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STUDIES ON THE TRADITIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY
OF THE MARONITES ON THE
PERIOD 1100 - 1516

Thesis presented to the
Faculty of Arts in the
University of London for
the degree of Ph.D. in
Middle East History

by

Kamal Suleiman Salibi

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ABSTRACT

In the preparation of this thesis I have endeavored to examine the history of Lebanon during the Crusader and Mamluk periods as presented by three Maronite historians who represent the Maronite historiographic tradition in the fifteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth centuries. The study has been made in view of the future use of the works of the historians for the reconstruction of a period in the interrupted history of Lebanon which has remained so far obscure and unknown.

Aside from giving brief biographies of the three historians in question (Jibra'il ibn al-Qilati, d. 1516, Istifan ad-Duwaihi, d. 1704, and Tannus ash-Shidyah, d. 1866) and discussing at length the circumstances under which they wrote their histories and their purposes as historians, I have given detailed synopses of their historical works and analyzed their histories independently. In the course of this analysis I have sought to establish historical facts which they mentioned.

or to which they allude by studying these facts and taking into consideration any mention or allusion to them by non-Maronite historians (Moslems, non-Maronite Eastern Christians and Western Christians) and by other Maronite historians, and the general setting of the history of the Middle East in the Crusader and Mamluk periods in which they fit. Some of the facts I have established definitely, but many others only by probability.

After making an independent analysis of each of the three historians, I have tried to assess the value of their works, independently and conjointly, as sources for the history of Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamluk periods.

This thesis, on the whole, has been concerned with the establishment of historical facts concerning the history of Medieval Lebanon and the exercise of judgement on the worth of Maronite historiography in so far as it deals with this history. It has been prepared as a basis for the reconstruction of the history of Lebanon in the four centuries preceding the Ottoman conquest in 1516 which, so far, have been practically completely ignored. It is hoped that the work done in this thesis will open the way to further research on the subject.

Kamal S. Salibi

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P R E F A C E

In the general use the term "Lebanon" denotes either the modern Republic of Lebanon or the Mountain (the latter being usually referred to as "Mount Lebanon", or "the Lebanon". In this thesis the term is used in a particular sense to denote the area covering both, Mount Lebanon and the stretch of the Phoenician coast extending from Nahr al-Bārid, north of Tripoli to Nahr al-Ūlī, north of Sidon - roughly, that part of the modern Lebanese Republic that lay within the boundaries of the County of Tripoli and the Baronies of Beirut and Sidon in Crusader times, and within the niyāba of Tripoli and the wilāyas of Beirut and Sidon (in the niyāba of Damascus) in the Mamlūk period.

The term "Maronite Lebanon" is sometimes used to imply that part of Lebanon that lay roughly north of Anṭiliās, where there was (and still is) a large concentration of Maronites. The use of the term with this geographical connotation, however, is not frequent; and the term is generally used to denote the Maronite community in Lebanon. Likewise, the term "non-Maronite Lebanon" is used as a collective term for the Druse and Moslem (orthodox and heterodox) communities in Lebanon.⁺

⁺ This term, as used in this thesis, does not include the non-Maronite Christian communities in Lebanon (Melchites and Jacobites). These communities are only mentioned in this thesis in as far as their relations with the Maronites are concerned, while dealing with the history of Maronite Lebanon. The Maronite historians whose works are considered did not deal with the internal history of the Jacobites and the Melchites, and only mentioned their relations with the Maronites.

The map of the feudal provinces of medieval Lebanon attached to this thesis will help the reader locate the villages, towns, provinces, and rivers of which mention is made. This map, however, merely gives a rough representation of the boundaries of the Lebanese feudal provinces in the period under consideration, and does not take into consideration the changes that took place during that period.

In giving the names of places in Lebanon and of Lebanese characters, I have attempted to transliterate them according to the Lebanese pronunciation. Other Arabic names are rendered according to an accepted Arabic transliteration. In cases where a place name has an accepted English form (like Beirut, Tripoli, and Jubail), I have used the accepted form, except when rendering composite place names. Thus, "Beirut" is given as the name of the city; but "Nahr Bairūt" and "Sāhil Bairūt" are given as the names of the river and the province called after the city.

Unless otherwise stated, the translations rendered in this thesis are mine.

Kamal S. Salibi

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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STUDIES ON THE TRADITIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE MARONITES
ON THE PERIOD 1100 - 1516

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The study of the works of the Maronite historiographers is essential to any attempt to understand the history of Lebanon between the advent of the Crusaders to Syria and its conquest by the Ottomans. Such works, together with those of the few other Lebanese historians dealing with this period, provide the main body of source material on it.

In general, what is found in non-Lebanese sources about the internal history of Lebanon in the later Middle Ages serves to substantiate the facts found in the Lebanese sources, but only adds a small amount of information to them. To the Arabic chroniclers of the Zangid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk periods Lebanon was important only in so far as it was a border province of the Islamic empire that was particularly susceptible to attack from the sea and by the coastal route. They took no interest in its internal history except when they mentioned help offered by the Lebanese mountaineers to the Crusaders or the Mongols, or the suppression of a revolt of the heterodox Moslem communities that inhabited the northern and central slopes of the mountain.

Eastern Christian chroniclers rarely mentioned Lebanon, in spite of the fact that it was largely inhabited by Christians belonging to the different Christian communions of the East. The Crusader historians, likewise, did not reflect at length on its local history, although the country fell under Frankish domination for the greater part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is true that several of them occasionally mentioned the Maronites of Lebanon, who were perhaps the most faithful allies the Franks found in Syria; but they did not dwell on the role played by those Maronites in particular events and virtually ignored their internal political history. A number of pilgrims and missionaries who visited the Holy Land during and after the Crusader period, while enumerating and describing the various native Christian sects of Syria, commented on the religious condition of the Maronites, sometimes giving indications of their numbers and the general aspect of their political life; but the later pilgrims and missionaries tended to repeat what previous ones had noted, and they did not always record their own observations.

The importance of the study of Maronite sources has been realized by modern historians of Lebanon, and the publication of the classics of Maronite historiography has been undertaken by scholars in Lebanon since the end of the nineteenth century. The historical works of Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī and Iṣṭifān ad-Duwaiḥī, the founder and the first great author of the Maronite historiographic tradition, have all appeared in print; but the

critical study of those works and of others is still in its infancy.

The most important work that has been done on the subject so far has been Georg Graf's survey of Maronite historiographical literature in his Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur.¹ By listing an appreciable number of Maronite historical works available partly or fully in manuscript, in print, or in quotation by later authors, and by attempting a critical treatment of the more important of those works, Graf contributed greatly to the facilitation of the study of the literature; but his survey has been incomplete and his critical treatment inadequate. In the edition of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's main historical work, Madiha 'ala Jabal Libnān (Poem on Mount Lebanon), Būlus Qara'lī attempted an analytical study of it; but many of the conclusions he reached are untenable.²

The present study is neither a history of Maronite historiography nor a survey of Maronite historical literature dealing with the history of Lebanon in the period of Crusader and Mamluk domination (c.1100-1516). Its purpose is to analyse the history of Lebanon in this period as presented by three leading figures of the Maronite historiographic tradition, Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Duwaihī, and Tannūs ash-Shidyāq. Before pro-

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1. Georg Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur has appeared in four volumes in the Vatican series Studi e Testi, Vatican City, 1944-1951.
 2. Būlus Qara'lī's conclusions will be considered below in the chapter on Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history.

ceeding to the study of the work of those historians, however, it is important to consider briefly the scope and general characteristics of Maronite historiography, the factors giving rise to it, and the conditions under which it developed.

The traditional historiography of the Maronites seems to have originated as an expression of Maronite national pride. As a small, closely-knit community surrounded by enemies, the Maronites have been, in general, deeply interested in their own history,¹ taking pride in having retained their national identity through centuries of vicissitudes. This, doubtless, has been a major factor in driving them to examine the events and conditions of their past. The Maronite church is, perhaps, the smallest of the communions of Eastern Christianity; and although not the oldest, it was among the first to begin a tradition of attachment to and finally of union with Rome. Centralized and strongly localized in the almost inaccessible northern slopes of Mount Lebanon, it was never subjected to the direct political authority of Islam to the same extent as the other Eastern Christian churches. The Maronites, through centuries of Moslem rule, remained comparatively free of Moslem tutelage in their mountains. Their awareness of these facts has contributed to the formation of their national pride which they expressed in their historiography.

1. G. Graf considered the Maronites as the Eastern Christian community that held the highest rank in historiography. See G. Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, III, p. 306.

Another factor contributing to the rise of Maronite historiography, which is somewhat related to the first, has been the strong Maronite desire to rebut the historical evidence pointing to their heretical origin and the denials of their original and unbroken orthodoxy and union with Rome by Western writers and by other Uniates. The Maronites were originally a monothelite communion; and it was only in the late twelfth century that they became permanently attached to Rome. William of Tyre, the Crusader chronicler, had related the event of their union, to which he was contemporary;¹ and later writers referred to his history when they discussed the conversion of the Maronites from monothelitism. Moreover, during the three centuries that followed their union with Rome in c.1180, there were several anti-Catholic movements among their clergy and laity which, although never ultimately successful, were widespread enough to make pilgrims and missionaries who visited Lebanon in this period doubt their orthodoxy. Faced with denials of their original and unbroken orthodoxy, Maronite scholars, starting with Ibn al-Qilāʿī (d.1516), reverted to the history of their community for evidence to refute them.

Little is known about Maronite historiography before Ibn al-Qilāʿī. Graf listed only two Maronite historical works written before the fifteenth century: A Church history written

1. See below, pp. 124-125.

in the thirteenth century by the monk Yūḥannā (Yūḥannā ar-Rāhib al-Mārūnī)¹ and an early fourteenth century history of the monastery of Mār Shallīṭā Maqbīs in Kisruān (1194-1307) by Tādrus, archbishop of Ḥama - a brief historical sketch which must have once formed part of a larger work by the same author. Iliās of M'ād, a contemporary of Ibn al-Qilā'ī to whose work Duwaiḥī made reference,³ appears to have been a chronicler of some importance; but his work, if it still exists, is yet to be discovered.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī, who lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century and died the year of the Ottoman conquest, is the earliest Maronite historian of note whose works are still largely available. As a historiographer he was concerned exclusively with the history of his own community and with that of the Church. The main aim of his work was to prove to the "mislēd" Maronites of his day that their church had always been in communion with Rome, and that the calamities that had occasionally befallen their community in the past were demonstrations of divine wrath brought about by their temporary lapse into the heresy of their neighbours. For this purpose he wrote Madiḥa 'ala Jabal Libnān, a fanciful rendering of the history of his community from an indefinite period in the past, a

1. G. Graf, op.cit., II, p.101.

2. Ibid., II, pp.100-101. Graf called him Tādrus al-'Āqūrī, archbishop of Hama. His history of the monastery of Mār Shallīṭā Maqbīs was published by Bulus Qara'li as an appendix to Madiḥa 'ala Jabal Libnān (Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn, Bait Shaba 1937, pp. 85-88).

3. For further mentions of Iliās of M'ād, see below, pp.

golden age of orthodoxy and material prosperity, until his own day, and several tracts and poems on the history of the Church and on the development of the various Christian heresies and schisms.

With Duwaihī, however, the scope of Maronite historiography, in so far as it dealt with the history of Lebanon, was widened. The Maronites of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's day were an isolated community owing political allegiance to their own muqaddams, or chiefs, who paid their tribute to the Mamlūk government. They were little concerned with their Moslem and Druze neighbours except for the memories of open hostility in the past. Duwaihī on the other hand, lived in a Lebanon that had been brought wholly under the suzerainty of one Druze family - the Maʿnids. Already before his time, in the early years of the seventeenth century, Fakhr ad-Dīn II of Maʿn had succeeded in bringing under his control the whole of Lebanon, as well as the Biqāʿ and Galilee.¹ The boundaries between Maronite and non-Maronite Lebanon had become less definite; and one of the most important Maronite feudal families, the Khāzins, had been the staunch supporters of the Druze amir.² It is not surprising, therefore to find that although Duwaihī was mainly concerned with the history of the Maronites and the Maronite church, as Ibn al-Qilāʿī had been, and although a considerable part of his work was devoted to the polemical defence of the perpetual orthodoxy

1. H. Lammens, La Syrie, précis historique, (Beirut, 1921), II, pp. 72-74.

2. Ibid., II, pp. 71-72 and 81.

of his community, he took some interest in the political history of the other communities of Lebanon and of that part of the world in which Lebanon was located.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Duwaihī were both clergymen, and so were almost all the Maronite historiographers before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even during the nineteenth century and up to the present day Maronite historiography continued to be largely a clerical historiography, with the polemical defence of the original and unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites as its dominant feature.

With the nineteenth century, however, the lay Maronite historian appeared and the polemical tradition became less pronounced. Living in an age when Lebanon had already become an issue of international politics, historiographers like Ṭannī ash-Shidyāq and Ḥaidar ash-Shihābī were little interested in Church history and in theological polemics, and concentrated on the political history of their country. Shihābī occasionally mentioned the role played by the Maronites in Church Councils in Rome, repeating what Duwaihī had written about such events, but his history deals mainly with feudal Lebanon. Shidyāq, on the other hand, showed no concern at all with Church history. In Akhbār al-aʿyān fī Jabal Lubnān, a history of the various feudal families of Lebanon, he dealt with the origins and genealogies of those families and with the internal political history of Lebanon under their leadership at a time when Lebanese feudalism as a political system had already matured and was

approaching its downfall.

The founders and early masters of the Maronite historiographic tradition were educated in Italy; but the tradition which they started and developed flourished mainly in Lebanon and remained largely unexposed to Western critical approach until the late nineteenth century.¹ Maronite historians who had received the benefits of Western scholarly discipline wrote their history for their countrymen who were unfamiliar with this discipline. The validity of their history remained unchallenged and they tended, therefore, to become naively dogmatic in their assertions and denials of historical fact. The isolation of the Maronite historiographic tradition, besides, was conducive to the interdependence of Maronite historians who tended, in general, to repeat each other and to draw on each other's conclusions.

1. There were Maronite historians like Murhij ibn Nimrūn, or Nairūn (Faustus Naironus, d. 1712) and Yūsuf Shamʿūn as-Simʿānī (Joseph Simonius Assemani, d. 1768) who lived mainly in Italy (the former was born in Italy) and wrote in Latin. These historians, however, cannot be considered strictly as belonging to the traditional school of Maronite historiography whose authors lived for the most part in Lebanon or its neighbouring countries and wrote in colloquial and/or classical Arabic. Apart from the fact that Faustus Naironus (Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum, Romae 1679) and Assemani (Biblioteca Orientalis, Romae 1719) wrote their main historical works in Latin, presumably for Western scholars, they were only interested in the origins of the Maronite and the Maronite church and did not consider Maronite or Lebanese history on the whole, as the historians of the school of Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Duwaihī did. Assemani's journal (Ṣaumiyyāt) and his accounts of the Maronite councils of his day are important sources for the history of the Maronite church in his day; but they are documentary rather than historiographical sources. For Faustus Naironus, see Graf, op.cit., III pp. 359 et seq. For Assemani, see ibid., III, pp. 444 et seq.

Besides, the very factors that had given rise to Maronite historiography were responsible for its most serious weaknesses. In their eagerness to demonstrate the glories of the past of their community, Maronite historians betrayed in their work a naive tendency to overestimate both the autonomy which the Maronites enjoyed in the period of Frankish and Mamlūk domination and the role they played in the events of the Crusader and Mamlūk periods. This is particularly true of Ibn al-Qilā'ī who went to the extent of not drawing the distinction between those of his heroes who were Maronite chiefs and those who were Frankish lords. When he spoke of the lords of Jubail he made no hint to the effect that they were not Maronites but Franks. On the other hand, when he related the Mamlūk expeditions against Kisruān in 1292 and 1305 which were directed mainly against the heterodox Moslems and the Druzes of that province, he seemed to believe that they were directed almost exclusively against the Maronites, and that it was the Maronite muqaddams alone who defeated the armies of the Moslems in the first expedition.¹ Duwainī, who showed a remarkable critical spirit while relating certain events, and whose polemics reveal a keen and well-trained mind, was not entirely free of this naive approach to the political history of his community. Maronite historians showed the same tendency

1. See below, pp.91 et seq.

when they dealt with the history of non-Maronite Lebanon and tended to ignore the fact that the country fell under foreign domination throughout the period the events of which they related.

Far more detrimental to the validity of their history was their zeal to prove the original and unbroken orthodoxy of their church and to refute all the evidence against it. All the Maronite historians who considered the history of their church were very critical of historical facts and events that threw doubt on its perpetual orthodoxy and accepted too readily any evidence that supported it, no matter how weak. Some of them distorted historical facts almost beyond recognition to suit their hypothesis.

The value of Maronite historiography as a source for the history of Crusader and Mamlūk Lebanon does not lie so much in intrinsic qualities of objectivity or fulness of scope as in the relative poverty of other sources. The greater number of the Maronite historians whose works are still available lived and wrote in Ottoman times and were not contemporary to the events they related of the previous periods. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, who died the year of the Ottoman conquest, gave a first hand account of the religious conditions prevailing in Lebanon during his lifetime, but this account does not form the greater part of his history. The main body of Maronite historical works that deal with the period under consideration belong to the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. For the history of

Maronite Lebanon in this period Maronite historians depended on the works of older historians like Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Iliās of Mʿād, and on those of Duwaihī, who collected a considerable amount of information for this history from fragmentary historical information about particular events recorded by scribes on religious books or found in inscriptions. For the history of non-Maronite Lebanon they referred to the history of Ibn Sibāṭ (d. 1520), a Druze from ʿĀlai who was in the service of the Tanūkhid amirs of the Gharb, who incorporated in his work much information about the history of the Tanūkhs,¹ and to other family histories of Moslem and Druze feudal dynasties. The picture those Maronite historians presented of medieval Lebanon had little continuity; for it was, in general, only the more important events about which they found any information in their sources. Besides, when dealing with the history of the Maronites they interpreted this information to suit their preconceptions; and although they had no preconceptions about the history of the non-Maronite feudal dynasties, the sources from which they obtained their information on it were not wholly dependable.

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1. The history (Tārīkh) of Ibn Sibāṭ is found in a unique manuscript in the American University of Beirut (second volume only), numbered MS 956.9 I 13. The available volume gives the history of the years 526-926 A.H. (1131-1519 A.D.).
 2. Ibn Sibāṭ, relying on Sāliḥ bin Yaḥyā (Tārīkh Bairūt wa akhbār al-umarāʾ al-Buḥturiyyin min Banī al-Gharb, edit. Lou Cheikho, Beirut, 1927), gave the history of the Gharb province from the point of view of the Tanūkhid family. The history of the ~~Anshān~~ family, rivals of the Tanūkhs in the Gharb, which is so far known only through Shidyāq's history, gave a different and a rival point of view. For a fuller discussion of the differences between those two histories of the Gharb see the chapter on Shidyāq's history, below.

Ibn al-Qillā'ī, to whom all later Maronite historians referred, seems to have woven a considerable amount of legendary material into his history, although he had access to some written sources. The same seems to have been true of Maronite historians who followed him and imitated his historical zajaliyyāt (colloquial poems), like Archbishop Iliās ibn Hannā of Ihdin¹ and Patriarch Yūsuf al-ʿĀqūrī² Duwaihī, the first Maronite historian to attempt a critical approach to the history of his community in the Later Middle Ages, incorporated in his work much of the fragmentary historiographic material found in church books and inscriptions. For his history of non-Maronite Lebanon he made use of the history of Ibn Sibāt. His own work was utilized and expanded by later historians like Yūsuf Marūn ad-Duwaihī (d. 1780)³, Yūhannā Bādinjānā (1768),⁴ Antūn Qaiyālā

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1. Archbishop Iliās ibn Hannā of Ihdin was the uncle of Iṣṭifān ad-Duwaihī. He died in 1659. He wrote a zajaliyya about the history of the Maronites, in 1606 (in Par. syr. 275), in which he dealt with the same themes as Ibn al-Qillā'ī. See Graf, op.cit., III, p.335.
 2. Yūsuf al-ʿĀqūrī, an old student of the Maronite College in Rome, became bishop of Sidon in 1626 and Maronite Patriarch in 1644. He died in 1648. He wrote a zajaliyya about the wars between the Melchites and the Maronites towards the end of the seventh century, part of which still exists in quotation by Duwaihī (Tarikh at-ṭaʿifa al-mārūniyya, Beirut 1890, p.82) Graf lists no other works by him. See Graf, op.cit., III, p. 339.
 3. Yūsuf Marūn ad-Duwaihī was also an old student of Rome. He was the author of a treatise in praise of the Maronites in which he considered their origin, their early history, and their Patriarchs (Sbath Fihris 1438). See Graf, op.cit., III pp. 467-468.
 4. Yūhannā Bādinjānā, a Maronite priest from Aleppo, wrote a defence of Maronite orthodoxy (Mirʾāt al-ḥaqq al-waḍiʿa fi sharf al-milla al-mārūniyya, MSS Sharfeh ar. 5/12, Aleppo 176 ʿAshqūt 11, and Beirut (Bibliothèque Orientale) 785), dated 1768. Ibid., III, p.468.

(1768),¹ and Philip Jumayyil (d. 1796),² as well as by Yūsuf ad-Dibs (d. 1907), the last of the great masters of the clerical school of Maronite historiography.³ In the early nineteenth century lay Maronite historians like Haidar ash-Shihābī and Tannūs ash-Shidyāq used other non-Maronite family histories — those of the Shihābs and the Arslāns — as sources for the history of non-Maronite Lebanon, while depending mainly on Istifān ad-Duwaihī for their history of the Maronites.

In spite of their shortcomings, the works of those historians, apart from the few other Lebanese histories, form the most important sources for the history of Lebanon in the Later Middle Ages. The study of those works, therefore, is vital for the understanding of this history which, in itself, is essential for the understanding of the history of Lebanon under Ottoman domination; for it was in the Crusader and Mamluk periods that the tradition of local feudal government in Lebanon developed and matured, and that the earliest relations between Christian Lebanon and Western Europe, which were to be of great importance in the later history of Lebanon, were established.

The purpose of this study is to examine the history of

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1. Antūn Qaiyālā, a Maronite priest from Beirut, wrote a defence of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites in 1768 (MS in Brit.Mus. ar. Christ. 31, Catalogue pp. 46-48). See Graf, op.cit., III, pp. 468-469.
 2. Graf mentioned Philip Jumayyil among the Maronite historians who utilized and expanded Duwaihī's history (ibid., III, p. 307), but he mentioned nothing about his life or his work. I have not come across any of his works.
 3. Ibid., p. 307. Some of the works of Yūsuf ad-Dibs, who was Archbishop of Beirut, have been used in this study. See Bibliography.

Crusader and Mamluk Lebanon as given by Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Duwaihī, and Shidyāq, each of whom may be considered as the best representative of his period of Maronite historiography. The history of each will be examined in the light of the other available sources on the history of Medieval Lebanon, where such examination is possible, and the factor of the respective historian's approach to the various events he related will be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, only part of the events with which Maronite historians dealt are mentioned or touched upon adequately by other sources. This is particularly true of events in the political history of the Maronites. Those facts which are only related by Maronite historians cannot be established with certainty and will, therefore, be considered in the light of the general pattern of the history of Lebanon and of the history of the Medieval Near East.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF JIBRĀ'IL IBN AL-QILĀ'Ī

In 1516, the year the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Lebanon brought to an end that period in the history of Lebanon with which this study is concerned, Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī, Maronite bishop of Cyprus, died in Nicosia.¹ He had been the first Maronite known to have gone to Rome for purposes of study. He had also been the first Maronite known to have collected and recorded information about the history of his people from the beginning of the Crusades to his own day. The historical material found in his letters and his zajaliyyāt was used by later Maronite historians; and his various works are still of great importance for the information they give about that obscure period in Lebanese history - the period of Crusader and Mamluk rule.

Jibrā'īl bin Buṭrus al-Lihfidī, known as Ibn al-Qilā'ī and sometimes also as Ibn Ghūriyya, was born in Lihfid, a village in the neighbourhood of Jubail, in the niyāba (province) of Tripoli, towards the middle of the fifteenth century.³ He was called Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Ibn Ghūriyya because his father had built

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1. Istifān ad-Duwaihī, Tarīkh al-azmina (Beirut, 1950), p. 237. Hence this work will be referred to as Duwaihī, T.A.
 2. P. Dib, "Maronites", in Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, X, p. 47. Ibn al-Qilā'ī studied in Italy before the establishment of the Maronite College in 1584. See below, p. , fn.
 3. The biography of Ibn al-Qilā'ī was given by Istifān ad-Duwaihī in Tarīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya (hence T.T.M.), pp. 412 and 417-424. For his biography see also Yūsuf ad-Dibs, Al-jāmi' al-mu'assal fī tarīkh al-mawārina al-mu'assal (Beirut, 1905), pp. 310-311; P. Dib, loc.cit.; and Louis Cheikho, "Les poètes arabes chrétiens après l'islam" (Arabic) in Al-Mashriq, XXV, 1927, pp. 266-267.

a house among the ruins (qilāʿ)¹ in the farm of Ghūriyya, near Lihfid.² His early education was entrusted by his parents to Ibrāhīm Draiʿ,³ a Maronite priest, with whom he studied Syriac and Arabic.

Jibrāʾīl's parents did not plan for him a clerical career. When he reached manhood they arranged for his marriage to a good-looking relation; but his engagement was soon to be broken because of an eye disease he contracted at the time.⁴ This was a great disappointment to Jibrāʾīl. Turning away from the world, he decided to devote the rest of his life to the service of the Church and the pursuit of learning.⁵

1. In classical Arabic, qilāʿ, the plural of qalʿa, means fortresses. In colloquial (Lebanese), however, it is used to mean ruins.

2. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.412.

3. That is how the name is given by Ibn al-Qilāʿī in one of his poems. The passage in which the name is given is quoted below, p.23, fn.3. Duwaihī, loc.cit., gave the name as Ibrāhīm bin Duraiʿ. Throughout this study I will attempt to transliterate place and personal names according to the Lebanese pronunciation, wherever that is relevant, except in such cases where there is an established spelling (e.g. Beirut, Sidon, Jubail).

4. Ibn al-Qilāʿī's eye disease was, apparently, cured later on. At the end of his poem in praise of Mār Nuhrā (St.Lucius), he wrote: (Madīhat Mār Nuhrā, found in two copies in MS Bkerke 13).

/This poem/ was written by the slave, the guide,
Ibn al-Qilāʿī of Lihfid.

The light of his eyes, which had been spoilt,
Was cured by the intercession of Mār Nuhrā.

5. Ibn al-Qilāʿī described his ascetic outlook on life in the following verses (Abyāt li ibn al-Qilāʿī ʿan al-ʿulūm wa'l-burūj /Verses by Ibn al-Qilāʿī about the sciences and the constellations/, MS Bibliothéque Orientale 15, p.38):

Let him who wants to follow me and take my advice
Not own on Earth of the things that are found
Except the book, and studying in the realm of paper
In hope and fear, hesitating without shame.

Accompanied by two other young Maronites, Yūhannā (who is occasionally referred to as Juan) and Francis, and with the help of Fra Gryphon, the famous Franciscan missionary to the Maronites,¹ Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī was sent to Jerusalem where he and his companions joined the Franciscan order.² In 1470 they were sent to Rome where they took orders. They remained in Italy for many years and studied Latin, theology, and science. Later Ibn al-Qilā'ī was to boast to his countrymen about the scope of the learning he acquired in Italy in the opening lines of one of his zajaliyyāt:

Your slave, my brethren, has travelled and gained experience
He lived in villages, cities, countries, and lands.
He was born in the land of Syria, in the province of Tripoli
And studied in books beyond the seas.
His wisdom he speaks forth in the Greek tongue;
And of Frankish learning he has an extensive knowledge.
Through it he has come to know the roots of the sciences
And has become acquainted with philosophy and theology.³

In 1493 Ibn al-Qilā'ī returned from Italy as a priest in the Franciscan order. On arriving in Lebanon, he went to visit the Maronite patriarch, and then went to Jerusalem with Fra Francesco Suriano who was then superior of the Franciscans

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1. For Fra Gryphon see H. Lammens's monograph "Frere Gryphon et le Liban au XVeme siecle" in Revue de l'Orient Chretien, IV, 1899, pp. 68-104.
 2. Francesco Suriano, Il trattato de Terra Santa e dell'Oriente (Florence, 1900), pp. 70-71; P. Dib, loc.cit.
 3. Abyāt fi'l-abrāj wa'l-aflāk wa'l-a'ṣyād al-muṭaharrika, (Verses on the constellations, the orbits, and the inconstant feast days), in MS Bibliothéque Orientale 15, p. 47. The name of the author of this poem is not given in it; but it is probably safe to assume that he is Ibn al-Qilā'ī because of his description of himself and because the poem is found in a collection of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's poems. F. Suriano, loc.cit., said that Ibn al-Qilā'ī conducted his studies in Venice.

in the Holy Land.¹ Suriano had been visiting the Maronite patriarch, since Pope Alexander VI had ordered him to send some of his learned monks to visit the Maronite patriarch regularly and to report on the condition of his people.

During his brief stay in Lebanon after his return from Rome Ibn al-Qilāʿī was alarmed by the number of Maronites whom he found attracted by Jacobite missionary activity. Many Maronite clerics and laymen, led and encouraged by ʿAbd al-Munʿim Ayyūb, the muqaddam of Bsharrāy and the most powerful of the Maronite lords, had fallen under the influence of the Jacobite missionaries and embraced the monophysite faith;² and although the patriarch and the greater part of the Maronite clergy had remained faithful to Rome, they were unable to arrest the spread of this heresy.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī, moreover, noticed that Jacobite propaganda was being spread among the Maronites largely through education. The ignorance of the Maronites at the time, and particularly their ignorance of doctrinal matters, was their main point of weakness, and the Jacobite missionaries were taking advantage of it. Ibn al-Qilāʿī decided, therefore, to combat

1. Fra Francesco Suriano, a Venetian by birth, was elected Superior of the Franciscans of Terra Santa on May 24, 1493. He probably, thus, accompanied Ibn al-Qilāʿī on his journey back from Rome and visited the Maronite patriarch with him. His first term of office as Superior ended in 1495; but he was re-elected to the same office in 1514. G. Golubovich, Serie cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa (Jerusalem, 1898), pp. 35 and 43.

2. The spread of the anti-Catholic movement in Maronite Lebanon in the late fifteenth century will be discussed later in this chapter. Below, pp. 107 et seq.

the Jacobite missionary activity with its own weapons. Realizing that the zajal was the best and most attractive means for spreading education among his countrymen, Ibn al-Qilāʿī made full use of it. Throughout the remaining years of his life, poems written in the Lebanese vernacular on medicine, science, astronomy, history, hagiology, Church history, and theology poured prolifically out of his tireless but prosaic pen.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī, however, did not concentrate wholly on the spread of popular knowledge among his lay countrymen. With equal vigour he sought to bring a better knowledge of the Catholic Faith to the Maronite clergy. He wrote and translated from Latin many works on theology, Church discipline, ritual, and dogma. He also wrote numerous letters to Maronite clergymen and notables, rebuking those who ~~among them~~ who had strayed from Roman orthodoxy, warning those who were about to stray, and expounding orthodox doctrines to the faithful.

After he had arrived in Jerusalem with Fra Francesco Suriano, Ibn al-Qilāʿī started his campaign to arrest the spread of the monophysite heresy among his people with the writing of his first major work, Mārūn at-tūbānī (Mārūn the Blessed).¹ The purpose of this book, which may be generally described as a work of theology, was to enlighten the Maronite clergy about the principles of Roman orthodoxy and to inform

1. Mārūn at-tūbānī has not been published. It exists in a unique manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat. arab. 640, ff. 1-193, Karsh. 1574). I have had the occasion to examine this manuscript personally.

them about the previous state of relationship between their church and the Apostolic See.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part entitled Muhdī al-akhlāq (the guide of character), is composed of eight classical Syriac works on theology,¹ followed by Arabic translations of seven letters sent by the Popes of Rome to the Maronite patriarchs.²

1. These works on theology, the texts of which are given in the Syriac original, are by Severianus of Jabala (ff.5v-8v), Cyrillus of Alexandria (ff.8v-10r), Pope Leo the Great (in a Syriac translation, ff.10r-16v), Ya^cqūb as-Sarūjī (ff.16v-17v), Ephraem (ff.17v-18r), Isaac of Antioch (ff.18r-19r), ~~again Isaac of Antioch~~ (ff.19r-23v), and again Ephraem (ff.23v-26r). For a more detailed description of these works see G. Graf, op.cit., III, pp. 318-319. The texts of these works are the only part of Mārūn at-tūbānī which is in Syriac and not in Arabic.
2. Duwaihī, who described Mārūn at-tūbānī (T.T.M., pp.417-418), said that Muhdī al-akhlāq contained translations of the fourteen papal letters sent to the Maronites in the past. In his letter to Patriarch Sham^cūn, dated November 6, 1494 (p.101) Ibn al-Qilā^cī mentioned that there were fourteen papal letters in Qannubin. Perhaps this accounts for Duwaihī's mistake in the number of letters translated in Mārūn at-tūbānī. The seven translated letters are, in the order in which they appear in the book, from Innocent III (1198-1216), dated 1216 (ff.26v-29v); from Calixtus III (1455-1458), dated 1455 (ff.30r-30v); from Nicholas V (1447-1455), dated 1447 (ff.30v-31r); from Eugene IV (1431-1447), two letters dated 1441 and 1439 respectively (ff.31r-32r and 32r-33v); from Paul II (1464-1471), dated 1469 (ff.33v-35v); and from Leo X (1513-1521), dated 1515 (ff.35v-37v). The translation of this last letter must have been added later to the book, either by Ibn al-Qilā^cī himself or by a later copyist, since it had not yet been written when Ibn al-Qilā^cī wrote Mārūn at-tūbānī (c. 1495). A letter from Alexander IV, dated 1256, is mentioned by Ibn al-Qilā^cī (ibid., ff.29v-30r) as having been sent to the Maronite patriarch, but its translation is not given. The Latin texts of all these letters, except that of the letter from Eugene IV dated 1439, were published by Tubiyyā al-^cAnaissi (Tobiae Anaissi, Bullarium Maronitarum, Romae, 1911). Ibn al-Qilā^cī translated these letters from the original copies which were found in his day at Qannubin (See Ibn al-Qilā^cī, Letter to Patriarch Sham^cūn, p. 101).

The second part, which Ibn al-Qilāʿī called Thabāt as-sidq (the constancy of the truth), is introduced as follows:

I begin the second book about the belief of the people of Mārūn and their constancy in the lap of the Church of God.... First, against those who disturb the above-mentioned people and say that they were not originally following the Franks.¹

Instead of proceeding, however, with polemics against those who denied the original orthodoxy of the Maronite ~~however~~, Ibn al-Qilāʿī went on to give chronological tables of the Popes and the Roman and Byzantine emperors.

The third and last part of Mārūn at-tūbānī, entitled Jihād al-īmān (the militancy of the Faith), contains theological polemics against the Jacobites and the Melchites and a catechism of Roman orthodoxy, followed by an appendix dealing with matters of ecclesiastical discipline.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī sent the finished work to the Maronite patriarch Simʿān Buṭrus al-Ḥadathī (also known as Shamʿūn, 1492-1524). With it he sent a zajaliyya describing his contact with ʿAbd al-Munʿim, the heretical muqaddam of Bḥarrāy, on his return from Rome and calling back to Rome those Maronites who, like ʿAbd al-Munʿim, had been attracted to the heresy of the Jacobites. On the whole, the poem was meant to serve as

1. MS Mārūn at-tūbānī, fol. 39r. By "the Franks" Ibn al-Qilāʿī meant the Roman Catholics of the West. The title of this second part of the book, Thabāt as-sidq, is misleading since in spite of this brief introduction, this part of the book is not concerned at all with doctrinal points.

a preface to the book Mārūn at-tūbānī;¹ and, although Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not mention the book by name in the poem, he described it as follows:

It is built on four foundations:
The first is from the Syriac books;
The second/gives/the histories of the times
In spiritual and temporal matters;
The third goes deep in learning
Against the Jacobites, and also the Greeks²....
As for my fourth book,
I began it about the acts of the Councils;
But I could not finish it in detail -
The owner of the copy did not allow me /to do so/
Because it is a very long book
And this volume is not enough for it....³

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1. Duwaihī, who related the story of the writing of Mārūn at-tūbānī (T.T.M., pp.417-418), said that Ibn al-Qilāʿī sent it to Patriarch Shamʿūn, and that he sent with it a mīmar (poem), from which Duwaihī quoted some verses. From these verses which Duwaihī quoted, the poem is identified as Tabkī kull man zāgh ʿan al-īmān (Rebuke to every one who has strayed from the Faith), a zajaliyya by Ibn al-Qilāʿī which was published by Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh in Al-Manāra, II, 1931, pp. 748-758, 805-813, and 901-907, from the unique manuscript in MS Bkerke 13. The dedication of Mārūn at-tūbānī, as it appears in this poem, is to Buṭrus IV Ibn Ḥassān. Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh, who edited the poem, concluded that Ibn al-Qilāʿī had not dedicated the poem and the book to Patriarch Shamʿūn but to his uncle and predecessor, Buṭrus ibn Ḥassān (1468-1492). (See Tabkīt..., p. 904). It must be remembered, however, that all the Maronite patriarchs add the name Buṭrus to their original names, and that Shamʿūn, having been the nephew of Buṭrus ibn Ḥassān, was also an Ibn Ḥassān, although it is not clear why Ibn al-Qilāʿī should call either of them Buṭrus IV. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, besides, did not return to Lebanon until 1493, after the death of Buṭrus ibn Ḥassān. It may be added here that Tabkīt... has been called by Duwaihī elsewhere Madiha ʿan al-ladhīn qaṣadū ramī az-zawān bain al-Mawārīna (poem about those who intended to throw tares among the Maronites); T.A., p.237.
 2. The word used by Ibn al-Qilāʿī is Rūm, meaning Greeks, by which he meant Melchites.
 3. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Tabkīt..., pp. 902-903. He also mentioned in this poem the names of three clergymen whom he wanted to read and examine his book, among whom was Ibrāhīm Draiʿ, his old teacher (ibid., p.812):
My words are about the priest Ibrāhīm
Who, by fancy, was surnamed Draiʿ.
I am his student in the understanding
and the pronunciation of the Syriac tongue....

Two years after his return from Rome and the writing of Mārūn at-tūbānī, Ibn al-Qilā'ī, at the request of Patriarch Sham'ūn, returned to Lebanon to visit the patriarch and the Maronite people and to preach Catholic doctrines. The letter in which he answered the patriarch's summons is an interesting document, and it reveals Ibn al-Qilā'ī's superior and condescending attitude towards his people. The letter is dated November 6, 1494; and Ibn al-Qilā'ī's tone in it is not that of a loyal subject of the Maronite patriarch, but of a Franciscan monk accepting a burdensome task:

Your sanctity (he said) wrote against my will to our head and manager, the Superior of Zion [Francesco Suriano] to send my humble self to your service this winter. For the sake of your sanctity I have not refused what you asked for.... Being bound by holy obedience, I shall return to your service in trouble and spiritual fatigue, with or without a companion; and that is what none of the monks of St. Francis, except my humble self, has accepted.... Moreover, because of my love for you and my longing for your salvation, I can say that I have sought this [appointment] myself, because I found you straying in your minds, lacking in foundation, and not holding fast to the faith of your fathers and the ancient among you who received [this faith] from the Church of God after [much] strife and argument....¹

Ibn al-Qilā'ī kept on preaching Catholicism to his people and trying hard to bring them back to orthodoxy until 1496. In three years he wrote 465 letters to the Maronites,²

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1. Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn has already been referred to (see above, p.21, fn.2). It was published by Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh in Al-Manāra, III, 1932, pp.99-106, 176-183, and 260-263, from a copy of the letter made by Iṣṭifān ad-Duwaihī. This quotation is from p.100.
 2. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.424.

apart from the zajaliyyāt and the books which he kept on writing and translating throughout his lifetime. Most of the letters he wrote are no longer extant; but the following quotation from a letter he wrote to Jirjis ar-Rāmī, a Maronite priest and formerly a friend of Ibn al-Qilāʿī who had become heretical, gives an idea of the tone of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's letters:

What qualification do you have, O lost one, to discourse with the learned or to expound the books of the doctors? When did a council or dispute take place before you that you may dare say: "We attended and we saw"? Enough for you your first disgrace in having had your baptism and your ordination annulled, and the denial of your religion and your faith. And if you say "no", I answer that you were baptized in the faith of your Maronite fathers, and through it you became a Christian and were ordained a deacon and a priest; for baptism is the basis of the religion of the Christians. You denied the religion of your fathers in which you were baptized; and your baptism, religion, ordination, and priesthood were annulled. You became in the same rank, you and the Jew.... And if you say: "I am a Maronite", I say to you: "You lie in saying so. You are a spy among the Maronites".... For you are like the beast that was tamed and became wild again....¹

Ibn al-Qilāʿī's unquenching zeal for the Catholic Faith and his remarkable capacity for hard work were, no doubt, factors that contributed to his appointment as head of the Franciscan order in Cyprus. He left Lebanon, accordingly, and took residence in the monastery of the Holy Cross in Nicosia.² In 1507,

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1. Ibid., pp.422-423. The letter is only available as quoted in full by Duwaihī in ibid., pp.422-424.
 2. The Franciscan monastery of Nicosia (Santa Croce, or Holy Cross) was first mentioned in the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1426 the soldiers of Barsbāy, the Mamluk sultan, destroyed this monastery and massacred all its monks; but by 1468 it was already restored by the Franciscans. The monastery, however, does not seem to have been fully restored and it was razed again at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (1571) and its traces disappeared. The present monastery of the Holy Cross dates from 1592. See G. Golubovic Serie...., pp.231-232.

when Yūsuf al-Kizvāna, Maronite bishop of Cyprus, died, Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī was ordained to succeed him in the office. He remained in this position until his death in 1516.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī was by far the most learned Maronite of his day. Of the two other Maronites who had gone to study in Italy with him ~~none~~ none lived long enough to achieve any lasting fame. Nothing is known about Francis, who seems to have died young before having attained priestly rank.¹ Yuḥannā, known as Fra Juan the Maronite, had been apparently a brilliant student in Italy, but he was drowned in a storm as he was on his way back from Rome with Ibn al-Qilā'ī.² In his day, therefore, Ibn al-Qilā'ī was the only Maronite who had received the benefits of Western learning. He claimed to be versed not only in history, but in theology and philosophy.³ He also ~~claimed~~ claimed a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, of astrology, and of medicine. In one of his poems, he wrote:

Take my counsels, O reader;
Penetrate to the depths of my secrets;
Read my book and gain understanding.
Enjoy through it the way of medicine,
For in it there are gifts of grace.
Let him who wants to protect himself against disease
Study this essay.

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1. F. Suriano, op.cit., p.71. He called him Francesco. In Lebanon the name is still current as Francis, hence the form of it given above.
 2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.220. Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote an elegy about his drowned school-mate and travelling companion. It was published by G. Manache in Al-Mashriq, XVIII, 1920, pp.252-256 (hence, Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Elegy). Ibn al-Qilā'ī, according to Duwaihī, was saved from drowning in the storm by a miracle.
 3. See above, p.18.

He will get to know the roots of the plants¹
And will prepare medicines from them....
He will be able to tell the times
In which there will be misfortune;
And the calculations of the months and hours
Will be within his knowledge.²

Ibn al-Qilā'ī was a prolific writer. Istifān ad-Duwaihī gave a list of his works in Tarīkh al-azmina. Some of the works cited in this list are identifiable with works of Ibn al-Qilā'ī which are still to be found preserved in the Lebanese monasteries, in the Vatican library, and in the Bibliothèque Orientale of Beirut. Others have either been irretrievably lost or are still awaiting discovery.

It would be interesting to examine Duwaihī's list of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's works:

[Ibn al-Qilā'ī] did not only help [his community] during his lifetime, but also after his death in the writings which he bequeathed.... He wrote a book of Church law

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1. In the available manuscript of the poem (Bibliothèque Orientale 15, Karsh. 1684) the word appears as batata (potato). This is definitely a mistake for nabātāt (plants). Apart from the fact that the potato was not known in Lebanon in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's day (it was first mentioned in Europe, to our knowledge, in 1584 - see article on "potato" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica), the word batata does not rhyme with the words dawāyāt (medicines) and sadāt (lords), which precede it in the rhyme sequence. The word batata, which resembles in writing the word nabātāt, must have been substituted for the latter word by a copyist.
 2. This quotation is from Abyāt fi 't-tibb wa'l-falak (verses on medicine and astronomy). It is found in manuscript in Bibliothèque Orientale 15, pp.103-104.

(nāmūs kanāʾisī),¹ a book of sermons (kitāb ʿiza),² a book about confession, a book about the pontificates of the Pope of Rome and their histories, a book on the history of the kings of Rome,³ a book about the belief of the Maronites and their union with the Church of Rome,⁴ a book on theo-

1. Two books by Ibn al-Qilāʿī on Church law exist. The first is entitled Nāmūs al-kanīsa al-muqaddasa al-antākiyya (the law of the holy church of Antioch). G. Graf listed three manuscripts of this work: Vat.arab. 639 (1574), Borg.arab. 137 (1574-5), ff.98r-329r, and ʿAin Waraqa 29. The second book is a shortened adaptation of this work entitled Nāmūs Kanīsat Rūmiya (the law of the Church of Rome). A manuscript of this work is found in the Vatican (Vat.arab. 642; 1640). I found the eighth par of this book (Thāmin kitāb fī nāmūs Kanīsat Rūmiya) in a manuscript containing works of theology and Church law by Ibn al-Qilāʿī in the monastery of Sharfeh (Sharfeh 9/41). The manuscript is entitled Majmūʿat li Ibn al-Qilāʿī fī l-lāhūt al-adabī (a collection of works/by Ibn al-Qilāʿī on moral theology) and it is not dated. This work is a translation from one or more works on the subject in Latin. See G. Graf, op.cit., III, pp.313-315.
2. A book by Ibn al-Qilāʿī found in manuscript at the Vatican Library (Vat.arab. 641) bears the title Kitāb al-mawāʿiz (the book of sermons) and seems to be the same as the book listed by Duwaihi as Kitāb ʿiza (book of a sermon). The book is dated 1637. Another collection of sermons by Ibn al-Qilāʿī which may be a copy of the same work, is found in the monastery of Mār Shallitā Maqbis, and is dated 1658. The Vatican manuscript includes a long letter from Ibn al-Qilāʿī to the people of his hometown, Lihfid, dated December 12, 1493, exhorting them to stand by the true Faith. This letter is followed by fifty short sermons, explaining various passages from the Gospels and calling the faithful to do virtuous deeds. See Graf, op.cit., III, pp.322-323.
3. By the books on the history of the Popes and the history of the kings of Rome Duwaihi must have meant the second part of Mārūn at-tūbānī (Thabāt as-sidq), which gives chronological tables of the Popes and the Roman and Byzantine emperors. See above, p.22.
4. To my knowledge, no such book by Ibn al-Qilāʿī is found, except if Duwaihi was referring to the third part of Mārūn at-tūbānī, which is entitled Jihād al-īmān (see above, p.22). This is probably the case, since Duwaihi described Jihād al-īmān elsewhere (T.T.M., pp.417-418) as dealing with the unbroken union of the Maronites with Rome. Actually it begins with a polemic against the Jacobites and proceeds to give a list of heresies. The Maronites are not mentioned among the heretics. This negative proof of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites may have been considered by Duwaihi as the main thesis of Jihād al-īmān.

logy,¹ and a book on the orthodox Faith and the secrets of the life of Christ.² He is also the author of some five hundred letters which he wrote to his compatriots to make them hold fast to the faith of Saint Mārūn and the Roman Church.³ He also composed several poems (madāyih): about the secret of the Holy Trinity and the Divine Incarnation,⁴

1. A compendium of theology in six books, dealing with the Oneness and Trinity of God, the work of Creation, the Incarnation of the Word, virtue and vice, and the sacraments, respectively, is found in manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat.arab. 643, karsh. 1576). The third book is lacking in this copy. MSS Aleppo 127 (Lāhūt Ibn al-Qilāʿī au arkān dīn an-Naṣārā, the theology of Ibn al-Qilāʿī or the foundations of the religion of the Christians) and 128 (the latter dated 1687) may be copies of the same work (G. Graf, op.cit., III, p.312). The first part of MS Sharfeh 9/41, which lacks several pages at the beginning, appears from its contents to be another copy of the same work.
2. See preceding footnote. By this work Duwaihī may have meant parts of the book on theology discussed in the above footnote.
3. Very few of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's letters still exist in manuscript. Graf listed nine letters by Ibn al-Qilāʿī which he found (ibid., III, pp.323-324). These are: a. a warning to the Maronites about Alishāʿ of al-Hadath, Ibn Shaʿbān of Hirdīn, and Samia of Lihfid, who were spreading the Jacobite heresy (Vat.arab. 640, ff.203r-205v). b. Letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn (see above, p.24). c. Letter to the priest Jirjis ar-Rāmī (see above, p.25). d. Letter to Dāūd, bishop of Lihfid, dated December 23, 1495, about the sacraments (Vat. arab. 640, ff.194r-202v and Sharfeh syr. 7/10, 3, karsh. 1571). e. Letter to the people of Lihfid (Vat.arab. 644, ff.182v-194v and Borg.arab. 136, ff.148v-160r). f. Letter to a friend, exhorting him to be patient and forbearing (Vat.arab. 644, ff.259v-262r and Borg.arab. 136, ff.222v-224v). g. Letter of consolation to a sick brother, with 12 prayers (Borg.arab.136, ff.10v-13v). h. Letter to the Maronites on penitence (ibid., ff.13v-30r). i. Letter about Mount Lebanon, what has happened, and what will happen in it, written to an unknown brother (ibid., ff.225r-236v). Borg. arab. 136, in which most of these letters are found, was not available at the Vatican Library when I was in Rome, although it was listed in the catalogue.
4. The zajaliyya about the Holy Trinity and the Divine Incarnation was found, according to Anāissi (see appendix I to Hurūb al-muqaddamīn, p.84), in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat.syr. 249, karsh. 15th.cent.) which was lost during the Napoleonic occupation of Rome. Graf (op.cit., III, p.313) described it as a tract. Duwaihī may have meant the poem on the Trihagion (Vat.syr. 214, karsh. 1592). See Graf, op.cit., III, p.331.

about the life of Christ and His Mother under the Cross,¹ about the Two Natures of the Lord and the Two Wills in Our Godhead, about the knowledge of the Faith (ʿilm al-īmān) and the propagation of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son,² about the Pure Lady, the Mother of Salvation, about the stories of the Apostles,³ about Constantine the Great and the beginning of Christianity,⁴ about the four ecumenical Councils and St. Mārūn of Antioch,⁵ abc Abraham the Friend of God, and St. Nuhrā as-Samrānī,⁶ St. Georges of Lydda,⁷ St. Simon of Jubail,⁸ St. Shina th Thief,⁹ Barbara of Baʿalbak, and Euphrosine of Alexandria

1. I found the zajaliyya on the life of Christ and of His Mother under the Cross in several copies in MS Bkerke 13 and 281 (now all placed under 13) and in MSS Bibliotheque Orientale 15 (pp.112 et seq.) and Vat.syr. 231, ff.41r-41r. It was published in Al-Manāra, III, 1932, p.269. See Graf, op.cit. III, p.332.
2. In the first part of MS Sharfeh 9/41 there is a rendering of the Catholic Creed in colloquial poetry. Could this be the poem of ʿilm al-īmān? Graf (op.cit., III, p.331) listed a poem on the Church and the orthodox Faith (Vat.syr.249, II, 2) which was found in the lost manuscript of Ibn al-Qilāʿi's works (see above, p.29, fn.4).
3. Several poems on the Apostles are found in manuscript in Bkerke 13.
4. Manuscripts of this poem are found in MSS Bibliotheque Orientale 15 and 16 and in Bkerke 13. It was published in Al-Manāra, VII, 1936, pp.653-663 and 767-779 by Ibrāhīm Harfūsh from a manuscript in a private collection.
5. By Mārūn of Antioch Duwaihī must have meant Yūḥannā Mārūn, first patriarch of the Maronites. Two sections of this poem are preserved in Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.78 and 372, the first about Yūḥannā Mārūn and the second about the Lateran Council of 1215. Duwaihī called it there Mīmar ʿan al-majāmiʿ (Poem on the Councils). Graf listed a poem by Ibn al-Qilāʿi on the Councils (op.cit., III, p.331). Are they the same?
6. I have found two copies of this zajaliyya in Bkerke 13 and 281. A passage of it has already been quoted. See above, p.17, fn.4.
7. I have found two copies of this zajaliyya in Bkerke 13 and 281.
8. This must be St. Simon Stylites (Mar Simʿān al-ʿĀmūdī). I have found in Bkerke 13 a zajaliyya about this saint.
9. A manuscript of this poem is found in Bkerke 13.

and on the history of Kisruān,¹ and about those who intended to sow tares among the Maronites,² and about his friend Fra Juan the Maronite,³ and about the nun who renounces her orders,⁴ and about the knowledge of the orbits, constellations, and [astronomical] measurements;⁵ and he is also the author of a number of poems about the sciences, about the soul, about repentance, about death,⁶ and about the forms of marriage, and others which we do not mention for brevity.⁷

From this impressive list of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's works, it appears that his historical writings only formed a minor part of his work. Most of his writings dealt with ecclesiastical and theological subjects; and when he wrote history he did not confine himself to the history of the Maronites and the Maronite church. One of his longest historical zajaliyyāt deals with the story of the rise of Christianity and the conversion of Constantine the Great.

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1. From the quotations given by Duwaihī from Madihat Kisruān (poem on Kisruān), in T.T.M., pp.389 and 419-420, this poem is identified as the Madiha 'ala Jabal Libnān, which exists in several manuscripts, and has been published (See Graf, op.cit., III, p.330, and above, p.6, fn.2).
 2. This is Tabkit... (see p.23, fn.1).
 3. This is the elegy written by Ibn al-Qilā'ī on the death of his friend Yūhannā. See above, p.26, fn.2.
 4. A manuscript of the zajaliyya about the nun who renounces her orders (Ar-rāhiba al-khālifa) is found in 'Ashqut 9. It was published in Al-Mashriq, XVIII, pp.751 et seq.
 5. This must be the zajaliyya referred to above, p. 18 and loc. cit., fn.3.
 6. I found a madiha 'ala 'l-maut (poem on death) in Bkerke 13. The manuscript contains also other poems which may have been Ibn al-Qilā'ī's, but which do not have the name of the author in their text or at the end, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī's zajaliyyāt usually have.
 7. Duwaihī, T.A., p.237.

The language used by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in his prose writings differed from the language he used in his poetical works. When he wrote prose in his letters and in his original and translated theological works he used classical Arabic, a language of which he had an imperfect knowledge. Apart from the fact that his orthography is often incorrect,¹ his syntax and his idiom are foreign to Arabic, recalling both the Lebanese colloquial with its Syriac affinities, which was his mother tongue, and Latin, the language he had used in his academic life in Italy. When he wrote poetry, on the other hand, he used the colloquial Arabic dialect of Lebanon which, in his day, seems to have differed little from the modern Lebanese dialect. He also followed the Lebanese colloquial prosody, which is nearer to the Syriac than to the classical Arabic prosody;² but his verse is often rough and unpolished and many of his strophes are difficult to scan.

~~Even~~ Having been one of the first three Maronites known to have gone to the West to study, Ibn al-Qilā'ī was among the first Maronites to get a first hand acquaintance with Western theology and to read what Western authors had written about the religious origins of his people. Accordingly, he became the first Maronite to act as a Catholic missionary to his own

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1. Some of the recurrent mistakes in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's orthography may have actually been usage in the tradition of Karshūni writing - the writing of Arabic in Syriac script.
 2. Ibn al-Qilā'ī's favourite meter was the mimar, which was composed of four heptasyllabic strophes, the first three of which rhymed together, the fourth strophe carrying the rhyme throughout the poem.

people and the first to set out to disprove the heretical origins of his community, as stated by Western and Eastern Christian historians, and to establish the theory of the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites.

When still in Italy with his friend Yūhannā, Ibn al-Qilā'ī had already started the defence of the Maronites against the denial of their original orthodoxy. In the elegy which he wrote about the death of Yūhannā, he described the arguments both of them had had with the learned of the West on the subject:

They said in the schools:
Let us argue with Fra Juan
And let us dispute with his friend,¹
And we shall prove ourselves right....
They wanted to say about us
In a great hidden secret
That we had been heretical
In olden days.
The monk Hannā² answered,
And every man of learning was made dumb:
The minds were puzzled by /his learning/,
And reason and sight became absent.³

The polemical defence of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites and their unbroken union with Rome, which was first attempted by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, became a tradition of Maronite history writing which has continued to the present day.⁴ Ibn al-Qilā'ī himself used it very effectively when was was a Franciscan missionary to his own people, to preach to them the

1. By "his friend" Ibn al-Qilā'ī meant himself.

2. Hannā is the shortened form of Yūhannā, the name of his drowned friend.

3. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Elegy, p.255.

4. The last great exponent of the theory of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites was Yūsuf ad-Dibs (d.1907). See Joseph Debs (Yūsuf ad-Dibs), Perpetuelle orthodoxie des Maronites (Arras, 1900).

necessity of keeping in union with Rome and of preserving the Faith of the Catholic Church as their forefathers had done since the establishment of the Maronite church. In all his historical works this missionary spirit is present. In fact, the purpose for which he wrote his historical works was to prove to the Maronites their unbroken orthodoxy and union with Rome and to show them that their occasional lapses into the heresies of their neighbours were invariably followed by national catastrophes.

Thus, the history of Ibn al-Qilāʿī, strictly speaking is not history. His aim in writing it was not to convey to his readers a factual picture of the past and its relation to the present. By means of historical material which, in many cases, he distorted and mixed with legend, he sought to prove to his people that the Roman Faith was the orthodox Faith, that the Maronites were orthodox by origin, and that the preservation of their original union with Rome was not only beneficial but absolutely necessary. It was with this aim in view that Ibn al-Qilāʿī wrote Madiha ʿala Jabal Libnān (also known as Tārikh Kisruān or Madīhat Kisruān),¹ his most important historical work.

Nevertheless, although the history which Ibn al-Qilāʿī wrote was not history but propaganda, it appears that he had written sources from which he drew information about the past

1. See above, p.31 and loc.cit., fn.1.

of his community. For example, seven letters from the Popes to the Maronite patriarchs, dating from 1215 until his own day, are found in translation in his book Mārūn at-tūbānī.¹ There is no evidence in his writings to show that he used any Crusader chronicles as references, although it seems unlikely that he could have spent over twenty years in Italy without having come across such chronicles as those of William of Tyre and Jaques de Vitry, not to mention later and contemporary works. Other than the pontifical letters, his sources for the history of Maronite Lebanon must have been local Maronite sources which have since been lost. That such sources did exist is definite. In the Madiha ʿala Jabal Libnān Ibn al-Qilāʿī said in the opening lines:

How the ages change!
And how the minds are puzzled by them?
Were it not for what is found in writing
No one would have spoken of them.
But the chronicles tell us
Of what has taken place in our native lands
And about those who were before us
Dwellers in Mount Lebanon.²

And again, at the end of the poem:

It is completed, written in tears
And taken out from chronicles,
[Relating the history] of six hundred years that have
passed -
The age of Mārūn³ in Mount Lebanon.⁴

1. See above, p.21, and loc.cit., fn.2.

2. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Madiha..., p.10.

3. By "age of Mārūn", Ibn al-Qilāʿī meant the age of the followers of Mārūn - the Maronites.

4. Ibid., p.72.

It is possible to guess the nature of those sources - "chronicles" (tawārīkh) - to which Ibn al-Qilā'ī referred. A great part of them may have been the notes on contemporary events written down by copyists on Gospels and Church books. Sources of a similar nature, mostly about periods after Ibn al-Qilā'ī, are still to be found in the monasteries of Lebanon. It is not unreasonable to suppose that similar notes about older historical events existed at the time of Ibn al-Qilā'ī. Besides, considering the fact ^{that} works of history like those of Yūḥannā ar-Rāhib al-Mārūnī and Tādrus of Hamā still exist,¹ it is likely that other such early chronicles were still to be found at the time of Ibn al-Qilā'ī. It is not unlikely either that histories written in verse, like Ibn al-Qilā'ī's, existed from a previous period. Church documents of historical importance also appear to have been found in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's time. He himself referred to such a document while speaking of an oath of allegiance to Rome taken by a group of Maronite clergymen and notables in Tripoli, supposedly in 1215:

They swore and put down their signatures
/To an oath/ that the Faith of Peter would satisfy them,
And that no heretic would any more corrupt them
Or live in Mount Lebanon.
Two hundred and seventy /men signed/ the agreement.
Their signatures are written on paper,
And there is no doubt about their names:
They are still found at the present day.²

1. See above, p.6, and loc.cit., fn.1, and 2.

2. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Madiha..., p.28.

