January 14 he was reinstated.¹ Meanwhile the prestige of the Christian Qâ'im Maqâm was dealt an equal blow by the detachment of the large and populous district of Bilâd Jubail from his authority. This inequity was rectified in April 1843, at which time also a territorial boundary line separating the fiefs under Druse from those under Christian feudal authority finally was declared to delimit the competence of the Qâ'im Maqâm.² But these decisions were not sufficient to make the partition plan work. Both Qâ'im Maqâms were without revenue and the means of law enforcement. The population found it more expeditious to conduct their business with the Turkish authorities.³

By 1844, with questions affecting the mixed districts still unresolved, As'ad Pasha reported to Constantinople that the Qâ'im Maqâmîya plan as it stood could not be applied fully except by force. The Porte responded by sending Khalîl, commander of the Fleet, on a mission of inquiry, intimating to France and Austria that if Khalîl deemed it advisable the Shihâb family — barred from office under the 1842 plan— might be restored to their traditional authority. But immediate-

(1) Rose to Aberdeen, No. 7, Jan. 20, 1843.

(2) Rose to Aberdeen, No. 12, Feb. 5, 1843, and No. 31, April 6, 1843. Meanwhile the Christian town of Dair al-Qamar, at the request of its inhabitants, had been withdrawn from the feudal authority of its Druse overlords of the Abû-Nakad family and placed under direct Turkish administration.

(3) Rose to Aberdeen, No. 21, Feb. 26, 1843. In 1841 it had been decided that the total *mîri* (government tax) collected from Mount Lebanon would be 3,500 purses (one purse equalled 500 piastres). Of this total the Porte in 1843 allotted 900 purses to each of the two Qâ'im Maqâms as their total government revenue. To this Amîr Haidar, the Christian Qâ'im Maqâm, objected, since he collected two-thirds of the taxes in his territory and clearly needed the larger operational funds. He also disputed the proposal that the Druse Qâ'im Maqâm should collect the taxes in the mixed districts, since this would prejudice the final disposition of the latter. Under these circumstances the *mîri* was not collected at all, and each Qâ'im Maqâm simply tried to collect enough for his immediate needs as they arose. (Poujade, p. 64).

ly upon his arrival in June, 1844, he declared that no petitions on behalf of the Shihâbi cause would be accepted. This announcement, plus the conversion to Islam of Amîr Bashîr's son Amîn, who was the leading Shihâbi candidate, effectively put an end to any hope of a restoration.

After an unsuccessful effort by Khalîl to award full judicial and tax-apportioning powers to the Druse muqâta'jis in the mixed districts,¹ an arrangement was finally arrived at by which, in each muqâta'a of mixed population, a Christian and a Druse agent (*wakîl*) would be chosen, each with judicial authority of first instance over his co-religionists and responsible to the Qâ'im Maqâm of his sect. Mixed cases would be heard by the two wakîls jointly. The wakîls would also collect taxes, each from his own sect, on behalf of the muqâta'ji. The Qâ'im Maqâm of the district was reserved a limited choice in selecting the wakîls, so that a Christian wakîl in the south would not be too closely bound to the Maronite Qâ'im Maqâm in the north.²

In the spring of 1845 a number of local irritations, apparently inflamed by the activities of Turkish troops and by the provocative attitude of the Maronite clergy, combined to produce a fresh outbreak of fighting between Druses and Maronites more severe than that of 1841. This clash, which began as Khalîl Pasha was departing, brought forth a second and more important mission of investigation in the person of *Shakîb Effendi*, the foreign minister. In late October *Shakîb* announced the details of his plan of reform, which settled all outstanding questions of jurisdiction and added substance to Khalîl's plan of wakîls.

The essential feature of the so-called *Règlement Shakîb Effendi* was the creation in each Qâ'im Maqâmîya of a majlis, or council, of twelve members: a deputy to the Qâ'im Maqâm

(1) See Poujade, pp. 34-5.

(2) For the text of the diplomatic note from Turkey to the Powers announcing the plan see Testa, III (part I), pp. 167-8. The note is dated January 30, 1845. See also subsequent correspondence in *ibid.*, pp. 168 ff. See also Poujade, pp. 34-5.

of the same sect as the latter, plus a judge and a tax-assessor from each of the six sects (the Sunni and Shi'ī Muslims sharing a single judge). Judicial appeals reaching the Qâ'im Maqâm would be referred to the judge of the sect to which the parties belonged, or to two judges jointly in intersectarian cases, with the remaining judges of the majlis attending but not taking part in judging the case. The task of apportioning taxes, which was the more important function of the majlis, was to be undertaken collectively by the assessor members in the presence of the judges. In all other matters referred by the Qâ'im Maqâm the majlis would serve as a consultative council. The members were to be full-time officials receiving fixed salaries.

Certain other aspects of the plan implied a severe limitation on the independent power of the majlis. Judicial cases would be heard only when referred by the Qâ'im Maqâm; judgments required his countersignature, and depended both on him and on the Mushîr for enforcement. The original members of each majlis were appointed directly by Shakîb; henceforth they would be chosen by the Qâ'im Maqâm on the advice of the religious leaders of the sect concerned, but subject to the final approval of the Mushîr. A final provision barred from candidacy all persons who had at any time been in the service of foreign agents or claimed foreign protection.¹ The net effect of all these restrictions appeared to be to reduce the majlis to dependence on the Qâ'im Maqâm on the one hand and the Ottoman Mushîr on the other, and to provide the latter with the constant opportunity to play the majlis and Qâ'im Maqâm off against each other. The chief losers in the plan, however, were the muqâta'jis of the mixed districts, whose authority in matters of both justice and taxation was now effectively undermined. This proved to be a decisive blow to the entire institution of feudalism, which was entirely abolished in 1861. But the Maronite peasantry of the northern muqâta'as, since their districts were not "mixed", were not

(1) The full French version of the text of Shakîb's proclamation appears in Testa, III (part I), pp. 200-207. An Arabic version (apparently translated back from the French, not the original) is given in Khâzin, *al-Muḥarrarât al-Siyâsiya*, I, pp. 218-27.

granted wakils to defend their interests against their Maronite fiefholders, and it is not surprising that in 1858 they should have raised this complaint in Kisrawân.¹

* * *

The years 1845 to 1854 passed without serious incidents in the Lebanon. A number of Turkish Mushîrs came and went; the only other new characters among the *dramatis personae* were Amîr Amîn Arslân, who became Druse Qâ'im Maqâm in 1845 when Shakîb Effendi dismissed Amîr Aḥmad, and Yûsuf al-Khâzin, who became Maronite Patriarch upon the death of Yûsuf Ḥubaish. Neither of these personages was of any particular historical consequence.

The year 1854, however, brought to the scene two persons destined to play highly significant roles in the next few years. These were Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad Abî-l-Lami' and Bûlus Mas'ad. Amîr Ḥaidar Ismâ'il Abî-l-Lami', the Christian Qâ'im Maqâm, had died on May 11 and his nephew Bashîr 'Assâf was appointed, on the recommendation of the European Consuls, to fill the office temporarily while a successor was sought. This choice was made because Bashîr 'Assâf had been his uncle's deputy on the majlis for the past three years. Interested parties now sought to use the occasion to alter the plan of government itself. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch in Damascus appealed to Wâmiq Pasha, the Mushîr, to appoint an Orthodox Qâ'im Maqâm to succeed Ḥaidar, or, failing that, a Muslim governor. Wâmiq refused to transmit these requests to the Porte.² Meanwhile spokesmen for the Khâzin family, Maronite overlords of Kisrawân, proposed three alternatives: that Ḥaidar's son Ismâ'il (described by the British Consul as "weak-minded and incapable") be appoin-

(1) The most thorough account of the whole question of implementing the Qâ'im Maqâmiya plan from 1843 to 1845 is found in Jouplain, pp. 297-353. See especially the analysis of the Règlement Shakîb Effendi, pp. 338-353.

(2) Moore to Clarendon, No. 12, May 6, and No. 15, May 19, 1854.

ted, with a Khâzin as his administrative secretary; that a Khâzin be made Qâ'im Maqâm; or that the muqâta'jis of Lebanon rule their own districts directly under the Mushîr, without a Qâ'im Maqâm.¹ These proposals, which betray the dissatisfaction of the Khâzin shaikhs with their position of subordination to the Abî-l-Lami's, foreshadow their later opposition to the Qâ'im Maqâm which erupted violently three years later. They were transmitted to Moore, the British Consul, by the Maronite Patriarch, himself a Khâzin, and on this account also foreshadow the later dependence of the Khâzin family on British sponsorship in opposition to France.

In the midst of their brief Crimean War honeymoon, however, the French and British Consuls had already agreed to recommend Bashîr Aḥmad Abî-l-Lami', who, "notwithstanding some objectionable traits of character" such as obstinacy and ambition, appealed to Moore as the only qualified member of the Abî-l-Lami' family, from which the Qâ'im Maqâm must be chosen under the 1842 arrangements. Amîr Bashîr 'Assâf, he reported, was "universally allowed to be wanting in the requisite qualities, he has neither sufficient experience nor does he possess the personal endowments..."² Accordingly on August 13 the necessary firman arrived from Constantinople and Bashîr Aḥmad was invested in office.

November 3 of the same year brought the death of Patriarch Yûsuf al-Khâzin, and nine days later Bishop Bûlus Mas'ad was elected in his place, to begin an eventful career that continued until his death in 1890.³ The British Consul

(1) Moore to Clarendon, No. 16, May 19, 1854.

(2) Moore to Clarendon, No. 13, May 12, 1854. To Lebanese partisans of Bashîr 'Assâf, unaware that Bashîr Aḥmad's appointment had thus been arranged from the beginning, it appeared that the Porte had at the last minute insinuated Bashîr Aḥmad into office entirely for reasons of their own. This version is accepted by Bish'alâni, pp. 222-3.

(3) Bûlus Mas'ad was born in 1806 in 'Ashqût, was educated in Rome, was appointed secretary to Patriarch Yûsuf Ḥubaish in 1830, and became a bishop in 1841. He was reputed to have figured prominently in the election of Patriarch Yûsuf al-Khâzin in 1845, and on the latter's death was himself elected at Bkirki on November 12, 1854. He died April 18, 1890. For further biographical details see Dibs, pp. 551-7.

received assurances from the new Patriarch that "he had the greatest disinclination to engage in secular affairs at all, and would never countenance political intrigues; and I really believe him to be sincere in those professions... His Eminence is, I think, one of the few exceptions among the higher order of the Maronite clergy, or indeed of that of any other Christian communities in this part of Syria".¹ This optimism scarcely proved justified, as he was soon at odds both with Bashîr Aḥmad and with the Khâzin aristocracy of Kisrawân, while to complete the triangle, the latter two came into conflict with each other.

Bûlus, unlike his two predecessors, was not an aristocrat. From relatively obscure origins he had risen to receive a religious education in Rome and eventually to attain the highest ecclesiastical office. He was noted for the strength of his religious convictions and also for a marked dislike of the feudal class, and was said to have been irked by the patronizing behavior of Shaikh Qa'dân al-Khâzin upon the occasion of his investiture. His sentiments were shared by many of the lower Maronite priesthood, and found an object in the Qâ'im Maqâm, who had been born a Druse and, unlike the pious Ḥaidar, was not known for his close adherence to the religious life.² In March 1857 lively disagreement was noted among the Maronite higher clergy over whether to continue to tolerate the Qâ'im Maqâm. The Patriarch and bishops were all ill-disposed toward him and hesitated to demand his dismissal only because of the satisfaction this would give to

(1) Moore to Clarendon, No. 50, Aug. 23, 1855.

(2) Churchill, pp. 120-2. Moore reported that "in the case of Emir Beshir Ahmet a fanatical feeling is mixed, inasmuch as it is now generally believed that he is only nominally a Christian. He is born a Druse, a faith which permits the external profession of any other creed which may suit their policy. The Druse Kaimakam [Qâ'im Maqâm] is a Musulman and observes all the rites of that faith. Thus though the Porte is pledged to give to the Druses a Druse and to the Christians of Mt. Lebanon a Christian Governor, they have virtually fulfilled neither condition". (Moore to Alison [Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople], No. 5, Jan. 28, 1858). See also Churchill's *Mount Lebanon: a Ten Years' Residence from 1842 to 1852* (London, 1853), I, p. 100.

the Greek Orthodox, who were already opposed to him for reasons of their own, and because of the support which the Austrian and French Consuls and the Mushîr continued to give him.¹ The Maronite Bishop of Beirut, Ṭûbiyâ 'Aun, complained bitterly to Moore against the Amîr, and despite the latter's forcible interference, petitions of protest against him flowed into Beirut from both Maronites and Orthodox.²

It was not the Amîr but the Khâzin shaikhs, however, who were to incur the real effects of clerical antipathy; and this showed itself only after two other developments: the conflict of the shaikhs with the Amîr, and subsequently the revolt against the shaikhs by their peasantry.

Partisans of Bashîr Aḥmad and of Bashîr 'Assâf had already gravitated into antagonistic "Aḥmadi" and "Assâfi" factions within a short time after the appointment of the former to office.³ Although, as can be readily imagined, personal jealousies provided a sufficient basis for this, the feud was intensified by the cavalier treatment by Bashîr Aḥmad of the feudal interests of various muqâṭa'jis of the Ḥubaish and Khâzin families and his own Abî-l-Lami' relatives.⁴ The British Consulate, despite their early approval of Bashîr Aḥmad, now encouraged the 'Assâfi faction and, it was said, cultivated the Khâzin and Ḥubaishi shaikhs through the secret efforts of Colonel Churchill, innocently summering at nearby Jûniya.⁵

The assembly of 'Assâfi partisans held in March, 1858, at Zûq al-Kharâb, as well as the subsequent activities of this faction, and then the counter-movement of the Kisrawân

(1) Moore to Clarendon, No. 11, March 14, 1857.

(2) Moore to Stratford, Nos. 37, 38, and 39, May 26, 29, and 30, 1857. In December Moore wrote, "The Emir has... dispatched an armed party to scour the country and arrest and bring before him alive or dead such persons as are [involved] in petitioning". (Moore to Stratford, No. 68, Dec. 3, 1857). See also Churchill, *Druses and Maronites*, p. 123.

(3) Bish'alâni, pp. 222-3.

(4) See 'Aqîqi's reference to this below, pp. 38, 41.

(5) Ḥattûni, p. 325. There is no hint of such activities in the British consular correspondence.

peasantry against the shaikhs, which was incited by the Amîr, are traced in the 'Aqîqi manuscript and accompanying notes in the following chapter.¹ That the affair of Bashîr Aḥmad lasted as long as it did and led to such pervasive anarchy was largely due to the dissimulating policy of the Turkish authorities, who continually managed to give the impression that they planned to dismiss him without actually doing so. The arrival of 'Aṭâ Bey, special investigator from the Porte, on June 9, 1858, was a full six months after his appointment was first announced. Soon after arriving he proposed to refer the entire matter back to Istanbul, and this plan was rightly interpreted as a guarantee of further procrastination. A flood of popular complaints and petitions against the Amîr were blocked or ignored.² In July 1858, despite Bashîr Aḥmad's total lack of control over his territory, he was commanded by Khûrshîd Pasha, the Mushîr, to proceed with collection of the mîri tax; these orders were reversed by 'Aṭâ Bey only after the opposition elements in Kisrawân and the Matn adamantly refused to cooperate and threatened Bashîr Aḥmad and his officials with violence.³

This policy of chaos was furthered in September 1858. Moore reported to London as follows:

"...The only two changes in the situation are the nomination of an acting Kaimakam pending the pretended inquiry into the Kaimakam's conduct but without suspending the latter in accordance with the Sixteenth Article of the Regulations of the Empire. The person selected to act [is] Emir Hassan Bellamaa [Ḥasan Abi-l-Lami'], relative of the Kaimakam and his warmest adherent and quite unqualified as to capacity and personal consideration for the appointment. I need scarcely say that under the circumstances his selection has given universal dissatisfaction. The second measure adopted by the Turkish authorities is the dismissal of the Emir Beshir Assaf from his post of Mokatadji [Muqâṭa'ji], an act of injustice and vindictiveness which Emir Beshir Assaf has done nothing to merit..."⁴

(1) For other general accounts see Ḥattûni, pp. 325-52; Bish'alâni, pp. 222-35 and 245-66; Jouplain, pp. 365-85.

(2) Moore to Malmesbury, Nos. 32, 34, and 50, June 23, June 25, and Aug. 5, 1858.

(3) Moore to Alison, No. 59, July 17, 1858.

(4) Moore to Malmesbury, No. 54, Sept. 14, 1858.

The Porte was evidently caught between the opposing pressures of Moore and his French colleague, Count Bentivoglio. Moore, while denying that he had "intrigued" with Bashîr 'Assâf, allowed that "he had had my assistance and countenance in common with the other complainants and as being the most considerable and influential amongst them. But I do not admit that he is a rival of the Kaimakam." Moore received delegations of petitioners against Bashîr Aḥmad, which he "saw it [his] duty" to support, while to the Turkish authorities he "strenuously recommended the removal of the Kaimakam."¹ As for the alleged innocence of Bashîr 'Assâf, 'Aqîqi tells us of his "election" as Qâ'im Maqâm by Bashîr Aḥmad's feudal enemies and of Bashîr 'Assâf's subsequent efforts in their behalf.²

Bentivoglio, for his part, afterward took advantage of the conflict in which the Khâzin shaikhs became embroiled with their peasantry to insist in the strongest terms upon their acceptance of Bashîr Aḥmad.³ Accordingly in September 1859 Khûrshîd Pasha once more reversed his position and reinstalled the Aḥmîr in his mountain headquarters at Brum-mânâ, though without officially returning authority to him. "The Christian Kaimakam remains", reported the British Consul a month later, "with a force of about two hundred irregular troops in the pay of the Government. The fact of the Pasha having left this force with the Kaimakam gives rise to the surmise that the authorities are afraid of leaving him without this support".⁴

As if trying to meet the demands of all parties at once, Khûrshîd and 'Aḩâ continued to hint that Bashîr Aḥmad would be dismissed, so much so that in January 1860 'Aḩâ firmly predicted this step and Moore concluded with satisfaction, "The dismissal is to be inferred of the present Kaimakam and appointment of Emir Beshir Assaff in his place."⁵

(1) Moore to Malmesbury, No. 28, June 5, 1858.

(2) See below, p. 43.

(3) Moore to Bulwer, No. 31, June 8, 1859.

(4) Moore to Bulwer, No. 51, Sept. 17, and No. 53, Sept. 30, 1859.

(5) Moore to Bulwer, No. 1, Jan. 10, 1860; enclosed report by interpreter H. Meshaka to Moore, Jan. 9.

A week later Khûrshîd issued a proclamation fully reinstating Bashîr Aḥmad.¹ But the Amîr could not regain effective control, despite the fact that it was the Kisrawân peasantry and not the Khâzins with whom he had to deal. A dispatch by Moore on March 31 stated, "The Emir's authority is everywhere treated with contempt, and his police driven away whenever they attempt to execute his orders, and this notwithstanding the efforts that are made by the French Consul General to uphold him."² He was again obliged to leave the Mountain, and on the eve of the 1860 massacres he was "residing at Beirut, although his district... is in a state of disorganisation which he is powerless to check."³

We must now return to the fall of 1858 to examine the peasant revolt against the Khâzin shaikhs of Kisrawân. While the opposition both of the shaikhs and of the Maronite clergy to Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad had been largely on personal grounds, the peasant movement was directed against the feudal institution itself. In general terms, peasant emancipation in the Lebanon displayed some of the historic features found in similar movements in Europe: a weakened feudal aristocracy, a changing economy, and an awakening peasantry stirred by dimly understood new social ideas which promoted at once dissatisfaction and a sense of opportunity.]

The Khâzin and Ḥubaish fiefholders, like the Janblâts in the south, had been treated severely by Amîr Bashîr Shihâb, who had installed his brother as overseer in Ghazîr. Throughout their period of feudal authority in Kisrawân,⁴ which dated back to the early 18th Century, the Khâzin family's grip on the district had been supported by their outright

(1) Moore to Bulwer, No. 3, Jan. 18, 1860; enclosed report by Meshaka to Moore, Jan. 18.

(2) Moore to Bulwer, No. 7, March 30, 1860.

(3) Moore to Bulwer, No. 18, May 18, 1860.

(4) Following the historic battle of 'Ain Dâra in 1711, in which the Shihâbi party won a decisive and final victory over their rivals, the Khâzins were reconfirmed in the title of shaikh and with feudal authority in Kisrawân. See P.K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History* (London, 1957), p. 390; also Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*, I, pp. 87-9.

ownership, together with the Ḥubaish and Daḥdāḥ families, of virtually all the land. (Though in 1860 the Khâzins still were proprietors of some 30 villages, they had been obliged in some instances to sell property to peasants, many of whom enjoyed a marked rise in prosperity.¹ This changing situation provided the natural occasion for disputes over the rate of rents, a question greatly aggravated by the large growth in population after about 1800. Within the Khâzin family itself, which was also growing in numbers, a system of primogeniture cause dissatisfaction among the younger sons.²

Against this setting must be viewed the psychological effects of the reforms of 1845, which had created peasant wakîls in the villages of mixed sectarian composition. In the mixed districts this measure had provided the peasantry with a reasonable means of defense against abuse. (The Kisrawân peasants were unfortunate enough to have no sectarian problem (the district was almost solidly Maronite) and hence no wakîls. In this respect it had now become a privilege for Maronite peasants to live under a Druse rather than a Maronite feudal overlord.³)

Defense against feudal abuse was a matter of the most practical concern to the peasantry. In 1852 a British resident of the country had written:

“Till within the last few years the feudal system which has existed so long in the Lebanon pressed on the peasants with peculiar severity. On the slightest pretense, horsemen were quartered on them, and not taken off until they had paid whatever sum it pleased their chiefs to exact. The slightest resistance was immediately punished by summary corporal punishment. Indeed, the Emirs and Sheikhs looked upon this power of fining, as a considerable source of revenue. Under the despotic rule of the late Emir Beshir, the exactions on the people were so repeated, as more than once to raise them into rebellion, and they obtained the reputation of being restless and insubordinate.”⁴

(1) Baptistin Poujoulat, *La Vérité sur la Syrie et l'Expédition Française* (Paris, 1861), p. 55.

(2) Jouplain, pp. 368-9. See also Bish'alâni, pp. 249-52.

(3) Jouplain, pp. 365-7.

(4) Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*, I, pp. 51-2.

It was in the mixed districts that these conditions had been improved after 1845, not in Kisrawân. On the other hand the Règlement Shakîb Effendi, by establishing an administrative council (the majlis) under each Qâ'im Maqâm, weakened the authority of fiefholders everywhere, though not necessarily to the benefit of their own local peasantry.

An idea of the particular oppressions practised on the people of Kisrawân can be gained from Letter No. 3 in Chapter III below, which enumerates the demands of the insurgent leaders: [equitable distribution of taxes, cessation of unjust exactions and of obligatory gifts to the shaikhs on festival occasions, political representation for the populace, and the equality of all before the law and in social dignity. The question of political representation revolved around the proposed creation of ma'mûrs (functionaries). On this point the original demand envisaged a single ma'mûr from among the Khâzins, aided by wakîls representing the inhabitants of each village. The ma'mûr under this plan would simply center the responsibilities of the fiefholding family in a single individual. After Tânyûs Shâhîn had assumed leadership of the peasants the proposal was changed into a demand for one or more peasant ma'mûrs, the issue now being whether the chief ma'mûr should be a local inhabitant or an outsider. It was primarily this question which the leaders of the Maronite Church sought to mediate; but either alternative in this issue would in effect signify the abolition of the Khâzins' feudal authority altogether.]

How the agitation against Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad was diverted into a popular movement against the Khâzins themselves is largely a matter of conjecture. It is of some significance that the Khâzin opponents of the Amîr apparently sought to draw their peasantry into the contest by urging them to petition for Bashîr Aḥmad's dismissal. [At their meeting at Zûq al-Kharâb on March 15, 1858, the shaikhs were said to have decided to arrange for the election of peasant wakîls for the villages of southern Kisrawân, whom they then provided with seals with which to stamp the petitions of complaint. This gave the original impetus to the organization of the

peasantry which, ironically, soon turned against its feudal sponsors.¹

The Qâ'im Maqâm, moreover, could only be expected to welcome a rebellion against his enemies the shaikhs. By way of practical encouragement he is said to have chosen Ilyâs al-Munayyir, a Greek Catholic resident of the village of Zûq Mikâyil, as his instrument of discord. Village wakîls were chosen, and these were at first headed by Şâlih Jirjis Mañşûr Şfair of 'Ajaltûn; but all developments were reported from Şâlih to Ilyâs and in turn to Bashîr Aḥmad, while conversely, instructions from the latter were passed down the line through Ilyâs and Şâlih. The argument spread among the peasantry by Ilyâs was that the authority of the Khâzins should be confined to a single ma'mûr. But this goal was at first not openly proclaimed, so that the majority of the Khâzin family were deceived into imagining that the peasant organizations were formed for the purpose agreed upon at Zûq al-Kharâb, that of supporting the campaign of the shaikhs against the Qâ'im Maqâm.²

As the situation continued to deteriorate, culminating in the expulsion of the Khâzins from Kisrawân by the peasants in January 1859 and the seizure of their property, neither the Qâ'im Maqâm nor Ilyâs al-Munayyir nor Şâlih Şfair proved to be of any real importance. Events were in the hands of the French and Ottoman supporters of Bashîr Aḥmad on the one hand, of Ṭânyûs Shâhîn — who had succeeded to leadership among the insurgents in December 1858 — on another, and also of the Maronite Church. The Qâ'im Maqâm himself was scorned by Ṭânyûs and his followers as an impotent tool of others.³

(1) Ḥattûni, pp. 327-8. The Zûq al-Kharâb meeting was noted by Moore in a dispatch to Alison (Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople), No. 22, March. 16, 1858.

(2) Ḥattûni, pp. 332-9. The ironic sequel to this chain of intrigue was that Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad died in 1860 in debt to Ilyâs al-Munayyir, and it was only after decades of legal proceedings that the latter's heirs recovered from those of the former. (Yazbec, p. 80 n.).

(3) See below, Chapter III, Letter No. 32.

The Turkish authorities manifested their encouragement of the rebels by failing to send an effective military force to restore order in Kisrawân. The handful of troops quartered on various villages in February 1859 were soon withdrawn. The British Consul remarked that "if Khorsheed Pasha were sincere in his desire to restore order in the disturbed district, he has abundant means at his command of doing so without the cooperation of a military force. It cannot for a moment be supposed that a handful of unsupported peasants should venture to defy the authority of the Porte."¹

Bentivoglio, the French Consul, was able to play a more direct role because of the prestige he enjoyed among the Maronite clergy and population.²

Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, ex-muleteer, ex-blacksmith, and self-

(1) Moore to Bulwer, No. 16, May 9, 1860. Moore noted at the same time, however, that the bulk of Turkish troops in the Damascus province were being returned to Constantinople and that the transfer of a battalion from Beirut to the interior of Syria was contemplated. The military means of keeping order in the Lebanon were meagre at best.

(2) See below, Chapter III, Letters No. 27 and No. 28, for mention of his visits to Ṭânyûs Shâhîn and Père Leroy. The Consul's prestige is especially well described in the following report to Moore from an agent at the Kisrawân town of Ghazîr:

"On Saturday last, the 5th instant, about midday, the Consul General of France came to Ghazîr and took up his quarters at the Jesuit College. One hour afterwards the people of the town in a body assembled having Messrs. Botros and Wakeem Bakhos at their head and fired musketry in honor of this visit.

"On the following day, Sunday, the people assembled again fully armed, displaying the French flag and singing hymns of praise, invoking blessings on the Consul General and his government, declaring that they are devoted to them and living under their protection. After an hour they proceeded in a body to the College of the Jesuits, still singing and firing their muskets and with the French flag before them, entered the Convent and sat under the trees in the yard where they continued about three hours the same professions in the presence of the Consul, who, afterwards taking leave, mounted, preceded by the crowd with the flag until he reached the Convent of St. Elia of Ghazîr. On the Consul bidding them farewell, he ordered that a sum of fifteen hundred Piastres be paid to them, namely, Ps. 500 for the cost of the gunpowder used on the occasion and Ps. 1,000 as an assistance to the needy amongst them. (signed) Tanous Bakhos". (Moore to Bulwer, No. 52, Sept. 29, 1859).

appointed Robin Hood, half-literate dictator of the village proletariat who in 1859 proclaimed a peasant republic in Kisrawân, remains one of the most obscure yet no doubt significant figures of the entire Qâ'im Maqâmiya period. He was described in sweeping terms by Lord Dufferin (British member on the 1860-1861 international commission) as "the insurgent blacksmith Tannous Shaheen, a ruffian of the most despicable character, the author of several murders, and one of the chief promoters of the late disturbances" (i.e., the 1860 Druse-Christian war).¹ A French chronicler concurs: "C'est un homme profondément dissimulé. Son regard fauve trahit, malgré lui, ses mauvais instincts. On le croit capable de tous les forfaits".² His ambition and pretensions of personal mission are revealed by documentary evidence.³ He was born in Raifûn in 1815 and died in obscurity in 1895.

It remains to consider the position of the Maronite clergy in the conflict. While Tânyûs apparently enjoyed the direct complicity of the Turkish authorities,⁴ Patriarch Bûlus Mas'ad and his associates held him at arm's length. The letters of Chapter III below, while amply confirming the involvement of the clerical leaders as something more than mediators, reveal decided irritation with Tânyûs and disapproval of his tactics.⁵

(1) *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria 1860-1861*, II, p. 152.

(2) Poujoulat, p. 61. See also Jouplain, p. 376: "Un maréchal-ferrant, Tanios Chahîn, qui ne se recommandait à sa confiance que par sa haute taille, sa vigueur musculaire et sa violence...".

(3) See the letters in Chapter III below, particularly Nos. 30, 31, 41a.

(4) While sending his deputy, Waşfi Effendi, to Kisrawân with the declared purpose of arresting Tânyûs, Khûrshîd Pasha welcomed Tânyûs at a clandestine meeting in Beirut. (See Hattûni, pp. 345-7). "One day", writes Hattûni, "I had a conversation with Tânyûs, and he asked me what news I had heard. I mentioned hearing on good authority that Khûrshîd Pasha was going to send troops to discipline the revolutionaries. He laughed and said, 'Perhaps you believe it; but don't you know that he is the one who is directing these activities?' Then he was silent while I sat in astonishment". (*Ibid.*, p. 347).

(5) See below, Chapter III, Letters No. 30, 31, 34.

There was nevertheless a major clash of interests between the Church and the Khâzin family which inevitably redounded to the benefit of the insurgent peasants, especially in view of the unshaken solidarity between the Church and the French Consulate. This clash is traceable in part to the blow dealt to the prestige of the Khâzins by the harsh measures of Amîr Bashîr Shihâb and by the Règlement Shâkîb Effendi of 1845. Bashîr's oppressions had effectively removed, for the time being, the influence that the Khâzins had traditionally enjoyed within the Church over the selection of bishops; Shâkîb's creation of the territorial majlis not only reduced the power of the muqâta'jis but gave the religious leaders of each sect a direct voice in the appointment of members of the majlis. The Khâzins, of course, regained in 1840 the rights taken away by Bashîr, but found the Church determined to conserve its newly acquired freedom of action and even to supplant the feudal families' moral leadership over the population.] A French resident observed:

"There was real resistance [after 1840] on the part of the Maronite Church to the former preponderance of the Khazins in particular. This Church was unwilling to allow the entry of any outside element into its affairs. Hence there were inevitable irritations. And these irritations produced a sort of reciprocal moral hostility. The Maronite Church wished to retain all its liberty and, in my opinion, rightly so... What is new perhaps, is the act by which the clergy sought to throw off a sort of tutelage that the shaikhs had previously exercised over them. Out of this arose the charge — false, I am convinced — against the shaikhs. What is naturally true is that the peasants were already allied with the clergy in a moral struggle with the shaikhs."¹

It is noteworthy that the letters of Chapter III below include petitions to the Patriarch from the Khâzins as well as from the peasant leaders, and that there are references to the Patriarch's role as being that of a mediator.² These,

(1) Poujoulat, pp. 74-6 (my translation). See Jouplain, p. 370, for a similar view. The efforts of the higher clergy to exert political influence over the Christians of the mixed districts, dating back to the Maronite Patriarch's notorious circular of 1841 referred to above, are also indicative of this attitude.

