

T
665
1

A HISTORY OF THE RETURN
OF THE CHRISTIANS
TO
THE MOUNTAINS OF
KISRAWĀN

by
The Christians in Kisrawān
JIRJIS ZGHAYB

and others
Malouf

Translation, introduction and
notes by

HAIFA M. MALOUF

Submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements
of the degree Master of Arts
in the History Department of the
American University of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon
October, 1964

1 I have used the same title as that given by Būlus Qarā'ī
to the book where he edited the collection of texts which
I have translated.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is composed of a translation of an Arabic text, with an introduction and a bibliography.

The text is a history by the Maronite priest whose Jirjis Zghayb and others, originally written in Karshūnī script. The original manuscript has not yet been found; the two identical copies which are at present available are in Arabic script. One of these copies was found by Būlus Qarā'lī in 1922, and edited by him in a book called Tārīkh 'Awd al-Nasāra ilā Jurūd Kisrawān (A History of the return of the Christians to the Mountains of Kisrawan).

Qarā'lī divided the manuscript into three parts: "The Burning of Harājil", which forms Chapter II of this thesis; "The History of the Church of Sayyidat al-Lawza", which forms Chapter III of this thesis; and "The History of the Christian Families Living in Harājil", which forms Chapter IV of this thesis. Qarā'lī's book contains also footnotes and an introduction by the editor himself and two other articles, one by Būlus Mas'ad on the family of al-Khāzin, and the other by 'Īsa Iskandar al-Ma'lūf on the Shuqayr family. I have sometimes used these as references making my own footnotes.

As to the style of the text, it is very close to the spoken Arabic. Because of this, the expression is always

ABSTRACT

This thesis is composed of a translation of an Arabic text, with an introduction and a bibliography.

The text is a history by the Maronite priest whose Jirjis Zghayb and others, originally written in Karshūnī script. The original manuscript has not yet been found; the two identical copies which are at present available are in Arabic script. One of these copies was found by Būlus Qarā'lī in 1922, and edited by him in a book called Tārīkh 'Awd al-Nasāra ilā Jurūd Kisrawān (A History of the return of the Christians to the Mountains of Kisrawan).

Qarā'lī divided the manuscript into three parts: "The Burning of Harājil", which forms Chapter II of this thesis; "The History of the Church of Sayyidat al-Lawza", which forms Chapter III of this thesis; and "The History of the Christian Families Living in Harājil", which forms Chapter IV of this thesis. Qarā'lī's book contains also footnotes and an introduction by the editor himself and two other articles, one by Būlus Mas'ad on the family of al-Khāzin, and the other by 'Īsa Iskandar al-Ma'lūf on the Shuqayr family. I have sometimes used these as references making my own footnotes.

As to the style of the text, it is very close to the spoken Arabic. Because of this, the expression is always

TABLE OF CONTENTS

vivid and alive. I have found some passages of the text a little obscure and therefore difficult to translate. In general however, the meaning is clear. Page

My thanks are due to Dr. Kamāl Salībī, under whose supervision this thesis was completed. vii

I wish to thank Dr. Nabīh Fāris, for suggesting this kind of topic, Dr. Anīs Frayha and Dr. Zeine Zeine for explaining some terms, Dr. Nicola Ziādeh for suggesting some references, and Dr. Constantine Zurayq, for helping me write the bibliographical notes.

Living in Warā'ij	42
Bibliographical Notes	63
List of References	71

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	iv
List of Maps	vii
Chapter	
I. Introduction	1
II. The Burning of Harājil	14
III. The History of the Church of Sayyidat al-Lawza	25
IV. The History of the Families Living in Harājil	42
Bibliographical Notes	63
List of References	71

CHAPTER I.

LIST OF MAPS

INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth and eighteenth-century Page witnessed
Map southward spread of the Maronites in the Lebanon. The
1 Lebanon in the seventeenth century already settled in
2 Kisrawān during the seventeenth century; too²⁴ over the
village of Harā'il from the Shi'ites, or Mitwālīs, as they
are called in Lebanon.

Harā'il is in the mountain region of Kisrawān.¹
The road leading to it passes through the village of
'Aṣṣūrā, Baḥlūṭ, 'Ajalūn, Rayfūn, Biq'atā and Mayrūnā.²
At present, Harā'il has a population of about 4500
inhabitants, all Maronites. But, during the first half of
the seventeenth century, it was inhabited by Mitwālīs only,
and must have been a central village, with dependencies,

¹ The present district of Kisrawān is limited
by Nahr Ibrāhīm to the north, Nahr al-Kalb
to the south, and Jabal Sannīn to the east.
The majority of the inhabitants of Kisrawān
(130,000 people), are Maronites. But there
are some Mitwālī villages like Zaytūn, al-
-Hugayn, al-Mu'ayyri, Lassa, Mazra'at al-
-Ṣayyid, Kū' al-Mashnaqa, al-Ghābat, Jenna,
Sannur, and Qirqiriyya. (This information,
as well as the following, comes to me from
a geography teacher from Harā'il.)

² There is a footpath from Baalbak to Harā'il,
passing through Sannīn.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the southward spread of the Maronites in the Lebanon. The present study shows how the Maronites, already settled in Kisrawān during the seventeenth century, took over the village of Harājil from the Shī'tes, or Mitwālīs, as they are called in Lebanon.

Harājil is in the mountain region of Kisrawān.¹ The road leading to it passes through the village of 'Ayntūrā, Ballūnī, 'Ajaltūn, Rayfūn, Biq'ātā and Mayrūbā.² At present, Harājil has a population of about 4500 inhabitants, all Maronites. But, during the first half of the seventeenth century, it was inhabited by Mitwālīs only, and must have been a central village, with dependencies,

¹ The present district of Kisrawān is limited by Nahr Ibrāhīm to the north, Nahr al-Kalb to the south, and Jabal Ṣannīn to the east. The majority of the inhabitants of Kisrawān (130,000 people), are Maronites. But there are some Mitwālī villages like Zaytūn, al-Huṣayn, al-Mu'ayṣrī, Lāssa, Mazra'at al-Ṣayyād, Kū' al-Mashnaqa, al-Ghābāt, Janna, Ṣannur, and Qirqiriyya. (This information, as well as the following, comes to me from a geography teacher from Harājil.)

² There is a footpath from Baalbek to Harājil, passing through Ṣannīn.

(4 vs.; Vatican City, 1944-1953), v. IV, pp. 436-437.

referred to as "The farming-villages of Harājil".¹ Such dependencies were Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān, Jūrat Biq'ātā, the Mayrūbā, Fārayyā, and Qal' al-Watā, or Watā al-Jawz.

The present study is a translation of a history written by the priest Jirjis Zghayb and continued by the priests who succeeded him in the service of the church of aā-Sayyida (the Lady) at Harājil. Priest Jirjis Zghayb came to Harājil from the neighbouring farming-village of Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān, and served the church of Harājil, from 1701, until his death, in 1729.² He was the fifth priest to serve this church, after it had been rebuilt in 1671, and the first priest to be buried in it. He wrote his history in the Lebanese vernacular, in Karshūnī³ script, and got his information, as he himself says, from written records and oral traditions.

Qara'lī, who edited this history, divided the text into three parts, giving each a separate title. These parts form Chapters II, III and IV of this thesis.

¹ Infra. p.18.

² See also Georg Graf, Geschichte Der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur (4 vs.; Vatican City, 1944-1953), v.IV, pp.436-437.

³ Syriac alphabet.

In Chapter II, Jirjis Zghayb tells, in a vivid and simple style, two stories: the burning of Harājil by the cavalry of the Sārīja,¹ and the murder of the Mitwālī outlaw Ahmad Za'rūr, in 1691. According to Zghayb, both incidents had important results. After the burning of the village, the Mitwālīs deserted it, thus becoming very poor. In order to survive, they had to sell land to Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin, (d. 1647), a Maronite from Kisrawān, and counsellor to Fakhr al-Dīn II (1590-1635). This economic failure of the Mitwālīs, coupled with more persecutions on the part of the Ottoman authorities, caused the settlement of some Christian families in the neighbourhood of Harājil, in Mazra'a and 'Ashqūt.

As for the murder² of Ahmad Za'rūr, its effects

¹In the text of Zghayb, this word appears as Sārījiyya. Sārīja (ساريجا) is a Turkish word designating "a class of ancient Turkish irregular militia". J.W. Redhouse, "Şārīja" A Turkish and English Lexicon (Constantinople: A.H. Boyajian, 1890), p.1156. This type of soldiery was raised by the provincial Pāshas in the seventeenth century. Şārīja may refer to the standard of this militia which may have been yellow, for Şārī in Turkish means yellow. H.A.R. Gibbs, H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of the Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East (2 vs.; Oxford: Oxford University Press 1960), v.I, part I, p.193, n.3.

²The murderer was a Christian called Shahwān of Ghusṭā. After the death of Za'rūr, Shahwān fled to Wādī al-Taym. Then he was given a place to live in, now called Qurnat Shahwān. Manṣūr Ṭannūs al-Ḥattunī, Nabāḥ Tārīkhiyya fī al-Muqāṭa'a al-Kisrawāniyya (n.p., 1884), pp.103-105.

were felt throughout the district which, after his death, became very calm. As the Mitwālīs grew poorer and poorer, the field was left open for Christians to settle in Mayrūbā, Biq'āta and Harājil.

In Chapter III, Zghayb relates the history of the church of al-Sayyida at Harājil. His text ends in 1722, and is continued until the middle of the nineteenth century by some of the priests who succeeded him in the service of the church. According to Zghayb, the church of Harājil was built when the Christians settled in the village.

These Christians were thrown out by the Moslems¹ who destroyed the church and settled in Harājil.² Zghayb then proceeds to describe how the Mitwālī element became predominant in Harājil. This, he explains, was made possible by the Banū Hamāda,³ who bought land from the

¹Sunni Moslems.

²For the identity of these "Christians" and "Moslems", see *Infra.*, pp.7-9.

³The Mitwālī Banū Hamāda, reached the height of their strength in 1654, when their power extended over Jibbat Bisharri, al-Batrūn, al-Dinayya, Jubayl, and al-Hirmil, and "they imposed the rimya (farīda) over every village of those lands". In 1756, the inhabitants of Jibbat Bsharri rebelled against the Hamadas and shook off their rule. Antonius Abū Khaṭṭār al-'Aynṭūrīnī, *Mukhtaṣar Tarīkh Jabal Lubnan*, ed. Tannūs al-Khūrī (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1953), pp.54-136. Zghayb does not give a precise date as to when the Banū Hamāda bought land from the Moslems.

Moslems there and encouraged the Mitwālīs of Baalbek to come to Harājil in 1505.¹ The Mitwālī emigration continued until Harājil came to be inhabited by 307 Mitwālī and 5 Christian families. Then Zghayb describes how the Christian element in Harājil became predominant, especially after 1671, when the church of al-Sayyida was rebuilt. Finally, during the days of priest Yūsuf 'Aqīqī, who came to Harājil in 1696, all the Mitwālīs left the village and went back to Baalbek.² In 1826, the Christians built a new church³ on the site of the old one.

Chapter IV is a record, kept by Jirjis Zghayb and his successors, of the families who came to live in Harājil. The record is interrupted by a history of the families of al-Huṣarī and of Mubāarak, written by priest Yūsuf Khalīl.⁴ According to Zghayb, the first Christian, Fāris Shqayr,

¹I have found no reference to this incident.

²The sources consulted do not mention this incident.

³It is the actual church of Harājil. It is approximately 3x5.25m. The door is to the south and the altar to the east.

⁴The Priest Yūsuf Khalīl copied the manuscript found by Qarā'ī from the original Karshūnī copy. See Būlus Qarā'ī ed., Tārīkh 'Awd al-Naṣarā ilā Jurūd Kisrawan (Cairo: the Muqattaf and Muqattam Press, n.d.), p.27, nl.

came to the village in 1664. He was followed by more Christians from Mazra'at Kafar Dibyān, the region of Ftūh, Jibbat Bsharrī, and Mayrūbā.

In the following pages, I will relate some phases of the history of Kisrawān, for they are closely related to the present translation.

In Chapter II of this thesis, Zghayb mentions that the church of al-Sayyida was built when the 'Christians' inhabited Harājil, and that these Christians were later on thrown out by the 'Moslems'. When was the first church of Harājil built? Who were those 'Christians' and those 'Moslems'? When did these events happen? None of the sources consulted mention anything about the first church of Harājil or the date of its construction. The building of this church can only be approximately dated from what follows it, i.e., from the fact that the 'Christians were later on thrown out by the 'Moslems'. This could only have happened in 1305 when Kisrawān was invaded by the Mamlūk armies, who massacred the people, demolished the houses and cut the vines.¹ Those who escaped massacre fled

¹ Ṣālih ibn Yahya, Kitāb Tarīkh Beirut wa Akhbār al-'Umarā' al-Buhturiyyin min Bani al-Gharb, ed. Louis Sheikho (2nd ed. rev.; Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1927), pp.32-33.

to other regions, and Kisrawān was depopulated.¹ This expedition was mainly directed against the Druzes and the Mitwālīs. Sālih ibn Yahya (d. 1450), calls the people defeated by the Mamlūk armies, ahl Kisrawān² (the inhabitants of Kisrawān), and does not mention the presence of any Christians. A contemporary of the event, Abū al-Fidā (1273-1331), mentions the Mamlūk invasion of 1305, but does not signal the presence of Christians. He calls the victims of the Mamlūk invasion, the Nuṣayrīs and the Danniyyīn³ (the inhabitants of aḥ-Dinniyya, a district in north Lebanon). Ibn Sibāṭ (d. 1520), does not mention the Christians either. In describing the Mamlūk attack upon Kisrawān in 1305, he calls the people defeated by the Mamlūks, 'Druzes' and 'Kisrawānites'.⁴ But, in spite of the fact that the Christians were not the main aim of the Mamlūk invasion, they had their share of suffering too.

Two authors, Ibn al-Qilā'ī (d. 1516) and Istifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704), signal the presence of Christians in Kisrawān

¹ Henri Lammens, La Syrie: Precis Historique (2 vs.; Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1921), v.II, pp.16-17.

² Loc. cit.

³ Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī, Abū al-Fidā, Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar (4 vs.; 1st ed.; Egypt: The Husayniyya Press, 1325 h.) v.II, p.52.