The historical work of Ibn al-Qilāʿī on which attention will be centered in this study is the Madiha ʿala Jabal Libnān. Other works that will be considered are the zajaliyya entitled Tabkiṭ kull man zāgh ʿan al-īmān,¹ and the letter dated November 6, 1494, which Ibn al-Qilāʿī sent to Patriarch Shamʿūn. Passages of historical importance from Ibn al-Qilāʿī's non-historical works and sections of his lost historical works found in quotation by later authors will also be considered in the discussion of his history.

The Madiha ʿala Jabal Libnān (hence Madiha...) is Ibn al-Qilāʿī's longest poetical work and the one that most nearly approaches the proportions of the epic.² It consists of 294 quatrains (verses of four strophes).³ Since the poet mentions in it the death of muqaddam ʿAbd al-Munʿim of Bsharrāy who died in 1495,⁵ the poem must have been written after that

1. See above, p.23, fn.1.

2. Manuscripts of the Madiha... are found in Bibliothèque Orientale 15 (Karsh. 1684), Bkerke 13, and Vat.syr. 210 (Karsh. 1654). See Graf, op.cit., III, p.330. Only sections of it are found in the known Bkerke manuscript, and the Bibliothèque Orientale manuscript lacks six pages from the beginning (pp.7-24) of the MS are lost). While inspecting the badly kept collection of manuscripts in Bkerke numbered as Bkerke 13, I found another manuscript of the poem. I showed it to Mgr. M. Rajjī, librarian of Bkerke, and he identified it as the writing of Mgr. Shiblī, Archbishop of Beirut (d.1917). The copy is in Arabic script, and Mgr. Shiblī must have copied it from an older manuscript of the poem in Bkerke which has since been lost. The published edition (Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn Beit Shabab, 1937) depended on the Vatican MS, on the Bibl. Orient. MS, and on manuscripts in private collections.

3. This in the published edition.

4. Madiha..., p.63. The mention of ʿAbd al-Munʿim's death might have been an interpolation, although there is no evidence to support this possibility.

5. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p.221.

date. The poem on the whole is a sermon addressed, seemingly post-mortem, to 'Abd al-Mun'īm, and to those Maronites who were attracted to the monophysite heresy with him.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī's free and romantic rendering of history in the Madiha... gives the poem another point of resemblance to the epic. Its theme is the struggle of the amirs and the muqaddams of the free Maronites of Lebanon against Moslem invaders. Numerous Church events are woven into this theme. The chronological order of events is incorrect in many places and there are several clumsy anachronisms. There seems to be no sharp line of division in the poem between authentic history and the poet's repetition of popular traditions. Nevertheless, the poem is rich in local colour and is one of the few known sources on the history of the Maronites in the period with which it deals. If used carefully, considerable information about that history can be acquired from it.

The Madiha... can be divided for purposes of study into fourteen sections, according to subject matter.¹

The first section² serves as an introduction to the poem. Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave in it a description of a golden age in Maronite Lebanon. He assigned no date to this golden age

1. This line of division was taken up by Būlus Qara'lī in his edition of the poem. He divided it into fourteen sections and attached to each section the relevant part of a nineteenth century summary called Mukhtaṣar tāriḫ ibn al-Qilā'ī (hence Mukhtaṣar...). This Mukhtaṣar... will be considered later in this study.

2. This section is in 24 quatrains. Madiha..., pp.10-12.

and it is not clear whether he meant to describe the earliest days of the Maronites in Lebanon (their strife with the Umayyads in the seventh and eighth centuries) or Maronite Lebanon under Crusader rule in the twelfth century.¹ Probably he did not mean to describe any age in particular but was merely giving an idealized picture of heroic times in Lebanon - before the Maronites had started giving way to the heretical views of their neighbours and before they had become subjected to the Moslem yoke - when

The Patriarch had authority
And the ruler was a man of courage,
And both of them were brothers
In virtue and in the Faith.²

The second section tells the story of an amīr of Baskinta, a village on the southern slopes of Ṣannīn, his successful raids on the Biqāʿ, and his murder at the hands of enemy envoys in the village of Qab Iliās in the Biqāʿ.³ This section

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1. The Mukhtaṣar begins the description of the golden age as follows: "When the Moslems first entered the land of Syria the Maronites used to live in Mount Lebanon and rule in the mountains and the neighbouring coastlands." (Mukhtaṣar..., p.9). This signifies that according to the Mukhtaṣar... the golden age was in the seventh and early eighth centuries. Qaraḥlī, on the other hand, in the notes he gave to the poem (Hurūb..., p.10) and in the introduction (ibid., pp.4-5), believed that Ibn al-Qilāʿī meant to describe twelfth century Crusader Lebanon, when the Maronites were helping the Crusaders against the Moslems. The probability is that Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not mean to describe any particular age, but was merely giving a poetical description of a mythical golden age in Lebanon.
 2. Madīḥa..., p.11.
 3. This section is in six quatrains. Ibid., p.13.

is followed by a narrative of the crusade of the amir's nephew, Muqaddam Simcān, who was made king (malik) of Al-Khārija, the province later known as Kisruān, by the "king" of Jubail and the Maronite patriarch.¹ The fourth section, which follows, continues the narrative with the story of Amīr Kisrā, successor of Simcān, and his war with the Moslems, adding that Al-Khārija had its name changed to Kisruān after him.² With this section the first part of the poem, which deals with the Maronites victorious, comes to an end.

The second part of the poem, which deals with the misfortunes that accrued to the Maronites after they started falling into heresy, begins with the fifth section.³ The first quatrain in this section foretells the nature of its contents and the contents of the sections that follow:

Satan, the father of heresy,
Finding the people of Mārūn happy,
Was covetous, and threw them into misfortune
Through the teachings of two monks.

The story of the two monks follows. Their heretical teachings, which were accepted by the patriarch Lūqā of Bnahrān brought about dissention among the Maronites who, weakened by this dissention, became an easy prey to the armies of the

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1. Ibid., pp.15-16. Ibn al-Qilāʿī mentioned that the patriarch was from Hālāt. The Mukhtaṣar... called him Gregorius al-Hālātī (1130-1141). If this is true then the events of this section took place in the twelfth century.
 2. Madīha..., pp. 18-19.
 3. Ibid., pp.21-23.
 4. The identity of this patriarch will be discussed later in this chapter. See below, pp.81-82.

Moslems, who came to Lebanon because they knew of the disunity and destroyed Kisruān. The description of the destruction of Kisruān that is given appears to be a description of the events of 1305.¹

The sixth section tells of the visit of the Maronite patriarch, Armiā al-ʿAmshītī, to Rome in 1215.² According to Ibn al-Qilāʿī, the purpose of this visit was to ask the Pope for indulgence because of the errors into which the Maronites had been led by the two heretical monks. This section ends with an account of the meeting of 270 Maronite notables and clergymen in Tripoli, where they swore allegiance to Rome. The last quatrain gives 1230 as the date of the death of Patriarch Armiā.

The seventh section³ begins by telling of the spread of heresy in Jibbet al-Munaitra⁴ and its breaking away from Jubail. Next Ibn al-Qilāʿī told the story of an exiled sultan who was well-received by a monk in Lebanon and who, after his restoration, showed his gratitude to the Maronite monks by granting money to the Maronite monasteries and by sending funds to build Qannūbīn, which later became the seat of the Maronite patriarchate. The destruction of Al-Ḥadath, east of Tripoli,

1. For the discussion of the events of the year 1305, see below, pp. 97-100, 158-163, and 195-197.

2. Madiha..., pp. 25-28. This section is in 38 quatrains.

3. Ibid., pp. 42-45. This section is in 27 quatrains.

4. The term Jibbeh, which is probably of Syriac extraction, is used in Lebanon for mountainous provinces. Al-Munaitra (La Moinestre) is a town in the mountains, east of Jubail. It was an important town in the county of Tripoli in Crusader times.

by a Moslem army is next related.¹ The last part of this section tells of the appointment of a new muqaddam in Bsharrāy who was at the same time a shidyāq (subdeacon).²

The fall of Tripoli to Qalaun in 1289, followed by the fall of Jubail, is the subject of the next section.³ The two sections that follow⁴ deal with the victory of the muqaddam of Mount Lebanon over the Moslem armies after the fall of Tripoli (actually in 1292).⁵ A very detailed description of the battle, the guerilla strategy of the muqaddams, and their sharing of the booty, is given. The eleventh section⁶ centers around the martyrdom of the Maronite patriarch Jibrā'īl of Hajūlā, who was burnt by the Moslems outside Tripoli in 1367.⁷ Ibn al-Qilā'ī proceeded after that to describe the return of the Maronites to orthodoxy after their lapse to heresy for which he insisted, they were punished by persecution at the hands of the Moslems.

With the twelfth section⁸ the last part of the zajaliyya begins. This section describes the falling into heresy of the muqaddam 'Abd al-Mun'im in the days of Ibn al-Qilā'ī. At

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1. The destruction of Al-Hadath took place in 1283. See below, pp.79-81. Also Duwaihī, T.A., pp.145-146 and T.T.M., p.375.
 2. The rank of shidyāq in the Maronite church is the clerical rank below that of shammās (deacon).
 3. Madiha..., pp.47-48. This section is in 15 quatrains.
 4. Section ix (22 quatrains) and section x (19 quatrains) are in ibid., pp.51-54 and 55-56 respectively.
 5. See below, pp.91 et seq. and 153 et seq.
 6. Madiha..., pp.59-62. This section is in 23 quatrains.
 7. T. 'Anaissi, Silsila tārīkhiyya li baṭārikat Antākiya al-Mawārīna (Rome, 1927), p.27. Hence, 'Anaissi, Silsila.... Also Duwaihī, Silsilat baṭārikat at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya (Al-Mashriq, I, 1898), p.347 (hence S.B.) and T.A., pp.185-186.
 8. Madiha..., pp.63-66. This section is in 29 quatrains.

the beginning of the section, Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote down the following note:

These events I recorded myself, I, Jibrā'īl al-Qilā'ī, who asks for repentance and prayer.

The last two sections¹ are addressed by the author to 'Abd al-Mun'īm and to the town of Bsharrāy respectively. It is in those two sections that the missionary purpose of the poem becomes clear. In them, Ibn al-Qilā'ī called Bsharrāy and its heretical muqaddam back to orthodoxy and to union with Rome. He addressed 'Abd al-Mun'īm as follows:

Get up and look after your soul
And wipe out Baradaeus² from your records.
Drive out the foreigners³ from your realm,
Because the foreigner has no faith.
And if a thousand foreigners be with you,
Your Lord and your country are against you.
From where can you hope for assistance?
From God, or from the weakness of man?⁴

He then proceeded to address Bsharrāy:

Bsharrāy, have fear and be horrified!
Bsharrāy, weep and wail!
Bsharrāy, repent and make a stand
Against him who has strayed from the Faith
Bsharrāy, you have come to a miserable state:
You are now a deserted wilderness.
The old in you has come to destruction.
Build the new on the Faith....

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1. Section xiii (24 quatrains) and section xiv (20 quatrains) are in ibid., pp.66-69 and 69-72 respectively.
 2. Jacob Baradaeus (sixth century) was the man who organized the Monophysite church in Syria. The Monophysites of Syria came to be known as Jacobites after him.
 3. By foreigners Ibn al-Qilā'ī meant the Jacobites, foreigners in Maronites Lebanon.
 4. Ibid., p.66.

Repent, O Bsharrāy,
 And drive out the foreigners;
 And be contented with your husband, O free one:
 Mārūn has married you in earnest.
 He laid your foundations and built you;
 He raised you and gave you rule /over your neighbours/.
 Never has he departed and deserted you.
 Why did you become the mistress of a cream-cheese vendor?¹

In the published edition of the Madiha..., the poem is accompanied, section by section, by an explanatory summary (Mukhtaṣar tārikh) which Qara'li found in a nineteenth century manuscript of the poem.² Qara'li did not know who was the author of this Mukhtaṣar. Graf believed him to be Ibn al-Qilā himself.³ Actually this Mukhtaṣar was written by an anonymous nineteenth century Maronite historian (c. 1863), and its original manuscript is found in the Bibliotheque Orientale in Beirut.

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1. Ibid., pp.69-70. The vendor of cream-cheese was Mūsā ibn 'Atsha (or Ibn 'Atshiyya), a monophysite missionary from Tripoli, who came as a vendor of cream-cheese to Bsharrāy and won the favours of 'Abd al-Mun'im. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.418. Apparently Ibn 'Atsha was originally a Copt from Egypt. I.Y. Daūd, Jāmi' al-hijaj ar-rāhina fī ibṭāl da'awī al-Mawārina (Cairo, 1908), p.293.
 2. B. Qara'li, Hurūb..., pp.7-8. The manuscript, in Karshūni script, is in a private collection. Qara'li believed it to have been copied from an older manuscript.
 3. Graf, op.cit., III, p.328.
 4. Bibliotheque Orientale 57, ff.15-18. The whole manuscript is a sketch book in which the anonymous author wrote down a few historical sketches and other bits of information. It contains, other than the Mukhtaṣar, chronologies of the Popes, Roman and Byzantine emperors, and European kings (until approximately 1860), sketches on ancient history, the history of Church Councils, a history of the old churches of Lebanon, a list of learned Maronites, astronomical calculations (p.22, the date used for the calculations is 1863), a history of the village of M'ād, a history of the Baṣbūṣ family (probably the author's own family), and a list of Lebanese saints. The book is not dated. From its contents it can be concluded that the author was a Baṣbūṣ, that he came from M'ād (both not certain), and that he was a contemporary of Ernest Renan whom he knew personally and whom he helped in excavations in the Jubail district. As far as I know, I was the first to identify the Mukhtaṣar in this MS as the original. It ends with the events of 1305. The published edition ends with 1495, as the poem does.

Its author introduced it as follows:

Since the history of the venerable lord, the Archbishop /actually bishop/ Jibra'īl al-Qilā'ī, is written in poetry, and since its Arabic is weak and full of errors, as was the language of those days in Lebanon, /although he was/ the most correct of the historians of the Mountain and the first among them..., I meant to paraphrase the history of this Ibn al-Qilā'ī, the historian, in prose, and to make it as easy to understand as possible.¹

This Mukhtaṣar is interesting in so far as it shows how the history of Ibn al-Qilā'ī was interpreted by later Maronite historians. The author of the Mukhtaṣar gave dates and names which serve at times as clues to the understanding of the poem, but which at other times, by their inaccuracy, increase the mistakes and the anachronisms which abound in the Madiha.... The contents of this Mukhtaṣar will be used in the analysis of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history.

The second historical work of Ibn al-Qilā'ī which will be considered in this study is the zajaliyya entitled Tabkīt kūll-man zāgh ʿan al-īmān. Unfortunately, this poem is not available in its entirety. The published edition includes the parts of it found in the unique manuscript in Bkerke, to which the editor added in the relevant place a quotation which Duwaihī cited from the lost part of the poem.² Three more quatrains concerning the identity of Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī, a late eleventh century Maronite cleric, which seem to belong to this

1. Ibid., f.15 . Hence this work will be referred to as MS Mukhtaṣar....

2. Seven pages are missing from the manuscript (Bkerke 13), those being pp.226-232. The quotation from Duwaihī (11 quatrains) is made from T.T.M., pp.418-419, and is found on p.808 of Tabkīt... in brackets.

poem, are quoted by Duwaihī.¹

Both in language and in poetic structure, this poem is similar to the Madiha.... It is written in quatrains in which the first three strophes rhyme together, the last strophe carrying the rhyme "nī" throughout the poem (the rhyme of the Madiha... being "ān"). Three of the verses which are available are composed of three, and not the usual four strophes.² The strophe is heptasyllabic and the rhythm, like that of the Madiha..., is what is known as Aphrāmī (Ephraemitic: like the hymns of St. Ephraem, the Syriac hymn-writer).³

Including the quotations found in Duwaihī, 135 quatrains of this poem are available. Originally the poem must have consisted of some 185 quatrains.⁴

The poem begins with a description of the untruthful claims of the heretical leaders, whose names Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not give.⁵ The opening lines run as follows:

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1. Duwaihi, T.T.M., p.339. Duwaihī said the quotation was from a mimar about the heretics (no other than Tabkīt...). Both the subject, meter, and rhyme point to the fact that it is part of the poem.
 2. Tabkīt..., p.806 (two verses) and 813 (one verse).
 3. The strophe of the lahn Aphrāmī scans with three trochaic feet followed by a monosyllabic foot, which accounts for the seven syllables of the meter.
 4. The poem in the Bkerke MS occupies pp.224-244 (20 pages), of which 7 pages are lost. In the 13 remaining pages there are 121 quatrains. This gives an average of just over 9 quatrain to the page (the poem is not written in verse form, the verses being separated by points). This would make the total approximately 180 quatrains to which a few more should be added to make up for the fractions.
 5. Tabkīt..., pp.805-806. The description is in 13 quatrains.

The words of the truthful about duties
Defeat the liar's intentions
And heal those rendered weak by disease
With enlightening spiritual knowledge.
About the Faith my words are clear -
They are in Aphrāmi verses.
In them the truthful is praised;
And by them the liar is baffled.

The poem then proceeds to a description of the truth of the teachings of the son of the Church (ibn al-bī'a) who is

Neither crooked nor twisted in his beliefs.
He is a light, like a candle.
His soul is pure, and not surfeited
With worldly distractions.¹

What originally followed this description is not known; but from the quotation found in Duwaihī's Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-maruniyya about Tūmā al-Kafartabi it seems that at least part of the fifty odd lost verses were concerned with the different people who sought to convert the Maronites to heresy - a history of heretical movements among the Maronites.²

In the next available section, found in quotation by Duwaihī and included in the published edition, Ibn al-Qilā'ī described the heretical condition in Mount Lebanon under Muqaddam 'Abd al-Mun'im on the poet's return to his homeland in 1493. In the last quatrain of this part, Ibn al-Qilā'ī began to tell of his contact with 'Abd al-Mun'im. Fortunately, in Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya, Duwaihī gave a paraphrase of

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1. Only 11 quatrains of this description are available, of the last of which there exist only 2½ strophes. Ibid., p.807.
 2. The lines quoted in Duwaihī, T.T.M., will be cited and discussed later. See below, p.56.

the continuation of this section, which gives the story of the personal contact between Ibn al-Qilā'ī and 'Abd al-Mun'īm,¹ the last part of which is again available in the original verse. Henceforward the rest of the poem is available in its entirety.

After having told the story of his contact with 'Abd al-Mun'īm, Ibn al-Qilā'ī proceeded to describe his book Mārūn at-tūbānī and to tell of the purpose for which he wrote it.² Finally, after mentioning the dedication of his book to the Maronite patriarch, he enumerated all the Maronite clergymen whom he considered orthodox and whom he wanted to read Mārūn at-tūbānī.³ The last two quatrains of this section have the tone of a finale:

I am remembering at present
Before the High Lord
The monks of the valley of Qannūbīn
And others who are select priests,
With all the people of our country:
May the Lord save them from error --
The boys, the girls, the men, and the women --
And make them steadfast in the Faith.

The poem, however, does not end here. A panegyric to Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf, son and successor of 'Abd al-Mun'īm Ayyūb, who succeeded his father as muqaddam in 1495,⁴ follows. Yūsuf, unlike his father, was orthodox in his views.⁵ Considering that

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1. This story is not found in the published edition of T.T.M. Ibrāhīm Harfūsh, the editor of Tabkīt..., quoted it (p.809) from a manuscript of T.T.M. found in the monastery of Kraim (Dair al-Kraim) in Juniya, north of Beirut.
 2. Tabkīt..., pp.809-811. See above, p.23.
 3. Ibid., pp.811-813. See above, p.23, fn.3.
 4. Duwaihi, T.A., p.221.
 5. Duwaihi, loc.cit.

the poem was written in 1494, before Ibn al-Qilā'ī had come to serve the patriarch at Qannūbīn and before the accession of Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf,¹ this panegyric must have been added to the poem later by the author.²

The last work of Ibn al-Qilā'ī which will be considered in this study as a work of history is his letter dated November 6, 1494, to Patriarch Sham'ūn.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī began the letter by accepting the patriarch's summons to spend the winter with him in Qannūbīn.³ Then he cited the number of times the Maronites had taken oaths of allegiance to Rome.⁴ This is the section of the letter which is relevant to the purpose of this study. The rest of it discusses the sacraments of the Church and is of no direct historical interest.

. . . .

In his historical works Ibn al-Qilā'ī dealt only with the history of the Maronites, when he considered the history of Lebanon. He only mentioned the other religious communities of Lebanon when they had anything to do with his own community. It is difficult to date the earliest events recorded in his history. He used very few dates, and one has to guess the other

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1. Tabkit... must have been written shortly after Mārūn at-ṭūbāni, which was written and sent to the patriarch in 1494. Duwaihi, T.A., p.221.
 2. Tabkit..., pp.906-907. This panegyric is in 11 quatrains. It is full of praise for the muqaddam and prayers that he might live long and be victorious. It strongly differs in tone from the rest of the poem.
 3. See above, p.24.
 4. Letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn, pp.102-106.

from the contents of his history or by synchronism, where that is possible.

One of the earliest events which Ibn al-Qilā^cī discussed was the murder of the amir of Baskintā in Qab Iliās:

The prince¹ lived in Baskintā.
He sent his soldiers on a surprise raid,
Looted the Biqā^c in one strike,
And killed its men and its women.²
He went up and lived in Qab Iliās²
And set soldiers and guards.
The Biqā^c was trodden under the hoofs of his horses
And his news reached the sultan.
/The sultan/ sent him presents with envoys.
/The prince/, unsuspecting, sat with them to a meal,
While soldiers, who were getting prepared behind them,
Attacked him before he could expect it.
They killed him, and many of his soldiers
And many of his choice men were slain.
/The soldiers of the sultan/ set fire to Qab Iliās
And took possession of the Biqā^c from that date.
What caused /this calamity/ was the /drinking of/ wine
And the dancing of a maiden in /the prince's/ presence.
When the captains of his soldiers heard of that
They threw off obedience and broke their oaths of allegiance
/to him/
They deserted him, and he was killed,
And they buried his body in Qab Iliās.
They did not record his name in the chronicles
Because he died while he was drunk.³

The Mukhtaṣar ventured to identify the sultan who was responsible for the death of the amir of Baskintā as having been ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān (685-715), adding that ʿAbd al-

1. In the published edition of the Madīha... (p.13) his title appears as malik (king)*. In a quotation of this passage given by Duwaihī (T.T.M., p.73), it appears as amir (prince or commander), which is more probable. Besides, the line scans better with amir (which is pronounced mīr in the Lebanese vernacular): "Sakan ʿl-mir ʿb-Baskintā"
2. Qab Iliās is a town built on an elevation to the west of the Biqā^c, at the foot of Mt. Lebanon.
3. Madīha..., p.13.

*In the general usage of the period, the Arabic title malik (here translated freely as "king"), denoted a ruler, with no implications of sovereignty. The title was usually applied to local rulers (e.g. the Ayyubid provincial rulers of Syria). The title was used by Ibn al-Qilā^cī for the Frankish lords of Jubail, among others (see below).

Malik's reign synchronized with that of Justinian II, who also came to the throne in 685.¹ Istifān ad-Duwaihī repeated this story, calling the murdered prince Yūhannā, amir of Mount Lebanon. He further said that this amir was killed by order of Justinian II because he had refused to cease raiding the borderlands of the Moslem empire, as the agreement Justinian II had had with ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān specified.² Haidar ash-Shihābī disagreed with both the Mukhtaṣar... and Duwaihī on the date of the event by assigning to it the date 135 A.H. (752 A. D.). The unfortunate hero of the incident was, according to him, the muqaddam Iliās of Mount Lebanon, who raided the Biqāʿ and was killed by order of the wālī (governor) of Damascus in the days of Abū'l-ʿAbbās as-Saffāh, the first Abbāsīd caliph.³ He further added that the village in which the muqaddam Iliās was killed was called Al-Mrūj; and that it started being called Qabr Iliās (short for Qabr Iliās - the grave of Iliās) after Iliās was buried in it.⁴ That the name of the amir in question should have been Iliās is not unlikely, considering the tell-tale nature of the name of that village.

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1. MS Mukhtaṣar..., fol. 15r. In this MS, the identification is crossed out but still visible. In the published edition of the Mukhtaṣar... (Hurūb..., p.12) it appears fully.
 2. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.71-73.
 3. H. Ash-Shihābī, Al-ghurar al-hisān fī tārikh ḥawādith az-zamān (Cairo, 1900), p.100.
 4. Muhibbi, Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar (Cairo, 1284 A.H.), IV, p.427, gave the name of the village as Qabr Ilias. Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-buldān (Leipzig, 1870) said that Qabr Iliās an-nabī (the grave of Iliās the prophet) is found in the Biqāʿ (ibid., I, p.699). See also Shidyāq, Akhbār al-aʿyān... (Beirut, 1959), p.32. What is popularly believed to be the grave of the muqaddam Iliās in Qabr Iliās is in reality a Roman shrine for some trinity carved in the rock above the village.

Qara'li believed that the murder of the amir of Baskintā took place in the early twelfth century and gave two reasons for this belief. Firstly he said that, aside from this one incident, all the other events related by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in the Madiha... follow each other in regular succession, beginning with the third section, the events of which took place in the days of Patriarch Gregorius al-Ḥālātī (1130-1141),¹ and ending with the narration of events contemporary to the author of the poem. Secondly, he continued, Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned that muqaddam Sim'ān, the hero of the following section, was the nephew (sister's son) of the murdered amir, his immediate predecessor, and that Kisrā, the hero of the fourth section, was the maternal uncle of Sim'ān, hence the brother of the anonymous amir of Baskintā.² Qara'li argued that since Sim'ān and Kisrā were such close relatives of the amir, and since they lived and fought in the early twelfth century, he must have been killed in the early twelfth century, which would make his story precede the other events related in the poem in correct chronological order, preventing a jump from the seventh century to the twelfth.³

This argument is not acceptable. For one, Ibn al-Qilā'ī, contrary to what Qara'li supposed, did not follow correct chronological order in the poem, as will be shown later.

1. T. Anaissī, Silsila..., p.17.

2. See the relevant passages in the Madiha..., pp.15 and 18.

3. This argument is found in Hurūb..., pp.4-6.

His statement about the relationships of Sim'ān and Kisrā to the murdered amir are not to be taken as necessarily correct and dependable. In this case they seem to be more than doubtful. It is safe to suppose that Ibn al-Qilā'ī was repeating three stories which years of popular tradition had strung together as a unit. The murdered amir of Baskintā, who may have been called Iliās, was probably one of the Mardaite amirs of Lebanon who raided the Biqā' and Syria in Umayyad times and whose raids had to be stopped according to the agreement made between Justinian II and 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān.¹ There is not enough evidence about him and the event of his murder to establish his identity with more certainty.

In general, this first story told by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in the Madiha... is, in some ways, characteristic of his history writing. It is told with remarkable brevity and with no attempt to fix a date to it. Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave it a double purpose: first, to show how the Maronites lost control of the Biqā', and second, to preach against the pleasures of the flesh - the amir having been deserted by his own officers and men and left to be killed by the enemy because he had disgraced himself by getting drunk and by watching a "maiden" (by which term the author of the Mukhtasar... understood "whore")² dance.

1. Y. Dibs, Al-jāmi'..., pp.35-37, quoting Theophanes. See also A.A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, III, Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071, von Ernst Honigman (Bruxelles, 1935), p.41, and H. Lammens, "Mardaites" in Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, pp.272-273.

2. MS Mukhtasar..., fol.15r.

He ended the story by apparently excusing his ignorance of the name of the amir by stating that, because he died drunk, his name was not recorded.

Perhaps the earliest figure of the Crusader period with whom Ibn al-Qilā^{cī} dealt was Tūmā, the Maronite archbishop of Kafartāb, a town in northern Syria, south of Aleppo, and the seat of the diocese of Aleppo. This Tūmā wrote a book, Al-maqālāt al-ʿashr (the ten doctrines) about the number of the Wills of Christ, in which he championed the monothelite view.¹ In the introduction of his book an unknown copyist wrote the following:

We inform you, brethren, that at one time, in the years of Alexander, son of Philip, the Greek, 1400 [1089 A.D.], writings and correspondance were exchanged between the patriarch of the Greeks in the city of Antioch, the Anbā² Yūhannā, and Anbā Tūmā, Maronite archbishop of the diocese of Aleppo, may we benefit by the blessing of their prayers. Amen. Amen. They were debating the correct doctrines of the Christian religion and the belief of the Holy Faith in finding One Will and Two Wills in our Lord, the Lord Christ, glory be unto him. And after many letters had been exchanged between them, Anbā Yūhannā, patriarch of Antioch, wrote a letter and sent it with a messenger to Anbā Tūmā, the archbishop of the Maronites, to Kafartāb, a town in the diocese of Aleppo, in which he protested against him; because whoever does not believe that in our Lord, the Lord Christ, there are Two Wills, is erring. And he began to find error in the belief of Anbā Tūmā in the One Will of our Lord, the Lord Christ. Then Anbā Tūmā stood in prayer and supplication to the mercy of the Lord Christ, asking help from Him to show the justice of the Holy Faith. Then a heavenly wisdom came to him and he began to refute the letter of Anbā Yūhannā word by word,

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1. The work, written in Arabic, was published from MS Par.syr. 203 in Al-Manāra, VII, 1936, pp.347 et seq., by Philip as-Samrānī.
 2. Anbā is an old title of reverence given to high church officials in the Eastern churches. At present it is only used in the Coptic church.

disproving the Two Wills and establishing the One Will. And he proved through this, through his enlightened belief in the Two Natures and One Will, the divinity and humanity of our Lord, the Lord Christ, united without division, every Nature preserving its own character.¹

From this it is understood that Tūmā was the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo and that he was a monothelite, defending this view against the diothelite claims of the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch. Another paragraph in this same introduction related the visit of Tūmā to Lebanon (1104-1109) where a Maronite priest of Frashaḥ, a village in north Lebanon,² asked him to rewrite his defence of monothelitism, the original of which had been burnt by Anbā Yūhannā. It is further mentioned in the introduction that the stay of Tūmā in Lebanon was prolonged because of the siege of Tripoli by the Crusaders.³

Although it is clear from this introduction to Al-maqālāt al-Ḥashr that Tūmā of Kafartāb was a Maronite archbishop who lived among his fellow Maronites in Lebanon for several years, and that he was a monothelite,⁴ Ibn al-Qilāḥī refused to accept the fact that he was a Maronite. Since Ibn al-Qilāḥī's primary purpose was to prove the original and unbroken orthodoxy of his community, he could not stand by and allow the monothelitism of a twelfth century Maronite archbishop to bear witness against it. With the dogmatism of a man used to having his words accepted without question, he stated on a note which he wrote

1. Tūmā al-Kafartābī, Al-maqālāt al-Ḥashr, pp. 347-348.

2. I have not been able to locate the village of Farshaḥ, neither has anybody else been able to do so to my knowledge. Possibly, the name given is a misnomer for another village.

3. Ibid., p. 350.

4. For further reference, see Graf, op.cit., II, pp. 98-100.

on a copy of Al-maqālāt al-ʿashr found at the time of Duwaihī in Qannūbīn,¹ without giving any reasons in support of his statement, that Tūmā was no Maronite:

This Tūmā was not a Maronite, neither did the Maronites have an archbishop in the diocese of Aleppo. He is rather an Easterner² from Hārān³ brought up in Mārdīn.⁴ The Jacobites exiled him, so he came to Mount Lebanon and admitted belief in the Two Natures so that he would be received by the Maronites. When he got [this reception] he began to teach that in Jesus Christ there was One Will; and some accepted his teachings, not knowing his errors.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī made a similar comment on Tūmā al-Kafartābī in Tabkīt..., apparently after describing the heretical views of the monothelites:

They were followed by Tūmā of Hārān.
From his story the truth appears.
In the diocese of Aleppo he was an archbishop,
But his see was not Simonian⁴
You tell me he is from Mārdīn:
You have increased my interest in him now.
Mārdīn is the dwelling-place of devils -
Nestorius and Jacob are its inhabitants.⁵
By saying that he came to Mount Lebanon
You bore witness that he came to preach heresy;
And Mārūn, in his present simplicity,
Will listen to him who is a Jacobite.⁶

Did Ibn al-Qilāʿī have any basis for this judgement which he passed on Tūmā al-Kafartābī? Probably not. Apparently

1. This note is found in quotation by Duwaihī in T.T.M., p.339. The manuscript on which it is found, if it still exists, must be sought in Bkerke where all the books formerly in Qannūbīn are to be found. I have not had the occasion to check it.
2. Mashriqī (Easterner), probably meaning Jacobite.
3. Hārān and Mārdīn are two cities in northern Syria with large Jacobite populations.
4. Simonian (Simʿānī), from Simon Peter, alleged founder of the sees of Rome and Antioch; hence orthodox.
5. Meaning Nestorians and Jacobites.
6. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.339. This passage, in the lost part of Tabkīt..., is only available as quoted by Duwaihī.

a firm believer in the maxim that the end justifies the means, he did not hesitate, it seems, to falsify historical facts to prove the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites. The two passages quoted make no reference to any source other than Al-maqālāt al-ʿashr, except when Ibn al-Qilāʿī stated that Tūmā came from Hārān and was educated in Mārdīn.¹ The conclusion that he was no Maronite, and a missionary of heresy to the Maronites of Lebanon appears to have been purely Ibn al-Qilāʿī's own.²

In his letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn, Ibn al-Qilāʿī, again trying to prove the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites, wrote that the Maronite patriarch received the crown and the staff from Rome after Gaudefroy de Bouillon had taken Jerusalem from the Moslems. It is not clear from the text whether Ibn al-Qilāʿī meant that the patriarch himself went to Rome in 1099 or whether his envoys went with the envoys of Gaudefroy. Duwaihī, who quoted Ibn al-Qilāʿī, believed the latter to be true; and the way he rendered the relevant passage in quotation, which differs from the available original, shows clearly that the latter meaning was meant.³ In the original, however, the passage is vague and runs as follows:

Before... with king Gaufrado who saved Jerusalem from the hands of the Moslems and with envoys, Patriarch Yūsuf al-Jirjisī to Rome and received the crown and staff.⁴

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1. I have not been able to find supporting evidence about these facts from works other than Ibn al-Qilāʿī's.
 2. Duwaihī, who discussed the identity of Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī, depended for his conclusions solely on Ibn al-Qilāʿī. See below, pp. 138-140.
 3. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p. 355.
 4. Letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn, pp. 103-104. Note the lack of verb. I have attempted to reproduce in my translation the same vagueness found in the original.

It is possible that what Duwaihī understood from this passage was originally meant by Ibn al-Qilāʿī; but it is certain from the context of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's letter that, unlike what Duwaihī seems to have believed, no letters exchanged between Pope Paschall II (1099-1118) and Patriarch Yūsuf al-Jirjisī were available in Ibn al-Qilāʿī's day to support or clarify this story.¹ The date of the event must have been 1099 or 1100, the latter date having been given by Duwaihī,² since Gaudefroy died in 1100, after having conquered Jerusalem in 1099.

As far as the person of Patriarch Yūsuf al-Jirjisī is concerned, nothing is known about him except what can be deduced from this passage about him in Ibn al-Qilāʿī's letter. Duwaihī said that his seat was in the village of Yānūh, a village in Jibbet al-Munaiṭra.³ That he did come into direct or indirect contact with Pope Paschall II and that he did receive from him a crown and a staff is not unlikely, although there seems to be no evidence outside Ibn al-Qilāʿī to prove it. It is certain that the Maronites did come into active contact with the Franks, however, as early as 1099,⁴ and their patriarch may have communicated with the Pope at that time.

1. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, in his letter (*ibid.*, p.101), stated clearly that letters exchanged between the Popes and the Maronite patriarchs for the last 282 years were still found in 1494. This would make the date of the earliest letter c.1212 - in the time of Innocent III and Patriarch Armiā al-ʿAmshītī. A letter from Innocent II to Armiā, dated 1213, is mentioned by ʿAnāissī (*Bullarium Maronitarum*, p.1).

2. Duwaihī, *loc.cit.*

3. Duwaihī, *S.B.*, p.309.

4. See below, pp.176-177.

The second occasion on which a contact between a Pope and a Maronite patriarch took place was related by Ibn al-Qilāʿī, again in his letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn:

And before.../you swore allegiance to Rome/ at the hands of Cardinal Gulielmo, the legate of the Pope of Rome to your people. The leaders of your clergy and the learned in your community met him; and your patriarch used to be called Gregorius of Hālāt. And there they put down their signatures, the great and the small, and swore that they would be obedient to the Pope of Rome and steadfast in his Faith.²

It does not seem that there is any mention outside Ibn al-Qilāʿī of any papal envoy to the Maronites called Gulielmo. Duwaihī repeated this story depending solely on the information cited above from Ibn al-Qilāʿī, and gave the event the date 1131, the first year of the pontificate of Innocent II.³ Likewise, the Mukhtaṣar... of Ibn al-Qilāʿī associated the name of Gregorius of Hālāt with that of Innocent II who ascended the papal throne in 1130.⁴

It is probable that this story given by Ibn al-Qilāʿī has some basis of truth. It is by no means unlikely that at the time of Innocent II (1130-1143) the papacy had tried to bring the Maronite church into its fold, and that some form of relationship was established then between the Maronite patriarchate and Rome, just as such a relationship had been established

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1. Duwaihī added that the Maronites met Cardinal Gulielmo at Tripoli. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.356.
 2. Letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn, p.102.
 3. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.355-356, T.A., pp.38-39, and S.B., p.310.
 4. MS Mukhtaṣar..., fol.15v.

between the Armenian church in Jerusalem and the Roman See during the pontificate of Innocent II. In that case it would have been probably Albericus, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, who had been sent by Innocent II to Antioch in 1139 "to investigate the trouble which had arisen in the church at Antioch between the Lord Patriarch and his canons",¹ and who received the submission of the Catholicos of the Armenians to Rome in Jerusalem the following year,² who came into contact with the Maronites and received their submission to Rome. Ibn al-Qilā'ī might have called him Gulielmo (William) by mistake, because the Latin

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1. William of Tyre, A history of deeds done beyond the sea (translated by E.A. Babcock, New York, 1942), II, p.110.
 2. Albericus, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia (d.1148), a Benedictine monk, was born in Beauvais in France in 1080. He was made Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia by Innocent II in 1138. In 1139 he was appointed to examine the conduct of Rodolph, patriarch of Antioch. At a council held in Antioch on November 30, 1139, Rodolph was deposed and cast in prison. Albericus then went to Jerusalem and presided over a council there on Easter Tuesday, 1140, in which the Armenian Catholicos took part. They discussed various doctrinal points in which the Armenians differed from the Roman Church, and the Catholicos promised to change those doctrines to conform with their Roman counterparts. Albericus died at Verdun in 1148. See N.J. O'Malia, "Alberic of Ostia", in The Catholic encyclopedia (London, 1913), I, p.159. Also "Alberico, O.S.B., cardinale-vescovo di Ostia", in Enciclopedia Ecclesiastica (Milano, 1942), I, p.94, "Alberico, vescovo di Ostia", in Enciclopedia Italiana (1929), II, p.164, and "Alberic, cardinal-eveque de Ostia", in Dictionnaire de l'histoire et geographie ecclesiastique, I, pp.1407-1408. For the councils of Antioch (1139) and Jerusalem (1140) see Charles-Joseph Hefele, Histoire des Conciles d'apres les documents originaux (traduite et augmentee par Dom. H. Leclercq, Paris, 1912), V; Council of Antioch, pp.743-746, and Council of Jerusalem, p.746. The Maronites may have come into contact with Albericus in Jerusalem, since there were Maronites in that city. If what Duwaihī said (T.T.M., p.356) about the Maronites having met the papal legate in Tripoli is true, then the Maronites may have met Albericus while he was on his way to Antioch in 1139. There is no direct evidence to that, however.

patriarch of Jerusalem at the time was known by that name.¹ Again there is no documentary evidence given by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in support of his narrative. It is certain, however, that no permanent union between the Maronites and Rome was established before 1180.²

The stories of Muqaddam Sim'ān and Amir Kisrā, which are found in the third and fourth sections of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's Madīha...,³ are interesting illustrations of the military help offered by the Maronite chiefs to the Crusaders.

Sim'ān appears to have been an ardent soldier of Christianity. Right after the murder of his maternal uncle, the amir of Baskintā, in Qab. Iliās (so Ibn al-Qilā'ī said), he won a victory against the Moslems at Al-Mrūj, a village on the eastern slope of Mt. Şannīn, near Baskintā. For thirty years, said Ibn al-Qilā'ī, he continued fighting the Moslems. Forced finally to retreat northwards from Anṭiliās, a town just north of Beirut, the Maronites, led by Sim'ān, fortified themselves at Nahr al-Kalb (the Dog River), where a battle was fought in which the Moslems were utterly defeated.

After winning this victory, Sim'ān went to visit the ~~king~~ ruler of Jubail (malik Jubail). On the way he was joined by the Maronite patriarch who, Ibn al-Qilā'ī remarked, was from Hālāt,

1. The patriarch of Jerusalem at the time was Guillaume I of Malines (1130-1145). See L. de Mas Latrie, "Les patriarches latins de Jerusalem", in Revue de l'Orient Latin (R.O.L.), I, (1893, pp.16-41), p.18.

2. See below, chapter on Duwaihī, pp.184 et seq.

3. Madīha..., pp.15-16 and 18-19.

a village in the neighbourhood of Jubail. They were both well-received by the Malik, who sent after forty bishops "from the Draib to the Shūf"¹ to anoint Simʿān malik of Al-Khārija, a province between Nahr al-Kalb and Nahr Ibrāhīm (Adonis river), later known as Kisruān. The Malik finally dismissed Simʿān with many presents; and Simʿān kept on fighting the Moslems until he died in Baskintā.

Shihābī thought the wars of Muqaddam Simʿān against the Moslems belonged to the ninth century, and gave the date 258 A.H. (871 A.D.) to the battle of Nahr al-Kalb.² It has been mentioned before that Shihābī gave the date 752 A.D. to the murder of Iliās, the Amir of Baskintā, who was supposedly the uncle of Simʿān who fought in 871. Kisrā, he continued, the uncle of Simʿān and brother of Iliās, travelled to Constantinople in the reign of Justinian II, who came to the throne in 685. This classic of disorderly chronology makes clear the undependability of the dating of Shihābī.

It is more likely that Simʿān was one of the Maronite auxiliaries to the Franks. Jubail did not fall to the Crusaders until April 28, 1104, when Raymond de Saint Gilles took it from Banū ʿAmmār, Jubail having been their southernmost dependency.³ Considering that Ibn al-Qilāʿī described in detail the visit of

1. Draib is a village in the north of Lebanon, east of Tripoli. ~~The~~ Shūf is a province in central Lebanon, inhabited mainly by Druzes. The expression used by Ibn al-Qilāʿī signifies all northern Lebanon, which is Maronite.

2. H. Ash-Shihābī, op.cit., p.201.

3. R. Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem (Paris, 1936), I, pp.141 and 240.

Simʿān to the Christian ruler of Jubail who had him consecrated malik of Al-Khārija and who provided him with money, horses, camels, and men,¹ it seems that Simʿān was one of the native vassals to the lord (seigneur) of Jubail.

If the wars of Muqaddam Simʿān belong to the Crusader period, then the guess of the author of the Mukhtaṣar... that the patriarch who came from Ḥālāt was Gregorius al-Ḥālātī, who was contemporary to Pope Innocent II,² would be correct, since no other Maronite patriarch of the period came from Ḥālāt. Actually, because there is no record of any other Maronite patriarch who came from that village, the fact itself that the patriarch in question came from Ḥālāt suggests the period of the events under consideration, Gregorius Al-Ḥālātī having been patriarch between 1130-1141.

It is not clear why the author of the Mukhtaṣar... called the lord of Jubail Yūsuf (Joseph).³ There was no Crusader ruler of Jubail by that name. If Muqaddam Simʿān was a contemporary of Gregorius al-Ḥālātī, then the lord of Jubail at the time would have been either Hughe I (1127-c.1135) or Guillaume II (1139-1159).⁴ Nahr al-Kalb, where the greatest of Simʿān's battles seems to have been fought, was at the time (c.1132) the southernmost frontier of the County of Tripoli.⁵

1. Madiha..., p.16.

2. MS Mukhtaṣar..., fol.15v.

3. Ibid.

4. See tables back of R. Grousset, op.cit., III.

5. Ibid., I, p.367.

It was thus a vulnerable point and the victory won there against Moslem raiders and attributed to Sim^ćān was a likely event, although there seems to be no mention of it elsewhere.

As for the identity of Muqaddam Sim^ćān, Gregory the priest, the twelfth century Armenian chronicler, made mention of a certain Simon (same name as Sim^ćān) who is probably identifiable with Ibn al-Qilā^ći's hero. While relating the events of the years 1140-1141, Gregory said:

A warrior belonging to the nation of the brigands¹ called Simon, who bore a grudge against the Count of Edessa,² took Ain-tab³ from him by surprise. He kept this place in his possession for one year, and then gave it back to him with the intercession of the Prince of Antioch.⁴

Ed. Dulaurier, who edited Gregory the Priest's chronicle, with a French translation, suggested that the nation of brigands, to which Simon belonged, were no other than the Mardaites (or Jarājima) of Lebanon. He added that Michael the Syrian, while speaking of the advent of the Mardaites to Lebanon also called them "brigands". If this is true, he concluded, then there were Maronites in the Latin army in Syria, and Simon was one of them.⁵

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1. Ed. Dulaurier, translator (French) and editor of the chronicle of Gregory the Priest, read the Armenian word to mean assassin or brigand. Actually, the word found in the Armenian text is written wrongly and has no meaning in the form in which it stands. See Ed. Dulaurier's note 2, p.155 of Gregoire le Pret Continuateur de Matthieu d'Edesse, Chronique (Receuil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens armeniens, I, Paris 1896 pp.152-202).
 2. Joscelin II (1131-1146). See R. Grousset, op.cit., II, pp.6-9 and 883-886.
 3. Ain-tāb was a fortified town of importance between Aleppo and Antioch.
 4. Raymond de Poitiers (1136-1149), first husband of Constance, daughter of Bohemond II. See tables back of R. Grousset, op.cit., III.
 5. Note by Ed. Dulaurier, in Gregory the Priest, op.cit., p.155, fn.2.

Dulaurier does not appear to have heard of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's Muqaddam Sim'ān who, aside from bearing the same name as Gregory's warrior, was also active in the same period (c.1130-1141) and appears to have been a soldier of note. All the scanty evidence available points to the fact that they were the same person, a Maronite chieftain fighting in the Crusader army.

Sim'ān, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, was succeeded by his uncle Kisrā, whose "sword was a cross on the battlefield", and whose armour bore the sign of the cross.¹ This Kisrā went to Constantinople (Iṣṭanbūl)² to swear allegiance to the emperor, who consecrated him malik of Mount Lebanon by placing a sword above his head.³ The emperor also gave Kisrā a coat of armour and princely apparel, and gave him power to appoint governors to the provinces.⁴ On arriving back at the harbour of Ṭabarjā, south of Jubail, he was met by his soldiers who, in his honour, called Al-Khārija "Kisruān" after his name.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued the story of Kisrā by relating his relations with a certain Kāmil, muqaddam of Liḥfid. Kāmil, an ardent Crusader and a knight of the lord of Jubail,⁵ used to

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1. B. Qara'ī, in his edition of the Madiha... (p.18, fn.5) note that the Crusaders carried swords the handles of which were in the form of a cross and (fn.6) that they wore crosses on their armour. Thus, he concludes, Kisrā was a Crusader knight.
 2. This is the name with which Ibn al-Qilā'ī referred to Constantinople. This form appears in many Mamlūk chronicles.
 3. Madiha..., p.18.
 4. Ibid., p.19.
 5. Ibid., p.19, verse vi reads: malik

I am the knight of the ~~king~~ of Jubail.
He has taught me how to ride the horse.

cross the mountain and raid the land of Bāḥalbak in the northern Biqāḥ. Hearing of his exploits, Kisrā decided to make him his knight. Kāmil refused Kisrā's offer, explaining to his envoys that he was the knight of the malik of Jubail, and that he feared the wrath of his liege lord should he accept Kisrā's offer. Again Kisrā tried to win the alliance of Kāmil, this time by asking for the hand of Kāmil's daughter for his son in marriage. Kāmil had to consult his lord about it and, the malik of Jubail having given his consent, the marriage of Kāmil's daughter to Kisrā's son took place.

At that time, Ibn al-Qilāḥī added, Masūd, the muqaddam of Ḥbālīn, near Jubail, built the church of St. Stephen (Mar Istīfān) in the neighbouring village of Ghirfīn.¹

The story of Kisra is an interesting illustration of the relations of the native Christian knights of Lebanon and their Frankish overlords in the Crusader period. It is futile to try to determine whether Kisrā was the maternal uncle of Simḥān or not; but it seems definite that he did belong to the Crusader period. He carried a cruciform sword, his armour had a cross on it, and he paid homage by having a sword raised above his head. Kāmil, a knight of the lord of Jubail, had to follow the Western feudal custom of consulting his lord before arranging for the marriage of his children. It is not clear why Ibn al-Qilāḥī made Kisrā travel to Constantinople to pay

1. Ibid., p.19.

homage to the Byzantine emperor instead of paying homage to the lord of Jubail or the Count of Tripoli. It is possible that Ibn al-Qilā'ī was confusing between the Crusader and the Byzantine periods, since in the latter period the Mardaite chiefs of Lebanon were under the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperors. In both those periods the Christian inhabitants of Lebanon were fighting for a Christian power against the Moslems. On the other hand, popular tradition may have made the hero travel to add romance to his character, a tradition which Ibn al-Qilā'ī preserved in his poetical rendering of the story.

Although Ibn al-Qilā'ī discussed events of the period before 1215, he gave neither sources nor dates for such events. He related them chaotically, with the result that they appear to be myths rather than history. The visit of Patriarch Armiā al-'Amshītī to Rome in 1215 is the earliest event in the narration of which Ibn al-Qilā'ī used dates and referred to written sources. On the other hand, he missed the significance of Armiā's visit to Rome by confusing it with the visit of another Maronite patriarch to Rome, a patriarch who was also called Armiā, and by assigning to the visit a cause other than its real one.

As an introduction to Patriarch Armiā's visit to Rome in 1215 Ibn al-Qilā'ī related the story of the destruction of Kisruan by the Mamlūk army, which actually took place in 1305. This event, according to him, had been the result of the internal religious division among the Maronites caused by the heretical preachings of a monk from Yanūh and another from Dair Nbūh,¹ who

1. Dair Nbūh is a village in Az-Zāwiya, the northernmost province of Mount Lebanon.

were supported by the patriarch, Lūqa of Bnahrān. Taking advantage of the weakness resulting from this religious division, the Moslem armies came to Lebanon and destroyed and burnt Kisruān. The Rāfida (Ithnā-ʿasharī Shīʿa) of Kisruān and the Druzes of the Shūf were likewise worsted by the Moslems. Turko-man military colonies were eventually established in the country to keep it in submission.¹

Ibn al-Qilāʿī's account of the destruction of Kisruān will be discussed in its proper place. It was mentioned here because he considered it an issue of divine wrath brought about by the heretical inclination of the Maronites which necessitated the voyage of Patriarch Armiā to Rome to atone for it.² According to Ibn al-Qilāʿī, the malik of Jubail, in fear that the excommunication of the heretical Maronites would bring about greater misfortune to the country, called the Maronite patriarch and ordered him to go to Rome at his (the malik of Jubail's) expense to ask for the annulment of the excommunication and to return with papal blessings for his people. The patriarch, therefore, went to Rome immediately, dressed as a pauper and accompanied by a deacon from Hābīl,³ leaving the bishop Tādrus of Kfūfū in charge of his flock.

On arriving in Rome, Armiā appeared in the Pope's

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1. This description of the destruction of Kisruān appears in ibid., pp.21-25. It will be considered later in more detail. Actually the expedition of 1305 was not primarily directed against the Maronites but against the heterodox Moslems and the Druzes of Kisruān.
 2. The account of Armiā's voyage is given in ibid., pp.25-28.
 3. Hābīl is a village in the neighbourhood of Batrūn (Botrys).

presence in his pauper's attire, and was only recognized to be the patriarch of the Maronites by the papal legates who had been to the East. On seeing his miserable condition the Pope wept and asked him who had robbed him of his clothes; whereupon Armiā showed him the Gospel he was carrying and answered that it was the Gospel that had made him undertake the journey to the presence of the Pope:

He held out the Gospel and showed it to him:
This, he said, is what gives me delight,
And /this is/ what made me deserve the honour
Of seeing your Holiness -
To receive blessing at your feet,
To offer submission, and to kneel before you.
I want to live and die in your presence,
Making no dispute with my human reason.
My people offer submission to you
And kneel before your feet in obedience.
Whatever you order they will listen to you
In matters of belief and faith.
I have been sent to visit your Holiness
And to live under the hoof of your horse.
/O you, who/ has called himself Vicar of Jesus,
Pour out blessings on me from your bounty.
Successor of Peter, bear not spite,
Nor send a man away when he kneels before you.
Do not expel him who approaches your Holiness,
Nor send a repentant to the fires /of Hell/.
If I had sinned, I come now repenting,
And I do not intend to return in disappointment.
It is a duty of your Holiness, yea, a duty
To wipe off the tears from the eyes /of the penitent/.¹

The Pope, impressed by Armiā's piety, answered his requests; and after Armiā had stayed in Rome for five years and six months, he gave him leave to return to Lebanon, sending with him a certain Cardinal Gulielmo who carried the papal seal

1. Madiha..., pp.26-27.

and was entrusted with the preparation of a statement of the submission of the Maronites to Rome. The patriarch and the cardinal, said Ibn al-Qilā'ī, left Rome on January 3, 1215,¹ and arrived in Tripoli in March of the same year.² The ringing of church bells summoned the Maronite notables to Tripoli to meet them and to receive papal blessings. There they took an oath and put their signatures to a statement declaring that they would be faithful to the Roman Church and would not be attracted to heresy. 270 signatures, said Ibn al-Qilā'ī, were affixed to the statement.³ He ended this section by giving the date of Armiā's death, saying that he died in 1230 and was buried in Maifūq.⁴

The visit of Patriarch Armiā al-ʿAmshītī to Rome in 1215 is a historical fact. He went there in answer to the summons from Innocent III (1198-1216) to attend the fourth Lateran Council which was held in Rome beginning from November 11, 1215.⁵ In a list of the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops present at the Council, the Maronite patriarch is mentioned as "Patriarcha seu Primas Maronitarum";⁶ and a copy of the circular letter sent by Innocent III on April 19, 1213, summoning the Church leaders of the East and the West to "repair to the Council in two and a half years, the first of November, 1215",⁶ which

1. Ibid., p.27.

2. Ibid., p.28.

3. See above, p.36.

4. Madiha..., p.28.

5. C-J. Hefele, op.cit., V, p.1727. For further reference see Rev. Horace K. Mann, The lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages XII (Innocent III, 1198-1216, vol.II, London, 1915), pp.69-70.

6. C-J. Hefele, op.cit., p.1316.

is addressed to "Patriarcam Maronitarum Hieremiam", is still in existence.¹ Crusader historians like Jaques de Vitry² and Oliver of Paderborn³ mentioned the presence of the Maronite patriarch at the Lateran Council.

It is strange to find that Ibn al-Qilāʿī, having stated that Patriarch Armiā remained in Rome for five years and six months, added that his departure from Rome was on January 3, 1215 (which should be interpreted, according to the Gregorian Calendar, as 1216).⁴ Actually, the date January 3, 1215 (1216) appears on a bull which Innocent III addressed to Armiā whilst he was still in Rome, granting him various privileges,⁵ a bull which Ibn al-Qilāʿī himself rendered in an incorrect Arabic translation.⁶ Ibn al-Qilāʿī, thus, seems to have held that Armiā left Rome with "Cardinal Gulielmo" immediately he had received the bull from the Pope, which is not unlikely, although there seems to be no other reference to the date of Armiā's departure from Rome. On the other hand, it is clear from Ibn

1. T. Anaissi, Bullarium Maronitarum, p.1. The original is in Arch. secr. S. Sedis, Reg. Innocentii III, t.8, fol. cxlii, 30.

2. Jaques de Vitry, History of Jerusalem (translated by Aubrey Stewart, Library of the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, vol. XI, London, 1897), p.81.

3. Oliver of Paderborn, Capture of Damietta (translated by J.J. Gavigan, Philadelphia, 1948), p.78.

4. In the Middle Ages, before the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar in 1582, New Year's Day started generally on March 25. See article "New Year's Day" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition.

5. T. Anaissi, op.cit., pp.2-6.

6. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, MS Mārūn at-tūbānī, fol.26v-29v.

al-Qilā'ī's translation of the bull that he believed it to have been the letter in which the Pope invited the patriarch to attend the Lateran Council.¹ Ibn al-Qilā'ī also added in a note following his translation of the bull that Armiā, having received it, went to Rome and attended the Lateran Council; and that on his return from Rome he brought with him another papal Bull which Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not find.² The bull which he translated, however, is definitely the one which was given to Armiā in Rome and which he brought back with him to Lebanon. The fact that Armiā had attended the Council is mentioned in it:

As for you, O brother Patriarch, who because of your great devotion has visited personally your mother, the Holy Catholic Church and attended the General Council, we wish to grant you and your people, who have newly renewed their allegiance to the Roman Church, special grace....³

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1. Ibn al-Qilā'ī translated the passage given in the text (see above on this page, and fn.3) as follows: "We desire you, O brother Patriarch, for the great love of your mother, the Holy Catholic Church, to visit her in person and to attend the General Council and receive special grace for your people who have newly returned to the obedience of the Church of Rome." Ibid., fol.28v.
 2. The note reads as follows: "Patriarch Armiā received this letter and went to the city of Rome where he gave an account of all what his people believed in. He attended a Council, and brought back with him a letter with new graces. That letter we did not find; but Pope Alexander IV mentioned it in his letter, for after 41 years he sent a letter inquiring in it about the condition of the Maronites...." The letter of Alexander IV (See T. Anaissi, op.cit., pp.9-13) was dated February 14, 1256. Since it was written 41 years after the bull which Innocent III gave to Armiā on the latter's departure from Rome, the date of this bull must be 1215 - the very bull which is under discussion. The quotation is from MS Mārūn at-tūbānī, fol.29v.
 3. T. Anaissi, op.cit., p.4.

The fact that Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned the date of Armiā's arrival in Tripoli as March, 1215 (1216) is a further indication that Armiā left Rome almost immediately after his business with the Pope had been completed. Ibn al-Qilā'ī was probably relying on some source when he gave that date.

The bull addressed by Innocent III to Armiā is a document of great importance to the history of the Maronites, and it clarifies the story of the visit of Armiā to Rome. It opens with expressions of joy because the Maronites had returned to union with Rome after they had been "like wandering sheep, not properly understanding that the Catholic Church was the one spouse of Christ,...that Christ was the one true Shepherd, and, after Him and through Him, that Peter was His Apostle and Vicar... whose faith, and that of his successors, the Roman pontiffs, cannot fail, as the Lord had promised that he shall confirm his brethren in their faith".¹

The bull then proceeds to relate the fact that Cardinal Peter, priest of the church of St. Marcellus, was sent by Innocent III to the Maronites, and that he had met their clergymen and notables at Tripoli where, in his presence, they swore allegiance to Rome.² The leading clergymen present at

1. T. Anaissi, op.cit., p.2. The translation of this passage is found in H.K. Mann, op.cit., XII, p.70.

2. T. Anaissi, op.cit., p.3.

that meeting, apart from the patriarch, were enumerated as "Yūsuf, archbishop of Mār Asiā, Tādrus, bishop of Capharphio (same as Kfūfū?) and a great number of clergymen and laymen who owe [the patriarch] obedience".¹ These Maronites, the bull adds, took an oath of allegiance to Rome out of their own free will before the people of Tripoli and a gathering of (Latin) clergymen.

The bull then proceeds to give corrections of Maronite belief and ritual. These corrections, it adds, had already been made by Cardinal Peter:

....That you believe without doubt what the Roman Church holds, which is: that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as it proceeds from the Father, since both of them are Spirit, as it is clear from the holy testimonies and the true proofs; that you use this manner in baptism, which is that the invocation of the Trinity is made once in the three immersions; that you shall receive the sacrament of confirmation from bishops alone; that only oil and balsam shall go into the preparation of the Chrism; that every one of you shall confess his sins to his own priest at least once every year, and that you receive the sacrament of the Eucharist with devotion at least three times a year; that you shall believe that in Christ there are two wills, one divine and one human; that in the Mass (in altaris Sacrificio) you shall not use chalices of glass, wood, or brass, but [ones] of tin, silver, or gold; and you shall have bells to distinguish the hours and to call the people to church.²

Next, the bull confirms Patriarch Armiā in his see in Yānūh, and also confirms the archbishops of Mār Asiā, andarray, Bsharrāy, and the bishops of Al-Munaitra, Rishcīn, Capharphio,

1. Ibid., p.3.

2. Ibid.

and 'Arqā. A list of the feasts to be celebrated by the Maronite church follows.