(2) Letters No. 15 and 17.

however, are counterbalanced by other explicit references to the close collaboration between the Patriarch, Père Francis Leroy of the French Lazarite mission, and the French Consul, all of whom supported the demand for the selection of ma'mûrs from among the peasantry, despite their reserve toward the personal ambitions of Ṭānyûs Shâhîn himself.¹ Though the relations between these personages flits the mysterious figure of Father Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb, who was evidently the personal representative of Patriarch Mas'ad but whose precise activities and influence on events are not known.² The Patriarch was afterward accused of complicity with the peasant rebels by the Maronite leader of northern Lebanon, Yûsuf Karam, who, in a memorandum submitted to the French Government and the Vatican, claimed that he had been begged by clerical leaders to intercede with Bûlus Mas'ad and prevail upon him to arrange peace between the two sides, in order to preserve Maronite unity in the face of the imminent danger of sectarian warfare. The Patriarch refused to do this, at the very time when the shaikhs were being expelled from Kisrawân, and it was thanks only to Karam's own efforts that a group of shaikhs, threatened by a peasant mob at the Patriarchal monastery of Bkirki, were able to escape to Beirut.³

(1) Letters No. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

(2) Born in Bait al-Dîn in 1816, Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb in 1854 occupied the post of "judge of the Christian Qâ'im Maqâmîya outside the Majlis". In 1854 he was temporarily appointed Maronite judicial member of the Majlis by Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad, but the following year resigned on grounds of interference by the Amîr with his independence of judgment in performing his duties. The Amîr was next able to force him out of his judicial post outside the Majlis as well. He was replaced in the latter by Father Buṭrus Maṣṣûr (of whom further mention is made in Letter No. 31 of Chapter III below). (Ḥattûni, pp. 323-4; Bish'alâni, pp. 223 ff.) Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb is noted as the founder of the Congregation of Lebanese Maronite Missionaries in 1865. He was appointed Bishop of Nazareth in 1889 by Patriarch Mas'ad, and died in 1894. For further biographical details see Dibs, pp. 556-7, and Ghânim, pp. 176-181. See also p. 40 below, footnote 1.

(3) Bish'alâni, pp. 254-7. Karam's story is possibly colored by his own personal quarrel with Bûlus Mas'ad which developed later.

The Church reportedly excommunicated those rebels who afterward refused to return property stolen from the shaikhs, nominally including not only Tânyûs Shâhîn but relatives of the Patriarch himself.¹ This however is of small account when measured against the contribution to the rebel cause made by the Patriarch after the murder of three members of the Khâzin family (apparently the only deaths charged to the peasants). Not only was anathema threatened against anyone giving evidence in the case,² but when Khûrshîd, no longer able to ignore the excesses of Tânyûs' men, prepared at last to send an armed force to Kisrawân, it was the intercession of the Patriarch, through the French Consul, that prevented Khûrshîd from proceeding.³

The antagonism between the Khâzins and the Church completes the circle of mutual enmity among what had once been the hierarchy of Catholic interests in the Lebanon: governor, feudal aristocracy, and clergy. The new alignment, not only in Kisrawân but in the mixed districts, ranged the hitherto docile peasantry, encouraged by the Church and the French Consulate, against their feudal superiors of whatever sect, who received British support. The position of the Qâ'im Maqâm was but a ludicrous caricature of that once held by the Shihâbi governors. Bashîr Aḥmad was shoved about this way and that by the various parties, each for its own reasons, with the result that the Church, the feudalists, and the British Consulate were strangely grouped against him while the representatives of Turkey and France formed an equally implausible combination in his defense.

Kisrawân remained in the hands of Tânyûs Shâhîn and his peasant jacquerie throughout the Druse-Christian civil war of 1860 and its aftermath until March 1861, when they were expelled by Yûsuf Karam.⁴ The Khâzins then began to filter back to their homes and to recover their property as

(1) Poujoulat, p. 73.

(2) *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 577.

(3) Ḥattûni, pp. 349-50. See below, p. 52, footnote 2.

(4) See below, pp. 27-9, 72-3.

peace and order were restored, but on very different terms than those which had formerly prevailed. The reorganization of June 9, 1861, agreed upon by the European Powers and the Porte, took cognizance of the chaotic social and political disintegration of the last years of the Qâ'im Maqâmîya régime by making a clean sweep not only of the political institutions of the country but also of the entire crumbling feudal structure. Accordingly the political unity of Lebanon was restored under a single non-Lebanese Christian Mutaşarrif (governor), beside whom the various administrative bureaux and councils would act in carefully defined capacities; all feudal privileges were definitively abolished, and local administration was instead organized in six cantons called qaḍâ's, each under an officer appointed by the Mutaşarrif and aided by a local majlis.¹ The Khâzins and other feudal families were thus reduced to the level of ordinary property-owners without distinction from the rest of the population. On June 22, 1861, Dâwûd Pasha, an Armenian Catholic, was invested as governor, inaugurating a constitutional system in the Lebanon that prospered until its dissolution in 1914.

* * *

The exploits of Yûsuf Karam, outlawed and eventually exiled by Dâwûd Pasha, form an interesting sequel to the events of the Qâ'im Maqâmîya period and have provided a *cause célèbre* for a number of family biographers and local historians.² In the general context of modern Lebanese history the chief significance of his career is that of a testimonial to the political intractability and contentious individualism of the Maronite mountaineers inhabiting his native

(1) For the text of the Protocol of June 9, 1861, see Testa, VI, pp. 338-45. See also the amendment of March 22, 1864, extending Dâwûd Pasha's term as Mutaşarrif, in *ibid.*, p. 405.

(2) Notably Bish'alâni, *Lubnân wa Yûsuf Baik Karam*; Nasîm Nawfal, *Baṭal Lubnân* (Alexandria, 1896); and the following books by Sim'ân al-Khâzin: *Yûsuf Baik Karam fî-l-Manfâ* (Tripoli, 1950), *Yûsuf Baik Karam Qâ'im Maqâm Naşârâ Lubnân* (Jûniya, 1954), and *Al-Ḥarb fî Sabîl al-Istiqlâl* (Jûniya, 1957).

district of Jubbat Bsharri in northern Lebanon.¹ Of more immediate interest here is the fact that, as the last Christian Qâ'im Maqâm to hold office before the abolition of that régime in 1861, he expelled Tânyûs Shâhîn from Kisrawân and took the first positive steps toward liquidating the feud between the Khâzin shaikhs and the peasantry.

Karam was born in 1823 in the village of Ihdin, of a family that enjoyed an established local reputation but had only in the lifetime of his father Buṭrus Karam been raised to the title of shaikh and the position of fiefholder. By comparison to such ancient aristocracy as the Khâzins and Abî-l-Lami's, therefore, Yûsuf Karam was viewed as something of an upstart. He had attracted public notice in 1855 by a quarrel with his brother over title to feudal authority in the Ihdin area,² then in 1857 as leaders of the Ihdin faction in their conflict with neighboring Bsharri,³ then by attempting to intervene in the Kisrawân conflict in 1859, and finally by his unsuccessful attempt to come to the aid of Zaḥla in 1860 when that town was sacked by a band of Druses.⁴ He enjoyed a great reputation for piety and sense of honor and was by 1860 a favorite with many among the Maronite clergy and population, as well as the French, to whom his family had traditionally shown close loyalty.⁵

In the summer of 1860, after the massacres, Karam was entrusted with the formation of a squadron of 200 Maronite horsemen to police the coastal area between Beirut and Tripoli. On November 18 he was named Qâ'im Maqâm of

(1) The bloody Franjîya - Mu'awwad - Duwaihi fracas in the church at Mizyâra during the 1957 electoral campaign testifies to the continuation of these qualities.

(2) See below, pp. 39-40.

(3) See Bish'alâni, pp. 236-45.

(4) See below, pp. 61-63.

(5) Poujoulat, p. 372: "Il a l'insigne honneur d'être détesté par les Anglais. Aussi bien, il ne serait pas Karam si les Anglais pouvaient l'aimer. Joseph est *Maronite-français, catholique*, je ne puis me lasser de le dire...". Dufferin considered him "the tool of Bishop Tobia and the Maronite clergy". (*Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 536).

the Christians, thus at last replacing Bashîr Aḥmad Abî-l-Lami'. The fact that he was the first Maronite governor in the country since the Ottoman conquest not be to of aristocratic family origin was viewed with distaste among some of the nobility, the Khâzins in particular, especially in view of his own easily ruffled sense of dignity.¹

Karam appealed to both Ṭânyûs Shâhîn's faction and to the Khâzins for a reconciliation, stipulating to the former that they must enable the shaikhs to return peacefully and regain possession of their property, and to the latter that they should pledge obedience to his authority as Qâ'im Maqâm and renounce certain of their former privileges. Ṭânyûs, eagerly courting Karam's favor, promptly agreed; but the shaikhs refused to make concessions. Ṭânyûs reversed his attitude at the instigation of Amîr Majîd Shihâb,² who was receiving the active backing of General de Beaufort, commander of the French military expeditionary force, as a prospective governor of a reunified Lebanon. Foolishly exhibiting his scorn for Karam, Ṭânyûs refused to comply with his orders to collect and hand over the mîri tax. This provocation led Karam to march into Kisrawân at the head of an armed force and, after a brief skirmish, to put Ṭânyûs to flight, establish his own authority in the villages, and proceed with collection of the mîri.³

(1) After three months in office he was reported to have "thrown into prison certain Christian notables for having addressed him as 'the eminent and revered Bek' instead of 'the Majestic Bek'." (*Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 628). On taking office he issued a declaration asserting his authority and warning those who considered themselves above the law on account of hereditary rank and titles. (Text in *al-Muḥarrarât al-Siyâsiya*, III, pp. 131-3). See the discussion by Sim'ân al-Khâzin, *Yûsuf Baîk Karam Qâ'im Maqâm Naṣârâ Lubnân*, pp. 181-98.

(2) After the establishment of the Mutaṣarrifiya, Majîd Shihâb was appointed administrator of the canton (qaḏâ') of Kisrawân and Batrûn. He was then ordered by Dâwûd Pasha to arrange for the return of the Khâzins to Kisrawân and the recovery of their property, and to take the sternest measures against any interference. For the text of Dâwûd's directive see *Awrâq Lubnânîya*, December 1957, pp. 569-70.

(3) Bish'alâni, pp. 338-42; *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, II, p. 34.

This led to an open breach between Karam and certain of the French authorities (notably de Beaufort and the Consul, de Bentivoglio), while other French officials such as General Ducrot continued to favor Karam's cause. Ṭānyûs went to Beirut and took refuge with Bentivoglio, who called upon Karam to restore his property to him and tried to persuade the Turkish Mushîr to admit Ṭānyûs' innocence. Beaufort threatened that were Ṭānyûs arrested he would release him by force. A partial reconciliation was eventually arranged by Beaufort and the Patriarch, in which Karam renounced all personal charges against Ṭānyûs but refused an official pardon while Ṭānyûs was to stay away from Kisrawân and remain on good behavior.¹

Karam's political affiliations were now considerably altered. The British officials were quick to note that he was by no means a tool of the French Consulate. In reporting the above events Dufferin commented that "the conduct of the Christian Kaimakam seems to have been most praiseworthy".² Karam, for his part, may have seen the value of cooperation with the British representatives as a lever by which to move Bentivoglio and Beaufort back to his side. When his brief period of office came to an end in May 1861, it was to the British rather than French Consul that he wrote to express his gratitude for the support he had received and to pledge his future loyalty.³ In these circumstances it appears that Karam's subsequent opposition to Dâwûd Pasha was influenced by his disappointment in the fall of his own political fortunes and in the failure of various French officials to unite in his support, as well as by the fact that it was Dâwûd who succeeded to his authority.

Nevertheless Karam, once in his final exile,⁴ reserved his greatest bitterness for Patriarch Bûlus Mas'ad, whom he

(1) *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, II, pp. 134, 144, 152-4.

(2) *Ibid.*, II, p. 152.

(3) *Ibid.*, II, p. 277.

(4) See below, pp. 89-91. 'Aqîqi fails to mention Karam's exile in Turkey and Egypt imposed by Dâwûd Pasha from 1861 to 1864.

held responsible for preventing his return. In a letter to the French government and the Pope he complained that Mas'ad's policies had proved ruinous to the Maronites and that it was his encouragement of Ṭānyūs Shâhîn's insurrection that had led to the 1860 massacres and thus lost for the Maronites their remaining degree of autonomy.¹ He accused the Patriarch of fomenting discord among the Maronites, preventing his bishops from expressing their sympathy for Karam, abetting Dâwûd Pasha's abuse of his powers, and generally leaving the Maronite community weak in the face of the dangers confronting it. Most important, "the Patriarch wishing to follow his long-standing project of not granting a civil leader to the Maronites, strove to convince the Mutaşarrif and cause him to forbid me to return to Lebanon".²

Karam's exile continued from his departure for Algeria in 1867 until his death in 1889. He wandered from Algeria to France, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Corfu, and Constantinople in quest of permission to return to Lebanon and, on two occasions, making fruitless attempts to organize an armed expedition with which to invade the country. He eventually returned permanently to Italy and in 1878 aban-

(1) "Et cela (the Kisrawân insurrection) fit croître l'esprit de dissention entre les chefs et les habitants dans tout le Liban". (Original French text of Karam's statement found in 'Abd al-Raḥmân 'Adrah, *Brûtûkâl Lubnân* (unpublished M.A. thesis, American University of Beirut, 1952), Appendix II, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 29. Karam's biographer Sim'ân al-Khâzin interprets the Patriarch's motives as follows: "Yûsuf Karam had always supported the principle of separation of the spiritual and temporal authorities and said that the Maronite Patriarch... should only concern himself with affairs of the Church... It was evident that Patriarch Bûlus Mas'ad would oppose Karam's return to Lebanon as long as he was the standard-bearer of freedom in the country." (*Yûsuf Baik Karam fi-l-Manfâ*, p. 117). Less euphemistically, one might put it that as long as the personal grudge between the two was sharpened by the continuance of Karam's consuming ambition and self-esteem, the Patriarch could scarcely be expected to welcome him back.

doned politics "to devote his life to the service of God".¹ He died of pneumonia on April 7, 1889, in Razzina, Italy. Soon afterward his body was brought to Ihdin, where it may still be seen preserved in state in the village church, honored as the remains of a martyr to the Maronite political cause.

(1) Khâzin, *Yûsuf Baik Karam fi-l-manfâ*, p. 388. Two final appeals to the Porte in 1888 and 1889 went unanswered despite his pledge of peaceful obedience. An attempted reconciliation between Karam and Patriarch Mas'ad failed when the exile consented to repentance and forgiveness only on a reciprocal basis. (*Ibid.*, pp. 388-91).

CHAPTER II

THE 'AQIQI MANUSCRIPT

p. 40 A chapter by the copyist,¹ recording events in this period, based partly on witness and partly on hearsay.

In the year 1841² Ibrâhîm Pasha came with his Egyptian troops, numbering around 16,000 fighting men, to Mount Lebanon and camped at Waṭâ al-Jawz, because the country was in rebellion and had formed a revolutionary commune. The leader of the commune was Shaikh Francis Abû-Nâdir al-Khâzin. Ibrâhîm Pasha came in order to enforce the obedience of the country; but no sooner had he arrived than the [Allied] fleet crossed the sea, delivered arms and ammunition to the inhabitants, and departed, while Ottoman troops also arrived to help the people. Trouble arose between Ibrâhîm Pasha's troops and the inhabitants at Waṭâ al-Jawz, where the troops remained about 35 days. There were frequent clashes between the two sides, each side at times suffering reverses. After this the Egyptian troops split into two groups, one of which headed in the direction of al-Qâṭi' and

p. 41 made camp at Bḥirşâf, [while the other remained in Waṭâ al-Jawz]. There where many disturbances in both places, in the course of which the Egyptians [at Bḥirşâf] burned

(1) A reference by 'Aqîqi to himself. The manuscript here translated was written by 'Aqîqi as an appendix to another manuscript which he had copied, composed by one Anṭûniyûs Abî-Khaṭṭâr. The Khaṭṭâr manuscript has now been edited by Father Ighnâṭiyûs Ṭannûs and published under the title *Mukhtaşar Târikh Jabal Lubnân* (Beirut, 1953). See Yazbec's explanation, *Thawra wa Fitna fî Lubnân*, p. 13.

(2) Actually 1840.

part of Bait Shabâb and its environs, and those in Waṭâ al-Jawz burned part of Fairûn. The Turkish troops, for their part, remained at Jûniya, except on occasion when they would go up [into the mountains] during the day but return to Jûniya at night for fear of Ibrâhîm Pasha.

Eventually, with God's help, the Egyptian troops were driven from Kisrawân on Sunday, October 1,¹ and withdrew. Many of them were killed or taken prisoner, and much booty was captured by the local forces. Later the Egyptians were also driven from Bḥirşâf and retreated to Zaḥla and later to Damascus. They remained four months in Damascus, collected their forces from all areas, and departed for Egypt disappointed, after ruling this country for about ten years.

p. 42 After this the government of Damascus was [provisionally] headed by Aḥmad Aghâ Yûsuf on behalf of the Porte. He remained about four months and was then followed by a Wâli appointed by the Porte who assumed the governorship of Damascus.

In Mount Lebanon after the departure of the Egyptians, Amîr Bashîr Qâsim [Shihâb] rose to prominence. Accompanied by [Ottoman] troops, as well as local forces, he came up from Jûniya on the heels of the Egyptian troops, and stayed for a time in the village of Ḥammânâ. Subsequently he ruled the land for a full year. Meanwhile Amîr Bashîr [Shihâb] called "the Maltese" had gone down [from his mountain palace at Bait al-Dîn] to Sidon, from whence he appealed to the French government for help. From Sidon he went first to Cyprus and then to Constantinople, together with his three sons the Amîrs Khalîl, Qâsim, and Amîn, as well as their harem and about 300 servants. After staying

(1) Actually October 4, 1840, following a battle between the Egyptians, commanded by 'Uthmân Pasha, and the Lebanese irregulars led by Amîr Bashîr Qâsim Shihâb. The Egyptians were decisively defeated on October 10 at Bḥirşâf and withdrew toward Damascus. Egyptian units in Beirut surrendered to the allied forces on October 11. See Yazbec, p. 41 n.

in Constantinople for a time they moved to Brussa, where His Grace died a Christian and received great honors. Some of his sons died before him and some after him. Amîr Bashîr
 p. 43 had lived 96 years, and had ruled Mount Lebanon 54 years.¹

During the period of the government of Amîr Bashîr Qâsim, Amîr Haidar Ismâ'îl [Abî-l-Lami'] had been taken [as
 p. 44 a prisoner] to Sannâr [in the Sudan]. He returned from Sannâr after one year and assumed authority in Mount Lebanon during the period of office of 'Umar Pasha, the representative of the Porte: [that is to say, Mount Lebanon at this time was divided into two Qâ'im Maqâmîyas [i.e., sub-governorships], one for the Christians and one for the Druses.] The boundaries of the two districts were fixed as
 p. 45 follows: from the Damascus Road southward was assigned to the Druse Qâ'im Maqâm, and northward to the Christian Qâ'im Maqâm. Thus the government of Mount Lebanon was divided in two, after having long been presided over by a [single] authority at Dair al-Qamar.²

p. 46 The total money of the mîrî [i.e., government tax] was set for the people of the two districts at a fixed sum of 3,500 purses, in accordance with the system instituted by Shakîb
 p. 47 Effendî on behalf of the Porte. Out of this were drawn funds assigned to the two Qâ'im Maqâms, the landholders, and those in the service of the governors, totalling about 2,000 purses. The remainder reverted to the general treasury. For
 p. 48 each Qâ'im Maqâm a dîwân was established composed of twelve men, of whom six were judges and the other six ordinary members. The tribesmen continued in their customary
 p. 49 situation, managing their own clients under the general authority of the Qâ'im Maqâm. The Qâ'im Maqâm of the

(1) At Sidon Bashîr surrendered to Admiral Robert Stopford, commander of British forces, and Khalîl Pasha, representative of the Porte. With his family and retinue he was deported first to Malta (not Cyprus), then to Constantinople, where he died in 1850 at the age of 83 (not 96). See Yazbec, pp. 42-3 n.; Shidyâq, pp. 610-611.

(2) Dair al-Qamar had served as the capital of the Shihâbi, and earlier the Ma'nî, amîrs since 1613. (Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, p. 378).

Christians was Amîr Ḥaidar [Ismâ'il Abî-l-Lami'] and the Qâ'im Maqâm of the Druses was Amîr Amîn Arslân.

p. 50

[Conditions progressed in this manner with full tranquillity and security. Amîr Ḥaidar governed for 14 years,¹ with the people at their work and their trades, with the grain-taxes being paid yearly according to law, and with the country at rest from troubles and disturbances.]

p. 51

There was at this time, however, some discord between the Druses and Christians in the Shûf area, and many serious incidents occurred. This was before the rule of Amîr Ḥaidar or at the beginning of it. Most of the area was burned, after which the Druses all descended on Zaḥla and laid a heavy siege to it. They also besieged Dair al-Qamar. With God's help they were driven off from Zaḥla, many of them being killed and wounded. They were also driven off from Dair al-Qamar. The hostility between the two groups remained, and it was for this reason, for the sake of prosperity and order, that the government of the Mountain was divided into two Maqâmîyas, as was mentioned.

p. 52

But Satan watched over his work closely, and did not leave the people in peace, but started planting evil thoughts and envy among them, so that Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad Abî-l-Lami' rose against his uncle Amîr Ḥaidar in order to take the government of the Christian Qâ'im Maqâmîya in the Mountain from him. He began bribing certain pashas in order to become head of the government. A sharp contest arose between him and his uncle, each bribing the Ottoman officials in an effort to harm the other. In this way a partisan faction developed on each side, and the contestants suffered severe [financial] losses. But despite all this, Amîr Ḥaidar remained in power until his death because he was a man of strong religious faith and of piety and conscience, so much so that he was known as "Father of the Rosary." Most of the population wished him success and long life, so much

(1) Actually 11 years and five months, from January 1, 1843, to May 11, 1854.

was he beloved for his mercy and compassion; much has been said about him in this sense. It used to be said that he governed throughout this period by means of piety.

This was in the days of the Reverend Father Mâr Yûsuf al-Khâzin, [Maronite] Patriarch of Antioch. A certain dispute arose between the Amîr and the Patriarch, but they did no harm to each other; later, by God's inspiration, Amîr Haidar went to the village of Şarbâ, while the Patriarch was [nearby] at his monastery residence at Bkirki, and peace fell between them. His Grace the Amîr went to call upon His Beatitude, and each asked the other's forgiveness. Peace fell between the two because of their great piety. Twenty days after the reconciliation Amîr Haidar suffered a stroke and died in Şarbâ. The Patriarch was present at his death,¹ as were his protégés and his relatives from the district of Bait Shabâb. They took his body there, and he was then
p. 53 buried in Bikfayyâ with full honors. His administrative deputy had been Shaikh Abû-Hâtîm.²

Then after the Amîr's death the government was entrusted to his nephew, Amîr Bashîr 'Assâf, by temporary appointment. This was in the year 1853;³ he remained in office only four and a half months. Then Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad [Abî-l-Lami'] took charge of the government and

(1) Patriarch Yûsuf al-Khâzin died soon afterward, on November 3, 1854, and was succeeded by Bûlus Mas'ad. For a summary of Patriarch Khâzin's career see Dibs, pp. 550-551.

(2) Shaikh 'Id Hâtîm (1809-1886) served a succession of governors from Amîr Bashîr Shihâb in 1823 to Na'ûm Pasha, the fourth Mutaşarrîf, as an administrative functionary. After acting as personal assistant to Haidar Ismâ'il he went into temporary retirement during Bashîr Aḥmad's tenure, and in 1860 was appointed by Yûsuf Karam as head of the judicial council of the Christian Qâ'im Maqâmiya. Under each of the first four Mutaşarrîfs (Dâwûd, Franco, Rustum, and Na'ûm) he was a Maronite deputy on the Administrative Council and acting governor in the Mutaşarrîf's absence. (See notices of him in *Awrâq Lubnânîya*, October 1957, pp. 451-5 and 460-2; November 1957, pp. 503-7; January 1958, pp. 35-8. For further mention of his activities see below, p. 52, Footnote 2, and Chapter III, Letters No. 26, 30, 32, 33).

(3) Actually 1854.

was invested with the robes of office by Wâmiq Pasha, Wâli of Sidon,¹ thus becoming Qâ'im Maqâm of the Christians in Mount Lebanon. Amîr Amîn Arslân remained Qâ'im Maqâm of the Druses, governing his district as before. At the start of his rule, Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad employed excessive severity corresponding to that of Amîr Bashîr Qâsim the Maltese,² including financial exactions, imprisonment, and impoverishment of wrongdoers, to such an extent that the populace were terrified of his government. He paid no heed to the advice of his family and those in his service, thinking that he could return the mode of government to what it had been

p. 54 in the days of Amîr Bashîr [al-Shihâbi]. Despite this, his regime was devoted to justice, and he set about restoring rights that had been trampled on and abandoned. He restrained the strong from harming the weak by his bravery and great courage, as contrasted with the course taken by the government of his uncle Amîr Ḥaidar. For he substituted harshness for mercy, paid no heed to anyone, and took no notice of the concerns of his landed clients or other persons. He continued in this path for about six months until the people imagined that Amîr Bashîr had risen from the grave. During this time he had demoted certain persons from their positions of prestige³ and replaced them, including certain shaikhs from the families of Khâzin, Ḥubaish, and

(1) "Wâli of Sidon", Wâli of Beirut", and "Mushîr" of Beirut or Sidon are used by various writers interchangeably to denote the governor of the province of Sidon with headquarters in Beirut. "Mushîr" is generically a title of military rank and "Wâli" a civil rank, but the two functions were frequently combined.

(2) It was not Bashîr Qâsim but his famous cousin and predecessor who was known as "the Maltese".

(3) Literally, "from their honor" (*min sharafihim*): i.e., from their feudal authority. The Khâzin family enjoyed a hereditary sinecure in Kisrawân generally, but individual villages were subject to individual members not only the Khâzin but also Daḥdâḥ and Ḥubaish families. For the Qâ'im Maqâm to exercise his titular right to dismiss individual village muqâta'jis without clear cause was unquestionably an abuse, especially in view of the long-established hereditary privileges of their families.

Daḥdâḥ, and others. These were in great fear of him, although the [generality of] landholders were perplexed by the affair.

Then Yûsuf Buṭrus Karam came to him from Ihdin and asked him to place him in authority over the land in that district. The Amîr did not grant this to him because he had already confirmed Yûsuf's brother, Shaikh Mikhâyil, in authority over the district, which he had controlled since the days of Amîr Ḥaidar three years earlier. Yûsuf pleaded that since his brother had had three years in authority, it was now his right to have an equal measure. His Grace the Amîr did not concede this argument and replied by saying, "I do not recognize your claim to this title, nor that you have any following.¹ As for your brother, I gave it to him simply as a favor"; for the Amîr and Yûsuf Karam were on unfriendly terms.

p. 55 Yûsuf tried every means with His Grace the Amîr but without gaining his object, until he lost hope and left His Grace disappointed. There had been a dispute between Yûsuf and His Excellency Ḥannâ Bey al-As'ad, the Amîr's administrative deputy, which was the reason that Yûsuf's request brought no result. Yûsuf therefore went to the French Consul in Beirut and asked him to help him gain what he had demanded and secure his rights, saying that the right to exercise authority in Zghartâ belonged to him and not to his brother. Inasmuch as Yûsuf Buṭrus Karam had been under the protection of the French State since the time of his father and claimed that the son of King Louis [Philippe] had been his godfather at his baptism² while he was the protector

(1) The word here translated as "following" is *samiya*, defined by Yazbec (pp. 53-4 n.) as denoting a quasi-feudal relationship between patron and client, in which the latter pledges himself to the former's service in return for protection. Possession of such a following appears to have been a prerequisite, in practice at least, for the rank of *muqâṭa'ji*, and it is noteworthy that Yûsuf Karam's father Buṭrus was the first of the family to enjoy the title of Shaikh. For further mention of ill will between Yûsuf and his brother Mikhâyil, see below, p. 83.

(2) Compare the account of Poujoulat, p. 371: Louis Philippe's son, the Prince de Joinville, visited Lebanon and was "witness or god-

of this country, the French Consul was obliged to give him consideration. He wrote to His Grace the Amîr advising him to transfer the title to Yûsuf in place of his brother. The Amîr was unwilling to do this. He has the case reviewed repeatedly and convened the Dîwân to consider the matter; but after considerable evidence and reports Yûsuf succeeded in establishing his claim to the title, and once again the Consul wrote to His Grace the Amîr advising Yûsuf's investiture. Accordingly His Grace was obliged to bestow the title on him, not because he had a right to it but out of deference to the Consul's advice.¹ And so Yûsuf received the title in place of his brother against the will of the Amîr; the Amîr clothed him with the "Sago" [the ceremonial robe of office], and Yûsuf returned to his home in peace.

* * *

p. 66 Then the landowners began entertaining evil thoughts of how to depose the Amîr from the government. The course they adopted was to submit petitions of complaint to the Wâli of Beirut, who opposed these actions and bribed certain [Turkish] officials in his own behalf. The governor of Beirut at this time was Wâmiq Pasha.

The first people to become partisans against the Amîr were the people of Zaḥla, who installed a Shaikh Shabâb (chief) at their head and convened a council composed of six elders. They resolved not to accept the Amîr as governor. Accordingly the Amîr proceeded to Zaḥla to attend to the

father" at the wedding of Yûsuf's sister in 1836; Yûsuf at the time was 13 years old and already baptised.

(1) An important role in the dispute was played by Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb, who at the time was temporarily serving as Maronite judge on the Dîwân (Majlis) of the Christian Qâ'im Maqâmiya under Bashîr Aḥmad. It was Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb's strong defence of Yûsuf against Mikhâyil that provoked the angry interference of Bashîr Aḥmad in the judicial determination of the case and eventually led to Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb's resignation (see above, p. 24, Foonote 2). The chief reason for Bashîr Aḥmad's opposition to Yûsuf's claims appears to have been that Mikhâyil was a partisan of the Qâ'im Maqâm while Yûsuf was reputed to be a supporter of his chief rival, Bashîr 'Assâf. (Bish'alâni, pp. 224 ff.)

matter. He stayed there about three months, during which time he sponsored a program of construction; but this was insufficient to stamp out the agitation against him although its intensity abated somewhat owing to a lull in events. He then returned to Bait Miri and Brummânâ to live, but this poison began spreading throughout all areas.

In the meanwhile the people of Ghazîr were clamoring against the shaikhs of the Ĥubaish family, avowing that they would not accept their authority. Following the example of Zaĥla, they installed a Shaikh Shabâb and drew up compacts concerning their activities in this matter. When the shaikhs learned of this they made threats to the peasants concerning their actions. An uproar arose between the two parties and several were injured. The matter was brought to the attention of the Amîr, who seized a number of men from both sides and imprisoned them for a time, but then released them. Little by little the Amîr's government was reduced in authority; however, the Wâli of Beirut intervened in favor of the Amîr because he had been bribed by the latter, and consequently those with personal aims were unable to achieve their object of deposing him from the government.