⁴ Hamza ibn Aḥmad ibn Sibāṭ (al 'Alāyhī), Tārīkh, MS American University of Beirut, 956.9, 113, v.II, part III, p.52.

at that time. Ibn al-Qilā'ī says that the Mamlūk army pillaged the mountains of Kisrawān, until both sides, the Maronites and the Moslems, became fed up.¹ As to al-Duwayhī, he says that when the Mamlūks invaded Kisrawān they destroyed all the churches.²

If the presence of Maronites in Kisrawān at the beginning of the fourteenth century is accepted, the 'Christians' mentioned by Zghayb could have been those Maronites, and the 'Moslems' could either be Mamlūk soldiers, or members of the Turkomān tribes sent by the Mamlūks to guard the coast from Antilyās to Tripolī, and to keep watch over Kisrawān.³ Accordingly, it can only be said that the first church of Harājil was built before 1305. I cannot give a more precise date, for ^{according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī,} the Maronites were already

¹ See Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Jubrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī, in Anṭōniūs abū-Khaṭṭār al-'Aynṭurīnī, Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Jabal Lubnan, ed. Agnātiūs Ṭannus al-Khūrī (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1953), p.83; see Kamāl Salībī, Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon (American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series No.34; Beirut: 1959), p.73.

² Istifān al-Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-Azmina: 1095-1699, ed. Ferdinand Tawtal (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1951), p.163. Al-Duwayhī dates the expedition of 1305 in the year 1307. See Salībī, op.cit., p.74, pp.119-120.

³ Ibn Yahya, op.cit., pp.29-33.

present in Kisrawān, as from the eighth century.¹

During the fiteenth century, the Maronites gradually settled in Kisrawān. But the district was very poor and in ruins.² This aspect changed during the sixteenth century, with the arrival of the Ottoman Turks, for the tax imposed on the district by sultan Salīm I, being light,³ caused it to prosper, thus encouraging Druze, Mitwālī and Maronite families to settle in it.⁴ The Mitwālīs, who had started to come to Kisrawān from Baalbek and its surroundings, as from 1505, continued to do so, and they settled in the villages of Fārayyā, Harājil and Biq'atā.⁵ As for the Maronite family of al-Khāzin, it left the village of Jāj in

¹ Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Jubrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī, in al-'Ayntūrīnī, op.cit., p.79. Ibn al-Qilā'ī says that the country of the Maronites extended from the northern frontier of al-Shūf to 'Akkār.

² Ibrāhīm Harfūsh (ed)., "Dayr Mār Shallīṭā Maqbīs", al-Mashriq, v.V, 1902, pp.183-185. The author of this article is anonymous. But the sources of his work are: Ya'qūb 'Awwād al-Ḥaṣrūnī (d. 1733), and the oral tradition he got from the Sheikhs of Ghūṣṭā. He says that in 1462, when the family of al-Muḥāsib came to inhabit Ghūṣṭā, Kisrawān was in ruins and the Christians living in it very few.

³ Istīfān al-Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-Ṭā'ifa al-Mārūniyya, ed. Rashid al-Shartūnī (Beirut: The Jesuit Catholic Press, 1890), p.153.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Al-Duwayhī, loc. cit.

the district of Jubayl, in 1545,¹ and settled finally at Ballūnī, Kisrawān.² They chose that district, because of the "justice and peace" which reigned in Kisrawān during the rule of Mansūr 'Assāf (1522-1580), the Turkomān ruler of Kisrawān.³

With the coming to power of Fakhr al-Dīn II, Kisrawān became a district coveted both by Fakhr al-Dīn and by his enemies, the Banū Sayfā of Tripolī, who had, at the death of Mansūr 'Assāf in 1580, inherited all his domains, including Kisrawān. To weaken the Banū Sayfā and bring the district under control, Fakhr al-Dīn allied himself with a Maronite family, the Khāzins of Kisrawān⁴ who belonged, like him, to the Qaysī faction.⁵ He appointed Abū-Ṣaqr Ibrāhīm al-Khāzin as chief counsellor (mudabbir),⁶

¹ Ibid., p.163

² Tannūs al-Shidyāq, Akhbār al-A'yān fī 'Alam al-Dīn (Jabal Lubnān, ed. Buṭrus al-Bustānī (2 vs.; 2nd ed.; Beirut: Samia Press, 1954), v.I, p.80.

³ Al-Duwayhī, op.cit., p.164.

⁴ It is said that at the death of Prince Qurqumāz in 1564, his two sons, Prince Yunis and Prince Fakhr al-Dīn were taken to Ballūnī to Abū-Ṣaqr Ibrāhīm, son of Sarkīs al-Khāzin. Al-Hattūnī, op.cit., p.65.

⁵ The Banū Sayfā belonged to the Yamānī faction.

⁶ Al-Shidyāq, op.cit., p.81. It is not known when the Khāzins received the title of Sheikh. Sarkīs al-Khāzin had the title of Shidyāq.

and when the latter died in 1600, replaced him by his son, Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin. But in spite of that, the Banū Sayfā controlled Kisrawān till 1616. In that year, 'Alī, son of Fakhr al-Dīn defeated Yūsif Sayfā at 'Ayn al-Nā'ima, and took several districts from him, including Kisrawān. Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin was asked to stay at Ghazīr and protect the region.¹ When Fakhr al-Dīn returned from Tuscany in 1615, he put Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin in charge of the district, which was limited by the river of Mu'āmalṭayn to the north, and the river al-Ja'mānī to the south.²

After the death of Fakhr al-Dīn, Kisrawān fell again to the enemies of the Ma'ns, the Yamanī 'Alam al-Dīns, and they controlled it till 1637. After that, it was given back to the Khāzins. When Sheikh Abū-Nādir died in 1647, his son Sheikh Abū-Nawfal succeeded him as chief counsellor, and he held Kisrawān till his death in 1679 (except from 1660 to 1664³ or 1667,⁴ when it was held by the 'Alam al-Dīns).

From this study, one can conclude that the progress

¹ Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Khālidi (al-Ṣafadi), Lubnān fī 'Aḥd al-'Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī, eds. Asad Rustum and Fu'ad Afram al-Bustani (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1936), pp.51-54.

² Al-Hattūnī, op.cit., p.71.

³ Al-Duwayhī, op.cit., p.240.

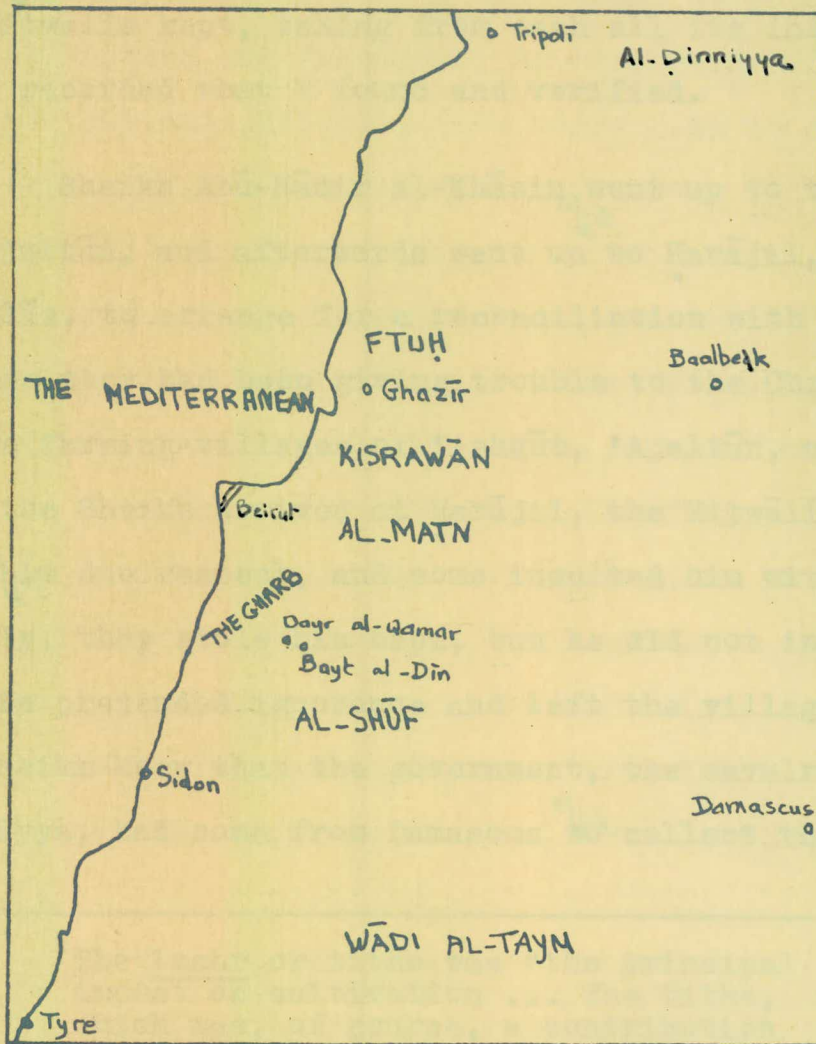
⁴ Al-Hattūnī, op.cit., p.93.

of the Christian element in Kisrawān, during the seventeenth century, was greatly facilitated by the Khāzins. They achieved this through various means. First, by buying lands from the Mitwālīs and encouraging the settlement of the Maronites on these lands as tenants. Second, by favouring and protecting foreign Christian elements. For example, when the Jesuits came to Lebanon in 1652, Sheikh Abū-Nawfal al-Khāzin gave them a piece of land in 'Aynṭūra, and allowed them to build a monastery there.¹ Thus he opened the way for the founding of a series of monasteries, the most important of which are: the monastery of Mār Shallītā, built in 1628 near Ghūstā; the monastery of Rayfūn, or Dayr Mār Sarkīs wa Bākhūs, built in 1655 by Sulaymān ibn Sim'ān Mubārak (1623-1713) of Ghūstā; the monastery of 'Ayn Warāqa, built in 1690, in Ghūstā; and the monastery of Mār Mārūn, in Rūmiyya. Most of these monasteries were later on converted into schools and thus served to introduce some aspects of western culture into the district.

¹Al-Duwayhī, op.cit., p.222.

of the Christian element in Kisrawān, during the seventeenth century, was greatly facilitated by the Khāzins. They achieved this through various means. First, by buying lands from the Mitwālīs and encouraging the settlement of the Maronites on these lands as tenants. Second, by favouring and protecting foreign Christian elements. For example, when the Jesuits came to Lebanon in 1652, Sheikh Abū-Nawfal al-Khāzin gave them a piece of land in 'Ayntūra, and allowed them to build a monastery there.¹ Thus he opened the way for the founding of a series of monasteries, the most important of which are: the monastery of Mār Shallītā, built in 1628 near Ghūstā; the monastery of Rayfūn, or Dayr Mār Sarkīs wa Bākhūs, built in 1655 by Sulaymān ibn Sim'ān Mubārak (1623-1713) of Ghūstā; the monastery of 'Ayn Warāqa, built in 1690, in Ghūstā; and the monastery of Mār Mārūn, in Rūmiyya. Most of these monasteries were later on converted into schools and thus served to introduce some aspects of western culture into the district.

¹Al-Duwayhī, op.cit., p.222.



LEBANON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER II

THE BURNING OF HARĀJIL

I, Priest Jirjis Zghayb, servant of the village of Harājil, and that, having collected the dues of that village, they wanted to go to the inner farming-villages, the Mitwālīs kept, taking from each all its information, such as Paytrun and downwards, he came to Harājil. He And I recorded what I found and verified. noticed that some Mitwālīs were conspiring to rob the cavalry Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin went up to the village of 'Ajaltūn, and afterwards went up to Harājil, to the Mitwālīs, to arrange for a reconciliation with them, because they had been giving trouble to the Christians of the farming-villages of 'Ashqūt, 'Ajaltūn, and Ballūnī. When the Sheikh arrived at Harājil, the Mitwālīs did not show him due respect, and some insulted him with words. Finally, they stole his cape, but he did not inquire about it. He pretended ignorance and left the village. When the Sheikh knew that the government, the cavalry of the, Sārijiyya, had come from Damascus, to collect the 'ushr¹:

¹The 'ushr or tithe was "the principal impost on cultivation ... The tithe, which was, of course, a contribution and in kind, was appropriated by the collectors at the time of harvest before reaping... The proportion of any crop taken by way of tithe varied from province to province from one-tenth to as much as one half." Gibb and Bowen, op.cit., p.240.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, 1913, 180.

CHAPTER II

THE BURNING OF HARĀJIL

I, Priest Jirjis Zghayb, servant of the village of Harājil, and that, having collected the dues of that village, they wanted to go to the inner farming-villages, the Mitwālīs kept, taking from each all its information, such as Fayṣun and downwards, he came to Harājil. He And I recorded what I found and verified. noticed that some Mitwālīs were conspiring to rob the cavalry Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin went up to the village of 'Ajaltūn, and afterwards went up to Harājil, to the Mitwālīs, to arrange for a reconciliation with them, because they had been giving trouble to the Christians of the farming-villages of 'Ashqūt, 'Ajaltūn, and Ballūnī. When the Sheikh arrived at Harājil, the Mitwālīs did not show him due respect, and some insulted him with words. Finally, they stole his cape, but he did not inquire about it. He pretended ignorance and left the village. When the Sheikh knew that the government, the cavalry of the Sārijiyya, had come from Damascus, to collect the 'ushr¹:

¹The 'ushr or tithe was "the principal impost on cultivation ... The tithe, which was, of course, a contribution and in kind, was appropriated by the collectors at the time of harvest before reaping... The proportion of any crop taken by way of tithe varied from province to province from one-tenth to as much as one half." Gibb and Bowen, op.cit., p.240. Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, 1913, 180.

and the fard,¹ that the cavalry were fifteen horsemen, with an Āghā² to command them, that they were going to collect the money and take the 'ushr and the fard from Harājil, and that, having collected the dues of that village, they wanted to go to the inner farming-villages, such as Faytrūn and downwards, he came to Harājil. He noticed that some Mitwālīs were conspiring to rob the cavalry men of their money, and kill them, to the last one. The Mitwālīs told the Sheikh about their plans, but he said nothing. At last they decided to meet the cavalry at the mountain of Faytrūn, and there, do as they said. The Mitwālīs told the Sheikh: "You go with the cavalry and show them the way in the mountain of Faytrūn." The Mitwālīs also told him that they were going to execute their act there, and that they were going to throw the dead men in a certain ditch. The Mitwālīs also said that all this would take place far away from the village. So, when the cavalry left the village, they told the Sheikh:

¹Pl. furaḍ. The furaḍ are extraordinary taxes imposed on the serfs. A.N. Poliak, Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon: 1250-1900 (London, 1939), p.50. Al-'Ayntūrīni calls it farīḍa or rimya. Al-'Ayntūrīni, op.cit., p.55.