The last part of the bull is very significant:

We also establish laws according to the precepts of the holy law, that whoever lays his hand on a Maronite cleric in daring and violence shall fall under the pains of excommunication, and like one who is excommunicated, he shall be evaded by everybody until he pays his due and so receives the benefit of absolution from the authority of the Apostolic See. As for you, O brother Patriarch,...,¹ we grant you the Apostolic authority to absolve those Maronite who had fallen under the above sentence/because/ they had raised their hands in daring against the clerics, except if there had been mutilation of the limbs or effusion of blood, or the laying of hands in violence on a bishop or an abbot....²

From the text of this letter some interesting conclusions can be derived concerning Ibn al-Qilā'ī's narrative of the visit of Armiā to Rome and its precedents. Some kind of religious division had, apparently, taken place among the Maronites before their reunion with Rome at the hands of Cardinal Peter (not Gulielmo, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī called him), in the course of which the rebellious party had attacked several clergymen (among whom there were bishops and abbots), sometimes mutilating them or killing them in the attack. This rebellious party must have been composed of those Maronites who did not approve of their patriarch's policy of union with Rome. The rebellion may have been started and led by some dissident members of the Maronite clergy, as the reference of Ibn al-Qilā'ī

1. The passage omitted here is the passage quoted above, p.72.

2. T. Anaissi, op.cit., p.4.

to the heretical monks of Yānūh and Dair Nbūh suggests. It is understood from the bull also that the meeting of the Maronite patriarch, clergymen and notables with the envoy of the Pope at Tripoli to offer their oaths of allegiance to Rome did not take place in March 1215 (1216), as Ibn al-Qilā'ī said, after the return of the patriarch from Rome, but several years earlier probably in 1203, since Cardinal Peter was sent by Innocent III as his legate to the East at the time of the fourth Crusade (1202-1204).¹

Tādrus of Kfūfū (or Kfarfū - Capharphio), besides, who was mentioned by Ibn al-Qilā'ī as having run the affairs of Patriarch Armiā during the latter's absence in Rome, is mentioned twice in the bull, which proves that he was a historical person and no legend. Nothing is mentioned, however, about his having been appointed by Armiā to take charge of his affairs during his absence.

It appears from this analysis that some points in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's narrative of the relations of the Maronites with Rome about the time of the fourth Lateran Council have a basis of truth. The reconciliation of the Maronites to Rome at the time was preceded by religious division among the Maronites - a division which seems to have virged on civil war. Patriarch

1. Peter of Capua (1150-1209), priest of the church of St. Marcellus, was sent by Innocent III in 1203 with the fourth Crusade (1202-1204) as his legate to the East. The meeting in Tripoli, thus, probably took place in that year. T. 'Anaissī, Silsila..., p.21. F. Suriano, op.cit., pp.68-69; called him Peter of Malphi, and gave the same story.

Armiā al-ʿAmshītī did go to Rome and, some years before his departure thither, he and his clergymen and notables had met a legate of the Pope at Tripoli and had sworn allegiance to Rome before him. These facts are given by Ibn al-Qilāʿī, although he gave them in the wrong chronological sequence.¹

On the other hand, Ibn al-Qilāʿī had included in his narrative facts that have no historical validity. Armiā's visit to Rome was not preceded by the Mamlūk expedition against Kisruān (1305). He was not sent there by the lord of Jubail but was summoned to be present at the Lateran Council by Innocent III himself. What led Ibn al-Qilāʿī to commit these blunders? Was it merely poetic license?

Bulus Qarāʿlī adequately explained these blunders by supposing that Ibn al-Qilāʿī was confusing between two Maronite patriarchs called Armiā, both of whom went to Rome, the first in 1215 and the second in 1283.² The second Armiā, who went to Rome in 1283, was Armiā ad-Damilsāwī (1282-1297).³ A note in his own handwriting was found by Ṭubiyyā al-ʿAnaissī, written on a Syriac Gospel in the Medici Library in Florence. This note

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1. There is nothing to disprove that Armiā was accompanied on his return from Rome by a Cardinal Gulielmo, although I have not found it possible to identify him. In his letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn (p.102) Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not mention him, and gave the name Gulielmo only to the legate (Albericus of Ostia?) who came into contact with the Maronites at the time of Gregorius of Hālāt, c.1140.
 2. Bulus Qarāʿlī, Hurūb..., pp.33-40.
 3. Ṭ. ʿAnaissī, Silsila..., pp.24-27. Damilsā is a farm in the neighbourhood of ʿAmshīt. That, suggested Qarāʿlī, may have helped to cause the blunder in Ibn al-Qilāʿī's narrative of mixing between the two patriarchs.

runs as follows:

In the year 1590 of the Greeks [1279 A.D.], on February 9, I, the humble Armiā, came from the blessed village of Damilsā to the monastery of Our Lady in Maifūq in the land of Ailīj, which is in [the province of] Batrūn, to our lord Mār Buṭrus, patriarch of the Marōnites;¹ and he ordained me with his holy hands and made me archbishop of the holy monastery of Kaftūn² on the banks of Nahr Ibrāhīm [actually Nahr al-Jauz], and I remained [there] four years And after the passing of the four years the lord (amīr) of Jubail sent for me and the bishops, the heads of the churches, and the clergymen, and they cast a lot which fell on me; and they made me patriarch in the holy monastery of Hālāt.³ Then they sent me to the great city of Rome and I left our brother, the Archbishop Tādrus, to direct the flock and to take care of its affairs.⁴

Tubiyyā al-Anaissī referred also to another document in which the name of Armiā ad-Damilsāwī appears. This was a testimony concerning the attempts of Guy II, lord of Jubail, to take Tripoli from its ruler, Count Bohemond VII.⁵ The testimony runs as follows:

On February 26, the year 1282, in the fortress of Nephin, which is near Tripoli, the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli and the undersigned witnesses met and declared that Guy, lord of Jubail, incited by the Master of the Templers, William of Beaujeu,⁶ tried three times to occu-

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1. Patriarch Daniāl Buṭrus of Hadshīt (1278-1282). See ibid., p. 24.
 2. It is interesting to note that the monastery of Kaftūn was mentioned in Masalik al-abṣār as a beautifully situated monastery where seekers of pleasure found a pleasant resort. The monastery had an orange grove and its oranges were sold in Tripoli. Al-ʿUmari, Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār (Cairo, 1924), I, p. 335.
 3. Hālāt is a small village near Jubail.
 4. T. ʿAnaissī, Silsila..., pp. 24-25.
 5. It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the wars of Guy II and Bohemond VII. The former was captured in 1282 and put to death by the latter. The following document might have been a testimony used in court against him. For a full discussion of this matter see R. Grousset, op.cit., III, pp. 685-691.
 6. Ibid., pp. 686 et seq.

py Tripoli with the purpose of taking it from the prince of Antioch.¹

The name of Patriarch Armiā ad-Damiṣāwī (Frater Jeremie Patriarcha Maronitarum) appears at the bottom as a witness, along with Ibrāhīm, archbishop of Ḥarqā, and Yūhannā, archbishop of Rishkīn.

From these two texts it is clear that there was a second patriarch called Armiā, and that he was sent to Rome by Bohemond VII, Count of Tripoli (1275-1287), who was at the same time lord of Jubail (from 1282). Another coincidence is that whereas in the days of the first Armiā the bishop of Kfūfū (or Kfarfū) was called Tādrus, in the days of the second Armiā there was an archbishop by that name who was left in charge of the affairs of the Maronite church whilst the patriarch was in Rome.

Another interesting fact to note, which probably added to Ibn al-Qilāʿī's confusion was that in 1283, the year the second Armiā was sent to Rome,² there was a Mamlūk attack on Jibbet Bsharrāy in the course of which Ḥadath al-Jibbeh, one of the main towns of the province, was destroyed by the Moslems, as were several other towns and villages of the district.

This event, related with dates by Duwaihī,³ is also

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1. B. Qaraʿlī, op.cit., pp.35-36. Quotation translated by him from Ḥanaissī, Corpus documentorum Maronitarum, No.28, p.29, where it is given in Latin and French. Bohemond VII (1275-1287) was both Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli.
 2. Considering that the date of the document quoted above is before March 25, the year should be taken as 1283, according to the Gregorian Calendar. Armiā thus left for Rome the year Bohemond VII took Jubail from Guy II.
 3. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.145-146. Also below, pp.183 .

touched upon by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in the Madiha..., where its narrative is awkwardly inserted within the narrative of other events, as will be shown later. He gave it no date:

Muqaddam Būlus and Amir Mas'ūd,
 Whose likes in excellence never arose,
 Went out of Al-Ḥadath in full armour.
 Like heroes they entered the battlefield.
 They routed the soldiers of Islam,
 And their news reached Damascus.
 For seven years they fought the Moslems,
 And their news reached the sultan.
 /Then/ a man from Ibraisāt¹
 Came to the Moslems² and promised them /saying/:
 "Let it be my lot to take for you
 This village with ease."
 They gave him presents and promised him wealth,
 And learnt from the dishonest man.
 He went to the muqaddam /of Al-Ḥadath, and preached his/
 heresy,³

And the spirit of the devil was established in him.
 /The muqaddam/ followed his heresy
 And the fires /of Hell/ caught on to his body.
 He obeyed /the heresy/, and so did his neighbours -
 The men of the village and the women.
 /The Moslems/ entered /their village/ with ease
 And slaughtered them as sheep are slaughtered,
 Leaving no man among them.
 /They killed/ men, women, and boys.
 From that time Al-Ḥadath was destroyed,
 After it had been a town of twenty-seven hundred.
 For seven years the Moslems fought,
 And their news reached the sultan.⁴

One non-Maronite source in which the story of the

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1. Ibraisāt is a village in Jibbet Bsharrāy, near Al-Ḥadath.
 2. Tayyā, meaning Banū Ṭayy - the Arabs or Moslems. The form of the word is Syriac, the "ā" at the end standing for the definite article "al" in Arabic. It should be translated "the Tayy" - "the Arabs", or "the Moslems".
 3. The meaning of the line is vague. This is the best meaning I could find in it:
 دخل لاشبينه (المقدم) في المقال و طاع لاشبينه في مقاله
 تمكن فيه روح الشيطان
 والنار علق في ابدانه
 4. Madiha..., p.44.

destruction of Al-Ḥadath is hinted at in the biography of Sultan Qalāūn (1277-1290), which is found in manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. Among the events of the year 1283 A.D. Qalāūn's biographer mentioned the arrest of "the patriarch of Al-Ḥadath":

The arrest of the Patriarch of Al-Ḥadath in
the Land of Tripoli

It happened that there was in the land of Tripoli a patriarch who became strong, swelled with pride, and rebelled. The ruler of Tripoli and all the Franks feared him. He won over the people of those mountains and the people of those valleys who were straying [in their religion]; and his power continued [to grow] until he was feared by every neighbour. He fortified himself in Al-Ḥadath and held his nose high [with pride].... And it happened that the governors (an-nuwwāb) [of Syria?] tried to get him several times but could not find him. Then the Turkomans went to him in his place and managed to capture him; and they brought him back a miserable prisoner.... And the Moslems were freed from him and became safe from his wickedness; and his capture was a great conquest - greater than the conquest of a rampart of a fort.¹

This passage also offers a clue to the solution of another problem in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's narrative of the events under discussion: the identity of Patriarch Lūqā of Bnuhrān who, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, supported the heretical movement of the monks of Yānūḥ and Dair Nbūḥ. Duwaiḥī, while relating the story of the destruction of Al-Ḥadath by Qalāūn in 1283 in his chronology of the Maronite patriarchs,² mentioned that

1. I have translated this quotation from a photostat reproduction of pp.94-95 of MS 1704 of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, which is entitled Tashrīf al-ʿusūr bi sirat aṣ-ṣultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr in Al-Manāra, V, 1934, p.204. I have found no mention of this event in any of the other Arabic chronicles I consulted.

2. Duwaiḥī, S.B., p.313.

after Patriarch Daniāl al-Ḥadshītī, who died in 1282 in Maifūq,¹ Lūqā, a man who came from a village in Jibbet Bsharrāy called Bnuhrān, took over the patriarchal see by force. Duwaihī made no mention, on the other hand, of Armiā ad-Damiṣāwī, who had been made in the same year Patriarch of the Maronites in the monastery of Hālāt by the initiative of the Count of Tripoli Lūqā, apparently, was an anti-patriarch. He must have been the patriarch who fortified himself in Al-Ḥadath, was feared by the ruler of Tripoli, and was taken prisoner and probably put to death by the soldiers of Qalāūn, since nothing is known about him after 1283. That the ruler of Tripoli and the Franks were afraid of him is understandable, since he must have been the leader of that faction of the Maronites who, perhaps, disapproved of the interference of the Frankish rulers in the election of their patriarchs, and were thus anti-Frankish and, apparently, anti-Roman too.

Thus, all the facts used by Ibn al-Qilāʿī in his narrative of the visit of Armiā to Rome are correct, except that some of them concern the visit of another patriarch called Armiā who visited Rome in 1283, and whose person has apparently been identified by Ibn al-Qilāʿī as well as by other early Maronite historians with the first Armiā. The only fact related

1. T. Anaissī, Silsila..., p.24.

by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in this respect which does not apply to the visit of either of the two patriarchs to Rome is the destruction of Kisruān in 1305; but this event must have been confused by Ibn al-Qilā'ī with the destruction of Al-Hadath in 1283 which preceded, or was simultaneous to, the journey of the second Armiā to Rome.

After noting the date of Armiā al-ʿAmshītī's death, in 1230, Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned a Maronite patriarch from Shāmāt, who was originally a monk in Wādī ʿAlmāt, and who had been taken by relatives from Rāmāt to live in Kfaifān¹ because of the troubles that were taking place at the time.² These troubles which caused the Maronite patriarch to change his residence were touched upon by Ibn al-Qilā'ī with remarkably inexplicit brevity:

Jibbet al-Munāiṭra dissented.
It did not remain with the malik (of Jubail).
With the people of Liḥfid, it became heretical
And made a muqaddam and an archbishop of its own.³

It is difficult to make out from this brief description what these troubles were. The patriarch to whom Ibn al-Qilā'ī referred, however, was Daniāl of Shāmāt (1230-1239), the successor of Armiā al-ʿAmshītī, who had to leave his seat in

1. All four villages mentioned here are in the province of Jubail. Kfaifān has an interesting old monastery named after St. Cyprian. Wādī ʿAlmāt is the only village of the district which is still wholly populated by Mitwālīs, who moved into the district in the early sixteenth century. See Lammens, La Syrie..., II, pp. 67-68.

2. Madiha..., pp. 42-43.

3. Ibid., p. 42.

Maifūq and go to the monastery of St. Cyprian (Mar Qubriānūs) in Kfaifān because of troubles that were taking place in his day. Later he moved to the monastery of Mār Yūhannā Mārūn in Kfarḥai;¹ and in 1236 he was living in the monastery of St. Georges of Kafar (Mār Jirjis al-Kafar) in the province of Jubail.²

Nothing more was said by Ibn al-Qilā'ī about Dāniāl of Shāmāt. Awkwardly changing the subject in the Madiḥa..., he began telling the story of a sultan who gave endowments to the monasteries of Maronite Lebanon and the results of these endowments:

A valley of the river Qādīshā.³
A sultan, travelling [in exile], passed by.
A monk invited him to have dinner.
He marvelled at the life of the monks.
God helped him, at the time,
And he returned to his throne like the sultans.
He sent money to build Qannūbīn⁴
In remembrance of the kindness of the monks.
The sultan was generous
And he gave a firman to the monks⁵
That whoever should live among the cliffs [of the Qādīshā valley]
Will live at the expense of the sultan.⁶

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1. Kfarḥai is a village in the province of Batrūn where Mār Yūhannā Mārūn, first patriarch of the Maronites, was supposedly buried.
 2. T. Anaissī, Silsila..., p.22 and Duwaihī, S.B., p.230. Duwaihī cited references to his conclusions which were restated by Anaissī.
 3. Qādīshā (Syriac: the holy) is the name given to the upper course of Nahr Abī 'Alī which pours at Tripoli.
 4. From approximately the beginning of the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, the monastery of Qannūbīn, in the Qādīshā valley, was the seat of the Maronite patriarchs. At present it is their summer residence. It is said that it was originally built in the fourth century (Qannūbīn = coenobium) in the reign of Emperor Theodosius, but it has been reconstructed several times since then.
 5. The term firman (Persian for order, or decree) appears in many Mamlūk chronicles, although its usage is usually associated with the Ottomans.
 6. Madiḥa..., p.43.

Because of these endowments, Ibn al-Qilāʿī continued, the Qādīshā valley became a thriving abode for many people; and among those attracted to live in it was a group of forty men ~~who~~ "wore sack-cloth and monkish garments" (al-miṣḥ wa'l-qūsāl) and pretended to be ascetics, but who were in reality wicked men who made armed attacks on Christians and killed them, and who "established a place for women".¹ These impostors took residence in Al-Farādīs, near the village of Bān; and for some time the people of Jibbet Bsharrāy did not know of their evil deeds and intentions. When it was discovered that they were not ascetics but evildoers, however, they were done away with in one night. Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not state whether they were killed or simply driven out of the country.

The sultan who endowed the monasteries of Qādīshā was, possibly, Sultan Barqūq (1382-1398) who, according to Duwaihī, passed through Bsharrāy during the period of his dethronement (1389-1390) and was received by the abbot of Qannūbīn.² The whole event will be discussed later at greater length in the chapter of Duwaihī's history.³ As for the band of forty impostors who came to dwell in Al-Farādīs and who were expelled therefrom, no historian other than Ibn al-Qilāʿī seems to have made any mention of it. It seems that they were not Christians, since

1. It is not clear what Ibn al-Qilāʿī meant by this.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.190-191.

3. See below, pp.199-201.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī noted that "they never forgave a Christian".¹ Possibly they were heterodox Moslems from the neighbouring country (the northern Biqāʿ or Ad-Dnayya, north of Bsharrāy). The Mukhtasar... gave the date 1242 for their coming to Lebanon. The source of this date is not known; but if the coming of this band of "forty men" to Jibbet Bsharray followed the endowment of the monasteries by Barqūq in 1390, as Ibn al-Qilāʿī said, then the date given by the Mukhtasar... is wrong.

The narrative of these events is followed in the Madiha... by the account of the destruction of Al-Ḥadath, which has been already dealt with. This, in turn, is followed by an account of the appointment of a muqaddam in the province of Bsharrāy to defend the province against "heresy and the Egyptians".³ It appears from the context of this part of the Madiha... that this muqaddam was appointed after the expulsion of the evildoers from the Qādīshā valley. The Mukhtasar... gave the date 1250 (?) for his appointment.⁴

This muqaddam was given the title of Al-Kāshif (the inspector).⁵ He was at the same time a shidyāq (subdeacon) and, as such, had spiritual as well as temporal authority, which

1. Madiha..., p.43.

2. MS Mukhtasar..., fol.17r.

3. Madiha..., p.44.

4. MS Mukhtasar..., fol.17r.

5. The title of kāshif (pl. kushshāf) was used by the Mamlūk government to denote governors of provinces of the second order. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie a l'epoque des Mamelouks (Paris, 1923), p.xxxviii and Qalqashandī, Subḥ al-aʿshā fī sināʿat al-inshā (Cairo, 1914), IV, p.15. A kāshif was an amir tablakhānā.

required him to inspect the condition of the clergy.¹

This muqaddam of Bsharrāy, who is usually referred to as Ash-Shidyāq al-Kāshif, must have been the shidyāq Yaʿqūb bin Ayyūb who, according to Duwaihī, was made muqaddam of Bsharrāy by Barqūq in c.1390.² The fact that he bore the title of kāshif, a title used by the Mamluks for the governors of minor provinces (Bsharrāy was a sub-province of the niyāba of Tripoli)³ seems to indicate that, unlike what the author of the Mukhtaṣar believed, he belonged to the Mamluk and not to the Crusader period. Shidyāq Yaʿqūb bin Ayyūb's descendants continued to be muqaddams of Bsharrāy until the sixteenth century; and Muqaddam ʿAbd al-Munʿim himself was one of his descendants.⁴

Ibn al-Qilāʿī added that Ash-Shidyāq al-Kāshif governed the country stretching from Hindīn to Aitū (the southernmost and northernmost points of Jibbet Bsharrāy), and that in his days no heresy could spread in the country.⁵

The section that follows in the Madiha... deals with the fall of Tripoli to Qalāun in 1289.⁶ Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not

1. Madiha..., pp.44-45.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.190. See below, p.199.

3. Jibbet Bsharrāy was a wilāya of the niyāba of Tripoli, under the Mamluks. See Gauderoy-Demombynes, La Syrie a l'epoque des Mamelouks (Paris, 1923), p.228. Qalqashandī, Subh al-ashā..., IV, p.148. ʿUmari, At-taʿrif bi'l-mustalah ash-sharif, p.182.

4. See below, Appendix II.

5. Madiha..., p.45.

6. Ibid., pp.47-48. Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not give the date of the fall of Tripoli.

give the date of the event. The cause of the fall of Tripoli, according to him, was the fact that the son and successor of Ash-Shidyāq al-Kāshif, Sālim,¹ was not as loyal to the Faith as his father had been, and had become heretical:

After him came his son Sālim,
A muqaddam with a tyrannous nature:
Ambitious, a lover of money, and oppressive.
The country was annoyed by him.
Not content to stay in [his own province],
He started going out to other countries
And gave refuge to whoever came to him;
And his secrets became known to his neighbours.
He paid no heed when he was told
That he was not being cautious.
A Jacobite spy caught him unawares
And threw him in the pit of heresy.
Another blow came to him from elsewhere:
[Melchites] from Haurān², who came to live in Al-ʿIrbeh,³
Brought with them deadly [errors] in their water-bags
And poured them in Mount Lebanon....
[So] all the people rose firmly against him
And his soldiers threw off their allegiance to him.
He was forsaken and excommunicated,
And had to seek refuge among the Jacobites.
The Moslems heard of [his] excommunication,
And their soldiers were in Damascus.
They came quickly to Tripoli
And no man stood against them...
They kept on besieging the walls
For six months....
Verily, God, to spite the wicked,
Will give Tripoli to the Moslems....

Next Ibn al-Qilāʿī related the story of a priest from Mār Asiā, in Jibbet Bsharrāy, who prophesied to the besiegers

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1. Yaʿqūb ibn Ayyūb did not have a son called Sālim. I have not come across any mention of a muqaddam Sālim elsewhere. He may have been a muqaddam of Bsharrāy in the last years of the Crusader period.
 2. Haurān is a district in Syria, south-east of the Anti-Lebanon and south of Damascus. Part of its population is Moslem and part Melchite. Several Lebanese Christian families, mostly Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic, trace their origin from there.
 3. Al-ʿIrbeh is a village in the high Matn, near Shuwair. It is not in Jibbet Bsharrāy. Perhaps there was another village by the same name in the latter province.

of Tripoli that the city would fall to them in February. When, he continued, this prophesy came true, the Moslems made the priest chief officer of the treasury (dīwān ʿalā ʿl-kīs)¹ and overwhelmed him with presents.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī then proceeded to give a brief account of the fall of Jubail.² Its malik, Yūḥannā, he said, in fear that his city would end the same way as Tripoli, started giving away his lands in fiefs to the Moslem officers until Jubail was denuded of its lands. Finally, in fear of a Moslem attack, he embarked for Cyprus with the people of the city and their animals after having set fire to the city. When the Moslems attacked Jubail, they found its gates closed and its deserted houses in flames.

Unlike what Ibn al-Qilāʿī believed, Tripoli did not fall to Qalāūn in the month of February but on April 26³ (or 27⁴), 1289. Besides, Qalāūn did not besiege the city for six months. Some Moslem sources gave the date of the start of the siege of Tripoli as March 25, 1289, which gives the siege a

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1. This is the term given by Ibn al-Qilāʿī. It is not official terminology. Dīwān ʿalā ʿl-kīs signifies literally "office (here officer) of the purse".
 2. Madiha..., p.48.
 3. R. Grousset, op.cit., III, p.744.
 4. Maqrīzī, Kitāb as-sulūk li maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk (Cairo, 1939, hence Sulūk...), I, p.747, and Ibn Taghribardī, An-nujūm az-zāhira fi mulūk Miṣr waʿl-Qāhira (Cairo, 1936, hence Nujūm...), VII, p.321, gave the date of the fall of Tripoli as Tuesday, Rabīʿ II 4, 688 A.H. (April 27, 1289 A.D.).

duration of just over a month.¹ Other sources give the date of the start of the siege variously as February 24, March 10, and March 17.² The siege, thus, would have lasted two months by the longest estimate.³

As for Ibn al-Qilā'ī's account of the fall of Jubail, there is a basis of truth in it. Whereas the rest of the County of Tripoli, after the fall of the capital, was evacuated by the Franks and taken over by Qalāūn's army without fighting, Peter, son of Guy II of Jubail, the last of the Embriacs of Jubail, seems to have kept his province for some time by entering into close vassalage with the sultan.⁴ This is probably what Ibn al-Qilā'ī was referring to when he inverted the situation by stating that the lord of Jubail (whom he mistakenly called Yūhannā) started giving away his land in fiefs to the Moslems to ward off their attack.⁵ It has not been found out how long the lord of Jubail kept his position as vassal of the Mamlūk sultan, if he actually did so, before leaving the city. In 1307 he is spoken of as a refugee in Cyprus.^{5F}

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1. Maqrīzī (Sulūk..., I, p.747) said that Qalāūn left Damascus for the siege of Tripoli on Šafar 20, 688 A.H. (March 15, 1289), but did not give the date of the start of the siege. Ibn Taghribardī (Nujūm..., VII, p.321) said that the siege was started on Rabi' I 7 (March 25). The same date was given by Abū'l-Fidā (Abulfedae, Annales Muslemici, Hafniae, 1794, V, p.90). Ibn Ḥabīb, Tadhkirat an-nabiḥ fī ayyām al-Mansūr wa banīh (MS Brit. Mus. 7335), fol.19v, said that the siege of Tripoli lasted 33 days, which, considering that Tripoli fell on April 27, would give the date March 25 for the start of the siege.
 2. R. Grousset, op.cit., III, p.743.
 3. Ibid., III, p.745. L. de Mas Latrie, Histoire de Chypre, I, p.484.
 4. Possibly Peter both entered into vassalage with the Mamlūk sultan and gave away fiefs to the Mamlūk officers.
 5. R. Grousset, loc.cit. Also Rey, "Les seigneurs de Giblest", in R.O.L., III, 1895, p.407.

It is interesting to note that, in relating the history of Maronite Lebanon in the Crusader period, Ibn al-Qilā'ī drew no distinction between Frankish and Maronite figures, apart from the Popes and their envoys. King Gaudefroy, actually, is the only Frankish lay figure whose name Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave in a distinctly European form: Gaufrado. Neither the count of Tripoli nor the lord of Jubail, who are the most often mentioned Frankish figures, are ever spoken of as non-Maronites. The uninformed reader of the Madiha... is liable to reach the conclusion that the Maronites did not only have their chiefs, the muqaddams in their mountains, but also ~~knights~~^{maliks} in Tripoli and Jubail.

In correct chronological sequence to the fall of Tripoli to Qalā'ūn in 1289, Ibn al-Qilā'ī went on to describe, again without giving a date, the victory of the muqaddams of Mount Lebanon over the Mamlūk expedition against Kisruān organized in 1292, during the reign of Al-Ashraf Khalīl, son of Qalā'ūn (1290-1294).¹

The account of this victory forms the most elaborately descriptive section of the Madiha..., apart from the Description of the Golden Age of Maronite Lebanon with which it opens. Details of the battle of the muqaddams with the Moslems are given. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, however, did not relate the victory of the muqaddams as a successful defence against an expedition directed against them. He considered it rather as a revenge of the Lebanese Christians for the fall of Tripoli and Jubail to the Moslems:

1. See below, chapter on Duwaihī, pp. 153 et seq.

The muqaddamīn of the mountains heard [the news].
They rang the bells and met,
On each of the Madfūn and the Fidār¹ they placed, by lot,
Two thousand of the brave.
Thirty thousand soldiers descended
From the rainy mountains;
And the Moslem,² strolling below,³
Found death waiting [for him] on the battlefield.⁴

This is followed by a detailed account of the battle and a list of the names of the Maronite heroes who took distinguished themselves in the fighting.⁵ Muqaddam Khālid of Mishmish⁶ is the first hero mentioned. After him the names of Sinān and Sulaimān of Ailīj⁷ appear. These are followed by the names of Sa'āda and Sarkīs of Liḥfid, and finally by 'Akkār and his brother Masrūr, whose hometown is not mentioned. These heroes and many others, with their followers, completely routed the Moslem army, and the Moslems were forced to leave Jubail. The only muqaddam killed in the battle was Binyamīn (Benjamin), muqaddam of Hirdīn.⁸

In the meantime, Kurdish soldiers who had come to

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1. The Madfūn and the Fidār, south of Batrūn and of Jubail respectively, are rivers that formed the northern and southern boundaries of the province of Jubail. They are small streams that run only in the rainy season.
 2. Ibn al-Qilā'ī usually personified the Moslems as "Hamdān", a proper noun derived from the same root as Muḥammad (HMD), which lends itself to the rhyming sequence of the Madiḥa... ("ān" - to rhyme with Libnān).
 3. In the text it reads "khārij yutkhaṭṭar", literally meaning "strolling outside".
 4. Madiḥa..., p.51.
 5. Ibid., pp.52-53.
 6. Mishmish is a village in the province of Jubail.
 7. Ailīj is another village in the province of Jubail.
 8. Hirdīn also is a village in the province of Jubail.

the rescue of the routed Moslem army from the south were taken by surprise by the soldiers keeping guard on the Fīdār river, to the south of Jubail, and their armements were taken away from them. As for the soldiers keeping guard on the Madfūn, south of Batrūn, they concentrated their efforts on stripping the armements from the Moslem soldiers fleeing north, and finally entered Batrūn. At last, after the victory was complete the muqaddams and their soldiers retired from the battlefield to divide the booty among themselves in the neighbourhood of M'ād, a village not far from Jubail:

They took four thousand horses
And armements and spears beyond counting;
Gold and silver in the balance.
They divided the whole among thirty thousand,
And every muqaddam received a lot:
/There were/ thirty muqaddams...
Except for the one who had fallen in heresy.¹
At first they kept him a lot;
But the patriarch sent word
That he should receive no benefits
Because he had fallen from the Faith.²

This event will be considered in greater detail in the chapter on Duwaihī's history; but it is important to note here that, contrary to what Ibn al-Qilā'ī seems to have believed it was the Moslems, and not the muqaddams of Mount Lebanon, who were the aggressors in this incident. The muqaddams did not

1. The reference is to Sālim, muqaddam of Bsharrāy, whose lapse into heresy had, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, led to the fall of Tripoli.

2. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

descend on the Moslem armies in revenge for the fall of Tripoli and the coastal towns to the Mamlūks. It was the Mamlūks who attacked the mountains of Kisruān (which stretch northwards from the province of Kisruān to the province of Jubail); and the Lebanese muqaddams were the victorious defenders.¹

The meeting of the muqaddams and their soldiers near M'ād to divide the booty among themselves, which Ibn al-Qilā'ī described, is an interesting illustration of one aspect of military life among the medieval Maronites, and points to the importance of the village of M'ād as a meeting place of the chieftains.

A nineteenth century history of M'ād, written by the author of the Mukhtaṣar of Ibn al-Qilā'ī, has the following to say about the political position of that village in medieval Maronite Lebanon:

The Marada² of Lebanon used to meet in that village to hold councils and exchange views. They made it the main village of the provinces of Jubail, Al-Batrūn, and Jibbet /Bsharrāy/. In 1302, the amir Hannā, amir of Jubail,³ built towers in that village, that is to say he restored the towers to the west of the place known as Al-Marada (?)

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1. See below, pp. 153 *et seq.*
 2. Marada (Mardaites: rebels) is the name given to the Byzantine military colonists in Lebanon, whose raids on the empire of the Umayyads necessitated a treaty between 'Abd al-Malik and Justinian II (See above, p. 53, fn1). Possibly the muqaddams among the Maronites are descendants of those Mardaites. Maronite authors like to call the Maronites of the later Middle Ages by that name.
 3. The author of this history made the same mistake as Ibn al-Qilā'ī in giving the name of the lord of Jubail. It is not clear where he got the date 1302.
 4. This is the best reading I could make of the name of the place.

that is, the place where councils used to be held for protection from the Moslems.¹

The village of M^ḥād is very near to the coast and to the river Madfūn, which formed the boundary between the provinces of Jubail and Al-Batrūn. It falls also midway between Anṭiliās and Nahr al-Bārid, which were the southernmost and northernmost coastal points in medieval Maronite Lebanon. This central geographic position must have contributed to making M^ḥād the meeting place of the muqaddams of Maronite Lebanon, where they met to discuss matters of common interest and, as can be concluded from Ibn al-Qilā^ḥī, to divide among themselves what booty they gained from the enemy in time of war.

The strong position of authority occupied by the patriarch among the medieval Maronites can also be seen from Ibn al-Qilā^ḥī's account of the meeting of the muqaddams in M^ḥād. One word from him, and Muqaddam Sālim was deprived of his share in the booty.

The events that follow in Ibn al-Qilā^ḥī's account illustrate further the authority and influence enjoyed by the patriarch in temporal matters. After depriving Sālim of his share in the booty, the muqaddams decided to find another muqaddam of Bsharrāy. The story of the appointment of this new muqaddam, in Ibn al-Qilā^ḥī's own words, runs as follows:

1. This history of M^ḥād is found on ff.24-25 of MS Bibliotheque Orientale 57. The quotation is from fol.25.

Antar, muqaddam of Al-¹Āqūrā,
Said: "Another will replace him,
And the patriarch will choose another
To be an inspector of the Faith."
His comrades² agreed to his words
And sent the patriarch his share [of the booty].³
In Kfarhāi the meeting took place
In a great congregation of people.
[Then] a child spoke in the Syriac tongue
Saying: "Niqūlā the Centurion⁴
Is now passing in Āqbat Hīrūnā⁵
On his way to meet your holiness."
The patriarch heard, and asked [the child]:
"Whose son is [Niqūlā], and who are his grandsires?"
[The child] answered: "He who chose and sent him
Knows who the man is."
After hearing what the child had to say,
[The assembled people] waited silently
[Until] lo! News came that Niqūlā
Had distinguished himself on the battlefield!
Niqūlā had found on the river Rish⁶in
A group of Moslem/soldiers/ roaming around.
Alone, he killed twenty of them,
And rode on horse-back to the patriarch.
He offered [the patriarch] four horses
And said: "Somebody woke me up at night
Saying: 'arise and bring up
This spoilt generation in Mount Lebanon!
While I was coming to consult your holiness [about this
vision]
I found enemies in your neighbourhood.
I knew the horses they rode were not yours,
And, through the Faith, I won a victory against them.

1. Al-¹Āqūrā is one of the most important villages in the province of Jubail, to the extreme east of it. Muqaddam Antar of Al-¹Āqūrā, the ancestor of the present Baṣbūs family in Lebanon, was apparently one of the leading muqaddams of Maronite Lebanon in his day. See History of the Baṣbūs family, MS Bibliotheque Orientale 57, f.25.
2. In literal translation, "the brothers".
3. It is not clear whether this was the patriarch's share or Muqaddam Sālim's share.
4. Ibn al-Qilā⁴ used the Syriac term Qentrōnā ^{ܩܝܢܐ} (Lat. centurio) which means centurion, or captain of a hundred. The aliph at the end is the definite article. It is not clear what Ibn al-Qilā⁴ meant by calling Niqūlā a centurion. Possibly the term in his day meant simply a warrior or a leader of men, and did not have the real significance of Qentrōnā.
5. Āqbat Hīrūnā is a place in north Lebanon, east of Tripoli.
6. Rish⁶in is the northernmost tributary of the river Qādīshā (modern Abī Ālī). The meaning of rish in (Syriac) is "the source of the fountain".

The booty I have brought to you;
And here am I, [sstanding] in submission between your hands,
The secret is between you and me (?).
Give me rule from your holiness.¹

On hearing Niqūlā's speech, the patriarch and the muqaddams "prayed over him and gave him the sword"² and made him muqaddam of Bsharrāy. His rule in Bsharrāy, Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued, began with the expulsion of the heretics (monophy-sites?) from the province. For forty years, he concluded, there was peace and prosperity in the country, and the name of Lebanon became well-known, in Rome and elsewhere, for the orthodoxy of its people.

Actually, the victory of the Lebanese mountaineers over the Moslem army in 1292 was not followed directly by anything like forty years of peace and prosperity in Christian Lebanon. In 1300 and 1305 two other expeditions were sent against Kisruān, the second of which ended with the utter defeat of the mountaineers - Christian, Rāfiḍa, and Druzes.³ Ibn al-Qilā'ī described the expedition of 1305 and its disastrous results before describing Patriarch Armiā's visit to Rome. After dealing with the heresy of the two monks, of Yānūḥ and of Dair Nbūḥ, and the disunity that resulted in Lebanon from their teachings, Ibn al-Qilā'ī said:

1. Madīha..., pp. 54-55.

2. Ibid., p. 56.

3. See below, chapter on Duwaihī, pp. 158 et seq.

King Barqūq heard of that
And a closed door lay open to him.
He sent soldiers with banners
To lay siege in Mount Lebanon.
They found the country internally divided,
Its inside soiled with heresy,
Its king puffed up with pride,
And obedience and faith lacking....
As for Al-Malik az-Zāhir,¹
He wrote to the governors² and the soldiers
/To send/ a company to lay siege
And to spend from the Sultan's money.
And whoever would cut a tree from Kisruān
Was to receive ten /dinars?/ from /the Sultan's/ money.
For seven years³ the infidels held on
Until they entered /the country/....
The war continued for eight months⁴;
And blood flowed in the market-places;
And no side was victorious, and no side was defeated;
/But/ the Sultan's soldiers decreased in number.
The Moslems became afraid of defeat;
One Christian would kill ten /of them/.
/So, / before getting cornered,
They set the forests on fire....
They cut the fruit trees and the wild,
And they set fire /to the country/ from all four sides.
Only those in the fort of Mi'rāb⁵ were saved,
But their flesh was scorched and their eyes were blinded.⁶

1. The regal name of Barqūq was Al-Malik az-Zāhir. Actually these events did not take place in the days of Barqūq, but in the days of An-Nāṣir bin Qalāūn, as will be shown below.
2. Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave the term as niyyāb, colloquial plural of nā'ib (nāyib), which should be nuwwāb in the classical plural.
3. This is a great exaggeration on the part of Ibn al-Qilā'ī. Kisruān was not besieged for seven years before the Moslem army could break into the country. The expedition actually started in July, 1305, and ended in January, 1306. See below, pp.162-163.
4. The expedition, which started on July 25, 1305, and ended on January 5, 1306, lasted a little over five months. Here again Ibn al-Qilā'ī made a slight exaggeration.
5. Mi'rāb is a village in the province of Jubail. Remnants of an old fort are still to be found in it.
6. Madīha...., pp.22-23.

It seems that the destruction of Kisruān in 1305 was the worst calamity that befell Maronite Lebanon in the later Middle Ages, although the expedition on the whole was directed mainly against the Rāfida and the Druzes of Central Lebanon. The country, as a result of the expedition, said Ibn al-Qilāʿī, became "wild and deserted", and Turkoman colonies were established in it:

The thieves in it became many,
And it became deserted and wild.
Turkoman gharda (akhfār) came to it
And became its inhabitants.¹

From the pen of the same anonymous author of the Mukhtasar of Ibn al-Qilāʿī and the history of Mʿād, the names of some of the monasteries and churches destroyed by the Moslems at the time of the expedition of 1305 (and that of 1300) are preserved.² Tādrus of Ḥamā, who gave an account of this expedition, said that the leaders of the Lebanese mountaineers against the Moslems at the time were the Druze chieftains of the house of Billamaʿ.³

Ibn al-Qilāʿī said that the sultan who ordered the expedition of 1305 against Kisruān was Al-Malik aḡ-Zāhir Barqūq, who came to the throne in 1382, and at the same time placed the event before Armiā's voyage to Rome in 1215. Duwaihī noticed this mistake and made the following comment on it:

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1. Ibid., p.25. See below, p.163.
 2. History of the Old Churches of Lebanon, ff.18-19 of MS Bibliothèque Orientale 57.
 3. Tādrus of Ḥamā, Nakbat Kisruān..., p.86.

This destruction was not in the days of Patriarch Armiā, who was in the days of the Ayyubid dynasty, nor in the time of Al-Malik az-Zāhir Barqūq, who was of the dynasty of the Circassians/Burjī Mamlūks, 1382-1517, but at the time of Az-Zāhir Baibars and his successors of the Turkish dynasty/Bahri Mamlūks, 1250-1382 which came between the two.¹

Considering that Duwaihi related the events of the expedition under the year 1307,² it is clear that he meant that the expedition took place in the reign of An-Nāṣir Muḥammad bin Qalāūn (1294-1340)³ who was mistakenly called Sultan Muḥammad Barqūq az-Zāhir by Tādrus of Ḥamā.⁴ Ibn al-Qilā'ī, who probably read the history of Tādrus of Ḥamā who had written in the early fourteenth century, seems to have taken the name as he found it in his history, omitting the "Muḥammad", the only correct part of the name as it appears in that history.

The theory of Bulus Qara'li, who supposed that the expedition against Kisruān actually did take place before ~~Armiā's~~ ^{Armiā's} voyage to Rome, at the time of another Al-Malik az-Zāhir (Ghāzī, son of Salāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, who was sultan of Aleppo, 1186-1216),⁵ has nothing to support it except the chronological sequence of events in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's Madiḥa..., which is quite unreliable.

1. Duwaihi, T.T.M., p.378.

2. Ibid., p.377 and T.A., p.163.

3. Muḥammad bin Qalāūn was a sultan of the Bahri Mamlūks, and thus one of the successors of Baibars.

4. Tādrus of Ḥamā, loc.cit. Probably the name, as it appears, is an interpolation, since Tādrus of Ḥamā probably lived and died before the accession of Barqūq in 1382.

5. Qara'li, Hurūb..., p.31.

In the Madiha... the story of the appointment of Muḡaddam Niqūlā, about whom nothing seems to be known from other sources, is followed by the story of the martyr death of Patriarch Jibrāʾīl of Ḥajūlā.

The Franks who had been driven by the Mamlūks away from Syria and had established themselves in Cyprus did not cease to attempt a return to Syria. They continued to conduct naval raids against the coastal towns of the Mamlūk empire. Sidon and Beirut, on the Phoenician coast, suffered greatly from their raids.¹

In 1366, after a strong naval raid which the Latin King of Cyprus conducted against Alexandria, a reaction took place in the Mamlūk domains against Cypriot aggression, which took the form of persecutions of the Christian clergy within the precincts of the empire.² What nature these persecutions took in Maronite Lebanon is not clear; but it seems that on April 1, 1367, the Maronite patriarch, Jibrāʾīl of Ḥajūlā, was burnt alive by the Moslems at Tīlān, outside Tripoli.³ Duwaihī, who related the story of the patriarch's martyrdom, made reference to an elegy written about the death of the patriarch by the patriarch's nephew.⁴

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1. Sālih bin Yahyā's Tārīkh Bairūt... is full of the stories of the different raids carried out by the Franks of Cyprus against the coastal towns of Lebanon and the role played by the Tanukhid amirs of Beirut in the defence of the coast against these raids. See also H. Lammens, La Syrie..., II, pp.18-19. Several of the raids were carried out by the Genoese fleet, sometimes operating from Cyprus.
 2. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.386-387, T.A., pp.185-186, and S.B., p. 347. Also below, pp.197-199, for a fuller discussion.
 3. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.387, and T. Anaissī, Silsila..., p.27. Ḥajūlā is a village in the province of Jubail.
 4. Duwaihī, loc.cit. Also below, pp.198.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not give the story in the way in which critical research reveals it. In his characteristic way he introduced it by describing a heretical movement among the Maronites which counted among its leaders the Maronite patriarch who preceded Jibra'īl of Ḥajūlā in the patriarchal see. This is not impossible, but there seems to be no other reference anywhere, except in the Madiha..., about a heretical patriarch who was followed by Jibra'īl of Ḥajūlā. Nothing is known about Yūḥannā, who seems to have preceded him as patriarch, except that he was alive and in office in 1357.¹ 'Anaissī gave him the dates 1339-1357, and Jibra'īl of Ḥajūlā the dates 1357-1367;² but, except for the date of the latter's death, none of the other dates are certain.

Completely ignoring the real cause of the persecution of the Eastern Christian clergy by the Mamlūks, which was the naval raid of the King of Cyprus on Alexandria,³ Ibn al-Qilā'ī began the story with the conversion to heresy of a certain monk called Alīshā', in the days of Muqaddam Niqūlā. This Alīshā', Ibn al-Qilā'ī said,⁴ went east (probably to Mārdīn in northern Syria, a center of the Jacobite church) and came back a heretic. After his return to Lebanon he started preaching the Jacobite heresy. In punishment for his sins, he fell to

1. Duwaihi, S.B., p.313.

2. T. 'Anaissī, op.cit., p.27.

3. See below, pp.197-199.

4. The story appeared in the Madiha..., pp.59-60.

his death one day while walking out of his cell.

The death of Alīshā^ḥ, however, did not end the story. His heretical teachings had brought about trouble in Jibbet Bsharrāy. Even the patriarch, who had been heavily bribed by the heretics, had joined the heretical movement and had consented to the persecution of the bishops who clung to their orthodoxy.¹ The people of the province of Jubail, who were steadfast in their faith, renounced the authority of the patriarch, but remained faithful to the orthodox Muqaddam Niqūlā.

Hearing of the dissension among the Maronites, the Moslems started spreading out in their country, taking over many villages by the sword, converting many Christians to Islam, and establishing iqṭāḥs² in the country.

On the death of the heretical patriarch, Ibn al-Qilā^ḥ continued, he was succeeded by Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā, who was orthodox, and who died a martyr's death at the stake. Forty Christians, he added, bore false testimony to his heresy and his adultery. Because of that, God's wrath was kindled and he gave the Maronites over to the hands of Ishmael (the Moslems), who enslaved them, destroyed their churches, and burdened them with taxes.

This is the story as Ibn al-Qilā^ḥ gave it. It may

1. See ibid., p.59, verses vi, vii, and viii.

2. An iqṭāḥ (pl. iqṭāḥāt) was a land grant given to a soldier (jundi) or an amir in return for military service. It was not hereditary as a rule, although it tended to be so in Lebanon.

be noted that a monk by the name of Alīshā^ḥ appears to have been living in 1404.¹ Could it have been that he was the same monk Alīshā^ḥ mentioned by Ibn al-Qilā^{ʿī} as having been a heretic who died before the martyrdom of Jibrāʾīl of Ḥajūlā in 1367?

After describing the misfortunes that befell the Maronites as a result of their having followed the heretical teachings of the monk Alīshā^ḥ, Ibn al-Qilā^{ʿī} proceeded in the Madiha... to relate how they were saved from heresy by Aimeric, monk of the Order of the Friars Preachers (Dominicans).² He said

They were looked after, and that fire was put out,
By Aimeric, of [blessed] memory.
He rebuked them in outspoken speech,
And they obeyed him and returned to the Faith.
He fished them with the net [of Christ?]
And brought them blessings from Rome....
The patriarch, who dwelt in Our Lady of Ḥābil,³
Knew well all that was in the Gospels.
He was also a learned man
And wrote poems about the Faith.
They remained steadfast in the faith of Mārūn,
And the proud were made humble,
And the enemies were reconciled,⁴
Until the coming of Ibn Sha^{ʿbān}.
Yūḥannā al-Jāji was Patriarch.
He received a crown from the Pope and was blessed [by him].
He sent [a legate] to the Council⁵ and did not [go himself];
And the Maronites remained steadfast under his guidance.⁶

1. Duwaihī, S.B., p. 348 and T.T.M., pp. 384-385.
2. This is how he is described by Ibn al-Qilā^{ʿī} in Letter to Patriarch Sham^{ʿūn}, p. 102: "Qānūn al-ikhwa al-wā^{ʿizīn}".
3. Meaning the monastery of Our Lady of Ḥābil. Ḥābil is a ~~village~~ village in the province of Jubail.
4. Ibn Sha^{ʿbān}, as will be seen later, was the heretical Muqaddam of Hirdin at the time of Ibn al-Qilā^{ʿī}.
5. The Council of Florence (1439). See Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp. 388-392 and below, pp. 209 et seq.
6. Madiha..., pp. 61-62.

Nothing seems to be known about Aimeric, who brought the Maronites back to orthodoxy at the time of Patriarch Yūhannā al-Jājī (1404-1445),¹ except that he was a Dominican Friar. From the context of the quotation cited above from the Madiha..., it appears that Aimeric brought the Maronites back to orthodoxy at the time of the Council of Florence in 1439, which was the Council to which Yūhannā al-Jājī sent a representative.²

In the letter which he sent to Patriarch Shamʿūn, however, Ibn al-Qilāʿī stated that Aimeric reconverted the Maronites to orthodoxy before the Council of Florence, and that it was Fra Juan, Franciscan abbot of Beirut,³ who represented Yūhannā al-Jājī at the Council of Florence,⁴ He added also that he had actual signed documents to prove the point.⁵

1. T. Anaissī, op.cit., p.28.

2. See above, p.104, fn.5.

3. The Franciscans first established themselves in Beirut in the first half of the thirteenth century. They had a monastery attached to the famous old church of the Saviour (at present the Serail mosque) in which they served. With the fall of the last remnants of the Latin Kingdom in Syria to Al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1291, they lost their position in the city, and many of the monks of the Franciscan monastery were killed. Soon, however, they returned and took over again their church and their monastery. They were already re-established there in 1345. By the end of the fifteenth century the Franciscan monastery in Beirut was one of the largest Franciscan establishments in Syria. P. Girolamo Golubovich, Serie..., pp.216-217.

4. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn, p.102.

5. Ibid., p.101.

There exists in quotation by Duwaihī a section of an unfinished poem, the last one written by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, describing the role of the Maronites at the Council of Florence, a Council which was held by Pope Eugene IV to deal with the question of the union of the Greek and Eastern churches with Rome.¹ This section runs as follows:

Yes, the Church has truly laboured
To unify and to confirm.
Her enemies had lied to her -
Copts, Greeks, and Armenians.
Pope Eugene sought /to call/ that synod;
And, after him, Pope Pius²
Wrote, confirmed, and made peace.
Five hundred ducats a day
/Pope Eugene/ spent on them, without regret:
For three years the Council continued³
With debates, writings, and oaths.
First the Greeks argued
With the Franks, and were defeated.
The Copts were struck low /by defeat/,
And so were the Armenians after them.
Patriarch Yūhannā al-Jāji
Wrote and declared: "I am a Latin".⁴
He deserved the staff and the crown....
His enemies lied about him
/Saying/ that the Maronite faith is corrupt.
Messengers and legates were sent to him,
And he deserved to wear the ring....
The people of Mārūn alone
Remained steadfast in the Faith by his side;
And their descendants remained steadfast after them
As they had sworn and spoken.⁵

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1. Creighton, A history of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the sack of Rome (London, 1897), II, pp.240-353. See also C-J. Hefele, op.cit., pp. 10 -1106, for full accounts of the Council of Florence.
 2. Pope Pius II (1458-1464), the first Pope by that name to follow Eugene IV.
 3. The Council of Florence continued in Florence until 1442; then it continued in the Lateran in Rome until 1444.
 4. The actual word is Franji (Frank), which signifies here Latin, or Roman Catholic.
 5. Quotation from Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.397-398.

The role of the Maronites at the Council of Florence, which was considered in greater detail by Duwaihī, will be further discussed in the chapter on his history.

The last part of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history of the Maronites, that part to which he was a contemporary, is the most reliable part of his history. It provides historians with a spot of clarity in a history which is generally vague, being mainly the result of guesswork based on a few cornerstones of fact. This part of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history is found mainly in Tabkīt... and in the Madiha.... His few available letters also help in making it clear.

At the opening of the last three sections of the Madiha...., Ibn al-Qilā'ī stated that he had recorded their events himself - that their contents were the results of his own observation.¹ Then he proceeded with the story of the heretical revolt that started in Maronite Lebanon during his absence in Italy.

Yūḥannā al-Jāji, he began, was followed in the patriarchal office by Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī (1445-1468)² who, in turn, was followed by the patriarch in whose days the heresy of 'Abd al-Mun'im of Bsharrāy (1472-1495)³ developed. This patriarch who is not named by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in the Madiha...., was Butrus bin Yūsuf Ibn Ḥassān al-Ḥadathī (1468-1492)⁴ who died just

1. See above, p.43. Madiha...., p.63.

2. T. 'Anaissi, op.cit., p.29. His full name is Ya'qūb Butrus bin 'Id al-Ḥadathī.

3. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.215 and 221.

4. T. 'Anaissi, op.cit., pp.30-31.

before Ibn al-Qilā'ī's return from Italy. 'Abd al-Mun'im, Ibn al-Qilā'ī added, died in his heresy, and the patriarch at the time was in Qannūbīn.¹ Ibn al-Qilā'ī then proceeded to relate the conversion to heresy of another mountain chieftain - Ibn Sha'bān, mugaddam of Hirdīn:

Ibn Sha'bān was in Hirdīn,
And from him three heretics were descended.
He was originally of the Greek faith,
And afterwards he became a Maronite.
A wicked /Jacobite/ missionary came to him
Called 'Īsā, with the rank of an archbishop.
/'Īsā/ converted to heresy the weak and the dishonest -
Ibn Sha'bān and the people of Hirdīn -
And they started, in the devil's way,
To teach boys and girls together,
To cross themselves with one finger,²
And to deny the Fourth Council,³
Pope Leo VII,⁴
And the orthodox king, Marcian.⁵
Ibn Sha'bān died and was followed by his son⁶
Who was /even/ a worse heretic /than his father/.
His mind had strayed from the Faith,
And he sought to humiliate those who refused to follow him.
Satan sought to lead him astray
And occupied his mind with evil thought
Ibn 'Atsha⁷ won him over by flattery⁸
And sent him the book of heresy⁹

1. Madīha..., p.63.

2. Symbolizing the One Nature of Christ.

3. The Council of Chalcedon, which anathemized the monophysite heresy, was the fourth Ecumenical Council (451 A.D.).

4. Pope Leo VII (936-939). Probably Ibn al-Qilā'ī meant Leo I (440-461), author of the symbol of the Council of Chalcedon.

5. Marcian (450-457) was Roman Emperor in the East. In his reign the Council of Chalcedon was held. Ibn al-Qilā'ī called him simply malik.

6. The name of Ibn Sha'bān's son is not given by Ibn al-Qilā'ī. It does not seem to be given by any other source.

7. Mūsā ibn 'Atsha was a monophysite missionary of the mid-fifteenth century. See Duwaihī, T.A., p.217 and above, p.44, fn.1.

8. The meaning of this line "Ibn 'Atsha Jammal qadruh" is not clear. This is a rendering of a possible meaning.

9. A monophysite church book by Ibn 'Atsha. See I.Y. Dāūd, op. cit., p.293. A manuscript of this book is found in the Vatican Library (Vat. syr. 74).

With two [men] accused of heresy
Who had been expelled from the ranks [of the clergy],
Neither learned nor ordained -
They had left Liḥfid when they were boys.
They were accused of erring belief
And had run away from the monastic order....¹

The key to the understanding of this passage and of what follows in the Madiḥa... is to be found in Duwaihī's Tārīkh al-azmina. From this history, it is learnt that the two heretics from Liḥfid who helped in strengthening the heresy of the muḡaddam of Ḥirdīn were Samiā and his son Jirjis.² Duwaihī mentioned nothing about their having been agents of Mūsā ibn ʿAtsha, the Jacobite missionary, as Ibn al-Qilāʿī implied, nor did he mention anything about the relations between Ibn ʿAtsha and the muḡaddam of Ḥirdīn. Duwaihī only spoke of Ibn ʿAtsha as the man who managed to convert Muḡaddam ʿAbd al-Munʿim of Bsharrāy to the Jacobite faith.³

The Monophysite missionary who started this heretical movement among the Maronites was, according to Duwaihī, the priest Nūḥ al-Baqūfānī, who later became Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (1493-1509).⁴ Several years before 1487,⁵ Nūḥ came from Jerusalem to Lebanon and lived in Al-Farādīs, south of Iḥdīn in Jibbet Bsharrāy. There he attracted to his company several

1. Madiḥa..., p.63.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.218.

3. Ibid., p.217.

4. Ibrāhīm Harfūsh, introduction to Tabkīt..., Al-Manāra II, 1931, p.753. Baqūfā was a village near Iḥdīn. At present it is a ruin.

5. These events are narrated by Duwaihī under the year 1487, as an introduction to the events that took place in that year.

seekers of knowledge, among whom were ʿĪsā (the archbishop ʿĪsā mentioned by Ibn al-Qilāʿī) and Ibn Shaʿbān of Ḥirdīn, Mūsā and Ḥannā, sons of Ibrāhīm al-Baqūfānī, Samiā and his son Jirjis of Liḥfid, Mūsā from the village of Mūsā,¹ and others like them. Nūḥ led away these Maronites from Latin orthodoxy and, at the hands of Dioscorus, Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem, he had them ordained members of the Jacobite regular and secular clergy.²

Except for ʿĪsā and Ibn Shaʿbān, Ibn al-Qilāʿī only mentioned Samiā among the disciples of Nūḥ al-Baqūfānī:

Because of Samiā and his companions
We have not had a day with a sunrise [of blessing].³

Nūḥ al-Baqūfānī, likewise, is not mentioned by Ibn al-Qilāʿī. He spoke of Samiā as having lived as a monk in Al-Farādīs and as having made of his disciples missionaries to spread heresy, mainly among women, and he added that it was Samiā who converted ʿAbd al-Munʿim to the Monophysite faith.⁴

In the Madiḥa... the account given by Ibn al-Qilāʿī about the heretical movement among the Maronites of his day is vague. He concentrated more on delivering sermons to his hometown, Liḥfid, to Bsharrāy, and to ʿAbd al-Munʿim, pleading for a return to orthodoxy,⁵ than on giving the facts of the heretical movement. In Tabkīt..., the story of ʿAbd al-Munʿim's

1. I have not been able to locate the village of Mūsā. Probably it was a small village in Jibbet Bsharrāy.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.218.

3. Madiḥa..., p.64.

4. Ibid., p.65.

5. Ibid., pp.64-72. As it has been noted above, Ibn al-Qilāʿī mentioned the death of ʿAbd al-Munʿim in the Madiḥa..., which means that it was written after the latter's death. Ibn al-Qilāʿī's address to ʿAbd al-Munʿim must have been, therefore, a post-mortem address.

conversion is given more clearly. Describing events that took place in Lebanon after his return from Italy, Ibn al-Qilā'ī said:

When I arrived in Mount Lebanon,
I found that tares had been sown in it;
/And/, in the words of a Jacobite scholar,
The teacher is the root of heresy:¹
Ibn 'Atsha, a cream-cheese vendor,¹
Who originally came from the land of the Jacobites,
Sent with some monks
A book written in Syriac and Arabic.
He sent it to be delivered
To the lord 'Abd al-Mun'im
Who, in a wicked temporal rule,
Used to exile from the country
Whoever spoke against him,
Confiscating all his belongings,
Depriving him of his son and daughter,
And cutting his neck if he /dared/ protest.
From exile and the cutting of necks
Fear was established in the province.
Jacob² entered under the threshold
And started preaching unopposed.
The book /of Ibn 'Atsha/ was the study of /'Abd al-Mun'im/.
The Jacobites brought him a saddle for his horse.³
They came and attended his wedding feast;
And, through him, they spread /their/ heresy.
He recognized the heresy with them
And denied the basis of the Faith....
Jacob took possession of the country
And spoilt the faith of the Christians....
I heard of this misfortune⁴
/And/ began to write letters of opposition.
I received from him a sickening answer:
He threatened me with the danger of death.⁵

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1. Bāyi 'ashnān was explained by Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh as cream-cheese vendor. Ashnān, he said, was the plural of shanīna which, in Lebanese colloquial, means a kind of cream-cheese. See Tabkīt..., p.808, fn.
 2. The reference is to Jacob Baradaeus.
 3. Ibn al-Qilā'ī seems to be referring to the fact that the Jacobites won 'Abd al-Mun'im's favours by offering him gifts.
 4. "Misfortunes" is my translation of the word 'arid.
 5. Tabkīt..., p.808.