Eventually in the years 1855 and 1856 His Grace the Amîr authorized measures to be taken against a number of shaikhs of the Khâzin family and arrested some of them because of certain incidents that had occurred. The shaikhs reacted by banding together and making plans to agitate against the Amîr. A number of amîrs and shaikhs were approached with this idea and a party was formed of them. The agitation in the land increased day by day. The first assembly was convened in the village of Zûq al-Kharâb¹

(1) The meeting at Zûq al-Kharâb was followed in May 1858 by one held at Bĥannis, in the Matn district, by members of the Abî-l-Lami' and Khâzin families and their followers. Threatening to take up arms against the Qâ'im Maqâm, they induced him to flee from his capital at Brummânâ to Beirut, whence he returned only upon the orders of the Mushîr, with a company of troops to protect him. (Ĥattûni, p. 327; Moore to Alison, Nos. 35, 36, 42, May 11, 14, and 29, 1858).

and was attended by members of the Khâzin family and amîrs of the Abî-l-Lami' family, including Amîr Bashîr 'Assâf. The members of the assembly addressed a message to the people of Zaḥla in which they reproached the Amîr. After this a group of them went down to Beirut and submitted a complaint to the consuls about their situation, saying that all sections of the population were suffering oppression from the current regime. In reply, Churchill Bey, the Englishman, commanded them to present their petitions to the authorities. So they submitted petitions on the subject of the above-mentioned Amîr, bringing to the attention of the [Turkish] authorities charges in which they laid bare all damaging evidence against the Amîr with reference to injustices, the influence of selfish interests, his acceptance of bribery, and his lack of religious devotion. They also presented these charges to the consuls of the other powers. The French Consul stood fast on the side of the Amîr, in opposition to the English Consul who wanted the Amîr deposed; while the Amîr, for his part, p. 68 sought to clear himself from the charges. The incoming petitions were, in fact, from certain persons who intended not peace but corruption and disturbance, and their petitions were all corrupt.

After this state of affairs had continued for some time, certain shaikhs of the Khâzin family assembled in the school-house of Raifûn and formed a society. All those having personal motives attended, all being members of the society and enemies of the Amîr. They called it "the Society of the Brotherhood." None of the populace entered the society except they themselves. To supervise the business of the society they installed Shaikh Asad Ibrâhîm al-Khâzin as general president, Shaikh Ḥuṣn Bishâra as first deputy director, and Shaikh Saqr Ḥuraiqa as second deputy director, these men having volunteered for this work. [It was agreed that] whatever costs and expenses were incurred would be borne by the entire group. From Raifûn the said Shaikh Asad went to Beirut to deal with the Amîr, accompanied by the two deputy directors to assist him. The others remained behind in the countryside. Whenever petitions were drawn up the whole party would sign and seal them without pro-

longed consideration. They began to incur heavy expenses and could not carry out all their work, but they always had a promise of help from the English Consulate. Then they "elected" Amîr Bashîr 'Assâf to be Qâ'im Maqâm,¹ since they thought him suitable to restore general tranquillity. The said Amîr agreed with them, as did several of his relatives. He started reimbursing the society for a part of their expenses and costs, and frequently went to Beirut to make complaints against His Grace the Amîr [Bashîr Aḥmad] and discredit the latter's statements. His Grace, for his part, was bribing the Pasha heavily, and for this reason his affairs progressed unhindered, for bribery blinds those in authority. Nevertheless His Grace was unable to govern effectively and [his opponents] caused him considerable difficulty. He accumulated many debts, and had he not been a man of great wealth and property he could not have faced such opposition. He was obliged to sell a part of his property to pay the debts which he has incurred, and on a single
p. 69 occasion sold an amount worth 190,000 piastres.² Like-
p. 70 wise Amîr Bashîr 'Assâf over a period of two months lost about 50,000 piastres, over and above what the Khâzin shaikhs lost.

There was a second group of Khâzin shaikhs who desired that His Grace the Amîr [Bashîr Aḥmad] should remain,

(1) This of course was only an expression of sympathies and had no legal validity; Bashîr Aḥmad remained in office.

(2) Moore to Alison, No. 5, Jan. 28, 1858: "The decided support given by the Turkish authorities to Emir Beshir Ahmed is easily explained. Without being at present prepared to charge Khorsheed Pasha himself with venality, I must state that nobody seems to doubt that of the Defterdar [Ottoman official in charge of feudal records], who exercises great influence over His Excellency and who is known to be a warm supporter of the Kaimakam. The greater part of the large debts, about two millions of piasters, incurred by the Kaimakam, of which the authorities to this day have not enforced payment, have in all probability been expended in bribery. Another reason for Turkish support is the policy which has never been abandoned of encouraging a state of disorder in the Lebanon upon which to find a pretext for the abolition of the existing institutions. The same system is pursued in the Druse Kaimakamiya."

and they submitted petitions commending his actions. Incitements to violence increased between the two points of view as an open breach developed among the Khâzin shaikhs on the issue. Conflict increased between the two evenly divided factions as each sought to overthrow the other.

Matters remained in this state for about two years until 1857. Then the Wâli issued an order suspending the authority of His Grace the Amîr [Bashîr Aḥmad] except in regard to the mîri tax, which had to be collected despite the suspension.¹ His Excellency Wâmiq Pasha had been recalled from the Vilayet of Beirut and had been transferred to the
 p. 71 Vilayet of Damascus, and another Wâli² replaced him in Beirut; it was in consequence of this that the order was issued to suspend the Amîr.³ At this time incitement to violence increased in Kisrawân among the shaikhs and those with selfish interests. The two factions grew in mutual hatred, attacking each other's good name, while His Grace the Amîr employed trickery to overthrow the Khâzins from
 p. 72 their position, as they had sought to do to him. It was no longer possible to distinguish between good and evil; but despite all this, there was no immediate result.

As for the common people, they began to discuss their position in this affair, considering themselves to have become as slaves in the hands of the landlords and no longer to have any voice or right to consultation in anything. At this time this subject was discussed among certain of the people, none of whom belonged to the ruling class. This took place in each village of Kisrawân independently, in ignorance of what the

(1) This is a somewhat garbled version of the actual sequence of events. The British consular dispatches make it clear that Bashîr Aḥmad was ordered to desist from collection of taxes two months before his other functions were removed from his control. (Moore to Alison, No. 59, July 17, 1858. See above, p. 15.)

(2) Khûrshîd Pasha.

(3) In actuality a full year elapsed between Khûrshîd's arrival in September 1857 and the suspension of Bashîr Aḥmad in September 1858. There may be some confusion here between Khûrshîd's arrival and the special mission of 'Atâ Bey. (See above p. 15).

people of the next village were doing; for fear was in the hearts of all sections of the populace, and especially terror was instilled by the Khâzin family into the people of Kisrawân. For they no longer took any account of their subjects, nor even of the leading persons among them. They would say that the peasant and his possessions belonged to them, showing not the slightest regard for him. The most insignificant of the Khâzins would insult the most reputable of the people, not to mention killing or imprisoning them and such like. For example, Shamsîn al-Khâzin took the money of Mr. Shâhîn al-Qâmû' in 'Ajaltûn, and when the latter brought charges against him before the judge (who was the above-mentioned Amîr Ḥaidar Ismâ'il), the said Shamsîn came to Shâhîn's house at night, slew him, and lit a fire over him. By the same token, Muḥim Du'aibis of Ghûṣṭâ spoiled for a fight with Ibn Buyûs al-Shnî'i for a trial of strength, and when Ibn Buyûs defeated Shaikh Muḥim, the latter stabbed him with a large knife and killed him.

p. 73

p. 74 On another occasion he laid Ibn Fâris al-Bîṭâr in the grave while he was still alive, even though he was one of the leading

p. 75 personages of the land. Similarly, Shaikh Yûnis al-Badawi of Mazra'a stripped Nâdir al-Qâsim of his clothes as his Lord created him, forced him to ride on an ass, and then beat him with sticks on his private parts and elsewhere. Eventually Nâdir died as a result of this treatment

p. 76 Still another case is that of Shaikh Maṣṣûr Ḥannâ Dandash, who was said to have killed the daughter of Ighnâṭiyûs 'Aql,

p. 77 shooting her with a rifle in a cave for reasons unknown to us; God knows best, and let the reader understand. There are many other such incidents whose enumeration one by one we have omitted for fear of making the story too long. (1)

The people began holding meetings to find a way of protecting themselves from these oppressions by legitimate means. First a meeting was held in the village of 'Ajaltûn by a number of young men, who made a compact among

(1) For further elaboration on this theme of abusive behavior by the Khâzins, see Yazbec, pp. 72-7 nn.

themselves that none would betray the other, and that if any of them should suffer injustice from one of the shaikhs, all of them would come to his aid prepared to fight. As their chief wakîl (agent) they chose Şâliḥ Jirjis Şfair, and as second agent Dâwûd Maḥbûb al-Qâmû'. If any of them should divulge this secret or delay in coming to the aid of the others, he would incur the enmity of the entire group.¹ This compact remained secret for some time. A similar meeting

p. 78 was also held at Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân, where the members formed a compact among themselves. At first there were only about 13 members. They chose as their wakîl Hâbil al-Khûri al-'Aqîqi.

All this remained secret without information passing between the two parties for about eight months. Subsequently the shaikhs began carrying on detailed conversations among themselves, and a course of action occurred to them, although they had no knowledge of the nature of these meetings [that the peasants had held]. Meanwhile the people of Mazra'a, when they learned of the meeting of the people of 'Ajaltûn, sent messengers to them secretly. The two groups began exchanging information and eventually divulged to each other all their innermost thoughts, which were devoted solely to self-protection. The Khâzin family, because of their

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p. 79 hatred for Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad, began to incite the people, saying, ["Hold a meeting and appoint a Shaikh Shabâb (chief), and submit petitions rejecting Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad"]; while a second group [of the Khâzins] told them, "Do these things [i.e., appoint a leader and write petitions], but reject Amîr Bashîr 'Assâf, and support Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad, because he is a very good man." Each group [among the Khâzins] desired its own success and the defeat of the other.]

But these shaikhs did not realize that the affair would end on their own heads, as the saying goes: he who desires evil for his brother will reap the evil himself. For after a

(1) This meeting, which took place in November 1858, is described and a list of the participants given in Khâzin, *al-Muḥarrarât al-Siyâsiya*, I, p. 390 (quoted in Yazbec, p. 78 n.).

number of days this process revealed itself, first in the village of 'Ajaltûn, where the people held a meeting for purposes quite different from what was expected of them by the shaikhs, who thought that the purpose of the meeting was to oppose either Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad or 'Assâf; actually it was to oppose the shaikhs themselves. They then requested the leading personages of the country [i.e., the Khâzins] to come to the village of 'Ajaltûn in order to arrange a reconciliation between them and the people. This meeting was attended by a number of well-regarded priests and by such gentlemen as Ibn al-Bîṭâr and members of the Āṣâf¹ family and others. In September, 1858, the two groups met in 'Ajaltûn and expressed their views to each other. The people tried to justify what they had done, saying that they wished the shaikhs to be as they had been at first, and that they had no thought of doing harm or of changing anything. As for the shaikhs, some of them made sweeping threats against the people, threatening to expel them from the land and to kill some of them; while others spoke to the people in a kindly way, [declaring that] their duty as guardians restrained them from evil deeds. With words such as these the notables returned home without the meeting having produced anything useful.

At this time meetings were held in Mazra'a, where the people chose the aforementioned Hâbil [al-Khûrî al-'Aqîqî] as Shaikh Shabâb, together with four others [as deputies]. They began chanting and singing and firing rifles; for previously they had endured many threats. Then in a similar spirit their brothers the people of Zûq Mikâyil asserted themselves by assaulting Shaikh 'Abbâs al-Khâzin, who fled
 p. 80 and hid in the monastery of al-Bishâra al-Khâzin. The people of Zûq were aroused. They appointed Nu'mân al-Munayyir² to be their Shaikh Shabâb, together with deputies and assistants. Likewise there was a great commo-

(1) Not to be confused with 'Assâf.

(2) Actually not Nu'mân but Ilyâs al-Munayyir. See above, p. 20.

p. 81 tion in Jûniya, where on November 2, 1858, Shaikh Yûsuf Waradân was severely beaten.¹ Actions of this sort took place in all the villages, such as 'Ashqût, Raifûn, Fairûn, Mairûbâ, and throughout the countryside. In each village the people chose a Shaikh Shabâb. In Jûniya it was Saj'ân al-'Uḏaimi, in 'Ashqût it was Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib, in Mairûbâ it was Nâṣif al-Khûri, and in al-Qlai'ât, Hassân Şfair. The villages of Ghûṣṭâ and 'Aramûn remained quiet.

As for the Khâzin shaikhs, they began to hold meetings among themselves and formed a number of organizations, but they were divided in their opinions. They wrote messages to all the amîrs and shaikhs [of the Christian Qâ'im Maqâmîya], all of whom answered but took no action. Then they wrote to the Druse shaikhs such as the Janblât and Talhûq families and others, but got no result from them.²

p. 82 Meanwhile throughout the countryside agreements were made and compacts written, and oaths were taken that united action would be taken and that all were brothers.

p. 83 Some persons were compelled to bear arms, and those who had no arms were obliged to buy them. Then the following persons met in Raifûn with Ṭânyûs Shâhin: Hâbil al-'Aqîqi from Mazra'a with several men; Nâṣif al-Khûri from Mairûbâ with several men; Şâlih Jirjis Şfair from 'Ajaltûn with several men; the people of Qlai'ât; and Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib from 'Ashqût. They invited Ṭânyûs to join their ranks and proposed to appoint him as general wakîl (agent).³

(1) For an eyewitness account of this incident and its sequel see Hattûni, pp. 335-6.

(2) Shaikh Sa'id Janblât, at the height of the Khâzin movement against the Qâ'im Maqâm earlier in 1858, had appealed to the Khâzins with the argument that their campaign endangered all muqâṭa'jis of all sects in Mount Lebanon, and that a united front of the landholding classes should be formed. (*Ibid.*, p. 329.)

(3) An effort was made by Bishops Yûsuf Rizq and Niqûlâ Murâd to mediate between the Shaikhs assembled at Ghûṣṭâ and the peasant leaders assembled at Zûq Mikâyil, with Ilyâs al-Munayyir at their head; when this failed a further effort was made—but allegedly not in good faith—by one Ḥannâ Bey Abî-Şa'b on behalf of the Qâ'im Maqâm, also without success. At this point Şâlih Jirjis Şfair resigned his post as

After a great deal of argument and disagreement, he accepted, and they appointed him wakîl for the village of Raifûn, and subsequently over all the villages of Jurûd Kisrawân. He then began to behave in a way that had not been expected of him, addressing the Khâzin family in official speeches and arousing the countryside. He seemed to the people to be their redeemer, bringing forth all that they required of whatever sort. He gave them rest from the shaikhs as they desired; he toured from place to place and received the highest acclaim from everyone. In every village he entered, the people would prepare a grand reception for him amid joy and celebration and continuous firing of rifles, as if it were the visit of a ruler to his subjects.

At this time the shaikhs met in an assembly at Ghûstâ and addressed a message to the wakîls of the villages concerning the latter's demands. The wakîls replied saying, p. 84 "We desire nothing from you except the lifting of your impositions and demands from us. We also desire that there should be only three ma'mûrs,¹ one for each 'Uhda (district)"—for previously there were two ma'mûrs for each—"and that apart from these, the rest of the shaikhs should be equal to the people." The shaikhs then held another meeting, and after some discussion back and forth, they accepted these terms. But now the people no longer accepted the plan, and instead demanded that there be a single

chief peasant wakîl because of his alarm at the prospect that the peasant movement would get out of control and lead to general disaster. Ṭânyûs Shâhîn of Raifûn was chosen to replace him. (Ḥattûni, pp. 339-41.)

It is noteworthy that Ṭânyûs Shâhîn is not listed among the representatives attending the meeting in November 1858 in 'Ajaltûn mentioned above; evidently he now joined the movement for the first time and on his own terms.

For further mention of Bishops Yûsuf Rizq and Niqûlâ Murâd see below, Chapter III, Letters No. 30, 31, 32. For biographical notices see Ghânim, pp. 182-4, 290-3.

(1) I.e., officials to exercise the feudal authority, representing in this case the powers of the Khâzin family.

ma'mûr from among them¹ over all Kisrawân, together with an assistant whom the people would elect. This the shaikhs did not accept.² They decided to petition the government; and since Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad, the Qâ'im Maqâm, had been suspended from office because of the opposition, they laid their petition before the Wâli of Beirut. They sent a delegation of their representatives including Qa'dân Bey and three of his cousins.

When the people learned that the Khâzins were petitioning the government and planning to ruin Kisrawân, they held a meeting and decided to expel the entire Khâzin family, men and women, from Kisrawân. They began to speak publicly of their intention to seize the property of the Khâzin family. In their forefront was Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, whom they called "Bey."³ He used deceitful methods against the shaikhs in order to expel them from Kisrawân: sometimes he would allege that they wanted to kill him; sometimes he would say that they had surrounded him in his house and
 p. 85 fired upon him; and sometimes he claimed support for his statements from the Patriarch then in office, Bûlus Mas'ad, although in reality His Beatitude was very much opposed to the whole affair because both parties were members of his flock. Ṭânyûs' purpose in this was to instill enmity between the shaikhs and the populace, as a means of arousing the people against the shaikhs.

(1) I.e., from among themselves rather than the Khâzins. See below, Chapter III, Letter No. 16.

(2) For the texts of the villagers' successive demands see below, Chapter III, Letters No. 2, 3, 16. The negotiations here described by 'Aqîqi are evidently those mentioned by Ḥattûni in which the bishops mediated (see above, p. 48, Footnote 3); but the two authors differ on whether it was before or after this that Ṭânyûs Shâhîn became chief wakil.

(3) This title is said to have been officially conferred upon him in June 1859 by Khûrshîd Pasha (Poujoulat, p. 68). But his assumption of the title was cited in a memorial by the Khâzins listing their grievances against Ṭânyûs, implying that he was not entitled to it. (*Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 520.) Years afterward, following a reconciliation, the Khâzins themselves addressed him as "Shaikh." (See below, Chapter III, Letters No. 48, 49, 50.)

The hatred and evildoing increased, and at length the shaikhs assembled in Ghûstâ and agreed to petition the government in Beirut. At this time Saj'ân al-'Uḍaimi, the Shaikh Shabâb of Jûniya, came with a crowd of people from Sâhil 'Almâ, Ghâdir, and Dar'ûn, and expelled the shaikhs from Ghûstâ, thinking that the people of Ghûstâ would help them. But when the people of Ghûstâ saw that the countryside was agitating against the shaikhs, they stood aside. The shaikhs departed in a body to 'Aramûn and from there dispersed to various places, some of them going by a secret way to the Armenian Catholic monastery of Our Lady of Bzummâr. Ṭânyûs knew that they were there and therefore went to Bzummâr with a great crowd of people from all the villages with the intention of attacking the monastery and demanding that the shaikhs be handed over. But since His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch Gregorius VIII was present in the monastery, together with two bishops and several priests, out of consideration for His Beatitude Ṭânyûs and his followers desisted temporarily from this action. During the night the shaikhs secretly left the monastery and made their way in great fear through Wâdi al-Musailakh toward the area of Bait Shabâb.

Then a number of the shaikhs were found at the monastery of Bkirki, the [Maronite] Patriarchal residence. A crowd came down from the villages and expelled them from Bkirki, so they departed and went to the area of Ḥâlât and the Jubail country. They had left Kisrawân in great fear of death and unjustified bloodshed. Unknown persons had come and killed the wife of Shaikh Diyâb and her daughter in 'Ajaltûn
p. 86 and taken whatever valuables and jewelry they could find.¹

(1) According to the memorial cited in the preceding footnote, the wife and daughter of Shaikh Diyâb al-Khâzin were shot and a second daughter badly beaten. The bodies of the first two, it was charged, were stripped, left for days, and then dragged to a wall that was demolished over them as a means of burial. A rather less sensational version is offered by Ḥattûni, p. 348.

A second charge made by the Khâzins was that Shaikh Du'aibis al-Khâzin, returning to Ghûstâ with the sanction of the Patriarch to

All the shaikhs now left Kisrawân, some going to Bait Shabâb, some to Biskintâ, some to Beirut, some to the Jubail country, and elsewhere, protesting to the government against what had happened and claiming that the people of Kisrawân had stolen their money and property unrightfully.¹

The government issued an order sending troops to Kisrawân. These were under the command of Muḥammad Āghâ al-Saq'ân and included about 150 men, including some Albanians and some irregulars.² They made their headquarters in Jûniya and al-Zûq, and subsequently sent a unit of men up to 'Ajaltûn and then another to Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân. Those in al-Zûq remained about a month and a half, quartering themselves on the people of the town. The people of al-Zûq provided for the troops stationed there but charged the expense to the people of the entire countryside [of Kisrawân]; and the people of 'Ajaltûn did the same. Meanwhile the shaikhs offered bribes to Muḥammad Āghâ al-Saq'ân to induce him to punish the people still more severely and report their evildoing to the Wâli of Beirut. But this bribery was of no use, because the evildoing was in accord with the inclinations of the government. The people, for their part, went at once to Beirut, led by Tânyûs Shâhîn and the wakîls of the country, who were Şâlih Jirjis from

recover his property, was seized by the inhabitants of 'Ashqût and pounded to death in an oil-press. These three are the only murders charged to the rebels.

(1) See *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 520.

(2) According to Ḥattûni's version it was on a previous occasion, dated by him January 7, 1859, that troops were quartered in Zûq Mikâyil. Following the murder of Shaikh Diyâb's wife and daughter in 'Ajaltûn, Khûrshîd Pasha sent troops to al-Madairaj, just outside Kisrawân, but was prevented from sending them into Kisrawân itself by a protest from the French Consul (acting on an appeal from the Maronite Patriarch) that the statute of 1845 forbade the use of imperial troops in Mount Lebanon except on the recommendation of the Majlis of the Qâ'im Maqâmiya. The latter was accordingly convened and, instead of Ottoman troops, decided to send Shaikh 'Id Ḥâtim as their representative to Kisrawân on a mission of conciliation. (Ḥattûni, pp. 342 and 350. For mention of the expedition of troops to Madairaj, see below, Chapter III, Letter No. 22.)

'Ajaltûn, Hâbîl 'Aqûqi from al-Mazra'a, Ilyâs Ḥabâlin from Zûq Mikâyil, Ḥassân Şfair from al-Qlai'ât, and other wakîls from each of the rest of the villages. When they raised their case in Beirut, Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad defended the people of the country because the shaikhs were opposed to him. Some of the foreign consuls supported the people and others did not. The authorities of the Porte left matters alone in accordance with their inclination. After numerous conferences and meetings of the Dîwân the troops were removed from the country.

p. 87 The people then began to strip the possessions of the shaikhs, cutting the forests, breaking into their mansions, and seizing the harvest of silk, wheat, oil, and grapes, and whatever else they could lay their hands on. In the case of those mulberry trees from which the shaikhs themselves had removed the raw silk, they divided the trees among the people. Whenever they discovered a collaborator of the shaikhs taking anything to his master, they would lay in wait for him, seize whatever he had with him, and insult him.

Then at harvest-time in the year 1859 the people drew up lists of their belongings that had been taken by the shaikhs, and then proceeded to repossess some of these properties—and far be it from us to know whether these claims were made in truth or falsehood. Tânyûs Shâhîn gathered some of the shaikhs' possessions from the coastal and mountain districts [of Kisrawân], including silk and wheat, and stored them in his house. He took these properties by virtue of the authority of the populace. He opened the provisions in his house to people going and coming, provided rooms for them to sleep in, distributed arms and ammunition, and behaved as if he were the head of a great household, with the result that his name was spread far and wide. To every village that did not heed his words a crowd of people was sent from the other villages to oblige it to obey. He gave orders for the securing of rights and punishment of wrongdoers in whatever way he saw fit, without opposition, speaking with the authority of the "republican government." His prestige became considerable and his commands binding on all.

Then the shaikhs lost hope of help from the government and grew tired of paying expenses and fees. No one had given them any help because the Ottoman authorities were not disposed to do so, while the common people were against them, and against the [Lami'i] amîrs as well, for this poison was spreading everywhere and fear had overtaken everyone. There was no longer refuge for anyone, either for the com-
 p. 89 mon people or the landlords. Everyone feared for himself, and no longer was anyone safe with anyone else or able to trust even his own brother. Evil deeds and false intentions abounded; the necessities of life could not be obtained. Those with personal aims demanded what they wanted. People kept close watch upon one another, and if they saw anyone taking anything to the shaikhs, whether he was one of their collaborators or not, they would seize it from him by force. By this process poverty became general, both among the shaikhs because of the seizure of their properties and the excessiveness of their expenditures, and among the people, because of the lack of work by which they could support themselves and because of their resort to evil deeds. Extreme privation prevailed.

When evildoing had reached this lamentable extent, the shaikhs resolved to put an end to this course of affairs, and to set the people against one another so that they could return to their homes. But this effort proved to be fruitless. They wished to take Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân and make it their headquarters. Accordingly they promised its people that they would treat them according to the people's wishes, by renouncing privileges over them and so forth, and they also promised them payments of money. They put in writing certain conditions binding upon themselves which they promised to observe, and transmitted this plan through Qa'dân Bey al-Khâzin, representing his kinsmen. [By this means] they made a compact with certain members of the 'Aqîqi family, and also of the Abû-Khalîl family of Mairûbâ, by which it was agreed that they should return to al-Mazra'a to live without fear.

When Tânyûs Shâhîn learned of this compact, he and

p. 90 the other wakîls of the villages at once collected a great crowd from the countryside and sent two groups, one to al-Mazra'a and one to Mairûbâ, to discipline the two villages. In Mairûbâ the inhabitants barred by force of arms the entrance of the crowd into their village, displaying a willingness to fight. In al-Mazra'a the crowd entered with the greatest of ease, because the inhabitants had no knowledge of their coming. But afterwards the inhabitants drove the crowd out of the village. The people of al-Mazra'a were divided among themselves and therefore could not decide on a common attitude; and if the reformers [i.e., Ṭânyûs Shâhîn's partisans] had not intervened, the evil would have increased all the more. But when the reformers came in, they set right the disagreement among the inhabitants and brought before Ṭânyûs Shâhîn in Raifûn those who had taken part in this action [i.e., dealing with Khâzins]. Ṭânyûs threatened them severely, but afterward he released them and peace was restored. Thus the purpose of the shaikhs in this undertaking was not realized, and their hopes were disappointed.

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p. 106 [As hatred continued to grow between the shaikhs and the people, eventually at the beginning of the year 1860 differences arose between the Christians and the Druses in the area of al-Shûf. The reason for this was that some of the population of that region wished to rid themselves of the landholders such as the Amîrs of the Abî-l-Lami' family and other Druse and Christian shaikhs, and so they embarked on a course of evil deeds. The Druse shaikhs learned of this and resorted to oppressing the people by deceitful means and promoting disturbances between the two sects. A quarrel then arose between the sects, the apparent cause being a collision between two pack-animals one of which was driven by a Christian and the other by a Druse. They [and their companions] fought and struck each other with lethal weapons and some were injured on both sides. A cry of alarm was raised by both factions, and a battle ensued in the southern Shûf district.

*

Following this discussions were held between the two

sects and within each of them. A delegation of priests went to His Beatitude Patriarch Bûlus [Mas'ad], who at that time was Patriarch of the Maronites; he forbade the repetition of this shameful affair. But at that moment His Eminence Bishop Ṭûbiyâ 'Aun of Beirut encouraged the Christians and protested to the Consuls.¹ Agitation increased in the Shûf and the areas of Jazzîn and Dair al-Qamar. [The Christians of these districts] addressed an appeal to the people of Kisrawân through Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, asking whether they would help them or not. Ṭânyûs Shâhîn replied that he would help them against the Druses and that he could bring about 50,000 armed men if needed.]

The Christians living in those regions [of the Shûf] now strengthened themselves and began seeking trouble. The Druses, for their part, held constant meetings and consultations among themselves in all localities, communicating with

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(1) Bishop Ṭûbiyâ was "the man who, next to the Patriarch, had done more than any other Maronite to precipitate this awful civil war," wrote the American missionary Henry Harris Jessup (*Fifty-Three Years in Syria* [New York, 1910], I, p. 193. "With regard to Bishop Tobia," wrote Lord Dufferin, "who may be considered one of the chief causes of all the misery and bloodshed which has existed in the Lebanon, I would only say that his removal from the country is an absolute necessity. Unfortunately, it will be difficult to discover any direct evidence against him... [His] ambition and passion for intrigue verify one's conception of the worst specimen of a medieval ecclesiastic." (*Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 519.)

Contrast this with the following description by Eugène Poujade, onetime French Consul in Beirut: "...un des hommes les plus distingués que j'aie rencontrés en Orient. Il ne parle que l'arabe, mais son esprit supérieur lui a fait deviner le génie européen, et c'est lui qui a joué le plus grand rôle dans les affaires politiques du Liban. Il avait été moine et s'était mis à la tête d'une rébellion dans le couvent de Saint-Antoine, contre l'Abbé de cet ordre. A cette occasion, il avait été exilé à l'île de Chypre par les ordres de la sacrée congrégation de la Propagande. Depuis, sa conduite exemplaire lui a valu d'être successivement évêque de Saint-Jean d'Acre *in partibus* et de Beyrouth, l'un des plus importants diocèses du Liban, à cause de la résidence du muchir et des Consuls Généraux. J'ai rarement vu réunies au même degré la simplicité, la douceur et la fermeté, la sagacité, la hauteur d'âme et l'humilité de Chrétien." (Poujade, p. 158. See also the biographical notice in Ghânim, pp. 149-58).

the Druses of Haurân, Hâşbayyâ, and Syria and making secret compacts among themselves that their efforts would be united. The Ottoman authorities, with the knowledge of the English government, strengthened them and gave them arms. Both sides strengthened themselves and prepared for the outbreak of troubles.

Before two months had passed, trouble began in the area of al-'Arqûb in the Shûf, in an incident in which four Christians and three Druses were killed. This occurred after the Druses had killed a priest who was passing on the road and who was instigating disturbances near the area of Jazzîn. News of the incidents then spread, and each side met with its own party. The leaders of the Druses in the fighting were Shaikh Khattâr Bey al-'Imâd, the son of Shaikh Husain Talhûq, two of the shaikhs of the Abu-Nakad family, and Shaikh Sa'id Bey Janblât. The latter remained at all times in his headquarters at Mukhtâra and sent dependable persons to represent him. All of the Druses relied on his views.¹

The Ottoman authorities strengthened the Druses with even more [arms] than they needed. This was during the reign of the Royal Sovereign 'Abd al-Majîd Khân al-'Uthmâni, the Lord of his Age and the Unmatched of his Times. This intrigue was not his doing but that of his brother 'Abd al-'Azîz, who wrote letters to all Ottoman cities urging them to rise against the Christians and kill them; some of them heard and obeyed, while others considered the eventual consequences and refused. His purpose in this was to replace his brother on the throne. *

As for the Christians in the Shûf, they were arming themselves, but this was of no use, because they lacked a leader

(1) Shaikh Sa'id Janblât was accused in some quarters, together with his sister Sitt Nâ'ifa, of responsibility for the massacre of 800 Christians at Hâşbayyâ (Jessup, I, p. 178-81), but was exonerated in the reports of British diplomats, with whom Shaikh Sa'id was a great favorite. See Scheltema, p. 40 n.; the anonymous *Souvenirs de Syrie: Expédition Française de 1860* (Paris, 1903), pp. 45-7. Note that 'Aqîqi lists Sa'id Janblât among the Druse leaders in the attack on Zaḥla (see below, p. 60).

p. 108 and because of their lack of foresight: they were concerned with their wordly wealth, but not with their own dignity.

At this time the Druses joined together and instigated a conflict with the Christians in the Shûf. They routed the Christians, burned their houses, and drove them from their villages. Persons from both sides were killed, but mostly from among the Christians, notably Abû-Samrâ of Jazzîn. Following this there were clashes in the district of al-Matn, where several Christian localities were burned. Then trouble arose in Dair al-Qamar. The Druses were repeatedly repulsed and could do nothing against the inhabitants of the Dair, so they left and set out for the Matn, intending to take it and Hammânâ and the rest of that area and then return to Dair al-Qamar. Meanwhile they left a few men around Dair al-Qamar to be on the watch and keep the inhabitants of the Dair occupied and prevent them from leaving.