²"In Osmanli - Turkish, Āghā means 'chief, master, lord' ". Cl. Huart, "Āghā", Encyclopaedia of Islām, I, 1913, 180.

"Let us go together." The Sheikh thought that he had better go with them. When the cavalry reached mid-way in the mountain of Faytrūn, they saw around 30 men coming on the way. The Mitwālīs, when they met the cavalry, behaved like friends; but, as they were taking leave of the cavalry, each two Mitwālīs caught a cavalry man. The Mitwālīs killed the horsemen, robbed them, pulled them to the ditch where they threw them, and took their clothes and all that was found on them. The Sheikh feared that they would kill him, but God saved him. The Mitwālīs said: "Do not be afraid; for, because you have obeyed our orders, we will not touch you. But if you mention anything, we will kill you". Then the Mitwālīs returned happily. When the Sheikh returned home, he said to himself: "Everything is going to be found out (he had not at the beginning believed the Mitwālīs would do as they had said). Let me inform the government, for the authorities may well accuse me, along with the Mitwālīs." The Sheikh then got 15 Christian men and told them: "Arm yourselves; I want to go with you to the Wālī¹ in Damascus, and inform him about the Mitwālīs. I want you to keep it a secret. We will go and return secretly." So the men said to the Sheikh: "At your command." When they reached Damascus, The Sheikh asked to meet the Wālī in secret. After many difficulties, the Wālī met him. The Sheikh told him what

¹I was unable to identify this Wālī.

had happened, and asked him to keep it a secret. The Wālī said to the Sheikh: "Stay in Damascus and send people to show my men the place of the crime." The men left Damascus and found out that everything was true. They returned and told the Wālī everything about the dead men. When he realized that the Sheikh was saying the truth, that he was loyal to the authorities, and that he had crossed from one district to another to inform the Wālī, he began to like and respect him. The Wālī said to the Sheikh: "Ask anything from me, for you are dearer to me than the Moslems." The Sheikh took leave of the Wālī and returned with his men to his house at 'Ajaltūn. There, he found that the stories of the Mitwālīs of Harājil had spread through the farming-villages, and that most of the people knew what they had done. Without delay, the Wālī sent 40 cavalry men to Harājil, to summon 40 men¹ to appear before him. When the cavalry reached Harājil, the Mitwālīs met. They decided that they will not surrender and that not one of them will go. They attacked the cavalry and drove them out. Some of the cavalry returned home and some remained. The Wālī then increased the number of soldiers and of horses, and insisted on taking 50 men from Harājil and arresting them by force. When the soldiers came near the village, the Mitwālīs took up their arms and resisted the authorities.

¹From Harāji.

They shot at the soldiers and posted guards around the village to prevent the soldiers from entering.

The soldiers informed the Wālī of what was happening. He therefore increased the number of soldiers, sending some from above Fārayyā and some from the neighbourhood of Mazra'a. They joined the soldiers who were near the village. The Mitwālīs say that there were 1500 soldiers. The inhabitants of Harājil and of its farming-villages, Kafar ⁿDibyān, Fārayyā and Mayrūbā, had 500 guns and they stopped the soldiers from entering the village. Fire was exchanged between the two parties, and the women, children, and goats fled northwards, in the direction of Jurd al-'Aqūrā. The inhabitants of Harājil left their houses and waited for the soldiers over the cliff-edge, above the village. Shooting continued between the soldiers and the inhabitants.

For three days, they kept the soldiers away from the village. Finally, the soldiers divided into two groups, a group to the east and a group to the west of the village. The inhabitants of Harājil were defeated and they came out from among the rocks of the cliff-edge. But the bullets of the soldiers reached them before they got to the rocky outskirts, and 17 were killed. I saw their names in the records kept by the Mitwālīs. The men of Harājil joined their children, goats and women. The soldiers returned to

15

the village and, upon the orders of the Wālī, burnt the houses. Then the Mitwālīs fled to the wilderness of the forest of Hirmil, to Homs, and to all this area. Everytime the authorities found anyone from Harājil, they caught him and sent him to prison. The people of Harājil began to hide like wild beasts. They used to come back to the village to find it in ruins, their houses burnt. Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin used to come up to them to keep them company and to give them some money. They used to exchange pieces of land against a cloak [‘abā], or against a gun, or against an ¹‘uqiyya of gun-powder. On these bases they would sign deeds for him.

After three years, thanks to mediations with the authorities, the people of Harājil were allowed to return to their houses and settle again. Had there been other than the Mitwālīs to settle in Harājil, they would not have been allowed back. When they returned, each took possession of his house and his property. Thus the land bought by Sheikh Abū-Nādir was no longer his. He did not at all profit from what he had bought. The Sheikh started again to loan the Mitwālīs money to build their houses, buying [land] from them for the second time. Both Christians and Mitwālīs signed the deeds, and the Mitwālīs became tenants on the land bought from them by the Sheikh. Then Sheikh Abū-Nawfal al-Khāzin came up and made more purchases. He

¹200 grammes.

came to be esteemed and respected by the Mitwālīs. two.

The Moslems of 'Ajaltūn stayed four years with the Sheikh at Mazra'at. Then they departed with the Mitwālīs and cavalry of the Sārijīyya in the mountain of Faytrūn, and the identification of the dead men, comes from the Mitwālīs and their records, as transmitted from one generation to another. The burning of Harājil is dated according to the Mitwālī era [Moslem era]. I changed it into our Christian era, to be 1557 A.D.¹ 1630 and cultivated the land. But a

16
year later, the Mitwālīs attacked him while he was ploughing, far from the village. Both, his son and he, were killed. The eldest, among his cousins. He was killed at the village. When his cousin learned of his death, they fled to 'Ajaltūn, and the Sheikh of what had happened to the village. The Sheikh, taking some men with him, rode to the Dibyān, in Jūrat Biq'āta, in Qal' al-Watā, and in Mayrūbā.

The Christians, fearing the Mitwālīs, did not settle among them. The Sheikh then found some Moslems from 'Ajaltūn, Faytrūn, and Qlay'āt to settle as tenants in the farming-village of Kafar ^hDibyān and in Harājil. They used to give him their surplus. But they could not stay among the authorities and they started to seize some of the

¹This seems to be an incorrect calculation. Although I was unable to fix an exact date, this incident must have taken place sometime after 1600, and more precisely around 1606 when Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin built his house at 'Ajaltūn, Al-Hattūnī, op.cit., p.67.

the Mitwālīs. Some left after a year, others after two. The Moslems of 'Ajaltūn stayed four years with the Sheikh at Mazra'a. Then they quarrelled with the Mitwālīs and returned to 'Ajaltūn.

After a time, the Christians began to settle and prosper. Yūsuf Hjaylī came from Jbayl at the suggestion of Sheikh Abū-Nawfal. Yūsuf Hjaylī worked for the Sheikh on the farm and gave him the surplus of the produce. Yūsuf Hjaylī came in 1630 and cultivated the land. But a year later, the Mitwālīs attacked him while he was ploughing, far from the village. Both, his son and he, were killed. He was the eldest among his cousins. He was killed at sunset. When his cousins learned of his death, they fled to 'Ajaltūn, and told the Sheikh of what had happened to them. The Sheikh, taking some men with him, rode to the Sheikhs of the Druzes and told them what the Mitwālīs had done. The Sheikhs of the Druzes helped him and gave him full authority to act. They also informed the government of everything the Mitwālīs had done to the Moslems and Christians, and how the Mitwālīs intended to lay hands upon the property of the people. The Mikbāshīs¹ were sent by the authorities and they started to seize some of the Mitwālīs, tie their hands to their backs and take them to

¹It should be Bikbāshī and is pronounced Binbāshī; 'Bik' in Turkish means 'Thousand'. The Bikbāshī is the commander of a battalion. Redhouse "بيك" (Bik), op.cit., p.424.

prison. Every two or three days the Mikbāshīs used to take a few. In this way the others kept quiet and stayed at home.

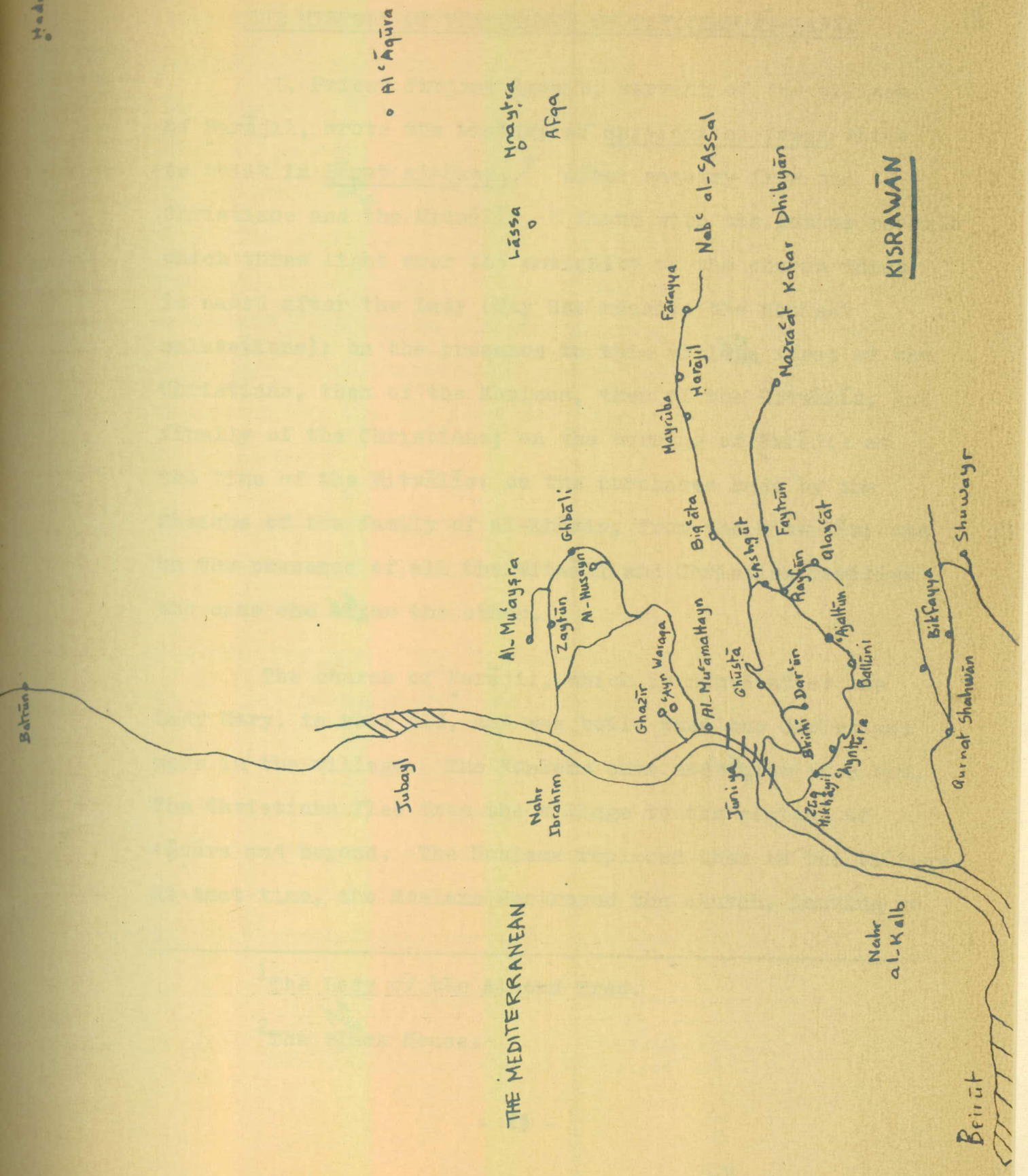
After a time, the Christians began to settle and prosper at Mazra'a and at 'Ashqūt, for the Mitwālīs objected to selling land in Harājil only. The Mitwālīs started hating the Christians and all those belonging to the Sheikh. The Mitwālīs would have killed him had they had the opportunity. After some time there came a man called Ahmad, who belonged to the Mitwālī family of Za'rūr. Resisting the authorities, he robbed and killed the people on the highway. The Christians, fearing him, met again with the Sheikhs. They talked to Shahwān from Ghūstā, and told him that if he killed Ahmad secretly, they would give him whatever he wanted. Shahwān answered: "I will kill Ahmad." Ahmad used to stay in the plain [sahl] of Qal' al-Watā, and hide in the rocky outskirts. Shahwān waited for him there, and shot him dead. When Shahwān returned, all the Christians were pleased with him. The Sheikh presented him with a cloak [‘abā]; they gave him everything he wanted, and he received presents from everybody. When Ahmad Za'rūr was killed, it became quiet, calm and safe. The Mitwālīs became poor and were severely supervised by the authorities. The Christians began to come to the Jurd and settled in Mayrūbā and Biq'āta. The Sheikh started to

look for a Christian who would stay with him at Harājil. But none, except Fāris Shqayr¹ of Ghbālī, accepted to stay. He agreed with the Sheikh to come to Harājil and be in charge of his property. Fāris Shqayr was the first to stay in Harājil. He belongs to the Shqayr family settled in the farming-village of Shaqra in the neighbourhood of Tripolī. Now it is called Barṣa.² 18

(Margin of the Copyist.) This is the information I have on Ahmad Za'rūr. I have found one paper only of the history of the priest, for a number of papers of his history are lost. It was necessary to number it, but I am unable to say what has been /recorded/ before it.

¹No additional material was found about him. See 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf, 'Usrat Shqayr al-Masīhiyya, ed. Būlus Qara'lī in Tarikh 'Awd al-Naṣara ilā Jurūd Kisrawān (Egypt: The Muqtataf and Muqattam Press), pp.52-60.

²A village near Tripolī.