When Ibn al-Qilā'ī was threatened with death by 'Abd al-Mun'īm, so he continued, he went to visit the muqaddam in person and warned him about his doctrinal straying, giving him proofs about the true Faith. To his warnings and proofs 'Abd al-Mun'īm simply answered that the beliefs he held were not of his own creation, but that they were found in the book which Ibn 'Atsha had given to his uncle, Muqaddam Rizq-Allāh.¹ To this 'Abd al-Mun'īm added that he was a mere layman who did not understand religious matters, and was not, therefore, qualified to argue with Ibn al-Qilā'ī about such matters. Hearing his answer, Ibn al-Qilā'ī asked to see the book. 'Abd al-Mun'īm refused to show it to him. He hid it, and asked Ibn al-Qilā'ī to have lunch with him. After lunch Ibn al-Qilā'ī asked again for the book, that he may read it and refute the heretical doctrines found in it; but again his request was refused.²

Ibn al-Qilā'ī then continued:

I left him, and bid him farewell.
 He did not make me hear angry words,
 But /rather/ offered me drink and food;
 But he did not give me the book.
 I am grateful for his kindness,
 And my heart and good regards are well-inclined towards him
 My intention /was/ to start the present essay⁴
 By refuting the words of /Ibn 'Atsha's book/.

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1. Previously in the poem it was said that the book was sent by Ibn 'Atsha to 'Abd al-Mun'īm himself, and not to Rizq-Allāh, his uncle and predecessor.
 2. This part is found only in a paraphrase by Duwaihī, which is included in the published edition of Tabkīt..., p.809. See also above, pp.47-48.
 3. This is my translation of Wa 'l-qalb ma'hu wa 'l-khātir (literally, "the hearts and the regards are with him").
 4. The word is qaul (speech), referring to Mārūn at-tūbānī.
 5. In the original, it is simply "the words of the Jacobite".

But I do not know what is in it,
Nor can I estimate the amount of heresy it contains;
/So/ in this book, which I am now starting,
I will /simply/ preach my religion and my faith.¹

After that, Ibn al-Qilā'ī proceeded to introduce his book, Mārūn at-tūbānī.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī himself mentioned that his visit to 'Abd al-Mun'īm took place on his return from Italy. It must have taken place, therefore, in 1493. The dates of the previous events mentioned by him, dealing with the conversion of 'Abd al-Mun'īm to heresy, cannot be determined. According to Duwaihī as it has been mentioned above, they belonged to a time previous to 1487.

From the accounts of the heretical movement in Jibbet Bsharrāy which Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave in the Madiha... and in Tabkīt..., some conclusions can be derived concerning the nature of that movement. These conclusions may be of further help to the understanding of the nature of the previous heretical movements among the Maronites.

It is clear from Ibn al-Qilā'ī's accounts that in his day the Jacobites were carrying on a remarkably active propaganda in Maronite Lebanon, a propaganda which met with considerable success. The evidence found in the Madiha... concerning earlier Monophysite movements within the Maronite community point to the fact that this Jacobite missionary activity had already started long before his time, probably in the late thirteenth

1. Tabkīt..., p.809.

century (the heresy of the monks of Yānūh and Dair Nbūh).¹

This may have been a reflection of the condition of the Christians in the Mamlūk empire outside Lebanon. Those Jacobites who came to Lebanon and sought to convert the Maronite to their communion were probably fleeing from Syria to Lebanon because of the persecutions in the Moslem East after the fall of Frankish power in Syria and the defeat of the Mongols, the potential allies of the Franks. Although falling indirectly under Mamlūk domination and paying taxes to Egypt, Maronite Lebanon was never in the full sense part of the Mamlūk empire. In its provinces a tradition of local autonomy seems to have persisted, and its local feudal families continued to hold their provinces and to administer justice among their subjects. The Maronites, in general, underwent little persecution. It is not strange, therefore, to find Jacobites and Greeks (whom Ibn al-Qila'i mentioned as having come to Lebanon in the days of Muqaddam Sālim) infiltrating into the country of the Maronites and trying to get the natives of the country, or at least their feudal lords, reconciled to their presence among them. They seem to have attempted to achieve this purpose by preaching the doctrines of their respective churches to the Maronites who, having been heretical by origin, were not unsusceptible to such preaching.

1. These monks, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, held the Monophysite view that Christ had no human soul, and that His Nature was not capable of feeling and suffering. Madīha..., p.21.

Of the heretical movements known to have spread among the Maronites in the Mamlūk period not enough is known to give a clear picture of their nature. The last of those movements, to which Ibn al-Qilāʿī was contemporary, is the only one for which a first hand account is available, although it is brief and incomplete; and some points about it are clear. The Jacobite missionaries who started it were not exclusively clergymen. Some of time, like Ibn ʿAtsha, who was a cream-cheese vendor, were laymen. Education, which seems at the time to have been badly neglected among the Maronites, was a favourite organ which those missionaries used to spread their religious beliefs. ʿAbd al-Munʿim, according to Duwaihī, studied reading with a Jacobite priest.¹ Nūḥ al-Baqūfānī taught eager Maronite students in Al-Farādīs, and later converted them to the Jacobite communion.²

The most eager supporters of the Jacobites among the Maronites seem to have been the muqaddams. Muqaddam ʿAbd al-Munʿim of Bsharrāy and Muqaddam Ibn Shaʿbān of Ḥirdīn and his son and successor were the most thoroughgoing supporters of the Jacobites in Ibn al-Qilāʿī's day. These muqaddams were probably receiving material benefit from the Jacobites, in return for permission to reside in their provinces and for protection from persecution by the orthodox Maronites. It is clear from Ibn al-Qilāʿī that they received presents from them. Coming, as they must have come, from the coastal cities and from the towns

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.217.

2. See above, pp.109-110.

and cities of the interior, the Jacobites must have possessed wealth unknown to the peasant Maronites, and this wealth they seem to have carried with them to Lebanon. The conversion of the muqaddams could not have been a doctrinal conversion. 'Abd al-Mun'im himself, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, confessed that he was only a layman and, as such, could not understand and discuss religious matters. Members of the lower orders of the Maronite clergy, like Samiā and his son Jirjis of Lihfid, joined the Jacobite church, like the two muqaddams, in the hope of reaching a higher rank in the clergy and of gaining greater benefit from both the Jacobites and their patrons, the muqaddams.

The two groups among the Maronites who opposed the Jacobite propaganda seem to have been the leading clergymen, who were jealous of losing their authority in the country, and the peasants, who must have ached at seeing the foreigners established and gaining power in their country while they remained powerless in the background. It was the latter group, the people of Ihdin, who, according to Duwaihī, expelled the Jacobites out of Jibbet Bsharrāy by force in 1488.¹

Ibn al-Qilā'ī was not only the historian of the monophysite movement of his time. He also played the leading part

1. Duwaihi, T.A., pp.218-219. See also below, pp.204-5 for a discussion of the event. The conclusions given above about the relations of the Jacobites with the different classes among the Maronites ~~are based on the writings of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī.~~ represent my own interpretation of the facts of the heretical movement as they are available through the writings of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī.

in opposing it and in bringing the heretical Maronites of his day back to Roman orthodoxy. His own biography is an essential part of the history of the Maronites in his day. The letters of warning which he sent to his community, besides, reflect on its religious condition, and in them the names of some of the leading heretical Maronites of the last years of the fifteenth century are to be found.¹

As a historian, however, Ibn al-Qilā'ī was not accurate. His interest lay not so much in the recording of historical facts as in the preaching of Roman orthodoxy. He was a priest and a missionary before being a historian and a poet. Yet, although his history abounds with anachronisms, biased interpretations, as well as traditional and legendary material, and although he used his history to draw his two favourite morals - the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites and the necessity of their union with Rome - his historical works are of great importance to the historian of Maronite Lebanon. In the blurred glimmers that they give of the history of the Maronites

1. Already in the opening part of this chapter Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter to the heretical Jirjis ar-Rāmī has been mentioned and quoted. In a letter which he wrote to the people of his hometown, Lihfid, Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned the names of Samiā and Jirjis and of Dāūd, the archbishop of Lihfid, who pretended "that his heart and his mind is always with them", but who was actually a Jacobite who wanted to convert them all to heresy (Vat. arab. 644, quoted by Anaissi in Hurūb..., pp. 80-81). He also wrote a letter to this archbishop Dāūd (see above, p. 29, fn. 3). In a letter of warning which he wrote to the Maronites (Vat. arab. 640, ff. 203r-205v) he mentioned a certain Alishā' of Al-Hadath (the pickpocket of Al-Hadath, see fol. 205r, col. ii), along with Ibn Sha'bān of Hirdin, as one of the leading heretics.

in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods, they faintly reveal to the modern historian what would have remained in almost complete darkness.

The figure of Ibn al-Qilāʿī as a historian, however, recedes to the background before that of Iṣṭifān ad-Duwaihī. Drawing on Ibn al-Qilāʿī, as well as on more delicate and fragmentary material, Duwaihī was the first Maronite historian to attempt a true historical solution to the puzzle of the medieval history of the Maronites.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF ISTIFĀN AD-DUWAIHĪ

Before the seventeenth century there was no true history writing among the Maronites. The works of the historians who came before Duwaihī, "the father of Maronite history",¹ were fragmentary and contained more legend than fact. They were far from giving a full and coherent picture of the past. Duwaihī was the first to set out to write a complete history of his people. A man of keen intelligence and a graduate of the Maronite College of Rome, he was well-fitted by natural ability and training to deal with the semi-legendary fragments of historical information that lay in the various monasteries of Lebanon.

Istifān ad-Duwaihī was born in the village of Ihdin,² probably in May, 1629.³ His father, Mikha'īl ad-Duwaihī, was

1. G. Graf, op.cit., III, p.306.

2. Ihdin is a village in the mountains of northern Lebanon, east of Tripoli. It was an important village in Jibbet Bsharrāy.

3. Neither Duwaihī, in his autobiographical sketch in his Book, Tarīkh al-madrasa al-mārūniyya fi Rūmiya (Al-Mashriq, XXI, 1923; pp.209-216 and 270-279, hence T.M.M.R.), nor his biographers have given the date of his birth. Duwaihī said he left for Rome at the end of his eleventh year (T.M.M.R., p.212). Sim'ān 'Awwād, his contemporary biographer, fixed the date of his departure as 1641 (Tarjamat Mar Istifān ad-Duwaihī, pp. x-xxvii of Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.x), which makes the year 1629 the year of his birth. S. 'Awwād, however, said also that when Duwaihī died in 1704 he was seventy-nine years old (ibid., p.xxv), which makes the year 1625 the date of his birth. An anonymous biographer, whose biography of Duwaihī was published by I. Harfūsh in Al-Mashriq, V, 1902, pp.686-696, said that Duwaihī was born, consecrated patriarch, and died in the month of May. This makes the date May, 1629, the probable date of his birth. Tautal, in

the son of a priest, al-Qiss Mūsā ad-Duwaiḥī,¹ and his mother, Mariam, was also a Duwaiḥī.²

After finishing his elementary education in his native village, Istifān was sent to Rome by his uncle, the archbishop Iliās ad-Duwaiḥī. He was then nearly twelve years of age. He arrived in Rome in June, 1641, and was enrolled as a student in the Maronite College,³ where he showed exceptional merit in studying philosophy and theology. He graduated on April 3, 1655.⁴

Upon his graduation, at the proposal of a Maronite professor, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī (Abraham Ecchellensis), the College of Propaganda selected him to be a missionary, and he

his introduction to Tarīkh al-Azmina, gave August 6, 1630 as the date of Duwaiḥī's birth (p.1). This would make his age at the time he left for Rome less than eleven. We cannot tell from where Tautal got this date.

1. Duwaiḥī, T.M.M.R., p.212.

2. S. 'Awwād, op.cit., p.x.

3. Duwaiḥī, T.M.M.R., p.12 and S. 'Awwād, op.cit., pp.x-xi. The Maronite College in Rome was founded in 1584 by Gregory XIII in accordance with the wish of the Maronite patriarch Mikhā'il ar-Ruzzi. It was at first intended to establish the College in Cyprus, but the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1570-1571 made it impossible. The College was managed by the Jesuits until 1773, and thereafter by secular priests. During the Napoleonic wars (in 1803), when Rome was invaded, the College was closed and its work was carried on by the College of Propaganda. In the late nineteenth century Leo XIII restored the College. See P. Dib, "Maronites", cols. 61-2 and Louis Cheikho, "La nation Maronite et la Compagnie de Jesus aux XVIeme et XVIIeme siècles" (Arabic, in Al-Mashriq, XXI, 1923), pp.69 et seq.

4. This according to Duwaiḥī, T.M.M.R., p.212. S. 'Awwād said that Duwaiḥī left Rome on April 3, 1654, approximately half a year after his graduation in 1653.

was sent back to Lebanon to carry out his duties.¹

For two years Duwaihī was a simple priest in his native village, Ihdin, where he started a school. Afterwards he was made head of the monastery of Rās an-Nahr. In 1657 he went to Aleppo with the newly appointed Syriac Catholic archbishop and stayed with him there for eight months, helping him in his affairs and preaching in the church of Mār Iliās. After returning to Lebanon he took residence in the monastery of Mār Ya'qūb al-Ḥbāsh, after he had restored it from ruins, and stayed there for five years.²

In 1663³ he was sent to Aleppo as a missionary and preacher by the Maronite patriarch, Jirjis as-Sib'ili, where, it is said, he converted many Melchites, Nestorians, and

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1. Duwaihī, T.M.M.R., p.212. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī was born in Hāqil, near Jubail, in February, 1605, and went to Rome in 1620. In church rank he remained a deacon all his life. He taught in Rome and Paris, and died in 1664. (See Graf, op. cit., III, p.354).
 2. Duwaihī, T.M.M.R., pp.212-213. The monasteries of Rās an-Nahr (also known as Mār Sarkis) and Mār Ya'qūb al-Ḥbāsh are in north Lebanon, in Jibbet Bsharrāy. The first is in Ihdin. The story of Duwaihī's first visit to Aleppo is only given by Duwaihī. S. 'Awwād made him stay in Ihdin until supposedly 1663, when he was sent for five years to Aleppo, returning in 1668 (op.cit., pp.xii-xiii).
 3. S. 'Awwād, op.cit., pp.xii-xiii, said that Duwaihī was sent to Aleppo, and returned in 1668 after having spent five years there. Duwaihī, in his autobiographical sketch, said that he went to Aleppo in 1657, stayed there 8 months (which most probably took him to 1658) and returned to Lebanon for five years, which also makes the date of his second departure to Aleppo 1663. Tautal, however (T.A., p.ii), made the date of Duwaihī's second departure to Aleppo 1662, which is less probable than 1663. We find, however, no mention of this five years stay in Aleppo in Duwaihī's autobiographical sketch. He just skipped the five years of his life ending with 1668.

Jacobites to the Catholic faith. He remained there until 1668, when he left Aleppo to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places with his mother and his brother, Mūsā. On his return from the pilgrimage in the spring of that year, he was made bishop of Nicosia in Cyprus by the patriarch.¹ For the next two years "he travelled among the parishioners of the Jibbeh, The Zāwiya, Akkār, and Cyprus, working hard for their salvation."²

On May 20, 1670, following the death of Jirjis as-Sibcili, Istīfān ad-Duwaihī was elected to succeed him as Maronite Patriarch of Antioch³ by the Maronite bishops and notables. In 1672 he received the confirmation of Pope Clement X.⁴

Duwaihī proved a very efficient patriarch. He is sometimes spoken of as Lord Stephen the Great (Mār Istīfān al-Kabīr).⁵ He was a good organizer and enforced a strict

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1. Duwaihī, T.M.M.R., p.213. Duwaihī said he was made muṭrān (archbishop) of Cyprus. Actually he was made usquf (bishop). Anon. Biog., p.688; S. 'Awwād, op.cit., p.xiii; and Tautal (T.A., p.ii) gave the correct title. Duwaihī referred to the date of his appointment as bishop as after Easter, 1668.
 2. Duwaihī, loc.cit.
 3. S. 'Awwād, op.cit., p.xiii, gave the date as June 12. Duwaihī gave it as May 20 (loc.cit.); and so did T. 'Anaissī, in Silsila..., p.44.
 4. Duwaihī, loc.cit.; T. 'Anaissī, op.cit., p.44; S. 'Awwād, op.cit., p.xiii. From 'Awwād's biography we understand that the Pope's confirmation was delayed two years because the Maronites were not unanimous in their choice of Duwaihī as patriarch. The Khāzins resented their not having been consulted about the election; but they were appeased. Apparently they had previously written to the Pope asking him not to send the confirmation and Pallium to Duwaihī.
 5. T. 'Anaissī, op.cit., p.44. Mār is a Syriac title signifying "master" or "lord", and is used as a title for saints and patriarchs.

discipline on the clergy of the Maronite church. The metropolitans and the bishops, it is said, were not pleased with the new discipline and tried unsuccessfully at one time to have him removed from his see.¹ Among other things, he revised the liturgical works and religious writings of the Maronite church, removing "what errors had been brought in by copyists and polemics",² and wrote tracts expounding the sacraments of the Church.³ In 1700 he confirmed the rules of the Maronite monastic order.⁴

When he died at Qannūbīn, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, on May 3, 1704,⁵ he had already become a legend. His earliest biographer, the patriarch Sim'ān 'Awwād, who was proud to have been among those who knew him and spoke to him,⁶ had a lot to say about his āyāt or miracles, which both Maronites and Druzes seem to have accepted.

In physical appearance Ištifān ad-Duwaihī was a man of medium height, with a broad face, a long beard, an aquiline

1. S. 'Awwād, op.cit., p.xvii.

2. Ibid., p.xiii.

3. Duwaihī, T.M.M.R., p.213.

4. T. 'Anaissi, Silsila..., p.45, and R. Shartūnī, Mukhtaṣar tāriḫ ar-rahbana al-lubnāniyya (T.T.M., pp.262-277), p.268. the Maronite monastic order (Antonine) was confirmed by Duwaihī in 1700, five years after it had been established in 1695 (ibid., p.267), by Dūwaihī himself. T. 'Anaissi said that Duwaihī confirmed the rule of the order in 1695.

5. T. 'Anaissi, loc.cit.

6. S. 'Awwād, op.cit., p.xx.

nose, parted eyebrows, and bright eyes.¹ He was an ascetic, living on a simple vegetarian diet, except in time of illness,² and wearing clean but simple clothes.³ As the judge of his community he was fair, strongly rebuking those who offered him bribes;⁴ and while head of the church he attended to such small details as the appointment of a village priest.⁵ He was a very pious man and a tireless seeker of knowledge. When still a student in Rome he spent his Sundays and holidays visiting the churches and libraries of the city and copying everything he could find concerning the Maronites.⁶ He spoke of himself as having spent the two years between his appointment as bishop of Cyprus in 1668 and his accession to the patriarchate in 1670 "tiring himself in roaming about, examining books, and collecting historical data."⁷

The writings of Duwaihī include not only histories but also religious works. It is for the former, however, that he is best remembered. These include three main works: a history of the Maronites (Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyyā); a general chronicle of the period between the coming of the Crusaders and the time of Duwaihī (Tārīkh al-azmina); and a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs (Silsilat Baṭārikat at-

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1. Ibid., p.xxv.
 2. Ibid., p.xii.
 3. Ibid., p.xx.
 4. Ibid., p.xvii.
 5. Ibid., p.xiii.
 6. Ibid., p.xii.
 7. Duwaihī, T.M.M.R., p.213.

tā'ifa al-mārūniyya).

In Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya¹ Duwaihī discussed the historical and religious origins of his people and attempted to prove their unbroken orthodoxy and union with the Church of Rome. In the first part of this work, which is entitled Nisbat al-Mawārina (Origin of the Maronites),² he dealt with the rise of the Maronite church and community until the eighth century. The second part, entitled Radd at-tuham wa daf' ash-shubah (Refutation of the accusations and disproof of the suspicions),³ is a polemical defence of the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites and their continuous attachment to the Holy See, which is rich in historical and biographical material. There is a third part entitled Ihtijāj 'an al-milla al-mawāriiniyya (Protest for the Maronite sect),⁴ which is an apology for the Maronites, "clearing their ground from every heresy and refuting every accusation made against them by

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1. Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya (T.T.M.) was published in Beirut in 1890 by Rashīd al-Khūrī ash-Shartūnī. It is to this edition of the work that we shall refer. The edition includes only the first two parts of the work (the historical parts), which are intercepted by an appendix including selections from Duwaihī's Tārīkh al-azmina (pp.97-262), a selection from the history of Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwaihī (pp.279-280), a history of the Maronite monastic order by the editor (pp.262-277), and the minutes of the Maronite Council of 1596 (pp.287-291), along with other passages of minor importance. The appendix is on pp. 97-291 of T.T.M. .
 2. Ibid., pp.1-96.
 3. Ibid., pp. 292-466.
 4. Shartūnī, in his edition of T.T.M., did not include this part of it. It was published separately, however, in Al-Manāra, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV. In it Duwaihī took the different claims made about the theological doctrines of the Maronite church and refuted them one by one.

missionaries...".¹ This last part, however, deals exclusively with theological polemics and is not, strictly speaking, of any historical importance. It shall not, therefore, be considered.

Duwaihi's purpose in writing Tārīkh at-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya is made clear in the introduction as follows:

When I saw some historians take contradictory views about the origin of the Maronite nation² and propound varying theories about it, I was carried by enthusiasm to write this brief work showing in it the truth about the origin of this nation, on the basis of fixed historical data and unelaborate and convincing proofs. I do not seek through that to win praise for [this nation] or to show its virtues and make known the honour of its first leaders. My real purpose is to clear it from the charges that have been brought against it, in fear that the truth might be overcome by falsehood.... The fact is that most of the foreigners who have written about the Maronite nation depended on hearsay (al-masmū'āt) and on the writings of some of our enemies; and they did not examine their information to differentiate its true from its false. Their words came, therefore, far from the truth, full of errors and contradictions. How, then, could their testimony be held against us when they have not mixed with any of our learned men nor spoken to our chiefs nor known our language so they could get acquainted with our books and extract from them our history?³

This introduction reveals from the outset the polemical nature of the work as a whole.

Duwaihi set out to prove in Nisbat al-Mawārina that the Maronites were called Maronites after the blessed Mārūn of Cyrus, the eponymous founder of the monastery of Mār Mārūn on

1. Duwaihi, T.T.M., p.vi.

2. Al-umma al-mārūniyya. I have translated umma here to mean nation.

3. Duwaihi, T.T.M., p.1.

the Orontes river, who died in the early fifth century, and the monks of this monastery remained always faithfully attached to the Roman Church. A detailed account of the life of Mār Mārūn and his disciples is given.¹ This is followed by an account of the life of Yūhannā Mārūn as-Sarūmī,² the semi-legendary founder of the Maronite church and its first patriarch who first took orders in the monastery of Mār Mārūn, hence his surname. The first part of the work ends with the death of Yūhannā Mārūn on February 9, 707³ and with the accession of his nephew, Qūrush (Cyrus), to the patriarchate.⁴

Duwaiḥī sums up the first part as follows:

The summary of what we have mentioned in this part is that the Maronite nation was not called by this name after... a heretical Mārūn for there is not the least mention of such in all the church books; but that this nation was called Maronite after the monastery of Saint Mārūn, through Yūhannā as-Sarūmī who took orders in it at first and finally sought refuge in it when he was persecuted by Justinian /Justinian II, d. 711/, because he had gone to Rome and received the rank of the patriarchate from the Pope Sergius and held to his beliefs.⁵

The second part, as Duwaiḥī himself described it,⁶ substantiates the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites and refutes all the "false" claims made against them throughout the centuries:

1. Ibid., pp.17-52.

2. Ibid., pp.53-96.

3. Ibid., pp. 91-92, mentioned the day of the month but not the year, which was taken from 'Anaissī, Silsila..., p.14.

4. Ibid., p.95.

5. Ibid., pp.95-96. Pope Sergius was Sergius I (Saint Sergius, 687-701).

6. Ibid., p.6. The quotation following is a continuation from the same page.

The proof to that is from three sources. The first is from what the great men of learning wrote in their works concerning the clarification of such problems. The second is from the writings of the learned men of the Maronite nation itself. The third is from the contents of the registers of the Popes of the great city of Rome and their letters which were sent in confirmation of the patriarchs...; for by giving those patriarchs the pallium of perfection they bore testimony to their true faith, and theirs was the best of testimonies.

This part is in nineteen chapters, arranged chronologically, not according to the date of the author of the accusation brought against the Maronites, but according to the date in which that author claimed that they had fallen into or been rescued from error or schism. This arrangement frequently coincides with the chronological sequence of the authors of those accusations because many of them spoke of the Maronites contemporary to them. This arrangement by date of event gives Radd at-tuham wa daf' ash-shubah a sense of historical continuity which it easily could have lacked, considering that it is primarily a work of polemics, not a work of history.

The different chapters of this part are very similar in structure. Each is entitled Fī radd qaul... (in answer to the statement) or Fī ibtāl da'wā... (in refutation of the claim), followed by the name of the author in question and the nature of his accusation.¹ Each chapter then begins with a

1. An example of this is the title of chapter IX (p.368) which runs: Fī ibtāl da'wā Jibrā'il ibn al-Qilā'ī al-qā'il anna 'l-patriark Lūqā tabi' maḡālat Appolinārius bi qurb sanat 1300 (In refutation of the claim of Jibrā'il ibn al-Qilā'ī who said that Patriarch Lūqā followed the heresy of Appolinaris around the year 1300).

detailed statement of the accusation, sometimes preceded ~~with~~^{with} a brief biographical note about its author. The rest of the chapter is devoted to its refutation, in the course of which much valuable historical and biographical material is used. When one author has more than one accusation to make against the orthodoxy of the Maronites, a separate chapter is given to each. Thus, the first five chapters are devoted to the claims of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq, a tenth century patriarch of Alexandria,¹ who was one of the earliest historians to write about the Maronites.

Since concentration in this study is on the period between the beginning of the Crusades and the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in Syria, not the whole of Tārīkh at-tāʾifa al-mārūniyya is relevant to its purpose. The first part, Nisbat al-Mawārina, dealing with the origins of the Maronites up to the eighth century, is of minor relevance to this study, since it is only useful because it provides background material.

The second part, Radd at-tuhama.., on the other hand, is a work of great relevance. It is one of the greatest sources of information available on the religious and political history of the Maronites in the medieval period. The first five chapters, a refutation of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq, deal with the relations

1. Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (Eutychius), patriarch of Alexandria (acc. 931 A.D.) wrote a history of the world in which he spoke of the Maronites as followers of the monothelite monk, Mār Mārūn. See Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini, Annales, edit. L. Cheikho S.J. (Serie III Tomus VI and VII of Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptorum Arabici, Beirut, 1906), vol. I, pp. 5 and 12-13.

of the Maronites to the christological controversies and, as such, deal with the same period as Nisbat al-Mawārina. With the sixth chapter comes the discussion of men and events between the year 1089 and the first years of the Crusades.¹ The last chapter with which this study is concerned is the fourteenth,² dealing with the events of the year 1494.³

The second work of Duwaihī which shall enter the scope of this study is his general chronicle, known variously as Tārīkh al-azmina and Tārīkh al-Muslimīn (History of the Moslems).⁴ Some of the manuscripts of this work deal with the period between the rise of Islam and 1699 or 1703. Others begin with 1094 or 1095, approximately with the beginning of the Crusades, and end with 1699.⁵ The published edition of the work follows the latter group of manuscripts and fits the purpose of this study well, since this study is not concerned with the pre-Crusader period in Lebanon.

1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.337.

2. Ibid., p.412.

3. The following chapter, ibid., pp.425 et.seq., deals with the events of the year 1525, which is beyond the scope of this study.

4. This work was published by Al-Mashriq, XLIV, 1950, on the occasion of the diamond anniversary of St. Joseph University in Beirut under the title Tārīkh al-azmina, 1095-1699 A.D. It was edited with an introduction by Ferdinand Tautal, S.J., Beirut, 1951.

5. G. Graf, op.cit., III, p.370. The manuscripts consulted by F. Tautal in his edition of the work (T.A., pp.iv-vii) are the following: Bkerke 47 (Arabic, 1854, period c.622-1699), Ghazir MS (private collection, Karsh. 1780, period c.622-1703), Bibliothèque Orientale (Karsh. 1797, period 1094-1699), Kafarshakhnā MS (private collection, Karsh. 1881, period c.622-1699), Damascus 1474 (Arabic 1776, period c.622-1675, addended until 1732), MS of the Lazarite fathers in Beirut (Karsh. 1884, period c.622-1699), Vat.arab. 683 (Karsh. 1710, period 1094-1699); Vat.arab. 215 (Karsh. auto-

Tārīkh al-azmina is completely different in contents and structure from Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya. In its structure it is a chronicle of the traditional type relating the events that took place year by year. The narrative is simple and uncritical and there are no polemics. In its contents it differs from Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya in not being specifically a history of the Maronite church and Maronite community. It is a general chronicle of events that took place in the Near East with special reference to Lebanon and to the Maronites. Apparently this special reference was the purpose of Duwaihi. In his introduction he wrote:

When we went out in the year 1668 to look after the flocks with which we were entrusted, we found it a good idea... to collect some information from the books we came across concerning the countries in which we live. We meant to begin from the start of the Hijra, since the blessed father Yūhannā Mārūn took possession of the Antiochian see in the year 685 of our Lord which synchronizes with the year 66 of the Hijra. So we made up our mind and collected various information from the histories of the people of that age. But when we saw that most of the information was about foreign nations and that the part concerning our countries was meager and wrongly dated we decided... to make the beginning of this history from the year 1100 of the Incarnation of our Lord the Saviour, because it was about then that the occupation of the coasts of these countries by the Franks came about.¹

graph?, period c.622-1686), Kraim MS (Karsh., c.1800, period c.622-1675, addended until 1800), Vat.arab. 394 (Kars. not dated, period 1094-1699), Bibliothèque Nationale, Beirut (not numbered yet, Karsh. not dated, period 1094-1699), and Bkerke 48 (original autograph MS, described in detail by Tautal, T.A., pp.vi-viii, period 611-1702).

1. Duwaihi, T.A., pp.1-2.

This passage also gives us information about the time Duwaihī started working on his history. In his autobiographical sketch¹ as well he said that after he had been appointed bishop of Cyprus in 1668 he went round examining books and collected a book of history. Tautal, who edited the published edition of Tārīkh al-azmina, believes that Duwaihī started writing on May 2, 1669 (1080 A.H.) because this date appears in Latin on page 47 of the first draft, which is found in the library of Bkerke.² This seems quite probable.

Tārīkh al-azmina is a simple and brief chronicle and Duwaihī neither sought to explain in it historical causation nor drew from it a sermon. He merely stated the main events of the years, occasionally mentioning the sources from which he took his information.

As a general chronicle the work is not so important. In so far as it deals with the general events that took place in the Near East it has nothing new to offer. In its stress of Lebanese and Maronite history, a field almost untouched by the other chroniclers of the Islamic world, it finds a high position as a history source. It is true that many of the years are listed without a mention of Lebanon and of the Maronites, especially in the earlier period in which the history of

1. Duwaihī, T.M.M.R., p.213.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.ii. For the mention of this first draft manuscript see above, p.130, fn.5.

Lebanon was very obscure; but he does find enough material to fill the gap in most of the years. In the later years the proportion of Lebanese and Maronite history becomes higher and after the Ottoman conquest it becomes the dominant part of the chronicle.

The material about the Maronites is concerned with their religious, their political, their social, and their economic history. In some years Duwaihī merely mentioned the death and replacement of a patriarch, bishop, or muqaddam or the appointment of a new abbot. In others he wrote at length about the role played by the Maronites at a Church Council or the effects of a plague or drought on their social and economic life. At times he used the same material as in Tāriḫ at-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya; but whereas there he used it as material for an argument, in Tāriḫ al-azmina he placed it simply as historical fact.

Other than his two histories, Duwaihī wrote a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs, Silsilat Baṭāriḫat at-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya.¹ This work gives the chronological succession of the patriarchs of the Maronite church with biographical notes, where that is possible, and some historical notes. It begins with the patriarchate of Yūḥannā Mārūn and ends with the accession of the author himself in 1670.

1. The work has been published by R. Shartūnī, who also published T.T.M., in Al-Mashriq, I, 1898, from two manuscripts, one in the Bibliotheque Orientale in Beirut and one copied from manuscripts in Dair Luwaiza.

The work opens with a very short introduction followed by a note on the circumstances under which Yūhannā Mārūn succeeded the monothelite Macarius as Patriarch of Antioch in 685 A.D. and received the Pallium from Pope Sergius.¹ The author then proceeded with the enumeration of Yūhannā Mārūn's successors.

The main sources from which Duwaihī drew his information about the patriarchs of the early Crusader period, and sometimes even for the Mamlūk period, were the notes written by copyists on copies of religious books, and the inscriptions found on church walls or thresholds. It seems to have been a custom among masons and copyists to inscribe on their works the names of the patriarch and the archbishop or bishop of their parish who held office at the time. Undoubtedly there are many errors in Duwaihī's chronology. Some of the patriarchs he listed are legendary figures of no historical identity.² The author, besides, admitted having missed several patriarchs between the years 1130 and 1209 A.D.³

Duwaihī did not use the same pattern of history writing in all his works. In Tārīkh al-azmina he followed the traditional form of the Arabic chronicle, narrating events in chronological order, giving the year, and sometimes even the

1. Duwaihī, S.B., p.249.

2. G. Graf, op.cit., III, p.371: "Wie 'der erste Patriarch' so sind auch die folgenden bis zum 15. Jahrh. meistens Phantasiestalten."

3. Duwaihī, S.B., pp.310-311.

month and the day of each event. In Silsilat baṭārikat at-tāʾifa al-mārūniyya he enumerated the patriarchs of the Maronite church in succession, giving dates and some biographical and historical notes. The form of Tārīkh at-tāʾifa al-mārūniyya differs broadly from both. It is more a discourse than a narrative. In the first part, Nisbat al-Mawārina, Duwaihī started by stating the different views held by historians about the ecclesiastical and ethnical origins of his people then proceeded to refute them and to state his own conclusions on the subject. In the course of his arguments there is a great deal of narrative; but the narrative parts are only fitted in into the main form of the work as illustration and clarification. The second part of the work, Radd at-tuham..., is written in pure polemical form, the author giving a proposition to be refuted at the beginning of each chapter and then proceeding to refute it. The narrative parts here are shorter than in Nisbat al-Mawārina, for whereas in the first part they stretch over several chapters, in the second part they occupy a stretch of varying length within each chapter, the author using them to back up his point or to show on what grounds the opponent's point is based.

The language used by Duwaihī in his writings has been adequately described by Ferdinand Tautal in his introduction to Tārīkh al-azmina.¹ His description, meant to be of

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.xiii.

the language of that particular work, is applicable to all the works of Duwaihī:

The language... differs with the different narratives and their sources. When he translates William of Tyre, the Latin original appears through the Arabic form in [the construction of] the words and phrases. When he copies from Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Fidā and the other Arabic historians his language comes out powerful in style, of sound idiom, and in keeping with the rules of grammar. When he resorts to the history works of the Mamlūk and Turkish period, he adopts from them the foreign names for ranks of officials and instruments of war. When, however, he records the information he had got from the Lebanese tradition his language becomes very similar to the colloquial language, especially that used in the north [of Lebanon], with [many] extra-lexical expressions.... There are many mistakes... in grammar and spelling which may have come either from the pen of the author or from that of copyists. Some of them could be explained if the colloquial dialect of northern Lebanon is taken into consideration, whereby the dāl (d) and the dād (d) are both pronounced dād (d)....

Duwaihī used in writing his history the classical Arabic language. Except in the sections where he copied from Arabic sources, his language was weak and suffered from a strong strain of the colloquial. This weakness in the language of the author could be easily understood. The main part of his education took place in Rome where the language of instruction was Latin and his training for the Maronite priesthood must have required a greater concentration of Syriac than on Arabic, Syriac being the liturgical language of the Maronite church.

The language of Duwaihī differed with the sources from which he drew his information about different events. These sources he frequently mentioned in the course of his narrative,

and at times he made extensive quotations from them. In general, they may be divided into two groups: the sources from which Duwaihī drew his Maronite history and those from which he drew his non-Maronite history.

Of the first group of sources, Duwaihī considered the best to be those histories written by the leaders of the community about it. In the introductory chapter of Tārīkh aṭ-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya he wrote:

When the historian is one of those in the fore-ranks of the nation of which he writes, his words are believed and he is preferred to others. That is because it requires great care and diligence to find out the truth about the annals of old times and it takes a man of high position in learning and intelligence to be able to get hold [of it] and extract from it [what is true]....

Then he proceeded to speak of Jibrāʾīl al-Adnītī,² Jibrāʾīl aṣ-Ṣihyaunī,³ and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī, learned Maronites who reached high positions in Italy and France, all of whom discussed the origins of the Maronites and their perpetual orthodoxy but who, due to their having lived away from their native land, could not bring to completion what they set out to do.⁴ Finally he spoke of the sources from which he collected his material:

That is why we visited all the churches and monasteries we could and found what there was of what we were after in

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1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.4.
 2. There is no mention of Jibrāʾīl al-Adnītī in G. Graf's Geschichte...., neither have I been able to identify him or find any of his works in print or in manuscript.
 3. Jibrāʾīl aṣ-Ṣihyaunī (Gabriel Sionita) was born in Ihdin in 1577 and studied in the Maronite College in Rome. He died in Paris in 1648.
 4. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.5.

every book we could find. We also collected what was accessible to us of the letters of the Popes that were sent to the patriarchs. And we examined all the books of the church. And we spoke of the history of Syria from the beginning of the Hijra to our own time on the basis of what we saw in the books of the Christians and the Moslems.¹

The sources of Duwaihī's history of the Maronites can be subdivided into six groups: the older Maronite historians, the western chronicles and pilgrim and travel literature, the papal letters, the historical notes written by copyists on church books and copies of the Gospels, the material found in inscriptions, and the non-Maronite Eastern Christian histories and church books.

Of the Maronite authors to whom Duwaihī referred, Jibrā'īl al-Adnī, Jibrā'īl aṣ-Ṣihyaunī and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī have already been mentioned;² but the Maronite historian to whose works Duwaihī referred most for the history of the late medieval period, and whom he quoted abundantly, was Ibn al-Qilā'ī. Another Maronite writer ~~wh~~ whose claims Duwaihī refuted in a chapter devoted wholly for the purpose³ was Tūmā al-Kafartābī.⁴ Fragments of old Maronite histories

1. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

2. Ṣihyaunī and Ḥāqilānī were not historians. None of their original works, as cited by Graf (op.cit., III, pp. 351-353 and 354-358), are works of history. Duwaihī himself said (T.T.M., p. 5) that they mentioned some points about the origins of the Maronites in the notes they added to their other works. The same applies to Adnī who "spoke about the origin of the Maronites" in the introduction of the book of the Syriac Mass".

3. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp. 337-350.

4. See above, pp. 54 et seq.

are occasionally mentioned and quoted by Duwaihī, most of which were in Syriac; and reference is also made to the history of Iliās of M'ād.

Duwaihī drew on several types of Western historical works. The chronicles of the Crusader period were important: that of William of Tyre, which is quoted by Duwaihī¹ and referred to on several occasions, and that of Jaques de Vitry,² whom he called Ya'qūb Witrāk.³ The accounts of the pilgrims and travellers who had come to Syria and written about the eastern Christians are another important source. Among those pilgrims and travellers was Burchard of Mount Sion of whom Duwaihī spoke as having come to the Holy Land in 1222 and of having written a book about it (Descriptio Terrae Sanctae).⁴ Another was the "Frenchman Wilamo" who "came from his country to visit the Holy Land and wrote a book about the well-known religions and venerated places in the East".⁵ There are also

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1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.350-351. William of Tyre (c. 1130 - c. 1183) was the archbishop of Tyre, and one of the best known historians of the Crusades. See Bibliography.
 2. Jaques de Vitry, d. 1240, was a French cardinal and historian. For his history, see Bibliography. See also R. Grousset, op.cit., III, 192.
 3. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.351 (from the Latin form, Jacobus Vitriacus).
 4. Duwaihī, T.A., p.109. Burchard of Mount Sion's work was translated into English under the title A description of the Holy Land (London, 1897).
 5. All the evidence found in Duwaihī about the "Frenchman Wilamo" (T.T.M., p.358) points to the fact that he was no other than Guillaume Postel, the French visionary and philologist who visited Syria, as well as Turkey, and Greece, before 1139, and again c.1549. Duwaihī (ibid., p.380) said that he depended for his information about the Maronites on the work of Arnaldus Albertinus, (bishop of Patti, who died in 1544, see below, p.140 fn. 1), and that he said that the Maronites returned to union with Rome in 1414. I have not found any mention of the Maronites in the two descriptions of the Holy Land by Postel which I have seen (Syriae

the Western works of theology and Church history in which the Maronites were mentioned, like that of Arnaldus Albertinus bishop of Patti, whose statement about the heretical origin of the Maronites was refuted by Duwaihī in Radd at-tuham...¹

The letters of the Popes to the Maronite patriarchs are an important source of Duwaihī's history of the Maronites. He used them mainly as proofs of the unbroken attachment of the Maronites to the Holy See. In Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya he gave his own translations of two of those letters:

Finally there are the short historical annotations written on copies of the Gospels and other church books by copyists and the inscriptions found on churches which served Duwaihī as source material for those parts of his history

descriptio, 1540, and Une brieve description de la Terre Sainte avec sa charte, in La concordance des quatre Evangelistes..., Paris, 1562). In the former work, however he described the trip from Beirut to Jubail, Batrūn, and Tripoli, which means that he did go to Maronite Lebanon. See Des Billons, Terrasse, Nouveaux éclaircissements sur la vie et les ouvrages de Guillaume Postel (Liege, 1773); D. Gustav Pfannmuller, Handbuch der Islam-Literatur (Berlin und Leipzig, 1923), p.160; and "Postel, Guillaume", in La Grande Encyclopedie.

1. Albertinus (Arnaldus or Hernando), bishop of Patti in Sicily was born in Majorca. He was ordained bishop of Patti on September 12, 1534, and on August 29 of that year he was made president of the royal counsel of Sicily by Emperor Charles V. He died on October 7, 1544, and was buried in the cathedral at Patti. See J. Fraikin, "Albertini (Hernando ou Arnaldo) eveque de Patti", in Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastique, I, p.1590. I have not been able to find his "two books about the heresie and their authors", in which, according to Duwaihī (T.T.M., p.380) the Maronites are mentioned.
2. The two letters translated by Duwaihī were the letter of Innocent III to Armiā (T.T.M., pp.361-365) and that of Eugene IV to Yūhannā al-Jāji, dated 1439 (pp.393-395). Duwaihī's translations of those letters are far superior to those of Ibn al-Qilā'ī.

that were most original. Sometimes he got from them the names of patriarchs or bishops who held office in a certain year and at other times the mention of certain events not mentioned elsewhere. Jacobite and Melchite church works sometimes provided Duwaihī with some material for his history, but their mention is rare.

The main source on which Duwaihī relied for his history of non-Maronite Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods was the Tārīkh of Ibn Sibāt. Another historian whom Duwaihī quoted occasionally was Ibn al-Harīrī whose work, Muntakhab az-zamān fī tārīkh al-khulafā' wa 'l-'ulamā' wa 'l-a'cyān, has been recently lost.¹ Very little information about the subject is found in general chronicles like those of Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Fidā, who were referred to by Duwaihī in his general history of the Near East.²

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The information found in the different works of Duwaihī about the history of Lebanon in Crusader and Mamlūk times is, like the sources, of two kinds: one dealing with non-Maronite (Moslem and Druze) Lebanon, and the other with Maronite Lebanon. These two "histories" will be dealt with

1. Ahmad bin 'Alī ibn al-Maghribī Ahmad Ibn al-Harīrī wrote Muntakhab az-zamān... in 926 A.H. (1520 A.D.). See C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur (Berlin, 1902), S. II (Leiden, 1938), p.406. The work was available until recently in a unique manuscript at the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.vii.

seperately. Only very rarely did Duwaihī attempt to link them together in his writings. He had them rather as two independent and seemingly unrelated narratives within the same works, differing in the degree of completion.

Duwaihī's history of non-Maromite Lebanon is to be found almost exclusively in Tārikh al-azmina. It consists of several unrelated groups of events giving neither a complete picture of the structure of non-Maromite medieval Lebanon nor a continuous narrative of events. Neither did Duwaihī's choice of material denote any consistent purpose on his part to explain important events and turning points or to show how a state of affairs came about. At times he appears to have been picking his material at random to fill in the narrative of a year otherwise poor in events.

The first mention of non-Maromite Lebanon in Duwaihī comes in his narration of the events of the year 1100. In that year, he said, while Baldwin of Edessa was advancing on the coastal route to inherit the crown of his brother, Gaudefroy de Bouillon,¹ the people of Beirut lay in ambush against him at Nahr al-Kalb; but Baldwin triumphed.

1. Gaudefroy de Bouillon died on July 18, 1100. See S. Runciman, A history of the Crusades, I (Cambridge, 1951), p. 314.

over them and proceeded on his way to Jerusalem.¹ In 1101, Duwaihī continued, Raymond de Saint Gilles, Prince of Toulouse after having occupied Tartūs, sent word to King Baldwin that the people of Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre were holding the coastal route against him at Nahr al-Kalb; whereupon the King advanced to Nahr al-Kalb, helped Raymond cross the river, and accompanied him to Jerusalem where they celebrated Easter.² William of Tyre, from whose chronicle Duwaihī

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1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.12. Fulcher of Chartres (Fulcherio Carnotensi), Historia Iherusolymitana gesta Francorum Iherusalem peregrinantium, vol. IV, pp.265-714 of Receuil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux (Paris 1869), p.373-374. S. Runciman, op.cit., I, pp.323-324. William of Tyre, with whose history Duwaihī was familiar and on whom he probably relied for information in this case, had the following to say about the event (William of Tyre, op.cit., I, pp.422-423): "The perilous way through this narrow defile [of Nahr al-Kalb] had been blocked so as to prevent its being crossed. For the natives of the locality, with the help of certain Turks from more distant parts, had combined at the point to hinder the march of Count Baldwin.... Dashing against them in a bold charge, he broke up their lines in the first onset, killed many of their number, and put the rest to flight". Ibn al-Qalānisi (Dhail tarikh Dimashq, Leiden, 1908, pp.138-139) did not mention at all the rôle played by the people of Beirut in this encounter. Besides, he said that the Moslems were victorious. T. Shidyāq (Akhbār al-a'yān..., p.714) said that it was the amir of Beirut, 'Adud ad-Dawla of Arslan, who was responsible for the ambush. This will be discussed fully below, in the chapter on Shidyāq's history (See below, pp.248-249). H. Hagenmeyer ("Chronologie de la premiere Croisade; 1094-1100", in R.O.L., VIII, pp. 366-369) supposes that the incident took place between the 23rd. and the 26th. of October, 1100.
 2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.13.

probably got his information about this event, said that Baldwin, fearing that the march of Raymond and his men might be hindered at Nahr al-Kalb, went out with his forces to meet them and seized the pass beforehand.¹ Shidyāq said that it was ʿAdud ad-Dawla, the Arslānid amir of Beirut, who called the men of the coastal towns together to lie in ambush at Nahr al-Kalb against Baldwin in 1100 and against Raymond in 1101.² His narrative of the event will be considered later, in the chapter on his history.

A gap of half a century followed in which Duwaihī made no mention of the internal history of non-Maromite Lebanon. When he got to the year 1160, he mentioned that Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī (1146-1173), Atabeg of Syria, had granted in that year several villages in the Biqāʿ, Wādī at-Taim, Sidon, and the Jird to Zahr ad-Dawla Karāma bin Buḥtur, Tanūkhid amir of the Gharb, as an addition to his original iqṭāʿs in the Gharb. Nūr ad-Dīn, he added, gave Karāma also an allowance for the upkeep of forty horsemen to help in fighting the Franks. Duwaihī then mentioned Karāma's brother, ʿArf ad-Dawla, who, at the time, was holding ʿAramūn al-Gharb, a village south of Beirut.³

1. William of Tyre, op.cit., I, p.442.

2. T. Shidyāq, Akhbār al-aʿyān..., p.714. For a fuller discussion, see below, pp.249-250.

3. Duwaihī, T.A., p.63.

The question of 'Arf ad-Dawla, the brother of Karāma of Tanūkh, involves a confusion between the identities of this 'Arf ad-Dawla and a real or supposed Arslānid amir by that same name. It will be discussed at length in the chapter on Shidyāq's history.¹ As for Karāma of Tanūkh, Ibn Hajar mentioned that Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī had granted him the Gharb in iqṭā', and that Karāma was a constant check on the activities of the Franks of Beirut.² Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, who believed that Karāma moved his residence to the fort of Sarḥamūr in the lower Gharb after Nūr ad-Dīn had taken over Damascus in 1154, cited two documents issued by Nūr ad-Dīn to Karāma which, apparently, he found in the archives of the Tanūkhid family. The first of these is a marṣūm (decree), dated Rabī' I 14, 552 A.H. (April 27, 1157 A.D.):

The intelligent amir, Zahr ad-Dawla Muḥid al-Mulk, the Amir of the Gharb Karāma, may God Almighty prolong his power and his peace, is our mamlūk and our friend. Whoever obeys him obeys us; and whoever aids him in fighting the infidels does so to our pleasure and receives our thanks; and whoever disobeys him in this matter, or rebels against him, disobeys our orders and is deserving of punishment for his rebellion.³

The second document is a manshūr (title-deed), dated Rajab 7, 556 (July 1, 1161):

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1. See below, pp. 259-267.
 2. Ibn Hajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a ath-thāmina (Cairo, 1930), II, p. 54.
 3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, Tārīkh Bairūt..., pp. 48-49.

When Amir Zahr ad-Dawla Shujā' al-Mulk Jamāl a-Amr Abu'l-
 'Izz Karāma bin Buhtun at-Tanūkhī, may He prolong his
 power, travelled to our Porte (bāb), may it become more
 sublime, and sought protection in the Service and app-
 roached it, and came to the Just State¹ and sought its
 service, his hopes were fulfilled and his demands were
 answered; and this manshūr was issued to him, restating
 the ancient respect, consideration, endearment, and high
 esteem due to him and setting for him provisions from
dīwān al-istifā'²,² may God protect it, for an equipage
 of forty horsemen, and whatever more he will be able to le
 in case of war. And his iqṭā' shall include most of the
 villages of the Gharb, Al-Qunaitra from the Biqā', Zahr
 Hmār³ from Wādī at-Taim, Tha'labāyā, also from the Biqā',
 Barjā from Sidon,⁴ Al-Ma'āṣir,⁵ Ma'āṣir al-Fauqā,⁶ Ad-
 Dāmūr,⁷ Shārūn, Majd al-Ba'nā, and Kafar'immāi.⁸

It is interesting to note that Duwaihī, relying
 probably on Ibn Sibāṭ,⁹ who gave the same information as Ṣāliḥ
 bin Yahyā, gave the year of Karāma's investiture as 1160
 instead of 1161. Not taking into consideration the month

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1. Nūr ad-Dīn's regal title was Al-Malik al-'Ādil (the Just
 Malik). The "Just State" (ad-dawla al-'ādila) refers to
 his state.
 2. This passage, not clear in the text of Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, was
 added by the author from MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.15. Dīwān al-
istifā' was the office of the mustawfi, a clerk who managed
 the affairs of dīwān al-jaish (or dīwān al-iqṭā'), which
 was concerned with the grant and supervision of fiefs. For
 his various functions, see Ibn Mammāṭī, Kitāb qawānīn ad-
dawāwīn (Cairo, 1943), p.301; A. N. Poliak, Feudalism in
Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900 (London,
 1939), p.20; M. Quatremere, Histoire des sultans mamlouks
 (Paris, 1837), pp.202-205, n.
 3. In Ibn Sibāṭ, loc.cit., Az-Zahr al-Aḥmar. Az-Zahr al-
 Aḥmar is a village in Wādī at-Taim.
 4. Barjā is a village in Iqlīm al-Kharrūb, north of Sidon.
 During the Crusader period this district fell in the
 seigneurie of Sidon; and in the Mamlūk period it fell in th
wilāya of Sidon, a sub-province of the niyāba of Damascus.
 5. Al-Ma'āṣir (in Ibn Sibāṭ, B'āṣir) is a village in Iqlīm
 al-Kharrūb, near Barjā, now known as B'āṣir.
 6. Ma'āṣir al-Fauqā is a village in the Shūf.
 7. Ad-Dāmūr is a coastal town, south of Beirut.
 8. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.49. Ibn Sibāṭ, loc.cit.,
 added the fact that the last three villages were in the
 province of the Jird.
 9. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.15-16.

(Rajab) of the Hijra year 556, he merely gave the Christian year in which the Hijra year began. The year 556 A.H. began on December 31, 1160.¹

On Jumādā I 27, 1186 A.D. (Jumādā I 29, 583 A.H./ August 6, 1187 A.D.),² Duwaihī continued, Salāh ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, having taken Beirut from the Crusaders, granted the Gharb as an iqṭā' to Karāma's son, Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī, and appointed him to guard the thaghr (harbour) of Beirut.³

This event again is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar.⁴ Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā said that after the fall of Beirut to Ṣalāh ad-Dīn, the sultan lay his hand on the head of Ḥajjī, who had offered him his help in the siege of the city, and said: "Behold! We have taken your vengeance from the Franks;⁵ so let your heart be comforted! You shall remain in the place of your father and your brothers!" Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā added that Ṣalāh ad-Dīn issued to Ḥajjī a manshūr, and he proceeded to quote part of it:

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1. See W. Haig, Comparative tables of Muhammadan and Christian dates (London, 1932), p. 14.
 2. This is the date of the fall of Beirut to Salah ad-Din as given by Abū Shāma, Kitāb ar-raudatain fi akhbār ad-dawlatain (Cairo, 1871), p. 90. The wrong date given by Duwaihī is another example of how he did not take into consideration the day of the year while changing Hijra into Christian dates.
 3. Duwaihī, T.A., p. 88. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā and Ibn Sibāṭ gave the date simply as Jumādā I, 583 (July-August, 1187). See Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op. cit., pp. 51-52 and MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p. 42. Where Duwaihī got his date (Jumādā I 27) for the fall of Beirut is not clear.
 4. Ibn Ḥajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., II, pp. 54-55.
 5. The Franks of Beirut had murdered Ḥajjī's brothers. See below, pp. 269-273.

.... The Amir Jamāl ad-Dawla Hajjī bin Karāma shall continue to hold what was already his of the mountain of Beirut in the district of Dāmūr when he arrived at the Royal Service (al-khidma as-sultāniyya), and when we were ascertained of what had befallen him at the hands of the infidels, may God forsake them. This is his property which he inherited from his father and his grandfather; and it consists of Sarhamur, ʿAin Ksūr, Ramṭūn,¹ Ad-Duwair,² Tirdalā, ʿAin Drāfīl,³ and Kafar-ʿimmaī.... Written in the land of Beirut, in the last third of Jumādā al-ūlā, the year 583 [July-August, 1187].⁴

Another gap of half a century followed in Duwaihī's history of non-Maronite Lebanon, after which he proceeded to say that in 1242 two sons of Hajjī, Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad and Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿAlī, were killed in a place in Kisruān called Thaghrat al-Jauzāt,⁵ adding a note to the effect that the sons of Hajjī were the first Tanūkhid amirs of the Gharb to move their residence from Tirdalā to ʿAbai.⁶ Duwaihī did not explain how and why the two amirs were killed in Thaghrat al-Jauzāt, neither did Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, both of whom gave the same date as Duwaihī; but both Ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ added that they had taken their information from records kept in the Tanūkhid family.⁷ After that, Duwaihī mentioned that in the year 1252 Al-Malik an-

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1. ʿAin Ksūr and Ramṭūn are two villages in the lower Gharb.
 2. Ad-Duwair is a village in the province of Ash-Shuḥḥār, south of Beirut.
 3. Tirdalā and ʿAin Drāfīl are two villages in Ash-Shuḥḥār. The former is at present in ruins.
 4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.51-52.
 5. Duwaihī, T.A., p.117.
 6. ʿAbai is a village in the Gharb, not far from Beirut.
 7. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.55 and Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., p.121. They give the date as Rabīʿ II 6, 640 A.H./October 3, 1242.

Nāṣir Yūsuf, the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus (1250-1260), granted several villages of the Gharb and the Village of Ad-Duwair in the Jird to Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī's grandson, Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī (II), the son of Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad who was killed at Thaghrat al-Jauzāt.¹

This is all Duwaihī had to say about the history of non-Maronite Lebanon in the Crusader period. He resumed this history in the Mamlūk period starting with the year 1276. In that year, he said, Sultan Baibars (1260-1277), having suspected that Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī II and his brother Sa'd ad-Dīn Khidr were corresponding with the Franks of Tripoli, had the two Tanūkhid amirs imprisoned and deprived of their wealth.² Considering that they were released by Baraka Khān, the son of Baibars, soon after the latter's death, in 1278,³ and that, according to Ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, they remained in prison for a period of seven to nine years,⁴ their arrest must have taken place between 1268 and 1270 and not in 1276. Again, according to Ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, the amirs who were imprisoned by Baibars were three and not two in number, the third having been Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin 'Alī,

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.125; Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.55-56 and Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., p.132-133. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, who had seen the manshūr of An-Nāṣir Yūsuf to Ḥajjī, gave its date as Safar 25, 650 (May 7, 1252). The villages granted to Ḥajjī in it were 'Aramūn, 'Ain Drāfil, Tirdalā, 'Ain Ksūr, Ramṭūn, Qadrūn, Mratghūn, Aṣ-Ṣibāḥiyya, Sarḥamūr, 'Aināb, and ad-Duwair.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.139-140.

3. Ibid., p.141 and Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.71.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.69 and Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., p.185.

a cousin of the other two. The accusation, they added, was false and the alleged correspondence between those amirs and the Frankish rulers of Tripoli was a forgery made by a member of the family of Abū al-Jaish, traditional enemies of the Tanūkhhs.¹ Tannūs ash-Shidyāq, gave the year 1270 as the year of the forging of the correspondence and 1271 as the year in which the three amirs were arrested.² Relying, like Duwaihī, on Ibn Sibāṭ for his information, Shidyāq made a better guess of the date.

Duwaihī proceeded, after relating the arrest of the three Tanūkh amirs, to tell about the raid on the Gharb in 1278 that followed the murder of Qutb ad-Dīn as-Saʿdī, a Mamlūk official from Damascus, in the village of Kafar ʿimmaī. Qutb ad-Dīn had taken that village ~~of the Gharb~~ as an iqṭāʿ from the Tanūkhhs just before he was found killed there; and Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad (II), the son of Hajjī II, was accused of the murder. As a result the army of Damascus, aided by tribesmen and soldiers from Baʿalbak, Sidon, and the Biqāʿ, sacked the Gharb and burnt it. All this happened while Hajjī II and the other two Tanūkh amirs were still imprisoned in Egypt. Soon after these events, Baraka Khān released them from prison and restored their iqṭāʿs to them.³

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1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, loc.cit.; Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., pp.184-189.
 2. T. Shidyāq, Akhbār al-aʿyān..., pp.228-229. For a more elaborate discussion of this event and its significance see below, pp.288 ~~et seq.~~
 3. Duwaihī, T.A., p.141. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.75-77. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā gave the same date as Duwaihī. I have not found any mention of this event outside Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, who repeated Ṣāliḥ's version.

In Tārīkh al-azmina, Duwaihī told of the fall of Tripoli to Qalāūn in 1287.¹ In the context of the narrative, however, he said that Tripoli, having been taken by the Franks in 1109, remained under their rule for 180 years. This brings out the correct date for the fall of Tripoli, 1289, which Duwaihī also gave in Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya.² Duwaihī's account of the fall of Tripoli is followed shortly after by an account of the fall of Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Athlīth, and Jubail to Al-Ashraf Khalīl, son of Qalāūn, in 1290³ (actually 1291). The church of St. John in Beirut, he added, was turned into a mosque after the fall of the city and its walls were covered with clay.⁴

In the days of Al-Ashraf Khalīl, Duwaihī continued, the jund al-ḥalqa⁵ of Tripoli left.⁶ Duwaihī, due to his defective knowledge of Arabic, had misunderstood the text of Ibn Sibāṭ from whom he was most probably getting his information. Ibn Sibāṭ⁷ said that in the year 689 A.H., when Al-

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.148. See above, pp.89 et seq.

2. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.375.

3. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.150-151.

4. Ṣālih bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.39.

5. The jund al-ḥalqa (or ajnad al-ḥalqa) were one of the three principal corps of the Mamlūk army. They were a corps of free non-mamlūk cavalry - those knights who were in the sultan's service without being his freedmen. See David Ayalon, Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1953, p.203, and A.N. Poliak, Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900 (London, 1939), p.2.

6. Duwaihī, T.A., p.152.

7. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.212-213.

Ashraf succeeded his father and took Sidon and Beirut, the iqṭāʿs of the Tanūkhīs, which Qalāūn had turned over to the jund al-halqa of Tripoli, were restored to them, and that they were set as guards on the darak (watchpost) of Beirut.¹ Duwaihī's mistake was probably due to the use of the term kharaja al-iqṭāʿ (the iqṭāʿ was taken away) by Ibn Sibāt, Duwaihī understanding by the term kharaja to mean "went out" or "left", as it is used to mean in everyday speech.