When the Druses reached the Matn numerous clashes occurred between the two sides. The Druses captured a part of the Matn and Hammânâ. The people of Zahla now armed themselves and went forth to face the Druses, but the Druses instead headed toward the coastal region. They captured B'abdâ and burned it and the villages around it.¹

The people of Kisrawân had sent a force to B'abdâ, but because they were strangers in that area and because they found themselves without a leader, when the fighting began they immediately scattered and fled. Some of them stayed in Bait Miri, some in Anṭilyâs, and some in Rûmîya, the seat of the Bishop of Beirut, in order to protect it. But the Druses did not return. Ottoman troops came from Beirut no farther than al-Ḥâzimîya, where they made their headquarters, in order to strengthen the Druses, who continued to burn, kill, and loot. The Druses burned Bait Miri and Brummânâ, sparing only the house of Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad and his cousin Amîr

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(1) A noteworthy victim at B'abdâ was Amîr Bashîr Qâsim Shihâb, governor of Mount Lebanon in 1840-1841, now 85 years of age and blind, who was allegedly murdered by Ottoman irregulars. (Moore to Bulwer, No. 24, May 31, 1860.)

Amîn. They also burned the residence of the Bishop of Beirut and the entire coastal area. The inhabitants who escaped death fled to Beirut with their women and children; one could hear weeping and wailing from all directions, and see the smoke of fires coming from as far as Nahr Ibrâhîm.

Fear overcame all Christians everywhere. At Dair al-Qamar the people stayed in the citadel inside the town. The Christians of the area whose places had been burned came to them and stayed with them in Dair al-Qamar. A detachment of Ottoman troops were present in the town, as well as the Mutasallim (local Ottoman governor), but they did not know what was happening because they were cut off from news that would normally be received from travellers going and coming.

Then after the burning of the countryside a plan was agreed upon [among the Christians]. Forces from Kisrawân would approach the Druse headquarters in al-'Ibâdiya, where the Druses all were, from below on the west, while Yûsuf Āghâ al-Shantîri approached from above on the east. Accordingly the men from Kisrawân set forth, accompanied by a few men from the Dair al-Qamar area who had left there before the siege; this combined force totalled about 150 men. They advanced on 'Ibâdiya and fighting began. Since the Christians' ascent was from an extremely difficult position, they could not secure their objective, but they displayed their bravery to excess by burning two or three houses in 'Ibâdiya. They took courage from Yûsuf Āghâ al-Shantîri's promise to come to their aid with his forces, the men of Bikfayyâ and al-Qâṭi', from the other direction. But when he broke his promise and did not come, the Druses routed the Kisrawân forces after the latter had been close to victory, because their position was poorly situated. Alas, sixteen of them were killed, each of whom was the equivalent of twenty fighting men. About seven of the Druses were killed, as well as some wounded. The men of Kisrawân then returned home in shame, burning with anger at the betrayal of the compact by the above-mentioned Yûsuf Āghâ. The Ottoman troops in al-Ĥâzimîya were said to have fought on the side of the Druses. This is

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probably true, for shell-fragments were found, and some of the [Ottoman] troops disguised themselves so as not to be recognised. The foreign consuls were greatly disturbed, particularly the Consul of France, since Mount Lebanon was [considered] under his protection; and the Wâli was displeased by the affair.

The men of Zaḥla, totalling about 600 rifles, now set forth to face the Druses at 'Ain Dâra, in the mountain region of al-Matn. For the first time fighting took place between them and the Druses, and the Druses were to put to flight for an hour's distance. Three days later a second battle took place in which the people of Ḥammânâ and that area joined the Zaḥla forces, and this time the Druses were victorious over the Christians. The cry of alarm reached Zaḥla and environs, but no one came to their aid, with the result that the Zaḥla forces were defeated and put to flight and returned home.

The Druses, for their part, all met together and decided to place a detachment of men to watch Dair al-Qamar while while the rest of them advanced on Jazzîn, al-'Arqûb, and Bakâsîn. They defeated the Christians and expelled them from their villages; then they reached the Biqâ' and seized the Christian villages. They burned every village that they captured, and killed everyone they found. The Christians everywhere fled before them, herding together into the larger towns. Those in the coastal areas went to Beirut with their women-folk. In the Dair al-Qamar region they went to the Dair, and in the region of the Biqâ', the Shûf, and Ḥammânâ they went to Zaḥla. In those districts the Christians had suffered such
p. 111 hardship from the killing, looting, and burning that there was now not a single Christian to be found.

Then the Druses advanced to lay siege to Zaḥla. They established their headquarters at Qabb Ilyâs. They were led by Shaikh Sa'id Janblât, Khaṭṭâr Bey al-'Imâd, and some of the Ḥimâda family. With the aid of a number of Ottoman officials they formed an alliance with the Mutawâlis and Muslims [i.e., with the Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims] and then sent a message to the people of Zaḥla calling upon them to

surrender. The people of Zaḥla were unwilling to surrender, but put their trust in the great number of men [who had taken refuge in Zaḥla] from all parts of the country. They were, however, divided by disagreements and animosities. The Druses were now gathered from many places, including Ḥaurân, the Shûf, the Matn, and elsewhere. They sought help from the Arabs [i.e., Bedouins] and Mutawâlis¹ in order to take Zaḥla, for the Druses were afraid of Zaḥla because they had been defeated by them previously, in 1843 and 1842. They therefore bent all their efforts toward capturing it. They first blocked communications between Zaḥla and Dair al-Qamar, so that neither would receive any further information about the other. The inhabitants of Dair al-Qamar were puzzled by the quietness of the Druses, for the Druses had only placed a guard over the Dair while the rest of them were occupied at Zaḥla and devoting the greatest effort toward destroying it. For the capture of Zaḥla, when it was accomplished, involved the capture of [people from all over the country].

[Meanwhile the people of Zaḥla appealed to all Christians everywhere, in Kisrawân, Bsharri, and al-Zâwiya, to send what help they could.] The inhabitants of al-Zâwiya were afraid of the inhabitants of al-Ḍinnîya² because of ill-feeling between them; so a detachment of Christians remained there for the sole purpose of keeping watch. Yûsuf Bey Karam made preparations and sent about 250 men from Zghartâ and the surrounding area [i.e., from the district of Zâwiya]. He recruited more men from the districts of Batrûn and Jubail and brought them to Kisrawân. With a total force p. 112 of about 4,000 men he then advanced toward Bikfayyâ and

(1) In a dispute in 1855 between the inhabitants of Zaḥla and members of the Mutawâli family of Ḥarfûsh in the Biqâ', a settlement favorable to Zaḥla had been imposed by the French Consul de Lesseps. (Moore to Clarendon, No. 41, June 25, No. 69, Dec. 8, 1855, and No. 1, Jan. 18, 1856.) Intolerance and factionalism within the town were also notorious: see Ḥattûni, p. 326; Scheltema, pp. 89-90 n.; Churchill, *The Druses and the Maronites*, p. 181.

(2) A Muslim district adjoining the Maronite district of al-Zâwiya.

Bhirşâf, with the intention of continuing on to Zaḥla and joining in its defense. He supplied his troops amply with arms and ammunition, which he obtained from certain prominent Christians in Beirut and the Mountain,¹ and spent all available resources on his men.

When he made up his mind to proceed to Zaḥla messages were sent to him from the Wâli of Beirut and from some of the consuls urging him not to go there, warning that if he did go he would be held responsible, and that the Wâli would stop the fighting by other means. The Amîrs also prevented him from proceeding, in order to stop his advance. He therefore delayed his march and remained quietly in Bikfayyâ, while the inhabitants of Zaḥla constantly appealed to him and the Druses worked zealously to obtain their objective.

The Druses then assaulted Zaḥla and fighting began at a point between the towns of Qabb Ilyâs and Zaḥla. The men of Zaḥla were routed and returned to their town. Again on the third day fighting was renewed but was inconclusive. On the fifth day the Druses attacked Zaḥla from all sides, joined by the Arabs [i.e., Bedouins] and Mutawâlis, but they left a way open to the people of Zaḥla on the north side. The fighting raged, banners waved, and horsemen clashed with each other from all directions; swords and rifles flashed as stabs and blows were exchanged. The people of Zaḥla thought that Yûsuf Bey Karam had come to their aid from one direction, because the banners were marked with crosses; but this was a trick of the Druses. In actual fact Yûsuf Bey Karam had on that very day left Bikfayyâ with his troops against the Wâli's orders, intending to come to the aid of Zaḥla, because of the news he had received of the plight of Zaḥla.² As the

(1) He was also said to have been supplied by the French government. (Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Les Evénements de Syrie* [Paris, 1860], p. 8.)

(2) Karam himself later declared that he had been notified by the French Consul, Bentivoglio, that if he left his camp at Bikfayyâ he would incur the displeasure of all five European Powers. Nevertheless he sent 200 of his 800 men ahead to Mâr Shwayyâ, six hours' march from Zaḥla; these were fired upon by Turkish troops sent by Khûrshîd

p. 113 fighting became severe the Druses rushed on Zaḥla and set it afire; and at this moment the men of Zaḥla were routed and started to leave from the eastern side of the town, together with their womenfolk, carrying whatever belongings they could. This occurred at nine o'clock in the morning. The Druses slaughtered everyone in their path, with the exception of the women. What a great onslaught and a dreadful defeat! I need not tell you of the crowds of people from all places then taking refuge in Zaḥla, what their departure at this dreadful hour was like, and what the state of the women and children was, with the fires raging. Tongue and pen shrink from describing all this.

At last, by evening not a single Christian remained in Zaḥla. Rapacious plunder then began in all quarters. At four o'clock the next morning, after the Druses had burned a part of Zaḥla, the Druses were alerted by their leaders to leave the town and cautioned not to molest the women. And so the Druses departed, after taking what they could. Then the Arabs, Mutawâlis, and [Sunnite] Muslims began to loot Zaḥla, for there was no longer anything to prevent them. In addition to this they burned a part of the town. They persisted in this for about eight days.

The people of Zaḥla arrived in Kisrawân naked and weak from hunger. They were without the necessities of life and had been unable to find anyone to help them, to such an extent that children were abandoned on the roads by their mothers. They now scattered throughout the villages of Kisrawân, until it was clear that Kisrawân had no more room to receive more people. For besides what had happened in Zaḥla, the Biqâ', the Shûf, and the Matn, the Mutawâlis and Mus-

Pasha to "enforce" the peace. When Karam learned of the attack on Zaḥla he hastened there but arrived to find the town in ruins and the Druses already gone. ('Adrah, *Brûtûkûl Lubnân*, Appendix II.) The Christian defeat in this instance was not simply due to "the treason of their selfish aristocracy and the bombastic ravings of their bigoted and contemptible priesthood" (Churchill, *The Druses and the Maronites*, pp. 187-8).

lims had also risen against the Christians in the Ba'albak region and dealt them similar treatment.

p. 114 Then the Druses and Muslims rose against the Christians in the regions of Ḥâşbayyâ and Râshayyâ,¹ started a conflict, and expelled them. Those who escaped went to Damascus, leaving their homes in ruins. At Zaḥla, about twenty [per cent?] were killed, including the sick and the aged, while at Ḥâşbayyâ about forty out of every hundred were killed. When these deeds were done some of the Abî-l-Lami' amîrs held a meeting; and Yûsuf Bey Karam, who had returned in disappointment because the defeat at Zaḥla had taken place before his arrival there, joined in consultation with these leaders. * The meeting was held in Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân. It was decided that everyone present would collect as many men as he could, and they would then march against the Druses to defend themselves. Yûsuf Bey Karam then brought his men to al-Mazra'a and stayed there about four days.)

Then the Druses, after what they had done, set out to capture Dair al-Qamar. They lit bonfires of celebration outside the Dair in order to terrify the inhabitants. The latter, for their part, summoned their courage and strengthened one another's morale, distributing weapons and preparing to fight. On the second day the battle between the two sides began. During all this time none of the Christians elsewhere was in a position to know what was happening in Dair al-Qamar, nor were the inhabitants of the town aware of what had taken place outside. Up to this time the people inside Dair al-Qamar had no knowledge of what had happened in Zaḥla and elsewhere. For this reason they were very much afraid, but also able to take some courage. The Druses sent them a message calling upon them to surrender, but they refused this and instead strengthened their defenses, prepared

(1) Still ruled in 1860 by Muslim members of the Shihâb family, who were generally on good terms with their Christian wards and at odds with the Druses. Ḥâşbayyâ was inhabited by approximately 6,000 Greek Orthodox and 1,500 Druses. (Jessup, I, p. 190.)

for the outbreak of the conflict, and redoubled their courage. Old and young among them shouldered arms, and they prayed to God for aid.

p. 115 The Mutasallim stationed in the citadel of the town, representing the Ottoman government, then sent a communication to the inhabitants commanding all Christians in Dair al-Qamar to come to the citadel and turn over their arms to him and guaranteeing in return to keep them from all harm. This was an act of deception on his part, for he had been bribed by the Druses, who knew that only by tactics of deception did they have any chance against the Christians of Dair al-Qamar. The Christians, owing to their small intelligence, excessive carelessness, simple hearts, great exhaustion from the struggle, and particularly their lack of information of what had happened elsewhere, delivered themselves to the government authorities, except for a very few young men who refused to do so. The majority turned over their arms and entered the citadel so as to be safe and to secure the protection of the government troops from the enemy. Once they were stripped of their arms and had become like sheep, their Druse enemies rushed upon them, while the Ottoman soldiers, instead of opposing the Druses, actually aided them. They began assaulting the Christians and murdering at will without hindrance, slaughtering them like sheep, after which they dragged them to the roof of the citadel on the southern side until they formed a great heap. Then they attacked those outside the citadel and overwhelmed them. They looted the town of whatever they could find and set fires everywhere, burning the churches and monasteries. They killed every male they found, whether in the houses or the market, in whatever manner was most expeditious.

Those Christians remaining of the inhabitants of Dair al-Qamar collected themselves together with some of the women and children and fled secretly or openly toward Sidon, from whence they would be able to continue to Beirut by the main road. A very few of them remained behind to fight off the Druses shaikhs. Those who went to Sidon were encountered by the Muslims, who intended to rob and attack

p. 116 them as they had already done to the refugees from Jazzîn. They now slew about thirty of the Christians in the groves of Sidon, but could not defeat [the main body of] them because the latter were armed and banded together. They knew that wherever they went, this was the only way they could survive. They remained that night in Sidon and then came penniless to Beirut.

They and the refugees from the region of Jazzîn were in a deplorable state. They appealed to the foreign consuls, with the result that the consuls, as well as the clergy, merchants, and notables of Beirut and all those who were moved by conscience, provided means of subsistence to the destitute, each giving according to his ability, abundantly and generously. Letters and telegrams went out to all parts of the world telling of the atrocities that had taken place, the like of which had previously been unheard of in Syria.

Then the people of Hâşbaysâ and Râshaysâ and others from that region, having suffered disaster at the hands of the Muslims and Druses and their homes having been burned, went to the capital city of Syria [i.e., Damascus] and stayed there for a time. Agitation now began among the Muslims in Damascus, preparations already having begun on both sides, Muslim and Christian. The Christians began to flee secretly when they saw what was happening among the Muslims concerning them. They appealed to the government and the consuls. The government did not respond but only tried to quiet them. The French Consul encouraged some of them and drew the government's attention to the need for preventing the outbreak of the conflict. But the government reassured him and forbade those Christians who wished to leave to do so. As already mentioned, Zaḥla had been captured by the Druses and burned, so that travel had become very difficult for the Christians because of their wide separation from their co-religionists and because of the presence of enemies on the roads.

But the French Consul appealed to the conscience of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Maghribi, who had formerly been a ruler in Algeria, had been expelled from there [by the French], and

p. 117 now lived in Damascus, urging him to make preparations among the Algerians there so that if incidents occurred they would protect the Christians from misfortune. The Consul paid 'Abd al-Qâdir a large sum of money so that he could assign this task to the Algerians, by hiring them if necessary, and buy arms for them. The Consul collected money from the Christians, on the authority of the Consulate, and paid it to 'Abd al-Qâdir to enable him to carry out these plans. The Algerian then gathered together all his countrymen living in Damascus and divided the arms and money among them. They were to be ready to come to him should they find the slightest reason to do so. They numbered about 250 men. He also gave [arms and money] to some of the leaders and notables of the city. The attitude of the government at this time was opposed to all this, for it wished to see the Christians annihilated. Agitation increased daily and the Christians lived in great fear. The Jews, for their part, paid a large sum of money to the Muslim notables and in return were given security for their persons and property.

Then all at once general agitation began and the Muslims attacked the Christian quarter, on a Monday late in June 1860.¹ They started looting the houses and burned two or three of them. Then the government authorities sent troops equipped with cannon to the Christian quarter to protect it. They stationed themselves in the middle [of the quarter] and the Muslim men drew back somewhat. Afterward, however, the troops were withdrawn, whereupon the Muslims attacked the Christian quarter all that day and looted it. On the next day, Tuesday, fires were lit in the Christian quarter. Men were killed and women carried off, and shameful acts were committed. Killing, looting, and violation of the women continued through Tuesday and Wednesday; the Muslims burned the entire Christian quarter and killed without mercy whomever they found, whether he made a profession of conversion to Islam or not. They burned the monasteries, including foreign ones, along with churches and

(1) Actually July 9.

p. 118 homes. And what misfortunes, the likes of which have never been seen ! But to hear of it is not like seeing with one's own eyes, for one could have seen the men flung on the ground like sheep, the women naked, the children screaming, fires burning, and cries raised from all directions until mothers no longer recognized their own children, and the firing of rifles, the blows of swords, and the destruction of houses, a thing indescribable and unimaginable to the human heart. The stores and shops in the city were not harmed.

Meanwhile 'Abd al-Qâdir sent his Algerian men to bring the French Consul with his belongings to him, and protected him in his house. He also sent for the monks of St. Lazarus, together with the nuns and the boys and girls with them. He sent all the Algerians present in groups to the Christian quarter and ordered them to bring the Christians to him under their protection, without harming or molesting them. It was those who received the aid of the Algerians who kept their lives, and those who did not who were killed. The Algerians made great efforts to rescue the Christians. Likewise the Muhâyina family in the quarter of al-Maidân protected the Christians and did not harm them, and also gave protection to some in the town as far as they were able.

The Christians were terrified. Some of them fell into wells, of whom the Muslims rescued some and killed others. Conditions remained in this manner for three days, with striking of blows, killing, destruction, burning, and the like. Finally the Christians gathered together those of their women and children who had escaped from the killing and confined them in the citadel, as well as some with 'Abd al-Qâdir, the Algerian leader, who through his great zeal had kept and protected a large group of Christians. After the incidents in Damascus had occurred and the Christians were summoned to the citadel, those who remained sent them food to keep them alive, and they remained in this situation for about

p. 119 fifteen days. About 4,000 persons were said to have been killed in Damascus during these incidents, and a large number of women and girls taken captive. As for the English Consul, the government sent him a detachment of troops to protect him;

but as for the Franciscan monks, they were slain in their monastery together with the Christians [taking refuge] with them. Those present in the monastery numbered thirty-five, of whom ten were priests and monks and the rest were people of the town.

Now we return to Mount Lebanon. After Zaḥla, the Biqâ', the Ba'albak territory, Dair al-Qamar, and Jazzîn had been burned in the course of the general uprising against the Christians, as well as Ḥaṣbayyâ, Râshayyâ, and Damascus, it was agreed among the [European] Powers to send a military force [to Lebanon] by sea. Meanwhile the Druses of the Matn region and the Mutawâlis from the east agreed to attack Kisrawân and wipe out the Christians from Lebanon. When the people of Kisrawân learned that the Mutawâlis and Muslims had sided with the Druses at Zaḥla and had crushed and plundered the Christians of the Ba'albak region and driven them from their homes, they rose against the Mutawâlis living in the areas of Jubbat al-Munaiṭara and Lâsâ. They defeated them and expelled them from their homes, looted their property, and killed some of them.¹

An alliance was now formed by all [anti-Christian elements], on account of which the Muslims of Beirut and Tripoli thought to molest the Christians as had been done in Damascus. The Christians of Beirut, however, were more numerous than its Muslims, even not counting the refugees there from Dair al-Qamar, Jazzîn, the Shûf, and the Matn, who totalled a great number. The Muslims therefore could not carry out their intention. Similarly in Tripoli and al-Dinnîya they did not dare carry out their plans, because of the presence of the brave men of Zghartâ, Bsharri, and al-Zâwiya, but instead waited to see what would happen.

p. 120 The threat of violence had now become general, and the people of Kisrawân were extremely fearful and wary of the alliance against them. But before violence broke out, in accordance with the above mentioned agreement [between the

(1) See the account of this in Ḥattûni, p. 359.

European Powers] orders were telegraphed to the naval commanders. First of all a frigate arrived, sent by the Russian government. Because [its crew] was determined to proceed, it reached Beirut at about 4 a.m., although according to the agreed plan it was scheduled to arrive at 8 a.m., at which time preparations would have been completed. When this warship arrived at Beirut it immediately fired its cannon and displayed its warlike intentions. Firing its cannon continuously, it sent word to the government that unless the latter restrained the troublemakers it would bombard Beirut and destroy it. At that, the execution of the intended plan was stopped in order to see what would happen. At 10 a.m. four French ships arrived, loaded with troops as well as their equipment and arms. These ships also fired their cannon continuously at Beirut. The enemies [of the Christians] then abandoned their plans. Afterward ships arrived from all the European Powers, including one or two from each kingdom, and they fired their cannon. Later other ships arrived sent by the French government with 6,000 fully equipped troops. They disembarked at Beirut and encamped in the pine forest with their cavalry and sufficient supplies for a stay of two years. Then ships were sent by the Ottoman government, bringing with them His Excellency Fu'ād Pasha, delegated by the Porte to make amends and conduct an inquiry; he was at the time foreign minister.¹

p. 121 Immediately upon his arrival the conflict died down. Making full use of his superior abilities, he set to work to satisfy the expectations of the representatives of the Powers present in Beirut. He executed a number of Druses, and banished about 25 Druse leaders including As'ad Bey Talhûq and members of the Janblât and Abû-Nakad families.²

(1) Fu'ād Pasha reached Beirut July 17; the French force, under General Beaufort d'Hautpoul, arrived August 16. For the text of the decree of the Porte enumerating Fu'ād's powers see Scheltema, pp. 145-7; also Ḥattûni, pp. 359-61.

(2) Khûrshîd Pasha, Tâhir Pasha (military commander at Dair al-Qamar), Sulaiman Nûri Bey (military commander at Zaḥla), Waşfi Effendi (the Kâkhiya), and the comptroller Aḥmad Effendi all received

The French troops marched to Dair al-Qamar, accompanied by several Englishmen and a crowd of the Christians of the area, and witnessed the destruction of life and property that had occurred. The Druses fled before them, and some were hunted down and killed.

Fu'ād Pasha dealt with matters as gently as possible by making financial compensation and soothing people's feelings, until he had given everyone satisfaction. He began the reconstruction of Dair al-Qamar with state funds and dispensed a large sum of money in indemnities for what had been burned and stolen. He took a great amount of money from the Druses and Muslims.

Then a detachment of French troops moved to Qabb Ilyās, and Fu'ād Pasha and several French officers went to Zahla and Damascus to see what had happened. Immediately after arriving in Damascus Fu'ād Pasha executed the Pasha who had been governor of the city at the time of the incidents,¹ for it had been established that he had been responsible. He also executed over fifty of the notables of the city, and levied a large contribution of money from the Muslims out of which he indemnified the Christians for what had been stolen and burned.²

sentences of life imprisonment. Eleven Druse shaikhs were sentenced to death: Sa'īd Janblāt, Ḥusain Talhūq, As'ad Talhūq, Qāsim Abū-Nakad, As'ad 'Imād, Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim Arslān, Salīm Janblāt, Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥamdān, Muḥyi al-Dīn Shibli, 'Alī Sa'īd, and Bashīr Mīri Sa'īd. Amīr Muḥammad Arslān, the Qā'im Maqām and a youth of about 20 years, received no sentence. Khaṭṭār 'Imād, Maḥmūd Talhūq, and 31 others fled and escaped trial. For a summary of the charges against the above persons and their sentences see *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, pp. 440-8. Churchill in 1862 asserted that "none of these sentences have been carried into execution, whether of death or of penal imprisonment." (*The Druses and the Maronites*, p. 233.)

(1) Aḥmad Pasha.

(2) Punishments in Damascus included 70 hanged, 115 shot, 147 sentenced to hard labor for life, 186 sentenced to hard labor for a term, 248 banished, and 83 condemned to death *in absentia*. (London *Times*, dispatch from Beirut, issue of Oct. 6, 1860, quoted in Scheltema, p. 154.)

The Christians now returned to their homes. The French military authorities approved the steps taken [by Fu'ad Pasha]. They had come in order to defend the Christians by whatever means were necessary, even military conquest — which, in the opinion of the other Powers, was in fact their true purpose. But His Excellency Fu'ad Pasha satisfied the Powers by the measures he took. He distributed compensation to the dispossessed Christians of Jazzîn, Dair al-Qamar, the Shûf, the Matn, Zaḥla, the Biqâ', Ba'albak, Damascus, Ḥaṣḥayyâ, Râshayyâ, and elsewhere. The total amount of money he distributed on account of these incidents is not known. The largest part of it he took from the Muslims. He summoned representatives of the Christians and obtained a declaration from them acknowledging that he had restored their rights. When this was done he was able to secure the withdrawal of the French troops from Lebanon; for only by this means could he accomplish that. Then a new Pasha ruled over Damascus and Beirut.

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p. 135 Then Yûsuf Bey Karam of Ihdin ruled over all of Lebanon.¹ He employed all possible means to secure the removal of the French troops from the country, and after six months of efforts on his part, the French troops were withdrawn from Lebanon and went away empty-handed. Yûsuf Bey Karam ruled over all of Lebanon for a total of about four or five months by order of Fu'ad Pasha, the Sultan's representative. The situation was calm and conditions quiet throughout the country. In every district rebuilding of what had been burned began, and everywhere the Christians returned to their homes.

As already mentioned, Yûsuf Bey Karam ruled in the Mountain. During this time difficulties arose between him and Ṭânyûs Shâhîn. Yûsuf Bey went up from Jûniya to Ṭânyûs in Raifûn, accompanied by men from Ghûṣṭâ, Ghâdîr,

(1) Actually only the Christian Qâ'im Maqâmîya. The Druse Qâ'im Maqâm, the youthful Muḥammad Arslân, was deposed and his territory placed under direct Turkish authority.

and al-Zûq. Ṭānyûs had men from 'Ashqût, al-Qlai'ât, and elsewhere. The two parties clashed above 'Ashqût. There was light rifle fire in which no one was hit, except for one of Yûsuf Bey Karam's followers from the Ḥâşbayyâ region who was wounded. Finally Ṭānyûs and his followers fled. Yûsuf Bey arrived in Raifûn, established his headquarters in the Raifûn schoolhouse, and ordered that Ṭānyûs Shâhîn's house be plundered. His men stripped the house of all its contents, while meanwhile Ṭānyûs fled in secret. It was said that these developments were instigated by His Beatitude the Patriarch, because of certain motives. Since Ṭānyûs enjoyed the special protection of the French Lazarite monastic order, and since the French military commander, Beaufort, had earlier paid a visit to him, he remained hopeful, but to no avail.¹

p. 136 Subsequently Yûsuf Bey returned to Sakhr Jûniya and, after being designated Kapudji Bâshi² by order of the Ottoman authorities, began sending tax collectors to all areas. With the partial improvement in conditions and progress in affairs that had taken place, he was able to collect the mîri tax from the country. His commands were received and obeyed by all persons, landholders and others. He seized a number of hostages from the country and put them in prison. All this was done before the departure of the French troops from Lebanon, and he acquired considerable prestige.

The Khâzins meanwhile remained outside Kisrawân because of their fear resulting from all the persecution, hatred, expulsion from their homes, contempt, unjust sequestration of property, tyranny, and aggression that they had experienced.³ But despite this none of them turned away from his

(1) See above, pp. 23-9.

(2) Literally in Turkish, "head door-keeper." A high officer in the Sultan's retinue; here, a military rank.

(3) The Khâzins, Dufferin reported to Bulwer on March 29, 1861, were unable to regain their rights and return to Kisrawân because of the hostility of Bishop Ṭûbiyâ and the Maronite clergy. They had been "a little too tenacious of their aristocratic privileges," and were offended by Karam's invitation to submit their claims to his court "because it was not couched in the precise terms of honour they consider due to their

steadfast faith. Neither as a group nor as individuals did they conduct themselves in such a way as would damage their religious or temporal reputation. On the contrary, they faithfully kept to their principles of piety and personal honor, and maintained their places of residence in accordance with their station and dignity, although they had been expelled from their own homes.

Nevertheless it seemed to some of them, as it did to others, that the cause of their difficulties lay chiefly with the clergy; and yet their conduct continued to earn every commendation and reputation for pious works, despite all that they were offered by the Protestant [missionaries] and others to abandon their principles. They took no account of the latter; to them it was better to lose their temporal honor and material wealth, so long as they preserved their religious honor, which is of a timeless value. Truly they are a noble family. They deserve every measure of prestige, praise, and eulogy, and I ask God Almighty to bestow His grace upon all of them, that they may be an example to others; for a man's true character is revealed by the trials he undergoes.

p. 137 Intermittently the Khâzins offered gifts to the government. They bribed the Ottoman governors to restore their rights, but these methods were fruitless, since it was the governors' intention to destroy persons of rank, including the Khâzins as well as others. Therefore this course of action did them no good, and in paying out so much in bribery to the governors they incurred a great accumulation of expenses, until most of them were deep in debts which increased with daily interest rates. In addition to this, the barren harvests and lack of income from crops provided another reason why their debts increased, while at the same time they continued to maintain their standard of living and their generosity and so forth.

station." Karam, for his part, as their social inferior, was "a little too imperative" in setting his conditions. (*Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, II, p. 34. See above, p. 28, Footnote No. 1.)

Then, after the period of office of Yûsuf Bey Karam's government in Lebanon had passed, His Excellency Effendi Dâwûd Pasha, an Armenian Catholic, was sent to Mount Lebanon on behalf of the Sublime Porte to be Mutaşarrif (provincial executive) over the entire country. The appointment was made by imperial decree with the advice of the Allied Powers [of Europe], in accordance with the excellent reforms and measures instituted by the latter. Dâwûd Pasha arrived here late in the year 1860,¹ during the reign of His Majesty 'Abd al-'Azîz Khân, who had succeeded to the throne upon the death of his brother, His Majesty 'Abd al-Majîd Khân, during the events in Lebanon. So His Excellency Dâwûd Pasha arrived, under the surveillance of the esteemed government of France. He set about to stamp out the enmity between the Christians and the Druses in the region of Jabal al-Shûf and elsewhere. The construction of new buildings belonging to the Christians increased daily in Dair al-Qamar, Zaḥla, and in all other localities. Dâwûd Pasha ruled with the greatest justice. In every muqâṭa'a (region) of Lebanon he appointed a mudîr (director) under him. He also established a consultative council directly responsible to himself, as well as a judicial council located at the capital of his Mutaşarrifiya — first in Dair al-Qamar and then in Bait al-Dîn — composed of six judges, one from each religious sect, plus a member to represent him. In addition he established an administrative council composed

p. 138 of one member from each muqâṭa'a; a council called the Arab Bureau [for internal affairs] and another called the Foreign Bureau [for dealing with the European Consuls]; a center for the postal service and one like it for the [official] Lebanese Gazette, for which he imported a printing press at his own expense. He decreed that every village should have its own Shaikh Şulḥ (justice of the peace) and a Mukhtâr (local administrative official) or in some cases two Mukhtârs, depending on the size of the village. In every muqâṭa'a he established

(1) He was actually invested in office on June 22, 1861. (*Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, II, p. 331.)

a judicial council whose membership was in accordance with the sects located in that district. He ordered the Druses not to leave their own localities, in order to prevent further occasion for disorders, and to this end he further ordered that Dair al-Qamar should be reserved exclusively for Christians, without Druses being permitted to live there; this was commanded by official decree. He also urged the Druses to remove the full amount of their property from the Dair, and this they refused to do; and although a few of them complied, some have not done so to this day. Some of the Druses emigrated to Ḥaurân and some to the districts of the Shûf and the Matn.