THE MEDITERRANEAN

KISRRAWAN

Beirut

Nahr al-Kalb

Jubayl

Nahr Ibrahim

Al-Muayyara

Zaytun

Al-Husayn

Ghazir

Ayn Warqa

Al-Mufamkhayn

Ghazira

Shirki Dar'an

Zag Mikayil

Aynitira

Balluni

Faytun

alaysat

Biq'ata

Mayrubu

Harajil

Farayya

Nab' al-Sasal

Nazra'at Kafar Dhibyan

Bik'ayya

Aurnat Shahwan

Shuwayr

Al-'Aqura

Lassa

Mraytra

Afqa

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SAYYIDAT AL-LAWZA¹

18

I, Priest Jirjist Zghayb, servant of the village of Harājil, wrote the history of Sayyidat al-Lawza which is built in Dārat al-Sawda.² After enquiry from the Christians and the Mitwālīs, I found with the latter records which threw light over the antiquity of the church which is named after the Lady (May She receive the noblest salutations); on the presence in this village first of the Christians, then of the Moslems, then of the Mitwālīs, and finally of the Christians; on the burning of Harājil at the time of the Mitwālīs; on the purchases made by the Sheikhs of the family of al-Khāzin, from the Mitwālīs; and on the presence of all the Mitwālī and Christian families who came one after the other.

19

The church of Harājil, which is named after the Lady Mary, is very old, and was built when the Christians were in the village. The Moslems came and threw them out. The Christians fled from the village to the regions of 'Āqūra and beyond. The Moslems replaced them in the village. At that time, the Moslems destroyed the church, leaving no

¹The Lady of the Almond Tree.

²The Black House.

trace, except a structure called Dārat al-Sayyida Mariam. The Moslems settled there and sold their land to the Sheikhs of the family of Hamāda, who sent for the Mitwālīs in Baalbek, and settled them in Harājil. They came in 1505. I saw the date recorded by the hijra. I calculated it and obtained the above mentioned date. Four families came from Baalbek: the family of Mshayk, of Za'rūr, of Swaydān, and of Yāsīn. They settled in the village, and other Mitwālīs started frequenting them. Their number increased until the village came to have 370 houses. They owned the village and sent the 'ushr and fard to the Wālī in Damascus.

The names in the village, had not been changed. Then the Mitwālīs changed the name of Dārat al-Sayyida and called it Dārat al-Sawda so, they said, as not to keep a name for The Lady. The Mitwālīs stayed in the village 140 years. No stranger ever entered their village.

Then Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin came up to the Mitwālīs in Harājil and made friends with them. They started to borrow money from him. In 1648¹ he bought two small pieces of land from the needy ones there, and they became tenants of the land.

¹This date is incorrect, because Sheikh Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin died in 1647.

Abū-Nawfal al-Khāzin replaced his father Abū-Nādir. Abū-Nawfal got better acquainted with the Mitwālīs. He bought more land and sent for Fāris Shqayr, from the village of Ghbālī, to look after the property of the Sheikh. Fāris Shqayr came in 1664. He was the first Christian to stay in that village. He lived in a house below Dārat al-Sawda overlooking the south. Fāris Abū-Nasr Shqayr used to buy from the Mitwalis much property for the Sheikh. It was through the efforts of Fāris Shqayr that the Christians came one after another. The names of those who came are registered in the records.

The Christian families of the village, who were under the authority of the Mitwālīs, who were tenants on their land, and who neglected nothing of their religion, finally became five. As there was no church in Harājil, they used to go, on Sundays and feast days, to Maxra'at Kafar ^bDibyān to attend mass. They remained seven years without a church. At the end, the Christians started approaching the Mitwālīs to obtain permission to build a church in the village. The Christians said: "We cannot stay without a church to pray in, and a cemetery to bury the dead." But it was impossible for the Mitwālīs to have a church built in Harājil, the best of their villages. The Christians talked to the Mitwālīs and begged them to accept. At last, the Mitwālīs said: "We can no longer do without you, for you have become our friends. Moreover,

you are better than others. Build a church in the outskirts of the village, far from the houses." So the

Christians went to Abū-'Isā and spoke to him. He said to them: "I will not say no to you; but, unless all the men of the village consent, I cannot give you anything. Otherwise they will shout angrily at us." The notables of the village told Abū-'Isā: "Sell the Christians a small piece of land." So he allowed them to take a piece of land, four dira' in width by seven in length, not including the thickness of the church walls; he also sold the dira' to the west of the church to be used as a cemetery to bury their dead. The Mitwālīs came and marked the limits of the church and of the cemetery, but

Again the Christians talked to the Mitwālīs, saying: "Allow us to build the church on its old site where, according to you, the church had stood, before it was destroyed by the Moslems, who had spared only Dārat al-Sayyida Mariam." But the Mitwālīs were irritated. They said to the Christians: "Do not repeat words which no one would listen to. If you approach us again on the subject, we will quarrel with you." At that time, the Christians left and said no more, for they still wanted to build the Church on its old site.

After a while the Christians again begged the Mitwālīs and told them: "The church will be small, a mere image [of one]. If you do not allow us build it, we will leave the village. We are your partners, we belong to you, and we are under your authority. We appeal to your leaders, to your men, and to your women. So, be generous to us, and give us what we ask for." Some of the Mitwālīs kept silent, the others did not accept. At last, the Christians, having spoken to some of the Mitwālīs, were allowed to build the church on its old site. The Mitwālīs said: "We will put conditions on them, and if they do not follow them immediately, we will destroy the church and kill them." The site of the church was in the property of

21

Abū-'Īsā Mshayk. The Mitwālīs said to the Christians: "Go to Abū-'Īsā and tell him about the site." So the Christians went to Abū-'Īsā and spoke to him. He said to them: "I will not say no to you; but, unless all the men of the village consent, I cannot give you anything. Otherwise they will shout angrily at me." The notables of the village told Abū-'Īsā: "Sell the Christians a small piece of land." So he allowed them to take a piece of land, four adru'^h_x¹ in width by seven in length, not including the thickness of the church walls; he also sold them eight adru'^h_x to the west of the church to be used as a cemetery to bury their dead. The Mitwālī notables came and marked the limits of the church and of the cemetery, put conditions on the Christians and told them: "Listen, first, the altar must be to the south; there must be neither bell, nor cymbals, nor anything similar to what one finds in the Christian churches. The church will be simply built and you will pray in it. Do not call it The Church of Harājil or Sayyidat Harājil." The Christians answered: "As you wish; we will do what you say; name the church for us. What you have said can and will be done."

The Mitwālīs consulted together and said: "What shall

¹Adru'^h is the plural of dīrā'^h, which is an arm length.

we name the church?" At that time, an almond tree grew near the church, so it was agreed to call the church Sayyidat al-Lawza. The almond tree was thus included in the property of the church, the conditions being thus all fulfilled. The Mitwālīs said to the Christians: "Look here, if you do not abide by these conditions, your end will come and we will immediately pull down your temple. But on the contrary, if you accept them, build your church and we will help you erect it. The Christians thanked the Mitwālīs and said: "We will do whatever you order and wish us to do."

Then, in 1671, they started to build the church, and in the same year it was finished. The roof consisted of eleven rafters. It had no cross-beams. As was agreed upon, the door was to the west and the altar to the south. The first to say mass in the church, on Sundays and feastdays only, was Priest Ḥannā Lubnānī.¹ The second to say mass on the altar of al-Sayyida was Priest Daniel al-Kfūrī, who came in 1673, and lived in the house of Fāris Shqayr. The third priest to serve the altar of al-Sayyida was Ya'qūb al-Mukahhal, who came in 1675, from the village of Ghbālī. The fourth priest to serve the altar of al-Sayyida was

¹It should be Ḥannā al-Bānī, for the founders of the Lebanese order came to Lebanon in 1694 only.

Yūsuf 'Aqīqī, who came in 1696 from Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān.

He died in al-Mazra'a, and was buried there. In his days, all the Mitwālīs left Harājil to the region of Baalbek.

The fifth was I, Priest Jirjis Zghayb, author of this record. I came in 1701. During the priesthood of Yūsuf 'Aqīqī, the cemetery was transferred from near the church of Sayyidat al-Lawza, to the waqf¹ of Rayfūn, by the permission of its owners.

In 1722, the church was transferred onto the property of the convent of Rayfūn, by the permission of His Eminence Bishop Butrus Mubārak. He bequeathed the site of the church, with the uncultivated land, up to the qurna,² along with some land planted with mulberry trees, some of which was limited by Abū-Hannā. The Christians built the church on a pillar with two cross beams. The door was to the south and the altar to the east. The church was named after The Lady, and a picture of Sayyidat al-Lawza, which the people visit and to which they light candles and pray, remained in the church. This document was written in

¹Religious endowment.

²According to Anīs Frayha, "al-qurna means corner, and appears quite often as a name of a place, or locality, or village, especially when it falls geographically at the corner of some specific area" (Interview with Anīs Frayha, March 1961)

the year 1722.¹

The documents, found in a page in the book of the principal, and written by the late Priest Yūsuf Khalīl, servant of Harājil, relate² that Priest Jirjis Zghayb was buried in the church. He was the first priest to be buried there.

In 1757, Priest Hannā, of Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān, came from the monastery of Qāzhayyā³ to serve the village after Priest Jirjis Zghayb. Priest Hannā died in 1765, and was buried in Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān.

Then in 1766, Priest Yūsuf al-'Ashqūtī al-Lubnānī⁴

¹Here ends the text of Jirjis Zghayb.

²Here starts the text of Yūsuf Khalīl

³The Monastery of Mār Anṭōniūs Qāzhayyā in Jibbat Bēharrī is an old monastery sought by the mentally ill. It was already present in 1472, for al-Duwayhī gives the name of its principal (ra'īs) for that year. It was the seat of the first printing press in the Arab Near East. Louis Cheikho, "Tārīkh Fann al-Tibā'a fī al-Mashriq", al-Mashriq, v.III, 1900, pp.251-257; Philip Hitti, Lebanon in History (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1957), pp.456-457.

⁴Belonging to the Lebanese Maronite Monastic Order (al-Rahbana al-Lubnāniyya). The progress of the Christian element in Kisrawan during the seventeenth century, is marked by the birth and growth of this new monastic order. Its founders were three young men from Aleppo, who in 1694 had come in contact with Patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, and obtained his consent to found the order. Anṭōniūs Shiblī (al-Lubnānī), "al-Rahbana al-Lubnāniyya al-Mārūniyya", al-Mashriq, v.XX, 1932, pp.801-807, 920-923.

came to serve this village and the altar of al-Sayyida.

In 1774 Priest Iqlīmūs Ntīn al-Dar'ūnī came to serve this altar in his place.

Then in 1783 Priest Tāniyūs Khalīl from Mayrūbā came and served this village and the altar of this church. In 1817 he fell ill. He died and was buried at Zūq Mikhāyil in 1818.

Then I, Priest Yūsuf Khalīl came on 9 April, 1819 and served this altar and this community. In 1821, a church was built around the old one which remained standing inside the /new/ building with the patronage of his Eminence Metropolitan Antūn al-Khāzin, head of the diocese of Baalbek. Butrus al-Muqaddam Zghayb, from the village, was the superintendent [wakīl] of the church. Sheikh Khalīl Fayyād al-Khāzin and Sheikh 'Afīf al-Khāzin supervised the workers [mu'allimīn], kept the accounts in order, and were responsible for the assistance offered by the people of the village and its environments, such as Fārayyā and Mayrūbā. The new church was finished in 1826. The church, which was within the new one, and which had a wooden ceiling, disappeared.

In the year ,.. Priest Afrām Zghayb came to serve this altar, and this village, with me.¹

¹Here ends the text of Yūsuf Khalīl.

In the year ... Priest Yūsuf Khalīl died and was buried in the actual church, over the body of his son Mahbūb, who is also buried in this church. The Priest Afrām Zghayb died in the year ... and was buried where the women stand,¹ in a grave close to that of Priest Yūsuf. Then Priest Mikhāyil Zghayb, son of Priest Afrām, replaced them in the service of the village and of the altar of al-Sayyida, in the year ...

In 1821 Buṭrus al-Muqaddam Zghayb was appointed superintendent [wakīl] of the waqf, by His Eminence Metropolitan Anṭūn al-Khāzin, and the actual church started to be built. The Sheikhs, Sheikh Qānsūh, Sheikh Halīm al-Khāzin, and his brothers, bestowed on the waqf of al-Sayyida a piece of unplanted land, with some vine trees, and fallow ground. This piece of land was limited to the east by the property of the Sheikhs, Halīm and his brothers; to the north, by a steep cliff; to the west by the road; and to the south by the property of Sheikh Qānsūh al-Khāzin. End.

Then, Sheikh Halīm al-Khāzin bestowed on the waqf, an uncultivated piece of land situated in a place called

¹At the back of the church.

Jūrat Abū-'Īd. This land took a midd¹ of wheat. It was limited to the east, north and west by the property of the above mentioned Sheikh and to the south by the property of the Sheikh, the house of Priest Yūsuf Ṣālih al-Khāzin.

Then I² bought for the waqf from Ilyās Farah Zghayb of Mazra'at Kafar Dibyān, for the amount of 80 piasters, a piece of land situated in the Ḥayyarāt.³ This land was unsown and without trees, It took a ratl⁴ of grain. I paid 60 piasters of its price; the rest was given by Ilyās Farah Zghayb to the waqf. Then I bought for the waqf, from the superintendent [wakīl], Sheikh Bishāra Jaffāl al-Khāzin, a palm tree grove and a meadow, at 'Ayn al-Marj, for the amount of 220 piasters. Near the rock, a shed [mrah] was built, and Ilyās my son, sharing in the waqf, planted mulberry trees and came to live there.

In 1834, Tannūs Sarkīs, nicknamed al-Ifranjī, shared

¹A recipient to weigh grains. A midd of wheat weighs 21 kilos. Anīs Frayḥa, Mu'jam al-Alfād al-'Āmiyya fī al-Lahja al-Lubnaniyya (American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series 27, Jūniya: al-Krayyim, 1956), p.168.

²Butrus al-Muqaddam Zghayb.

³Anīs Frayḥa thinks that Ḥayyarāt is a proper name (Interview with Anīs Frayḥa, March, 1961.)

⁴About 2½ kilos. Frayḥa, op.cit., p.65.

Jūrat Abū-'Īd. This land took a midd¹ of wheat. It was limited to the east, north and west by the property of the above mentioned Sheikh and to the south by the property of the Sheikh, the house of Priest Yūsuf Ṣālih al-Khāzin.