The restoration of the iqṭāʿs of the Tanūkhīs of the Gharb took place, according to Duwaihī, in the year 1293, "after the halqa of Tripoli had left".² The Tanūkh amirs were then appointed on the darak of Beirut in three watches of thirty horsemen, each watch to guard the darak for one month under the supervision of the halqa of Baʿalbak, who likewise took monthly turns in three watches. A watch-tower (manzariyya)³ was built to keep watch on the sea, and a horse post relay,⁴ carrier pigeons, and fire

1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.78.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.153. The date, as noted above, is really 1291. See Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, loc.cit. Ṣāliḥ said that it was in the days of Al-Ashraf Khalīl, but did not give the exact date. Ibn Hajar, op.cit., II, p.55, mentioned that the iqṭāʿs of the Tanūkhīs were taken away from them by Qalāūn and later restored to them by Al-Ashraf Khalīl after the conquest of the coastal towns.

3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.40. It appears there as manaziriyya.

4. The stages of the barīd (horse post relay) were given by Duwaihī, starting from Beirut, as Al-Husain, Zibdīl, Maisanūn, and Damascus. Qalqashandī (Subḥ al-aʿshā, Cairo 1914, XIV, p.382), who described the Beirut-Damascus barīd, gave the same stages, except that he gave the name of Zibdīl as Zabadan (Zabadani, north-west of Damascus). The names given by Duwaihī and Qalqashandī are probably of the same town.

alarms¹ were established to carry news from Beirut to Damascus. All this was done in fear of an attack by the Franks.² This fear may have been provoked by a successful naval raid on Beirut in 1291 by the Franks of Cyprus.³

Duwaihi dealt next with the two great raids on Kisruān in 1292 and 1305.

After relating the fall of Tripoli to Qalāun in 1287 (actually 1289) in Tārīkh al-azmina, he said, quoting Ibn Sibāṭ, that Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lāgin, the nā'ib of Damascus,⁴ wrote to Jamāl ad-Dīn Hajjī and Zain ad-Dīn bin 'Alī, the amirs of the Gharb, asking them to join Sunqur al-Manṣūrī⁵ with all their men and to advance with him and his soldiers on Kisruān and the Jird. The purpose of this raid, the letter explained, was to rob the people of the Jird and

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1. The fire alarms were lit over the mountains from Beirut to Damascus in six relays.
 2. Duwaihi, T.A., pp.153-154. See also Sāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.40-42 and Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., pp.212-214.
 3. Sāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.79.
 4. Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lāgin al-Manṣūrī followed Sunqur al-Ashqar as nā'ib of Damascus in Safar, 679 A.H. (June, 1280). He remained in office for 11 years and was followed by 'Izz ad-Dīn Aibak al-Ḥamawī in Shawwāl, 691 (September, 1292). H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans (Damascus, 1952), p.6.
 5. Shams ad-Dīn Sunqur al-Manṣūrī al-A'sar, originally a mamlūk of Aidamur, the nā'ib of Damascus (670-676 A.H./1271-1277 A.D.), was made chief of the bureaucracy in Damascus (shadd ad-dawāwin) by Qalāun. After the death of Qalāun he held several important offices under his successors. He died in 709 A.H. (1309-1310 A.D.). See Ibn Hajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., II, pp.177-178.

Kisruān of the wealth, lives, and offspring, and to do away with their leaders. The reason Duwaihī gave for this raid was that the people of the Jird and Kisruān had helped the Franks at the time of the conquest of Tripoli.¹

The letter of Lāgīn to the two Tanūkh amirs was seen and described by Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā.² According to his description, this letter was dated Jumādā I 7, 686 (June 20, 1287 A.D.), almost two years before the fall of Tripoli to Qalāūn. The letter instructed Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and Zain ad-Dīn bin ‘Alī to rally with their men to the assistance of Shams ad-Dīn Sunqur al-Mansūrī and the Mamlūk army as soon as they receive the news of their advance to the Jird and Kisruān. The letter stated further that whoever takes a woman prisoner shall keep her as a concubine, and whoever takes a boy prisoner shall keep him as a slave; and that one dīnār will be given for every head of a Jirdī or Kisruānī. The letter did not, apparently, state the reasons for this raid.

Ibn Sibāt, from whose history Duwaihī took his information about the event, mentioned this letter of Lāgīn to the Tanūkh amirs without giving a date.³

1. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.148-149.

2. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.58.

3. Ibn Sibāt, op.cit., pp.217-218.

Apparently the expedition planned in 1287 against the Jird and Kisruān did not take place. The first Mamlūk expedition against Kisruān took place in 1292.

In Tārīkh at-tāʾifa al-mārūniyya Duwaihī related the first Mamlūk expedition against Kisruān, giving its year as 1293.¹ In that year, he said, An-Nāṣir Muḥammad bin Qalāū the Mamlūk sultan, sent orders to Āqūsh al-Afram, the nāʾib of Damascus (699-709 A.H./1300-1310 A.D.),² to Asandamur, the nāʾib of Tripoli,³ to Sunqur al-Mansūrī,⁴ and to the amirs of the Gharb to bring their troops together and fight the people of the Jird and Kisruān. Duwaihī stated that he took this information from the history of Ibn al-Ḥarīrī. In Tārīkh al-azmina, depending also on Ibn al-Ḥarīrī, Duwaihī said that in 1302 Āqūsh al-Afram, Asandamur, and Sunqur al-

1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.217-218.

2. Āqūsh al-Afram was not nāʾib of Damascus in 1293. He succeeded Saif ad-Din Qibjaq in this position in 699 A.H. (1300 A.D.) and was in turn succeeded ten years later by Qarāsunqur al-Mansūrī. H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., p.7. Also Ibn Ḥajar, op.cit., I, pp.396-398.

3. Asandamur became nāʾib of Tripoli in 701 A.H. (1301-2 A.D.) Before that he was an important amir in Damascus. It is not clear when he left Tripoli; but he held after it the niyāba of Ḥamā. He was killed in 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.). Ibn Ḥajar, op.cit., I, pp.387-388.

4. Sāliḥ bin Yahyā (op.cit., pp.32-33) gave his name as Shams ad-Din Sunqurshāh al-Mansūrī, nāʾib of Safad. Sunqurshāh al-Mansūrī, an eminent amir of Damascus, became nāʾib of Safad in 704 (1304-1305 A.D.) and died in this position in 707 (1307 A.D.). Ibn Ḥajar, op.cit., II, p.175.

Mansūrī (actually Sunqurshāh al-Mansūrī, the nā'ib of Ṣafad)¹ advanced on the Jird and Kisruān with their armies, but were defeated badly.

Actually, there were two expeditions against Kisruān and the Jird before the great expedition of 1305. The first was in July, 1292, during the reign of Al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl bin Qalāūn. In that year Baidarā, the nā'ib as-saltāna (viceroy) of Al-Ashraf Khalīl in Egypt, advanced with the greater part of his army against Kisruān by way of the coast. He was met and routed by the people of the mountains of Kisruān. The amirs accompanying Baidarā on this expedition accused him of having received bribes from the enemy, and of having purposely failed the expedition; and on his return to Damascus he was met by the Sultan who rebuked him mildly for his failure.²

The second expedition against Kisruān took place in 1300, during the second reign of An-Nāṣir Muḥammad bin Qalāūn. On July 9 of that year, Āqūsh al-Afram, the newly appointed nā'ib of Damascus, set out for Kisruān to make up for the previous defeat of the Mamlūk armies there. With him were the nā'ibs of Ṣafad, Ḥamā, Ḥums, and Tripoli, and

1. See above, p.155, fn.4.

2. Maqrīzī, Sulūk..., I, p.779. M. Quatremere, Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte, II (Paris, 1842), p.142. K. V. Zettersteen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamluken-sultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Hira nach Arabischen Handschriften (Leiden, 1919), p.20. Ṣālih bin Yahyā, op. cit., pp.29-31. All three sources gave the date as 691 A.H. Ṣālih bin Yahyā added that the expedition took place in the month of Sha'ḥbān (July, 1292).

their soldiers. The fighting continued for six days, after which the Kisruānīs asked for peace. They were forced to give back all what they had taken in loot from the Mamlūk army in 1292, and to pay a tribute of 100,000 dirhams.¹

Judging by the fact that in each of Tārīkh al-azmīna and Tārīkh at-taʿīfa al-mārūniyya Duwaihī gave the same account of a Mamlūk expedition against Kisruān, he seems to have considered both expeditions to have been one, although he gave two different dates, 1293 and 1302, both dates being wrong. Duwaihī's mistake may have originated in the accounts given by Ibn al-Ḥarīrī about the two expeditions. Since Ibn al-Ḥarīrī's history is no longer available,² this point cannot be determined definitely.

Although Duwaihī gave the names of the leaders of the expedition on the year 1300, the account he gave about both expeditions was that of the expedition of 1292 - the one in which the Kisruānīs were victorious. The men of the mountains, he said, pouted down on the Moslem soldiers and defeated them. Duwaihī added that the two sons of Muḥammad bin Karāma, Aḥmad and Muḥammad, were killed in the battle

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1. Maqrīzī, op.cit., I, pp.902-903. K.V. Zettersteen, op.cit., pp.80-81. Both gave the date as Shawwāl 20, 699 (July 9, 1300). See also A. Quatremère, op.cit., pp.170-171. In his translation of Maqrīzī, Quatremère gave the amount of the tribute to be paid by the Kisruānīs to the Mamlūks as 200,000 dirhams.
 2. See above, p.141 and loc.cit., fn.1.

against the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs;¹ and that the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs followed up their victory by burning several villages of the Gharb.²

It is interesting to note that in both his accounts of the expedition of 1292 Duwaihī was attempting to bring together the Moslem version of Ibn al-Harīrī and the Maronite version of Ibn al-Qilāʿī.

Duwaihī continued his narrative with the year 1304.³ In that year, he said, Āqūsh al-Afram sent Sharīf Zain ad-Dīn bin ʿAdnān⁴ to the people of the Mountain and Kisruān to reconcile them to the Tanūkhids and to bring them back to obedience. In the same year a second mission was sent

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1. These amirs, the sons of Jamāl ad-Dīn Hajjī bin Muhammad of Tanūkh (not Muḥammad bin Karāma, as Duwaihī said) were killed in the expedition of 1305. MS Ibn Sibāt, p.229, and Ṣālih bin Yahyā, *op.cit.*, p.100. The two amirs were killed in Nibāl, in Kisruān, not in ʿAbāl, in the Gharb, as it appears in Duwaihī, *T.T.M.*, p.376. Duwaihī's mistake here must have been due to the similarity between the names of the two villages.
 2. There is no mention of the burning of several villages of the Gharb by the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs outside Duwaihī. How true it is cannot be determined.
 3. Duwaihī, *T.A.*, p.162. In *T.T.M.* the attempt at reconciliation with the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs is omitted and the author proceeded directly to relate the events of the expedition of 1305, which he related under the year 1307, as will be seen later.
 4. In *Shidyāq, Akhbār al-aʿyān...*, p.720, his name is given as Zain ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin ʿAdnān. ~~Zain ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin ʿAdnān al-Husainī~~ (in Ibn Hajar, his title is given as Muhyī ad-Dīn) wa naqīb al-ashraf in Damascus. He was born in 1229 (626 A.H.) and died in 1322 (722 A.H.). Ibn Hajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, IV, p.47.

to them headed by Taqī 'd-Dīn Ibn Taimiyya¹ and Amir Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh;² but both missions failed to achieve their ends. The ʿulamā, therefore, decreed that the Jird and Kisruān should be destroyed since their inhabitants had routed the Moslem army in the first expedition and had refused to come back to obedience. For that purpose, soldiers were collected from every part of Syria and preparations for an expedition against Kisruān continued to be made until the end of that year.

The visits of Ibn 'Adnān, Ibn Taimiyya, and Qarāqūsh to Kisruān took place in Dhu'l-Ḥijja, 704 (June-July, 1305).³ Duwaihī misunderstood partly the purpose of those visits. He stated that one of the aims of Ibn 'Adnān, Ibn Taimiyya, and Qarāqūsh was the reconciliation of the Jirdīs and the Kisruānīs to the Tanūkh amirs of the Gharb. Ibn Sibāt, from whom Duwaihī took his information about the event, said that the purpose of those missions was the islāh (reformation) of the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs,⁴ by which he meant a reformation of

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1. Ibn Taimiyya (Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, Taqī 'd-Dīn) was born in Harrān in 661 A.H. (1263 A.D.) and died in Damascus in 727 A.H. (1328 A.D.). He was a theologian of the Ḥanbalite school, and was renowned for his asceticism. Among other things, he was known for his struggles against the heterodox Moslems of the mountains of Lebanon and the Nuṣairiyya. See H. Laoust, Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-Din Ahmad B. Taimiya, canoniste (Cairo, 1939). For his biography, see ibid., p.11. Al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-wafayāt (Bulāq, 1866), p.49, gives his biography and enumerates his works.
 2. I could not identify Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh. Maqrīzī (op. cit., II, p.12) called him Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Manṣūrī. He seems to have been an important amir in Damascus.
 3. Sālih bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.32. Ibn Sibāt, op.cit., p.228. Maqrīzī, loc.cit.
 4. Ibn Sibāt, loc.cit.

their religious beliefs. Duwaihī, using the same word islāh, understood by it ṣulh (reconciliation, peace-making), and concluded that the purpose of those missions must have been, partly, to reconcile the Jirdīs and the Kisruānīs to the Tanūkhs of the Gharb.¹

The Jird and parts of Kisruān² were inhabited in the late Crusader and early Mamlūk periods by Mitwālīs (Rāfiḍa or Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿa), Nuṣairīs, and Druzes,³ all three groups being heterodox Moslems hostile to their Sunni Moslem neighbours. In the mountainous region of Central Lebanon they found an almost impregnable place of

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1. For further discussion of this point, see below, pp. 296. As for the mission of Ibn Taimiyya to Kisruān, it is known that Ibn Taimiyya was a vigorous opponent of heterodox Islam, both in its doctrinal and its political aspects. He preached and took part in the expedition against the Rāfiḍa, Nuṣairīs, and Druzes of Kisruān in 1305 (See H. Laoust, op.cit., pp. 124-5, for a discussion of Ibn Taimiyya's attitude towards the heretical Moslems of Kisruān). In his book, Kitāb minhaj as-sunna..., he attacked both the doctrinal beliefs and the perfidious politics of the Rāfiḍa and their likes. He accused them of having assisted the pagan Tartars and the Christian Franks against the Moslems "in the fourth and seventh centuries". He also accused them of considering religions as political parties and schools of thought, of which any may be followed, and of corrupting good Islamic beliefs to an abominable extent. See Ibn Taimiyya, Kitāb minhaj as-sunna an-nabawiyya fi naḍḍ kalām ash-shīʿa wa'l-qadariyya (Bulāq, 1903), pp. 2-5. seems to have
 2. Kisruān in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries included large parts of what later became the province of the Matn.* ~~See below, Appendix I, p. 10.~~
 3. H. Lammens, La Syrie..., II, pp. 13-14. H. Laoust, op.cit., p. 59.

* Many villages which fell in the province of Al-Matn in the early nineteenth century (at the time of Shidyāq) were mentioned by Sāliḥ bin Yahyā and Ibn al-Qilāʿī among the villages of Kisruān.

refuge from persecution by the Sunnī state and an ideal center for guerilla warfare and raids. While the Moslem state was absorbed in its defence against Frankish and Mongol attack, the heterodox Moslems of central Lebanon achieved internal independence and, since it was to their interest that the Moslem state should be kept busy with its enemies, they occasionally lent a hand to the Franks and the Mongols. In 1300, a few years before they were finally reduced to obedience, they had attacked the Moslem army after it had been routed by the Mongols.¹ ~~From the history of Tādrus of Hamā, it appears that the leaders of the heterodox Moslem inhabitants of Kisruān and the Jird were the Billaḥs,² a Druze family which rose again to play a part in the history of Lebanon in later Ottoman times.~~

After the fall of the last Crusader possessions to Al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1291, an expedition, which had apparently been planned before the fall of Tripoli by Qalāūn, was sent against the Jird and Kisruān to reduce its rebel population to obedience. The expedition failed badly. A second expedition, that of 1300, was more successful, but its effects did not last. In the year 704 A.H. (1304-1305 A.D. a revolt broke out in the Jird and Kisruān against Mamlūk

1. Sāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.32, quoting Nuwairī and Kutubī.
2. ~~Tādrus of Hamā, op.cit., p.86. See also above, p.99.~~

rule.¹ Attempts to bring them back to obedience by peaceful means failed. Ibn Taimiyya, the chief exponent of the state doctrine, and a great theologian of the Hanbalite school, who had himself led the mission to bring back the Kisruānis and the Jirdīs to obedience peacefully, preached their reduction by force, and wrote letters himself to the different parts of Syria calling the faithful to join the expedition.²

The details of the expedition that followed were related by Duwaihī, who gave Ibn al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Sibāt as references, under the year 1307.³ Actually it took place in 1305.⁴ The people of the Jird, he said, led by Druze amirs (the Bellama(s)),* were badly defeated at Saufar, a village in the Jird situated on the Damascus highway, by Āqūsh al-Afram and his army.⁵ The victors then followed them to Kisruān, ravaging the countryside, destroying the churches,⁶ and

1. H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p.60.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.124-125.

3. Duwaihī, *T.A.*, p.163. In *T.T.M.*, p.377, Duwaihī quoted the date from Ibn Sibāt as 1307 (707 A.H.). Actually Ibn Sibāt gave the date as 705 A.H. (*op.cit.*, pp.228-229). It is not clear why Duwaihī copied the date wrongly.

4. Maqrizi, *op.cit.*, II, p.14. (Quatremere, *op.cit.*, II,ii, pp.252-253) Maqrizi gave the date of the start of the expedition as Muharram 2, 705 (July 25, 1305). In Quatremere's translation it appears as Muharram 8 (July 31). Sālih bin Yahyā gave the date as Muharram 2 (*op.cit.*, p.32). Duwaihī gave the date as Muharram 2, 1307. MS Ibn Sibāt gave the date as Muharram 2, 705.

5. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.261.

6. None of the Moslem historians mentioned the destruction of churches in the expedition.

* See above, p.99. *Tādrus of Ḥamā*, *op.cit.*, p.86

uprooting the vineyards on their way. Finally, on Jumādā II 18, 705 (January 5, 1306), after the utter defeat of the Kisruānīs,¹ their country was given in iqṭāʿ to Mamlūk amirs from Damascus.²

Duwaiḥī proceeded to say that in the year 1307,³ after the defeat of the Jirdīs and the Kisruanīs, the Turkoman ʿAssāf family was settled on the coast of Kisruān and their watch (darak) was fixed between Anṭiliās, north of Beirut, and Al-Muʿamaltain, on the frontier of the muʿāmalā (province) of Tripoli. Their duties were to check the passports of everybody who passed in the pass of Nahr al-Kalb and to forbid suspicious persons from passing. The passports were valid if they were signed by the mutawallī⁴ or the amirs of the ʿHarb.⁵

With the end of the second expedition against Kisruān and the settlement of the Turkoman ʿAssāfs on its coast the period of full Mamlūk domination in Lebanon began.

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1. The battle, according to Maqrīzī (op.cit., II, p.15 and Quatremere, op.cit., II, ii, p.253) lasted eleven days.
 2. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.229 and Maqrīzī, loc.cit. (Quatremere, op.cit., II, ii, pp.254-255) For accounts of this expedition see Maqrīzī, op.cit., II, pp.14-15 (Quatremere, op.cit., II, ii, pp.252-254); Abu'l-Fidā, Annales Muslemici, V, p.198; Ibn Ḥabīb, Tadhkirat an-nabih..., ff.54v-55r; Ibn Hajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., I, p.397. See also H. Lammens, La Syrie..., II, pp.15-16 and H. Laoust, op.cit., p.60.
 3. Sāliḥ bin Yahyā (op.cit., p.42) gave the date as 706 A.H. (1306-1307 A.D.).
 4. The mutawallī was the governor of a wilāya, which was a subdivision of a niyāba. Here Duwaiḥī probably meant the mutawallī of Beirut. Beirut, in Mamlūk times, was a wilāya of the niyāba of Damascus. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie..., p.74. Also ʿUmarī, Taʿrif..., p.179 and Qalqashāndī, Subh..., IV, pp.110-111.
 5. Duwaiḥī, T.A., pp.163-164 and T.T.M., pp.377-378.

The redistribution of the iqṭāʿs in Syria and Egypt in the year 1313 was the first event mentioned by Duwaihī in this period.¹ Although his main source, Ibn Sibāṭ's history, dwells at length on the reinvestiture of the Tanūkhhs with their old iqṭāʿs in that year,² Duwaihī made no mention of it. In the year 1315, he continued, the amir Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain of Tanūkh (1269-1350)³ built a great house in ʿAbāī with a tower, a bath, and a garden, and supplied it with water.⁴

Duwaihī next came to the year 1333 (really 1334 - Dhu'l-Hijja 734 A.H.).⁵ In that year, he said, a Genoese naval squadron attacked Beirut with the purpose of capturing a Catalan ship in its harbour. There were two days of fighting in the city, and the Genoese were successful and achieved the purpose of their raid. The nāʾib of Damascus, Tankīz,⁶ was displeased and sent for the amirs of the Gharb

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.167. See below, pp.298 *et seq.*

2. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.245-250.

3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.129. Under Al-Ḥusain, the supremacy of the Tanūkhhs over the other feudal families in Lebanon was fully established.

4. Duwaihī, T.A., p.168. The house was not built in that year, nor was it completed in a single year. It was built over the period 1294-1350. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p. 112. Al-Ḥusain's father, Saʿd ad-Dīn Khidr, started building it.

5. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.101-102 and Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit. pp.271-272.

6. Tankīz (Saif ad-Dīn Abū Saʿīd), formerly a mamlūk of Al-Ashraf Khalīl, was made nāʾib of Damascus in Rabiʿ II, 712 (August, 1312 A.D.). As nāʾib of Damascus, he became a very powerful figure, and ruled his niyāba almost independently. He was finally removed from his office and arrested in Dhu'l-Hijja 23, 740 (June 20, 1340 A.D.). He died, probably poisoned, early in the following year, just over the age of sixty. Ibn Hajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., I, pp.520-527 and H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., pp.8-9.

and the Turkomans of Kisruān and punished them for failing to protect the coast against attack.¹

Ten years later, in 1344, Ibn Subḥ, a muqaddam of the Biqāʿ, raided Wādī at-Taim and burnt thirteen villages there. That is all Duwaihī had to say about the event.² Shidyāq, however, said that the amir of Wādī at-Taim at the time was Husain ibn Saʿd of the Shihāb family and that the muqaddams of the Biqāʿ were incited by the Mamlūk government against the Shihābs because they suspected Husain's allegiance

In the following year, 1345, Duwaihī said, quoting Ibn Sibāṭ, the Mamlūk government, in fear of a naval attack from Cyprus, started a project of ship-building in Beirut under the direction of Baidamur al-Khwarizmī,⁴ and the Tanūks and the ʿAssāfs were ordered to take residence in Beirut and to help the army of Syria (ʿaskar ash-Shām) in guarding the

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1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.172.
 2. Ibid., p.177. I have found nothing about this particular Ibn Subḥ outside Lebanese historians. Ibn Tūlūn, however, mentions the muqaddams of the Biqāʿ belonging to this family very frequently in his history of the tenth Hijra century. See H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas....
 3. T. Shidyāq, Akhbār al-aʿyān...., pp.48-49.
 4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.34-35. As for Baidamur Al-Khwarizmī (Saif ad-Dīn), he was made nāʾib of Aleppo in 760 A.H. (1359 A.D.). On Shaʿbān 29, 761, he arrived in Damascus after having been appointed its nāʾib (July 15, 1360). He held this position, with five interruptions, until 788 A.H. (1386 A.D.). He died in prison in the citadel of Damascus in 789 A.H./1387 A.D. Ibn Hajar, op.cit. I, pp.513-514; H. Laoust, op.cit., pp.13-14 and 15; and Gaston Wiet, Les Biographies du Manḥal Sāfi, Memoires presentes a l'Institut d'Egypte, XIX, 1932, No. 729.

coast.¹ According to Ṣālih bin Yahyā, this project of ship-building in Beirut was started by the great amir Yalbughā² after the naval raid on Alexandria by the Franks of Cyprus on Muharram 13, 767 (October 1, 1365),³ and that it was left unfinished after Yalbughā's death in Rabi' II, 768 (December, 1366).⁴ It is not clear why Duwaihī gave the date wrongly as 1345.

In 1355, Duwaihī continued, there was a successful Frankish naval raid on Sidon in which much booty was taken and which cost the government of Damascus a great deal in

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1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.178.
 2. Duwaihī also mentioned that Yalbughā was responsible for this project. Yalbughā bin 'Abdallāh al-Khāssakī an-Nāṣirī, an amir of a thousand under An-Nāṣir Hasan (1347-1351 and 1354-1361), led a conspiracy against the Sultan and had him killed. In 1363 he deposed his successor, Al-Manṣūr Muhammad, and put Al-Ashraf Sha'bān (1363-1376) on the throne. For three years Yalbughā was the real master of Egypt, until he was killed by the Sultan in December, 1366. Ibn Ḥajar, Ad-durar al-kamina..., IV, pp.438-440.
 3. The Cypriot fleet left Cyprus on October 4, 1365 and reached Alexandria on October 9. The governor of the city was absent on a pilgrimage and his deputy, Jangharā, was incompetent. The Franks landed the following day. The city was taken by storm and much plunder was taken. Alexandria was sacked for three days, many of its buildings and homes were burnt, and many of its inhabitants were massacred. On October 16, the Franks evacuated the city. See Sir George Hill, A history of Cyprus, II, The Frankish period, 1192-1432 (Cambridge, 1948), pp.330-334. Ibn Ayās (Bada'i' az-zuhūr fī waqā'i' ad-duhūr, Cairo, 1311 A.H., I, p.217), after relating the event, giving the date as Ṣafar 13 (October 29), said that after the sack of Alexandria by the Franks Yalbughā ordered the building of ships in Alexandria for a naval expedition against Cyprus. Ibn Ḥajar (op.cit., IV, p.438) said also that Yalbughā ordered the building of 100 ships for an attack on Cyprus, after the Frankish raid on Alexandria. As far as I know, Ṣālih bin Yahyā was the only historian to mention that the project of ship-building extended to Beirut.
 4. Ṣālih bin Yahyā, loc.cit.. H. Lammens, La Syrie..., pp.6-8

ransoms.¹

A slight complication in the fortunes of the Tanūkhīs in 1373 is mentioned by Duwaihī.² In that year, he said, a part of the Gharb was granted in iqṭāʿ, probably by the nāʾib of Damascus, to the chief of the khāṣṣakiyya,³ a man by the name of Tabtaq (or Tubtuq). The amir Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin Khidr, however, managed with much difficulty to annul this grant.⁴

The events that took place in Lebanon following the dethronement of Al-Malik aḡ-Zāhir Barqūq (1382-1398) and his replacement by Hājjī (1389-1390) were next to be dealt with by Duwaihī,⁵ again with Ibn Sibāṭ as his reference.

In 1388, Duwaihī said, Barqūq sent an army from Egypt to put down the rebellion of Yalbughā an-Nāṣirī⁷ and

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1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.343, related the event without giving a date. Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., p.301, gave the date 757 A.H. Duwaihī related the event in T.A., p.183.
 2. Ibid., p.186.
 3. The khāṣṣakiyya were those Mamlūks who were chosen from among the sultan's personal guard to form his corps elite. They served in the palace and the royal stables and accompanied the sultan on ceremonial occasions. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie..., pp.xxxiii and l.
 4. The event is related by Ibn Sibāṭ in op.cit., p.304.
 5. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.189-190. Duwaihī gave 1388 as the date of both the dethronement and the restoration of Barqūq. Actually these events stretched over the years 1389-1390.
 6. Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., pp.316-318.
 7. Saif ad-Dīn Yalbughā an-Nāṣirī was nāʾib of Aleppo under Aḡ-Ṣāliḥ Hājjī (1381-1382), the last of the Bahrī Mamlūk sultans. When Barqūq came to the throne in 1382 he removed him from this position and imprisoned him in Alexandria; then set him free and made him nāʾib of Aleppo in 1388. Later that year, on hearing that Barqūq had sent an order by the barīd to remove him again from the niyāba, he rebelled, made himself complete master of Aleppo by occupying its fort, and approached the other amirs of Syria

Timurbughā Mintāsh¹ in Syria.² The latter, with the help of

to join him in rebellion against Barqūq. Having won over the Syrian amirs to his side and defeated the Egyptian army near Damascus (in 1389), Yalbughā proceeded to Egypt and reached Cairo early in the month of Junādā II, 791 (May, 1389). Barqūq was dethroned and imprisoned in Al-Karak, in southern Syria, and Yalbughā put Hājji back on the throne with the title of Al-Malik al-Manşūr. After that Yalbughā himself was defeated in battle and imprisoned by Mintāsh, his former ally, who thus became practically the ruler of the Mamlūk empire. In 1290, however, Barqūq escaped from prison, defeated Mintāsh at Shaqhab, and returned to the throne. Yalbughā was released from prison and reinvested with the niyāba of Aleppo. In Sha'ban of that year (July, 1390) he was removed to the niyāba of Damascus. The following year he was killed in Aleppo by order of the Sultan. Ibn Hajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., IV, pp. 440-442. H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., p. 16. For his death, see Ibn Ayās, Badā'i' az-zuhūr..., I, p. 296.

1. Timurbughā Mintāsh al-Ashrafī, known generally as Mintāsh, was originally a mamlūk of Al-Ashraf Sha'ban (1363-1376). Barqūq made him nā'ib of Malatia, a subdivision of the niyāba of Aleppo, which fell to the east of Aleppo, in the northernmost part of Mamlūk Syria, in 1386. There he rebelled against Barqūq and was defeated by Yalbughā, the nā'ib of Aleppo. Later he joined Yalbughā in the rebellion against Barqūq in 1389 and, after the dethronement of Barqūq and the restoration of Hājji, he defeated Yalbughā and imprisoned him in Alexandria. The following year he was defeated by Barqūq, who had escaped from prison. After Barqūq had reestablished himself as sultan, he besieged Mintāsh in Damascus. Mintāsh was forced to flee and join Na'ir, a bedouin Arab amir who had joined the rebellion against Barqūq. With Na'ir he defeated Barqūq's army at Hums, and attempted vainly the conquest of Aleppo. In 1391 he attacked Damascus alone and was defeated; so he returned to Na'ir. Approached by Barqūq with many promises Na'ir betrayed Mintāsh and handed him over to the Sultan, who imprisoned him in Aleppo. There Mintāsh remained until he was executed in 1393. His head was paraded in Cairo and hung on Bab Zawila. Ibn Hajar, op.cit., IV, pp. 364-366.
2. Duwaihī said that the army was commanded by Jarkas al-Khalilī. Ibn Hajar (op.cit., IV, p. 441) mentioned Jarkas al-Khalilī among the commanders of the army. Duwaihī, however, gave the date 1388 to the event. Actually the battle between Barqūq's army and that of Yalbughā and his fellow rebels took place on Rabī' I 11, 791 (March 10, 1389 A.D.). See ibid. Duwaihī gave the date 1388 wrongly to all the events concerning Barqūq's dethronement and restoration.

the army of Syria,¹ the Arab tribes,² and the people of the Jird and Kisruān,³ were victorious, killed Jarkas al-Khalīlī, the commander of Barqūq's army,⁴ and advanced on Egypt. Barqūq was dethroned and imprisoned in Al-Karak, in southern Syria, and Ḥājjī was made Sultan in his place.⁵

The dethronement of Barqūq was followed by troubles in Lebanon between the Tanūkhid amirs of the Gharb, who were on the side of the deposed sultan,⁶ and the Kisruānīs⁷ and

1. Yalbughā approached the amirs of Syria and won them over to his side, against Barqūq. Mintāsh was among those amirs. See foot-note on Yalbughā, p.168, fn.7.
2. Na'ir, one of the most powerful Arab chieftains in Syria, joined Yalbughā in rebellion against Barqūq. Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, IV, p.366.
3. Duwaihī, relying on Ibn Sibāt, mentioned the people of the Jird and Kisruān among the allies of Yalbughā. Although Mamlūk chronicles do not mention at all the part played by them in these events, it is not at all improbable that they did join Yalbughā's rebellion. Yalbughā may well have wooed the heterodox malcontents of the Jird and Kisruān, who had suffered defeat and persecution at the hands of the Mamlūk State, to join him in rebellion against the established State.
4. Jarkas ibn 'Abdallah al-Khalīlī, a mamlūk of Turkoman origin, was one of the powerful amirs in Egypt during the early reign of Barqūq. He was made amir akhūr (chief of the stables), a commander of a thousand, and mushir ad-dawla (commander in chief?) by Barqūq. He was killed in battle outside Damascus in 1389. Ibn Ḥajar, Inbā' al-ghumr fī anbā' al-'umr (MS Brit. Mus. 7321), fol.70r.
5. Barqūq was dethroned and Ḥājjī restored on Jumādā II 5, 791 (June 1, 1389). Ibn Ayas, *op.cit.*, I, p.274.
6. Mamlūk chronicles did not mention the help offered by the Tanūkhid amirs of the Gharb to Barqūq.
7. Duwaihī and Ibn Sibāt called the Kisruānīs 'ushrān al-barr, ahl Kisruān (the tribes of the land, the people of Kisruan). The origin of the name 'ushrān al-barr for the Kisruānīs is not clear.

the 'Assāf amirs,¹ who were on the side of Yalbughā and Minṭāsh. The 'Assāfs and their followers, said Duwaihī, attacked the Tanūkhid amirs, killed some ninety of them, and looted several of their villages. However, after Barqūq had managed to escape from prison and had defeated the nā'ibs of Ghazza, Damascus, and Aleppo, his soldiers marched against the Turkomans of Kisruān and defeated them at Jūrat Minṭāsh, in Zūq Mikā'il, on the coast of Kisruān. In this battle two of the 'Assāf amirs, 'Alī and his brother 'Umar, were killed. The Turkomans of Kisruān were badly defeated and their villages were looted by Barqūq's soldiers.² Soon after, Barqūq was restored to the throne.³

Ibn Sibāṭ gave very much the same story, except that he lay more stress on the relations between Barqūq and the amirs of the Gharb. Sāliḥ bin Yaḥyā also wrote about these events at length, giving the year of Barqūq's dethronement correctly as 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.).⁴ Duwaihī related all these events under the year 1388 (790 A.H.). Actually they stretched over the years 1389-1390.⁵

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1. Duwaihī and Ibn Sibāṭ called the Turkomans of Kisruān awlād al-a'mā (sons of the blind man). Actually these amirs only came to be called 'Assāfs after the Ottoman conquest, after the name of the head of the family at the time of the conquest.
 2. Ibn Sibāṭ gave the date as 792 A.H. (1390 A.D.). Mamlūk chroniclers did not mention this raid by Barqūq's soldiers against the Turkomans and the people of Kisruān.
 3. Barqūq was restored to the throne on Safar 14, 792 A.H. (February 1, 1290 A.D.). Ibn Ayās, op.cit., I, p.290.
 4. Sāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.195-198.
 5. For the events concerning the dethronement and restoration of Barqūq see Ibn Ḥajar, Inbā' al-ghumr..., ff.67r-72v. Also Ibn Ayās, op.cit., I, pp.270-290.

Mamlūk chroniclers who dealt with the history of Barqūq's deposition and restoration made no mention of the role played by the Tanūkhid amirs of the Gharb, the Turkoman amirs of Kisruān, or the Kisruānīs and the Jirdīs in the events that centered round them. That the Tanūkhs helped Barqūq after he had left Al-Karak, however, is not unlikely. They seem to have rallied to his cause, like many others, in the hope of future gain in their position and their iqṭāʿs. Likewise the Turkomans of Kisruān must have been among the amirs whom Yalbughā called to join in the rebellion against Barqūq. Yalbughā may have also attracted the malcontent heterodox Moslem population of the Jird and Kisruān, who had suffered much persecution at the hands of the Mamlūk State, to join in the rebellion, with promises of future indulgence. If that was the case, it is not surprising to find Barqūq reasserting the authority of the State over them after his restoration.

Duwaihī did not have much to say about internal events in non-Maronite Lebanon in the Burjī Mamlūk period (1382-1516) after the restoration of Barqūq. He said nothing about the subject until he came to the year 1445. In that year, he said, ʿIzz ad-Dīn Saḍāqa bin Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿĪsā of Tanūkh died, adding that he was "a man of great authority and ruled over [the area extending] from the frontiers of Tripoli to the frontiers of Ṣafad, by the consent of the mutawallī

of Beirut to protect the sea from the Franks".¹ Then he continued to say that between Ṣadaqa and the Al-Ḥamra family there was considerable political enmity.²

A change in the family holding of the office of shaikh (elder or mayor) in Al-Munaiṭra in 1482 was mentioned next. In that year, said Duwaihī, the family of Al-Mustarāhiy replaced Banū Qisās in that office.³ Both families were probably Mitwālīs.

Duwaihī first mentioned the Maḥnids while relating the events of the year 1505.⁴ In that year, he said, the nā'ib of Damascus⁵ sent the dawadār (bearer of the inkpot) Juān Bāk (Jānibāk)⁶ Al-Franjī to raid the Biqā'. The raid was unsuccessful, and the dawadār and some three hundred of his men were killed. The nā'ib of Damascus died just before starting on a second expedition against the Biqā'. His successor, Sībāy al-Ashrafī,⁷ soon after his appointment,

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.208. Also Ibn Sibāt, op.cit., pp.343-345.

2. See below, chapter on Shidyāq's history, pp.313 et seq.

3. Duwaihī, T.A., p.217.

4. Ibid., p.226.

5. In 1505 the nā'ib of Damascus was Arikmās (January, 1505-May, 1506). See H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., pp.106-116. Actually, as will be shown below, the expedition of which Duwaihī spoke took place the previous year and was conducted in person by the nā'ib Qānsūh al-Burj.

6. His name appears thus in Ibn Tūlūn's contemporary account of the expedition. H. Laoust, op.cit., p.99.

7. Sībāy al-Ashrafī entered Damascus as its nā'ib on Muḥarram 9, 912 A.H. (June 1, 1506 A.D.). He disappeared soon after Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, the last Mamlūk nā'ib of Damascus, was appointed to succeed him on Sha'bān 5, 922 (September 3, 1516). Ibid., pp.116-143.

arrested Fakhr ad-Dīn ʿUthmān of Maʿn, amir of the Shūf, who died in the following year - Rabīʿ II, 912 (August-September, 1506).

From other Lebanese sources it is understood that the raids of the nāʾib of Damascus were directed against this ʿUthmān.¹ Shidyāq added that ʿUthmān was released soon after his arrest and was sent back to his country with due honour.²

From Duwaihī's account, it is understood that it was the direct predecessor of Sībāy al-Ashrafī who was responsible for the unsuccessful expedition against the Biqāʿ, in which the dawadār Jānibāk al-Faranjī was killed, and that the expedition took place in 1505. Ibn Ṭūlūn (1475-1546), who wrote a history of the governors of Damascus and was contemporary to the event, said that the expedition started from Damascus on Dhu'l-Qaʿda 2, 909 (April 17, 1504), and that it was led in person by Qānsūh al-Burj, a nāʾib of Damascus who assumed office on Rabīʿ I 1, 907 A.H. (September 14, 1501), not by Arikmās, who was the direct predecessor of Sībāy in the niyāba of Damascus. The dawadār, Ibn Ṭūlūn added was one of the two Damascus officials who, alone, did not join the expedition.³

1. Haidar ash-Shihābī, Al-Ghurar al-hisān..., p.556. He gave the date as 910 A.H. (1504-1505 A.D.).

2. Shidyāq, Akhbār al-aʿyān..., p.301.

3. H. Laoust, op.cit., pp.98-99.

Ibn Ṭūlūn said further that when Qānṣūh reached the Biqāʿ he found that Nāṣir ad-Dīn Ibn Ḥanash had taken flight, thus implying that the expedition was directed against this Ibn Ḥanash, the muqaddam of the Biqāʿ, who had apparently rebelled. Finding that he had taken flight, Qānṣūh burnt his house in Mashghara, a village to the west of the Liṭānī river, in the Biqāʿ, and devastated several villages of the region.

On Muḥarram 13, 910 A.H. (June 26, 1504 A.D.), Ibn Ṭūlūn continued, Ibn Ḥanash returned from his flight; and, finding Jānibāk al-Faranjī, the dawadār of Qānṣūh, in the Biqāʿ, he killed him, along with several shaikhs of the villages of that region. Qānṣūh wanted to send another expedition against Ibn Ḥanash to avenge the murder of the dawadār; but on July 30 he fell mortally ill and could not carry out his plans, since he died ten days later.¹

Later in his history, while relating the events of the niyāba of Sibāy al-Ashrafī, Ibn Ṭūlūn said that Sibāy left Damascus for the Biqāʿ on Muḥarram 27, 912 (June 19, 1506), less than three weeks after his arrival in the city as nāʾib, with the purpose of arresting Ibn Ḥanash. He returned thence on Rabīʿ I 6 (July 27).²

1. Ibid., pp.99 and 100. Qānṣūh al-Burj died on Safar 26, 910 A.H. (August 8, 1504 A.D.).

2. Ibid., p.117.

Although Ibn Tūlūn mentioned the expeditions of Qānsūh al-Burj and Sībāy al-Ashrafī against the Biqāʿ, which were events contemporary to him, he did not make any mention of Fakhr ad-Dīn ʿUthmān of Maʿn in the brief account he gave of those expeditions. It is definite that his arrest was not the primary object of either expedition. That he was arrested by Sībāy in 1506, however, is by no means unlikely. He may well have been an ally of Ibn Ḥanash, the muqaddam of the Biqāʿ against whom the expeditions were actually directed.

The death of Amir Yūnis of Maʿn in 1511¹ is the last event mentioned by Duwaihī about non-Maromite Lebanon before the Ottoman conquest in 1516.

There is nothing new or unique in the information Duwaihī gave about the history of non-Maromite Lebanon in the Middle Ages. Most of what he had to say about the subject is found in greater detail in older sources like the histories of Ibn Sibāṭ and Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā. He offered no interpretation of this history and the dates he gave were often wrong to a greater or lesser degree. However, by placing the history of non-Maromite Lebanon side by side with the history of Maromite Lebanon, although he rarely attempted consciously to link the two together, he was doing something that had never been done before.

Duwaihī's history of Maromite Lebanon is his most

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.228.

original contribution as a historian. In compiling it for the first time from the various snatches of information found in the different sources, he showed remarkable ability in his choice of material, its arrangement and criticism, and the conclusions he derived from it.

Duwaihi's history of the Maronites in the Crusader period is mainly concerned with their religious history. He did give some information, however, about the political relations between the Maronites and the Crusaders.

Duwaihi cited two instances in which the Maronites offered military aid to the Franks in the early years of the Crusaders. The first was in 1099. In that year, he said, as the Franks were advancing from Antioch to Jerusalem, they stopped near 'Arqā¹ and there celebrated Easter on April 7. Whereupon the Christians of Mount Lebanon came down to bid them welcome, helped them with provisions, and guided them on their way to Jerusalem.²

Duwaihi must have taken his information about this event from the chronicle of William of Tyre who wrote about the help¹ offered by the Syrian Christians of Lebanon (by whom he probably meant the Maronites) to the Crusaders in 1099:

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1. 'Arqā (Archas) is a town near Tripoli on the northern coastal plain of Lebanon, not far from the sea. It was at the time an important fortified town.
 2. Duwaihi, T.A., p.9.

High up on the lofty range of Lebanon, whose towering summits rise far above those cities on the east which I have just mentioned, lived certain Syrian Christians.¹ These people had come down to offer their congratulation to the pilgrims and to pay them their tribute of brotherly affection. Since they were well-acquainted with the country all about, the leaders called these people and consulted with them, as experienced men, about the safest and easiest way to Jerusalem. In all good faith the Syrians carefully considered the advantages and all the length of the various routes leading thither and finally recommended the shore road as the most direct.²

The second instance related by Duwaihī in which Maronite help was offered to the Crusaders was in 1111. In that year, he said, when the Persian hosts crossed the Euphrates and advanced into Syria as far as Shaizar, in the vicinity of Aleppo, Tancred, Prince of Antioch (1104-1112), calling the help of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, Bertram, Count of Tripoli (1108-1113), and the Christians of the Mountains, advanced against them; whereupon the Persians

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1. By "Syrian Christians" William of Tyre probably meant the Maronites. He must have been depending on earlier Crusader historians while relating this event (see Raimund: de Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui caperunt Iherusalem, R.H.C.Occ. III (Paris, 1866), p.288). The earlier Crusader historians do not seem to have known the Maronites by their proper name, and to have referred to them as the Syrian Christians of Lebanon.
 2. William of Tyre, op.cit., I, p.330. Raimundi de Aguilers (loc.cit.), who was contemporary to the event, said that the Syrian Christians of Lebanon considered three routes to Jerusalem: the Damascus route, on which food was plentiful but water was scarce, the route by way of the mountain, on which food and water were plentiful but which was difficult for the beasts of burden, and the coastal route, on which the Franks might encounter opposition from the local Moslem population. The coastal route was finally chosen. See S. Runciman, op.cit., I, p.275.

retreated.¹

Duwaihi, in relating this event, quoted William of Tyre. The latter, however, who related the event, did not mention that the "Christians of the Mountains" had anything to do with it.²

It is not clear from what sources Duwaihi obtained his information about the military aid offered by the "Christians of the Mountains" to the Franks in 1111. It is known from contemporary sources, however, that the Maronites continued to be of help to the Crusaders throughout their stay in Syria. William of Tyre spoke of them as "a stalwart race, valiant fighters, and of great service to the Christians in the difficult engagements which they so frequently had with the enemy".³ Jaques de Vitry said that they were numerous, used bows and arrows, and were swift and skillful in battle.⁴ Of the Arab historians, Ibn al-Athir spoke of the help rendered to Raymond de Saint Gilles by the Christians of the neighbourhood of Tripoli and those of the Mountains

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1. Duwaihi, T.A., p.21. William of Tyre, op.cit., I, pp. 489-491. Fulcherio Carnotensi, Historia Iherosolymitana... pp.423-424. Alberti Aquensis, Historia Hierosolymitana (R.H.C.Occ., IV, Paris, 1869, pp.265-714), pp.681 ~~et seq.~~ Ibn al-Qalanisi, Dhail..., pp.174 ~~et seq.~~ See also S. Runciman, op.cit., II, pp.121-123. The "Persians" who crossed the Euphrates and advanced against the Franks to be defeated at Shaizar were the Saljuq army led by Mawdud bin Altunshah Atabeg of Musul under sultan Muhammad bin Malikshah (1104-1117). There seems to be no mention in the sources about the help offered by the Lebanese Christians to the Franks in this incident.
 2. William of Tyre, loc.cit.
 3. Ibid., II, p.459.
 4. Jaques de Vitry, History of Jerusalem, p.79.

in his unsuccessful siege of Tripoli in 1102.¹ It is very likely, therefore, that the Maronites did help the Crusaders in 1111, probably as a contingent of the army of the Count of Tripoli, although it is possible that in this particular case Duwaihī was not depending on a reliable source but simply adding a Maronite tradition to the words of William of Tyre.

Duwaihī mentioned another instance in which the "people from the mountains surrounding [Tripoli]" (probably the Maronites) helped the Crusaders, this time against Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī in 1163.² In that year, he said, when the armies of the Franks were in Egypt,³ Nūr ad-Dīn advanced on Tripoli and was defeated by the Franks of that city with the help of the "people from the mountains".⁴ Again it seems that other sources did not mention the help offered

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, Al-kāmil fi't-tawārikh (Cairo, 1303 A.H.), X, p.120.
 2. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.65-66. Duwaihī gave the date wrongly as 1164. For sources giving the correct date see the following note.
 3. In 1163 King Amalric had set out on an expedition against Egypt. See S. Runciman, op.cit., II, p.367.
 4. The main sources for this event are William of Tyre (op.cit., II, p.306) and Ibn al-Athīr (Al-kāmil..., XI, p.110). The former gave the date 1163 and the latter 558 A.H. (1162-1163 A.D.). See also S. Runciman, loc.cit., referring to William of Tyre and Ibn al-Athīr. Neither of those two contemporary sources mentioned the help offered by the Lebanese mountaineers in the repulse of Nūr ad-Dīn's attack. The people of Tripoli were not alone when they fought Nūr ad-Dīn back. Bohemond III of Antioch and Constantine Coloman, the Imperial general, as well as several other Frankish lords had come to their rescue. See S. Runciman, loc.cit.

by those "people from the mountains" to the Franks in this particular event, although it is not unlikely that such help was offered.

Duwaiḥī also mentioned two instances in which the "men of the mountains" of the neighbourhood of Tripoli defeated Baibars. The first instance was in 1264, when Baibars took Qulai'āt¹ and 'Arqā. Duwaiḥī added that the sultan wanted to besiege Tripoli; but the "men of the mountains" descended on him and defeated him.² In this instance Duwaiḥī was definitely referring to the Maronites (or, more generally to the Christians of northern Lebanon), since he proceeded to say that these "men of the mountains" had built churches on the coast.³

Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir, the biographer of Baibars, said that the fort of Qulai'āt was taken on Ramaḍān 4, 664 A.H. (June 9, 1266 A.D.); and that after it was taken and destroyed a general raid on the whole county of Tripoli "from the frontier of Tripoli to near Arṣūf" followed.⁴ Ibn 'Abd az-

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1. Qulai'āt is a town between Tripoli and 'Arqā, near the coast. It was fortified in Crusader times.
 2. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p.135.
 3. Duwaiḥī said that the "men of the mountains" had built churches in Ḥaṣrā'il and on the coast, "and had escaped the tyranny of the Egyptians [so much so] that in the church of St. Sabas in the village of Idda, in the province of Batrūn, they painted pictures on its northern walls and paved it, as it is apparent from the inscription of the painter [which is dated] the year 1573 S.E. [1262 A.D.]".
Ibid.
 4. MS Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir, Sīrat Baibars, pp.156-158. The manuscript, an almost complete abridgement of Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir's biography of Baibars, was found by Prof. ~~Benjamin Lewis~~ in the Istanbul Library. I have not been able to find its date. There are a few pages missing at the beginning; and

Zāhir did not mention anything about the intention of Baibars to besiege Tripoli which was frustrated by the defeat of his soldiers at the hands of the Lebanese mountaineers.¹ An abortive attempt at the conquest of Tripoli at the time does not, however, appear to have been improbable.

The second instance was, according to Duwaihī, in 1266. In that year, he said, Baibars raided the country of Tripoli, cut its trees, destroyed its irrigation system, and devastated twenty-four of its villages; but when the men of the mountains "poured down" on him, he went to Ḥasn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers), and from there proceeded to Antioch, which he took by storm after a four days' siege.² From this it is understood that Baibars called off the raid on the country of Tripoli in fear of the Lebanese mountaineers.

Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir mentioned this raid in his account of the events of the year 666 A.H. (1267-1268 A.D.). It would be interesting to take into consideration his account of it:

Mention of the advance of the Sultan to Tripoli and his raid on it. Bohemond VI, 1251-1275³, the ruler of Tripoli, had agressed greatly against the land of Islam and had occupied the country in his neighbourhood, that having been after the end of Ayyūbid rule³ and the

* the rest of the pages are unnumbered. I used my own numbering of the pages, according to the pages of the manuscript as they appear in the microfilm kindly lent to me by Prof. Lewis.

1. As far as I know, no other Arabic historian mentioned it either.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.136.

3. Ba'd zawāl al-ayyām an-Nāṣiriyya (after the end of Nāṣirid days), the reference being to An-Nāṣir Salāh ad-Dīn Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo (1236-1260) and of Damascus (1250-1260).

Mongol occupation of Syria. He had been among the greatest helpers of the Mongols, and the one who was the strongest in overcoming the Moslems.... So the Sultan advanced from Damascus to Ba'albak, and from there he advanced to Tripoli by way of the mountains of Ad-Dinniyyi for the prince had made the roads rough. He arrived in Tripoli in the middle of Sha'ban (c. April 30, 1268)².... and he encamped near the city.... And the Sultan continued to ride against Tripoli, while the soldiers engaged ~~in~~ skirmishes with its inhabitants.... And a group of the soldiers advanced on the Franks of Al-Hadath,³ and they looted those mountains; and the soldiers gained booty... and took several caves by the sword; and when the prisoners were brought before the Sultan he ordered that all of them should have their heads cut off. The trees were cut down, the churches pulled down, and the water canals and the Roman canal of Tripoli, which had no like in greatness, were destroyed; and the Sultan divided the booty among the soldiers and left Tripoli on Sha'ban 29 May 15, 1268.⁴

In this case also Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir made no mention of the defeat of the soldiers of Baibars at the hands of the Lebanese mountaineers; but the fact that he did not mention it does not exclude its possibility. It is only natural that the eulogistic biographer of Baibars should ignore his minor failures. On the other hand, the fact that he mentioned the town of Al-Hadath, a town in the heart of Maronite Lebanon, and the destruction of churches, makes it clear that the Maronites did have encounters with the army of Baibars.

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1. The modern name for this mountainous district to the north-east of Tripoli is Ad-Dnayya.
 2. Magrīzī (Sulūk..., I, p.566) said that Baibars arrived in Tripoli in the middle of Sha'ban, 666 A.H., and that he left the country after having finished his raids on Sha'ban 14, 666 A.H. (!).
 3. The meaning of this passage in the text (wa jarrada jamā'a-tun min al-Fāranj Al-Hadath) is vague. This is the best interpretation I could make of it.
 4. MS Sīrat Baibars, pp.207-213. A similar account is found in Magrīzī, loc.cit., which appears to be a summary of the account given by Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir. See R. Grousset, Histoire des Croisades, III, p.640: "Dans son expedition contre

Duwaiḥī next related the raid of Qalāūn on Jibbet Bsharrāy in 1283.¹ Duwaiḥī got his information about this event from two prayer books, one written in the year 1594 S.E. (1283 A.D.), the year of the event,² and the other written in 1815 S.E. (1504 A.D.), well over two centuries later.³ Duwaiḥī summed up this event from the information he found in those two prayer books as follows:

In the month of May the Moslem soldiers advanced for the conquest of Jibbet Bsharrāy. The army went up east of Tripoli through the valley of Hīrūnā and layed heavy siege to Ihdin. After forty days the [village] was taken in the month of June. [The soldiers] looted, killed, and kidnapped; and they pulled down the fortress (gal'a) in the center of the village and the stronghold (hiṣn) that was on the top of the mountain. Then they moved to Bqūfā and took it in July. They got hold of all its notables and burnt them with the houses; and they looted and kidnapped, and razed [the village] to the ground. And after massacring the inhabitants of Ḥaṣrūn and Kafarsārūn in the church, they advanced on the twenty-second of August to Al-Ḥadath. Its people escaped to Al-ʿAṣī, an impregnable cave in which there was a water cistern;⁴ and the soldiers killed those they could

Bohemond VI, Baibars avait projete de prendre d'abord Tripoli. Vers le 1er mai 1268 il apparut devant la ville, saccagea la banlieue, demolisant les eglises et massacrant les paysans. Mais le Liban Maronite - et la Montagne etait encore couverte de neige, - genait ses communications pour une siege en regle. Il se rabattit sur Antioche." Grousset referred to Maqrizi and to Röhricht, Derniers temps, pp. 390-391.

1. See chapter on Ibn al-Qilāʿī, above, pp. 79-81.
2. This prayer book, said Duwaiḥī, was written in Qtīn ar-Rawadīf, a village in the neighbourhood of Al-Ḥadath, near the monastery of Mār Yūḥannā, which is known as Dair Mār Abūn. The abbot of that monastery at the time was Bishop Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadathī. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p. 145.
3. Ibid., pp. 145-6.
4. There were, apparently, several caves in Mount Lebanon which were specially prepared for refuge by the population in case of attack. Ibn ʿAbd aḏ-Zāhir (see above, p. 182) mentioned the taking of several caves by the sword. Here it is found that the cave was provided with a water cistern.

find and destroyed Al-Ḥadath; and they built a tower (burj) facing the cave and stationed in it soldiers to watch over /those who had taken refuge in it/. And as they could not take the fort (gal'a) of Hūqā, which faces Al-Ḥadath; Ibn Sabḥā, of Kafarsghāb, advised them to draw to it /the water of/ the spring that is over Bsharrāy, and to set it on /the fort/; so they took it with the power of the water, because it is within the cliff. And they permitted Ibn Sabḥā to wear a white turban and to be served by slaves. And when the soldiers repented their evil deeds, they built the monastery of the Lady of Hūqā for the residence of the monks; and it is near the fort (burj) which was in the cliff.¹

This event has been previously discussed in this study in the chapter on Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history. The raid of 1283 may have been conducted as a preliminary expedition to the conquest of Tripoli in 1289. Its aim, probably, was to make it impossible for the Franks of that city to receive help from the Maronites of the neighbouring mountains against the Moslem army, as they had done in the past.

In dealing with the religious history of the Maronites in the Crusader period, Duwaihī's primary aim was to refute the claim of William of Tyre, who said that the Maronites renounced the monothelite heresy and joined the Church of Rome in approximately 1180. The wording of this claim, which has been quoted time and again by Church historians runs as follows:

At this time, while the kingdom /of Jerusalem/ was enjoying a temporary state of peace..., a race of Syrians in the province of Phoenicia, near the Lebanon range,

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.146. All the place names mentioned in this passage are in Jibbet Bsharrāy.

who occupied the territory near the city of Jubail, underwent a wonderful change of heart. For almost ^{five} hundred¹ years these people had followed the heretical doctrines of a certain Maro, from whom they took the name of Maronites. They seperated from the Church and the faithful and had adopted a special liturgy of their own. Now, however, by divine leading, they were restored to their right minds and abandoned their heresy. They repaired to Aimery, the Patriarch of Antioch, the third of the Latin patriarchs to preside over that church,² renounced the error by which they had been so long enslaved, and returned to the unity of the Catholic Church. They adopted the orthodox faith and prepared to embrace and observe with all reverence the traditions of the Roman Church....

The heresy of Maro and his followers is and was that in our Lord Jesus Christ there exists, and did exist from the beginning, one will and one energy only.... To this article ... they added many other pernicious doctrines after they seperated from the number of the faithful. Now, however, as has been stated, they repented of all their heresies and returned to the Catholic Church under the leadership of their patriarch and several of their bishops....³

The question of the original monothelitism of the Maronites, which Duwaihī refuted, is not within the scope of this study. His refutation of William of Tyre's inference that the Maronites entered into communion with the Church of Rome for the first time in 1180, however, ~~is of~~

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1. In the English translation, as in the original, it is given as fifty years. In the Old French translation (R.H.C.Occ., I), p.1076, it is given as 500 years. The Old French version appears to be more plausible, since 500 years back from c.1180 gives the date c. 680, the approximate date of the foundation of the Maronite church in Lebanon.
 2. Aymeri or Haimery, also called Amaury and Amalric, of Limoges, a Frenchman from the province of Limousin, became Latin patriarch of Antioch in 1142. He probably died in 1196 and was succeeded by Pierre of Angouleme. L. de Mas Latrie, "Les patriarches latins d'Antioche", in R.O.L., II, 1894 (pp.192-205), pp.193-194.
 3. William of Tyre, op.cit., II, pp.458-459.

is of vital interest and ~~th~~rows light on the relations between the Maronites and the Franks in the early Crusader period.

Duwaihī cited two cases before 1180 in which the Maronite patriarch had communicated with the Pope. The first was in 1100 when the Maronite patriarch, Yūsuf al-Jirjisī, who was residing in the village of Yānūh, sent his envoys with those of Gaudefroy de Bouillon to the Pope, Paschall II, and received from the Pope the crown and the staff.¹ The second was in 1131, when Pope Innocent II sent letters to the Maronite patriarch, Gregorius al-Hālātī, with Cardinal Gulielmo,² whereupon the Maronite bishops met the Cardinal at Tripoli, swore to obey the Pope and to hold to the Catholic faith, and set their signatures to an oath of allegiance to Rome.³ In both these cases Duwaihī referred to Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn, in which Ibn al-Qilā'ī had cited the number of times the Maronites had renewed their allegiance to Rome.⁴

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1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.355; T.A., p.11; and S.B., p.309. See above, pp.57 et seq.
 2. Probably Albericus, bishop of Ostia, not Cardinal Gulielmo. see above, p.60.
 3. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.355-356; T.A., pp.38-39; S.B., p.310. See above, pp.59 et seq. The event probably took place in 1139 or 1140, not 1131.
 4. Duwaihī quoted these passages that referred to these events from Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter in T.T.M., pp.354-5. Duwaihī added to Ibn al-Qilā'ī's account that Cardinal Gulielmo carried with him letters from the Pope, and that he met the chiefs of the Maronite clergy at Tripoli. Both these details are not found in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter. Duwaihī went still further to explain the situation by saying that when, in 1130, Honorius II (1124-1130) died, two Popes were elected in his place, those being Innocent II and Anacletus. The latter was triumphant (see K. Mann, The lives of the Popes.. IX, pp. 4 et seq. The schism ended with the death of Anacletus

As it has been pointed out above, it is not at all improbable that there were two contacts between the Maronites and the Papacy before 1180, although there seems to be no evidence outside Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī to the effect. It has been shown above that the Crusaders and the Maronites had come into contact with each other as early as 1099, and that the Maronites had offered military help to the Franks on many occasions. It is unlikely that they could have continued to live and fight with the Franks for over eighty years without being influenced by their religious beliefs and practices. The "wonderful change of heart" that took place, according to William of Tyre, in 1180 must have started much earlier, possibly as early as 1099 when the Maronites had their first contact with the Crusaders.