Reconstruction began in Dair al-Qamar and the other localities that had been burned, and the people were at peace. But scarcely had they momentarily calmed down when agitation began in north Lebanon against Dâwûd Pasha, the Mutaşarrif. Certain persons who wanted him to be replaced advertised their objections against him and spoke of him in an improper manner throughout north Lebanon. His Excellency, for his part, dealt with the population gently and promised them improvements, saying that he desired prosperity, tranquillity, and reconstruction for the country, as in truth he did, relying on the support of France. But these incidents were promoted by the intrigues of certain agents of the Sublime Porte. As it is said, God knows best. Some persons objected that he was extracting more money [in taxes] than the amount [previously] demanded, for the amount demanded of the country had previously been fixed at no more than 3,500 purses, and he was now demanding 7,000 purses. His Excellency replied that the decision in this matter lay with the government [in Constantinople], not with him. He urged the incumbent Maronite Patriarch, His Beatitude Patriarch Bûlus, and the bishops and the leaders of the country to submit their grievance in the matter to the Sublime Porte, saying

(1) The Protocol of June 9, 1861, expressly allowed, in Article 16, the increase of taxes from the level of 3,500 purses to 7,000 "when circumstances permit." An additional article, later added, declared that even 7,000 was "not an absolute limit." (Testa, VI, pp. 343-5.)

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Lebanon
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that he would give them the necessary assistance to the best of his ability; but this was to no avail.

Dâwûd Pasha ordered that a survey of property be carried out, starting in south Lebanon, by six teams, or rather squadrons. Each team was composed of six selected men, one representing each sect. Each team included one director and two clerks, plus one clerk representing the particular village being surveyed, who would then keep one copy of the register in the village. Two officials supervised the entire survey, one a Maronite and the other a Druse. The survey of property progressed until the year 1863, and had been completed as far north as the Dog River when insurrection broke out in the country and began to spread.

During this time His Excellency [Dâwûd Pasha] had established a national Lebanese militia, totalling about 800 men plus officers. It was commanded and organized by the then well-known Frenchman Altap. He sent a squadron of men to Jûniya; His Excellency [Dâwûd Pasha] also went to Jûniya and established himself in the soap factory, to supervise matters in the area. Some of the people received him with submission and obedience, but others did not. After staying there for a time he went to Ghazîr, where he stationed a body of troops, and then continued on to Dair Bzummâr, Jubail, Batrûn, al-Zâwiya, and Bsharri, after which he returned to Bait al-Dîn. Governing these areas as his subordinate was Amîr Majîd Shihâb. The mîri taxes continued to be paid in the amount of half what had been demanded for a three year period, for as a favor to the people [the Pasha] had arranged for the total to be collected in two parts, so that [for the time being] they paid only the first part. His Excellency [the Pasha] advised them to conduct themselves amicably and peaceably and do nothing to incur punishment. He was most generous to all people. No one who has come to Lebanon [as governor] has equalled his munificence and zeal. He was wealthy, but unconcerned with his wealth; he had a most penetrating mind and great conscientiousness, especially toward his patrons, the French government. But his efforts were expended in vain, without benefit, although he was more than ready to

make Lebanon self-sufficient and ranking among the outstanding provinces [of the Empire] ; for he managed its affairs well and made it worthy of imitation.

Despite all this, and unhappily for the country, he could not carry out his desires, for at the outset differences arose between him and certain elements of the population, particularly in the region of al-Zâwiya. The people there were led by Yûsuf Bey Karam, who staged meetings and dispatched messages in all directions in this connection. One incident occurred when His Excellency [the Pasha] was in Jûniya with a detachment of troops. A number of ignorant people from the countryside came down to just above Ghâdîr and began chanting in an unseemly manner and firing bullets.¹ The soldiers in His Excellency's company came up [the hill] to deal with them, on orders from His Excellency not to shoot to kill, since he was well aware of their foolishness and ignorance; he did however find some persons of reasonable mind [with whom he could deal], such as Yûḥannâ Bey Abû-Şa'b. [It happened that at this time] the Bishops were present with His Beatitude [the Patriarch] at the monastery of Bkirki. They intervened and prevented the people of the countryside from continuing their wrongful conduct. However, His Excellency's mind was embittered over this thoroughly foolish affair and he wanted to send troops to 'Ashqût, Dar'ûn, and other villages; but the Bishops pleaded with him and persuaded him to issue a decree pardoning those ignorant persons involved, and thus prevented such provocative and harmful actions from being taken.

p. 141 Conditions became quiet for a time; but then His Excellency stationed a detachment of troops in Ghazîr, and

(1) Karam's version, probably disingenuous, was that he had come to pay a visit to the Mutaşarrif and that the armed body of supporters accompanied him and fired shots in the air in accordance with the legitimate custom of the country. Dâwûd mistook this for a hostile demonstration and attacked Karam's men. Karam thus became an outlaw unwillingly; the Pasha vowed to take him dead or alive. ('Adrah, Appendix II, p. 12.)

a few men in Jûniya and Jubail. Meanwhile a group of people from Kisrawân communicated with Yûsuf Bey Karam of Zghartâ, declaring that they did not want the regime of Dâwûd Pasha in Lebanon. The agitation increased and spread until the year 1866, when it was agreed that Yûsuf Bey would come with his men to the sea road, while the people of Kisrawân would come down from their villages and drive the troops from Ghazîr and drive Dâwûd Pasha from Jûniya. An agreement was also reached with some of the inhabitants of Ghazîr; and on the part of certain men in the [Ottoman] government there was intrigue aiming to drive Dâwûd Pasha from Lebanon because he was protected and specially favored by the French government. They were wary of the possible consequences and so resorted to these [stealthy] tactics.

Yûsuf Bey Karam reached the sea road accompanied by Amîr Salmân Ḥarfûsh, who had incurred the government's anger, and a large force from al-Zâwiya, al-Jubba, Batrûn, and the Jubail region. They came to al-Raşîf, and meanwhile a crowd of people came down from the countryside [of Kisrawân] and gathered in Ghûstâ. The following day the Kisrawân party descended on the troops at Ghazîr, in accordance with the pact, while Yûsuf Bey came up to al-Raşîf, and clashes with the troops in both places began. But the inhabitants of Ghazîr betrayed their promise and fought on the side of the troops, who numbered about 400 men; and Yûsuf Bey Karam was defeated at al-Raşîf and withdrew. From among his forces two men were killed, of whom the body of one was brought to Dâwûd Pasha in Jûniya. The Kisrawân forces were also defeated. One of their number was killed, a man from 'Ashqût, and five were wounded. The [government] troops lost one killed and an unknown number wounded. The fighting continued until three hours before sunset. Then while returning [to their base] the troops attacked the village of Shnan'îr, looted it, and killed four of its men before continuing on to Ghazîr. Henceforth relations deteriorated between the people of Ghazîr [and the rest of the villages] because of the treachery that had taken place.

This incident had occurred at the beginning of the year 1867. Subsequently Dâwûd Pasha wanted to send troops to the villages [of Kisrawân] and arrest the individuals who had been responsible for the affair. Among these were Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib of 'Ashqût, Ṭannûs Sarâbiyûn and As'ad Ramyâ of Ghûstâ, Nâṣîf al-Khûri Khalîl of Mairûbâ, Hâbil al-'Aqîqi of Kfar Dabyân, and a number of others. At this time the 'âmil (agent) in the mountain villages was Shaikh Ṭânyûs Shâhîn of Raifûn, whom we have mentioned before. He pled with His Excellency and induced the latter to give up his plan to send troops, although he continued to demand the arrest of the men.

Then while Dâwûd Pasha was visiting the monastery of Mâr Anṭûnyûs Khashabû a petition was submitted to him calling attention to the excessive rate of the mîri taxes and requesting that he not collect the first part, that is, half of what had been demanded [as arrears] for the period 1277 A.H. to 1280 A.H.,¹ and that on account of the poverty of the country he now ask the Ottoman government to renounce the money.

After Yûsuf Bey Karam had returned home he continued to defy His Excellency's authority. He would not permit payment of taxes [in his district] on any basis other than that of 3500 purses. He threatened the government officials and would not accept their authority, so that the authorities did not enjoy freedom of action. There were also certain individuals in Kisrawân who plotted to work along similar lines [as Yûsuf Bey]. His Excellency [Dâwûd Pasha] had imposed the "*dîmûs*" (tithe) in Kisrawân and in the Jubail area, as well as a tax of one-twelfth on every load of paper, one-twelfth on each bucket of wheat, fifteen piasters on vineyard produce and olives, and on other items a tax of one-twenty-fourth.

p. 143 When His Excellency learned of the agitation against the government he ordered the arrest of the above-mentioned

(1) I.e., July 20, 1860, to June 18, 1863 A.D.

Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib, Hâbil al-'Aqîqi, Ṭannûs Sarâbiyûn, and As'ad Ramyâ of Kisrawân, declaring that whoever brought in one of these men would receive a generous reward. Nâşif al-Khûri of Mairûbâ approached His Excellency through an intermediary and sought his favor. From Ṭannûs Sarâbiyûn there was no news, and as for the other three men from Kisrawân—Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib, As'ad Ramyâ, and Hâbil al-'Aqîqi—the demand for them continued, and eventually His Excellency posted a notice in Jûniya promising a great reward to whoever brought one of them to him. The above-mentioned men fled from place to place until one day Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib was discovered by chance in 'Ashqût by four officers. He fled from them with a man from 'Ashqût named Manşûr Dûmiṭ and took refuge in the valley; rifle shots were exchanged, and in the end he escaped. The demand for him and the others remained standing.

Meanwhile Yûsuf Bey Karam, for his part, organized a noteworthy band of men in the Zghartâ area of al-Zâwiya, whom he supplied with weapons and ammunition and trained to fight. All preparations were made for a conflict. His Excellency sent troops to the Zâwiya district. Yûsuf Bey barred the way and denied them entrance to the area. He then came with his men to Bilâd Jubail and threatened the Government officers wherever he found them. His band included men from Kisrawân as well as from Jubail, al-Jubba, and Batrûn. Eventually a clash occurred between him and the inhabitants of Amyûn, when he came and robbed them and inflicted injuries on some of them because they had sided with the government. After he had stayed a few days in al-Kûra, in a place called Râs Kaifâ, a detachment of troops from Tripoli approached him and a number of inconsequential clashes occurred between them. The [Ottoman] government forces and the [Lebanese] national militia were watching his movements closely, but this had no effect. Finally an army of about 2500 troops, together
 p. 144 with a national militia force of about 600 men, came up from Tripoli. The battle was joined near Zghartâ. Each side held firm; then both sides renewed the fighting and a

great second battle took place, which resulted in the government forces entering Zghartâ and erecting fortifications around the town, while Yûsuf Karam and his men retreated. The army rounded up forty offenders and others from among the population in Zghartâ and took them to Tripoli. From there they were sent by sea to Batrûn, where His Excellency was located equipped with a frigate named, after him, "al-Dâwûdiya" and which he nicknamed "al-Lubnânîya." From Batrûn His Excellency sent the prisoners on to Beirut by sea.

Meanwhile the conflict continued in al-Zâwiya, moving from one place to another. Dâwûd Pasha himself then went to Zghartâ accompanied by an Ottoman government pasha and some troops. They sent a message to the Wâli of Damascus, the Sirr 'Askar [military commander], and the latter came with an army of about 5000 men. They besieged Yûsuf Bey in a certain place in al-Zâwiya but failed to defeat him, and lost a number of men killed between al-Kûra and al-Zâwiya.

Afterward there was another battle between the army and Yûsuf Bey, commonly referred to as the battle of Bnash'î.¹ It began at sunrise and continued for some time, until Yûsuf Bey was routed in the valley and overtaken by the troops. But his men concealed themselves in the valley, ambushed the government troops, and drove them off. After inflicting this defeat [on the army] they pursued them and captured a large number of arms from them. They were said to have killed about 300 of the government troops, not to mention the wounded, plus four of the national militia, while of Yûsuf Bey's men ten were killed by artillery fire. Among the latter was Buṭrus Tûmâ, renowned for his courage. Yûsuf Bey and his men continued in pursuit of the

(1) Just before this incident, according to Karam, he had met with Amîn Pasha, the Turkish officer who was pursuing him with 9,000 men. Karam offered to submit to the Mutaṣarrif if assured of a fair trial; Amîn departed to transmit this message to Dâwûd, but meanwhile his troops opened the attack. ('Adrah, Appendix II, pp. 12-3.)

government army until they entered Zghartâ [and advanced onward] as far as Asnûn.

p. 145 The state of affairs had become insupportable. After these battles the conflict intensified. The authorities' anger was aroused by the whole affair and they wished to crush the people of the country once and for all. One of the leaders of the army went by way of al-Maşâlâ to find Yûsuf Bey. He sent a message to Yûsuf Bey, who was visiting His Eminence Bishop Bûlus at the latter's residence, saying that he had certain information to communicate to him. But this was a trick, for while these communications were taking place the government troops were patrolling the area in order to capture Yûsuf Bey. The patrol came upon him and he fled amidst the exchange of rifle fire. The matter passed; but it was followed by another incident near Qazhayyâ and then another near Ihdin.

Then Yûsuf went with his men to 'Ain Qarnâ and stayed there for a time. The government troops found him there, taking him by surprise, and he fled. They captured about eight of his men, including As'ad Bûlus, who was renowned for his courage. Yûsuf Bey at that time had only a few men with him. In his flight he fell into a river, but escaped with God's help. Then he went into hiding in an unknown place.

The government troops now went to Ihdin, accompanied by three pashas: Darwish Pasha, Muştafâ Pasha, and Dâwûd Pasha. For some time they lived in Yûsuf Bey's mansion, taking a considerable supply of provisions from it. Yûsuf Bey's brother, Mikhâyil Bey Karam, shared the government's views and collaborated against his brother, whose activities he did not approve. Mikhâyil's son Buṭrus Bey was under the guardianship of his uncle Yûsuf Bey and with him constantly.

Then Yûsuf remained in hiding for a time, while Amîr Salmân¹ set out for the Ba'albak area. The latter fell

(1) Amîr Salmân Ḥarfûsh, installed as Shî'ite Muqâṭa'ji in Ba'albak in 1855 after a family dispute in which rival Turkish governors in Damascus and Beirut, rival factions in Zaḥla, and the French and British Consuls

sick there in the wilderness and sent for a doctor to treat him. But the messenger betrayed him and informed the government, with the result that a squad of soldiers sent by the government captured him and took him to Damascus, where he died in 1866. Yûsuf Bey then went to the district of al-Liyammûni where he remained in hiding for a time. Eventually some soldiers were sent by the Mutasallim of Ba'albak to capture him, but they did not succeed, for he fought them off although he had only six men with him while his attackers numbered about forty horsemen. He killed one of them and captured two of their horses.

The government troops then withdrew from Ihdin, leaving only a few men behind. Yûsuf Bey now entered Ihdin, drove the soldiers from his home, and entered it triumphantly. But after he had been there for a while the army returned in force, with four pashas in their company. He took flight and the soldiers looted his house of all its contents, taking countless valuables and destroying a part of the building. They remained there for some time and became a burden to the inhabitants of the town, for they looted several churches in and around the town and seized hostages from among the population. The destruction they caused in the area was a sad thing to behold.

Yûsuf Karam then went to 'Ain Qarnâ and stayed there with a few men for a while. At times he had about 200 men with him, at times even more, and sometimes as few as eight. One day the army made a plan to deal with him. An officer was sent to hold an interview with him with the pretended purpose of improving relations between him and the government. Meanwhile the army, divided into four units, advanced on him secretly. By means of this deceit the army would be able to overtake and capture him. Accordingly when the army had surrounded him a patrol advanced and attacked

became involved. As a result of his quarrels he refused to cooperate in the Druse-Shi'ite attack on Zaḥla in 1860, was dispossessed by the Turkish authorities, and, like Karam, became an outlaw. (Bish'alâni, p. 258; see above, p. 61, Footnote 1; see also p. 79.)

p. 147 him. Yûsuf Bey had only a few men with him. He tried to escape, only to find that the troops were on all sides watching for him. He thought that the end had come. He called to his men and, praying God for help, they opened fire and killed several of the troops. The time was late in the morning. Two of Yûsuf's men were killed and five captured, including the courageous As'ad Bûlus. Yûsuf Bey himself, thinking that there was now no escape from drinking the poisoned cup, rushed on one of the groups of soldiers, shouting "Make way for Karam!" and firing at them. He had changed his clothing [as a disguise]; the soldiers opened a path and Yûsuf Bey rushed through with five of his men. After he had passed the soldiers realized that this was Yûsuf Bey. They pursued him, overtook him at a certain point, and fired at him, but he threw himself from a high place, and they thought him dead. Entering a mill by one door and leaving by another, he escaped unhurt. He went in hiding in the wilderness, where news of developments concerning him reached him [secretly] from all places.

His strength and prestige became known to all the European Powers, and he caused great irritation to the Porte, while the French Government was much displeased by his activities. He acquired a great reputation, and people longed to see pictures of him. All the merchants and prominent men of Beirut, Mount Lebanon, and Tripoli used to send him gifts, money, and whatever he needed. Everyone prayed for his victory and gave him whatever aid they could. They referred to this period as "the war of Yûsuf Karam." As for the Ottoman troops, whenever his name was mentioned their hearts would quake in fear, because of what they had seen of him and his men and the fiery spirit they displayed. The truth is that no individual has ever been seen or heard of in Lebanon who equalled him in bravery, nobility of character, intellect, and graciousness all combined in the same person; and rarely is anyone like him found anywhere in the world, particularly in the general region of Syria. He was held in awe by everyone.

Then, because he no longer had anyone to help him,

he hid in the wilderness, and no news was heard of him. He remained in this situation for some time, moving secretly from place to place. The army returned home and for an interval the country was quiet. His Excellency Dâwûd Pasha
 p. 148 returned to Bait al-Dîn. He stationed government troops in al-Zâwiya and about 400 of the local militia around Ihdin, 'Irjis, Karm Siddi, and al-Kûra in order to protect them from Yûsuf Bey and in order to collect the mîri taxes. He entrusted governmental authority in Zghartâ to Yûsuf Bey's brother, Mikhâyil Bey Karam, because he found that he was opposed to his brother's conduct. He also installed a general deputy in the Batrûn region and established a judicial council there. He began to collect the mîri tax with complete freedom. He also spent a great amount of money toward the capture of Yûsuf Bey, alive or dead, but all this was in vain, for the news would immediately reach the Bey without delay, so strong was the attraction of his cause to every Christian.

The Almighty was aiding him, for although he was surrounded by great danger and evil, God rescued him by divine favor. He enjoyed a great reputation with all men. No one mentioned his name without wishing him success, because of his good deeds, superior qualities, and great courage, the likes of which were altogether unheard of in these areas. If I attempted to describe the location, circumstances, and number of all his battles, it would require a long time, and I am therefore unable to complete the account in detail. For he had already engaged in many clashes [with the government] by the time he surprised the government troops in their tents one night on the plain of Tannûrîn. Of his own men, Ibn Abî-'Isâ of 'Ashqût was killed—for throughout all his battles he still had men with him from Kisrawân, varying in number from three to thirty from time to time, as well as men from Dair al-Qamar, the Shûf, and elsewhere.

We left off mentioning every event that occurred for fear of prolonging the story; so let us return to our previous subject. After Yûsuf Bey had gone into hiding, the army

p. 149 returned home and conditions became quiet. Then one day in November, 1867, Yûsuf Bey secretly gathered together about 150 of his men in the Zâwiya region and made his way with them through the mountains near al-Batrûn and Jubail till he reached Kisrawân. He passed through Qarṭabâ, al-Fuṭûḥ, and 'Ibâra Shawwân, and eventually reached the house of Mr. As'ad Ramyâ in Ghûṣṭâ. His arrival was an entirely unexpected surprise, for everyone had thought that he had gone to Europe, and until he appeared in Ghûṣṭâ there had been no news of him. His arrival caused considerable fear and anxiety, for no one knew how he had come. The people in and around Ghûṣṭâ dreaded the reaction of the authorities; but they received Yûsuf Bey and his men hospitably and cheerfully, dividing them among the homes and providing them with food. Yûsuf Bey himself stayed in the home of As'ad Ramyâ, where the priests and leading men of Ghûṣṭâ came to extend a fitting welcome. He sent messages to His Beatitude [the Patriarch] in Bkirki and to his friends in Beirut and elsewhere. The next day he sent to Jûniya for cereals and other provisions for his men. He stayed through the second day, and on the third day left Ghûṣṭâ and continued on his way through 'Ashqût. On reaching the spring in 'Ashqût he was overtaken by the dragoman from the French Consulate in Beirut accompanied by another man on horseback, and they conferred for a moment. The dragoman from the Consulate then returned to Beirut and Yûsuf left with his men. That night he slept in the monastery at Rûmîya; some of his men stayed with him and others in Dârayyâ.

p. 150 At this time the Frenchman Altap and his national militia of about 400 men, following in the tracks of Yûsuf Bey, arrived in Ghazîr and, on inquiring, learned that the latter was in Dârayyâ. The following day Yûsuf Bey left Dârayyâ for Bikfayyâ, intending (so it was rumored) to continue on to Bait al-Dîn to liberate the prisoners held there. Altap and his forces now left Ghazîr and travelled to Dârayyâ, where they passed the night. An Ottoman force of about 500 men was stationed in Jûniya and remained there. In the

meantime Yûsuf Karam reached Bait Shabâb, accompanied by a number of men from Kisrawân as well as those who had been with him earlier. They spent that night in the monastery of Mâr Anṭûniyûs al-Naba' and Mâr Buṭrus, in the fig orchards and roundabout. Yûsuf Bey stationed sentries in the valley at Abû-Fîrân.

The next day Altap left Dârayyâ in pursuit of Yûsuf Bey. When word of this reached the latter he saw no cause for alarm, and when Altap reached the valley a number of Yûsuf Bey's men were there to face him. Fighting began in the valley, while the main body of Yûsuf Bey's men remained up above. At the height of the battle Yûsuf Bey came out, followed by a dog. Recognizing him, one of Altap's men fired at him; but Yûsuf Bey, identifying his assailant, took a rifle, returned fire, and killed the man.

While the two sides were thus engaged in battle, Shaikh Şalîbî Kan'ân al-Khâzin arrived with letters from the consuls in Beirut and presented them to Altap. After reading them the latter told Shaikh Şalîbî to take them to Yûsuf Bey while the battle was still in progress. Accordingly he fastened a white flag to his rifle, came to Yûsuf Bey, and presented the letters to him.¹ Upon reading them Yûsuf Bey signaled his men to cease firing, and withdrew his forces toward the Jurd region by way of al-Ṭabsha. He passed that night in the village of Bqâ'tûtâ while his men dispersed. The next day he again gathered his men together and took them to al-Mazra'a and then down to Bkirki. A great crowd of people from Kisrawân accompanied him. At Bkirki he met with the Consul General of France and the English Vice Consul.² They remained together that night and

(1) The letters were apparently summons to Karam and Altap to meet with French Consul des Essarts in Bkirki. (See 'Adrah, Appendix II, p. 15.)

(2) The meeting at Bkirki had been preceded by appeals from Patriarch Bûlus Mas'ad to Karam to give himself up—although at one time Dâwûd Pasha had accused the Patriarch of encouraging the outlaw. Karam later alleged that the Patriarch had been bought by Dâwûd by means of pensions to his relatives and by nomination of his brother to a

p. 151 reached agreement that the next day Yûsuf Bey would go to Beirut. When his men and the people of the country learned of this a great crowd of them came down from the countryside [to Bkirki], including even the women. They thought it out of the question that they should abandon the Bey, or that they should be willing for him to go to Beirut. They began making threats and storming about the monastery until Yûsuf Bey came out and admonished them, declaring that he had decided to go of his own free will and that this was in the interests both of his own welfare and that of the country. When the people realized that he was not going to come out and rejoin them, they let the matter rest and returned home.

On the third day Yûsuf Bey and the [French] Consul went to the Lazarite monastery at 'Anṭûra and from there to Beirut. On their arrival at the Dog River Yûsuf Bey's entourage returned home, excepting about eight men from Zghartâ and eight men from other places who remained with him. When he arrived at the Beirut River he found carriages ready to take him [into the town], provided by the consuls and the notables and leading personages of Beirut. He entered the French Consul's carriage, then was transferred to another one. As he passed along the road one could see music being played, women singing, and persons scattering orange-blossom water. The accumulation of crowds and the women celebrating were beyond anything

public office in Kisrawân. The Patriarch, in return, allegedly used his influence with the French government to secure Dâwûd's appointment to a second term of office. Karam also complained that his offer to surrender and submit to a fair trial was dismissed by Mas'ad as an attempt to prejudice himself in his own favor. The agreement finally struck between Karam and des Essarts, approved by Dâwûd Pasha and the Patriarch, provided that Karam would be exiled for the time being to Algeria, under French protection, Dâwûd thus being enabled to re-establish his full authority in Mount Lebanon. In return Dâwûd was to pledge just rule; the safety of Karam's followers and his property would be guaranteed by France. Karam charged that the latter condition was violated when his followers were arrested and his property sequestered. ('Adrah, Appendix II, pp. 15-19.)

known before, such that the town was in complete commotion. Most of the people simply wanted to see him because they had seen pictures of him holding his blood-smearred sword; so numerous were these pictures that he had come to be known as "the Bloodshedder."

p. 152 Then, after reaching Beirut and staying there four or five days, he went one day to attend mass at the Maronite Church. While he was in the church all eyes were fastened on him, and on leaving the church he could not pass through the street because of the congestion of people trying to catch a glimpse of him. And so he rode on horseback, and was thus visible to everyone, while his armed attendants walked in front of him. He was granted the privilege of kissing the fingertips of His Grace Bishop Ṭûbiyâ 'Aun, the much respected Bishop of Beirut. The Bishop showed him hospitality, as did Mr. As'ad al-Malḥama, who was one of his dearest friends; and he also visited the notables of the town. Wherever he went, people came running to see him.

Then, following an interval, he travelled to Marseilles.¹ He is said to have received very great honors on arriving there. He then proceeded to Paris, where some persons honored him; but these did not include the French Emperor, Napoleon, who was unwilling to meet him, nor certain of the cabinet ministers. He next travelled to Egypt, where he was also honored, and returned again to France. There was some ill feeling between him and the Prime Minister, caused in part by his demand for a title.

He had a strong party of supporters [in France]. He wrote a letter to the Prime Minister; but because of the presence of his opponents he could no longer stay in France, and therefore went to Rome. Then he addressed a letter to His Excellency Dâwûd Pasha in Lebanon, in which he offered evidence to show the injustice of the position His Excellency

(1) Actually, to Algeria. Karam on the evening of January 31, 1868, boarded a French ship in Beirut with his secretary Rizqullah Khaḍrâ and eight companions who accompanied him into exile. (Khâzin, *Yûsuf Baik Karam fî-l-Manfâ*, p. 3.)

had taken and to clear his own name. [Copies of the letter] are to be found in the possession of most of the wealthy class.¹

After he had arrived in Rome, visited the residence of the Supreme Pontiff, Pope Pius IX, and received the [Papal] blessing, he remained there for a while. Letters were sent on his behalf to the Sublime Porte urging that he be permitted to return to his own country. This permission was not granted, although he was permitted to go wherever he wished other than Lebanon and the adjacent territories. He next travelled to Athens, in Greece, and then elsewhere. Efforts to secure his return [to Lebanon] have continued to be made until the present time.

p. 153 As for Dâwûd Pasha, after Yûsuf Bey's departure, he ruled with justice in Lebanon. Throughout his period of rule he continued the general land survey. He levied the mîri tax on the basis of property and number of inhabitants and collected it at the rate of a total of 7,000 purses, over and above the back-taxes.² He handled matters well throughout the land. He appointed a total of eight overseers in the various muqâṭa'as (administrative districts) with a director under each of them. He was exceedingly zealous in building up the country and spreading this activity to all areas. He took a part of the Biqâ' under his authority by a kind of trusteeship arrangement, as a first step toward its eventual incorporation into Lebanon. He also sought to include Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, and a part of al-Ḍinnîya within the borders of the country, and to make Lebanon free like other places. In this he was supported by France. For some time the country enjoyed complete peace and tranquillity; and having secured this pacification, he went to Constantinople to request that his above-mentioned objec-

(1) This appears to mean that Karam sent copies of his letter to a large number of influential persons.

(2) "*Mâ 'adâ al-aqlâm al-khârija*": literally, "except for the external taxes," an expression for which there seems to be no explanation. A guess has been made here, suggested on good authority, that the intended expression was "*al-aqlâm al-muta'akhhira*," i.e., back-taxes.

tives be granted. To govern in his absence he appointed an administrative council presided over by Na'ûm Effendi Qîqânû.

When Dâwûd Pasha arrived in Constantinople several members of the government devised a stratagem against him. They advised him to demand the inclusion of the above-mentioned areas in Lebanon, and to demand also that no Pasha other than himself should be sent to Lebanon. If these demands were not granted, he would resign in protest and, rather than accept his resignation, the Porte would be obliged to meet his terms. Accordingly he made his demands, and when they were not accepted, he presented his resignation to the Sublime Porte in protest. But his resignation was accepted at once; for Fu'âd Pasha, whom we mentioned earlier, had deceived him.¹

On an earlier occasion,² when His Beatitude Patriarch Bûlus had paid a visit to Constantinople, the Porte had appointed Franco Effendi to look after him and attend to his needs. The Patriarch had taken a strong liking to Franco Effendi and sought an appointment for him. Therefore when Dâwûd Pasha resigned, Franco Effendi was raised to the rank of Pasha and appointed Mutaşarrif of Lebanon.³

He arrived in Lebanon in 1868 and established his rule over the country, continuing the organization of affairs that had been left by his predecessor. He developed friendly relations with His Beatitude the Patriarch and all the bishops and other clergy. He was a man well suited to the times. He established new bureaux to carry out orders previously

(1) Dâwûd's expressed desire to add the above-mentioned areas to Lebanon is explained as a bid to recoup his rapidly dwindling popularity in Lebanon. (Khâzin, *Yûsuf Baik Karam fi-l-Manfâ*, pp. 66-7. See also Jouplain, p. 506.)

(2) In 1867. See Dibs, p. 553.

(3) Naşri Franco Pasha had served as secretary to Fu'âd Pasha's mission to Lebanon in 1860-1861, at which time he had established friendly relations with Yûsuf Karam. (Khâzin, *Yûsuf Baik Karam fi-l-Manfâ*, p. 68.)

p. 154 issued by the Porte which Dâwûd Pasha, out of affection for the Lebanese population, had ignored. His Excellency [Franco Pasha] now commanded that these orders be put into effect. They included a tax levied on petitions, promissory notes, deeds of sale, and other such documents. He dismissed a number of soldiers, clerks, and postal officials; he lowered some salaries and increased others. He removed people living near the clergy. He collected revenue that had previously been neglected for years. After continuing as governor for five years he contracted an incurable disease, which lasted about four months until his death in Beirut. Prior to his death he had ordered that he be buried in the Durûb cemetery in al-Ĥâzimîya, above Beirut. He was buried there as he had asked, and his tomb is still to be seen there.

[During Franco Pasha's illness] the direction of the government had been provisionally delegated to the administrative council headed by Shaikh 'Id Ĥâtîm. After his death the matter was referred to the Sublime Porte, which confirmed the authority of the provisional regime. This arrangement continued for about four or five months.

After this interval Rustum Pasha "the Italian" arrived in Lebanon as Mutaşarrîf. Greater powers were delegated to him than those of his predecessors. Conditions remained unchanged, however, except for the fact that he dismissed a number of officials from the administrative departments such as the Daftar-khâneh (land registry), the military council, and others; he also transferred the collection of debts to the Treasury, and issued other orders which it would be difficult to enumerate. He showed his concern for the welfare of the populace by opening institutions of learning in most inhabited regions. The funds for teachers' salaries he raised from the pockets of all government officials, from himself down to the ordinary policeman, taking two and a half piastres out of every hundred [of every official's salary], from each according to his means. By government decree these schools were open to all sections of the population in accordance with the districts they inhabited. Students were taught simple reading, grammar, arithmetic, and hand-

p. 155 writing. The "Azīziya" school in Dair al-Qamar, employing six teachers in the above-mentioned subjects and other subjects as well, was the largest in Lebanon, excepting the "Dâwûdiya" school in Bait al-Dîn and a similar one in 'Abbaih for the Druse sect. The teachers received salaries in accordance with their responsibilities. Among the schools was one in Kfar Dabyân, opened on December 8, 1873, which had two teachers: the priest Ilyâs al-'Aqîqi for simple reading, with permanent status at a monthly salary of 100 piastres, and the priest Yûḥannâ Salâm for grammar and arithmetic, on a temporary basis at a salary of 150 piastres.