Then I² bought for the waqf from Ilyās Farah Zghayb of Mazra'at Kafar Dibyān, for the amount of 80 piasters, a piece of land situated in the Hayyarāt.³ This land was unsown and without trees, It took a ratl⁴ of grain. I paid 60 piasters of its price; the rest was given by Ilyās Farah Zghayb to the waqf. Then I bought for the waqf, from the superintendent [wakīl], Sheikh Bishāra Jaffāl al-Khāzin, a palm tree grove and a meadow, at 'Ayn al-Marj, for the amount of 220 piasters. Near the rock, a shed [mrah] was built, and Ilyās my son, sharing in the waqf, planted mulberry trees and came to live there.

In 1834, Tannūs Sarkīs, nicknamed al-Ifranjī, shared

¹A recipient to weigh grains. A midd of wheat weighs 21 kilos. Anīs Frayha, Mu'jam al-Alfād al-'Āmiyya fī al-Lahja al-Lubnaniyya (American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series 27, Jūniya: al-Krayyim, 1956), p.168.

²Butrus al-Muqaddam Zghayb.

³Anīs Frayha thinks that Hayyarāt is a proper name (Interview with Anīs Frayha, March, 1961.)

⁴About 2½ kilos. Frayha, op.cit., p.65.

in partnership, the property of the waqf, near the cliff. Later, a house with two pillars was built over the shed [mrah].¹

Then, Ṭannūs Butrus al-Muqaddam became guardian over the property of the waqf. He was shot at in his right arm, by one of the Mitwālī Sheikhs, Sheikh Amīn Ismā'īl, Hamāda. The bullet hit him in his palm, and destroyed his four fingers, and part of his arm. He bled and died. All this, because he wanted to stop the Mitwālīs from attacking, to get at the two Sheikhs, Ilyās Hannā, and Dāwūd 'Afīf al-Khāzin. This calamity took place in the land of Nab' al-Hadīd.²

In 1841 Ṭannūs al-Ifranjī replaced the deadman, Butrus al-Muqaddam, as superintendent [wakīl] of the waqf of al-Sayyida, and this by the order of His Eminence Metropolitan Antūn al-Khāzin. Butrus al-Muqaddam Zghayb was the first to be entrusted with this waqf, and the above-mentioned Ṭannūs, the second. Ṭannūs al-Ifranjī enlarged the house by adding two pillars to it, the number of pillars thus becoming four. Then he bought from Sheikh Qānsūh al-Khāzin two terraces for 115 piasters. The terraces

¹Here ends the text of Butrus al-Muqaddam Zghayb who died in 1841 as will be mentioned later.

²Near Afqā.

25

were limited to the east by the property of Sheikh Halīm, to the north and west by the property of the waqf, and to the south by the property of Sheikh Bashīr al-Khāzin. Then, Tannūs al-Ifranjī bought from the priest, Sheikh Hannā al-Khāzin, for 170 piasters, a meadow, from the terraces, near the canal. Near it, he bought a piece of unirrigated land, along with a piece of uncultivated land which took a midd of grain. Then he covered the walls of the church with plaster, got a bell which weighed 38 'ūqiyyas, and built for it a cupola. Then he bought, for 300 piasters, at 'Ayn al-Marj, from Sheikh Bashīr al-Khāzin, an unplanted terrace, along with an uncultivated meadow. And he planted the meadow with vine-trees. Then he bought from the Sheikhs Halīm al-Khāzin and his brothers, close to the cliff, near the property and the house of the waqf, a piece of uncultivated land with vine-trees. He replaced the vine-trees with mulberry trees. Then, among those mulberry trees situated near the church, he built, by the roadside, a shop, on a cross-beam, without pillars. Then, in an enclosure of mulberry trees, close to the cliff, he built a cellar near the house to the east. Then instead of the old bell which had been broken, he got a bell weighing 75 'ūqiyyas. The second bell, which was the work of Tannūs Naffā' from Bayt Shabāb,¹ was transferred from the property

¹The Naffā' family of Bayt Shabāb is famous for making bells. 'Īsā, Iskandar, al-Ma'lūf, "al-Şinā'a fī Lubnān wa Sakb al-Ajrās", al-Mashriq, v.VIII, 1905, pp.303-312.

of the waqf in 1858. He died in March 1870.

In 1870 Mahbūb, son of Priest Yūsuf Khalīl, servant of the community, became superintendent [wakīl] of the waqf. Mahbūb, who was the Sheikh of the village of Harājil, was, at that time, entrusted with the books of the government. Before he died, Tannūs al-Ifranjī bequeathed from his private money, 1100 piasters to the waqf of the place. So, after the death of the above-mentioned Tannūs, the money was handed over to the superintendent [wakīl], by the guardians of the property of the dead man. The two superintendents [wakīls] were Dāwūd Bayk al-Khāzin and Priest Yūsuf Khalīl from Mayrūbā.

In 1872, Hannā al-Halabī came from Shwayr and was entrusted by the present superintendent¹ [wakīl], the above-mentioned Mahbūb, with the building of a cupola and tombs to bury the dead, for the amount of 1050 piasters. The people of the village had to present the stones.

Then in 1873 on a Friday noon, Carnival Day [marfa'], Priest Mahbūb was killed. Jirjis, son of Hannā Rūhānā Mhannā, Mikhāyil Antūn Rūhānā Mhannā, Yūsuf 'Assāf the dumb,

¹Most probably this was written by Mahbūb the son of Priest Yūsuf Khalīl superintendent of the waqf from 1870-1873.

his brother Fāris Shqayr, and Yūsuf Ilyās Abū-'Alī Sallūm, all from the village of Harājil, were accused of killing him. They were sentenced to 15 years in the prison of Acre. All died except Yūsuf 'Assāf Shqayr the dumb, who came back unharmed.

Priest Yūsuf Khalīl, servant of the village, became superintendent [wakīl] of The Lady of Harājil, instead of his son Mahbūb, and this by the permission of His Eminence Metropolitan Yūhannā al-Hājj,¹ head of the diocese of Baalbek. The above-mentioned Mahbūb was buried inside the church, in the grave which his father had prepared for himself. The priest bought for this waqf, from Dāwūd Bayk 'Afīf al-Khāzin, for the amount of 700 piasters, a sahm² of mulberry trees, situated near the property of the church. Priest Yūsuf Khalīl found out that Mahbūb, his dead son, owed money to the waqf. So instead, he gave his house at Dārat al-Sawdā to the waqf, along with a terrace of mulberry trees near the house. It had four pillars, a shed [mrāh],

27

¹1818-1898. In 1861 Patriarch Būlus Mas'ad named him head over the diocese of Baalbek to which Harājil belongs. He bought much land from the Mitwālīs. Yūsuf al-Dibs, Tārīkh Suriyya (8vs. Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Umumiyya, 1893-1905), v.VIII, p.759.

²About six adru' (arm lengths). Buṭrus al-Bustānī, "Sahama", Kitāb Muḥit al-Muḥit (2 vs.; Beirut, v.I in 1867, v.II in 1870), v.I, p.1019.

a shop, and in front of it, a portico.

Then Priest Yūsuf Khalīl died, and was buried inside the church over the grave of his son, the above-mentioned Mahbūb. The Priest was buried in the year ... In his place, Ya'qūb, son of Ṭannūs al-Ifranjī, became superintendent [wakīl] of this waqf, by the order of His Eminence Metropolitan Yūhannā al-Hājj, head of the diocese of Baalbek. Ya'qūb, when his father died, had asked to build a special sepulchre for his father and for his family. His Eminence Metropolitan Yūhannā al-Hājj, gave him permission /to build/, because his father had done much to serve the waqf. So Ya'qūb built a sepulchre near the wall of the church, to the north side. Then, instead of the special cemetery he possessed in their lands, he gave the waqf a vine-yard from his property in Shahhārat¹ Danī, near the vinetrees which belonged to the waqf, and which his father had bought from Sheikh Sharaf al-Khāzin. Since Sheikh Sharaf had bequeathed as waqf, in the name of his son Wardān, half of the vineyard, and since the second half was bought by Ṭannūs al-Ifranjī, the two vineyards, which are close to each other, became the property of the waqf: the one from Ya'qūb to the east, and the one from Sheikh Sharaf to the west, with the road between them. Then Ya'qūb

¹According to Anīs Frayḥa the shahhār is a dark sandy land (Interview with Anīs Frayḥa, March, 1961).

moved the old house, which was near the cliff, and built the new house above the cellar which his father had constructed. The house had two pillars and an arched portico. Then he bought for 400 piasters, at 'Ayn al-Marj, from Sheikh Husn Halīm al-Khāzin a vineyard and a meadow situated near the vine-trees of the waqf. I¹ also bought at 'Ayn al-Marj, for 1000 piasters, from the above-mentioned Sheikh, an uncultivated land situated near the property of the waqf. Then I changed the broken bell, which dated from the time of my father. Instead, I got a bell weighing a quntār or 100 ratls, and which was the work of Najīb Naffā' from Bayt Shabāb. Then I pulled down the cupola built by the late Mahbūb. Instead, I built a cupola which was the work of Yūsuf Butrus Kan'ān from al-Qlay'āt. He undertook the complete execution of the cupola for the amount of 2000 piasters. The stones were presented to the church as a result of the interest and care shown by the sons of our country.

¹Ya'qūb, son of Tannūs al-Ifranjī.

THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILIES LIVING IN HARAJIL

he found Fāris who said to the Sheikh: "I will go to

A history, being the work of Priest Jirjis Zghayb, servant of the village of Harājil, written in Karshūnī in the year 1701 A.D. This history was copied from the Syriac into the Arabic, word by word.

The coming of Fāris Shqayr to Harājil was in 1664. this village. He built Sayyidat al-Dawza in its old place,

First. This is what is said from the very beginning about Fāris Abū-Nasr Shqayr who is the first among the Christians to dwell in Harājil. It was he who attracted the Christians to this village and through him Abū-Nawfal al-Khāzin bought the property of the Mitwālīs.

The relatives of Fāris Shqayr had fled from Barsā in the neighbourhood of Tripolī. The reason was, that a person, from the Shqayr family, had killed a Moslem. So all the family fled and took refuge in the Druze Mountain,¹ and came under the protection of the Druze chiefs. Among the Druzes, they remained attached to their Greek Orthodox faith. As for Fāris Shqayr, who was one of them, he left his relatives on the way, and inhabited the village of Ghbālī. There, he married a girl from a family called Bayt al-Hūsarī, and he became a Maronite. Sheikh Abū-Nawfal

¹Or South Lebanon.

al-Khāzin asked for one of the Christians to stay in Harājil, but no one dared to stay. Then unexpectedly, he found Fāris who said to the Sheikh: "I will go to Harājil." He came to Harājil with his wife and his son Nasr, and dwelt in the house which is near Dārat al-Sawdā, to the south of it. Fāris was the representative [wakīl] of the Sheikh in buying property. Fāris got along well with the Mitwālīs, and began to attract the Christians to this village. He built Sayyidat al-Lawza in its old place, for he had verified the site of the church and its old building. He constructed it by playing a ruse on the Mitwālīs. To him goes our praise and our esteem.

Fāris begot Nasr; Nasr begot Dāwūd; Dāwūd begot Fāris, and Fāris begot Mūsā and Yūsuf.

Then in 1674 Wāsāf al-'Aqīqī came from Mazra'at Kafar ^hDibyān with his herd of goats. He came through Fāris Abū-Nasr Shqayr. It was through Wāsāf, that property in Harājil was bought, for the monastery of Rayfūn. First, he bought a forest in Khanāzī? which he exchanged for nine goats. It was limited to the west by the road, and to the south by the edge of the cliff. The forest reached the foot-path and was situated above the water-shed. The second piece of land, which he exchanged against nine goats, was a meadow with a hill near it. The meadow was called Marjat al-'Ayn and was situated below the cemetery of

Sayyidat al-Nūr. Wāsāf built a shed [mrah], near the hill, at the end of the meadow, and lived there. In winter time, he used to take his goats to Rayfūn, and spend winter with Brother Mubāarak, who had built a small church, and near it, a room in which he lived. He gave the goats to Wāsāf in partnership, and bought him instead, the above-mentioned pieces of land.

Wāsāf begot Yūsuf; Yūsuf begot Hannā; and Hannā begot Tannūs, and Ilyās.

In 1676 Yūsuf, from the family of 'Arnūs, came to Harājil from the region of Tripoli. When the winter was over, he took his goats and moved with Wāsāf from al-Kūra towards al-Mazra'a and Jurd Kisrawān. Yūsuf married the daughter of Yūsuf al-'Aqīqī, sister of Wāsāf. Yūsuf left his relatives, and came to live in Jurd Kisrawān.

Yūsuf begot Ilyās and Ilyās begot Nūhrā, Yūsuf, Mikhāyil, Hannā, and Mūsā.

Yūsuf 'Ubayd from Ftūh¹ came to this village in 1684, and took a wife from Mayrūbā, from the Khalīl family. Yūsuf begot: Ilyās, Tānyūs, and Hannā; Ilyās begot Yūsuf, nicknamed Abū-Ruq'a. The thieves came, broke the panel of the door, and entered to where the goats were. Yūsuf

¹A district north of Kisrawān.

turned them out, and patched up the door with the cloak ('abā), since no panel was then to be found. The cloak ('abā) remained in the door for over a year.

Tānyūs begot Mūsā, and Butrus. Tānyūs used to shout much, so he was nicknamed Tānyūs al-'Ayyāt. Hannā begot Yūsuf.

In 1687 Ghānim Mhannā came from Mazra'a. He begot Ilyās, Hannā and Būlus.

In 1689 the shoe-maker Dīb Mhannā came. Dīb begot Yūsuf and Yūsuf begot Dīb, Ilyās, and Hannā.

30

In 1691 Sham'un Zghayb came from al-Mazra'a. Sham'un begot Frām, and Yūsuf.

In 1694 Sallūm Basīl came from Hadad (Hadath) al-Jibba¹ to this village. Sallūm begot Ilyās and Yūsuf. Ilyās begot Ya'qūb, Tānyūs, and Hannā.

In 1696 Priest Yūsuf al-'Aīqī came from al-Mazra'a to serve this village. He begot Tānyūs, and Tānyūs begot Hannā, and Ilyās.

In 1701 I, Priest Jirjis Zghayb, author of this history, came from al-Mazra'a to serve this community. On

¹A village in Jibbat Bsharri.