Aside from those two cases, Duwaihī mentioned that in the year 1112 (or during the reign of Baldwin I, 1100-1117, as he mentioned elsewhere)¹ the Maronites in Lebanon started using brass bells instead of planks of wood to call the faithful to church, and wealthy people started building churches, monasteries, and schools.² Ibn al-Qilā'ī, in his letter to

in 1138, whereupon Innocent II was recognized as Pope) and Innocent had to flee to France. From his exile he sent envoys to ask for the allegiance of the kings and princes of the Church, the envoy to the Maronites having been Gulielmo. See Duwaihī, T.A., pp.38-39.

1. Ibid., p.27.

2. Ibid., p.22.

Patriarch Shamʿūn, wrote that it was in the days of Queen Constance, who had given the Maronites the grotto of the Holy Cross and altars in the various churches of Jerusalem, that the Maronites started using brass bells, in the manner of the Catholic Church.¹ This Queen Constance, of whom Ibn al-Qilāʿī spoke, was the wife of Robert, King of Naples and Sicily (1309-1343).² The use of church bells by the Maronites, however, was mentioned much earlier by Jaques de Vitry:

Hence, whereas all Eastern prelates save only the Latins do not use rings and pontifical mitres, nor carry pastoral staves in their hands, nor use bells, but are wont to call the people to church by using a wooden board with a staff or hammer, these aforesaid Maronites, in token of their obedience to Rome, follow the customs and rites of the Latins.³

Thus, Duwaihī was right in fixing an earlier date than Ibn al-Qilāʿī for the adoption of the use of bells by the Maronites. The date 1112 is not unlikely.

Duwaihī devoted a whole chapter in Radd at-tuham... to prove that Tūmā al-Kafartābī, whose case has already been discussed in the chapter on Ibn al-Qilāʿī's history, was not a Maronite; and to show that even if he were a Maronite his monothelitic views were not representative of the Maronite belief.⁴ He denied the Maronitism of Tūmā solely on the basis of the groundless testimony of Ibn al-Qilāʿī.⁵ After quoting the passages from Ibn al-Qilāʿī which refer to Tūmā

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1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.335. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn, p.104.
 2. Al-Manāra, III, 1932, p.104, fn.2.
 3. Jaques de Vitry, op.cit., pp.80-81.
 4. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.337-350.
 5. Ibid., pp.339-340.

al-Kafartābī,¹ he said:

Following this testimony, all difficulties [which arise from the fact that Tūmā al-Kafartābī, a Maronite arch-bishop, was a monothelite] disappear. I mean he was not a Maronite, but he was one who intended to sow the tares of heresy among the Maronites.²

Duwaihī further added that, granting that Tūmā was a Maronite, his belief in the One Will, in that case, was the result of his reading of the history of Eutychius (Ibn Baṭṭīq) who had said that the Maronite church followed the teachings of the monothelite monk Mārūn.³ Besides, in the introduction to Tūmā's book, Al-maqālāt al-ʿashr, it was stated that a priest from the village of Farsha⁴ had asked him to rewrite his book, the original of which had been burnt by the Melchite patriarch, Anbā Yūḥannā.⁴ Referring to this statement Duwaihī concluded that when Tūmā came to Lebanon to "sow the tares of heresy", his teachings were rejected by the Maronites there, and that he only succeeded in spreading his heresy in the village of Farsha⁴. He argued that "if Al-maqālāt al-ʿashr had been accepted by Patriarch Yūsuf [al-Jirjisī], his arch-bishops, and the officials of his see Tūmā would not have written it to the church of Farsha⁴, which is a small village, and refrained from writing it to the Patriarchal church or to the other holy churches and monasteries!"⁵

Like Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Duwaihī had no factual grounds

1. See above, p. 56.

2. Duwaihī, T. T. M., p. 339.

3. See above, p. 129, fn. 1.

4. See above, p. 55.

5. Duwaihī, T. T. M., pp. 342-343.

on which to prove that Tūmā al-Kafartābī was not a Maronite. Duwaihī, however, seems to have realized that; for although he accepted Ibn al-Qilā'ī's statement that Tūmā was not a Maronite, he dwelt at length on the possibility of his having been a "misled" Maronite. Considering the evidence already examined about the relations of the Maronite church to Rome before 1180, this second possibility suggested by Duwaihī may have some basis of truth. Tūmā al-Kafartābī may have represented a certain section among the Maronites who still held on to their monothelite beliefs while the Maronite church in general tended towards doctrinal and ritual conformity with Rome. This possibility is strengthened by a quotation given by Duwaihī from a Jacobite church book:

And the sects refused to believe; so you said with them, O Maronites, two Natures and two Essences and two Wills. And [there are] some among them who said one Will.¹

To which Duwaihī added that those who believed in the One Will were people like Tūmā al-Kafartābī and Ibn at-Tayyib² and others who were dwellings among the Jacobites; while those who believed in the Two Wills were the Maronites of Lebanon.

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1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.343. Duwaihī also quoted the same passage in ibid., p.87, with one variation, placing the "one Will" before the "two Wills". I have not found the original.
 2. Duwaihī said that Abu'l-Paraj 'Abdallāh Ibn at-Tayyib was a Maronite and a monothelite and that he died in Iraq in 1140 (T.A., pp.46-47). Ibn at-Tayyib was a philosopher, physician, monk, and priest who lived in Baghdad in the first half of the 12th. century and died in 1143. He was a Nestorian, not a Maronite, and was not inclined to monothelitism. See G. Graf, op.cit., II, pp.160-177.

Duwaihi, thus, had a case in refuting the claim of William of Tyre that the Maronites were first converted by Aimery in approximately 1180; but his case does not go as far as he wanted it to. Although the conversion of the Maronites might have started much earlier than William of Tyre would have had it, monothelitism did not die overnight among the Maronites but persisted among them for a very long time.

In trying to disprove William of Tyre's version of the conversion of the Maronites to Catholicism, Duwaihi, moreover, attempted an untenable explanation of the conversion of 1180. Turning away from the evidence of William of Tyre, who was a contemporary to the event, he went back again to the letter of Ibn al-Qilā'ī which has been referred to above. In this letter Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote that the Maronites of Jerusalem took an oath of allegiance to Rome. Duwaihi explained that this event mentioned by Ibn al-Qilā'ī took place at the time when Aimery was in Jerusalem¹ (c. 1153-1160).² After the Lateran Council of 1179, he said, which was held by Pope Alexander II (actually Alexander III, 1159-1181) after the schism which followed the death of Pope Hadrian was brought to an end in 1277, letters from the Pope were brought back by the bishops of the East who had attended the Council to King Baldwin (Baldwin IV, the Leper, 1175-1185) and to Aimery.

1. Duwaihi, T.T.M., pp. 351-352. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Letter to Patriarch Sham'un, p. 105.

2. William of Tyre, op.cit., II, p. 235.

Patriarch of Antioch. On receiving these letters Aimery, the King of Jerusalem and other officials and clergymen of the realm swore allegiance to Alexander II. Like the other Christians, Duwaihī continued, the Maronites who were in Jerusalem swore allegiance to Pope Alexander alone. He went further on to say that it was only the Maronites of Jerusalem who had taken the oath and that neither the Maronite patriarch nor his bishops, who had always been good Catholics, had anything to do with the matter. The date of this oath, as given by Duwaihī, varies between 1179, 1180 and 1182.¹

This version of the story is in complete disagreement with that of William of Tyre, who was living at the time and who took part in the Lateran Council of 1179.² William said distinctly that the Maronites, led by their patriarch and several of their bishops repaired to Aimery, Patriarch of Antioch, and accepted union with Rome at his hands. Aimery had left Jerusalem in approximately 1160.³ The Maronites of Jerusalem might have taken part in the paying of allegiance to the triumphant Pope Alexander. It is clear, however, that the Maronites in 1180 or 1181 did enter into a formal union with the Church of Rome, a union which was not there before; although some preliminary understanding might have been reached between the Catholic Church and the Maronites before that time.

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1. Duwaihī, T.A., pp. 80-81; T.T.M., pp. 351-352 and 356-357. For the story of the schism of 1159 see William of Tyre, op.cit., II, pp. 281, 285 and 435.
 2. William of Tyre, op.cit., I, Introduction, p. 21.
 3. William of Tyre, op.cit., II, p.235.

Nearly thirty-five years after the conversion of the Maronites at the hands of Aimery, their patriarch, Armiā al-Amshīti, went to Rome and attended the Lateran Council held by Innocent III in 1215. Duwaihī said that Innocent III, on his accession in 1198, had sent his legate with letters to the Maronite Patriarch and that Armiā, in company with two bishops and several minor clergymen, had met the legate in Tripoli and had offered obedience there to the Pope and to his successors in the See of Rome. Later, he said, the patriarch left for Rome in person and attended the Lateran Council.¹

Duwaihī, furthermore, quoted in full the bull addressed by Innocent III to Armiā.² This bull, as it has been noted above, stated that the Maronites had been once "like wandering sheep, not properly understanding that the Catholic Church was the spouse of Christ..." and proceeded to explain points of faith and ritual to the Maronites, calling upon them to accept the teachings of the Catholic Church. Having noticed that this letter insinuated that the Maronites had previously been heretics, Duwaihī explained the fact away by saying that

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1. Duwaihī, *T.T.M.*, pp. 359-360. In *S.B.*, p.311 and *T.A.*, p.102, he gave the date of Armiā's accession to the Patriarchate mistakenly as 1209. Cardinal Peter of Capua, the papal legate must have met him at Tripoli in c.1203 (see above, p.76). Duwaihī did not notice this mistake. *T. Anaissī (Silsila, pp.19-21)* gave the date of Armiā's accession as 1199. The visit of Armiā to Rome has been discussed fully in the previous chapter, pp.70 et seq.
 2. Duwaihī, *T.T.M.*, pp. 361-5. For this letter see chapter on Ibn al-Qilā'i, above, pp.73 et seq. Duwaihī gave his own translation of this bull from Latin, which is far more correct than Ibn al-Qilā'i's.

it was the Melchites who had misinformed Innocent III about the true faith of the Maronites.¹

The formal conversion of the Maronites by Aimery and the presence of their patriarch at the Lateran Council of 1215 were the two main events Duwaihī discussed concerning the relations between the Maronites and Rome while Lebanon was under the rule of the Franks. That was not all he had to say, however, about the history of the Maronite church in that period. He gave the chronology of the patriarchs of that church, as far as he could make it out from the scanty material that was available to him. He also attempted to determine the changes of residence of the patriarchs, which appear to have been several. The building of new churches and the restoration of old monasteries are also occasionally mentioned.²

The political history of the Maronites after the Mamlūks had completed the conquest of the Phoenician coast in 1391 differed greatly from their history in the Crusader period. Under Frankish rule the Maronites were the most privileged among the native communities of Syria.³ They were the stalwart race of valiant fighters of whom William of Tyre and the other Frankish chroniclers spoke. Even their fellow Eastern ^{Christians} praised

1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp. 366-7.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., pp. 118 and 141-2 and S.B., p. 312.

3. E. Rey, Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XI^{me} et XII^{me} siecles (Paris, 1883), p. 76.

their prowess and the great help they offered to the Franks.¹

Under the Mamlūks their privileged position was lost. The Mamlūks, furthermore, fearing that the Maronites would assist the Franks in effecting a second landing on the Phoenician coast,² sought to break their defences and weaken their power. Already before the conquest of Tripoli, in 1283, Qalāūn had sent an expedition against Jibbet Bsharrāy, the heart of Maronite Lebanon, which resulted in the utter defeat of the Maronites, the capture of their patriarch, and the destruction of several of their forts.³

Moslem historians who related the expeditions of 1292 and 1305 against Kisruān said that these expeditions were

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1. The Armenian chronicler Hayton (obit. c. 1308-1315), nephew of Hethoum I, King of Armenia (obit. 1268), praised the valour of the Maronites as follows: "Les Marromins... habitent entour le mont Liban, et vers les parties de Jerusalem, e sont bones gens d'armes.... [/Ils sont/] poi de gent; e entre iaus y a des vaillans homes d'armes et de bons seignors." Further on, he added: "E eu mont Liban sont Crestiens habitans, bons sergans, entor Xlm, qui grant aide donroient as pelerins, e maintes foiz se sont relevez au soudan (sultan), e ont fait damage à sa gent." Hayton, La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient (Old French version R.H.C.Arm., II (Paris, 1906), pp.134-5 and 245.
 2. Hayton (ibid., pp.247-250), who drew a plan at the end of his history for the reconquest of the Holy Land by the Franks, described the way in which the Franks should advance to Jerusalem. The last stage of the conquest, he said should go as follows: "E se les enemis eschivassent la bataille, les Crestiens porroient venir a Tripoli droitement en III jours de Damas, et porroient refaire la cité de Triple, e les Crestiens qui sunt eu mont Liban donroient grant aide as pelerins; dont les Crestiens qui tenent la cité de Triple porroient apres conquerre le roiaume de Jerusalem, o l'aide de Deu." Ibid., p.250. Underlining mine. Louis de Rochechouart, bishop of Saintes, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1461, came in contact with the Maronites who were then still asking if the Christians were going to reconquer the Holy Land. "Journal de voyage de Louis de Rochechouart...", R.O.L., I, 1893 (pp.168-274); p.257.
 3. See above, pp.79 - 81 and 183 - 184.

conducted against the Rāfiḍa, the Nusairīs, and the Druzes of the district. Modern historians who have considered these expeditions followed the view of the Moslem chroniclers, stating further that the defeat of the heterodox Moslem communities of Kisruān was favourable to the Maronites who were thus enabled to move further south into the devastated districts of Kisruān which had become depopulated.¹ Although this may have been true in the long run, Maronite historians state clearly that the Maronites shared in both the victory of 1292 and the utter defeat of 1305.² Ibn al-Qilāʿī seems to have believed that it was the Maronites alone who defeated the Mamlūk army in 1292; and that the expedition of 1305 was directed wholly against them.³

Duwaihī, drawing on both Ibn al-Qilāʿī and the Moslem and Druze historians (Ibn al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Sibāṭ), brought together the purely Maronite and the non-Maronite accounts of the expeditions. While relating the expedition of 1292,⁴ he paraphrased Ibn al-Qilāʿī's account of the battle of Jubail in which the Maronite muḡaddams proved their valour.⁵

1. H. Lammens, La Syrie..., p.16. H. Laoust, Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-Din B. Taimiya..., p.60.

2. Like the Druzes (see above, p.160) the Christians of Lebanon, according to Hayton, killed and took captive the Mamlūk soldiers escaping through their country before the advance of Ghāzān Khān in 1300. See Hayton, op.cit., p.195. This was also mentioned by the Gestes des Chiprois (see R. Grousset, op.cit., III, p.745, fn.3).

3. See above, pp.91 et seq. and 98 et seq.

4. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.160-161 and T.T.M., p.376. See above, pp.157-158.

5. See above, pp.91 et seq.

When he related the expedition of 1305, he mentioned the destruction of churches in Kisruān.¹

The history of Tādrus of Ḥamā, the only available Maronite source which was possibly contemporary to these events shows clearly that there was a thriving Christian² population in Kisruān before the defeat of its heterodox Moslem population in 1305.³ Tādrus added that in the great expedition against Kisruān "not a monastery, church, or fort...was saved from destruction, excepting the church of Mār Shallitā.... And after several years Christians from every region started coming into the country".⁴

Duwaiḥī added that in 1309, a few years after the destruction of Kisruān, troops encamped near Bsharrāy and caused great damage to the whole district.⁵ These troops passed by Bsharrāy, probably on their way from Damascus to Tripoli.⁶

The persecution of the Maronite clergy by the Mamlūks in 1366 is the event discussed next by Duwaiḥī.⁷ It was, he said, the result of several Cypriot and Genoese naval raids of Beirut and Sidon and of the two great fires of Damascus (1339 and 1353 A.D./740 and 754 A.H.) for which the

1. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p.163.

2. Naṣārā is the word used by Tādrus. He did not mention the Maronites in particular, but they were implied.

3. Tādrus of Ḥamā, op.cit., pp.85-86.

4. Ibid., p.88.

5. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p.166.

6. Haidar ash-Shihābī, Al-ghurar al-hisān..., p.484. The date is given by him as 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.). I have not come across other mentions of the event.

7. Duwaiḥī, T.T.M., pp.386-387.

Christians were blamed.¹ The direct cause of the persecution, he continued, was a naval raid by the Franks of Cyprus on Alexandria, to which the Mamlūk government retorted by persecuting the Christians living within the Mamlūk Empire.² Here Duwaihī quoted Yaʿqūb, the archbishop of Ihdin in the year of the persecution, who related the event on a copy of the Gospels which he made while fleeing from the persecution:³

In this date [1677 S.E./1366 A.D.]⁴ the King of Cyprus went out to Alexandria and looted it, killing its men and taking its young prisoner. So the sultan of the Moslems got angry with the Christians and took their chief clergymen and imprisoned them in Damascus. Then I, the humble Yaʿqūb of Ihdin by the name of Archbishop, ran away and left them, and the Lord Christ helped me, and I copied [these Gospels] while I was running away.

During these persecutions, said Duwaihī, the Maronite patriarch, Jibbāʾīl of Ḥajūlā, was arrested and burnt alive outside Tripoli⁵ on April 1, 1367. Duwaihī referred here to an elegy written by the patriarch's nephew, who gave April 1 as the date of his uncle's execution.⁶

Ibn Ḥajar, in his biographical sketch of Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī,⁷ said that after the raid of the Franks of Cyprus

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1. Ibn Sibāt, *op.cit.*, pp.267-268, 301, and 305. I could find no mention of the fire of 754 A.H. in Ibn Sibāt. The date of the first fire is given as 739 A.H.
 2. See above, p.101. For the Cypriot raid on Alexandria, see above, p.166, fn.3.
 3. Duwaihī, *T.T.M.*, p.386. The original is in Syriac, given by Duwaihī with an Arabic translation.
 4. Duwaihī gave the equivalent of the date in the Seleucid Era variously as 1365 and 1367 of the Christian era. (*T.A.*, p.185 *T.T.M.*, p.387, and *S.B.*, p.347. Actually the raid on Alexandria took place in October, 1365. See above, p.166, fn.3.
 5. See above, p.101. Duwaihī, *T.T.M.*, p.387, *T.A.*, pp.185-186, and *S.B.*, p.347.
 6. Duwaihī, *T.T.M.*, p.387.
 7. See above, p.166, fn.2.

on Alexandria Yalbughā began preparations for an attack on the lands of the Franks, and that he "confiscated [For the purpose] all [the wealth] of the Christians and the monks, and collected what wealth was found in all the monasteries".¹ It seems definite, if the testimony of the archbishop of **Indin** is taken into consideration, that the persecution of the Christians that followed the raid on Alexandria was not confined to Egypt, and that it greatly affected the Maronites of north Lebanon.

In contrast to the persecutions of 1366, Duwaihī mentioned the endowment of the monastery of Qannūbīn by the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq in 1388.² In that year (actually 1390),³ he said, when Barqūq left prison and travelled in Syria in the guise of a dervish,⁴ he came to Bsharrāy and appointed the shidyāq Ya'qūb bin Ayyūb muqaddam of the district. Barqūq then went down to the monastery of Qannūbīn where he was hospitably received by Buṭrus, the abbot of the monastery. In repayment for his hospitality, the Sultan gave Buṭrus a firman excusing the monastery from taxation and giving it precedence over all the monasteries of the district.

1. Ibn Ḥajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., IV, p.438.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.190-191.

3. Barqūq left prison in Al-Karak in 1390. See above, p.168, fn continued from previous page.

4. I have not found in any history other than that of Duwaihī that Barqūq left Al-Karak disguised as a dervish. Barqūq did not escape from Al-Karak. He made himself master of the fortress before leaving it to fight his way back to the throne. See Ibn Ayās, op.cit., I, pp.280 et seq. It is not clear where Duwaihī got his information from.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī, as it has been shown above, said in the Madīha... that a sultan who was passing through the valley of Qādīshā was invited to dinner by a monk; and that the sultan showed his gratitude for the monk's hospitality, after he was restored to the throne, by issuing a firman giving benefits to all the monks (by which he meant all the monks of the Qādīshā valley), and by sending money to build Qannūbīn.¹

Duwaihī, who referred to Ibn Sibāṭ's history for the repercussions that took place in non-Maronite Lebanon during and after the period of Barqūq's dethronement and restoration, and who used Ibn al-Qilāʿī's history extensively in dealing with the history of Maronite Lebanon, must have been using one or more other sources when he related the story of Barqūq's endowment of Qannūbīn.² Ibn al-Qilāʿī did not mention any names when he related the story of the deposed sultan who endowed Qannūbīn. He did not give any dates either; but simply placed the event before his account of the fall of Tripoli. He did not mention that the sultan was garbed as a dervish. Duwaihī not only gave the name of the sultan, but also said that the event took place in 1388 (in mistake for 1390). He added further that the sultan appointed Yaʿqūb ibn Ayyūb muqaddam of Bsharrāy, issuing for him a title to the effect inscribed on a sheet of brass (ṣafīha min nuḥās). A

1. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Madīha..., p.43. See above, pp.84-86.

2. I have not found any possible sources which Duwaihī might have used in his narrative of the event and from which he obtained information about the endowment of Qannūbīn and the appointment of Yaʿqūb ibn Ayyūb as muqaddam.

similar brass sheet, he added, was issued for the monastery of Qannūbīn, excusing the monastery from taxation. Besides, he said that the sultan was received by the priest Buṭrus, abbot of Qannūbīn.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the truth of this story. The Mamlūk chroniclers did not mention at all that Barqūq went to Bsharrāy, or to north Lebanon after leaving Al-Karak. He may, however, have done so. Although it is impossible, apparently, to establish Duwaihī's story as fact with the available information, it is yet unlikely that it has no basis of fact.¹

It must be added here that Duwaihī said further on that Ya'qūb bin Ayyūb died in 1444, after he had been muqaddam of Bsharrāy for approximately 62 years.² This would make 1382, and not 1390, the year of his appointment. If this was the case then he could not have been made muqaddam by Barqūq in 1390, except if the latter had merely confirmed him officially in his position.

Ya'qūb, on his death in 1444, was succeeded in the muqaddamiyya by his three sons, Sifa, who was surnamed Zain

1. Of the Mamlūk sultans who were deposed and restored Barqūq was the most likely to have gone to Bsharrāy, since seven months elapsed between the time he left Al-Karak (Dhu'l-Qa'da, 791) and the date of his restoration (Jumada II, 792). See Ibn Hajar, MS Inbā' al-ghumr..., ff. 67v and 72v. The others were moved back from prison to the throne almost immediately, or remained throughout in Egypt during the period of their deposition.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., p.207.

(Zain ad-Dīn ?),¹ Qamar, who was surnamed Badr (Badr ad-Dīn ?), and Mazhar.² These were followed by Sīfa's son, 'Abd al-Mun'im, who died in 1469 and was followed by his nephew Rizq-Allāh bin Jamāl ad-Dīn bin Sīfa.³ After giving the names of these muqaddams, Duwaihī added that in their days there was so much comfort and prosperity in Lebanon, that many people from the neighbouring countries, among whom there were many Jacobites, came over to live in Bsharrāy and the other towns of northern Lebanon.⁴ As an illustration of the prosperity of Lebanon at the time, Duwaihī cited that in the churches of Bsharrāy there were as many altars as there were days in the year, that there were 1200 cows and bulls in Al-Ḥadath and 70 mules in Ihdin, and that the number of copyists at the time with whose works he was familiar was over 110.⁵

In 1472, Duwaihī continued, Rizq-Allāh died and his

1. Duwaihī said simply that Sīfa was surnamed Zain and that his brother Qamar was surnamed Badr. Probably he meant that they were surnamed Zain ad-Dīn and Badr ad-Dīn. Such honorary names, although usually associated with Moslems, were not uncommon among the muqaddams of Bsharrāy. Muqaddam Rizq-Allāh's father was called Jamāl ad-Dīn (see text above), and Yūsuf, son and successor of 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb, as it has been seen before, was surnamed Jamāl ad-Dīn.

2. Duwaihī, loc.cit.

3. Ibid., p.213. See genealogical table of the muqaddams of Bsharrāy in Appendix II, below, p.332.

4. Thus, Duwaihī said, "the sons of Jum'ā left 'Ain Haliā [?] and moved their residence to Bsharrāy; the sons of Shāhin emigrated from Ṣadad [a town in Syria, in the region of Damascus] and took residence in the village of Ḥaṣrūn; the curate (khūri) Hannā and the priest (qiss) Iliyyā and their brother the shidyāq Jirjis, the sons of Al-Ḥajj Masan, moved from Nāblus to Hadsūt [in Jibbet Bsharrāy]; and the priest Ya'qūb and his companions from the land of Ethiopia came as monks to reside in the monastery of Mār Ya'qūb Ihdin, and it became known as the monastery of the Ethiopians (Dair al-Hbāsh) after them". Duwaihī, T.A., p.214.

5. Ibid.

great nephew, 'Abd al-Mun'ım Ayyūb, became the muqaddam of Bsharrāy.¹ With his accession the influence of the Monophysites became very strong among the Maronites of Bsharrāy. 'Abd al-Mun'ım had been taught reading by a Jacobite priest. Realizing that his orthodoxy was not strong, the Jacobites managed to win his favours with presents. He built them a church near his house in Bsharrāy after the name of Barsaumā, one of their saints. Several Maronites were won over to Monophysitism by those Jacobites, to the great alarm of the Maronite patriarch who tried in vain to bring them back to orthodoxy. 'Abd al-Mun'ım, on the other hand, threatened anybody who would annoy the Jacobites and their proselytes with exile and the confiscation of property.² This led in 1487 to a rising which ended with the expulsion of the Jacobites from Jibbet Bsharrāy in 1488.³ Duwaihī gave the details of this ~~rising~~ ^{rising} in which the greatest role was played by the Maronites of Ihdin, his native village. In 1493, Duwaihī continued, Jibra'īl Ibn al-Qilā'ī returned from Rome and tried to bring 'Abd al-Mun'ım and his followers back to the paths of orthodoxy "by spoken and written word".⁴

With the death of 'Abd al-Mun'ım in 1495 the troubles came to an end. His son and successor, Jamāl ad-Dīn

1. Ibid., p.215.

2. Ibid., pp.217-218.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., pp.220-221. Ibn al-Qilā'ī served Duwaihī as one of his sources. See the discussion of these events in the previous chapter.

Yūsuf, was orthodox in his faith.¹

The spread of the Monophysite heresy in Jibbet Bsharrāy has already been discussed. Duwaihī referred mainly to Ibn al-Qilā'ī's Madiha 'ala Jabal Libnān and Tabkīt kull man zāgh 'an al-īmān for its history. Duwaihī, however, did not give his sources for the rising among the Maronites of Jibbet Bsharrāy that led to the expulsion of the Jacobites from that district, an event which is not related by Ibn al-Qilā'ī. Duwaihī gave the following account of this event:

In 1488 the Jacobites were expelled from Jibbet Bsharrāy; for when the bishop Ya'qūb² and the notables of Ihdin knew and were assured that the priest Ya'qūb and the Ethiopians who were living in the monastery of Mār Ya'qūb³ were in the monastery, they warned them several times to correct their religious beliefs. When they payed no heed /to those warnings/, they /the bishop and notables of Ihdin/ ordained the priest Ibrāhīm bin Ḥablaṣ a bishop and sent him to the monastery. /The Ethiopians/, not bearing to have him direct their affairs, left for the valley of Hadshīt and took residence in the monastery of Mār Jirjis, which became known as the monastery of the Ethiopians (Dair al-Ḥbāsh), after them, under the protection of the shidyāq Jirjis ibn al-Ḥajj Ḥasan.⁴ Shidyāq Jirjis, the shaikh of Hadshīt, and Muqaddam 'Abd al-Mun'im, who followed his counsels, took up the cause of /the Ethiopian monks/; and as they were not strong enough to attack the people of Ihdin, they sought the assistance of the sons of Za'zū', the muqaddams of Bshinnātā.⁵ /The latter/ called together the people of Ad-Ḍnayya⁶ and marched towards Ihdin (qasadū Ihdin) on Sunday morning.⁷

1. Ibid., p.221.

2. Ya'qūb ~~must have been~~ ^{was} the bishop of Ihdin (1463-1513). Duwaihī, I.A.p.

3. The priest Ya'qūb and the Ethiopians had come to live in the monastery of Mār Ya'qūb in Ihdin previously. See above, p.202, fn.4.

4. See above, p.202, fn.4. Shidyāq Jirjis came originally from Nāblus.

5. Bshinnātā was a town in Ad-Ḍnayya, apparently the seat of the muqaddams of the district.

6. See above, p.182, fn.1.

7. Duwaihī only said it was on Sunday morning, and did not give the date.

Hearing of their approach, the people of Ihdin lay in ambush against them at Ḥamīnā;¹ and when the people of Aḍ-Ḍnayya came down from the mountain they fell on them and killed them in the field (marja) of Tūlā.² When the Jacobites heard the news, they were filled with fear and dispersed, some of them going to Ḥirdīn, some to Kafar-Ḥūrā,³ and some escaping by sea to Cyprus. As for the priest Yaḥqūb and his companions, they went to the monastery of Mār Mūsā in the wilderness.⁴

The details which Duwaihī gave in his account of this event show that he had one or more adequate sources.

In 1510, Duwaihī went on to say, Many Maronites emigrated to distant countries. The reason for this emigration he said, was the excess of tyranny, by which he probably meant the fiscal tyranny of the last Burjī Mamlūk sultans. He proceeded to say that from Jubail alone 120 people left for Cyprus in a ship. The names of some of the emigrants are given. Many of those emigrants, however, returned to their country, having found that Christian rule in Cyprus (under the Venetians, 1489-1570) was even worse than Moslem rule at home.⁵ Here Duwaihī took his information, as he himself said, from the history of Iliās of Mʿād.⁶

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1. This is the only place in Tārīkh al-azmina where Ḥamīnā is mentioned. I have not been able to identify the place, but it is probably near Ihdin, in Jibbet Bsharrāy.
 2. Tūlā is a village in Jibbet Bsharrāy (not to be confused with another Tūlā in Al-Batrūn).
 3. Kafarḥūrā is a village in Az-Zāwiya, on the lower course of Nahr Abī ʿAlī.
 4. Duwaihī, T.A., pp. 218-219. I have not been able to identify the monastery of Mār Mūsā in the wilderness (Mār Mūsā fī ʿl-barriyya).
 5. For the Venetian administration in Cyprus, see Hill, History of Cyprus, III, pp. 765 et seq. No mention of the Maronites.
 6. The history of Iliās of Mʿād, it has already been said, is not found at present. In his history of Mʿād, the anonymous author of the Mukhtaṣar... (MS Bibliotheque Orientale 57, fol. 25), who seems to have depended largely on Iliās of Mʿād, said, referring to his history, that in 1500 there was a great deal of tyranny and scarcity in Lebanon, and

The religious history of the Maronites under Mamlūk rule was dealt with at great length by Duwaihī. His main purpose in writing it was to prove that the Maronites, throughout this period, were faithful to Rome. The bulk of the material about this subject is found in Radd at-tuham...

Pilgrims and papal legates who visited Lebanon during this period gave a viewpoint on the orthodoxy of the Maronites at the time which is quite different from that given by Duwaihī. Although it is unlikely that the Maronites ever broke from Rome after their conversion by Aimery in 1180, their attachment to the Holy See after the departure of the Crusaders from Syria does not appear to have been firm. An incident like that which took place in the days of Muqaddam 'Abd al-Mun'im goes to show that even though the Maronite church may have been as strictly orthodox as Duwaihī insisted it was, the Maronites in general were not particularly attached to this orthodoxy and were readily drawn into the heresy of their Monophysite neighbours.

Brother Felix Fabri, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1484, gave the following description of the Maronites:

particularly in the province of Jubail; and many families left that province for Cyprus, 'Akkār (north-east of Tripoli) and Bilād Bishāra (south Lebanon), and many people died. He added that the people of Hasdāt (?), the villages of Jubail, and the villages of Āl-Batrūn went to Cyprus. The event, as mentioned by Duwaihī under the year 1510, appears in T.A., pp. 227-228. Duwaihī also mentioned that Pope Leo X wrote to Leonardo, Duke of Venice, requesting him to treat better the Maronites who were in Cyprus, after hearing the complaints of Patriarch Sham'un. For the letter of Leo X to the Duke of Venice, see T. Anaissi, Bullarium Maronitarum, p. 31. The letter is dated September 13, 1515.

There dwell in Jerusalem Christians called Maronites, who are heretics, and believe that Christ has only one will and one energy. They ring bells as we do whereas all other Eastern Christians call people to church by beating on a board. In their common talk they use the Saracen tongue, but in their services the Chaldean. Once they came back to the one Church, but have long since fallen away therefrom....

Many who write concerning these Eastern Christians say that they are free from heresies, and praise their simplicity of life. This was indeed true in old times - two hundred years ago - but since then all of them, save only the Latins, have become tainted with the worst of errors, and become daily more so; for they have no doctors or preachers of the Catholic faith....¹

Francesco Suriano² agreed with Felix Fabri in his description of the Maronites. "Since then [1180?], as time went on," he wrote, "many errors and sundry heresies grew among them."³ Father Pietro Verniero, a Franciscan monk who died in 1660, spoke of the Maronites as follows:

Although... due to the influence of the Jacobites, they had relapsed from time to time into some errors, they all came back promptly to render obedience to the Apostolic See and, in every case, they were soon relieved from these errors by the help of the learned and holy fathers... as in the year 1215, with the help of Aimery, then Patriarch of Antioch... and in the year 1450, with the help of Fra Gryphon and Fra Gabriele [Jibrā'il ibn al-Qilā'ī] of the Lesser Brothers and finally in the year 1579 and 1580 by the help of the fathers Giovan Battista Eliano and Giovanni Bruno, the Jesuits, legates of Pope Gregory XIII.... For that reason they never deserved to be called schismatics and heretics.⁴

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1. Felix Fabri, The book of wanderings of brother Felix Fabri, translated by Aubrey Stewart (London, 1897), II, pp. 389-392.
 2. See above, p. 19, fn. 1.
 3. F. Suriano, Il trattato..., p. 69.
 4. P. Pietro Verniero di Montepiloso, Croniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa, in vol. I of P. Girolamo Golubovich, Biblioteca Bio-bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese (Florence, 1913), pp. 26-27.

It is quite understandable that the Maronites, who had been attached to Catholicism by the Franks, should have reverted to heretical doctrines after the departure of the Franks. Their will to be brought back to the Catholic traditions by Latin missionaries, however, and the fact that some Maronites, like Ibn al-Qilā'ī, went to Rome and returned as missionaries to their own people, show that the Maronites were not conscious that their continual relapses into heresy were leading to a break with Rome. It is possibly because they lacked a firm link with Rome after the Crusades were over that the Maronites, every now and then, fell under the influence of the Jacobites.

In writing the history of the Maronite church after the departure of the Franks, Duwaihī attempted to disprove the claims made by certain church historians and Western travellers that the Maronites had to be reconverted to Catholicism on several occasions because they had broken with Rome.

He began by refuting the claims of Wilamo (Guillaume Postel)¹ and Arnaldus Albertinus² (the former referring to the latter) that the Maronites, after having been converted to Catholicism and after their patriarch had attended the

1. See above, p.139, fn.5. His claim is quoted verbatim by Duwaihī.

2. See above, p.140, fn.1. His claim is also quoted verbatim by Duwaihī.

Lateran Council of 1215, returned to their original heresy and broke off from the Church and were therefore excommunicated by the Council of Constance.¹

Duwaihi's refutation of this claim is adequate. The Council of Constance, he said, which was held in 1414, was not concerned with the affairs of the Eastern churches. It was held, rather, to consider the problems concerning the Papacy and the Empire, and to examine the heretical views of John Wycliff and John Hus.² It had nothing to do with the Maronites. Duwaihi suggested that the authors of this claim may have written the Council of Constance by mistake instead of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which was held in Constantinople in 680 at which, according to Sa'id bin Batriq, the Maronites were anathemized for their Monothelitism.³

Next Duwaihi refuted the claim that the Maronites were reconverted to Catholicism at the Council of Florence in 1439⁴ along with the Jacobites, Syrians, and Chaldaeans.⁵ According to Duwaihi, this could not have been true because the Maronites were already in union with Rome at the time. Duwaihi's version of the role played by the Maronites at the

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1. The claims of "Wilamo" and Albertinus are quoted by Duwaihi in T.T.M., p.380. He refutes them in ibid., pp.381 et seq.
 2. For a discussion of the Council of Constance see M. Greighton, A history of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the sack of Rome (London, 1897), I, pp.307-360 and II, pp.1-116. For a full account of the sessions and decisions of the Council, see C-J. Hefele, Histoire des Conciles..., VII, pp.108-584. The Council of Constance was in no way concerned with the Maronites.
 3. Ibn Batriq, Tārikh, II, pp.12-13.
 4. See above, p.106, fn.1.
 5. Duwaihi, T.T.M., pp.388 et seq.

Council of Florence runs as follows:

The Patriarch Yūhannā al-Jāji [1404-1445] had succeeded to the Antiochian see before the meeting of the fathers at Florence had come about; but he could not send for confirmation from Rome because on the dangers of sea travel and [because] no one who knew the language of the Franks could be found [to undertake the Journey]. Then Fra Juan, the superior of the Franciscan monks in Beirut, came to him and informed him that his term of office was over and that he wanted to return to the land of the Christians. So the Patriarch sent him as a legate to the head of the Apostolic See and ordered him to ask for his [the Patriarch's] confirmation and to bring him back the pallium of office from Pope Eugene [IV]. Fra Juan, therefore, went over to Florence to attend the Council and to inform the Pope about the matter. The Patriarch and the leaders and important men of the Maronite community had sent with [Fra Juan] letters asking for confirmation, as was the custom, and stating clearly that they would obey and accept all that the fathers [at the Council] would legislate. Their letters continued to be preserved in Rome until the days of Bishop Jibrā'il ibn al-Qilā'ī, as he himself bears witness in the letter he wrote to the Patriarch Sham'un al-Hadathī saying: "For two-hundred and eighty-two years, [even] up to our own days, your oaths [of allegiance] and your signatures have been found at the hands of Fra Gryphon and Fra Alexander and Fra Simon in Rome, and before them at the hands of Fra Juan, the superior of [the Franciscans of] Beirut and the legate of your patriarch, Yūhannā al-Jāji, to the Council of Florence."¹ And when Eugene was assured [of the good faith of the Maronites] he confirmed Yūhannā al-Jāji as head of the see of Antioch and sent to him with Fra Juan, his legate, a crown and a staff, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī says in Madīhat Kisruān:

"Yūhannā al-Jāji was Patriarch.

He received a crown from the Pope and was blessed [by him.

He sent [a legate] to the Council and did not [go himself];

And [the Pope] confirmed him as the shepherd of [the people of] Mārūn.²

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1. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Letter to Patriarch Sha'un, pp.101-102.
 2. Madīha..., p.62. Duwaihī quoted the passage with a slight variation. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.388. See above, pp.104 et seq.

Here again, Duwaihī's refutation is feasible. He relied on Ibn al-Qilā'ī and on the letters sent by Eugene IV to Yūhannā al-Jājī in 1439 and 1441, which he gave in his own Arabic translation.¹ It is very possible that a request for confirmation by the Maronite patriarch through his legate at the Council of Florence, which had met to reconcile the Eastern Christians to Rome, was interpreted by the contemporary Church historians as a reunion with Rome of a sect that had been heretical beforehand.² This interpretation, however wrong, became the official Roman interpretation. To disprove it, Duwaihī quoted a letter sent by Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), dated 1447, to the Maronite patriarch Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī (1445-1458), successor of Yūhannā al-Jājī. This letter shows that Nicholas V believed that the Maronites had joined the Catholic Church at the Council of Florence. Duwaihī must have missed the whole point in it when he quoted it thus:

And we ask you, O brother, and request you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to try your utmost possible to walk in the steps of your predecessor, preserving the unity that was brought about in the time of our aforementioned predecessor Eugene IV and in keeping to what was contracted between you and your community and us and the Roman Church. For we are following the ways of our aforementioned predecessor and we hope... that we shall continue in this unity. And if you keep to it, we

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1. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp. 393-395 and 390-392.
 2. Henri Lammens gives Duwaihī's version of the story in "Era Gryphon et le Liban au XVe siècle" in Revue de l'Orient Chretien, IV, 1899, p. 72.
 3. Underlining mine.

promise you, O brother, with all that we and this church can afford of help and blessings.

The Council of Florence was an important event in the history of the relations of the Maronites with the Roman Church. Although Duwaihī made a good case for the orthodoxy of the Maronites at the time of the Council, Roman opinion was against it. However, after the Council of Florence, there was no longer any doubt about the orthodoxy of the Maronite church. Lammens suggested that the word "errores" which authors used about the Maronites did not signify doctrinal errors but simply abuses of practice. "The most decided adversaries of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites," he said, "must agree that since the Council of Florence their beliefs have been absolutely irreproachable."² In the period following the Council, the Franciscan monks in Beirut and Jerusalem, upon the suggestion of the Popes, made frequent visits to the Maronite population whose condition, according to the reports of those monks, was wretched. Among those Franciscan brothers, Gandolph of Sicily, Gryphon of the Flanders, and Alexander Ariosti of Bologna were the most outstanding.³ A fourth Franciscan who deserves particular note

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1. The letter is found in T. Anaissi, Bullarium Maronitarum, pp.17-18. It is quoted in translation by Duwaihī in T.T.M., p.403.
 2. Lammens, "Fra Gryphon...", p.87.
 3. R. Ristelhueber, Les traditions Francaises au Liban (Paris, 1917), pp.75-76.

in this respect was the Maronite historian Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī whose role in combatting the Monophysite influence that was spreading among the Maronites in the last quarter of the fifteenth century has already been discussed.

The next claim which Duwaihī refuted was the claim that the Maronites were brought back to the true faith and to union with Rome by Fra Gryphon in 1450.¹ Duwaihī said that this could not have been the case since Yūḥannā al-Jāji had been confirmed by Eugene IV in 1439, Nicholas V having born testimony to that and to the patriarch's orthodoxy in his letter to Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī, Yūḥannā's successor, in 1447. During the whole of Fra Gryphon's stay in Syria, Duwaihī continued, the Maronite patriarchs were Yūḥannā al-Jāji and Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī, both of whom were orthodox in their faith.²

Duwaihī was right in his refutation of this claim. What Fra Gryphon did was not to convert the Maronites to Catholicism but to educate them religiously, correcting the abuses of practice which had crept into the Maronite church through the years.³ Among other things, he prepared a questionnaire for the confession of the ignorant.⁴ The Maro-

1. Duwaihī gave this claim, made by Murqus al-Ashbūnī (Mark of Lisbon?) in T.T.M., pp.399-400. F. Suriano said that Fra Gryphon came to Lebanon from Palestine in 1462 and stayed there for ten years, converting the Maronites and extirpating their heresies. Iltrattato..., pp.69-70. Lammens said that Gryphon came to Lebanon in 1450 with Fra Francois of Barcelona and that he merely corrected abuses in the Maronite church. "Fra Gryphon...", pp.79 and 87.

2. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.401-405.

3. H. Lammens, op.cit., p.87.

4. F. Suriano, op.cit., p.69.

nite church itself, apparently, felt the need for religious education. The Maronite patriarch had asked the Pope Paul II (1464-1471) to provide him and his people with some necessary religious instruction. After a similar demand a few years later, Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) appointed, in 1475, Fra Pietro of Napoli, the vicar general of the Franciscan order in Lebanon, as his commissioner to the Maronites, to be followed in this office by his successors.¹ Duwaihī mentioned that in 1475, upon the insistent demands of the Maronites, Sixtus IV had asked the vicar general of the Lesser Brothers (Franciscans) to send one or two of his monks to visit the Maronites and to give them the necessary instruction.²

The correspondence between Pope Leo X (1513-1521) and Patriarch Shamʿūn (1492-1524) brings to a close the history of the Maronites in the Mamlūk period. Duwaihī dealt in detail with this correspondence.³ In 1513, he said, Patriarch Shamʿūn sent his legate to Rome to ask for confirmation from Leo X. The legate carried with him a letter from the vicar general of the Franciscan order in Beirut which praised the orthodoxy of the Maronites, their obedience to Rome, and their patience in bearing the tyranny of the Moslems. Leo X was pleased with Shamʿūn's request for confirmation and with the good recommendation his legate carried with him; and the Pope

1. P. Verniero, Croniche..., p.27.

2. Duwaihī, T.A., pp.215-216.

3. Ibid., pp.229-232.

sent a letter for him with the legate asking for information about the various practices of the Maronite church.¹ The following year Sham'ūn sent his legate again to Rome (March 8, 1514, 1515 according to the Gregorian calendar)² with a letter expounding to the Pope the doctrines and usages of the Maronite church and its unbroken union with Rome and asked for certain favours. Moreover, he returned letters sent previously by the Popes to his predecessors.³ At the same time, Father Francesco Suriano, the superior of the Franciscans in Jerusalem, sent a letter to Leo X bearing testimony to the orthodoxy of the Maronites and their obedience to Rome, adding that they only differed from the Roman Church in some usages of the Eastern churches which had been allowed them by the Roman See through the intercession of Fra Gryphon.

In 1515, Leo X sent Sham'ūn his confirmation and his other requests, exhorting him to change certain practices in his church. The letter which the Pope sent him, which Duwaihī described,⁴ was full of praise for the Maronite church which, "like the rose among the thorns," had managed to preserve its orthodoxy amid infidels and heretics. The Pope

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1. This letter (T. Anaissi, Bullarium Maronitarum, pp.27-29) is dated May 25, 1514.
 2. The letter of Leo X which arrived before the second departure of Sham'ūn's legate to Rome is dated May 25, 1514. See above footnote. Duwaihī did not give the exact date of the first departure of Sham'ūn's legate, saying simply that he left in 1513. It may have been early in 1514, according to the Gregorian calendar.
 3. This explains why the Papal letters sent to the Maronites, which were found at Qannūbīn at the time of Ibn al-Qilā'ī, are no longer found in the Maronite patriarchal archives.
 4. The letter, dated 1515, is found in T. Anaissi, op.cit., pp. 32-35 and J. Debs, Perpetuelle orthodoxie..., pp.19-20.

further sent a letter in that year to Francesco Suriano asking him to pay frequent visits to the Maronite patriarch and to his people and to guide them in doctrinal matters when such guidance was needed. In his book, Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente, Suriano spoke of his appointment as the commissioner of Leo X to the Maronites:

Finally, for the same cause, Pope Leo X sent me as his commissioner... in the year of the Lord 1515, with many presents of cloth and clothing, and vestments of gold and brocade. From this affair followed great honour from God, the salvation of those people, and the commendation of the Apostolic faith, to the praises of the Omnipotent God, amen. amen.¹

This is by no means all that Duwaihī had to say about the religious history of the Maronites in the Mamlūk period. He gave many more details about the Maronite church, its patriarchs, its bishops, and its relations with Rome. Only the main points have been discussed in this study. This part of Duwaihī's history of Lebanon before the Ottoman conquest is the most complete. It was the part in which he was, perhaps, most interested and for which he had most sources. His refutations of the claims made against the orthodoxy of the Maronites in the Mamlūk period have a sound basis, unlike his refutation of the claim of William of Tyre.

On the whole, Duwaihī's religious and secular history of the Maronites forms the most important part of his work. It is the part to which he paid most attention and which was

1. F. Suriano, op.cit., p.71.

his main contribution as a writer of history. He tapped sources that had never been touched, or perhaps even known. In fact, he was writing for the first time the history of his people. In contrast, his general history of the Near East and his history of non-Maronite Lebanon merely restate the Arabic historians.

There are, it is true, mistakes in Duwaihī's history of the Maronites. His dates and his conclusions are, in some instances, dubious. His insistence on the absolute and continuous orthodoxy of the Maronites and on their unbroken union with Rome led him, at times, to wrong interpretations of facts. His history, however, is still a monumental piece of research work that shows his diligence and his critical powers as well as his remarkable ability to compile a coordinated and intelligible history from fragmentary information. It is for this reason that Duwaihī fully deserved to be called the father of Maronite history.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF ṬANNŪS ASH-SHIDYĀQ

Following the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt and the rise of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, Lebanon and its feudal families became important pieces in the game of nineteenth century international politics. The political history of Lebanon and the history of its feudal families became, thus, the focus of attention to the contemporary historian of Lebanon. Church history and the polemical defence of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites, which had been the main topics dealt with by older Maronite historians like Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Duwaihī, dwindled in importance. It is not therefore surprising to find that with the nineteenth century came the rise of the Maronite lay historian. This historian paid little attention to the history of his community as such, or to the history of the Maronite church. Instead, he dealt with the history of Lebanon as a political unit, and with the history of its feudal families as its component parts.

Ṭannūs bin Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq is, perhaps, the best representative of this new type of Maronite historian.

Since the early seventeenth century, if not earlier, the family of Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq had been clerks in the service of the Lebanese feudal princes of various religious

denominations.¹ Some of them had been teachers.² They represented thus a class among the Maronites which, without being clerical, shared with the clergy the monopoly of learning, before the nineteenth century missionary activity had brought education to the ordinary layman.

As clerks of the amirs, the Shidyāq, like the other families that followed their profession, formed a second class aristocracy that had the right to use the title of shaikh.³

Manṣūr ash-Shidyāq, the grandfather of Ṭannūs, left Kisruān in 1741 and went to Baʿalbak, where he entered the service of a Mitwālī amir, Ḥaidar Al-Ḥarfūsh. Two years later he moved to the Biqāʿ, and finally to Al-Ḥazimiyya, in the neighbourhood of Beirut. In 1755 he was engaged by Amir Muḥim ash-Shihābī as manager to his nephew, Qāsim ʿUmar, whom he accompanied to Istanbul to seek in vain for the young amir the governorship of the Shūf and Kisruān. In 1763, after having spent several years in southern Lebanon, Manṣūr was called again by Qāsim ʿUmar to his service, and he moved his residence to Ḥadath Beirut.⁴ Since then Al-Ḥadath became the

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1. Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq, Tārīkh wa aʿmāl banī ash-Shidyāq, pp. 4-7. The manuscript of this unpublished work of Shidyāq was kindly lent to me by Mr. Kamil Chidiac of Ḥadath Beirut. This work will be hence referred to as MS Family history.
 2. Ibid., p.7.
 3. In the letters which Ṭannūs received from his brother Fāris, which are found in the possession of Mr. Kamil Chidiac, Ṭannūs is always addressed as Shaikh. Another clerical family that had the right to this title were the Yāzijīs. It must be remembered that shaikh was also the title of the Lebanese feudal families who were not amirs or muqaddams.
 4. Ibid., pp.8-13. This Al-Ḥadath must not be confused with the town in Jibbet Bsharrāy that bears the same name.

permanent home of the Shidyāqs.

After Qāsim 'Umar's death in 1768, Manṣūr became guardian of his children for one year, after which he went into the service of two other Shihābī amirs. His second son, Abū Husain Yūsuf, who had entered the service of those two amirs, apparently, with his father, remained in their service after his father's death in 1793. Yūsuf remained in the service of Amir Sayyid Aḥmad, one of those amirs, and of his son Amir Salmān, until 1805, when he was called to the service of yet another Shihābī amir, Ḥasan 'Umar, and was asked by him to return to 'Ashquṭ, the ancestral home of the Shidyāqs in Kisruān.

Yūsuf had five sons: Ṭannūs, Manṣūr, As'ad, Ghālib, and Fāris. Of those five, three were destined to fame. The youngest, Fāris (d. 1887), who was later converted to Islam and adopted the name of Aḥmad Fāris, was to become one of the most outstanding figures in Arabic letters in the nineteenth century. As'ad, the third son of Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq, was among the first Maronites to be converted to Protestantism by the missionaries. He became a Protestant in 1825 and, in the following year, was handed over to the Maronite patriarch by his brother Manṣūr. By order of the patriarch, he was imprisoned and tortured; and he died a martyr's death in prison in 1830, aged 33. He is still remembered as the first and, perhaps, the only martyr of Protestantism in the Levant.¹

1. According to Ṭannūs, his brother Manṣūr was also a man of letters and wrote many books in Syriac and Arabic. Ibid., p.46.

Ṭannūs, the eldest of the five, became the best known Maronite historian of the first half of the nineteenth century. He was probably born in 1794.¹ When he was some ten years old, his father went to live in Kisruān; and in 1809 Ṭannūs began to study Syriac and Arabic grammar with a certain Yūsūf al-Ḥkayyim in Ghustā, a village in the neighbourhood of Jūniya.²

Shidyāq's tutoring in Ghustā had to be stopped the following year. Towards the end of 1809 his father had been appointed by Amir Bashīr II, the wālī of Lebanon, as tax-gatherer in Shuwair, a village in the Matn province; and the following year he was also put in charge of taxation and conscription in Zahla, a small town in Ash-Shūf al-Bayyāḍī. Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq, therefore, left Ṭashqūt and went back to his home in Al-Ḥadath. There Ṭannūs taught his brother Asʿad what Syriac and Arabic grammar he had learnt at Ghustā.

In 1813 Ṭannūs went to resume his education at ʿAin Waraqa,³ but he was forced to discontinue his studies

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1. There is no mention in MS Family history of the date of Ṭannūs's birth. Considering, however, that Asʿad died in 1830 at the age of 33 (born 1798) and that Mansūr died in 1842 at the age of 46 (born 1796), Ṭannūs, being older than both, and probably in direct precession, must have been born in approximately 1794.
 2. Ibid., p.22.
 3. The college of ʿAin Waraqa (founded in 1789 by Asʿad Ghandūr) was the most important Maronite institution of higher education in the early nineteenth century. Most of the men in Lebanon who rose to distinction in the world of letters in the first half of the nineteenth century (e.g. Buṭrus al-Bustānī) had their schooling in it. It was a monastic foundation. It made a point of encouraging the study of Arabic literature, and also taught, among other things, Syriac and Latin and the canonical sciences. See G. Antonius The Arab awakening (London, 1938), pp.38 and 47.

there because he was a subject to headaches. The following year, therefore, he enrolled his brother As'ad at 'Ain Waraqa; and in 1818, after As'ad had left school, Ṭannūs studied with him moral philosophy (ilm adh-dhimma).¹

Ṭannūs never had the chance to devote any extensive span of his youthful years to study. As early as 1810, after one year's tutoring in grammar, he was engaged by a Shihābī amir, Salmān al-'Alī, as a clerk, and he accompanied that amir to the province of Shuḥḥār, south of Beirut, to assist in conscripting soldiers for the army of Bashīr II. In 1818 he decided to become a merchant, and the following year he went to Damascus to purchase goods for his shop; and, at the same time, he was charged by the Shihābī amirs to carry out for them a small political mission in that city.²

Although Ṭannūs remained a merchant all his life, he never had a chance to devote all his time to his commerce. He was used as an agent and a spy by the Shihābī amirs and became well versed in the political intrigues of his day. In 1822 he took part in the fighting during the struggle between Bashīr II and the wāli of Damascus;³ and, as a soldier, he reached as far north in Syria as Shaizar.⁴

1. MS Family history, pp.26-27.

2. Ibid., pp.27-28.

3. H. Lammens, La Syrie..., II, pp.144. Shihābī, op.cit., pp.981 et seq.

4. MS Family history, pp.33-36.

Tannūs seems to have been a man of many responsibilities. His father's death in 1821 left him in charge of his mother, his two sisters, 'Adlā and Wardiyya, and his youngest brother, Fāris. Later, a wife and two sons, Fāris and Najā, were added to the family;¹ The deaths of his brothers Ghālib (in 1840) and Manṣūr (1842) brought three more infants to his charge.² His commerce, on the other hand, does not seem to have prospered, and his account book, which is still found in manuscript, shows a deficit for most of the years between 1821 and 1856.³

Tannūs needed an additional income to meet the expenses of his family. This he found in teaching and copying books. The names of several books which he seems to have copied in his excellent hand appear among the sales in his account book.⁴ Fees from students he taught also appear in this book.⁵

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1. The date of Tannūs's marriage does not appear in any of the available documents. For his sons, see MS Family history, p.2. Fāris, his first child, died in infancy.
 2. Ibid., pp.45 and 46. Ghālib left one son, and Manṣūr left two sons, Zāhir and Bishāra.
 3. MS Mufakkarat Tannūs ash-Shidyāq, in the American University of Beirut, MS 647.1, Sh 55. The expenses into which he went for his family after his father's death in 1821 (MS Family history, p.33) were meticulously recorded in this account book.
 4. See MS Mufakkarat..., I, pp.10 and 119, for examples of such books. One such book, which was not sold, is still found, copied by Tannūs ash-Shidyāq. It is called Kitāb al-bayyināt and is in the possession of Mr. Kamil Ghid~~kaq~~. It is probable, though not certain, that the other books listed among the sales in the Mufakkarat... were of his own copying. On Kitāb al-bayyināt, Tannūs's name does not appear.
 5. From the Family history we learn the names of some of the students whom Tannūs ash-Shidyāq taught: In 1825 he taught Arabic to two Americans in Beirut (ibid., p.37). In 1826

Another source of income which Ṭannūs depended on was medical practice.¹ In 1823 he started studying medicine. How he went about that is not clear. In 1829, however, he started practising medicine.²

In spite of all his responsibilities, Ṭannūs never ceased, throughout his life, to improve his education which had been neglected during his youth. Aside from medicine, he studied logic in 1832,³ Turkish and Italian in 1835,⁴ science (ʿilm at-ṭabīʿa) in 1848,⁵ and jurisprudence in 1849.⁶ In that last year he also studied elocution (bayān) with Nāṣif al-Yāziji, the well-known Lebanese man of letters of the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷

Ṭannūs died in 1861,⁸ two years after the publication of his main historical work, Akhbār al-aʿyān fī Jabal Lubnān.

he taught grammar to two young Shihābī amirs and to his brother Fāris (p.38). Five years later, in 1831, he taught Arabic to Carlos and Mauritius Craus (?), sons of a Spanish general resident in Egypt, who had come to Lebanon for a year (p.41). In 1847 he taught grammar to two other Shihābī amirs, and two years later he was teaching four more Shihābīs (pp.48-49). In 1850 he taught Arabic to an Italian called De Marchi/? (p.49).

1. Ibid., p.36.

2. Ibid., p.39.

3. Ibid., p.41.

4. Ibid., p.44. Shidyāq also knew Persian. G. Graf (op.cit., IV, pp.295 et seq.) listed a Persian-Arabic dictionary among his works.

5. MS Family history, p.48.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. G. Graf, op.cit., IV, p.295.

He appears to have been a man of a remarkably kind and helpful disposition whose honesty and scrupulous character made him unfit to earn his living except by a lifetime of very hard work. He was a heavy pipe-smoker, and tobacco featured prominently among the expenses in his account book. In the years 1821-1822, while serving in Amir Bashīr's army, he took heavily to hashish; but on leaving the army he gave up the habit.¹

Unlike his brothers As'ad and Ṭannūs, one of whom became a Protestant and the other a Moslem, Ṭannūs remained a Maronite all his life, in spite of his having come into contact with the Protestant missionaries. He was a pious man, and made many donations to the Maronite church. In the family history which he wrote, he showed his attitude towards his brother's conversion to Protestantism, his imprisonment, and his martyr-death, which was both sympathetic and mildly reproachful.²

It is not clear what was the urge that drove Ṭannūs to writing. It cannot be ascertained whether he derived any material benefit from his writings or not. He began writing, apparently, in 1833 when he summarized Duwaihī's Nisbat al-Mawārina, the first part of Tārīkh at-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya,³

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1. MS Mufakkarat..., pp. 34-56, under expenses.
 2. MS Family history, pp. 38-40. Ṭannūs tried his best to make his brother recant and return to the Maronite church; and his final opinion was that As'ad's mind had given way and that he was, as such, not responsible for his actions.
 3. Ibid., p. 41. I have neither been able to find nor to locate a copy of Shidyāq's summary of Nisbat al-Mawārina.

and wrote a dictionary of extra-lexical Lebanese Arabic.¹ The following year he summarized a book called Ghāyat al-itqān.² In 1835, after having studied Turkish for one year, he started writing a book on the Turkish language and its grammar.³ It is not known whether he ever finished it.