CHAPTER III

LETTERS RELATING TO THE KISRAWAN REBELLION

p. 159 I. — (*Compact among members of the Khâzin family*)

Whereas the well-known prevailing conditions, which are known to all, require that we be united in outlook and deed in all that is related to our interests in the removal of oppression, whether against us or by us against anyone, and that we all behave in accordance with the requirements of law and justice; and whereas our people are so numerous: we have established as our representatives (wakîls) to arrange these interests our brothers HÛṣn and Qa'dân, and to expend all that is required for that, whether in expenditures or favors, with all that is necessary, be it little or much, entrusting that to their judgment, wisdom, and conscience; whatever they spend, we are bound as a group to repay it to them. It shall be distributed on us equally according to our income, without question, but only according to their statement and their conscience. For their part, they are obliged to deal with these interests earnestly and perseveringly, in all that is required, and to be mindful of these interests. We have made a compact with them and have called as our witnesses the Creator—may He be exalted over us, and may His names be glorious!—the Holy Eucharist, and the Mother of God, whose purity is universal, to witness that we shall be obedient to them (the two wakîls) and follow what they tell us regarding our interests and what concerns our joining together in, and preparation for, conduct satisfactory to the Almighty,—may He be exalted!—to the head of our

p. 160 religious denomination, the reverend Patriarch whose beatitude is universal, to those in authority, and to the rights of mankind. Similarly they (the representatives) have called as their witnesses the Creator—May He be exalted!—the Holy Eucharist, and the Mother of God, that on their part there will be no neglect of what these interests require, nor any deceit as to expenditures, whether by excess or deficiency, and that they will do all that is required. Whoever leaves us in disagreement, the mass of us shall be against him and deal with him as he deserves; and on this our satisfaction and agreement are complete.

Recorded on the 13th of December, 1858.

Concurring,

The family of Abû-Naufal al-Khâzin.

II.— (*Letter from certain villages to Patriarch Bâlus Mas'ad*)

To the most holy Father, may God prolong his reign!

After kissing the places where your sacred feet have trod, and seeking your Apostolic blessing forever, we submit to you the following petition:

The disturbances that have taken place in this district are no secret to Your Beatitude. Because of them we have been robbed of our peace, on account of the presence of ignorant people. Whereas on this date your son our brother Shaikh Saj'ân al-'Uḍaimî came to us on behalf of the people living in the region of al-Zûq, asking of us to unite with them in order to bring peace to all us, we, your children the people of the villages whose names are recorded at the end of this petition, therefore met in the village of Dlibtâ on the 12th of this month. After deliberation with the representatives (wakîls) of all our people, we came to an agreement. Since Your Beatitude is considered to be a spiritual father to us, we present to Your Beatitude this petition, which we beg you to examine with a generous eye, with an explanation of the headings listed above, so that by force of your superior wisdom you will be obliged in conscience to secure the return of our rights to us, not only for the present but for always.

p. 161 Since your children who are presenting this are unable to

secure for themselves the foregoing and Your Beatitude will feel obliged to inquire about that, we therefore repeat our plea, knocking at the gates of your paternal justice and compassion, saying: Look at our weakness and save us from our oppressor. As for the question of the office of ma'mûr, this we entrust to the command and the wish of Your Beatitude. Whomever you consider suitable to deal with our situation and able to restore the general peace, we shall recognize his orders. Whereas not everything is explained in our petition, at this time the bearers of this petition who were appointed to present it to you will lay the matter before you more adequately. All depends on what your commands call for. May God prolong your reign!

Again we kiss the places where your feet have trod.
Your Beatitude's children,

The people of

Al-Judaida, Shnan'îr, Dlibtâ, 'Aramûn, Ghûstâ, Baḥâ.

December 17, 1859.

III. — (*The demands of the people, referred to in the preceding letter, No. II*)

Statement of the items requested by which peace may be secured for us and for Their Excellencies the Shaikhs.

First: that the collection of the [mîri] tax money be in accordance with principles, and likewise the head tax, falling on the great and the small according to the register instituted by His Grace Shakîb Pasha, so that even the Shaikhs shall be obliged to pay what is apportioned to them in the collective and head taxes, without the people having to bear an excessive head tax.

p. 162 *Second:* Whereas oppressions, wrongdoings, exaction of extras from travelers and servants, and the money transfers (hawâlât) taken from the people by the dissimulations of Their Excellencies the Shaikhs, are contrary to the laws of the Sublime State and the benevolent decrees,¹ when these

(1) "*Al-tartîbât al-khairîya*": apparently a reference to the Hatti Humayûn of 1856.

deeds are ascertained by whatever body is designated, whether the present [judicial] council or another, the doer of these offenses and of violations of the law, after confirmation, must return and repay what he has taken in its entirety.

Third: the presents and marriage taxes currently paid to Their Excellencies the Shaikhs in certain places, or the presents to the Shaikhs attached to the sale of their goods to the people, must be discontinued and removed in their entirety.

Fourth: As for the question of the office of ma'mûr, which is of the greatest importance, having to do with governing the people and removing grievances and violations, the ma'mûr must govern in accordance with justice and law so that there shall be no further disputes between us and Their Excellencies the Shaikhs. Whoever is appointed to deal with our affairs, we pray that he will be deserving of this position and worthy of it, and possessing all the conditions suited to the authority and activities of ma'mûrs. Similarly it is incumbent on all the people to render their due obedience and consideration to the ma'mûr, he being distinct from the mass of the people, and there must be great efforts made to keep his commands. For every village one or two representatives (wakîls) should be instituted, according to the large or small size of the village, so as to achieve peace and facilitate the ma'mûr's orders and to facilitate his work and interests without hindrance.

p. 163 *Fifth:* Whereas the Sublime State—may the Lord of Creation preserve it!—has granted us universal equality and complete freedom, so that there should be no distinctions or degradations in addressing persons, and so that all the old principles should be changed in regard to the registers,¹ and whereas new taxes have been levied on all, we pray that all this may be kept in mind by Your Beatitude.

Sixth: The submission of the question of ma'mûrs in Kisrawân to the decision of Your Beatitude is done on condition that the authority of the ma'mûr be effective on

(1) "*Al-kitâbât*": apparently the registers of tax assessment.

everyone without exception in accordance with the reform measures taken, so that from now on no one will be set apart and distinguished from the general public except for the ma'mûr himself. As for those remaining of Their Excellencies the Shaikhs, if any offenses on their part occur against the people, they shall be punished in accordance with the laws upon confirmation by the council, as it shall be done also to offenders from among the people.

IV. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Previously a petition was laid before you from us in particular and from the [Khâzin] family in general, concerning the prevailing conditions and the excitement, in simple form. We all agreed on complete quiet and forbearance from the least possible cause [for trouble], so much so that we were willing to bear all insults, expecting that in that way the situation would become quiet. For the complaint of those who were excited was against the overlordship of the family, and we thought that if we gave up the overlordship, the excitement would cease. We were all expecting Your Beatitude to honor us [with a visit] to prescribe the treatment [to cure this situation]. At this time there arose anew various aims to further this excitement. A council was formed in al-Zûq exceedingly well situated to spread these aims because of the connection of this council to Beirut.

p. 164 There was in this council a strange diabolic policy to impregnate everyone in Beirut, from the high-ranking to the humble, with those of the aims that was appropriate to him: to the governor what was agreeable to him, to the Qâ'im Maqâm the same; the Muslim would be indoctrinated with what he desired, the foreigner the same, and similarly the Christians of various sects. By this indoctrination you see that the excitement was agreeable to all; and in the same way the policy was used with the common people. The wise persons among the people tried to persuade the council that the [proper] aim was solely to improve and reform the overlordship, not to destroy it, and that should the excitement reach too high a degree, the reform would not be achieved. The ignorant people have been fully indoctrinated, each

according to his interests. The agitators among the people are persuaded that since they have openly become involved in hostility [to the Khâzin family], they no longer have security in the continuance of the family or its authority, for whenever the situation becomes quiet, the family will certainly destroy them. There now prevails a hellish situation, so much that they cannot imagine that the pillars of hell could support more. And what has newly happened in stimulating the excitement would take a long time to describe. The day before yesterday there was a plot to gather the people together and send them to Beirut. The agitators arranged that Tânyûs Shâhîn of Raifûn, the wakîl of the villages, would get up at night, fire shots in his house, and call for help saying that the Shaikhs had ambushed him. This was done; a large crowd gathered and went down to al-Zûq, from whence they were sent to Beirut. A petition was formed for every village, containing the enumeration of all sorts of outrages and composed according to the inclinations of all [the types of people] we have mentioned. With them [the crowd from Zûq] went members of the polyglot council of al-Zûq and other people from al-Zûq. And the next night, which was the day before yesterday, there was another trick, by which Şâlih Jirjis Manşûr was also "attacked," and shots were fired in the night, until the excitement reached the highest degree. The people of 'Ajaltûn brandished their weapons at our cousins, insulted them with unbearably insolent words, and threatened them with destruction. Our cousins stood by their weapons and wrote to our cousins in Ghûsţâ to come and defend them. They remained in this situation and kept their patience till morning. In brief, the imminence of bloodshed has become closer than the eyelid is to the eye. May the Creator be gracious by answering your prayers and preventing ruin. It will now have become apparent to your wisdom and zeal how necessary it is that you should hasten to honor us [with a visit], even if you are in poor health—may God forbid such a thing. This petition of ours is presented in a spirit of loyalty to Your Beatitude, and for this reason we make bold to submit that the prevailing opinion among the common people is

that the delay in your honoring us [by coming] results from indifference, while most of the intelligent people explain that the delay is made in order that the matter be dealt with in the proper way. But actually the situation is otherwise, for with your delay the excitement is increasing hour by hour, and the danger of ruin is imminent, as we submitted. This is all that could be presented briefly. The matter rests with you. May your life be long.

‘Abbâs Shaibân al-Khâzin.

V. — (*To Patriarch Mas‘ad, on the eve of the peasant revolt.*)

O most holy Father, universal in blessedness:

After kissing your sacred footsteps and seeking the goodness of your apostolic prayers:

p. 166 Our petition concerns the fact that discord has arisen between us and their respected Excellencies Shaikh Yûsuf Radwân and Shaikh ‘Abbâs Shaibân al-Khâzin. We now understand that all Their Excellencies the Shaikhs of the Khâzin family are meeting in one of the villages of Kisrawân and are gathering together with the intention of besieging us in our places and robbing us of our possessions. We do not know whether they will actually do that or not, but for fear that they might carry out their intentions we are presenting this petition to Your Beatitude’s sacred hands, seeking your paternal compassion, that you may consider our protection in accordance with the wisdom of Your Blessedness. At the same time we have presented petitions to His Grace the Consul General of the great French Government, for the sake of our safety and in consideration of the matter of our protection. Everything depends on the command of Your Beatitude. May God perpetuate the days of Your Blessedness, our master.

Your servants,

The people of Zûq Mikâyil.

December 10, 1858.

VI. — (*To Patriarch Mas‘ad*)

Most Holy Father,

After stooping to kiss the ground where your most

sacred feet have trod, praying for long life for your noble Beatitude, and seeking blessing from your most holy mouth forever, we beg to submit the following petition:

p. 167 Your Beatitude is not unaware of the case of Ilyâs Ibn Yûsuf al-Zukh and how he was lost for a period of a month and a half, and how his return was sought by means of threats of ecclesiastic punishment emanating from Your Beatitude. And now 'Abdullah Jarbû' has come from Bqâ'tûtâ and testified in writing recorded by our priests and prominent men of the village that their respected Excellencies Shaikh Haikal Tûmâ and Shaikh Sarkîs Jâd al-Khâzin seized him [ie. Ilyâs] in a place called Sâqiyat al-Ḥarîqa at the outskirts of the village and sealed his mouth with a handkerchief. This was on Tuesday evening. After they had tied him, and the aforesaid 'Abdullah and this prisoner went with them to Sâqiyat Bqâ'tûtâ, the aforesaid 'Abdullah left them and went home, while Their Excellencies took the prisoner on the road and went toward the Monastery of Our Lady; and it is not known what else happened. This is what was contained in the transcribed report.

We have laid the matter before Your Beatitude so that all may be known to you. We prostrate ourselves at the feet of Your Beatitude in supplication that you command us to do whatever is right, hopeful that we shall continue to be included in your prayers. May Almighty God prolong the noble presence of Your Beatitude forever. Amen.

The people of Mazra'a
Kfar Dabyân.

December 18, 1858

VII. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most Holy Father, may God prolong his life, Amen.

p. 168 After kissing the places where your most sacred feet have trod, with all humility and respect, and seeking the Apostolic Blessing from your most holy mouth forever, we beg to submit the following petition:

The news is known to have reached your noble ears of the dispute existing among the family of Their Excellencies

the Khâzin Shaikhs because of their devious plans about which they have their secret thoughts. This dispute has done obvious harm to us. Although one group among them desire us to support them in order to complete their plans that they have laid and the other does not want us to give our support, both are employing insults and blows on us to fulfill their aims. Because of this we are caught in a [painful] dilemma, so much so that from the start of this dispute we have had no security, peace, or quiet. For if we obey the one side, the other will set a trap for us to upset our peace; and matters have already progressed in that way more than we could bear, by the outright killing, which is well known to Your Beatitude, of some of the prominent persons among us, by robbing us of our property, and by outrages. All this time we kept quiet, hoping that this was a temporary incident and would pass away and cease, and desiring to keep the peace and taking into consideration the nobility of their forefathers. Now, upon thorough consideration and deliberations upon that matter by all of us, we have found that the past, as compared to the present and the future, is to be reckoned as nothing. For this reason we can no longer bear the unbearable, and in protection to the lives of all of us and in order to preserve our honor and status, we, the people of the villages listed below, have met together, and after thorough consideration of our existing means of protection against the evils we have enumerated, we have found no sure way to ward off the said evils from us as a group and individually, except to bind ourselves together in a spirit of love free from deceit, and to stand aside from all provocations. Upon the occurrence of oppression in any village, a petition shall be presented to whomever is in authority on behalf of all of us as a group. This bond has been entered into by all of us, and we have confirmed it by solemn oaths. We have drawn up a list of our grievances to clarify our compact. And because the peace of your children is a special concern of Your Beatitude, it was necessary to present this petition to your blessed person, so that it might reach the honored ears of Your Beatitude. Consequently, if now you command anything conducive to the welfare of your oppressed children concerning what we asked of God, whose station

is illustrious, He will guard for us the honor of your presence, coupled with glory and power. We repeat the kissing of the earth under your sacred feet with great reverence and humility. May God, be He exalted, prolong your presence forever. Amen.

The people of Ghâdir, J'îtâ, Ballûna, Dârarryâ, 'Ajaltûn, Raifûn, 'Ashqût, Biq'âtâ, al-Qlai'ât, Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân.

(No date)

VIII. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most Holy Father,

After kissing the ground under Your Beatitude's pure feet, seeking your Apostolic blessing, and offering prayer to God for the continuance of your life forever, we submit the following petition to your noble personage:

It is not hidden from Your Beatitude at this time that there prevails a great uneasiness over the presence of the Shaikhs in the seat of the Maronite faith, on the part of all the people. We beg Your Beatitude most earnestly to remove them from the said place, for the chief reason [for the trouble] is their presence there, as is known. It is not possible to put off and delay the people except by [the Shaikhs'] removal, by bringing a large band of men. In any case, Your Beatitude does not wish this cause [of trouble], for far be it from your wishes that it should heppen. In addition to this, we beg that
p. 170 peace may be made general and the trouble ensuing from this business be averted. With all honor and respect we repeat the kissing of your feet, and may God — be He exalted — prolong your life forever.

Your children

The people of the villages of Kisrawân.

January 3, 1859

IX. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most Holy Father,

After kissing the ground where your feet have trod, with all honor and respect, seeking the Apostolic blessing from

your most holy mouth forever, and praying for the continuance of the honor of Your Beatitude's presence, we submit the following petition:

Yesterday morning, Tuesday, two men came to us from al-Qlai'ât asking that wakîls be sent from the district of Dlibtâ, 'Aramûn, and al-Judaida to attend a meeting in the village of Raifûn. There was general debate; and this, by request of Shaikh Tânyûs Shâhîn, was verbal, without written record. After the two men went away from us, our brother Shaikh Saj'ân al-'Uḍaimî came with about 40 men, carrying in his hand a written statement signed by the wakîls, the portent of which, according to its literal text, was, "Kindly give consideration [to what we requested of you]". We, your children, have consulted among ourselves [and agreed] to go tomorrow, Thursday, to Dlibtâ and ask the people of Ghûstâ and Shnan'îr. After deliberation among ourselves, we shall give him a reply. We have noticed in regard to Saj'ân that he has never taken from us any written commitment to unite with him or with the wakîls, so he feels free to mistreat any of us going toward Jûniya and elsewhere.

p. 171 Since the meeting is tomorrow, we shall give him the reply in Dlibtâ. We must present our case to the ears of Your Beatitude so that everything may continue to be known to you. We ask God — be He exalted ! — to support your leadership and inspire you with whatever may lead to the welfare of your people. We repeat the kissing of your footsteps with all humility forever.

Your children,
The people of 'Aramûn and Judaida.

January 12, 1859

X. — (*The statement from the wakîls mentioned in letter No. IX*)

To Their Excellencies our esteemed and respected brothers.

After offering our respects and asking about your wishes:

A number of persons are coming from your villages to make it clear that all of your people are united in deed and word, and that your inclinations are the same as ours. Inas-

much as a series of reports have been reaching us of actions by certain people among you in conflict with our actions and the good of the populace, it is necessary for our brother Saj'ân al-'Uḍaimi to visit each of your villages to learn the truth from all of the population that wish to unite with us. Their union [with us] will be in accordance with what they are told by our brother Saj'ân, whom we have mentioned. Whoever is in opposition, — God forbid ! — he will inform us so that we may be on our guard; and this is sufficient.

Your brothers,
The people of the allied villages.

(signed):	Anṭûn Bishâra Qaṭṭân	(seal)
	Ilyâs Khaḍrâ	(seal)
	Şâliḥ Jirjis	(seal)

p. 172 XI. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father, may God — be He exalted ! — prolong your life.

After respectfully kissing the ground where Your Beatitude's pure feet have trod, seeking your Apostolic blessing, and praying to the Almighty — may He be exalted ! — to grant perpetuation of your life:

In accordance with your command, we sent Your Beatitude's letter to the Fathers the priests of al-Mazra'a, with the muleteer Naşr As'ad of Biq'âtâ. No sooner had he arrived at Nahr al-Şalîb than he was met by a group from the organization of al-Mazra'a. They beat him and struck him even more than they had done before, although he made them understand that he had the honor of bringing a letter from Your Beatitude to their priests. At that, they snatched the letter and opened it, increasing their boisterousness and speaking in the terms that are typical of them. After much discussion they released him upon certain conditions, particularly that if one of us killed any of your children, he should be brought to justice. To date we have not received a reply to forward to you, nor the flour. [?] It was necessary to lay this before you so that you may command what Your Grace wills. The purpose of our plea is that we should continue to

enjoy your satisfaction. We repeat the kissing of the ground under your feet and direct our prayers to the Almighty — may He be exalted ! — to preserve your presence for the support and pleasure of everyone forever.

Your son,

Amîn Kisrawân al-Khâzin.

January 18, 1859

p. 173 XII. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father,

After kissing the ground under the pure feet of Your Beatitude, seeking your Apostolic blessing and praying to the Almighty to prolong your life forever, we submit the following petition:

News has reached us that you convened some of the wakîls and talked to them concerning three ma'mûrs, one for each district ('uhda). Formerly they used to receive their authority from the government, since they were government officials. It is not we who sanction their authority, and we shall not make any written acknowledgment of their authority over us. We beg Your Beatitude, inasmuch as you are seeking [their appointment, to wait till] after they go with us before the court of justice, and in accordance with its decision, we we shall accept whatever you command. For if they do go to Beirut [to the court] it will be only by your issuing an order to them. It is not expected that you will destroy the rights of your poor children. We wish you had proceeded with this action, before impositions and losses befell us, by doing what would have been more suitable. For now some of them have returned to their places and are full of insults and derision. From the beginning, had we employed their methods, we would have secured peace rather than respecting Your Beatitude, your prosperous council (Diwan), and the commands of His Grace [the Qâ'im Maqâm], may God support him. For it appears that our obedience to him [the Qâ'im Maqâm] has led to the destruction of our houses, as signs indicate to all our people. We have presented to Your Beatitude and to the Government a general wakîl who will present what we

request from the Khâzin family and will consult us on anything new that arises. When we heard this news we went to him because he was sick, and these things were unknown to him. Because of this reply of his we have dared to submit this petition. And if your reply is issued to our general wakîl in Raifûn [Ṭânyûs Shâhîn] we shall do what you command. With all deference and respect we again kiss your feet. May God prolong your life forever.

Your servants,
the people of the villages.

March 1859

XIII. — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn*)

For the attention of His Excellency the esteemed Shaikh Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, may his life be long.

Our esteemed, beloved, dear, most exalted, and respected son, may his life be long.

After presenting you with the appropriate greetings and inquiring after your previous health and your well-being:

We inform your reverence that on the last Feast of Our Lady, which fell on the 15th of August, we sent the mule-driver of the monastery to buy cheese from Sha'ra in the Ba'albak country. The said mule-driver placed in the hands of one Jirjis Jibrân, from Mrâh al-Mîr, the cost of 40 raṭls¹ of cheese, the price per raṭl being 8½ gold and 2 silver pieces. The cheese was to be brought here and weighed on our scales. The said Jirjis brought us 20 of the original 40 raṭls at that time, but the remainder of the requested amount he has delayed in bringing till the present time. Some time ago we sent the monastery mule-driver to him with a paper stating our request for what belongs to us, but at that time he had left his house and the muleteer returned having accomplished nothing. And now, since we understand that you have authority and that you restore lost rights, we appeal to your celebrated zeal to restore the rights of your monastery. For on account of the procrastination of this person we have been

(1) A raṭl equals two and one-half kilograms.

p. 175 compelled to buy cheese at a price of 15 per raṭl, and for this he must reimburse us for the difference. That is what we have to say; because of your zeal there is no need for further clarification. May the Lord... to us your presence perpetually. February, 1859...

Appealing to you

The priest

(signature illegible)

The servant of the Monastery of Bishâra.

XIV. — To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn and Ḥabîb Jâmâti

Favored with the attention of Their Excellencies our great and illustrious brothers, the respected Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, general wakîl, and Ḥabîb Jâmâti, may their lives be prolonged.

To their Excellencies our respected brothers, may their lives be prolonged.

After our respects and bearing witness to you our brothers' goodness and generosity:

We inform you our brothers that Qa'dân Bey [al-Khâzin] arrived tonight in al-Mazra'a. We did not know where he was heading, for sunset had come. Eight men were with him. For our part, we are still hindered up to today from finishing the matter of which you are aware. We pray you to inform us frankly of the latest developments and what was decided with His Beatitude. If it is necessary for us to come now, we shall come with all possible speed, even if our interests demand otherwise, for they are private, while your interests are general. We beg a reply with all possible speed, for we are in great anxiety because we know nothing of what has been happening. It appears that we shall complete our business soon. May your life be prolonged.

Written by your brother,
Ḥabîb al-Khûri 'Aqîqi.

February 20, 1859

p. 176 (Postcript)

After we wrote this it occurred to us to send some people to him. A great crowd went to him, and immediately he left

the village in the middle of the night to go to Biq'âtâ. We shall send after him to discover what he is up to, and we shall inform you of it. We beg you not to agree with the Shaikhs to take up the case with them in the presence of His Beatitude, until you see the seals of the entire Khâzin family, young and old, affixed to their papers of authorization. You are more clear-sighted than we, and perhaps you will not accept their proposals, but ... we [should like to] remind you about this.

XV. — *To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most Holy Father,

After kissing the earth upon which Your Beatitude's pure feet have trod, seeking your Apostolic blessing, and offering prayers to God to prolong your life forever, we submit the following petition:

We were honored to receive Your Beatitude's letter and praised God that you are pleased. You wrote for us to come to kiss your footprints in order to deal with the matter. What we understand from the wakîls is that you spoke to them of three ma'mûrs, that is, ma'mûrs for each district ('uhda). But after the debate in the council concerning the previous dispute, and since Shaikh 'Abdullah Khaṭṭâr arranged in Beirut that on Monday, the fast day, they will come to the council, for that reason we refused to deal with matters until they came to the council. This is what we must lay before you. We repeat the kissing of your fingertips, and may God perpetuate the pleasure of your life forever.

p. 177

Your son,
Ṭânyûs Shâhîn.

March 6, 1859.

Your sons the wakîls of 'Ashqût: Kan'an Shîbîl, Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib, Sarkîs Mas'ad, 'Abdullah Mûsâ, Ḥannâ Ḍâhir al-Ḥâjj, Yûsuf Anṭûn Naṣr, Sarkîs Tâbit.

The wakîls of Biq'âtâ: Fâris Maṣṣûr, Janâdyûs al-Khûri, Jirjis Nu'mân, Yûsuf Khalwân.

The wakîls of Raifûn: Mârûn Barjîs, Nakhûl Şfair, Fâris al-Ḥawwât, Fâris Anṭûn, 'Abdullah Sim'ân, Maṣṣûr Daryân.

The wakîls of Qlai'ât: Ḥassân Şfair, Jirjis Ṭannûs Şfair, Buṭrus Kan'ân Kassâb, Wâkîm al-Qâ'i, Ya'qûb Mufarrij.

The wakîl of Dârâyâ: Fâris Mar'i.

The wakîl of Ballûna: Khalîl al-Mazzûq.

The wakîls of al-Suhaila : Yuḥannâ al-Shamâli, Şalîbâ al-Qâ'i, Sulaimân al-Shamâli.

The wakîls of J'îtâ: Naşr Niqûlâ, Mârûn al-Qîm.

The people of 'Ajaltûn.

p. 178 XVI. — (*Memorandum submitted by the villagers to Patriarch Mas'ad*)

The items demanded by us from the Khâzins:

Article 1. General claims shall be settled by two elected individuals, one elected to represent us and the second elected to represent the shaikhs. Whatever amount it is decided that they owe shall be paid immediately.

Article 2. The shaikhs shall pay the expenses that we have incurred because of them, our payment of the money exacted from us, and the fees of the wakîls.

Article 3. The rank of the shaikhs shall be the same as ours in all matters without any exception whatever.

Article 4. None of the shaikhs shall be appointed as a ma'mûr over us.

Article 5. The donation taxes which they are imposing upon us on the basis of receipts given at the time of their sale to us of places belonging to them, whereas they have been exacted by force, shall be null and void for the past, the present, and the future.

(No date).

XVII. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)¹

p. 179 After kissing the ground upon which Your Beatitude's sacred feet have trod, with all honor and respect, seeking the

(1) Written on the same paper and in the same handwriting as No. 16, according to Yazbec (p. 178).

the abundance of the Apostolic blessing, and praying for the honor of Your Beatitude's presence forever, we submit the following petition:

On Thursday, the 30th of last month, the respected Fathers Buṭrus Manassâ and 'Abdullah al-Mu'annaq came with several priests, by your orders, and a number of notables well known in all five villages [?]. There was a meeting of all our wakîls in the village of Raifûn, and after the meeting there were speeches by the priests and the others addressed to all our wakîls concerning Your Beatitude's orders for improvement and pacification of our relations with their Excellencies the Khâzin Shaikhs — a thing which we desire with all our hearts, in obedience to your command. From the beginning of the disturbances we have not rejected the idea of a reconciliation, which would bring peace to all of us. But it is no secret to you that Their Excellencies up to now have not ceased presenting petitions to the Government in which they make false complaints, while on the other hand they send petitions to Your Beatitude speaking of reconciliation, which throws doubt upon their good intentions. Besides that, they are finding ways to harm us by means of their oppressions. It has been confirmed to Your Beatitude by Shaikhs Ḥaidar and Râmiḥ and the priest Ighnâṭiyûs al-Khâzin, together with Buṭrus Ṭannûs of 'Ajaltûn and Manṣûr Buṭrus of Raifûn, how in the village of Liḥfid they were insulted and painfully beaten, so that as a result they were wounded and confined to their beds, and are [still] not free of danger. Nevertheless the fact is, in truth, despite their disreputable deeds and intentions they do evil things and attribute them to us. And now after our meeting, in accordance with your command, we have made up our minds that we shall all be satisfied with laying our wishes and our obedience in all humility under your command, hoping from the nobility and graciousness of your character that you will accept our petition here presented, and that it will receive consideration, in accordance with your wisdom, for what peace and tranquillity it may promote for all of us. In presenting it we offer our obedience to you in our own words, for the sake of our tranquillity. We

pray that it may be accepted, and in all respects authority is yours. The object of our plea is that we may continue to enjoy your pure and noble consideration. May God prolong the honor of your presence forever. Amen.

Your children,

The people of Kisrawân in a body.

XVIII. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father, may your life be perpetuated.

After kissing your pure footprints with all respect and seeking your Apostolic blessing forever, we submit the following petition:

We understood the letter that came from His Excellency Shaikh Yûsuf 'Id al-Khâzin to Their Excellencies his cousins, and the earnestness of the message of the wakils to his Excellency. Because of this it seemed good to us to send the son of Your Beatitude, our son Yûsuf, in hopes that he might facilitate the handling of the matter with them. They replied only that it was impossible for them to accept a ma'mûr from among Their Excellencies the Shaikhs, and that they had certain rights that they intended to regain without anyone else's mediation. Our son [Yûsuf] understood from them that they remained determined and in a state of complete excitement that would pave the way to ruin, so that even if the office of ma'mûr were abolished, their aim would continue to obtain their rights which they are determined to have, without due process of law. For with conditions such as they are, we have become afraid that a cause of trouble may occur at any moment, and this time the situation is not safe as it used to be. We are ashamed to have to call upon the paternal zeal of Your Beatitude to prevent this excitement. Whatever you see fit to do and whatever God inspires you to do, we ask Him who is most high to keep Your Beatitude, and we repeat the kissing of your footprints. May your presence be prolonged forever.

Your son,

Ya'qûb al-Biṭâr.

May 8, 1859.

XIX. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father,

After kissing the ground upon which your pure feet have trod, seeking the Apostolic blessing from your holy mouth, and praying for the continuance of your leadership perpetually, we submit the following petition to your generous attention:

A man from one of our villages, Shnan'ir, a limeseller by trade, was asked by the most respected Bishop Aghâbiyûs to work for him. When he arrived in Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân he encountered some people of that village who beat him painfully and stripped him. Then two men from al-Judaida were found in another place by the trouble-makers and were treated in the same way as the man from Shnan'ir.

Then, following the foregoing petition: An official letter came from Tânyûs Shâhîn in which he mentioned that he plans to come with an army of 800 men to Mi'râb and ask from each of our villages 200 uqqâs (500 lb.) of bread, plus one piastre from each man. If we delay, he will send to the coastal towns for trouble-makers to come and assault us in order to procure the amount now demanded. Whereas we your children from the start have entrusted our situation to Your Beatitude, body and soul, and whereas from our part there has been no excitement or disorder, we must submit the matter to your compassion. Our complaint is that first of all, most of our villagers left their homes this year, some going to Beirut and some to other places. Because of the prevailing hardships, they could not grow silk because of the high prices of silkworms' eggs, and consequently were unable to earn their daily bread. Remaining thus in their houses, unable to buy their daily bread, how could they pay anything to Tânyûs? Nevertheless, we have found a way to reply to his demand. Perhaps he might place himself in the hands of Your Beatitude as we have done, put an end to the agitation, and bring peace and quiet to everyone. If the matter is dealt with in this way, then we shall exert ourselves to fulfill Tânyûs's request, even if it costs us two piastres for every one we give. And if — God forbid — they [Tânyûs and his men] continue to act as they

now do, this demand of theirs will bring them no return. On the contrary, ruin will doubtless come down upon them, soul and body. We advised them [of this] many times. But they did not accept our advice. May the Creator be generous to us and to them. This is what we must lay before you. We pray that we shall continue to enjoy your noble consideration. May God keep you with us for many years. Amen.