18 December, 1702, a son, Hannā, was born to me. On 15 October, 1720, Hannā begot Mūsā. Later Hannā begot Yūsuf.

In 1706 al-Hājj Salāma came from al-Mazra'a to Fārayyā, then to Harājil. Al-Hājj begot Mūsā, Yūsuf, and Ilyās.

"In 1716, Rūhānā Mhannā came from al-Mazra'a. Rūhānā begot Hannā, Yūsuf, and Jirjis."

"In 1729, Lutfallāh Abū-'Aql came from Mayrūbā. Lutfallāh begot Yūsuf, and Tānyūs."

END

Here ends what Priest Jirjis Zghayb wrote of this History.

And before going further in this book, we must say a word about the family of al-Hūsarī and the family of Mubāarak.

The family of al-Hūsarī is still well-known in the village of Ghbālī. From it came the Reverend Priest Yūsuf al-Hūsarī who is at present in charge of the Maronite community at Alexandria. He was one of my companions in the

3)

Maronite Clerical School in Rome.¹

From the family of al-Hūsarī, comes Priest Lwīs al-Hūsarī, servant of the village of Ghadīr,² on the coast of Kisrawān (above Jūnya).

From the family of al-Hūsarī, comes the late Priest Butrus Ghbālī, from the Maronite Aleppine Order [al-Rahbana al-Halabiyya].³ He was the Maronite Patriarchal Vicar in Egypt during the middle of the past century.⁴ He was first sent to the city of Damietta⁵ to serve the Maronite community there. We have found, in the library of Bkirkī,

¹The Maronite College in Rome was founded by Pope Gregorius XIII, in 1584, to educate Maronite students in ecclesiastical matters so that, once in their country, they would spread the Catholic faith among the people. Louis Cheikho, "Al-Ta'ifa al-Marūniyya wa al-Rahbana al-Yasū'īyya", al-Mashriq, v.XIX, 1921, p.142.

²Most probably Ghazīr.

³In 1768, the Lebanese Maronite Monastic Order was divided into two separate orders, the Lebanese Order, and the Aleppine Order. Antōniūs Shiblī (al-Lubnānī), op.cit., pp.801-807, 920-923.

⁴From 1855 to 1858. Butrus al-Khuwayrī, Tārīkh al-Risāla al-Marūniyya fī al-Quṭr al-Miṣri; 1745-1927 (Egypt: Yusuf Kawwa Press, 1927), pp.130-131.

⁵It is in Damietta that al-Bārija, the first Christian church in Egypt, was founded. The founder, Priest Mūsā Hilānā al-Shāmī, arrived in Damietta on July 1745. The church of al-Bārija was used by all the Catholics: Maronites, Syrians, Armenians, Latins, and Greek Catholics. Ibid., pp.13-17.

several letters written by him, dated in the year 1847, his and addressed to Miḥā'īl Srūr, French consul in Damietta. The letters dealt with the church of (al-Bārija) which was shared by both the Maronite and the Greek Catholic communities in Damietta. I saw, in the same library, petitions sent to Patriarch Yūsuf al-Khāzin,¹ from Damietta and Alexandria. I will publish some of them in the section on documents, for they are related to the history of the Syrians in Egypt.

His Eminence Priest Butrus al-Khuwayrī,² the Maronite Patriarchal Vicar in Shubrā,³ told me that when the above-mentioned, Priest Butrus al-Hūsarī al-Ghbālī, was the Patriarchal Vicar in Egypt, he lost interest in the company of people, because a false accusation had been brought against him. So he suddenly disappeared, leaving the church and his office. He entered the wilderness of Upper Egypt where he lived a secluded, solitary, and ascetic life. No one knew what had happened to him, and he was

¹He became Patriarch in 1845. Yūsuf al-Dibs, al-Jami' al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al-Mawārina al-Mu'aṣṣal (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1905), pp.550-551.

²1845-1927; in 1913, he became the Patriarchal Vicar in Egypt. He collected documents found at the seats of the Aleppine Order, both in Lebanon, and in Egypt, and used them to write his book, Tārīkh al-Risāla al-Marūniyya fī al-Quṭr al-Misri. See Supra., p.47, n.4.

³The Catholic church of Shubrā was founded in 1881. Jubrā'īl Ṣfayr, Ta'sīs al-Risāla fī Shubrā, in al-Khuwayri, op.cit., pp.154-155.

considered as dead. But in his old age, he returned to his hometown Ghbālī, disguised as a dervish. No one among the inhabitants, not even his relatives, recognised him. His Eminence Priest Lwīs al-Hūṣarī, the above mentioned servant of Ghadīr, related to me that after nine years had passed, Priest Buṭrus al-Hūṣarī confessed the truth about his case, to the Sheikh of the village, Yūsuf Bākhus al-Hūṣarī, and asked him to intervene with His Beatitude Patriarch Būlus Mas'ad,¹ so that he would spare him from returning to the order, and consider him a secular priest. The Patriarch permitted him this. So again, he started to exercise the office of priest in his village. He lived a pious life and died in the odour of sanctity, at the end of the last century. He was buried in the church of Mār Nūhrā,² which had been bequeathed as waqf by his family.

The family of Mubārak. - As you have read before, the monastery of Rayfūn was founded by Priest Sulaymān

¹1806-1890; Būlus Mas'ad was born at Ashqūt and studied at the schools of 'Aynṭūra, 'Ayn Warāqa, and the Maronite College in Rome. He was elected Patriarch in 1854. He wrote several religious and historical books such as al-Durr al-Manzūm, and Nabda fī Tarīkh al-'Usra al-Khaziniyya, al-Dibs, op.cit., pp.551-555.

²Saint Lūcius. He was revered at Batrūn. He is the patron of those who suffer from eye ailments. Henri Lammens, Tasrih al-Abṣār fī mā Yahtawī min al-Āthar, (2 vs.; 2nd ed.; Beirut: The Jesuit Catholic Press, v.I in 1913, v.II in 1914), v.I, p.106.

Mubāarak. He was married and had seven boys. After the death of his wife, he and his sons desired to retire from society. So they first went to the monastery of Mār Shallīṭā, in the midst of Kisrawān (south of Ghūstā). They stayed there a number of years and joined the priests of this monastery. Then Sulaymān Mubāarak and his sons, separated from those priests, and came to Rayfūn in 1655. On the west side of Rayfūn, they founded the old monastery on the ruins of a temple which was there. They spent their life in the monastery persevering in their work and in their good deeds. Then Priest Sulaymān died in 1713, as the engraving on his tomb, in the above-mentioned monastery, shows. Three of his sons became well-known. The first is Metropolitan Yūsuf Mubāarak who was elected Patriarch in 1710, after the dismissal of Patriarch Ya'qūb 'Awwād.¹ But later the Apostolic Seat ordered the cancellation of Yūsuf Mubāarak's election.

32

The second is the learned Father Butrus Mubāarak, one of the students in the Maronite College in Rome. In 1691 he was appointed by the Prince of Florence director of the library; then in 1701,² he became teacher of oriental

¹Who was re-elected Patriarch in 1713.
Al-Dibs, Tārīkh Sūriyya, v.VIII, p.572.

²1700 according to Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh, "Dayr Mār Sarkīs wa Bākhūs Rayfūn", al-Mashriq, v.VIII, 1905, p.356.

languages in Pisa. There is no place here to mention his writings and contributions. He is the founder of the famous school of 'Ayntūrā, in Kisrawān, and superintendent of its property. He handed over the school to the Jesuit Order which he had joined, on the condition that the Maronite community would benefit from it. The Jesuits, after their order was abolished, handed over the school to the Lazarist Missionary Order [al-Mursalīn al-'Āzariyyīn] in the hands of which it is now.

The third is Metropolitan Jubrā'īl Mubārak,¹ the first known Bishop of Baalbek. He was appointed by Patriarch al-Duwayhī.² He died in 1732. He is not Metropolitan Jubrā'īl Mubārak, Bishop of Baalbek, who died in 1788.

From this family comes Metropolitan Butrus, a priest of the monastery of Rayfūn. In 1787 Patriarch

¹Son of Sulaymān ibn Mubārak. He became Bishop in 1713. At the death of his brother Yūsuf, he became the third principal of the monastery of Rayfūn. Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh, op.cit., pp.353-354.

²1630-1704. A Maronite historian from Ihdin. He studied at the Maronite College in Rome and became patriarch in 1670. He wrote several works, among which are a general history, Tārīkh al-Azmina, and a history of the Maronites, Tārīkh al-Ta'ifa al-Mārūniyya, Salībī, op.cit., pp.93-94.

Yūsuf Istifān¹ made him an honorary metropolitan. When his uncle Metropolitan Jubrā'īl died, in 1788, as was said above, he succeeded him in the diocese of Baalbek. He died on 17 November, 1807.²

From this family also comes the late Priest Jubrā'īl,³ the first head of the Maronite College in Rūmiya, which was renewed in 1894, by His Beatitude the present Patriarch Mār Ilyās al-Hwayyik. Priest Jubrā'īl was a doctor in the philosophical and clerical sciences.

From it also comes the Reverend [hadrat] Priest Fransīs, the present Episcopal Vicar in Hayfā, and Priest Jubrā'īl, actual head-master of the school of Rayfūn. Both have taught, for a long time, at the Maronite School in al-Dāhir in Egypt.

33

The old church, which the above-mentioned Priest Sulaymān had built, is still standing. It is, like the new one, named after the two saints Sarkīs and Bākhūs.⁴ It is especially honoured in these places.

¹He became Patriarch in 1766 and died in 1793. Al-Dibs, Tārīkh al-Mawārina, pp.446-458.

²1808 is more correct. Al-Dibs, Tārīkh Sūriyya. v.VIII, p.539.

³1867-1909. Anṭōniūs Shiblī (al-Lubnānī), "Jawla fī Kisrawān: Dayr Mār Sarkīs Rayfūn", al-Mashriq, v.XXVI, 1928, pp.130-131.

⁴Two Syrian martyrs of the third century.

We have mentioned that Patriarch Yūsuf Hbaysh¹ has converted in 1831, the monastery of Rayfūn into a clerical school, free of charge. He also converted, for the same purpose, the monastery of Mār 'Abdā Hirhiriyā in Ftuh Kisrawān. In 1792² Patriarch Yūsuf Istifān had converted the monastery of 'Ayn Warāqa into a school to educate candidates for the priesthood. In 1812 Patriarch Yūhannā al-Hilū³ also converted, for the same purpose, the monastery of Mār Yūhannā Mārūn, in Batrūn, and the monastery of Mār Mārūn, in Rūmiya, Kisrawān, into two schools. Thus the Maronite community possessed in 1831, five clerical schools, free of charge.

The reason for the interest of the heads of the Maronite community, in founding all these schools, is to find a substitute for the school of this community in Rome. It is the college which has produced, for two complete and consecutive centuries, the greatest learned men of the Lebanon, and of Syria as well, such as the

¹He became Patriarch in 1823. Al-Dibs, op.cit., p.749.

²Most probably in 1789. Al-Dibs, Tārīkh al-Mawārina, p.455, pp.516-517.

³He became Patriarch in 1809. Al-Dibs, op.cit., pp.746-747.

families of al-Simānī,¹ al-Duwayhī, 'Awwād,² and others. This, until Bonaparte came to Rome, in his known expedition. He completely destroyed this famous school, reducing it to ruin and robbing it of its money. So, no matter how hard the French work to compensate the Maronite community in the matter of learning, they do not pay back part of their debt to it.

In 1872, the late Priest Francis Mubārak, renewed and improved the building of the school of Rayfūn. It is built on a big rock standing among other rocks, amidst which are recently planted trees, and of strange shapes. In the moonlight, you would think they are troops standing, holding their white shields, their spears sticking out in front of them. To the west, the school of Rayfūn overlooks the seat of the Khāzin family, 'Ajaltūn, and the area beyond it, to the sea which has no end. To the east, it faces the beautiful village of Rayfūn, which is a little above it. Over Rayfūn, a pine forest rises above its buildings like an umbrella. To the north and south, the eye-sight stretches till God knows where.

¹Yūsuf Sim'ān al-Sim'ānī (1687-1768). Born at Tripoli, he studied at the Maronite College in Rome and became director of the Vatican Library. Hittī, op.cit., pp.405-406.

²Ya'qūb 'Awwād, Supra, p. 50.

Let us¹ now go back to the history of the families living in Harājil.

"On the binding paper [I found] these marginal notes."

From the family of the Khāzin Sheikhs, the following were buried in the church of Harājil, in the place where the women stand: the first is Sheikh Ilyās Hannā Abū-Nādir al-Khāzin; the second is Dāwūd Bayk 'Afīf al-Khāzin; the third is a child, the daughter of Sheikh Jahjāh; the fourth is a child, the daughter of Sheikh Dāhir Mansūr; the fifth is a child, the son of Sheikh Jahjāh Halīm; the sixth is a child, the daughter of Sheikh Yūsuf Amīn Khaṭṭār al-Khāzin; the seventh is Sheikh Jahjāh Halīm al-Khāzin; the eighth is Shams, the wife of Dāwūd Bayk al-Khāzin. Of the peasants buried there, is Maḥbūb the priest (son of Priest Yūsuf Khalīl)."

"Of the priests buried there, is Priest Jirjis Zghayb, buried in the old church, which was built on one pillar, inside the actual church. And in the actual church, were buried, the priests Yūsuf Khalīl, and Frām Zghayb."

We have found at the end of this manuscript, the rest of the list of the families living in Harājil, with

¹Most probably Yūsuf Khalīl, who copied the Arabic text from the Karshūnī original.

the outline of what Priest Jirjis Zghayb said about them in his history. We have noted these down here to make this history complete.

"The first to settle in this village. The one who came to this village, is Fāris Shqayr, who left his relatives, and came to live in the village of Ghbālī, in the district [kharāj] of Ftūh Kisrawān. He got married and became a Maronite, for his family, the family of Shqayr, is Greek Orthodox. The Shqayrs were living in Mazra'at Shaqra, which is Barṣā now, and is in the district [kharāj] of Tripolī. One of them attacked a Moslem, and killed him. When the Shqayrs knew that, they left behind what they possessed in land and other property, and fled, to escape from general destitution at the hands of the Moslems. They fled and took refuge with the Druze chiefs. Thus the Shqayrs lived in the region of the Druze Mountain and were all saved from destitution. They have kept their original faith unchanged until now.