In 1844 Tannūs ash-Shidyāq started working on another dictionary of some kind.⁴ Four years later, in 1848, he made a summary of Duwaihī's Tārīkh al-azmina, which is still found in manuscript.⁵ In that same year he wrote a history which he called Tārīkh mulūk al-ʿArab wa'l-Islām (History of the kings of the Arabs and Islam)⁶ which, unfortunately, is no longer to be found. In 1850 he finished the history of his family (Tārīkh wa aʿmāl banī ash-Shidyāq),⁷ which is the main available source for his life; and in 1855 he completed his main historical work, Akhbar al-aʿyān..., to which he added a section about the natural and political geography of Lebanon.⁸

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1. Ibid. I have not been able to find a copy of this dictionary. Dr. Eli Smith, the American Protestant missionary, reported having seen it in the Z.D.M.G. in 1854 (Z.D.M.G., IX, 1855, p.269). Graf mentioned a manuscript of it in the possession of the Shidyāq family (G. Graf, loc.cit.).
 2. MS Family history, p.42.
 3. Ibid., p.44.
 4. Ibid., p.48.
 5. The manuscript of Shidyāq's Mukhtasar of Tārīkh al-azmina is in the possession of Mr. Kamil Chidiac. The date appears as 1845.
 6. MS Family history, p.48.
 7. Ibid., p.49.
 8. Ibid., p.49, in a note added probably by the author's nephew, Zahir ash-Shidyāq, who was the original owner of the MS in the library of Mr. Kamil Chidiac.

Shidyāq also wrote poetry.¹ In his family history he quoted the opening and closing lines of an elegy he wrote on the death of his uncle.² Later on in the family history, he mentioned that in 1856 he started polishing his poetical works.³ If the lines he quoted from his elegy are to be taken as a sample of his poetry, it must have been poor.

In his introduction to the summary of Duwaihī's Tārīkh al-azmina, Shidyāq made clear his interest in the purely political and secular history of Lebanon and his break with the Maronite tradition of ecclesiastical historiography:

Finding that the history of the Maronite patriarch, Iṣṭifān ad-Duwaihi of Ihdin, is, to a large extent, truthful in what it relates, but that he had dealt at length with the history of churches and monks, and only briefly considered the history of the lay leaders and notables, having included [in his work] unnecessary bits of information and stories that bore the reader, I removed from it what was undesirable, keeping [only] what is of interest. I rearranged its wrong dates, preserving only the essence of it. I [also] polished its sentences and vocabulary, rendering in good Arabic its vague terminology....⁴

Thus, with all his personal piety, Shidyāq had little interest in the "history of churches and monks". His interest lay more in the history of "lay leaders and notables" - the old Lebanese feudal families whose history was, to a large extent, the history of Lebanon, since the Ottoman conquest.

1. G. Graf, op.cit., IV, p.296, mentions a collection of Shidyāq's poems in a private collection. I have not been able to find it.

2. MS Family history, p.27.

3. Ibid., p.49.

4. MS Mukhtaṣar tārīkh ad-Duwaihi, p.1.

The feudal lords, whose family histories Shidyāq sought to trace, were not only the men whose family histories formed a large part of the history of Lebanon. They were also the employers of Shidyāq and many of his kinsmen. Like other members of his family, he had served them as a clerk and had instructed their young. He must have had, therefore, a personal interest in their history.

These feudal families were, in the majority, non-Christian, although the ruling branch of the Shihāb family had, for reasons of political expediency, accepted the Christian faith. Other Shihābs were Moslems. The 'Imāds, the Jānblāts and the Talhūqs were Druzes. The Khāzins of Kisruān, perhaps the most powerful of the Maronite feudal families at the time, did not allow their religious affiliation to prejudice them in their political activities. Previously they had been responsible for the upbringing of a Druze amir, the famous Fakhr ad-Dīn II of Maʿn, and had remained his staunch supporters throughout his reign. The political atmosphere in which Shidyāq lived was thus a secular one in which sectarianism was of political rather than religious significance. Maronite and non-Maronite Lebanon, Christian and Druze Lebanon, were no longer divorced from each other, each leading its own independent historical life. Since the Ottoman conquest they had grown increasingly entangled and, with the accession of Bashīr II in 1788, were already one lay historical unit. The Maronite patriarch himself had become

more a political than a religious leader.

This change in the times did not only reflect itself in the difference in subject matter between the histories of Duwaihī (and, more so, Ibn al-Qilā'ī) and Shidyāq. The difference in the Arabic language used in their respective writings is another reflection of this change. The early nineteenth century witnessed the revival of the Arabic language in its classical form at the hands of Lebanese Christians. Men like Nāṣif al-Yāziji, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, and Aḥmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq, the brother of the historian, were laying the foundations of modern Arabic literature. With the growth of the lay spirit among the Maronites, and among the Lebanese Christians in general, the use of Syriac in writing declined tremendously. Lebanese colloquial and semi-colloquial, as well as pseudo-classical Arabic, which had served as media of expression for Maronite authors since the time of Ibn al-Qilā'ī, and up to the eighteenth century, and which were written generally in Syriac script (Karshūnī), were replaced by classical Arabic; and although Karshūnī script persisted for a time, it remained the exception rather than the rule.

Tannūs ash-Shidyāq wrote in correct classical Arabic. His style has no particular beauty, but he made a negligible number of orthographical and grammatical mistakes. His handwriting in Arabic, that of a member of a family of clerks, is very neat and easy to read. He also used some Moslem clichés. His summary of Duwaihī's Tārikh al-azmina opens with the

familiar Qur'ānic phrase, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

The only work of Shidyāq with which this chapter will deal is his history of Lebanon entitled Akhbār al-a'c'yān fi Jabal Lubnān. This work, in its final form, was completed in 1855;¹ but it seems to have been started several years before. Eli Smith, then an American Protestant missionary in Lebanon, described the book in a letter he wrote to the Z.D.M.G. on August 23, 1847,² adding that its price was 1000 Turkish piasters, or nine pounds Sterling. He gave the title of the book in German as Geschichte des Libanon (History of Lebanon). In another letter, dated June 11, 1855, he said that Tannūs ash-Shidyāq had rewritten and expanded his history of Lebanon, and that Buṭrus al-Bustānī had brought it to the American Press in Beirut to have it printed. Eli Smith, who was in charge of the American Press, added: "We take no responsibility for the correctness of the work".³

Apparently Buṭrus al-Bustānī had the book printed on his own responsibility. On June 13, 1855, the first and second parts of Akhbār al-a'c'yān..., dealing with the natural and political geography of Lebanon and with the genealogies of its feudal families, appeared in print. The third part, dealing with the history of Lebanon under the rule of the

1. See above, p.226.

2. Relevant passages from this letter were published in the Z.D.M.G., III, 1849, p.121.

3. Z.D.M.G., X, 1856, p.303.

different dynasties, left the press on May 26, 1859; and with it the work became complete.

In Akhbār al-aʿyān..., Shidyāq dealt with the period of Lebanese history starting from approximately the beginning of the Arab conquest and ending with 1855. He did not, however, divide his subject chronologically and deal with it in periods, but took every family alone and gave its history from the time of its first appearance to the date of its extinction, or to his own day. Families which held for a time the wilāya of Lebanon, or part of Lebanon, were dealt with twice. The first time Shidyāq only considered their genealogy and their family history. The second time he considered the history of their wilāya.

The work, as it appears in its printed form, is in 770 pages.¹ It is divided into three parts:

In the first part,² Shidyāq considered the natural and political geography of Lebanon, in five chapters. In the first chapter³ he gave a general description of the bound-

1. The last page of the published edition is numbered 720. This, however, is due to the fact that in the printing of the second part several passages were omitted, which necessitated the reprinting of these passages and several duplications of page numbers. All in all 25 pages are duplicated, which gives an extra 50 pages. Thus, the first page of the third part, which is numbered 201, should be numbered 251. I have followed the correct, not the printed, page-numbers in my references.

2. Akhbār al-aʿyān..., pp. 6-34.

3. Ibid., pp. 6-8.

aries and population of Lebanon. In the second¹ he enumerated the eight main towns of the Phoenician coast (Tripoli, Al-Batrūn, Jubail, Jūniya, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Acre), only the first five of which fell within the boundaries of Lesser Lebanon (Jabal Lubnan, or Mount Lebanon), and gave a brief historical notice about each of them. The third chapter² was devoted to the description of the courses of the nine principal rivers of Lebanon: Nahr Abū 'Alī, Nahr al-Jauz, Nahr Ibrāhīm, Nahr al-Kalb, Nahr Anṭiliās, Nahr Bairūt, Nahr ad-Dāmūr, Nahr al-Ūlī, and Nahr al-Qāsimiyya, or Al-Liṭānī. In the fourth chapter³ the political geography of Lebanon was considered and its feudal provinces enumerated and described in detail. This chapter is the most important in the first part of Akhbār al-a'yan... since it gives a systematic and detailed description of the extent and boundaries of the feudal provinces of Lebanon and the names of the different families that held them. The fifth chapter⁴ is simply a table giving the respective male population of the different provinces and dividing them according to religious affiliation. This table, which gives rough statistics about the population of Lebanon at the time of Shidyāq, would be of interest to the

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1. Ibid., pp. 8-15.
 2. Ibid., pp. 15-18.
 3. Ibid., pp. 19-33.
 4. Ibid., p. 34.

study of nineteenth century Lebanon.

The second part of Akhbār al-aʿyān...¹ deals with the genealogies of the feudal families of Lebanon, relating the main historical events in which members of those families played a leading or important part. As an appendix to this part² Shidyāq gave an abridged form of the history of his own family which he had previously written independently.

Shidyāq dealt with the feudal families of Lebanon in three groups: the Maronite families, the Druze families, and the Moslem (Sunni and Mitwālī) families.³ To each of these families he devoted a separate chapter. It is interesting to note here that Shidyāq grouped the Shihāb amirs (originally Sunni Moslem) and the Billamaʿ amirs (originally Druze), the greater number of whom had become Maronite, among the Maronite feudal families.

The last and longest part of Akhbār al-aʿyān...⁴ deals with the wālīs or governors of Lebanon. The position of governor in Lebanon was granted to the leading member of the strongest and most influential feudal family in the country by the Ottomans, and before them by the Mamlūks, and the position remained hereditary in that family until its downfall or its extinction. Sometimes there were more than

1. Ibid., pp.35-250.

2. Ibid., pp.233-250.

3. Ibid., p.5.

4. Ibid., pp.251-770.

one governor, each controlling part of Lebanon.

Shidyāq, in this last part of his history, began with the narration of the events that had taken place in the governorship of the Mardaite amirs and muqaddams in northern Lebanon. After that he proceeded to give, in separate chapters, the events of the governorships of the families that held the wilāya at some period in their history, those being the Tanūkhs, the Maʿnids, the Turkoman ʿAssāfs, the Kurdish Sīfas, the Shihābs, the Arslāns, and the Billamaʿs.¹

At the beginning of his book, Shidyāq gave a list of the sources, and the authors on whose works he depended in writing his history. He listed these sources very briefly as follows:

1. Jibrāʾīl al-Qilāʿī of Lihfid.
2. Aḥmad bin Shibāṭ [Ibn Sibāṭ], the faqīh of the Gharb, from ʿAlaī.
3. Patriarch Iṣṭifān ad-Duwaiḥī of Indin, from his history of the Crusades² and the origin of the Maronites.
4. Amir Haidar Aḥmad ash-Shihābī of Lebanon³.
5. The priest Hananiyyā al-Munaiyar of the Zūq.⁴

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1. The histories of the different wilāyas appear in Akhbār al-aʿyān as follows: The Mardaites, pp.251-278; the Tanukhs, pp.278-297; the Maʿnids, pp.297-395; the ʿAssāfs, pp.396-399; the Sīfas, pp.399-408; the Shihābs, pp.408-696; the Arslāns, pp.696-749; and the Billamaʿs, pp.750-770.
 2. By Duwaiḥī's history of the Crusades Shidyāq meant Tārīkh al-azmina which, in several of its copies, starts with the history of the first Crusade.
 3. Amir Haidar Aḥmad ash-Shihābī, to whom reference has already been made, was born in 1760 and died in 1835. Shidyāq knew him personally, and Shidyāq's youngest brother, Fāris, helped him (Shihābī) in copying his main historical work, Al-ghurar al-ḥisān fī tārīkh ḥawādith az-zamān (MS Family history, p.37. That was in 1824). See G. Graf, op.cit., IV, pp.294-295.
 4. Hananiyyā al-Munaiyar, a Melchite historian and poet, was born in Zūq Maṣbah (Kisruān) in 1757 and died in 1820. In 1774 he became a monk in the Melchite monastery of Ash-

6. The two histories of Amir Fakhr ad-Dīn [II], by As-Safadī¹ and Al-Lubnānī.¹
7. The history of Master Butrus Karāmā of Hama.²
8. The priest Yūsuf as-Simʿānī of Hasrūn.³
9. The Sidon Court collection of Shihāb genealogies.⁴
10. Some Maronite genealogies from books printed in Italian and Syriac.⁵
11. Some genealogies and stories, in print, about the beginning of the story of the Jānblāṭs.⁶
12. Genealogies of the Druze shaikhs and their histories, as related verbally by Shaikh Khaṭṭār Talhūq.⁷
13. The genealogies of the Khāzin and Ḥubaish shaikhs, related verbally by Patriarch Būlus Masʿad.⁸

Shuwair. His historical works include a history of the Shuwair monastic order (Tārīkh ar-rahbana al-Hannāwiyya al-mulaqqaba bi'siq-Shuwairiyya, MS Bibliothèque Orientale 41) and a history of the province of the Shūf in Lebanon from 1697-1807 (Ad-durr al-marsūf fī tārikh Jabal ash-Shūf), MSS Ashqūt 2 and Bibliothèque Orientale 42. See G. Graf, op.cit., III, pp.242-244.

1. Ahmad bin Muḥammad al-Khālīdī as-Safadī (d.1625) wrote a history of the emirate of Fakhr ad-Dīn Maʿn (Tārīkh Fakhr ad-Dīn bin Maʿn). See C. Brockelmann, op.cit., II (Leiden, 1949 edition), p.373. Neither Brockelmann nor Graf list a history of Fakhr ad-Dīn by "Al-Lubnānī".
2. Butrus Karāmā, a Catholic Melchite poet, was born in Hama in 1774 and died in 1851. His Tārīkh, which is referred to by Shidyāq, has not been found. See G. Graf, op.cit., IV, pp.303-305.
3. For Yūsuf as-Simʿānī (Joseph Assemani), see above, p.9, fn.1.
4. I have not been able to find the original of this official Shihāb genealogy; but a German translation of it was published by Prof. Fleischer ("Ueber das syrische Fürstenhaus Benū-Schihāb - Geschlechtsregister der Fürsten Benū-Schihāb von dem hochgelahrten Sejjid Ahmed El-Bezri, Muftī der von Gott behuteten Stadt Saidā") in Z.D.M.G., V, 1851, pp.46-59.
5. I have come across no such books in the course of my research. Such genealogies may be found, however, in some of the books published by Maronite scholars in Europe in the eighteenth century.
6. I have not been able to find a copy of the printed genealogy of the Jānblāt family. It is, however, not relevant to this study, since the Jānblāṭs first appeared in Lebanon in the Ottoman period.
7. Shaikh Khaṭṭār Talhūq belonged to the Druze family that held the upper Gharb, with their centers at ʿAlaī and ʿAitāt, since the early eighteenth century. From Shidyāq's account book, it appears that Shidyāq had a lot to do with this family.
8. Patriarch Būlus Masʿad was consecrated patriarch in 1854 and died in 1890. T. Anaissī, Silsila, . . ., pp.69-70.

14. My notes, from the year 1820 until the last year of my history.¹
15. The history of Al-Jazzār, by Niqūlā at-Turk of Dairān.²

Most of these sources, which are listed by Shidyāq after his preface to Akhbār al-a'yān..., are not relevant to the Crusader and Mamlūk periods of Lebanese history, with which this study is concerned. It is interesting to consider the sources on which Shidyāq relied for the history of this period.

The earliest history which Shidyāq used as a source for the history of Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods was Ibn al-Qilā'i's Madiha 'alā Jabal Libnān, the first classic of Maronite historiography. Two other such classics which Shidyāq used extensively were Duwaihī's Tārikh at-tā'ifa al-Mārūniyya (of which he ^{listed} ~~seems to have known~~ only the first part) and Tārikh al-azmina, of both of which he had previously made summaries.³ Another Maronite history which Shidyāq seems to have used, although he did not list it among his sources, was the Risāla (letter, or treatise) of Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwaihī⁴

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1. I have not found the historical notes of Shidyāq in the collection of his effects found in the possession of Mr. Kamil Chidiac, nor in any of the Libraries to which I have had access. It is possible that they still exist in a private collection.
 2. Niqūlā at-Turk ad-Dairānī, an orthodox Melchite, was born in Dair al-Qamar in 1763 and died in 1828. His history of the French expedition to Egypt was published with a French translation by Alix Desgranges (Histoire de l'expédition des Français en Egypte par Naqoula El-Turk). See G. Graf, III, pp. 251-252. He did not write specifically a history of Al-Jazzār, Pasha of Acre (1775-1804). It is probably to his history of the French expedition that Shidyāq referred; since Al-Jazzār was contemporary to it and defended Acre against Napoleon.
 3. See above, pp. 225-226.
 4. Risalat al-Khuri Yusuf Marun ad-Duwaihi. This work has not

(d. 1780),¹ on which he depended, apparently, for his list of the Mardaite amirs.² Except for Ibn Sibāṭ, whose history formed one of Shidyāq's main sources for this period, Shidyāq used no non-Maronite histories. True, Amir Ḥaidar ash-Shihābī was only a Maronite of second generation conversion, and his history, which Shidyāq used extensively, where it is concerned with Lebanon, deals mainly with the history of the non-Maronite feudal families, of which the Shihābs were one during the greater part of their history; but he was, on the other hand, conscious of his Maronite faith and made some mention of Maronite church history and of Mardaite history - although in the latter he made grave mistakes. Thus, in as far as the historians on whose works he depended go, Shidyāq was truly in the tradition of Maronite historiography. It must be remembered that Duwaihī also used Ibn Sibāṭ for his history of Crusader and Mamlūk Lebanon.

Another group of sources which Shidyāq referred to were the family genealogies, some of which were recorded and others transmitted by oral tradition. It cannot be determined how true either of those two categories of genealogies were, although it is only reasonable to suppose that the recorded

1. See above, p.13, fn.3. Risālat al-Khūrī Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwaihī (thus the title appears in T.T.M., p.280) has not been published as a whole; but the section of it relevant to the history of the Mardaite amirs has been published by R. Shartūnī in the appendix to Istifān ad-Duwaihī's Tārīkh at-tāʾifa al-mārūniyya (pp.279-280).

2. See below, p.241.

ones are more to be relied upon, especially those that had been confirmed and witnessed by judges and responsible people over the generations. Of the genealogies transmitted orally to Shidyāq were those of the Maronite feudal families of Khāzin and Ḥubaish, both of which belonged to the Ottoman period, and those of the Druze shaikhs, the families of all of whom, except the Talhūqs (according to Shidyāq), also belonged to the Ottoman period.

Most of the recorded genealogies to which Shidyāq referred existed in print in his day, like those of the Maronite families, some of which were printed in Syriac and others in Italian,¹ and those of the Jānblāts and the Shihābs, both of which were printed in Arabic.² The genealogy of the Arslān amirs was available to Shidyāq in a very old manuscript,³

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1. All the Maronite families with which Shidyāq dealt separately belonged to the Ottoman period; and their history, as such, is of no relevance to this study.
 2. See above, p.235, fn.4. From Shidyāq's account of the published edition of the Shihāb genealogy (Akhbār al-a'yan... pp.65-66) it appears that it was copied and published by order of Amir Fāris Sayyid Aḥmad Muḥim ash-Shihābī, a contemporary of Shidyāq, sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century, before the appearance of Akhbār al-a'yan..., from the original which used to be preserved in the Sidon Court. The published copy bears the signatures of the following witnesses to the authenticity of the copy made from the original (no date given): the mufti of Sidon, the naqib al-ashraf of Sidon, and the nā'ib of Sidon.
 3. Although not mentioned by Shidyāq in his list of sources, the genealogy of the Arslāns was mentioned by him at the end of each of his two chapters on the Arslāns (ibid., pp. 146 and 748-749). A full description of it is given on the latter pages. This genealogy, said Shidyāq, was an ancient one (I have not seen it, and I doubt whether it still exists. I know of nobody who has seen it). It was preserved by the Arslān amirs as an heirloom, and bore the signatures of witnesses to its authenticity at various dates. The first part of it was recorded by Muḥsin bin Ḥusain at-

and that of the Tanūkh amirs must have been available to him from Ibn Sibāt's history, the latter having copied it from the history of Sālih bin Yahyā.

Relying on older Maronite sources, on Ibn Sibāt, and on a whole series of family histories and genealogies, Shidyāq produced a historical work that differs sharply in form from both, the works of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and those of Duwaihī. Akhbār al-a'yān... has nothing of the fanciful epic form of the Madiha 'alā Jabal Libnān; and, likewise, it is neither written in the chronicle form of Tārīkh al-azmina nor in the polemical form of Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya. Although Shidyāq cited events chronologically within each chapter, the chapters themselves run chronologically parallel to each other, and are only continuations of each other in the sense the governorship of Lebanon, or of parts of Lebanon, passed in time from one to the other of the principal feudal families, and that the holdings of families that were exterminated, or became extinct, passed on to other families.

Akhbār al-a'yān... is not a chronicle, but a geographical, historical, and genealogical survey of the component parts of feudal Lebanon. It can only artificially

by Tā'ī (second century A.H.), and carries the genealogy, with birth and death dates, to 142 A.H. (759-760 A.D.). The genealogy was carried on and witnessed at various stages by qādīs and notables in A.H. 190, 252, 269, 303, 363, 453, 503, 583, 670, 714, 782, 833, 926, 1012, 1095, 1147, and 1211. The names of the various witnesses who signed the documents at these stages are all given by Shidyāq.

be divided into pre-Ottoman and post-Ottoman periods. Taken as what it was meant to be, it forms an uninterupted, though not complete, picture of Lebanon under the rule of the local feudal dynasties.

Shidyāq was the first Lebanese historian known to have attempted the drawing of such a picture. His work, in its scope, has remained unique until today. Besides, he was the first Lebanese historian known to have furnished his work with a full section on the natural and political geography of his country,¹ and with statistics concerning the religious communal divisions of its population.

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Shidyāq's history of the Maronites of Lebanon before the rise of the modern Maronite feudal families after the Ottoman conquest, is little more than an abridgement of Duwaihī's history. True to the Maronite tradition, he carried the history of his people back to the days of early Arab rule in Syria, when the Mardaites of Lebanon² were raiding the borderlands of the Umayyad empire. At that time, he stated, Amir Yūsuf was the ruler of Jubail³

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1. Shidyāq's chapter on the political geography of Lebanon was the main source on which I based the map of the feudal provinces of Lebanon attached to this thesis.
 2. For references about the Mardaites, see above, p.53, fn.1. The muqaddam class among the Maronites were probably their descendants (above, p.94, fn.2). Shidyāq referred to the Maronites of that period as Mardaites, as Maronite historians usually do.
 3. MS Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Qilā'ī, fol.15v, and above, p.63. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.69, mentioned an amir of Lebanon by the name of Yūsuf, depending on a manuscript history in Syriac, copied in 1315 from an older manuscript.

and Amir Kisrā was the ruler of Al-ʿĀsiya (or Al-Khārija), later known as Kisruān after his name, with his seat at Baskintā.¹ The seemingly legendary story of Yūhannā Mārūn and of his two nephews, Kūrus (Kūrush) and Ibrāhīm, the last of whom became the amir of Lebanon, is given.² Then follows a list of the names of the Mardaite amirs of Lebanon which Shidyāq must have taken from the Risāla of Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwaihī.³ Apart from the muqaddams of Bsharrāy, the descendants of Shidyāq Yaʿqūb ibn Ayyūb,⁴ all these amirs whose names Shidyāq listed appear to have been figures of legend. The names of some of them: Yūsuf, Yūhannā,⁵ Bakkhūs,⁶ and Simʿān,⁷ appear to have been taken from the histories of Ibn

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.35 and 251. See above, pp.65-67.
 2. Shidyāq, loc.cit.; Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp.53 et seq.
 3. Risālat al-Khūrī Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwaihī, in T.T.M., pp. 279-280. Shidyāq did not give the dates of the amirs, although Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwaihī gave them. In the latter's list, the amirs of Lebanon (in the provinces of Jubail and Al-Batrūn) who lived during the Crusader and Mamlūk periods before the rise of the muqaddams of Bsharrāy in the late fourteenth century are listed as follows: Mūsā and Buṭrus (from 1090 - 1190), Bākhūs and Yaʿqūb (until 1215), Shamʿūn (until 1239), his son Yaʿqūb (until 1296), his/?/ nephew Iṣṭifān (until 1352), Mūsā and Yūhannā (until 1399), and Yūsuf al-ʿAbdālī (until 1400). See ibid., p.279.
 4. See Appendix II.
 5. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.35 and 252. Duwaihī, T.T.M., pp. 68-69.
 6. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Madīha..., p.42, and Tādrus of Hamā, op.cit., p.85. The latter gave him the name of Kawālīār Bākhūs (Chevalier Bākhūs). Possibly he was the same as Ibn al-Qilāʿī's Muqaddam Bakkhūs, and that this character was a Frank and not a Maronite. Tādrus of Hamā said he was the kawālīār of the King of France.
 7. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Madīha..., pp.15-16, and above, pp.61 et seq.

al-Qilā'ī and of Duwaihī. In general, nothing is said about the character or deeds of these princes to make them more than mere names. Even their dates are not given; and in such cases where a doubtful date is given to a doubtful event, Shidyāq in general did not attempt to give the name of the amir in whose days the event took place, or who participated in it, except in such cases where he copied from Duwaihī.

Obviously relying on Duwaihī's Tārīkh al-azmina, Shidyāq related the story of the first contact between the Maronites and the Crusaders at 'Arqā in 1099,¹ the role played by the Maronites in the defeat of the Saljūq troops at Shaizar in 1111,² the contact between Louis IX and the Maronites in 1250,³ the defeat of Baibars at the hands of the Maronites in 1264 and 1266,⁴ the sack of Ihdin and Al-Ḥadath by Qalāūn in 1283,⁵ the help offered to the Franks by the Maronites while Qalāūn was besieging Tripoli in 1287,⁶ and the expedition

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.257; Duwaihī, T.A., p.9. See above, pp.176 et seq.
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.258; Duwaihī, T.A., p.21. See above, p.177 et seq.
 3. Shidyāq, loc.cit.; Duwaihī, T.A., p.123.
 4. Shidyāq, loc.cit.; Duwaihī, T.A., pp.135 and 136-137. See above, pp.180-182.
 5. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.258-259; Duwaihī, T.A., pp.145-146. See above, pp.79-81 and 183-184. Shidyāq here mentioned the year 1283 as that of the death of Baibars and the accession of Qalāūn. Actually Baibars died in 1277; and Qalāūn succeeded in 1279, after the brief reigns of Baraka, son of Baibars, and of Salāmish. See S. Lane-Poole, Mohammadan dynasties (Paris, 1925), p.81.
 6. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.259; Duwaihī, T.A., p.148. See above, pp.151 et seq. Shidyāq apparently took the date 1287, instead of 1289, the correct date of the siege and fall of Tripoli, from Duwaihī's Tārīkh al-azmina.

of Āqūsh al-Afram against Kisruān in 1307.¹ In relating the first and unsuccessful Mamlūk expedition against Kisruān in 1293 (actually 1292), he drew on Duwaihī's account of the expedition as it is found in Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya, and made the same mistakes.² Also relying on Duwaihī, Shidyāq next proceeded to deal briefly with the dynasty of the muqaddams of Bsharrāy,³ having noted previously that in 1400 primacy among the Maronite feudal princes moved from Jubail and Al-Batrūn to Jibbet Bsharrāy.⁴

The brevity and inadequacy with which Shidyāq dealt with the history of the Maronites in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods is not without a reason. Shidyāq's intention was not so much to write a history of Lebanon as it was to write a history of the various feudal families that dominated the country from the early Middle Ages to his own day. The lack of adequate sources on the genealogy and the history of the Maronite feudal families that governed native Maronite Lebanon

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.261-262; Duwaihī, T.A., p.163 and T.T.M., p.377. Shidyāq, like Duwaihī, gave the date 1307 instead of 1305. See above, p.162.
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.259-261; Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.376. See above, pp.155 et seq. Shidyāq, relying on Duwaihī's Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya, made the same mistakes as Duwaihī. He gave the date of the expedition as 1293 instead of 1292 and stated that the expedition was ordered by An-Nāṣir bin Qalāūn instead of by Al-Ashraf Khalīl. The names of the leaders are also given wrongly, as in Duwaihī, T.T.M.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.264-270.
 4. Ibid., p.36.

during the period under discussion must have been the reason that made him skim speedily over the period, giving the bare minimum of historical fact and an uncritical list of the so-called Mardaite amirs and muqaddams.

It was a different matter with the Moslem and Druze feudal families. Unlike the medieval Maronite feudal dynasties whose authority and lineage had, by Shidyāq's time, been long extinct, some of these non-Christian families were still existing at the time of Shidyāq, as they continue to do so today; and the others had become extinct at a comparatively recent date. The main line of the Tanūkhids died out in 1633.¹ The 'Alam ad-Dīn line of the Tanūkhid family, whose members were responsible for the extermination of their cousins, came to an end in 1711, after the battle of 'Ain Dārā between the Qaisī and Yamanī factions.² The Ma'nid family became extinct in 1697 when its last scion, Ahmad Muḥim, died without an heir.³ The earliest of those families

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.132-133 and 297. Also Ash-Shihābī, Al-ghurar al-hisān..., p.719, and Duwaihī, T.A., p.328.
 2. The battle of 'Ain Dārā, in 1711, was fought between the Qaisī and Yamanī factions in Lebanon and resulted in the utter defeat of the Yamanīs. The latter faction, led by the 'Alam ad-Dīn amirs, had been long intriguing against the Shihābs, leaders of the Qaisī faction and governors of Lebanon. With the help of the Qaisi Billama's, Amir Haidar ash-Shihābī (1706-1732) defeated the rival faction and exterminated the 'Alam ad-Dīn amirs. H. Lammens, La Syrie..., II, pp.94-95.
 3. Ibid., II, p.92.

to become extinct were the 'Assāfs, descendants of the Turkomans of Kisruān, whose line died out in 1590.¹

As it has already been mentioned, Shidyāq had sources, which varied in their degree of dependability, for the history of these non-Maronite families.

Of these families the Arslāns were the first to come to Lebanon, at least according to tradition. Shidyāq said that they originally came from Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān, and that they were settled in the mountainous region to the neighbourhood of Beirut (the Gharb and Sāhil Bairūt) by Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the Abbasid caliph (754-775 A.D.), in 759 (142 A.H.),² as a check to the raiding activities of the Mardaite of Lebanon. Arslān, the eponymous founder of this family, settled in Sinn al-Fīl, to the north of Sāhil Bairūt; his son Mas'ūd later moving the family residence to Shwaifāt in 799.³ Arslān's brother and his cousins settled elsewhere in Sāhil Bairūt and the Gharb, which seem to have formed at the time one province.⁴

Settled in the neighbourhood of Beirut, the Arslāns concentrated their efforts of fighting back the Mardaite

1. Ibid., II, p.71. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.399. Duwaihī, T.A., p.287. Ash-Shihābī, op.cit., p.620. Muḥammad bin 'Assāf, the last amir of this family, was ambushed and killed near Batrūn by Yūsuf Pasha Sifa of Tripoli in 1590, and he left no heir.

2. Shidyāq gave both the Hijra and the Christian dates.
3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.697-699. 'Ain Tūrīnī, Asl al-umarā' wa'l-mashāyikh fī Lubnān (Al-Mashriq, IV, 1901, published by Lucis Cheikho), p.773. 'Ain Tūrīnī said that it was Arslān himself who made Shwaifāt (south-east of Beirut) the permanent residence of the family.
4. The villages in which they settled are mentioned as Sarḥamūr, Tirdalā, Kafra, and 'Abai, all in the lower Gharb and the Shuhhar.

raiders. According to Shidyāq, they defeated these Mardaïtes in 791¹ and 875.²

In 1088, Shujā' ad-Dawla 'Umar bin 'Īsā, the head of the clan, died and was succeeded by his son, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī,³ the first Arslānid amir of the period under consideration in this study.

The second of these families to have settled in Lebanon were the Tanūkhs who, like the Arslāns, were already settled in Lebanon when the Crusaders arrived. The Tanūkhs belonged to the same tribal stock as the Arslāns and, like them, they came to Lebanon from the neighbourhood of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān.⁴ According to Shidyāq, Tanūkh bin Qaḥṭān, the eponymous founder of this family, moved from Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān to Lebanon on his own initiative in 820, and settled with his clan in and around the Gharb, with Sarḥamūr as their chief's residence.⁵ The historical importance of this family does not seem to have been great at the time. Their historical importance began in 1147 when Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābeg, the Atābeg of Damascus (1139-1154), wrote to Buḥtur, a descendant of Tanūkh and the founder of the Buḥturid line of the family,⁶

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.699.

2. Ibid., p.702.

3. Ibid., p.714. His genealogical name is: 'Alī bin 'Umar bin 'Īsā bin Mūsā bin Maṭū' bin Tamīm bin Al-Mundhir bin An-Nu'mān bin 'Amir bin Hānī bin Mas'ūd bin Arslān.

4. Ibid., p.274.

5. Ibid. 'Ain Ṭūrīnī, op.cit., p.770, said that the Tanūkhs were the first family to come to Lebanon from the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and gave the date 305 A.H. (918 A.D.) to their advent. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā had nothing to say about the matter.

6. Shidyāq, loc.cit., and Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.43, gave the genealogy of Buḥtur as follows: Buḥtur bin 'Alī bin ~~Al-Husayn~~

ordering him to keep the villages he was holding in iqṭāʿ and to receive a stipend from the State coffers which he was to spend in his service.¹

Thus, at the beginning of the period under consideration in this study there were two Arab families settled in the vicinity of Beirut, both traditionally known to be descended from the same tribal stock, and both having come to Lebanon at approximately the same period. It cannot be said definitely whether those two families, on the arrival of the Crusaders, were Moslem or Druze. Shidyāq counted them both among the Druze feudal families.² To be sure, the descendants of both the Arslāns and the Tanūkh³ are, at the present day, Druzes; but from the history of Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā and from that of Ibn Sibāt it appears that at least the Tanūkh^s were Moslems, and that at least up to the time of Ibn Sibāt (d.1520). A mosque in Beirut bears the name of a sixteenth century Tanūkhid prince, Al-Mundhir. As for the Arslāns, their Druze affiliation is viewed sceptically by many of the conservative Druze families at the present day.

Al-Husain bin Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad bin ʿAlī bin Ahmad bin ʿIsā bin Jumaihir (in Shidyāq *Jumhur*) bin Tanūkh. Ibn Hajar (*Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p.54) gave it variously as follows: Buhtur bin ʿAlī bin Ibrāhīm bin Al-Husain bin Ishāq bin Muḥammad... It should be noted that Abū Ishāq is the normal kunya of Ibrāhīm, this being possibly the reason for Ibn Hajar's mistake. Ibn Hajar, apparently, gave Buhtur another ancestor by the name of Ishāq. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā took this genealogy from the family archives.

1. Shidyāq, loc.cit. This event will be considered later in this chapter.
2. The Qādī family of ʿAramūn al-Gharb are known to be descendants of the ʿAramūn branch of the Tanūkhid family. They are Druzes.
3. See previous foot-note.

The history of non-Maronite Lebanon in this period, as it is recounted by Shidyāq, is largely the story of the struggle for supremacy between the Arslāns and the Tanūks, and the relations between those two families and each of the Franks, the Mongols, and the Islamic states.

The first event of the Crusader period with which Shidyāq linked the name of a Lebanese amir was the attempt on the part of Duqāq, the Saljūq ruler of Damascus (1095-1103), to hold the coastal route at Nahr al-Kalb against the advance of Baldwin to Jerusalem in 1100.¹ Completely ignoring Duqāq, Shidyāq said that it was 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī, the Arslānid amir of Beirut, who was solely responsible for the unsuccessful attempt to ambush Baldwin. The narrative of this incident appears in Akhbār al-a'yān as follows:

In 1100 Amir 'Aḍud ad-Dawla sent men to the cave of Nahr al-Kalb to lie in ambush against Prince Baldwin, the Frenchman, brother of Gaudefroy, King of Jerusalem, who was advancing to Jerusalem with a thousand men to inherit his brother's crown; but when [Baldwin] reached the ambush he fought them and defeated them, and proceeded on his way.²

Ibn al-Qalānisī, relating the same incident, made no mention of 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, nor of the men of the Phoenician coast, as having taken part in the ambush:

1. See above, p.142.

2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.714.

When Godfrey was killed, his brother Baldwin the count, lord of al-Ruhā, set out for Jerusalem with a body of five hundred knights and footmen. On hearing the report of his passage, Shams al-Mulūk Duḡāq gathered his forces and moved out against him, together with amir Janāh ad-Dawla, lord of Ḥims, and they met him near the port of Bairūt. Janāh ad-Dawla pressed forward towards him with his taskar, and he defeated him and some of his companions.

In William of Tyre's history, however, the narrative of the event stresses the role of the "natives of the locality" in attempting to check Baldwin's advance on the coastal route; but no mention is made of 'Aḍud ad-Dawla as the leader of this ambush.²

It is natural that 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, as the leading chieftain of the locality, should have been responsible for the sending of native soldiers from Beirut to help stop Baldwin's advance at Nahr al-Kalb. It is unlikely that Shidyāq should have inserted his name out of his own initiative, without depending on any sources. Possibly his source was the history of the Arslān family, the information of which is only available through Akhbār al-a'yan....

In the following year (1101), according to Shidyāq, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla tried again to set an ambush at Nahr al-Kalb, this time against Raymond de Saint Gilles:

In the year 1101, when Prince Raymond, prince of Toulouse, was going to Jerusalem, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla advanced to Nahr al-Kalb with men from Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre to hold the route. Raymond sought, therefore, the assistance

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail tārīkh Dimashq, pp.138-139. The quotation is from the translation of the chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisi by H.A.R. Gibb, The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades (London, 1932), p.57.
 2. William of Tyre, op.cit., I, pp.422-423. See also above, p.143, fn.1.

of King Baldwin, who arrived from Jerusalem with his soldiers. When he arrived at Nahr al-Kalb, 'Aḡud ad-Dawla and his men retreated to Beirut and fortified themselves there, while the king returned to Jerusalem with Raymond. When the news reached Shams al-Mulūk Duḡāq, the malik of Damascus, he wrote to the Amir ['Aḡud ad-Dawla] a letter making him the governor of Sidon, and giving him orders to fortify Sidon and Beirut; and the Amir sent Majd ad-Dawla Muhammad bin 'Alī, of Bani 'Abdallah, to Sidon in his place, and he fortified both cities.¹

Here again it is only probable that 'Aḡud ad-Dawla, whom Shidyāq seems alone to have mentioned as having been responsible for the ambush, was actually responsible for it. As for his having been appointed governor of Sidon and Beirut, none of the available sources confirms or denies it. It may have actually been the case.²

From the account of Shidyāq, it seems that the hegemony of the Arslāns in the country in the neighbourhood of Beirut ended with the fall of that city to the Crusaders on May 13, 1110.³ It seems obvious that Shidyāq, who took his account of the fall of Beirut partly from Ash-Shihābī's history,⁴ was also depending on the Arslān family history. The Tanūkhid Ṣāliḡ bin Yaḡyā, whose family was not important at the time, dismissed the event in a few lines, mentioning that the siege of the city was strong and that, after it had

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.714. William of Tyre, op.cit., I, p. 442. Duwaihī, T.A., p.13. See above, pp.143 et seq.

2. I have not come across the names of the governors of Beirut and Sidon at the time elsewhere.

3. S. Runciman, op.cit., II, p.92.

4. Ash-Shihābī, op.cit., pp.317-318.

been taken, there was much killing, kidnapping, and loot.¹ Shidyāq, who gave his account of the fall of Beirut to the Crusaders in his chapter on the history of the Arslāns, gave a host of the names of the Arslān amirs, and of others, who had been killed after the fall of the city. This account gives a glimpse of the fall of Beirut to the Crusaders as seen by its own governing class - an account that is different in content from the usual Western and Arabic accounts:

In 1110 Baldwin, one of the princes of France, gathered his armies and attacked Beirut, besieging it by land and sea. In the city there were 'Aḍud ad-Dawla² and some of

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1. Sālih bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.17-18. Ibn al-Qalānisi, op.cit., pp.167-168, gave a long description of the fall of Beirut to the Crusaders, giving the date as May 13, 1110, without making any mention of the governor of Beirut being 'Aḍud ad-Dawla (he did not name him) and without mentioning the other Arslānid amirs. The account he gave of the fall of the city (H.A.R. Gibb's translation, p.100), runs as follows: "The Franks now attacked both by land and sea with their entire force forces, on Friday 21st Shawwāl (13th May). they set up two towers against the wall and fought with utmost vigour. The commander of the Egyptian fleet was killed, together with a great host of the Muslims, and never before nor after did the Franks see a more hard-fought battle than this. The people in the town lost heart and became assured of their destruction. At the close of this day the Franks made an assault on the town and captured it mightily by the sword; the governor who was in it fled with a party of his troops, but he was brought to the Franks and put to death with all his companions, and they plundered all the treasure he had taken with him. The city was sacked, its inhabitants enslaved or made prisoner, and their goods and treasures confiscated."
 2. Both Shidyāq and Shihābī (op.cit., p.317) gave the name as Shujā' ad-Dawla. Shujā' ad-Dawla 'Umar, however, was the father of 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī who, at the time, was the chief of the clan of the Arslāns, according to Shidyāq. Shidyāq must have copied the mistake from Shihābī's account.

his relations. Finding that he could not take the city singlehanded, Baldwin called for the assistance of the Franks of the coast and of the Mardaite princes; and, answering his call, the Franks of the north assembled with the Mardaites in Jubail² and the Franks of the south assembled in Marj al-Ghāzia.³ On the same day the two groups rose and attacked the Gharb in the morning, the northern group by way of the Jird and the southern group by way of the coast; and they looted it and burnt it, and whomsoever they found they killed or took prisoner. Only those among the people of the Gharb who were absent or in hiding were saved.⁴ Those of the amirs who were killed were Amir Mūsā bin Ibrāhīm bin Abī Bakr bin Al-Mundhir and his small children, Amir Qāsīm bin Hishām bin Abī Bakr and his son, Amir Idrīs, Amir Mawdūd bin Sa'īd bin Qābūs and his two sons, Amir Asād and Amir Zuhair, Amir Mālik bin Muṣṭafā bin 'Aun, Amir 'Ubaid bin Mi'ād bin Ḥusām, Amir Yaḥyā bin Khiḍr bin Al-Ḥusain bin 'Alī and his brother, Amir Yūsuf, and Amir 'Alī bin Ḥalīm bin Yūsuf bin Fāris al-Fawārisī and his children, brothers, and cousins, with whom the line of descent of Banī Fawāris ended.⁵ Amir Thābit bin Ma'rūf bin 'Alī and his grandson, Amir 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin Fars bin Thābit, were taken prisoner and later killed with the other prisoners after Beirut was taken, as will be seen later. Of the amirs who were in the Gharb only Amir Buḥtur, son of Amir 'Aḍad ad-Dawla, remained alive, as his mother had hidden him in 'Aramūn until the departure of the Franks.⁶ The Franks then descended on Beirut, tightened its siege greatly, and took it by the sword, that being on April 23, its

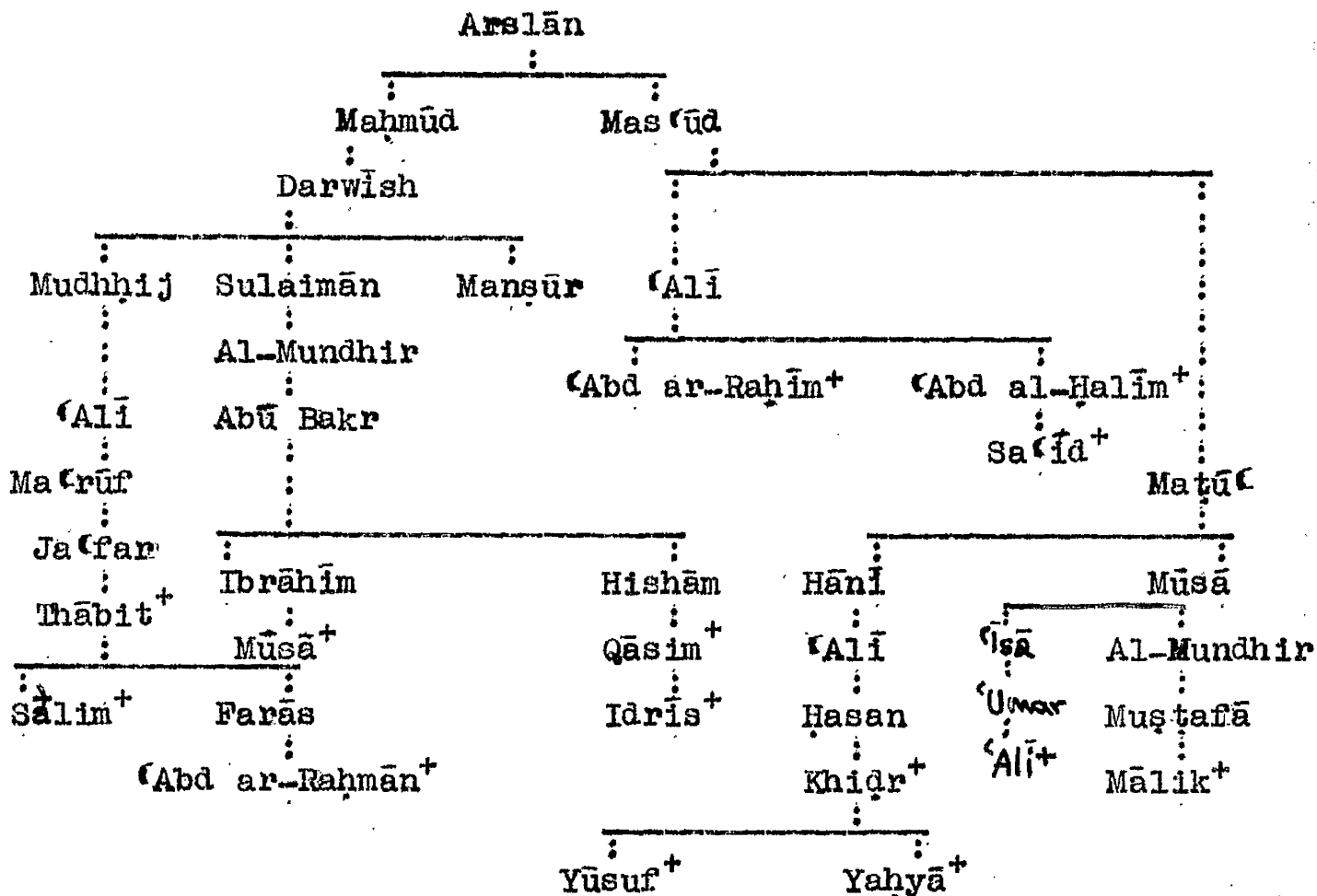
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1. Baldwin was helped in the capture of Beirut by Bertrand of Toulouse, Count of Tripoli, and by Genoese and Pisan ships (S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p.92). I have found nowhere any mention of the Mardaites helping Baldwin in the capture of Beirut.
 2. I have found nowhere outside Shihābī and Shidyāq any mention of this.
 3. Marj al-Ghāzia (in Shihābī, Burj al-Ghāzia) may have been the village of Al-Ghāziyya, south-east of Sidon. I have found nothing outside these two sources in support of this.
 4. I have not found elsewhere any account of an attack by the Franks on the Gharb previous to the capture of Beirut. It is very possible, however. The list of the names of the amirs killed in this attack, given by Shidyāq, helps greatly in substantiating the truth of his narrative.
 5. Banī Fawāris seem to have been a rival family to the Arslāns in the Gharb. At one time, one of them took over the governorship of the province for a time (Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.711). After this point the enumeration of names in Shihābī ceases. Hence the names given are found solely in Shidyāq, probably copied from the Arslān family history.
 6. This Buḥtur may have been Buḥtur of Tanūkh, not an Arslānid amir at all. See below, pp.257 et seq.

siege having lasted two months.¹ Five of the amirs were killed: the great Amir 'Aḡud ad-Dawla 'Alī²... , Amir Sālim bin Thābit bin Ma'rūf, Amir 'Abd al-Halīm bin 'Alī bin Tu'ma, his son Sa'īd, and his brother, Amir 'Abd ar-Rahmān bin 'Alī. Three of them were taken prisoner: Amir Khidr bin 'Alī bin Al-Husain, his son, Amir Al-Husain, and Amir 'Alī bin Tu'ma bin 'Alī, as well as others. On the second day Baldwin brought out all the prisoners outside the city and cut the necks of all of them. He then proceeded with his army by land and sea to Sidon and besieged it. Amir Majd ad-Dawla,³ who was there, as it has been mentioned, and the people of the city, despairing, made peace with the king and paid him twenty-thousand dirhams;⁴ whereupon Amir Majd ad-Dawla left the city in peace⁵ and Baldwin took it over. The Amir Majd ad-Dawla then came to the Gharb and found it in utter destruction.... He took to rebuilding the country

1. It is not clear where both Shihābī (op.cit., p.318) and Shidyāq got this date from. Beirut fell on May 13, its siege having been started in February. S. Runciman, loc.cit.
2. According to Ibn al-Qalānisi (see above, p.251, fn.1) the governor of Beirut fled, but was later brought back to the Franks and killed. According to other sources, he fled by night through the Italian fleet to Cyprus, where he gave himself up to the Byzantine governor (S. Runciman, loc.cit., referring to Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aix). The massacre of the inhabitants of Beirut was conducted by the Italians, before Baldwin could restore order (S. Runciman, loc.cit.).
3. Majd ad-Dawla, as it has been mentioned above (p.250) was not an Arslān. I have not been able to find a check on the name of the governor of Sidon from other sources.
4. Ibn al-Qalānisi (H.A.R. Gibb's translation, pp.100-101): "When the affairs of Bairūt had been set in order, King Baldwin departed with the Franks and encamping before the port of Sidon, sent an envoy to its inhabitants summoning them to surrender the town. They asked of him a respite for a space of time which they specified, and he granted them a respite, after exacting from them a sum of six thousand dinars to be paid to him as annual tribute, their former tribute having been two thousand dinars." Sidon capitulated on December 4. The notables of the town left with all their belongings to Damascus; but the poorer folk remained and became subjects of the Frankish king; who levied on them a tax of twenty thousand gold besants. S. Runciman, op.cit., p.93.
5. See previous foot-note. I have found no mention in the sources I consulted about the governor of Sidon having gone to the Gharb after the fall of the city.

G E N E A L O G I C A L T A B L E
 Showing the Arslānid Amirs Killed During
 the Siege and After the Fall of Beirut
 to the Franks⁺
 (After Shidyāq)

+ The names of the amirs killed are marked with the sign (+). I have not been able to trace some of the amirs who were killed.



and to rehabilitate its people; and he took over its governorship.¹

In 1126, Shidyāq continued, Tughtigīn, the Atabeg of Damascus (1103-1128),² wrote a letter to Majd ad-Dawla granting him the governorship of the Gharb and giving him several villages in iqṭā'. Majd ad-Dawla then began raiding Frankish territory until he was killed in Burj al-Barājina, near Beirut, in 1127.

Although Majd ad-Dawla had a male heir, Amir 'Abdallāh, the governorship of the Gharb, said Shidyāq, passed after his death back to the Arslānid family and was taken up by Nāhid ad-Dīn Abu'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur, the son of 'Adud ad-Dawla 'Alī.³ It was probably the Tanūkhid Nāhid ad-Dawla Buḥtur, however, who took over the governorship of the Gharb then, for it is at this point that Shidyāq started confusing between the Arslānid and the Tanūkhid amirs.⁴

It is possible that Majd ad-Dawla was among the wulāt al-aṭrāf (governors of the marches) summoned by Tughtigīn in 1125-1126 (519 A.H.) to help in checking the Frankish raids on Haurān. This may explain Shidyāq's statement that Majd ad-Dawla received from Tughtigīn "a letter granting him the

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.715-716. Shihābī, op.cit., pp.317-318.

See S. Runciman, op.cit., II, pp.92-93.

2. Tughtigīn was an enfranchised mamlūk of Sultan Tutush, and afterwards, in 1095, was appointed atābeg to his son Duḡāq, the Saljūq prince of Damascus, whom he succeeded. S. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p.161.

3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.716.

4. Shidyāq's confusion between the Arslāns and the Tanukhs will be discussed below, pp.259 et seq. Nāhid ad-Dīn Buḥtur of Arslān may never have existed; but possibly he was the namesake of the Tanūkhid Buḥtur, this giving rise to the confusion in Shidyāq between his progeny and that of the Tanūkhid Buḥtur.

governorship of the Gharb and giving him certain villages in iqṭāʿ.¹

Majd ad-Dawla may have formally received from Tuḡṭiḡīn the iqṭāʿ of these villages and the governorship of the Gharb as an attraction to, or in repayment for, his military services.

In the meantime a third important family came from Syria and settled in the Shūf. These were the Maʿnids, whose hegemony in Lebanon started soon after the Ottoman conquest.

According to Shidyāq,² Amir Maʿn al-Ayyūbī, the eponymous ancestor of this family, who had been unsuccessfully fighting the Franks in northern Syria, received orders from Tuḡṭiḡīn in 1120³ to move with his clan to the Biqāʿ, and thence to the mountains of Lebanon overlooking the coast, and from there to organize raids against the Franks of the coast.

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, op.cit., pp. 212-213 (H.A.R. Gibb's translation, pp. 174-175): "In this year [A.H. 519] news arrived from the quarter of Baldwin, king of the Franks, lord of Jerusalem, of his assembling of troops and making preparations to invade the region of Haurān in the government of Damascus, in order to ravage and devastate it. He began to dispatch raiding parties to the districts near Damascus, placing them in sore straits, and laying ambushes on the roads for those who journeyed to them. On receiving confirmation of this news, Zāhīr al-Dīn Atābek [Tuḡṭiḡīn] set about making preparations to encounter him.... He sent letters to the amirs, leaders and principal men of the Turkmens, informing them of the state of affairs, asking for their help against the Franks, and promising them generous treatment and reward.... [And] he wrote to the governors of the provinces [wulāt al-aṭrāf] to send him reinforcements of foot-soldiers... and a great host assembled to assist him." I believe wulāt al-aṭrāf should be translated "governors of the border provinces" or "the marches". For Baldwin's expedition against Haurān, see S. Runciman, op.cit., II, p. 174.
2. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp. 297-298. Shihābī, op.cit., pp. 322-324.
3. Shihābī, op.cit., p. 324, gave 1118 (512 A.H.) as the date of the coming of Maʿn to Lebanon. 'Ain Turīnī, op.cit., pp.

Maʿn, therefore, settled with his clan in Bʿaqlīn (the Bahaelin of the Crusaders),¹ in the Shūf, and allied himself with the Tanūkhid Amir Buḥtur,² with whom he raided the Franks. To his country, Shidyāq added, many people flocked from those parts of Syria and Lebanon that had been occupied by the Franks.

Although it seems that no material is available, outside Lebanese sources, to check the event of the coming of the Maʿnids to Lebanon, this event, as given by Shidyāq, does not appear improbable. It is natural to suppose that the Moslem ruler of Damascus should have been interested in settling tribes in Mount Lebanon to check the advance of the Franks into his country from the west and the south-west.

At approximately the same date as the coming of the Maʿnids to Lebanon, another family, the Talhūqs, which came originally from the Euphrates district to Syria with Maʿn al-Ayyūbī, moved to Wādī at-Taim, the southern part of the Biqāʿ, and thence to Beirut. That is how Shidyāq described the coming of the Talhūqs to Lebanon. It was in 1144, he continued, that they first settled in Rās Beirut. Later,

769-770, gave the same date as Shidyāq. Shidyāq did not mention ʿAin Tūrīnī among his sources. They may have both copied from the same source.

1. E. Rey, Les colonies franques..., pp. 510-511. Bahaelin, a village in the Shūf, was given to the Teutonic order by Julien of Sidon in 1257.
2. This shows clearly that Buḥtur of Tanūkh was already the leading chief of the Gharb. See above, p. 254, fn. 4.

blood feuds with the neighbouring families forced them to leave Beirut to the nearby village of Al-Faijāniyya, and finally to settle in 'Aitāt, a village in the upper Gharb, which remained a center of the family until the present day. It was not, however, until 1711, after the battle of 'Ain Dārā, that the family received the title of shaikh. Up until that date the Talḥūqs appear to have been one of the minor feudal families of the upper Gharb.¹

Throughout the Crusader and Mamlūk periods it was the Arslāns and the Tanūkhs who played the leading part in the internal history of non-Maronite Lebanon. The Ma'nids remained mainly in the background, and the Shihābs were not in Lebanon at all during this period.

In the year 1147, said Shidyāq, Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābeg (Būrid Atabeg of Damascus, 1139-1154) issued a manshūr to the Arslānid Amir, Nāhiḍ ad-Dawla Abū'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur, confirming his iqṭā' of the villages held by him and by his ancestors before him.² Elsewhere, Shidyāq mentioned under the same date the investiture of the Tanūkhid amir, Nāhiḍ ad-Dawla Abū'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur.³ Nobody other than Shidyāq mentioned the investiture of the Arslānid Amir Buḥtur. The

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.201-202.

2. Ibid., p.716. Shidyāq is the only historian who, to my knowledge, mentioned the investiture of this amir.

3. Ibid., pp.274-275.

investiture of his Tanūkhid namesake, however, has been mentioned in other histories.¹ Sālih bin Yahyā gave a copy of the manshūr of Ābeg to Buḥtur of Tanūkh. This copy was probably found by him in the family archives, which have since been lost. The manshūr, in translation, runs as follows:

This noble writ has been issued to the great amir, Nāhid ad-Dawla Abi'l-Ashā'ir Buḥtur bin 'Alī bin Ibrāhīm bin Abī 'Abdallāh, may God always support him, guide him, and level his ways, that he may abide with his old dues and what villages he holds, such as have been attributed to the name of his father and to his name. He may receive their dues, which he shall use to his own advantage and to strengthen himself for the service /of the State/. He shall also continue to hold the imāra of the Gharb, in the mountain of Beirut; for he is known for his courage, his efficiency, his good character, and his honesty. As for the ru'asā² and the peasants, may God strengthen them. it shall be their duty to listen to his commands and to obey him in whatever he may demand of them in regard to the payment of royal dues (al-ḥuqūq as-sultāniyya).... As for him, his duty shall be to defend them and to bring their grievances to the governors (nuwwāb), the officials (al-mutaṣarrifīn), and the rulers (ashāb).... Written in the middle third of Muharram, the year 542 (June, 1147).³

Non-Lebanese historians did not mention the investiture of Buḥtur of Tanūkh, but it appears from the accounts given of the year 543 A.H. (1148 A.D.) by Ibn al-Qalānisī and Abū Shāma that Mujīr ad-Dīn had called on the help of

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1. Sālih bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.45-46. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp. 13-14. Shihābī, op.cit., p.340.
 2. The ra'īs (pl. ru'asā) was a notable who was in charge of local administration and police in his own locality, very much like a mayor. The Franks preserved this post for the local administration of both, the Moslem and the Christian natives. See Claude Cahen, La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades... (Paris, 1940), pp.461-462 and 456.
 3. Sālih bin Yahyā, loc.cit.

the Arab tribes and the governors of the marches to help ward off the Frankish attack on Damascus in that year.¹ "On the second day [after the attack]," wrote Ibn al-Qalānisi, "there arrived from the direction of the Biqā' and from elsewhere many archers...."² These archers may have been sent to the help of Ābeg by the amirs of the Gharb, after those amirs had been attracted to the service of Damascus by official land grants and by being recognized by the State as amirs of the Gharb.

It would be best at this point to attempt the unravelling of the confusion made by Shidyāq between the Tanūkh and the Arslān amirs.