Your children	Your children	Your children
The people of	The people of	The people of
al-Judaïda.	Shnan'îr.	Dlibtâ.
Your children	Your children	
The people of	The people of	
'Aramûn.	Ghûstâ.	

May 19, 1859.

XX. — (*To the wakîls from Patriarch Mas'ad*)

The Apostolic blessing is extended over our children the most honorable wakîls of the village of Kisrawân.

p. 183 After sending our good wishes: We desire that you come to us in Bkirki on this day, Wednesday, even if it be after sunset, so that we may explain to you what is necessary concerning the current incidents. Do not delay in coming after these lines reach you. Once again the Apostolic blessing is extended over you.

June 15, 1859.

The poor Bûlus	Bûlus.
Buṭrus, ¹ Patriarch	The seal of Buṭrus
of Antioch.	Patriarch of Antioch.

XXI. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father,
After kissing the places where the pure feet of Your Beatitude have trod, and seeking the Apostolic blessing from your most holy mouth forever, we submit the following petition:

(1) Buṭrus (Peter): Name traditionally adopted by Maronite Patriarchs.

This evening, Monday, Farj Qalâwis of 'Ashqût came to us from you and explained to us verbally that it was Your Beatitude's idea that some men from the villages should go to His Excellency the Illustrious Amîr Ḥasan.¹ We did not know the reason necessitating that, for we were not at fault and had done nothing against him. And if there have been persons pursuing their own aims who have made petitions to His Excellency which are at variance with realities, that is something to which we have done nothing similar. On the contrary, at all times we are obedient to your orders and the orders of the Sublime State — may the Lord of Creation preserve it! This is what we must lay before you, and whatever seems best to you, tell us of it. For all our people are obedient p. 184 to whatever you command, and we continue to offer many prayers for your welfare. May God perpetuate your life.

Your children,

The wakîls of the villages of Kisrawân.

June 22, 1859.

XXII. — (*To Tânyus Shâhîn*)

To his most illustrious and glorious Excellency:

After presenting our respects and asking after your precious health — may God, be He exalted, grant that you are in perfect health, — we submit the following:

What has happened on the part of the army is that their intention is to go up and distribute munitions. We hope that you will understand your business and make the necessary arrangements and be on your guard. For the number of soldiers includes 250 men, plus 90 irregulars and Albanians, not more. Do not expect them to be more. What I understood from the soldiers themselves is that at the beginning of the battle they will surrender to you. The Shaikhs have gone to Kâkhî Pasha, so, God willing, they will go up before the soldiers.

Enlist your men for service and prepare for battle, be-

(1) Amîr Ḥasan Abî-l-Lami', the acting Qâ'im Maqâm during the suspension of Bashîr Aḥmad.

cause if there is any surrender or running away in secret, the country would be ruined. For the Qawwâş (kevasş) of His Grace the French Consul conveyed this advice to us. Take care that none of the enemies cheat you, for they are deceitful and confirmed cheaters. We have from Ghâdîr about 50 men standing ready by their arms. So if it is necessary, let us know so that we may come. We hope there will be no fear; all the villages in our vicinity have come to us, having been informed by Your Excellency to come. Strengthen yourself for battle. May God give you victory over your foes, and may God prolong your life.

Your brother,
‘Abdullah al-Khûri.

July 17, 1859.

p. 185 XXIII. — (*To Ṭanyûs Shâhîn*)

To his illustrious, glorious, respected Excellency, may his life be prolonged.

After tendering our profuse respects and ardent good wishes, desiring your kind attention with all goodness and bounty:

We begin by saying that a debt is owed to us by Shaikh Sim‘ân Ibn Niqûlâ Ḥaidar Ḥubaish, of Ghazîr, in accordance with the written statement here enclosed, in the amount of 160 piastres, from last year. We have asked for it repeatedly, but he continues to procrastinate. We beg you to sign the enclosed letter for us with your seal at this time, for perhaps he will pay us. If he does not pay and yet does not contest our right, we know of no way to get the money except through your efforts, for you have the means of obtaining it, and your words are heeded by the said shaikh. He will accept what you say and desist from his procrastination and excuses. We ask the Almighty — may He be exalted — to prolong your life.

Your brother,
Mîkhâyil Āşâf.

September 8, 1859.

XXIV. — (*To Ṭānyūs Shāhīn*)

To His Excellency, the most illustrious, glorious, respected, and esteemed Ṭānyūs Bey, may his life be prolonged.

After expressing our hope that you are well and asking after your health:

We were honored to receive your letter dealing with the matter of the trouble that has arisen between Their Excellencies our brothers, Messrs. Ḥannâ Nahrâ al-Ḥaddâd and his nephews Ḥabîb and Ḥaidar. One of them, Ḥannâ, came to inform us of the aggressions of his nephews against him. p. 186 In this connection you directed us to send our brother Sim'ân 'Aṭâllah to investigate, and afterwards to give Your Excellency an account of the situation by means of a written report, so that justice might be done by punishing the aggressor by order of the Government. All that has been understood. But since we were quite certain of your constant desire for love and friendship with everyone, and that you absolutely did not want there to be any causes for the cessation of the general peace, in accordance with your upright inclinations we have resolved the issue between the two parties by sending the Fathers, the priests of the locality, and we have removed all issues between them to their satisfaction. As we said, since the existence of peace is pleasing to you, we have lost no time in securing it. We seek divine favor for your support, and may God prolong your life.

Your brothers,
The wakîls of 'Aramûn.

(No date).

XXV. — (*To Ṭānyūs Shāhīn*)

To his most illustrious, glorious, and respected Excellency, may his life be prolonged.

After tendering our respects and asking after your well-being, we submit the following petition:

On this date Sim'ân and Jirjis Rîḥân were carrying several raṭls of vegetables to sell them, when Fâris al-Ard and some people from Nahr al-Ṣalîb appeared, shouting to

p. 187 them that they were the tenants of Shaikh Yûsuf 'Id [al-Khâzin]. They took two Majîdi riyâls from them to keep until they [Sim'ân and Jirjis] could produce an order from Your Excellency to give back the two riyâls. We therefore beg you to give them [Sim'ân and Jirjis] a letter from Your Excellency to carry with them so that no one may obstruct them on the road, for we authorised them to take to Shaikh Yûsuf his provisions, vegetables, and all that he desires. Without a written statement from you they can bring nothing. This is what we have to say. May your life be prolonged.

You brother,
Buṭrus al-Ḥâjj.

September 18, 1859.

(Postscript):

Also, concerning the uncultivated [grazing] lands of Yûsuf 'Id [Shaikh Yûsuf al-Khâzin] there are complaints concerning them. We beg you to give them a letter to warn them so that this aggression shall not take place, because the cattle ... [rest of the phrase cut off].

XXVI. — (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father, may God perpetuate his noble presence.

After kissing the ground where your pure feet have trod with all humility and respect, and seeking the Apostolic blessing from your most pure mouth forever, I submit the following:

I was most honored to receive Your Beatitude's generous letter of the current [month?]. I praised God—may He be exalted!—for your well-being and peace of mind, seeking from Him—may He be praised!—to preserve for us your presence from all evils and troubles perpetually. What you commanded your son to do I have carried out; but no result has been obtained except that I have endured fatigue and have been consoled by my thoughts. This is what must be laid before you, hoping from... universal... [text illegible] that I may continue to enjoy your blessed favor and have

p. 188 the honor of serving you. I repeat the respectful kissing of the places where your pure feet have trod.

Your Beatitude's son

The one who is known to you.¹

October 17, 1859.

(Postscript):

Since you previously ordered me to remain here, I refer the messenger's fee to you. It was 29 piastres, of which one Majîdi Riyâl was to here [i.e., to deliver this letter] and the remainder to a messenger whom I sent to Brummânâ to deliver the reply to Shaikh 'Id [Ḥâtîm] in connection with the matter I had brought to his attention. Were it not for the large amount I paid for expenses neglected by everyone else, such as the cost of riding animals for journeys, messengers, and bearing the cost of food and drink, excluding the hardships of fatigue, I would not have brought this matter before you. I am at your command.

XXVII. — (*To Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb*)

I have the honor to kiss the hands of the much respected Father, the respected priest Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb, may God — be He exalted!—prolong his goodness and his life.

Most respected Father, may God—be He exalted!—prolong his goodness and his life.

After kissing your unblemished hands and seeking the benefit of your pure prayers of intercession forever, I submit the following matter to Your Fatherliness:

We were honored by a visit from the representative of the great state of France, who expressed his wish to see you in order to confer with you. This being the case, I, your Fatherliness's son, fervently hope that you will do the honor of visiting us. I am sending our mule-driver Jibrâ'il so that he may be at your service. Since, as I have said, your presence is fervently hoped for, we pray you to come, even though...

(1) Identified by Yazbec as Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb. (See above, p. 24, Footnote 2 ; p. 40, Footnote 1.)

p. 189 [illegible] as you desire. We shall not accept from Your Fatherliness any excuse for failing to come to us. We repeat the kissing of your hands, and may God—be He exalted!—prolong your life.

Your son,
Ṭânyûs Shâhîn.

October 18, 1859.

(Postscript):

The writer kisses your hands and asks after the health of Your Fatherliness, may his life be prolonged. We repeat our wish that Your Fatherliness come to honor us in the morning, and that in the interests of your comfort, arrangements have been completed to fulfill your desires. His Excellency the most illustrious gentleman Yûsuf Ḥabâlin kisses your hands and asks after the health of Your Fatherliness.

(seal) Ṭânyûs Shâhîn.

XXVIII. — To Yûḥanna Ḥabîb)

By the Grace of God,

Being favored with the attention of the gracious Father, the much respected priest Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb, may his life be long:

Most respected and gracious Father,

After a brotherly kiss and heartfelt wishes to behold your countenance content with every bounty:

We were most fortunate to receive Your Fatherliness's letter which reflected the perfection of your qualities and in which you displayed you treasured graciousness which has become known to us. May we not lose the bonds of your affection, and whatever good wishes you hold toward us, we reciprocate them many times over. We ask Him who is most high that by His grace we may meet at the earliest possible time.

p. 190 Then, concerning what you mentioned in connection with meeting His Excellency your son, Mr. Ṭânyûs Shâhîn:

[We note that] you and he did not come to an agreement, for Your Fatherliness wants first of all a letter from us so that the people can be informed of what the decision is. Above all Your Fatherliness knows that we have no object except solely the general good, which we love from the bottom of our hearts; for we see what harm is about to visit the people of Kisrawân should no measures be taken to heal this deadly and treacherous wound. Because of this, in view of our past and present love for the people of Kisrawân, we must exert ourselves in dealing with this matter which has been handled in a disorganised way, and which those with evil motives desire to spread. For what can be done, if the people do not agree on a single course, and our effort goes in vain? Therefore it is necessary that first the people reach agreement, whether it be to elect two ma'mûrs from the peasants plus a third outsider such as Yûsuf Karam, or something else; and after this agreement they should present petitions concerning the matter to the [Ottoman] Mushîr and to His Grace the esteemed General, our dean.¹ God willing, with His help we shall not overlook any means of solving this problem and of furthering the immediate and general good. The whole purpose is that the opinion of the masses may be resolutely united. We met with His Grace the General, and the necessary negotiations in this particular took place; God willing, the outcome of this matter will be favorable. Later another matter will be laid before you. If possible, hasten to present the petitions, signed by the populace, in accordance with what was agreed when we parted, so that an effort may be made to carry out the order as desired. Your Fatherliness is aware that the more there is neglect in finishing this action, the more difficult it will be to complete it in the end, and the more difficult it will be to heal this wound without p. 191 amputation. Because of your wisdom it is not necessary to elaborate excessively on this matter. Always send us news of what happens. We repeat the kissing of your hands

(1) Comte de Bentivoglio, the French Consul General.

a second and a third time, and may your bounty continue.

F. Leroy.

Hoping for your prayers,
Father Francis the Lazarite.
General Father in Syria.¹

October 20, 1859.

XXIX.— (*To Patriarch Mas'ad*)

Most holy Father,

After most respectfully kissing the ground under your pure feet, seeking the grant of the Apostolic blessing and offering of prayers of benevolence to preserve the honor of your presence forever, I submit the following:

I was honored to receive two letters, one a reply and one containing information. All that you commanded meets with the acknowledgment of your son. Praise be to Him who is most high for your well-being and comfort and the health of your most noble personage, who is the protection of peace and stability throughout the centuries. Enclosed in my petition is something I would be honored to have you look at. I seek the favor of being eternally included within the fold of happiness, and I repeat the kissing of the ground under your pure feet with the utmost respect.

Your Beatitude's son,
Father Yûḥannâ Ḥabîb.

October 27, 1859.

p. 192 XXX. — (*The enclosure referred to in Letter No. XXIX*)

What you wrote on the three pages meets with my obedience. First of all I ask you to overlook my anger that I displayed previously. It was prompted by fear of destruction, and I believe that your doing justice would meet with no obstruction from me because of my clear conscience. The 29

(1) Père Leroy was Father Superior of the 'Anṭûra monastery and chief of the Lazarite mission in Syria. Presumably this letter was written for him by a Lebanese colleague; the signature "F. Leroy" appears in Latin characters.

piastres that were paid to the messenger are still in his possession. He was greedy and wanted to take all of them, even though I had bargained with him for one Majîdi riyâl, the remainder being the wage of a messenger to Brummânâ. It has not been necessary to send him, for by chance someone was going that way, with whom I sent a short message to 'I. [i.e., 'Id Hâtim] ¹ as you ordered.

What happened newly is that I received a letter from the Amigo [i.e., Tânyûs Shâhîn] ² which I am sending you. I went to him, but did not find the government representative [i.e., the French Consul].³ He told me that that was a device on his part to prevent me from excusing myself from coming, for he knew of my anger at his actions. He told me that Padre Francis Leroy the Lazarite had come from the country to 'Ançûra. [The Padre] asked for [Tânyûs] so [Tânyûs] went to see him. [The Padre] inquired of him what was happening. [Tânyûs] told him that the people would only be satisfied with a ma'mûr from among the people themselves. The Father pledged himself to [Tânyûs] on that, that they would agree on an individual and present a petition to the government of the Mushîr and that of the [Consul] General. The Father advised him not to accept the office because it would be troublesome to him, and said that he [the Father] would arrange a fitting means of protection. He replied, p. 193 "I do not seek [the office], but if they were to agree on me, what could I do?" I was surprised at his words, and told him that I would not believe it till I had written to the Padre. I sent [the Padre] a letter containing an inquiry as to the substance of what the Amigo had told me, and saying that if it were true, the people ought to be informed of that. He sent me the enclosed reply; if convenient, have it returned to me. As for the Padre's enclosed comment, that he shares my opinion and the opinion of His Excellency, etc., he was ima-

(1) Yazbec's identification. See above, p. 37, Footnote 2.

(2) Yazbec's identification; evidently a code name.

(3) Yazbec's identification.

gining that I wrote to him that my belief was that [the ma'mûr] should be from the people themselves, while actually His Excellency and I simply agreed that [the Padre] should be asked for information. Both before the arrival of the Padre's reply and after it, the Amigo sent for his agents and clients and urged them to elect him as ma'mûr over Kisrawân within two or three days, for the Padre was trying to thwart him. They answered his request and toured the villages fulfilling his wishes. After the arrival of the Padre's reply to me, which was well known here, many people sent inquiries to me which I answered. I considered above all that we should agree on his election, because disagreement would only lead him to insist on his goal. He promised me that if this matter did not turn out in his interest, he would return and compromise, and would be satisfied to accept a ma'mûr chosen by the Qâ'im Maqâm, on condition that he be informed of him in advance so that he could see whether the nominee was acceptable. He would also make the condition that the man's subordinates must be from Kisrawân. This promise won my agreement, and the villages of the valley supported my opinion. As for the wakils of Zûq, the ignorant [i.e., common people] rose against them and cried in a loud voice that their ma'mûr was the Amigo. I stayed with the Amigo three days, constantly repeating [my views] to him. It appeared he was determined to have the office, and that if he did not get it because he was disqualified, he intended to transfer it to his nephew. Then the Padre promised me in his reply that he would write to me again, but to this date no information has come to me from him. So far no objections have been forthcoming and I do not know what has happened to the Amigo since I returned from him three days ago. For [at that time] he was concerned with the petitions and in a hurry to collect and present them. Today I received news that he was no longer hurried and that he said that I had the petitions for office [i.e., for his election], so there was no hurry. This led me to suppose that he had received word from the Padre that his request had not been fulfilled; and it is probable that it was not fulfilled, for the Consuls do not agree to it because he has incurred the anger of the government.

In my opinion the situation in Kisrawân will not improve, except either by compelling force to check the present growing rebellion — for even if they were to accept a ma'mûr chosen by the government and asked for him they would not obey him, — or by the Amigo compromising and solving the excitement, or by giving the office to him; and the latter is the quickest way to quiet the situation. It is also best for the [Khâzin] Shaikhs, for if the ma'mûr was someone other than he, they would be worried about their possessions, whereas if he were the ma'mûr, they would be able to return and regain their stolen possessions and provisions. For if the Amigo became the ma'mûr he would try to consolidate his position by doing justice and settling problems; for he would no longer indulge in extreme measures¹ nor heed the ignorant. He would be surrounded by prudent men, and would listen to them. This course would be more successful than others. All the courses have their dangers except for this one. But everyone will oppose this idea with heresy and unbelief and because the idea is sound, evil-doers and those with selfish aims will not allow it to be fulfilled. I wrote to Shaikh 'Id about it and also to the priest Ḥannâ [?], even though I might be considered ignorant or an unbeliever by other persons.

There is no response now from Beirut and the matter of the petitions of elections has become a passing amusement to the Government.

There continues to be speculation over the outbreak of fighting between the Christians and the Druses.

p. 195 The Mutasallim of Zaḥla² continues in his usual situation.

The school continues to be in the situation described.

When the Amigo asked for me, he entrusted me with the task of submitting to you what he had told me from the Padre, about the need to delay the matter³ until the reply arrived

(1) "*Yaṭbukh bi-l-khalâqîn*": literally, "cook in large pots."

(2) The Turkish Muslim official who had been placed over the town at the request of its inhabitants.

(3) I.e., selection of the ma'mûr.

from the Padre. After the reply came, I made him understand the necessity to wait for the letter that the Padre had promised us in his reply. I came from him in these circumstances, and I think there is no doubt that the Padre would have written to him and me, and did not send the letter because his request had not been fulfilled.

His Reverence Bishop Niqûlâ [Murâd] told me that he was wanted in Beirut. He came to Bzummâr and asked to meet the Amigo, while I was with him [Ṭânyûs]. So [Ṭânyûs] and I went together to Bzummâr, and he met with him in my presence to learn from him his decision and his intended course of action. He met only with insistence that the ma'mûr must be from among the people themselves, for the good of the populace. I noticed that it was important to His Reverence to keep in mind the interests of the Government, because he was intriguing with the Mushîr and his subordinates. I do not think that his concern extended to the agreement on the office of Mutasallim, at a time when he was primarily concerned with the Amigo becoming the ma'mûr. He wanted to defy [the villages in] the valley [of Kisrawân], but I opposed him saying that division [of the people] would give rise to destruction and excitement of the ignorant.

XXXI.— (*A page attached to a letter in the handwriting of Father Buṭrus Maṇṣur, dated October 30, 1859*)¹

We submit to Your Beatitude the following:

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On October 25 a letter reached us from His Grace the [Consul] General of the French Government, just as letters were sent to others than us, totalling seven in all: to His Reverence Bishop Niqûlâ Murâd; to the clergyman Janâdiyûs, general director of the Aleppine monks; to Father Francis Zwain; to Father Ḥannâ Ḥabîb; to Father 'Abdullah 'Aqîqi; and to Father Buṭrus Şfair. All of them carried a single theme: that the rumor spread by Ṭânyûs Shahîn and attributed by him to Padre Francis the Lazarite, that the said [Consul] General had voiced his wish that the said Ṭânyûs be ma'mûr

(1) Yazbec's identification. See above, p. 24, Footnote 2.

over Kisrawân — that this rumor troubled [the Consul] greatly, because there was no truth in it as regards either the [Consul] General or the aforementioned Padre. The only element of truth was that Ṭânyûs went to the said Padre expecting sympathy for the sake of his personal status and the status of Kisrawân in general, saying that the people desired a ma'mûr from among themselves. The aforementioned [Padre] replied that he would intercede with the [Consul] General to protect Ṭânyûs's person, and if possible, in the interests of Kisrawân, to secure the appointment of three ma'mûrs, one from outside and two from Kisrawân under his [the outsider's] orders. All this he made clear to him and submitted it to His Grace the Mushîr, but it brought no result except that [the Mushîr] expressed his anger and strong displeasure. This was the essence of the letter. He desires us to show his letter to the people in our district. For our part, since at the time the letter arrived we were in Ghazîr in order to deal with a claim in connection with our judicial functions, and it had to be finished, we were unable to be present at the time. We thought that the above-mentioned Fathers referred to, representing every district of Kisrawân, could make that [letter] public and seek to carry out the instructions given in the letter. When we departed from Ghazîr, on the road we met Fathers Yuḥannâ and Francis, and asked them what had taken place. They replied that the people of the valley were behaving as the [Consul] General asked, and that they had encountered no opposition. Therefore they are only awaiting the [reply of] the others; perhaps the reply will be unanimous. We in our district have publicized the letter, but the reply has not been complete. On this date a meeting is taking place in Raifûn, and there is still no agreement on a single reply. We ask the Creator — may He be exalted — through your prayers to grant what is beneficial for your children the people of Kisrawân as whole. We beg you, and beg again, to extend to your children the hand of your concern for them with what the Creator inspires you with for their welfare. Your wisdom is abundant. There is no need to send any reply, for we leave the matter to your discretion.

XXXII.— (*From Yuḥanna Ḥabīb¹ to Patriarch Mas'ad*)

I am submitting this secretly to your person, in view of my identity.

p. 198 After I was honored with Your Beatitude's letter and the secret sheet enclosed, and after I asked His Excellency Shaikh 'Id [Ḥâtîm] about matters related to it and about the state of conditions that he had noticed in the general and local government, I went specially to my friend [Ṭânyûs] with His Excellency and spoke to him, first privately and then in company [with 'Id Ḥâtîm]. We explained to him the consequences of the business and all the risks and dangers that might occur. To some extent he appeared to be convinced in accordance with your opinion: that is, to submit the above-mentioned [matter] in the presence of the Qâ'im Maqâm and the Council, with a sworn statement showing his faithful dependence on the opinion of the populace with which he is associated. In order to convince him [Ṭânyûs] of this I used the argument that both his alliance with them [the populace] and his position as general wakîl required him to obtain their consent before making a decision. For this reason it was deemed desirable to hold a public meeting, and a request went out to all the villages that their wakîls should appear on Saturday in Raifûn. On the same day Shaikh 'Id went to them and found that in most [villages] people were coming [to Raifûn] with the exception of 'Ajaltûn and Mazra'a and their environs, Ghâdîr, Jûniya, and Shnan'îr; from these places no one came. On the arrival of His Excellency ['Id] he met first with Ḥabîb al-Jâmâti, and told him of what had happened on his trip, and of his recent observations of opposition from the other faction in al-Zûq, etc. After that His Excellency entered the meeting place, proclaimed the decrees of His Grace [the Qâ'im Maqâm] and Their [two] Eminences² plus an account of the decrees of the Mushîr, together with the necessary explanation of them, officially and unofficially.

(1) Yazbec's identification.

(2) Presumably Bishops Yûsuf Rizq and Niqûlâ Murâd. See above, p. 48, Footnote 3.

He described the situation, contradicting what was agreed on in the special meeting between us. But by his masterful insinuation he was even able to convince those present who were best known for their opposition, namely, the wakîls of 'Ashqût and Raifûn and Bishâra Ghânim and a man from Hâra Şakhr — to write replies to His Grace [the Qâ'im Maqâm] and Their Eminences containing a summary of the content of the decrees and showing their obedience, [and to agree] that the cases raised against them, and claims laid by them and against them should be submitted to a special council under the chairmanship and surveillance of the Qâ'im Maqâm. Whatever was legally demanded of them, they would comply with, without appealing to the Qâ'im Maqâm or asking him to come to the district. His Excellency [Id Hâtim] left them in this condition, leaving them to re-draft the petitions and sign them. On his return to them today, Sunday, he found that most of the wakîls had gone, and none remained except the wakîls of Raifûn and 'Ashqût, Yûsuf Hâbâln of al-Zûq, Bishâra Ghânim, and Mîkhâyil Aşâf, the latter being present with the others though not sharing in their opinion. When he asked about the petition that had been written, he was answered by Tânyûs in the presence of the populace, that they had decided to change the petition into its present form and that it would be written in no other way. He asked them for the reasons. They replied that the Mushîr had not addressed them, so there was no call for a reply to him. As for the Qâ'im Maqâm, they did not consider him to be the confirmed ruler, so his presence need not be sought. They said that since the beginning of their movement they had not strayed outside the bounds of his [the Qâ'im Maqâm's] opinion and guidance in what they had done. When necessary they had petitioned him, in writing and verbally, about certain pressing matters, asking that they be set right, and he would answer, "I am detained before the court; you can see that I have been summoned, together with a woman from Zaḥla;"¹ and he

(1) Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad was found by the court to be indebted to a woman from Zaḥla for a piece of land he had unlawfully seized

would refer them to the Mushîr. What they are now asking is that if he [the Qâ'im Maqâm] is confirmed in office, they want to have precise information of the high decrees issued in this connection; and then, once they knew him to be a Christian Qâ'im Maqâm of conduct befitting his position in the consideration of his co-religionists, they would put their trust in him and seek his judgment of their claims. They consider that this threatening and menacing conduct of his was a result of the general agreement made among the landholders; that the issue of the Mushîr's orders was at his behest; and that if the Mushîr had wanted them to [render obedience] he would have written them special orders which they would have obeyed without opposing whomever was empowered to govern them, be it the Mushîr or the Qâ'im Maqâm. Then, secondly, he asked them what their answer would be to Their
 p. 200 Eminences and what he should tell His Beatitude [the Patriarch] of the opinion they would present to them. They replied that when they received decrees of confidence in the confirmation of the Qâ'im Maqâm and assurances of his just behavior toward them, they would not hesitate to accept him.

Then, thirdly, he asked them what their answer would be to the council and the judge of the [Maronite] sect,¹ since they had been asked to give an opinion about their decision to deal with the case of Kisrawân. They answered that when the council was free, and could conduct its work freely, then they would give their reply. Previously they had asked for a "Majlis Commission",² but their opponents had not accepted it under the existing conditions. Now they were not asking for anything, but would reply to whatever was put before them. If the Mushîr came with troops to Kisrawân, they would meet him at the river-crossing obedient-

from her. Bentivoglio, the French Consul, made representations to the Turkish authorities asking reduction of the Amîr's debt. (Moore to Bulwer, No. 1, Jan. 10, 1860.)

(1) Each sect was represented on the Dîwân (Majlis) of the Qâ'im Maqâmîya by two members, one of whom was a judge.

(2) A council designated to supervise affairs of the religious community, serving as liaison between the clergy and the population.

ly, according to his wishes, etc. These thoughts and contradictions were expressed only by those who were already mentioned, i.e., the wakîls of 'Ashqût, al-Qlai'ât, Raifûn and 'Ajaltûn only.

December 19, 1859.

(And written on an attached scrap of paper):

Since I must expect to inform 'Id of your reply concerning him, tell me how I should write to him. Then, because your letter was secret, I was unable to help 'Id. Nevertheless I informed my friend of its meaning in hopes that the request would be fulfilled. He answered me [agreeing], but afterward changed [his mind]. I destroyed the letter, though there was nothing of special interest in it.

XXXIII.— (*To the Qâ'im Maqâm, Amîr Bashîr Aḥmad Abî-l-Lam'*)

After the introductory greetings:

p. 201 We were honored to receive Your Grace's decree brought by your servant, Shaikh 'Id Ḥâtim, and all that you decreed in writing and verbally transmitted by the said Shaikh. We have also had the honor to receive from Your Grace an account of the general content of the noble decrees issued by the Mushîr. All that was easily understood and meets with our obedience; it should be followed and obeyed. The situation in reality, Effendi, is that our position in the matter was not what it was observed to be. For at all times we have been bound by the chain of obedience and acceptance of leadership in all concerning your noble constitutional wishes. And since we are the slaves of our master the great Sultan, and under the wing of the noble royal patrimony, we have not the least fear of gossip and rumors, nor of the issuance of Your Grace's decree to us, nor the suspicions held of us. We praise Him who is most high for keeping Your Grace as a refuge and source of mercy to all of us. Whenever we have the honor to receive special decrees from the Mushîr, or protective arrangements, then we will be obedient as before to execute the orders. By God's grace we shall not allow the least disturbance

to be caused by us to the Sublime State, may the Lord of the Land protect it. May God prolong your life.¹

XXXIV. — (*Probably to Tânyûs Shâhîn*)

Containing news.

We submit the following information:

Your letter reached us carrying an enclosure which we read and whose contents we understood. First you mention the reason for the meeting of Tuesday as being in order to hear the reading of commands issued by His Grace the Count, the Consul of the great French Government. Actually this meeting was not for this but rather for other things [illegible]... We understand, and Your Excellency likewise, etc.

p. 202

Then you also mention that at the time of the meeting an individual came to the people and assured them that there would be a ma'mûr from among the people of Kisrawân, if they would pay all [the taxes] that were asked from the country. This brother of ours has connections with yourself and with the people, and since you see that such an arrangement is suitable and beneficial both to you and to the people, and since your orders were issued to all the people in connection with that, our advice is no longer of any use. Similarly you mention that we should propose to the Father Superior² the thing that you mention. But we have observed and made very sure that he would not consider such things. This has been our opinion from the beginning, for what is done is done, and nothing can be done about it. And thus it is with such governments: so far nothing has been effective. This should have been made clear earlier. In view of your statement that perhaps the people will follow a government other than that of our brother, we beg you to note... Do not embark on untimely writing [to anyone] because you think that the French Government would concern itself with the people of Kisrawân if they abandoned their religion. This is some-

(1) According to Yazbec (p. 201), this petition is most probably related to Letter No. 32.

(2) Père Francis Leroy.

thing that would be harmful to their welfare and to themselves as well. Do not even think that other states have any opportunity and power without the consent of the aforesaid state [i.e. France].¹ For both you and others understand the strength and power of the great French State. If the foregoing is sound, you will consider these matters and leave such actions which do not seem reasonable to us or to anyone else; indeed, if your friendship for us is real, and you understand that we wish your welfare and the welfare of the masses as much as our own welfare, you would tell us truly what is going on in your mind, so that we could be sure what we wish to do. We tell you that this action coming from you and from the people... the very same destruction. It will not be suitable for long, because you are becoming like a ruler, giving orders and not obeying... As for your statement that we believed thus, we do not entertain this idea at all, because the first deed... to this extent. You got what you were thinking of, and more; and now, if you wish... what suits you and suits the people will endure.

Continue to obey the ruling authorities, and also the great French State. Do not think that this idea can be realised without efforts, for from the start you have rejected the ideas that have been put to Your Excellency, and did not accept them. So now you will have to work extremely hard at being appropriately diplomatic, and abandon your present ideas. Understand that the authorities are not incapable of disciplining the people of Kisrawân, and you do not realise what an army they have... We are told that you are not lacking in wisdom and reasonableness in such matters, as the proverb says that... will happen soon and all the effort will be in vain. Therefore we shall shorten our explanation. If it is possible for you to come secretly to whatever place you wish, let us know so that we can meet you and explain to you orally. For as you said, not everything can be written that is on the

(1) It was alleged that in 1860 Colonel Churchill attempted to persuade Ṭānyûs to support the British cause and press for the selection of Amîr 'Abdullah Shihâb (Churchill's son-in-law) as Christian Qâ'im Maqâm, but Ṭānyûs refused. (Poujoulat, p. 71.)

mind of the writer. Your conscience will tell you to whom you wrote thus, and will also inform you that we are always alert to whatever leads to your welfare and that of the people; but far be it from anyone to appreciate that... what was completed and will be completed in the council of His Grace the Consul and elsewhere. Send us a reply... immediately in writing and inform us of your wishes.