As for their cousin Fāris, who left his relatives on their way to the place of the Druzes, he stopped on his way at the village of Ghbālī, married a girl from the family called Bayt al-Hūsarī, and became a Maronite. He begot a son called Nasr. Fāris was thus nicknamed Fāris Abū-Nasr Shqayr. In 1664, he came to the village of Harājil, from the village of Ghbālī, at the suggestion of

Sheikh Abū-Nawfal al-Khāzin. Fāris was superintendent of the property which the Sheikh had bought from the Mitwālīs. Among the decedents of Fāris, are the family Banū Shqayr in Ḥarājil; and it was because of him that the Christians came to this village.

35

In 1673, Yuwāsāf al-'Aqīqī came to the village of Ḥarājil, from Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān, at the suggestion of Fāris Shqayr. Yuwāsāf left his two brothers, who at that time were working as shoe-makers, in al-Mazra'a. Then his brother-in-law, Yūsuf 'Arnūs, who belongs to the family of Banu 'Arnūs of the region of Tripolī, brought his goats, and came with Wāsāf from the region of the coast of Tripolī, to spend the summer in the region of Jurd Kisrawān. He married the daughter of Yūsuf 'Aqīqī, who is the sister of Wāsāf. Yūsuf 'Arnūs came to Ḥarājil, to Wāsāf, in 1676. Through him, Priest Mubārak of Rayfūn acquired property, and built a small church in Rayfūn, and near it, a room to live in. He acquired land, in Ḥarājil, through Yuwāsāf al-'Aqīqī, by exchanging goats with the Mitwālīs. The first property is called Khanāzī, the second Marjat al-'Ayn, the meadow below the burial of Sayyid Nūr.¹ Wāsāf built a shed [mrāh] near the village, and came to live in it. Wāsāf al-'Aqīqī begot Yūsuf; Yūsuf begot Hannā, and Hannā

¹Most probably Sayyidat al-Nūr.

begot Ṭannūs and Ilyās. Ṭannūs begot Zakhūr, Fransīs, and Hannā. Ilyās begot 'Abbūd, and 'Abbūd begot Dāhir, Shīnā, Nūhrā, Mārūn 'Aqīqī, Hannā, and Mūsā. Mūsā begot Ilyās; Ilyās begot Nūhrā, and Nūhrā begot Yūsuf, and Ilyās. Yūsuf begot Nūhrā, and Nūhrā begot Yūsuf, Ilyās, Jirjis, and Fransīs 'Arnūs.

Then in 1684, Yūsuf 'Ubayd came, with his goats, to this village, from Ftūh, and took a wife from Mayrūbā, from the family of Bayt Khalīl. Yūsuf begot Ilyās, Ṭānyūs, and Hannā. Ilyās begot Yūsuf. Yūsuf begot Butrus, Mūsā, Mansūr, and Sarkīs. Butrus begot Yūsuf, Būlus, Ṭannūs, and Hannā. Mūsā begot Ṭannūs, and Mansūr begot Lannūs. Sarkīs begot 'Abbūd, Jirjis, and Yūsuf. Ṭānyūs begot Mūsā. Butrus Tūmā begot Yūsuf. Yūsuf begot 'Īsā. 'Īsā begot Ilyās. One of them, Yūsuf, was nicknamed Abū-Ruq'a. The thieves entered to where the goats were, and broke panels in the door, in order to steal the goats. He stopped them, and patched up the door with the cloak [abā], to forbid the goats from going out of the house. And this, because no panel was at that time to be found. The door remained patched with the cloak [abā] for over a year. So Yūsuf was nicknamed Abū-Ruq'a.

In 1687, Ghānim Mhannā came with his goats from Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān to this village. Ghānim begot Ilyās, Hannā, and Būlus. Ilyās begot Shallītā, Yūsuf, Ya'qūb, Frām,

'Āsī, Dāwūd, Sim'ān and Mūsā. 'Āsī begot Afrām and Buṭrus. Hannā begot Sim'ān. Sim'ān begot Ibrāhīm. Būlus begot Sim'ān, Shallītā, and Tānyūs. Sim'ān begot Mūsā, and Mūsā begot Yūsuf. Shallītā begot Mansūr, and Mansūr begot Yūsuf. Tānyūs begot Mūsā and Jirjis, from the family of Bayt Mhannā.

36

Meanwhile, in 1689, the shoe-maker, Dīb Mhannā, came to Harājil from Mazra'at Kafar Dībyān. Dīb begot Yūsuf, and Yūsuf begot Dīb, Ilyās, and Jirmānus. Dīb begot Buṭrus, Sasīn, and Ṭannūs. Ilyās begot Anṭūn, Yūsuf, and Buṭrus. Jirmānus begot Mūsā.

In 1689, Sham'ūn came with his goats to this village, from al-Mazra'a. Sham'ūn begot Afrām and Yūsuf. Yūsuf begot Hannā, Danīs, and Fransīs. Danīs begot Jirjis, Yūsuf, Ilyās, and Sarkīs. Fransīs begot Ilyās and Yūsuf. Afrām begot Sham'ūn, and Sham'ūn begot Sarkīs, Jabbūr, Afrām, and Mikhāyil. Jabbūr begot Jirjis, and Afrām begot Tānyūs. Mikhāyil begot Hannā and Sim'ān.

In 1694, Sallūm Basīl came to this village from Hadad¹ al-Jibba. Sallūm begot Ilyās and Yūsuf. Ilyās begot Ya'qūb, Tānyūs, Hannā, and Yūsuf. Ya'qūb begot Sarkīs and Tānyūs. Sarkīs begot Ṭannūs, and Ṭannūs begot Buṭrus and Sa'b. Buṭrus begot Sulaymān, Sasīn, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf, and

¹Hadath.

Khalīl; they were nicknamed Abū-'Alī. Ḥannā begot Nūhrā, Ṭannūs, and Yūsuf. Nūhrā begot Ḥannā, Jirjis, and Mu'awwad nicknamed al-Dūq.¹ Ṭānyūs begot Buṭrus. Yūsuf begot Sim'ān. Yūsuf begot Buṭrus Harmūsh. Yūsuf al-Bāqī, son of Sallūm Bāsīl, went to Manshiyya, to al-Ftūh.

In 1696 Priest al-'Aqīqī also came from al-Mazra'a, to serve the community. Ṭānyūs was born to him. Ṭānyūs begot Ḥannā and Ilyās. Ḥannā begot Jirjis. Ilyās begot Ṭannūs. Jirjis begot Ṣawmā, Yūsuf, and Fāris. Ṭannūs begot Ilyās and Sim'ān.

Priest Jirjis Zghayb came in 1701. Ḥannā was born to him. Ḥannā begot Mūsā, Yūsuf, (and Būlus?). One of them, Mūsā, begot Jirjis, Buṭrus, and Iṣṭifān. Būlus Zghayb begot Yūsuf and Ṭannūs. Ṭannūs, son of Ḥannā, served during a year, the Muqaddam² of Jubayl. Ṭannūs was thus nicknamed Ḥannā the Muqaddam. Jirjis begot Mūsā and Mūsā begot Sim'ān, Yūsuf, and Jirjis. Buṭrus begot Ḥannā; Ḥannā begot Dāhir; and Dāhir begot Ḥannā.

Meanwhile, in 1706 al-Ḥājj Salāmī came to Ḥarājil from the village of Fārayyā. Al-Ḥājj begot Mūsā, Yūsuf, and

37

¹It has several meanings; a guard (nāṭūr), a bishop, a principal (ra'īs), or a muqaddam. Anīs Frayha, "al-Dūq", 'Asma' al-Mudun wa al-Qurā' al-Iubnāniyya (Juniya, 1956), p.137.

²The Muqaddam was responsible for the collection of the taxes.

Ilyās. Hannā begot Būlus and Ilyās. Būlus begot Sarkīs and Hannā. Ilyās begot Jirjis, Rūkus, Mūsā, and Nqūlā. Yūsuf begot Mūsā.

In 1726, Rūhānā Mhannā came from al-Mazra'a.

Rūhānā begot Hannā, Yūsuf, and Jirjis. Hannā begot Jirjis; Yūsuf begot Antūn; and Jirjis begot Sallūm. Jirjis begot Ghāryūs, and Antūn begot Fāris, Bishāra, Yūsuf, and Butrus.

In 1729, Lutfallāh Abū-'Aql Khalīl came to this village from Mayrūbā.

Lutfallāh begot Yūsuf and Tānyūs. Tānyūs begot Hannā, Lutfallāh, and 'Abdallāh. Yūsuf begot Sim'an, Jirjis, and Hannā. Sim'an begot Rashwān, Wanīs, and Sasīn. Jirjis begot Mansūr, Mansūr begot Jirjis, Zaj'an, and Khalīl.

In 1755, Yūsuf Barjis al-'Aqīqī came to this village from Mazra'at Kafar ^hDibyān. Yūsuf begot Ilyās, Yūsuf, and Hannā. Yūsuf begot Tannūs and Mūsā. Tannūs begot Jabbūr, and Jabbūr begot Tannūs.

Ibrāhīm and his brother, Sham'un Zghayb, also came to this village, from al-Mazra'a, with their mother.

Ibrāhīm begot Afrām and Yūsuf. One of them, Afrām, became a priest to serve the village of Harājil. Sim'an begot Jirjis.

Then Yūsuf Mhannā came to this village from Mazra'at Kafar Dibyān. Yūsuf begot Nūr and Mikhāyil. Mikhāyil begot Yūsuf and Tannūs.

Priest Yūsuf Khalīl came to this village from Mayrūbā and served the village. He begot Ayyūb and Mahjūb.

Lattūf Salāmī came to this village from al-Mazra'a. Lattūf begot Mūsā and Ishāq.

In 1748 Yūsuf 'Awn Salāmī came from Fārayyā to this village. Yūsuf 'Awn begot Hannā and Yūsuf. Hannā begot Yūsuf, and Yūsuf begot Sim'an and Afrām. Yūsuf begot Tannūs and Jibrāyīl.

Yūsuf 'Atiyya Khalīl came to this village from Mayrūbā, in the year ... Yūsuf begot Sarkīs, and Sarkīs begot Yūsuf, Antūn, and Ilyās. Ilyās became a chaste priest, and took the vows with the Missionary Order [Jam'iyat al-Mursalīn], and went to the monastery of al-Krayyim¹ in the village of Ghūstā.

Yūsuf, nicknamed Rkhāmī, came to this village from Mayrūbā. He married the daughter of Hannā Abu-'Ubayd.

¹The monastery of al-Krayyim at Ghūstā is also called Dayr al-Mukhallis. It was founded in 1716 by two Armenian priests from Aleppo. Al-Dibs, Tārīkh Sūriyyā, v.VIII, p.599.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

A. ORIGINAL SOURCES IN ARABIC

Most, if not all, of the original sources consulted in writing this thesis, are in Arabic. The earliest work consulted is that of ABŪ AL-FIDĀ, 'Imād al-Dīn, Ismā'il ibn 'Alī (1273-1331). Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar (4 vs. Isted. Egypt: the Ḥusayniyya Press, 1325H.), which treats of pre-Islamic and Islamic history till 1329. This work is valuable because the events of 1305, though mentioned briefly in volume four, are by a contemporary. The three following sources have been useful also in determining the population of Kisrawān at the beginning of the fourteenth century: The first is the work of IBN YAḤYA, Sālih (d. 1436). Kitāb Tārīkh Beirūt wa Akhbār al-'Umarā' al-Buhturiyyīn min Banī al-Gharb (ed. Louis Sheikho, 2nd ed. rev. Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1927), a Druze historian, and a Buhtur Amīr from al-Gharb. His book is a history of the 'Umarā' of al-Gharb and he relied, in writing it, on oral accounts and family documents. His facts and dates are usually correct. The second is the work of IBN ŠIBĀT, Ḥamza ibn Ahmad al-'Alāyhī (d. 1520). Tārīkh (2 vs. MS American University of Beirut 956.9, I 13), another Druze historian, who relied on Ibn Yahya mainly, and who was later on used as a source by al-Duwayhī and al-Shidyāq. His Tārīkh is a continuation of Ibn Yahya's

chronicle and he therefore presents the Buhturid point of view. The third is the work of IBN AL-QILĀ'Ī, Jubrā'īl. For this author, I have used Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh ibn al-Qilā'ī, found in al-'Ayntūrīnī, Antōniūs Abū-Khaṭṭār, Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Jabal Lubnān (ed. Tannūs al-Khūrī, Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1953), and translations of ibn al-Qilā'ī's Madiha 'Alā Jabal Lubnān, by Salībī, Kamāl, in Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon (American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series. No.34; Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1959). The Madiha was written by ibn al-Qilā'ī in defence of the Maronite church, and to prove that it had always been in union with Rome. Therefore ibn al-Qilā'ī is favourable towards the Maronites and exaggerates their role.

The following sources have been useful for the seventeenth century.

AL-KHĀLIDĪ, Ahmad ibn Muhammad (al-Ṣafadī) (d. 1656), a Sunnite from Ṣafad, was the official historian of Fakhr al-Dīn II, and he wrote his book, Lubnān fī 'Ahd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī, (Asad Rustum and Fūād Afrām al-Bustānī, eds. Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1936) at the demand of Fakhr al-Dīn himself. Al-Khālīdī starts his history in 1612, with the war between Ahmad Pasha al-Hāfiz and Fakhr al-Dīn. He describes the Amīr's 'trip' to Tuscany,

his return in 1618 and the establishment of his power. Al-Khālīdī's account is accurate, and his dates correct. I have used him as a source mainly on Fakhr al-Dīn's wars against Yūsuf Sayfā, and to obtain a correct idea about Fakhr al-Dīn's relations with the Khāzins of Kisrawān.

AL-DUWAYHĪ, Istifān (d. 1704) a Maronite from Ihdin, is another source for the seventeenth century. Like ibn al-Qilā'ī, he defended Maronite orthodoxy. I have used two of his works: Tārīkh al-Tā'ifa al-Mārūniyya (ed. Rashīd al-Shartūnī, Beirut: The Jesuit Catholic Press, 1890), which is a history of the Maronite community, and Tārīkh al-Azmina: 1095-1699 (ed. Ferdinand Tawtal, Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1951), which is a general history, from the crusades to a few years before the author's death. Al-Duwayhī mentions his sources and tries to evaluate them. But his objectivity decreases when he deals with the early history of the Maronites. As for his dates, they are sometimes inaccurate. I have used him as a source for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for in these, he is accurate.