(No signature or date).

p. 204 XXXV. — (*To Ṭānyûs Shâhîn*)

Favored with the attention of his illustrious Excellency Ṭānyûs Bey, the most noble and venerable, may his life be perpetuated, we submit the following:

We are being besieged in Faiṣal's mansion. For God's sake — may He be exalted! — send troops to help us. God keep you.

Beseeching Your Excellency,
Ḥabîb 'Abdullah al-Khûri.

(No date).

XXXVI. — (*To Ṭānyûs Shâhîn*)

Favored with the attention of the respected Ṭānyûs Bey Shâhîn.

To His Excellency, our respected spiritual son.

After bestowing upon you our blessing and expressing our hope to find you well and happy, we must first ask how you are and whether you are in good spirits. May God grant that Your Excellency is happy in fact and in name.

Previously we were honored to receive a letter from Your Excellency in which you asked about us, and we wished Your Excellency victory and success. Furthermore, a letter was brought to Your Excellency previously, on our behalf, by our son Ilyâs, concerning the recovery of certain rights; and we do not know whether or not he reached you, for Your Excellency was visiting His Beatitude. Now our son passed through Shwâtâ to try to collect some money owed to him

p. 205 by one Ḥusain Ḥaidar of Shwâtâ and by 'Alî Ḥasan 'Abbâs.

They maltreated him and beat him painfully. Since Your Excellency asked after us when we had no complaints, now that we do have complaints you must ask after us [again] and restrain the Mutawâlîs from us. For the Creator gave you a strong voice with which to defend the rights of all Christians and set our minds at rest. As for the Mutawâlîs, they are disrespectful of you. We hope to recover our rights [and indemnity for] the beating. May the grace of our Lord keep Your Excellency, and may God prolong your life.

Beseeching,
 Father Mîkhâyil al-Shâmi,
 Servant of Sir'ayyâ.

(Postscript):

Those who assaulted our son were five men, namely Ḥamûd Ḥaidar, Ḥamûd Ḥusain, Ḥusain 'Alî Shadîd, 'Alî Ḥasan, and Ḥusain Ḥaidar.

(No date).

XXXVII. — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn*)

Containing news.

Ṣâliḥ and Shâwûl are in great difficulties of every sort and suffering losses and stoppage of work. They believe that whoever is your follower, you will secure for him his rights and honor. They put their hope in your great zeal, that whoever joins with Your Excellency, no one will be able any longer to take advantage of him. Swearing by God and their honor, they cried that if the Amîr, or the notables of a part of the country not controlled by His Excellency Ṭânyûs Bey, offered us an indemnity [for our losses] and the revenue of the land, we would not accept, nor would we make a reconciliation except by order of His Excellency [Ṭânyûs]. We hope that the appeals of those who act in such a way [as Ṣâliḥ and Shâwûl] will not be neglected, especially when they say that they have goods and children which they sacrifice for your disposal for the sake of your honor, so that the enemy will not say to them, "What has he done for you as a result of your joining him?"

We know no more than that, for the hardship we experienced in al-'Aqûra had never happened to us before. For the sake of the Virgin Mary, take us home once and for all. Were we to go broken with shame, we would rather kill ourselves. For had we actually done anything wrong, [that would be one thing]; but [they] did it intentionally.

There is no disgrace in defeating those who are partial or fickle. Should you wish to order us to take men from Afqâ, let us know, for when we came to 'Aqûra ten men came with us. We felt obliged to support the people of 'Aqûra; and at the time we did support them.

(No signature or date).

XXXVIII. — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn*)

Favored with the attention of his most illustrious and generous Excellency Ṭânyûs Bey, may his life be prolonged.

Illustrious and glorious Excellency:

After tendering our most abundant respects and expressing our desire to have the privilege of seeing you in the best of spirits and well-being, and writing to ask after your precious health, we submit the following:

p. 207 It was a most blessed occasion when we were fortunate enough to receive your letter announcing the good news of your good health; we praised Him who is most high for that. We understood its contents; and in regard to the debt owed by our brother Ḥannâ Naṣṣâr to our brother Buṭrus al-Khûri of 'Ashqût, upon the arrival [of the letter] we summoned the aforesaid Ḥannâ and settled the claim by awarding an oxload valued at 470 piastres to the said Buṭrus. As for the remainder of the debt, it was decided that he [Ḥannâ] should produce a statement of income from the priest, Father Ni'matullah al-Dahdâh, to repay the rest and give it to him [Buṭrus]. As for the claim raised by Ziyâda Mas'ad against Anṭûn Sarkîs, previously we contacted the said Anṭûn, and he put us off, saying that he would look to see what [money] he had available. Then when we summoned him, he replied that he wanted Ziyâda to go with him to the judge, to see what should be done in view of his

difficulties, and that he would then write out an acknowledgment of what he owed him, if the validity of the debt in that amount were confirmed. Whatever the court decided, he would act in accordance with it. As for the appendage [to your letter], we understood it and are pleased with your goodness in dispatching replies that refute the speechmakers. We thank you for your goodness in improving the welfare of the common people, and especially for your desire to deal with the question of Kisrawân, as soon as Their Excellencies the Shaikhs of the Khâzin family choose a wakîl for themselves to deal with it in a just manner. This is what was agreed upon, and Your Excellency is obliged to do so because of your position as general wakîl for the common people of Kisrawân. For our part we have nothing that we need explain; indeed we rely on the continuation of friendship and concord among all of us. We hope that whatever is new with you, you will explain it to us as it occurs. We ask Him who is most high to make things turn out well and to inspire you to every good work; and may He perpetuate your life.

Your brothers,

The wakîls of the village of 'Aramûn.

(Written on the back of the above letter):

"I, Ya'qûb, have opened the letter".¹

January 4, 1860.

p. 208 XXXIX. — (*To the village clergy of 'Aramûn*)

Having the honor to kiss the hands of the illustrious Fathers, the respected priests of 'Aramûn, may their lives be prolonged!

Respected Fathers,

After kissing your noble hands and seeking the bounty of your intercessory prayers forever, we must ask after your previous health. May God who is most high grant you all his blessings.

(1) Ya'qûb is identified by Yazbec (p. 207) as Ṭânyûs's nephew.

Then we inform Your Reverences what must already be known to you, concerning the incidents that occur on festival days as a result of drinking 'araq and wine. The Council agreed that it was necessary to announce in all places that whoever drinks 'araq or wine outside his house and there results from it any mischief, unseemly talk, cursing and quarrelling, etc., this is in itself a very vile thing. Then may God — be He exalted!, — the faithful of the Church, and the leaders all proclaim this. We hope that Your Reverences will announce this in church to all the populace. Whoever transgresses after the announcement is made, and does the slightest mischief, will be punished by one month's [imprisonment] or several times that much. We are sure that such things will not occur from among your congregation, but since the announcement was to be made in all places, it was necessary to inform Your Reverences and the populace of it. We hope we shall always be included in your prayers.

Your son,
Ṭânyûs Shâhîn. (seal)

February 8, 1860.

XL. — (To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn)

To his most illustrious, glorious, and respected Excellency.

p. 209 After offering our due respects and inquiring about your previous health and proud and peaceful temperament, we ask Him — may He be glorified! — to keep you in all ease. We then submit the following:

An incident has occurred between Ibrâhîm Ghânîm al-Buwayyîz and his sons, and Ḥannâ al-Malḥama. The desire of the said Ḥannâ al-Malḥama is to ruin what you have repaired in this land. For he is working to persuade certain people in Zûq to cause insurrection and disturbances. For the said individual has taken money from persons whom you know, and he goes on trips to Bait Miri every day, in order to achieve his aim. He does not appear to have had any success, but he is laying his hand on copper and other goods, provisions, and...in which are accounts belonging to the

dead cousin of Jirjis Mar'î al-Buwayyiz. If you ask why we do not drive him away and not leave this responsibility to you, the reason is that he has supporters among certain people in al-Zûq. Were it not for that, we would expel him and his family and put him in the middle of the sea, with your approval. We laid these facts before His Beatitude [the Patriarch] and His Beatitude's order was that they be submitted to Your Excellency. If convenient, send two men of yours to remove his violence from our land and hand over the properties one by one. For what he deserves is to be burned, since he disturbed the peace by spreading the report every day that the army was coming. The messenger will submit this to you; he is the son of Ibrâhîm Ghânim al-Buwayyiz. This is what must be laid before you. Call upon us for whatever services you require; and may God prolong your life.

March 27, 1860.

Your brother,
Ḥabîb al-Zind. (seal)

(Postscript):

Enclosed is a memorandum on which are names. If you approve, honor us by sealing it, and command whomever you send to fetch them. Some are with Saj'ân, and the others you knew about previously.

p. 210 *XLI.* — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn. The first part of the letter is lost.*)

...Explain to you concerning the people of Ḥarâjil, and that some of our people assaulted them. We submit that such was not the case, for the one who performed this deed was a man from Ghazîr called Louis Bairam. It is true that one of our people was with him, but when he first arrived he took no part in the dispute, according to what we have heard. Since our brother-in-law has gone to see you at Raifûn, when he returns we shall give him your letter and... go to you at Dair Bkirki before he goes home. Concerning the question of some of our men going to Bishâra Ghânim, we have become concerned about that, as our son Yûsuf will inform you about sending the men and about the solution [of the problem]. This is what must be said. Call upon us

for whatever services we can render. May the grace of Jesus keep you for us.

March 26, 1860.

Appealing to Your Excellency,
Father Francis Shuqair.¹

XLI. (a).²

XLII. — (To Ṭānyūs Shâhîn)

Being favored and honored with the attention of his

(1) Or possibly "Saqr." (Handwriting not clear.)

(2) The following letter from Ṭānyūs Shâhîn to the people of Jebail is not included by Yazbec in this collection, although he quotes briefly from it on page 59 of his volume. It appears in English translation in *Correspondence Relating to the Affairs of Syria*, I, p. 679, enclosed in a dispatch from Dufferin to Bulwer, March 10, 1861. Dated April 3, 1860, it belongs here in chronological sequence:

"(After compliments):

"I have received your letter and understood all that you say with regard to the arrival of Amir Yousef and the Bimbashi, bearing a bouyourouldi for the administration of Jebail. Do not accept, for I have a bouyourouldi from the Seven Sovereigns for the emancipation of all the Christians, who are no longer to be in bondage to anyone; if you desire to be emancipated from your slavery no one can prevent you, neither the Mushir nor the Kaimakam. I endorse an order to the Emir Yousef to return to his place: deliver it to him without delay, and do not fear anything. If you require a body of men let me know, and I will come myself with all my men. Fear nothing, for this is a matter which no longer concerns you, it concerns me. Any village of Jebail that wishes to unite with you let it name Vekeels over it in the village, who will enter their names with the Vekeel, lest the assembly should break up entirely; he that wishes to do so let him come on the part of the village, or let him inscribe his name in the register which will be sufficient. I have charged the bearer with certain verbal communications which he will deliver to you.

"Your brother,

"Tanios Shaheen (signed and sealed).

"P.S. I transmit herewith a letter to Emir Yousef; deliver it to him at once and immediately, for it is most important that it should be delivered; and let me know what his answer will be; for I have plainly told him that if he hesitates he will have my men upon him from every direction. I also enclose a letter to Yezbek Lahood; deliver it to him and intimate to him verbally that he is to desist from design; do not fear anything; and this is sufficient for your sagacity. (sealed) Tanios Shaheen."

most illustrious, glorious Excellency, the illustrious, glorious Excellency, the illustrious, respected Tânyûs Bey, may he live forever.

After asking what your wishes are, we submit the following:

p. 211 We went to Anṭulyâs [Anṭilyâs], where there are a number of Druse houses. On our arrival they fled and we were unable to calm them down. As for their houses and belongings, we did what was necessary. This which happened, we have put before you. But Oh excellent Bey, it has become very, very necessary for you to rise up [in arms], and if you do not arise in a mass immediately, there will be shame for the people of Kisrawân, and cowardice ascribed to the people of Kisrawân. If you have not risen because of the scarcity of ammunition, go to Anṭulyâs [*sic*] and you will receive all the ammunition and other things that you need, and we... If you are waiting to learn the wishes of His Beatitude, then there is no more need to wait. We are at Mâr Ilyâs and swear by Mâr Ilyâs that your presence has become necessary in this region. Oh excellent Bey, listen to our opinion this time. If anything is done contrary to your wishes, we will gladly forsake our religion. Oh Bey, Oh Bey, do not kick away this opportunity. The decision rests with you. The news has been confirmed to us that Biskintâ, Shwair, Qâṭi', and all districts have risen, with the sole exception of Kisrawân and those taking refuge there. Tomorrow we shall be in Bait Miri. May your life be long.

Your brothers,
Nu'mân 'Id and
Bâkhûs Abî-Ghâlib.

May 24, 1860.

(Postscript):

Just when we were writing, some gentlemen came to us from Beirut and spoke to us, asking, what would you like us to bring you? Our reply was that we would ask for what we needed to-morrow, for because of the fewness of our people we did not have the nerve to ask.

XLIII. — (To Ṭānyūs Shâhîn)

His Excellency the most illustrious, glorious, respected Ṭānyūs Bey, may he live long.

After expressing our deference and respect and earnest good wishes, we submit the following:

p. 212 With all... Your Excellency's message. We understood it, praising the Creator for your good health... that we meet with Your Excellency in Anṭilyâs, we and our brothers the Shaikhs... the main thing being to talk over the prevailing conditions. For our part it was... to come and meet with Your Excellency, but we must excuse ourselves for many compelling reasons that prevent us from going to the designated place. Since our brother Yûsuf Râshid is going to represent us, he can act as needed on our behalf. We beg you to accept our apologies. We hope always to hear good news of your well-being, and may your life be long.

Beseeching,
'Aql Shadîd.

May 27, 1860.

XLIV. — (To the villages of al-Futûh and al-Kufûr)

To Their Excellencies our respected brothers.

After offering our respects:

Since it has been agreed that we all rise with our people to the aid of our brother Christians, to defend them and to protect our homes, it is necessary that you send men to carry supplies and also send with your people some clever women to carry water for your people. You must also choose two intelligent individuals to be members of the council in al-Zûq. There is no need further to urge your concern and zeal. May your lives be long.

Your brother,
Ṭānyūs Shâhîn. (seal)

June 1, 1860.

(Postscript):

As regards ammunition, we have it, so do not give it a thought.

It is necessary to have the priests come, since this is an undertaking of Christian zeal.

p. 213 *XLV.* — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn*)

Favored with the attention of his most noble Excellency, the most illustrious, glorious, respected Ṭânyûs Bey Shâhîn, may his life be long.

To his most noble Excellency, the most illustrious, glorious, and respected, may his life be long.

After most deferentially tendering our respects and seeking your wishes: The arrival of Your Excellency's message was a most pleasing occasion, and we praised Him who is most high for your good health. All that you informed us of, concerning the need for us to come to Dair Bkirki to discuss what has been happening, is understood; and in accordance with your wishes, God willing, tomorrow morning, Saturday, if it please God we shall come and find you well. This is what must be explained, and may your life be long.

Praying that your life may be long,
Ilyâs Naşr.

June 1, 1860.

(Postscript):

The reason for the delay of our arrival until tomorrow, Saturday, is that the messenger was late in reaching us.

XLVI. — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn*)

His most honorable Excellency the most illustrious, glorious, and honored Ṭânyûs Bey Shâhîn, may his life be long.

After seeking your esteemed wishes, we submit the following:

We have examined Your Excellency's letter and understood all that you explained. You told us to meet with you, with the men who are with us, in order to go with Your Excellency to Bikfayyâ. The reply to that is that, in the first

p. 214 place, we have spent five days in al-Zûq, Jûniya, Maşbah, and Hâra Sakhr, and to the present date we have been unable to obtain 100 men. At present we are in al-Zûq and have been promised [only] 50 men from al-Zûq to go with us, although altogether there are over 100 men present here. We shall go today to Bikfayyâ, and we wish Your Excellency to meet us in Bikfayyâ, and inform all the villages of Kisrawân that, since the distribution [of arms?] will take place from al-Zûq to all the villages, by all means every sixth man should come. We beg you to make haste and proceed, and that Your Excellency rise up on the wings of speed with a great multitude and go to Bikfayyâ in order, trusting in God, to defeat our enemies and rescue our Christian brothers. If Your Excellency is successful, we shall learn of it from you. Do not ask us to return to Your Excellency from Bikfayyâ; rather we count on your accustomed zeal in attending to the matter immediately so that we may know your commands in all districts and they may be put into effect. Whoever do not obey your orders, let us know, so that we may return with our people to compel them by force. This is what we must submit to you. Everything rests with you. May your life be prolonged.

Praying that your life may be long,
Bishâra Ghânim.

June 12, 1860.

XLVII. — (Declaration by the villages of Kisrawân)

Formal certification of the conditions for the return of the Shaikhs of the Khâzin family to the district of Kisrawân.

Since as everyone knows, there has been a disagreement between us, the people of the district of Kisrawân, and the Shaikhs of the Khâzin family, owing to various reasons, and as time passed the disagreement grew and spread by the incitement of certain masters of corruption, so that the aforesaid Shaikhs left their homes and property and went to other places, — for this reason certain selfishly motivated persons induced us into rebellion against the commands of the government. Therefore on this date there came on behalf

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of the high authorities His Reverence the eminent Bishop Ṭûbîyâ 'Aun, Bishop of Beirut, who is most honored and respected, to warn and advise us to submit our obedience and acknowledgment of the orders and laws of the gracious Sublime State,—may the Lord of the land protect and preserve the honor of its existence,—and to put an end to this disagreement prevailing between us and the aforesaid Shaikhs, so that they may return to their homes and regain their property and their sustenance and other produce, without opposition from us. Whereas since long ago we have been found to keep our full obedience and submission to the commands of our lawful government, respecting the laws of those in authority over us, without the slightest disorder, as is well known, thus we now declare ourselves submissive and obedient to the commands and laws of the gracious Sublime State. We have accepted the previously mentioned advice and warning which came to us from the high authorities. On our part there is no one who will prevent or oppose the return of the aforesaid Shaikhs to their homes, and their recovery of all their sustenance and property and other produce. Therefore whenever they wish they can return and recover [this property] as was said, since on our part there is not the slightest objection that would keep them from doing that. If they have debts or properties to collect from any of us, or if any of us has debts or overdue accounts to settle with any of them, then those in debt from each side should make payment of what they owe to the other. Wherever there is delay, refusal, or protest, the signature of the delayer, refuser, or protester shall be given in legal form. As for the remaining claims resulting from this disagreement, it is left to a meeting with the aforesaid Shaikhs to make amends and to exchange forgiveness and absolution from them. And now, in witness to our obedience, respects, and acceptance with full willingness of all that is written in this manifesto, it must be signed and sealed by us and submitted to the government, with an expression of confidence that it will be put into effect. Drawn up on July 29, 1860.

Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, general wakîl of Kisrawân (scal).

The people of Ghûstâ and environs:

(Seals): Father Buṭrus Manassâ, Ilyâs Khalifa, Ilyâs Fâris, Father Anṭûn Iṣṭafân, Sim'ân Iṣṭafân, Iṣḥaq Shahwân, [three other illegible seals.]

The people of 'Aramûn and environs:

(Seals): Father Jibrâ'il Sabât, 'Abbâs Aṣâf, Ḥabîb Nahrâ al-Ḥaddâd, Mikhâyil Aṣâf, Mikhâyil Jirmânûs, 'Abdullah Francis.

The people of 'Ashqût and Biq'âtâ:

Father Janâdyûs, Ḍâhir Najm, Ḍûmiṭ 'Isâ, Nâdi Sa'd, Yûsuf Anṭûn, Abû-Ḥuṣn Abî-Ghâlib, Ḥannâ Abû-Ḥabîb, Dîb Yûsuf Dîb, Buṭrus al-Khûri, Ḍâhir Shâhîn, 'Isâ Tâbit.

The people of al-Judaida:

(Seals): Francis Ziyâda, Jibrâ'il Fulaiṣil, 'Abdullah Fulaiṣil, Maṣûr al-Turk, Father Francis Farḥât.

The people of Shnan'îr:

Father Francis Naṣr, Anṭûn and Ilyâs Naṣr.

The people of Dlibtâ:

(Seals): Yûsuf Bishâra al-Khûri, Jibrâ'il al-Khûri, Ibrâhim Bishâra, Rafâyil and Kan'ân Rumayyâ, Father Ya'qûb Jumayyil.

The people of Ḥara Sakhr :

'Abdullah Nu'mân, Bishâra Ghânim.

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The people of Sâhil 'Almâ:

Father Yûsuf Mârûn, Ayyûb Abû-Zaid, Francis Maṭar.

The people of Dar'ûn and environs:

(Seals): Father Ya'qûb Jirjis, Fâris Isbahân, 'Abduh Ḥannâ Dîb, Maṣûr Shahwân, Father Ilyâs Surûr.

The people of al-Qlai'ât:

Niqûlâ Ḥantûsh and his family, Kan'ân Kassâb and his family, Ya'qûb Nauharâ and his family, Jirjis Ṭannûs and his family, Sim'ân Abû-Ṣâliḥ and his family, Anṭûn Naṣṣûr and his family, Anṭûn Abû-Fiyâd.

The people of Mairûbâ:

Ṭannûs Râshid Sa'âda and Anṭûn Arsâniyûs and their families, Yûsuf al-Jadd and his family, Nâṣîf al-Khûri Khalîl and his family.

The people of 'Ajaltûn and its environs:

Şâliḥ Jirjis [Şfair], Ya'qûb Luṭfullah, Yûsuf al-Zughbi, Jabbûr al-Khûri Khalîfa, Manşûr al-Qâmû', 'Abdullah Ṭannûs Tâbit, Makhlûf Barîda, Nâṣîf Sa'd from Dârâyâyâ, Fâris Mar'i from Dârâyâyâ.

The people of Raifûn:

Jirjis Barjîs, Fâris al-Ḥawwât, Mârûn Barjîs.

The people of Fairrûn:

Naşşâr al-Qissîs, Dâwûd al-Barîdi, Mûsâ al-Khûri.

The people of Mazra'a Kfar Dabyân and its environs:

Ilyâs Zghaib and his family, Ḥabîb Yazbak and his family, Ḥabîb al-Khûri 'Aqîqi and his family.

The people of Ḥarâjil:

Sim'ân Abû-'Aun, Ṭannûs al-Ifranji.

The people of Fârâyâyâ:

Shallîṭâ Abî-Hammâm and Ghâlib Naffâ'.

The people of Şarbâ:

(Seal): the people of Şarbâ.

The people of Ghâdir:

(Seal): the people of Ghâdir.

The people of the village of 'Antûra al-Zûq:

(Seal): Ḥabîb al-Jâmâti.

The people of Bandar Zûq Mikâyil:

(Seal): the people of Zûq Mikâyil.

p. 218 XLVIII. — (To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn)

For the attention of His Excellency the respected Shaikh Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, may he live long in prosperity.

Your respected Excellency, our brother:

After tendering our respects and expressing our great desire to find you well:

We have written you many letters to set our minds at

rest concerning your health and to ask you to inform us why our partner Jirmânûs does not present himself before the council with us, and also to ask the expulsion of his sons from our property in al-Qlai'ât. Now, since our hopes rest on your taking an interest [in the matter], we hope that the said sons may be expelled from our house in al-Qlai'ât and their hand be lifted from our property, and that Jirmânûs be brought with us to the council. For we have been waiting for 20 days in Ghazîr. We hope for a reply so that we may understand [what has happened]. In our previous letters we have sufficiently explained the matter to you; and to ask to have one's case reviewed is to ask for justice. It was necessary to send you this communication to set our minds at rest concerning your health and to obtain an answer to what we have mentioned. God willing, we may always come [to you for help]. May your life be long.

Your brother,
Sarhân al-Khâzin.

September 10, 1863.

Ten days [?]

p. 219 XLIX. — (*To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn*)

Favored with the attention of his most illustrious Excellency Shaikh Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, the respected 'âmil (agent) of the district of Jurd Kisrawân, may his life be long.

To His Excellency our respected son:

After bestowing upon you the divine blessing, expressing the desire to see you enjoying all benefit and well-being, and asking about your good health which we hope for; may God grant you every success, we inform you of the following:

'Assâf Shahwân of Fairrûn owes us nine uqîyas (1800 grams) of silk belonging to the sons of Ṭannûs al-Qâmû' al-Quşarr. We asked him for them and he replied that Bûlus Najm Murâd had taken them. We do not know Bûlus Najm, so we made our demand to the tenant, as is not unknown to you. We hope that you will serve a writ on the aforesaid 'Assâf for him to deliver the silk to the persons mentioned,

or its price, at a rate of 570 per raṭl. Do not delay in this, for the said sons no longer have any silk to trade. Set our minds at rest concerning your health. The divine blessing is once again extended over you.

Beseeching,
Iṣṭafân al-Khâzin,
Bishop of Damascus.

September 20, 1863.

p. 220 L. — (To Ṭânyûs Shâhîn)

Favored with the attention of His Excellency our brother Shaikh Ṭânyûs Shâhîn, the respected 'âmil for Jurd Kisrawân, may his life be long.

To His Excellency our respected brother.

After tendering our respects and great desire to see that you, our brother, are enjoying all benefits, and asking after your health—may God grant that you are in complete health:

We wrote to you previously and repeated many times by way of Ḥannâ Sulaiman and others... [about] the produce of our orchard which was taken unlawfully by one Sulaiman ...from al-Qlai'ât. Four months have passed since then, so it seemed necessary to repeat it. What we hope for from you is to regain our rights from the person we have mentioned. We are entrusting Ḍâhir Najm with a message that will clarify the matter to you sufficiently. Our greatest wish is to be reassured that you are in full health; and God keep you.

Your brother,
(seal) Qanṣûh al-Khâzin.

December 2, 1865.

(Postscript):

The writer, our son Dablîn, will give you what is required. He hopes that you will recover his rights from Yûsuf Ḥannâ Manṣûr (or Naṣṣûr) of Mairûbâ.

APPENDIX

MALE POPULATION OF THE MUQĀṬA'AS IN 1849 *

Muqāṭa'a	Hereditary feudal overlords (if any)	Chris- tian	Druse	Mus- lim
Al-Zāwiya	Zâhir (Maronite)	1731	—	60
Al-Kûra	'Āzâr (Ortodoxe)	2500	—	126
Al-Quwaiṭi'	Abî-Ṣa'b (Maronite)	1458	—	139
Jubbat Bsharri **	10200	—	—
Bilâd Batrûn **	6803	—	188
Bilâd Jubail **	5000	—	1000
Jubbat al-Munaitara **	2470	—	2197
Al-Futûḥ	Daḥdâḥ (Maronite)	2099	—	—
Kisrawân	Khâzin, Ḥubaish (Maronite)	10044	—	19
Al-Qaṭi'	Abî-l-Lami' (Maronite)	4181	—	—
Al-Matn	Abî-l-Lami' (Maronite)	6699	2154	105
Sâḥil Bairût	Shihâb (Maronite)	3000	—	300
Al-Gharb al-Asfal	Arslân (Druse)	1451	1081	—
Al-Gharb al-A'lâ	Talhûq (Druse)	1563	771	100
Al-Shahḥâr	Abû-Nakad (Druse)	1631	990	—
Al-Jurd	'Abd al-Malik (Druse)	2016	891	—
Al-Manâṣif	Abû-Nakad (Druse)	3894	1138	10
Al-'Arqûb	'Imâd, 'Id (Druse)	1305	1153	—
Al-Shûf	Janblât (Druse)	1325	3517	—
Iqlîm Jazzîn	Janblât (Druse)	3271	97	—
Al-Shûf al-Bayâḍi	Abî-l-Lami' (Maronite)	11473	—	1000
Iqlîm al-Tuffâḥ	Janblât (Druse)	1784	31	—
Iqlîm al-Kharrûb	Janblât (Druse)	1502	200	815
Jabal al-Rîḥân	Janblât (Druse)	327	—	686
	(total)	87,727	12,023	6,744

* Population figures from Shidyâq, p. 34.

** Feudal overlords appointed by the governor at his discretion.

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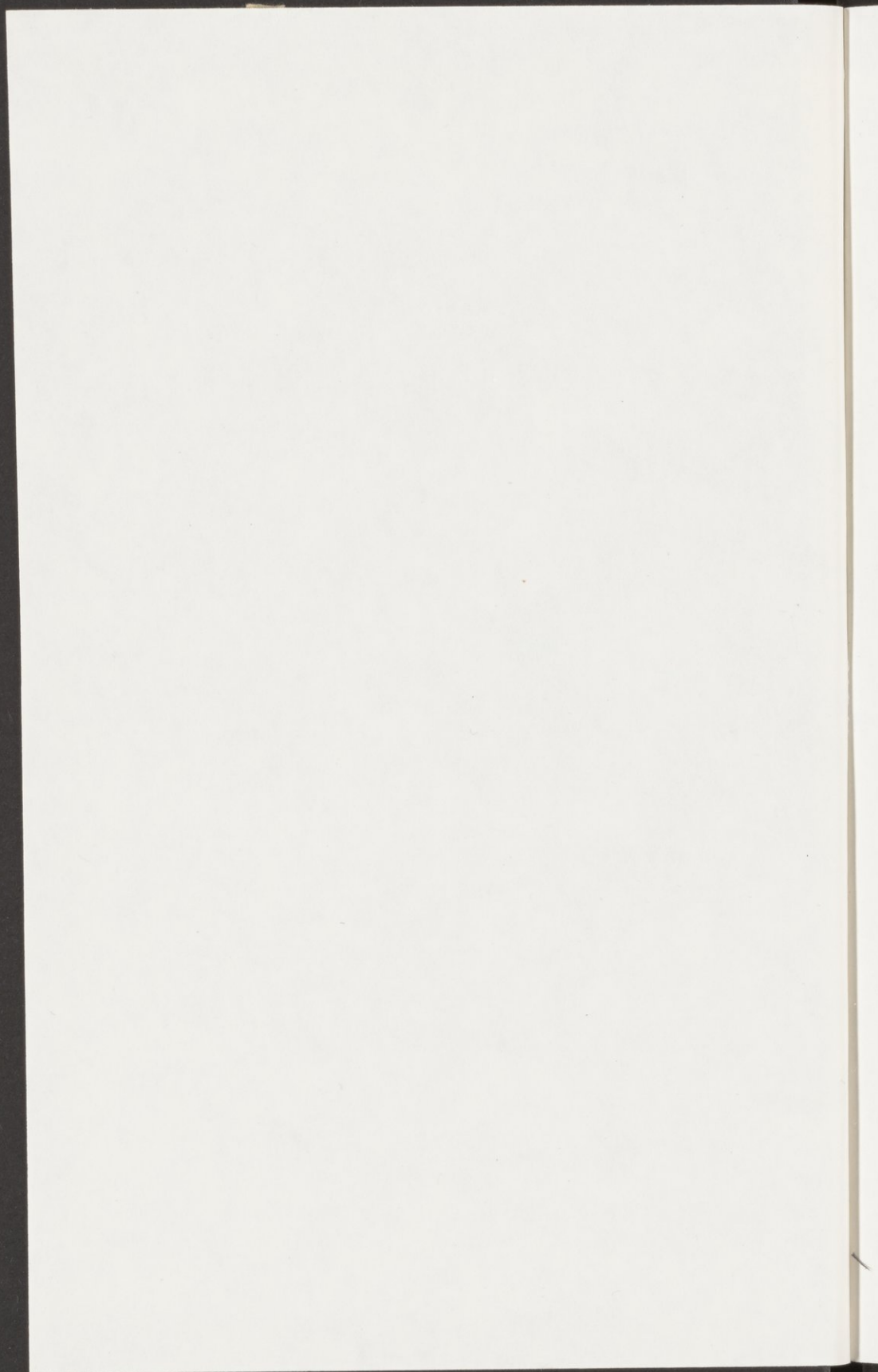
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