For the nineteenth century, four original works have been useful.

AL-'AYNTŪRĪNĪ, Antōniūs Abū-Khattār (d. 1821), is a Maronite historian, killed by Bashīr II. His book, Mukhtasar Tārīkh Jabal Lubnān (ed. Aghnātiūs Ṭannūs al-Khūrī,

Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1953), is both a church history and a history of Lebanese families. Al-'Ayntūrīnī is accurate and objective. I have used him as a source on the origins of the Shī'ite Hamādās.

AL-SHIDYĀQ, Ṭannūs (d. 1861). Kitāb Akhbār al-A'yān fī Jabal Lubnān (ed. Butrus al-Bustānī, 2 vs. 2nd ed. Beirut: Sāmia Press, 1954), is a history of the feudal families of Lebanon, their origin and their rise to power. His sources, as he himself says, are: ibn al-Qilā'ī, ibn Šibāt, al-Duwayhī, Ḥaydar al-Shihābī, al-Khālīdī, some Italian and Syriac books, the reminiscences of Druze Sheikhs, and his own notes kept from 1820 to 1859. His history is objective, in the sense that to him, Lebanon is a structure of families, Druze, Maronite and Moslem, and not only Maronite. I have used him mainly, as a source on the Khāzins of Kisrawān.

AL-HATTŪNĪ, Mansūr Ṭannūs. Nabḍa Tārīkhiyya fī al-Muqāṭa'a al-Kisrawāniyya (n.p., n.p., 1884), is both a church history and a political history of Kisrawān, from the seventh century to the year 1884. Al-Hattūnī's information is correct and he is important specially for the events of 1850, for he knew Ṭāniūs Shahīn personally. He is objective in the sense that he sometimes gives information unfavourable to the Kisrawānite. This book has been useful all through, and particularly since it is

the only source to mention certain incidents told by al-Hitā Zghayb. al-Mashriq, viV, 1902, pp.183-185, he produces

a document which throws light on the state of Kisrawān at the beginning of the fifteenth century. AL-DIBS, Yūsuf (d. 1907), is the last Arabic original source I have used for the nineteenth century.

I have consulted two of his books: Al-Jāmi' al-Mufasssal fī Tārīkh al-Mawārina al-Mu'assal (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1905), a political and a religious history of the Maronites, from the beginning of the fifth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Tārīkh Sūriyyā (8 vs. Beirut: al-Matba'a al-'Umūmiyya, 1893-1905) is an objective and scholarly work of the religious, political and literary history of Syria. I have used volume eight, for it deals with Syria during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both works have been particularly useful in identifying certain personalities and in checking some details of the text.

B. SECONDARY WORKS IN ARABIC

I have used only a few Arabic secondary works.

LAMMENS, Henri. Tasrīh al-Abṣār fī mā Yahtawī Lubnān min al-Ātkār (2 vs. 2nd. ed. Beirut: The Jesuit Catholic Press, 1913-14).

AL-MASHRIQ, the Arabic periodical, has been very useful for the detailed history of the churches, schools and monasteries of Kisrawān, and for the history of the Maronite orders in the district. The articles used are by:

CHEIKHO, Louis; SHIBLĪ, Antōniūs; and HARFŪSH, Ibrāhīm. The last mentioned, wrote a series of articles on the old

monasteries of Kisrawān. In the article "Dayr Mār Shallītā Maqbis", al-Mashriq, v.V, 1902, pp.183-185, he produces a document which throws light on the state of Kisrawān at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

FRAYHA, Anīs, wrote two useful works: Asmā' al-Mudun wa'l Qurā al-Lubnāniyya (Jūniya, 1956), which studies the origins and meanings of the names of the Lebanese towns and villages, and Mu'jam al-Alfād al-'Āmiyya fī al-Lahja al-Lubnāniyya (Jūniya, 1956), which is a dictionary of local Lebanese words.

C. SECONDARY WORKS IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

LAMMENS, Henri La Syrie: Precis Historique (2 vs. Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1921), is a history of Syria, from ancient times to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Lammens considers Syria as a natural unit and to him, the Syrians are not Arabs. I have used volume two for the events of 1305, for Lammens, unlike ibn al-Qilā'ī, al-Duwayhī, and Jouplain, believes that the Maronites started to occupy Kisrawān as from the fifteenth century only.

JOUPLAIN, M. (Būlus Nujaym), is a Maronite and he wrote a book called La Question du Liban (Paris, 1908) which is a political history of Lebanon. Jouplain considers the Maronites as a separate entity and accepts their presence in Kisrawān at the time of the Mamlūk expeditions.

LAOUST, Henri. Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les Premiers Ottomans: 1260-1746 (Damas, 1952).

This book offers a French translation of two chronicles.

The first is by Muḥammad ibn Tūlūn (d. 1546) and is a history of the Turkish Governors of Damascus. The second is by ibn Jum'a (d. 1744), and is a history of the pāshas and qādīs of Damascus since Salīm I. I have used the second chronicle to check on the Wālī mentioned by Zghayb.

The following two sources have been used to identify some words:

GIBB, H.A.R., and BOWEN, H. Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of the Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East (2 vs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).

POLIAK, A.N. Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon: 1250-1900 (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1939).

As far as I know, and, except for REDHOUSE, J.W. A Turkish and English Lexicon (Constantinople: A.H. Boyajian, 1890) who also explained the word Ṣarījā, those two works were the only ones to explain certain terms.

HITTI, Philip Lebanon in History (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1957), is particularly valuable for his references and as a general textbook.

SALĪBĪ, Kamāl, Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1959) was extremely useful for the critical studies made on ibn al-Qilā'ī, al-Duwayhī and al-Shidyāq, and for the comparisons he makes between ibn al-Qilā'ī and al-Duwayhī, thus giving the reader a clear idea on the value of each as a source, and enabling me to use them correctly. This work is also useful for its references.

al-Duwayhī wa 'Akhbar al-'Umarā'
al-Duwayhī wa 'Akhbar al-'Umarā', Louis Sakhāf
(ed.) 2nd ed. rev. Beirut: The Catholic Press,
1927.

al-Duwayhī, Kamāl ibn Ahmad (d. 1520).

Tārīkh, 2 vols. AS American University of
Beirut 956.9, I 13, v.II, pt.3.

al-Duwayhī, Kamāl ibn Ahmad (d. 1520), in

al-'Ayn al-'Arabīyah, Amman: Abū-Khattār,

Mukhtasar Tārīkh Jabal Lubnān,

Yannūs al-Khūrī (ed.) Beirut: The Catholic
Press, 1953, pp.79-85.

al-Duwayhī, Ahmad ibn Muhammad (al-Safadī) (d. 1556).

Lubnān fī 'Ahd al-'Asīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'ālī,

And Westin and Fāid Af'ār al-Bustānī (eds.)

Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1934.

LIST OF REFERENCES

A. ORIGINAL SOURCES IN ARABIC

- ABŪ AL-FIDĀ, 'Imād al-Dīn, Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī (d. 1331).
Al-Mukhtasar fī Akhbār al-Bashar, 4 vs. 1st ed.
Egypt: The Husayniyya Press, 1325 h.
- IBN YAHYA, Sālih (d. 1436),
Kitāb Tārīkh Beirūt wa Akhbār al-'Umarā'
al-Buhturiyyīn min Banī al-Gharb, Louis Sheikho
(ed.) 2nd ed. rev. Beirut: The Catholic Press,
1927.
- IBN ŠIBĀT, Ḥamza ibn Aḥmad (d. 1520).
Tārīkh, 2 vs. MS American University of
Beirut 956.9, I 13, v.II, pt.3.
- MUKHTAŠAR TĀRĪKH IBN AL-QILĀ'Ī (d. 1516), in
al-'Ayntūrīnī, Antōniūs Abū-Khaṭṭār,
Mukhtašar Tārīkh Jabal Lubnān,
Tannūs al-Khūrī (ed.) Beirut: The Catholic
Press, 1953, pp.79-85.
- AL-KHĀLIDĪ, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (al-Šafadī) (d. 1656).
Lubnān fī 'Ahd al-'Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī,
Asad Rustum and Fuād Afrām al-Bustānī (eds.)
Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1936.

AL-DUWAYHĪ, Istifān (d. 1704). Tārīkh al-Azmina: 1905-1699,

Ferdinand Tawtal (ed.) Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1951.

_____ . "Tārīkh al-Madrasa al-Mārūniyya fī Rūmiyya",
Louis Sheikho (ed.), al-Mashriq, v.XXI, 1923,
p.212.

_____ . Tārīkh al-Tā'ifa al-Mārūniyya, Rashīd al-Shartūnī
(ed.) Beirut: The Jesuit Press, 1890.

AL-'AYNTŪRĪNĪ, Antōniūs Abū-Khattār (d. 1821). Mukhtasar
Tārīkh Jabal Lubnān, Aghnātiūs Tannūs al-Khūrī
(ed.) Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1953.

AL-SHIDYĀQ, Tannūs (d. 1861). Kitāb Akhbār al-A'yān fī
Jabal Lubnān, Butrus al-Bustānī (ed.) 2 vs. 2nd ed.
Beirut: Sāmia Press, v.I, 1954.

AL-HATTŪNĪ, Mansūr Tannūs (d. 1850's). Nabda Tārīkhiyya
fī al-Muqāta'a al-Kisrawāniyya, n.p., n.p., 1884.

AL-DIBS, Yūsuf (d. 1907). Al-Jāmi' al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh
al-Mawārina al-Mufaṣṣal, Beirut: The Catholic
Press, 1905.

_____ . Tārīkh Sūriyyā, 8 vs. Beirut: al-Matba'a
al-'Umumiyya, 1893-1905.

B. SECONDARY WORKS IN ARABIC

QARĀ'LĪ, Būlus (ed.). Tārīkh 'Awd al-Naṣāra ilā Jurūd

Kisrawān; [↑] **Cairo**: The Muqattam Press, n.d. (ed.)

1620-1729

[↑] **Muqataf and**

CHEIKHO, Louis. "Al-Tā'ifa al-Mārūniyya wa'l Rahbana

al-Yasū'iyya", al-Mashriq, v.XIX, 1921, pp.138-146.

_____. "Tārīkh Fann al-Tibā'a fī al-Mashriq",

al-Mashriq, v.III, 1900, pp.251-257.

LAMMENS, Henri. Tārīkh^s al-Absār fī mā Yahtawī Lubnān min

al-Āthār, 2 vs. 2nd ed. Beirut: The Jesuit Press,

v.I in 1913, v.II in 1914.

ḤARFŪSH, Ibrāhīm. "Al-Adyār al-Qadīma fī Kisrawān: Dayr

Mār Sahllītā Maqbis wa Dayr Mār Yūhannā Hrāsh",

al-Mashriq, v.V, 1902, pp.183-185.

_____. "Dayr Mār Sarkīs wa Bākhūs Rayfūn", al-Mashriq,

v.VIII, 1905, pp.347-357, 351-354.

SHIBLĪ, Anṭōniūs. "Jawla fī Kisrawān, Dayr Mār Sarkīs

Rayfūn", al-Mashriq, 1928, pp.128-131.

_____. "Al-Rahbana al-Lubnāniyya al-Mārūniyya",

al-Mashriq, v.XXX, 1932, pp.801-807, 920-923.

AL-KHUWAYRĪ, Butrus (d. 1927). Tārīkh al-Risāla al-Mārūniyya

fī al-Qutr al-Misrī; 1745-1927, Egypt: Yūsif

Kawwa Press, 1927.

AL-MA'LŪF, 'Īsā Iskandar. "Al-Ṣinā'a fī Lubnān wa Sakb al-Ajrās", al-Mashriq, v.VIII, 1905, pp.303-312.

_____. "Usrat Shqayr al-Masīhiyya", Būlus Qarā'lī (ed.) in Tārīkh 'Awd al-Nasāra ilā Jurūd Kisrawān, Egypt: Matba'at al-Muqattaf wa'l Muqattam, n.d.

FRAYHA, Anīs. "Al-Dūq", Asmā' al-Mudun wa'l Qurā al-Lubnāniyya, Jūniya, 1956.

_____. Mu'jam al-Alfād al-'Āmiyya fī al-Lahja al-Lubnāniyya, American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series 27, Jūniya: Al-Krayyim, 1956.

C. WORKS IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH

GRAF, Georg. Geschichte Der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur, 4 vs., Vatican City, 1944-1953.

LAMMENS, Henri. La Syrie: Precis Historique, 2 vs., Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1921, v.II.

JOUPLAIN, M. (Būlus Njaym). La Question du Liban, Paris, 1908.

POLIAK, W.N. Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and The Lebanon: 1250-1900, London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1939.

LAOUST, Henri. Les Gouverneurs de Damas Sous les
Mamlouks et les Premiers Ottomans: 1260-1744,
Damascus, 1952.

HITTĪ, Philip. Lebanon in History, London: Macmillan
and Co. Ltd., 1957.

GIBB, H.A.R., and BOWEN, H. Islamic Society and the West:
A Study of the Impact of the Western Civilization
on Moslem Culture in the Near East, 2 vs. Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 1960.

ISMĀ'ĪL, Adel. Histoires du Liban du XVII^e Siècle à nos
Jours, 2 vs. v.I being Le Liban en Temps de Fakhr-
-ed-Dīn II: 1590-1633 and v.IV being Redressement
et Declin du Feodalisme Libanais: 1840-1861,
v.I in Paris, v.IV in Beirut, 1955, 1958.

SALĪBĪ, Kamāl, Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon,
American University of Beirut, Publication of the
Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series, No.34;
Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1959.

C. ENCYCLOPAEDIAS AND DICTIONARIES

1. ARABIC

AL-BUSTĀNĪ, Butrus. "Sahama", Kitāb Muḥīt al-Muḥīt,
2 vs. Beirut, v.I in 1867, v.II in 1870.

2. OTHER

LANE, Edward William. An Arabic-English Lexicon, Stanley Lane - Poole (ed.), London.

REDHOUSE, J.W. A Turkish and English Lexicon, Constantinople: A.H. Boyajian, 1890.

STEINGASS, F. Arabic-English Dictionary, London, 1884.

HUART, Cl. "Āghā", The Encyclopaedia of Islam, v.I, 1913.

D. INTERVIEWS

Interview with Dr. Anīs Frayha (March, 1961)

Interview with Dr. Zeine Zeine (July, 1962)