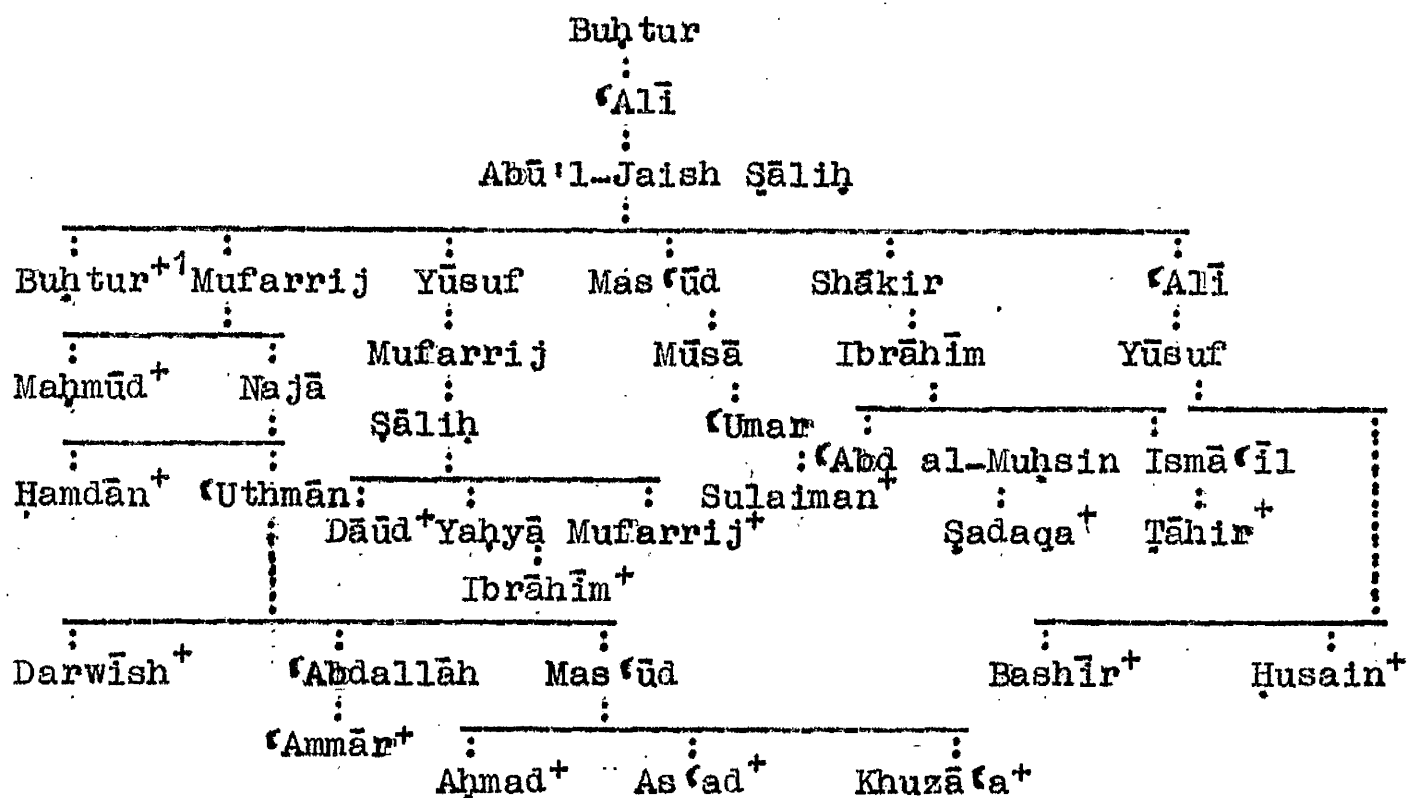
According to Shidyāq, Buḥtur of Arslān died in 1157, leaving a son, 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī.³ This 'Alī, he continued, died in 1229, and his only surviving son was Ṣāliḥ, who became known as Abū'l-Jaish Zain ad-Dīn.⁴

Shidyāq gave the genealogy of the descendants of Buḥtur of Arslān in each of the two chapters he wrote on that family in Akhbār al-a'yan.... In the first chapter⁵ he merely gave the names of Buḥtur Arslān's descendants, and in the second⁶ he gave brief biographical notices on them, and some dates. It would be best to compare, for a start, the

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, op.cit., pp.297-299. Abū Shāma, op.cit., p.57. For an account of this event see S. Runciman, op.cit., II, pp.281-282.
 2. Ibn al-Qalānisi, op.cit., p.299.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.717. For the genealogy, see ibid., p.140.
 4. Ibid., p.718.
 5. Ibid., pp.140-141.
 6. Ibid., pp.717 et seq.

genealogical tables of the Tanūkh̄s that can be drawn from each of these two chapters with one of the Tanūkh̄ family, as it appears in both, Akhbār al-a'yān... and Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's history.

Shidyāq's first account of the progeny of Buḥtur Arslān can be tabulated as follows:



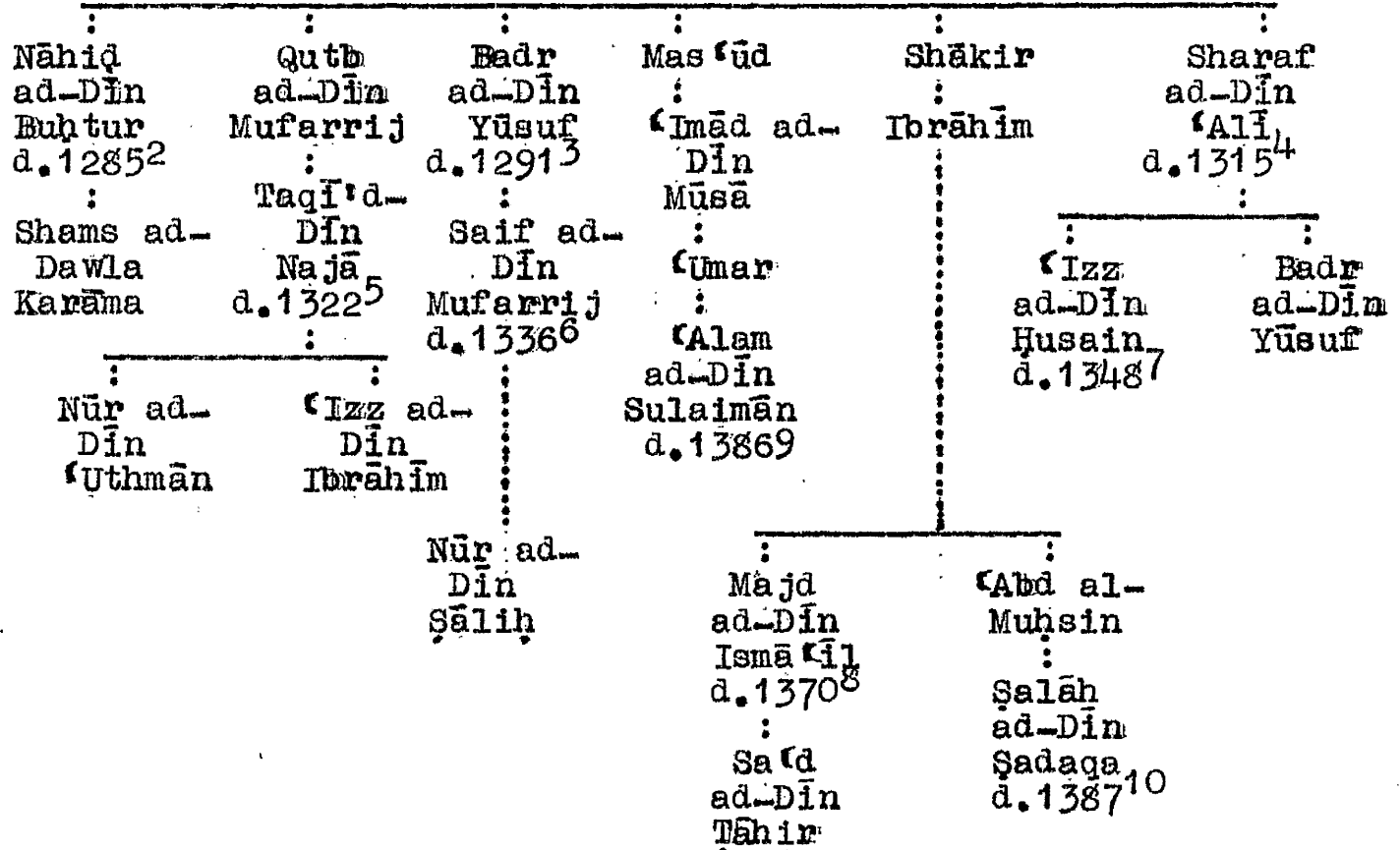
His second account, which gives obituary dates and titles for most of the amirs, can be tabulated as follows:

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1. Names that are followed by the sign (+) are the names of amirs who died without leaving progeny.

Nāhiq ad-Dawla
Abū'l-(Ashā)ir
Buhtur, d.1157

ʿAlī ad-Dawla
ʿAlī, d.1229²

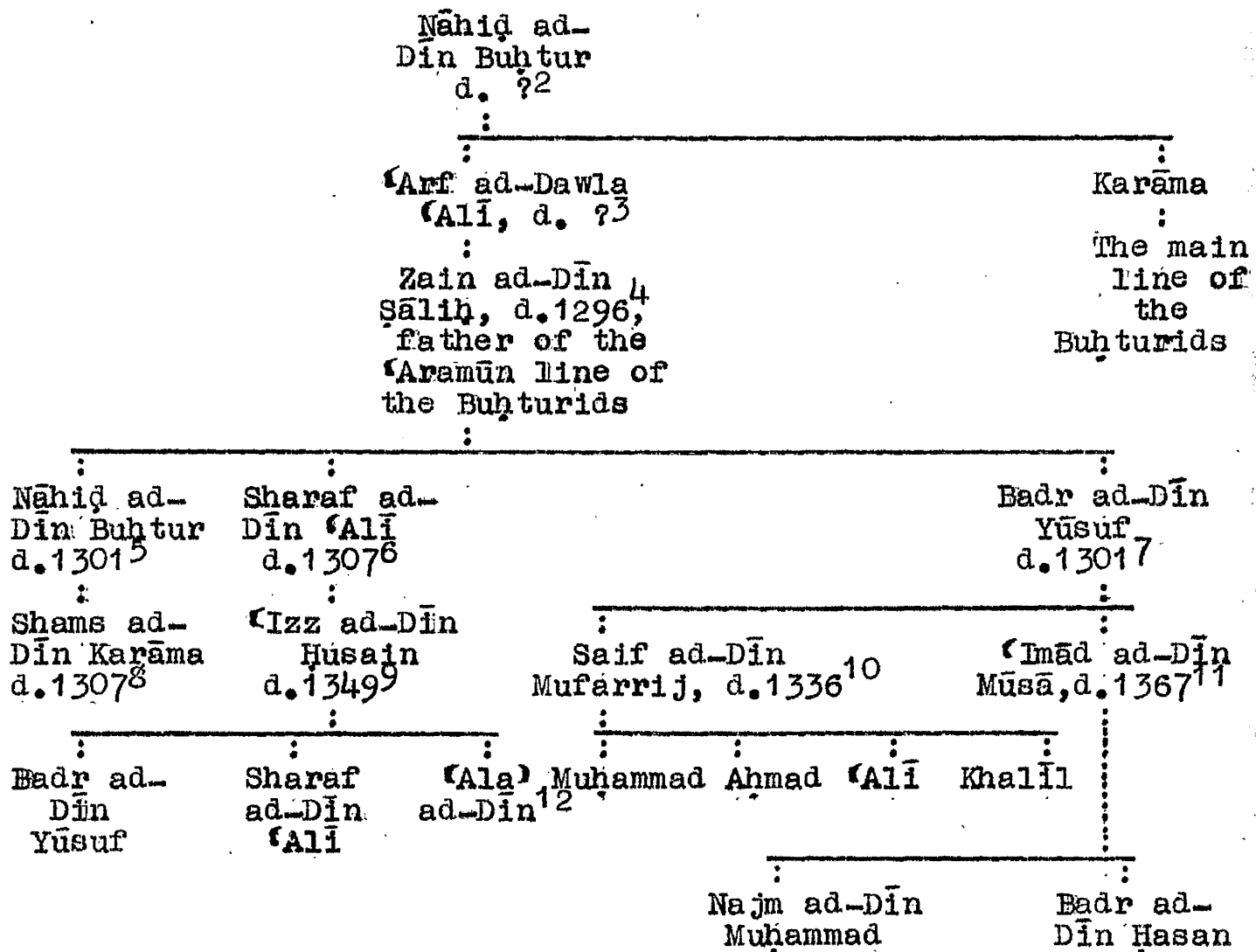
Abū'l-Jaish
Zaim ad-Dīn
Ṣāliḥ, d.1295¹



On the other hand, the progeny of ʿAlī bin Buhtur of Tanūkh, as it appears in Shidyāq,¹¹ as well as in Ṣāliḥ bin

1. Ibid., p.719.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.720.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., pp.720-721.
9. Ibid., p.721.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., pp.129 et seq.

Yahyā,¹ can be tabulated as follows:



1. I have collected Ṣāliḥ's version of the Tanūkh genealogy from the various parts of his history, which is largely a commented genealogy. Pages from which I took the dates appear in the following footnotes.
2. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā did not give the date of his death. Shidyāq, p. 275, gave it as 1174, which is very doubtful. The point will be discussed later. See below, pp. 266-267.
3. Shidyāq alone called him ḤArf ad-Dawla. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā referred to him simply as ḤAlī.* Most of the titles of his descendants are found in Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, but not in Shidyāq.
4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, p. 85. The date is given as A.H. Rabī' I 18, 695.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 83.
7. Ibid., p. 85.
8. Ibid., p. 87.
9. Ibid., p. 157.
10. Ibid., p. 155.
11. Ibid., p. 156.
12. No mention of him in Shidyāq. Only his title is given by Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā. * Sometimes as Sharaf ad-Dawla ḤAlī. See below, p. 268, fn. 4.

It appears certain that Shidyāq, in his history, identified to a great extent Abū'l-Jaish Ṣāliḥ of Arslān with Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh, and called him Abū'l-Jaish Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ after his Tanūkhid namesake. His death, according to Shidyāq, took place in 1295,¹ a date which he also gave for the death of Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh.²

Abū'l-Jaish, according to Shidyāq, married Jamīla, daughter of the Tanūkhid amir, Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Hajjī bin Karāma bin Buḥtur.³ According to Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh married Ṣādiqa, the daughter of the same Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad.⁴ Although it is possible that Shidyāq was confusing again between the two amirs by making them marry the same woman, and that Jamīla was only a mistake for Ṣādiqa, it appears more probable that the two Ṣāliḥs married sisters, this fact having led to greater confusion between their characters.

Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not give a complete genealogy of the descendants of Abū'l-Jaish; but from his occasional mentions of their names some idea can be had about it. It appears from his account that there were two members of that family who bore the nick-name of Abū'l-Jaish,⁵ the first of

1. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.719.

2. *Ibid.*, p.281. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p.82, gave the date of Zain ad-Dīn's death as Rabī' II 8, 695 (February 15, 1296).

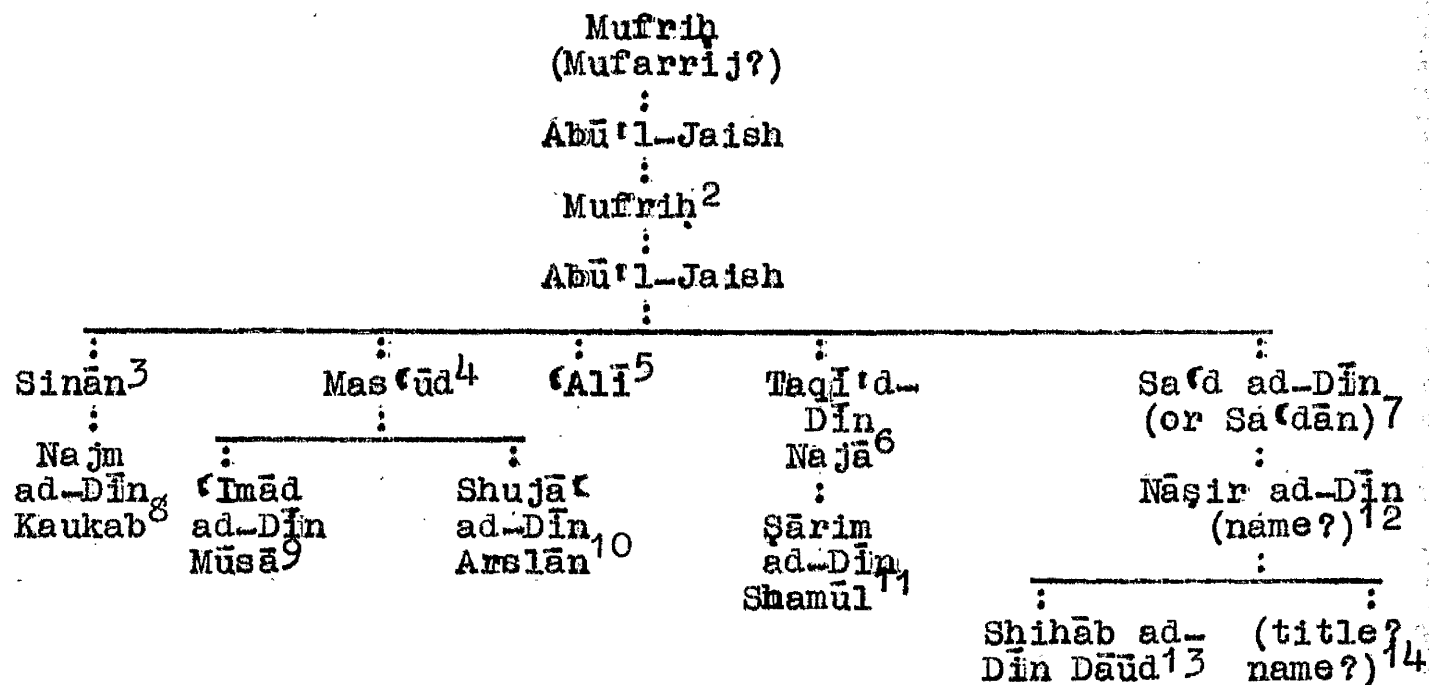
3. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.718.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p.82.

5. Abū'l-Jaish (father of the army) is a nick-name. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not give his real name which, according to Shidyāq, was Ṣāliḥ.

whom was the son of Mufrih (or Mufarrij).¹ There is no mention of a Buhtur or a 'Ali as the direct ancestors of Abū 'l-Jaish. It seems, therefore, that Shidyāq's confusion began with the first Abū 'l-Jaish, whose real name must have been Ṣāliḥ. Confusing him with Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh, Shidyāq attributed to him some of the ancestors and some of the descendants of the latter.

The part of the Abū 'l-Jaish family tree that can be reconstructed from Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā's history appears to be as follows:



1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73. Original footnote.
2. *Ibid.* Ṣāliḥ referred to a document in the writing of this Mufrih which he saw, and which was dated Rabī' I, 638 (1240 A.D.)
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 96 and 97.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 96, and 98.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 177.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 and 98.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 84 (fn. 4), 85, 96, and 98.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 96, and 98.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 96 and 97.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 85, 96, and 98.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 96 and 98.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 96. Nāṣir ad-Dīn had two sons.

Considering that the second Mufriḥ in this genealogy was alive in c. 1240,¹ it must have been his son, the second Abū'l-Jaish Ṣāliḥ, who was the contemporary and possibly the brother-in-law of Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh who died in 1295.

It is not certain whether Shidyāq himself was responsible for this confusion, or whether it was his sources which were confused. It is important to remember, however, that at times it is Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, who admitted that there was a confusion between the genealogies of the family of Abū'l-Jaish and that of Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh,² who mistook Arslāns for Tanūkhs, as will be shown below. In such cases, Shidyāq's account can be used to check him.³

With the available material it is impossible to reconstruct fully the genealogy of the house of Abū'l-Jaish. The confusion found in Shidyāq cannot be rearranged with the scanty information found about the matter in Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā's history. How correct either of Shidyāq's genealogies are cannot be clearly determined. It may further be noted here that Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā seems to have believed that the family of Abū'l-Jaish was a branch of the Ḥummairā (Al-Ḥamrā?) family from the Biqā'. He mentioned nothing about their descent

1. *Ibid.*, p.73.

2. *Ibid.*, p.47.

3. See below, pp. 285 et seq. for an example.

from the Arslāns.¹ It is possible that the house of Abū'l-Jaish claimed descent from the Arslāns, the original amirs of the Gharb, to strengthen their case against the Tanūkh, whose rivals they remained throughout the Crusader and Mamlūk periods. If this is true, then the confusion about the descent of Abū'l-Jaish, as found in Akhbār al-a'yān..., would have been caused by this attempt to forge a genealogy. The truth about this matter, however, cannot be fully established.

The main cause of the confusion found in the histories of both Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā and Shidyāq between the descendants of Abū'l-Jaish Ṣāliḥ and Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, apart from their having the same name, may have been because both houses lived in 'Aramūn al-Gharb. Besides, members of each of the two houses had the same names.

As it has been said above,² it was Buḥtur of Tanūkh, and not an Arslānid amir by the same name, who received the document of investiture from Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābeg in 1147. It

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1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, p.47. H. Lammens (La Syrie..., II, p.9) mentioned the Abū'l-Jaish family without saying that they were descendants of the Arslāns. He believed that they came to Lebanon at the time of the Crusades. A.N. Poliak, Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900 (London, 1939), p.13, said that the modern Arslāns claim Banū Abū'l-Jaish as their ancestors (referring to Shidyāq) and that they (also or therefore?) trace their ancestry to the pre-Islamic Arab kings of Al-Hīra (also depending on Shidyāq. Poliak, p.57). From the material available in Shidyāq and Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, it appears that if there was any genealogical forgery it was made by Banū Abū'l-Jaish, who, rightly or wrongly, claimed descent from the Arslāns.
2. See above, p.258.

is unlikely that Buhtur died in 1174, as Shidyāq said,¹ for already in 1160, fourteen years earlier, Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī had invested his son, Karāma, with considerable iqṭāʿs, and with what seems to have been his father's position.² Buhtur must have died before that date, possibly in 1157, the date which Shidyāq gave to the death of the presumed Buhtur of Arslān.³

In relating the investiture of Karāma bin Buhtur by Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī, Shidyāq repeated Duwaihī's story almost word for word, giving the same date:

In 1160 (he said) the Malik Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī granted Karāma bin Buhtur Al-Qunaitra and Jilbāyā in the Biqāʿ, Az-Zahr al-Aḥmar in Wādī at-Taim, and Barjā, Al-Maʿaṣir al-Fauqiyya, Ad-Dāmūr, Shārūn, Majd al-Baʿnā, and Kafar-ʿimmaī, and made provisions for him for forty horsemen to fight the Franks.⁴

This event has already been discussed in the chapter on Duwaihī;⁵ but it is interesting to note how Shidyāq, in his confusion between the Tanūkhs and the Arslāns, understood the investiture of Karāma after what he supposed was the investiture of Buhtur of Arslān:

In the year 1157 (he said) the Amir Nāhiq ad-Dīn Abū'l-ʿAshaʿir Buhtur [of Arslān]⁶ died, leaving a son, ʿAlī....

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.275.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.717.

4. Ibid., p.275.

5. See above, pp.144-147.

6. This event is related by Shidyāq in his history of the Arslāns.

So Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr ad-Dīn granted the Gharb as an iqṭāʿ to Amir Zahr ad-Dawla Karāma, known as Amir al-Gharb.

Mistaking Buḥtur of Tanūkh for an Arslānid amir by that name, Shidyāq understood from Nūr ad-Dīn's marsūm to Karāma in 1157² that after the death of the supposed Buḥtur of Arslān, the iqṭāʿ of the Gharb passed over to the Tanūkhs. Actually Buḥtur of Tanūkh himself had a son called ʿAlī who did not succeed to the iqṭāʿ of the Gharb, Shidyāq having mistaken him for an Arslānid amir by the same name who did not succeed to the iqṭāʿ of his father (the presumed ʿAlī of Arslān, father of Abū'l-Jaish).

Previously Shidyāq had related that in 1151 Buḥtur of Arslān had defeated the Franks at Rās at-Tīna, near Nahr al-Ghadīr, and had forced them to retreat to Beirut.³ Here again the hero must have been Buḥtur of Tanūkh, although Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, not having mentioned any of the exploits of Buḥtur of Tanūkh, did not mention anything about this battle.

After relating the death of Buḥtur of Arslān and the investiture of Karāma of Tanūkh, Shidyāq proceeded to say that in 1162 the Fatimids of Egypt approached ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī of Arslān (who may well have been Sharaf ad-Dawla⁴ ʿAlī of

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.717.

2. This is the correct date of Nūr ad-Dīn's first marsūm to Karāma. See above, p.144.

3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.716-717. I have found nothing about the battle of Rās at-Tīna in other sources. Nahr al-Ghadīr is a winter stream that pours to the south of Beirut.

4. For the title of ʿAlī bin Buḥtur, see Ibn Sibāṭ, op.cit., p.16 and the genealogical tree in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, opposite p.40.

Tanūkh), who had failed to succeed to the iqṭāʿ of the Gharb, to incite the amirs of the country against Nūr ad-Dīn. Nūr ad-Dīn, Shidyāq continued, hearing of this, turned against ʿAlī.¹ Unfortunately, the establishment of the truth of this fact from the available sources does not appear to be possible; but its mention in Akhbār al-aʿyān... does give a hint about the intrigues that the Lebanese indulged in during the Crusader period.

According to Shidyāq this ʿArf ad-Dawla later won back the good will of the Zangids and was granted the iqṭāʿ of the Gharb after the death of Karāma and the murder of his three grown-up sons by the Frankish ruler of Beirut. This last event in which, Shidyāq said, ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī played a part, was related in Akhbār al-aʿyān... as follows:

The Amir Karāma died² leaving four sons; and the three eldest among them made peace with the Frankish ruler of Beirut,³ who later killed them and attacked their fort⁴ and destroyed it. He then proceeded with his army

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.717.
 2. Shidyāq here gave no date to Karāma's death. Elsewhere (p. 275) he seems to have believed that he died after 1174, which is impossible. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā (p.54) declared that he found nowhere the date of birth or death of any of Buḥtur, ʿAlī, Karāma, or Hajjī.
 3. If this event took place towards the year 1172 (see below, p.273), then the "ruler" of Beirut in question was neither of the house of Brisebarre (1110-1166) nor of the house of Ibelin (from 1197). In 1166 Gautier III, last Brisebarre lord of Beirut, sold his fief back to Amalric I, King of Jerusalem; and it remained crown domain until the fall of Beirut to Saladin in 1187. E. Rey, "Les seigneurs de Beirut", R.O.L. IV, 1896, pp.15 and 17.
 4. As it has been mentioned above (p.145), Karāma resided in the fort of Sarḥamūr, not far from Beirut, to its south-east.

to 'Aramūn where 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī bin Buḥtur was living; and 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī rose to meet him with his men, and they fought. And as the Amir and his men were taking their stand on a high hill, they threw rocks and shot arrows at him, then descended on him from the mountain tops, defeated him, and scattered his men. The Amir then took over the imāra alone. When, however, the news reached Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ bin Nūr ad-Dīn [1173-1181],¹ he wrote him a letter praising his courage and granting him the Gharb, as it had been granted to his sires and grandsires.²

Ḥaidar ash-Shihābī, in Al-ghurar al-hisān..., said that Sharaf ad-Dawla 'Alī of Tanūkh held the route of Dāmūr against the Franks at 'Aramūn.³ Although he gave no date, he appears to have been referring to the same incident related with more detail by Shidyāq. If Shihābī were right, it is strange indeed to find that Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not avail himself of the opportunity of adding this heroic adventure to the deeds of his ancestors and his family in his history. Actually Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā made no mention at all of the event, stating simply that after the sack of Sarḥamūr 'Alī of Tanūkh was probably living in 'Aramūn alone, while the rest of the Tanūkhid family took residence in 'Abāī, after having stayed for a time in Tirdalā.⁴ Neither did Salih say that 'Alī of Tanūkh took over the iqṭā' of the

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1. Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl succeeded his father Nūr ad-Dīn in 1173. See Lane-Poole, op.cit., p.163.
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.717. See also MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.41-42, on which Shidyāq depended.
 3. Shihābī, op.cit., pp.349-350.
 4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.54. Ṣāliḥ said that he heard this information from old people in his family.

Gharb after the murder of his three nephews, the sons of Karāma.

The sack of Sarhamūr and the murder of the sons of Karāma by the Franks were related by Shidyāq in his chapter on the history of the Tanūkhs as follows:

Amir Karāma died..., leaving four sons; and the eldest three made peace with the Frankish ruler of Beirut who was kind and friendly to them, and with whom they went hunting on several occasions. One day, however, he invited them to the wedding of his son in Beirut..., and when night came he asked them to a private session in the fort.... They entered the fort with a few of their attendants, and he killed them; and the next morning he went out with a company of Franks to the fort of Sarhamūr. [On hearing of their approach] the mother [of the amirs] escaped with her youngest son, Hajjī..., then seven years of age,¹ who was later given the title of Jamāl ad-Dawla,² and whose cousins, the sons of Amir 'Alī, lived in 'Aramūn. As for the Franks, they looted the fort, destroyed it, and threw its stones in a valley. After a few days, Nur ad-Dīn Zangī wrote to Hajjī granting him the village of Jab'a.³

The history of Ibn Sibāt⁴ was the main source from which Shidyāq got his information about this event. Among the non-Lebanese historians, only Ibn Hajar, to my knowledge, related the event:

[The governor of Beirut] used to attempt the siege of Karāma in his fort, but he was not capable of doing so. When, however, [Karāma's] sons grew up and developed a liking for hunting, he wrote to them and met them,

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1. *Ibid.*, p.52.
 2. Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā gave his title both as Jamāl ad-Dawla (p.51) and Jamāl ad-Dīn (p.50). The latter, however, he used more often.
 3. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.275. Shidyāq took his account from Ibn Sibāt (pp.41-42), who in turn took it from Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā (pp.50-52). I have not been able to identify Jab'a.* ~~Possibly it was a village in the Gharb that no longer exists.~~
 4. See previous foot-note.

* It may have been a mistake for Jbā', a village to the south-west of Jazzīn, south-east of Sidon.

showing them great hospitality. Gradually he brought out his son, a youth, with them /to the hunt/; then he told them: "I have decided to get him married, and I shall invite ~~you~~ /to the wedding/ the governors of the coast; so come and attend." The three eldest sons, therefore, went /to the wedding/ and left their youngest brother in the fort. /The Franks/ received them with candles and musical instruments; but when the hour of mid-afternoon* came, /the governor of Beirut/ took them unawares, arrested them, and arrested their attendants; and they were drowned. Then /the governor of Beirut/ rode with his soldiers to the fort and took it, and the old woman /the mother of the amirs/ left /the fort/ with her youngest son, who was seven years old, and he was Hajjī, the great-grandfather of /Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusain/.¹

Ibn Ḥajar (d. 1468)² may have taken his information from Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā,³ but he included a point not mentioned in the latter's history and at variance with the latter's narrative. Whereas Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā stated simply that when the three sons of Karāma were taken into the fort "it was the last that was known of them",⁴ Ibn Ḥajar had it that they were drowned.⁵

The date of this event is vague. Shidyāq gave it no date, but placed it between the events of the year 1174 and those of the year 1187. Ibn Ḥajar gave no dates at all, his interest having been merely to relate something about the

1. Ibn Ḥajar, Ad-durar al-kāmina..., II, p. 54.

2. Brockelmann, Geschichte..., S II, p. 74.

3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā took part in the expedition against Cyprus in 1425. The date of his death is unknown. See in appendix to Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, taken from Ibn Sibāṭ, p. 234. He must have died before Ibn Ḥajar.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p. 51.

5. I have not come across a mention of this event in any of the earlier Frankish and Arabic sources I consulted.

ancestors of Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusain, with whom he was concerned. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, after relating the event, added:

It is said that this misfortune took place towards the end of the reign of Al-Malik al-ʿAdil Nūr ad-Dīn Zangī, Al-Malik al-ʿAdil having died on Shawwāl 11, 567 [June 6, 1172].¹

As for what Shidyāq said about Hajji having received the grant of Jabʿa from Nūr ad-Dīn after the murder of his brothers and the sack of Sarḥamūr, it does not appear from Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's account to have been put by Shidyāq, or by Ibn Sibāṭ, whom Shidyāq copied, in the correct sequence. In Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's account the grant of Jabʿa to Hajjī is related as a separate piece of information, added by the author after his narrative of the sack of Sarḥamūr:

I found among the old manāshīr a manshūr to Hajjī, which I wanted to mention here to prove that the afore-mentioned Hajjī was already living in the last years of... Nūr ad-Dīn. It is a manshūr from Nūr ad-Dīn in the name of Hajjī, stating that Jabʿa, alone, was of the iqṭāʿ of Hajjī bin Karāma, Amir of the Gharb, and his relations; And [the manshūr] had this iqṭāʿ in the names of eight individuals (anfār) who were, perhaps, Hajjī's jundīs. The date [of the manshūr] is the last [day] of Ramadān, 565 [June 17, 1170]. Perhaps this manshūr was written in the childhood of Hajjī, as an addition to what was held by his brothers.¹

Having dealt with the murder of Hajjī's brothers by the Franks of Beirut, Shidyāq proceeded to mention the investiture of Hajjī by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī after the fall

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1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.51. Nūr ad-Dīn died in 569 A.H. (1173 A.D.). See Lane-Poole, loc.cit., and Ibn al-Jauzi, Al-muntazam fī tārikh al-mulūk wa'l-umam (Haiderabad, 1358), X, p.247.
 2. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.52.

of Beirut to him in 1187. This event has already been discussed before in the chapter on Duwaihī's history.¹

In dealing with the history of the Arslāns in the same period, Shidyāq said that when Salāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī gave the Gharb in iqṭāʿ to Ḥajjī, ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī who, according to Shidyāq, had been granted the Gharb by Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl bin Nūr ad-Dīn after the murder of Ḥajjī's brothers,² was greatly displeased. This, Shidyāq added, led to enmity between Ḥajjī and ʿArf ad-Dawla.³

If it is to be supposed that ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī was no other than Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿAlī of Tanūkh, the brother of Karāma, there is nothing in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā about any enmity between him and his nephew Ḥajjī. It is possible that Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā ignored an enmity the memory of which would have kept the Tanūkhid family divided on itself. It may have been for the same reason that Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not mention that Sharaf ad-Dawla ʿAlī took over Karāma's iqṭāʿ after the murder of his sons. On the other hand, it may have been that after the plight of the Tanūkhs at the hands of the Franks of Beirut, and after the succession of a minor to the Tanūkhid iqṭāʿ, an Arslān amir stepped in and attempted to renew the lost dominance of his family in the Gharb. The

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.275-276. Also Duwaihī, T.A., pp.88 and MS Ibn Sibāt, p.82. See above, p.147.

2. See above, p.270.

3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.717.

restoration of this dominance to the Tanūkhids, in that case, would naturally have aroused his hostility. It is extremely unlikely that Shidyāq was making up the facts he gave in his history, although it is definite that he did get embarrassed with the different facts he had drawn from various sources. If, besides, the fact that an Arslānid amir tried vainly to take over the Tanūkhid iqṭāʿ towards the end of the twelfth century is accepted, it would explain the rivalry between the Tanūkhids and the Arslāns in the latter half of the thirteenth.

Shidyāq further added that in 1195 (actually 1197),¹ when the Franks took Beirut again, Ḥajjī, in fear of misfortune, made peace with ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī.²

Shidyāq mentioned a letter sent by Nūr ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Al-Afḍal Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī) of Damascus (1186-1196) to Ḥajjī urging him to fight the Franks and granting him the whole of the Gharb in iqṭāʿ.³ Ibn Sibāṭ mentioned this letter with the date 590 A.H. (1193-1194 A.D.).⁴ Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā said he had come across a letter from Al-Afḍal, giving the same information as that mentioned by Shidyāq, and the date as Ramaḍān 16, 593 A.H. (August 2, 1197). By that time, it may be noted, Al-Afḍal was no more ruler of Damascus, having

1. R. Grousset, op.cit., II, p.852. Amalric II retook Beirut in October, 1197. The wrong date given by Shidyāq must have been taken from Duwaihī (T.A., pp.95-96) who gave it as 1195.

2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.718.

3. Ibid., p.276.

4. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.67.

been succeeded by his uncle, AL-‘Ādil Saif ad-Dīn Abū Bakr, in 592 A.H. (1196 A.D.).¹

Shidyāq, depending on Ibn Sibāṭ, mentioned that at approximately the same time AL-Afdal sent an army to raid Beirut.² Ibn Sibāṭ had added that it seemed that AL-Afdal's letter was meant to call Hajjī to his assistance.³

AL-Afdal, according to Shidyāq, sent another letter to Hajjī informing him that he had written to the Franks of Beirut asking them to keep Hajjī in his old position.⁴ This letter, according to Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, was sent to Hajjī by AL-‘Azīz ‘Imād ad-Dīn ‘Uthmān (Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, 1193-1198).⁵ Ṣāliḥ said that he had seen the letter, but did not give its date. He added: "This points to the truce with the Franks at the time, and shows that Hajjī had complained [to the Sultan] about [the behaviour of the Franks towards him]."⁶

Shidyāq did not give the date of Hajjī's death; neither did Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā. The latter, however, said that he had come across a letter from AL-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān to Hajjī dated Jumādā I 25, 619 A.H. (July 7, 1222),⁷ which shows that

1. S. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p. 78.

2. Shidyāq, loc.cit.,

3. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p. 67.

4. Shidyāq loc.cit.

5. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p. 53. S. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p. 77. The sultan in question was not AL-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān. See below, fn 7.

6. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, loc.cit.

7. Ibid. If the date is correct, then the author of the letter was not AL-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān of Egypt. The Sultan of Egypt at the time was AL-Kāmil (1218-1238) and that of Damascus was AL-Mu‘azzam ‘Isā (1218-1227). S. Lane-Poole, op.cit., pp. 77-78. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp. 93-94, doubted the authorship of the letter on the same grounds and suggested that it was either AL-Kāmil or AL-Mu‘azzam who had written it to Hajjī.

he was still alive at the time.

For the most part, of the first half of the thirteenth century is, in Akhbār al-aʿyān, a period on which very little information is given. The only event mentioned before the fourth decade was the death of ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī of Arslān in 1229.¹

The first event of importance in the thirteenth century which is related in Akhbār al-aʿyān... took place, according to Shidyāq, in 1246. In that year, he said, Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī² wrote to Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī of Tanūkh, a letter praising his obedience and his good services and giving orders that he should remain in his usual position, with an increase in the stipend allotted to him and to his followers. The letter also ordered Muḥammad bin Ḥajjī to recruit to military service whomever he could. It informed him too of the Sultan's intention to visit the country (the Lebanese coast)³ and ordered Muḥammad to prepare for his reception.⁴ In that same year, Shidyāq continued, Muḥammad bin Ḥajjī and his brother, Sharaf ad-Dīn ʿAlī, were killed in Thaghrat al-Jauzāt in Kisruān.⁵

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.718. On this occasion Shidyāq gave ʿAlī's full name as ʿArf ad-Dawla Qiyām ad-Dīn ʿAlī, known as Arslān, son of Buḥtur.
2. Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb was Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt (1240-1249). Lane-Poole, loc.cit.
3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.55.
4. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.276.
5. Ibid. This event has been dealt with above, p.148.

The death of Muḥammad and his brother 'Alī in Kisruān has already been dealt with. The date of their death, according to other sources, was 1242, not 1246.¹ If this be true, the manshūr of Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to Muḥammad must have been issued before 1242. Sāliḥ bin Yahyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, both of whom gave the date of Muḥammad's death as Rabī' II 6, 640 A.H. (October 3, 1242 A.D.), gave the text of the manshūr with the date as Dhū'l-Ḥijja 6, without giving the year; Ibn Sibāṭ adding that the year was not given in the original manshūr.² Considering that Dhū'l-Ḥijja is the last month of the Hijra year, then the date of the letter must have been, at the latest, in 639 A.H. (May 19, 1242). Ibn Sibāṭ, however, copying from the same source as Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, doubted the date 640 A.H. which he found given to the death of Muhammad. He made the following comment on it:

We found a historical note in the handwriting of some Tanūkhid in which it is mentioned that the sons of the amir of the Gharb, Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī,³ were killed in Thaghrat al-Jauzāt in Kisruān on Rabī' al-Ākhir 6, 640. Perhaps this is a mistake in the number because by that year Al-Malik as-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had not yet taken Damascus. He took it in

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1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.117; Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.55; and MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.121-122.
 2. Sāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.54-55 and MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp. 120-122.
 3. In the available manuscript of Ibn Sibāṭ it reads "the sons of his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī". Ibn Yahyā has it simply as "his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī", and so do Duwaihī and Shidyāq, both of whom copied from a manuscript of Ibn Sibāṭ.

643 and went himself to Damascus in 644¹.... And the correspondence between him and Amir Najm ad-Dīn /Muhammad/ was perhaps in that year. The /author of this historical notice/ may have... forgotten to add the four /to the forty/. God knows best.²

Shidyāq, copying from Ibn Sibāt, discarded the date 640 and substituted in its place 1246 (644 A.H.), thus giving a more acceptable date to the death of Najm ad-Dīn Muhammad than Sālih bin Yahyā, and likewise the probable date of the manshūr in question.

Shidyāq continued his history of the Tanūkhs in this century by relating that in 1249 Aḥ-Ṣālih Ayyūb wrote a manshūr to Zain ad-Dīn Sālih bin 'Alī granting him, aside from the iqṭā' inherited from his father (Baiṣūr, Majdaliyyā, one third of 'Aramūn, Kaifūn, and Al-Bīra, and their mazra'as),³ new iqṭā's in the west and south of "the mountain of Beirut",* those being Al-Qnāṭiyya, Bmikkīn, Shimplāl (Shimplān),⁴ Btāthir,⁵ and Kafar-'immaī, with their mazra'as. This grant, said the manshūr, was given to him "because of his services and labours, and to encourage him to continue in guarding the thughūr entrusted to him in the west /of the country/."⁶

Sālih bin Yahyā said that the date of this manshūr

1. S. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p.78.

2. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp.121-122.

3. Baiṣūr, Majdaliyyā, and Kaifūn are villages in the upper Gharb. I have not been able to identify Al-Bīra. A mazra'a (pl. mazārik) is an area of cultivable land outside a village, but pertaining to it and cultivated by its people.

4. Al-Qnāṭiyya, Bmikkīn, and Shimplāl are villages in the upper Gharb.

5. Btāthir (modern Btātir) used to be the principal village of the Jird, in the time of Shidyāq.

6. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.276-277. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp.122-132 (page not definite).

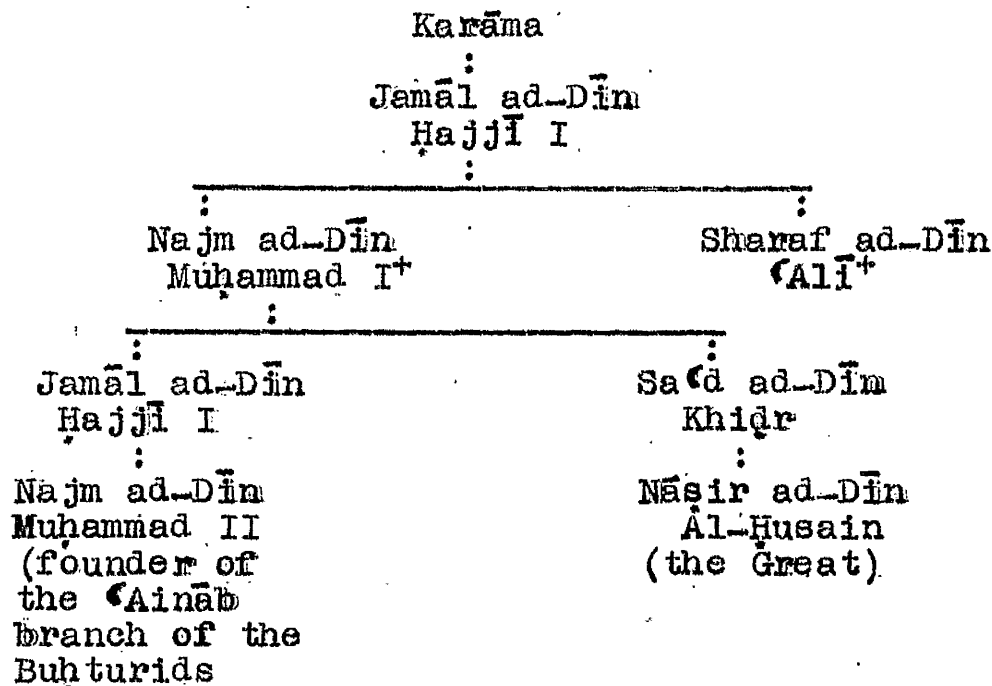
* A term occasionally used by Sālih bin Yahyā and Ibn Sibāt to denote the Gharb (Jabal Bairūt).

was Rabī' II 19, 646 (August 12, 1248).¹

Elsewhere, Shidyāq said that Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb issued a manshūr in his own handwriting to Abū'l-Jaish Ṣāliḥ, son of 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī, of Arslān, granting him certain villages in iqṭā' in recompense for his services and labours in guarding the thughūr. Shidyāq gave the same date, 1249, to this manshūr.² Could it be that Shidyāq was identifying in this case Abū'l-Jaish Ṣāliḥ with Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh, or did Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb issue two manshūrs in the same year, one to the Tanūkhid amir and the other to the Arslānid amir? Probably it was a case of confusion between the two.

Proceeding with the history of the Tanūkhs, Shidyāq said that Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī, the son of Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad,³ who will henceforward be referred to as Ḥajjī II, received in

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1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.79, fn.3 (marginal note from the original manuscript of Ṣāliḥ's history).
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.718.
 3. Genealogy of Tanūkhid amirs:



1256 from An-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf (Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, 1250-1260) a manshūr renewing his iqṭāʿ of the following villages: ʿAramūn, ʿAin Drāfīl, Tirdalā, ʿAin Ksūr, Ramṭūn, Qadrūn, Mratghūn, As-Sibāḥiyya, Sarḥamūr, ʿAināb, ʿAin ʿNūb, and Ad-Duwair.¹ Both Ibn Sibāṭ and Ibn Yahyā, the latter of whom had seen the manshūr, gave its date as Ṣafar 25, 650 (May 7, 1252).² This manshūr has already been discussed.³

Shidyāq next mentioned a manshūr issued by Al-Muʿizz Aibak (1250-1257, the first Bahrī Mamlūk sultan) to Saʿd ad-Dīn Khiḍr, brother of Ḥajjī II, granting him the iqṭāʿ of various villages outside the Gharb, in the Shūf, Wādī at-Taim, and Iqlīm al-Kharrūb.⁴ The date of this manshūr was given by Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā and by Ibn Sibāṭ as Rabīʿ I 27, 654 A.H. (April 24, 1256).⁵ Shidyāq dated it one year later.

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1. ʿAināb is a village in the upper Gharb and ʿAin ʿNūb is in the lower Gharb. I have not been able to identify Ramṭūn, Qadrūn, and as-Sibāḥiyya (in Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p. 56, As-Sibāḥiyya). Mratghūn is in Ṣāḥil Bairūt. Louis Cheikho (Salih bin Yahya, p.56, fn.1) said that most of those villages were in the lower Gharb.
 2. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.55-56. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.132-133.
 3. See above, pp.148-149.
 4. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.277. He enumerated the villages as follows: Of the Shūf - Al-Maʿāṣir al-Fauqāniyya, Baʿdharan, ʿAin Māṭūr, Batlūn, ʿAin Ūzāi, Kafarnabrakh, Ibrīj, Ghriḥa (he also mentioned Niḥā, which is found in Ibn Sibāṭ (p.135) but not in Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā - p.61). Of Wādī at-Taim - Tannūra and Az-Zahr al-Aḥmar. Of Iqlīm al-Kharrūb - Barjā, Bāṣir, and Shūm.
 5. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.61. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.135.

This manshūr from Aibak to Khidr helps to explain the next event related by Shidyāq. In the same year as the issue of Aibak's manshūr, he said, Ibn Wadūd and Ibn Ḥātim¹ came to the Gharb with soldiers, and brought with them tribesmen from Ba'albak and the Biqā'. They were met by the Tanūkh amirs and their men at 'Aitāt, in the upper Gharb, and the aggressors were badly defeated and looted.²

Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā wrote about this event as follows:

I found in the handwriting of one of my ancestors the following: "Ibn Wadūd and Ibn Ḥātim came to the Gharb with soldiers, and gathered against it tribesmen from the wilāyas of Ba'albak and the two Biqā's.³ They were defeated and looted by the sons of the amir of the Gharb, who made peace with them and let them go. This battle took place in the village of 'Aitāt on the second day of Dhū'l-Qa'da, 653 December 3, 1255." I heard, besides, from those who are informed, that Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh... was the cause of their defeat, and that he acquired fame from this event.⁴

Shidyāq got the wrong date, 654 A.H., from Ibn Sibāt.⁵

Having related this event, Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā proceeded to make the following comment on it:

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1. I could identify neither of them. Probably they were the governors of the two Biqā's, Al-'Azizī and Al-Ba'alabakkī. An Ibn Ḥātim from Ba'albak (Dā'ūd bin Ḥātim, Al-Ḥarranī, Al-Ba'alabakkī, Hanbalite doctor) was living in the thirteenth century, and died in 1280 (See Gaston Wiet, Les biographies..., p.144, no.1003).
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.277. MS Ibn Sibāt, p.136.
 3. Ba'albak, Al-Biqā' al-'Azizī, and Al-Biqā' al-Ba'alabakkī, in northern Coelesyria, were three wilāyas of the northern march of the niyāba of Damascus in Mamlūk times. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op.cit., pp.70-73.
 4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.64.
 5. MS Ibn Sibāt, p.136.

This event took place in the days of An-Nāṣir Yūsuf, Sultan of Damascus, and the Turkoman Al-Muʿizz Aibak, Sultan of Egypt. Between those two there was disagreement and war, while the Franks occupied the coastlands. The probability is that the Damascenes believed the amirs of the Gharb were on the side of the Egyptians, and, because of that they organized an attack on the Gharb; one of the proofs to that being the afore-mentioned manshūr from Al-Muʿizz Aibak in the name of Saʿd ad-Dīn Khidr.... It is perplexing to find that whereas Beirut is in the province of Damascus, the manshūr is Egyptian. The fact was that An-Nāṣir wanted to take Egypt and Al-Muʿizz wanted to subdue An-Nāṣir; and the dispute between them remained until... they agreed that Syria, as far south as Al-ʿArīsh, will go to An-Nāṣir and that Egypt will go to Al-Muʿizz, that having taken place in 653 [1255].[†]

Aibak's manshūr and the unsuccessful raid on the Gharb by Ibn Wadūd and Ibn Hātim, who must have been in the service of An-Nāṣir of Damascus, appear to be illustrations of the double-faced policy of the Tanūkhīs at the time. While struggle between the rising Mamlūk State in Egypt and the Ayyūbid State of Damascus over the control of Syria continued, they seem to have attempted to play on both sides. This is illustrated by the fact that whereas Ḥajjī II received the iqṭāʿ of the Gharb from An-Nāṣir, His brother, Khidr, received the iqṭāʿ of villages outside the Gharb from Aibak. There is also evidence in Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā that the Tanūkhīs were playing also on a third side - that of the Franks of

1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, loc.cit. For the struggle between An-Nāṣir and Al-Muʿizz Aibak, see M. Quatremère, Histoire des sultans Mamlouks, I, pp.15-61. For the agreement between them was concluded in A.H. 654 (1256). The terms of the treaty were that "Al-Malik al-Muʿizz will possess, other than Egypt, that part of the coast (sāḥil) of Syria which belonged to Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb; and that Al-Malik an-Nāṣir will not give refuge to any of the Bahrī mamlūks." See ibid., p.61.

Beirut.¹

This policy followed by the Tanūkhīs in the thirteenth century of playing on both sides in the hope of preserving their power at home is further illustrated by the rôle which, according to Lebanese historians, they played in 1260 at the battle of ʿAin Jālūt between the Mamlūks and the Mongols.

In 1259,² said Shidyāq, when the Ilkhāns took Damascus from An-Nāṣir, Amir Ḥajjī II and his cousin, Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin ʿAlī, went to Damascus and offered their submission to Ketbughā, the new governor of Damascus appointed by Hūlāgū. When Al-Muẓaffar Qutuz (1259-1260), however, led the Egyptian army against the Mongols, the two amirs, not knowing which side will be victorious, decided that each of them will fight on one side. Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ went over to the Egyptian side, and Ḥajjī II remained with the Mongols in Damascus. At ʿAin Jālūt (September 3, 1260)³ the mongols were defeated, and many of them took refuge in the mountains, where they were besieged by the Egyptians. In this siege Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, fighting with the Mamlūks, distinguished himself as an archer; and after the victory was won by the Mamlūks, Qutuz ordered his death, having heard of his previous friendship with the Mongols; but his Mamlūk comrades stood for him and saved his life.⁴

1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.80.

2. Actually 1260 (658 A.H.). M. Quatremère, op.cit., I, p.97.

3. Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, p.212, col.1, under "ʿAin Jalut".

4. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.277-278. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp.150-151, and Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.65.

Shidyāq added that when Ketbughā occupied Damascus¹ he issued a manshūr to Ḥajjī II confirming his old iqṭāʿs.² Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā gave the text of this document:

Possessor of the surface of the Earth, Hūlāgū Khān, may his greatness increase.... It has been decreed by High Command... that the great Amir Jamāl ad-Dīn... Ḥajjī ... shall continue to hold the iqṭāʿ allotted to him by the manshūr of An-Nāṣir, which he has.³

The manshūr is dated Rajab 7, 658 (June 18, 1260). There is no evidence of a manshūr issued by Hūlāgū to Ḥajjī's cousin, Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin ʿAlī.

Shidyāq related the story of Ḥajjī II and his cousin fighting each on one side at the battle of ʿAin Jālūt from Ibn Sibāṭ, who took his account from Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā. The latter related the story from an oral tradition related to him by older members of his family, and had no documentary evidence to support it.⁴ A second version of this same story is found in Akhbār al-aʿyān... in the chapter on the Arslāns, which Shidyāq may have taken from the Arslān family history. This version throws doubt on Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's version, which Shidyāq also gave. In this second version of the story, Shidyāq said that it was Ḥajjī II and Abū'l-Jaish Ṣāliḥ, not Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of Tanūkh, who approached Ketbughā after the latter had occupied Damascus. He mentioned no agreement between the two amirs to the effect that each of them should

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1. M. Quatremère, loc.cit. Ketbughā arrived in Damascus on Rabīʿ I 16, 658 (February 29, 1260).
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.278. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.151.
 3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.57.
 4. Ibid., p.65.

fight on one side, so that the one who would come out on the victorious side would intercede for the other. He said simply that when Qutuz came to the encounter of the Mongols, Abū'l-Jaish was fighting on his side and performed excellent feats of archery which saved his neck when Qutuz charged him, after 'Ain Jālūt, with having had dealings with the Mongols previously. When Ketbughā had occupied Damascus, Shidyāq continued, he had issued to Ḥajjī II a māshūr confirming the iqṭā'as he held already. When, therefore, the Mongols were defeated at 'Ain Jālūt, Hajji was forced to share the imāra of the Gharb with Abū'l-Jaish; and later, when Ḥajjī, his brother, and his cousin Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ were arrested and imprisoned by Baibars, the governorship of the Gharb fell completely to Abū'l-Jaish.¹

The truth of this version of the story is difficult to establish; but it appears to be the more probable one. The fact that Shidyāq mentioned the sharing of the governorship of the Gharb by a Tanūkh and an Arslānid amir, which is mentioned neither by Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā nor by Ibn Sibāṭ, shows that Shidyāq was drawing on a third source, perhaps more dependable, and now unavailable. From this version of the story it appears that the Arslān amir and the Tanūkh amir went independently of each other to seek the favours of Ketbughā; and that when the latter failed in his purpose, he

1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp. 718-719. See above, p. 149, and below, pp. 288 et seq.

turned over to the side of the Mamlūks who, true to their policy, later made him governor of the Gharb jointly with the Tanūkh amir, seeking through the appointment of the two rivals to the same position in the same province to keep full control of it by playing them against each other. Later, as it will be seen, the sons of the Arslān amir intrigued to have the leading Tanūkh amirs, and with them Ḥajjī II, imprisoned; which made him the sole governor of the Gharb for a short period.

Before proceeding to relate the imprisonment of the Tanūkh amirs, Shidyāq mentioned the manshūr issued by Baibars to Ḥajjī II in 1260, granting him the iqṭāʿ of ʿĀlaī,¹ Majd al-Baʿnā, Shārūn,² ʿAramūn, ʿAin Drāfil, Tirdalā, Daqqūn,³ ʿAin Ksūr, Qadrūn, Shimlāl, Mratghūn, Sarḥamūr, Bṭallūn,⁴ ʿAināb, Ad-Duwair, Btāthir, Baisūr, Kafarʿimmaī, ʿAitāth, and As-Sibāḥiyya.⁵ This manshūr, however, was not issued in 1260. It was dated Rajab 8, 659 (June 8, 1261).⁶

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1. ʿĀlaī is a village in the upper Gharb. At present it is a big town and a thriving summer resort. Since the early eighteenth century it was the seat of the Talhūq shaikhs of the upper Gharb, along with ʿAitāt.
 2. Shārūn is a village in the Jird.
 3. Daqqūn (in Shidyāq "Dfūn", in other sources "Daqqūn") is a village in Ash-Shuḥḥar.
 4. Bṭallūn is a village in the Jird.
 5. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.278. As-Sibāḥiyya (in Ibn Sibāt As-Sibāḥiyya) is not mentioned by Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā in this manshūr, but Ibn Sibāt (p.155) mentioned it.
 6. MS Ibn Sibāt, p.155. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.56, gave the date simply as 659, not mentioning the day of the month.

Next Shidyāq proceeded to relate the arrest and imprisonment of the Tanūkh amirs:

One of the sons of Abū'l-Jaish, who were jealous of the two¹ amirs Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, wrote a letter in their name to the Frankish ruler of Tripoli² asking him about matters that would lead to their arrest, should the Sultan come across the letter. The son of Abū'l-Jaish made it so that the answer of the prince of Tripoli reached Al-Malik az-Zāhir Baibars. On receiving it Baibars was annoyed with the two amirs and ordered their arrest; and in the year 1271 he imprisoned Amir Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī bin Muḥammad, his brother, Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr, and Amir Zain ad-Dīn 'Alī.³ Amir Zain ad-Dīn was imprisoned in Egypt, Amir Jamāl ad-Dīn in Al-Karak, and Amir Sa'd ad-Dīn in the fort of 'Ajlūn.⁴ Later, all three were brought together in the prison of Egypt.⁵

The Tanūkhs were not above suspicion of dealing with the Franks, as Shidyāq, Ibn Sibāṭ, and Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā seem to have believed. The latter mentioned having come across a letter from the Frankish ruler of Sidon to Ḥajjī II, without seeming to have realized the significance of this letter in showing the relations between the Tanūkhs and the Franks:

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1. A misprint in Shidyāq's text missed the sign of the double.
 2. Bohemond VI Le Beau, Prince of Antioch (1251-1268) and Count of Tripoli (1251-1275). See genealogical table of the princes of Antioch, back of Grousset, op.cit., III.
 3. A mistake for Zain ad-Dīn (Ṣāliḥ bin) 'Alī.
 4. The fortress of 'Ajlūn was a fortress of the jund of Jordan. It was built by 'Izz ad-Dīn Usāma ibn Muḥqidh in 1184-1185. See Gauderoy-Demombynes, La Syrie..., p.66. Under the Mamlūks, it was the center of the niyāba of 'Ajlūn, a sub-province of the niyāba of Damascus. See ibid., p.179.
 5. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.278-279. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.59 and 66-71. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.184-188. This event has been discussed in the chapter on Duwaihī. See above, p.149.

I came across a letter from ^{مرنات}¹ the Frank, ruler of Sidon, [stating] that he had given the afore-mentioned Hajji a plot of land (shakāra) for the sowing of three ahrā² of wheat in the village of Dāmūr as his property and the property of his son, [or] whoever takes his place.... Its date is Thursday,³ the year of Alexander 1567 [1256 A.D.].⁴

Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā mentioned a similar letter from the Frankish ruler of Beirut, Humfroy de Monfort (1264-1283),⁵ bestowing on Zain ad-Dīn Šāliḥ of Tanūkh a shakāra in Al-Amrusiyya (in the neighbourhood of Beirut) on condition that he would not sell it nor give it away, that he would help him (musāʿadatuhu li ṣuḥūbiyyatih), that he would send back to Beirut anybody who had escaped therefrom, not allowing him to stay in his country more than eight days, and that he would forbid anybody from his country to cause damage in the land of Beirut. The date of this letter was 1592 S.E. (1280 A.D.).⁶

1. The name appears thus, and later in the same letter (passage not quoted) as مرنات. It appears to be the name "Renaud"; but Renaud of Sidon (d. c. 1202) was not the ruler of Sidon at the time. It was his grandson, Julien (1239-1260), who sold Sidon and Beaufort to the Hospitallers in 1260, who must have been responsible for this letter (See note by Cheikho in Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p. 57 and genealogy of the lords of Sidon in R. Grousset, op.cit., II, back pages). Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā might have written his name as Renaud in short for Julien, son of Balian, son of Renaud.
2. Ahrā (sing. hariyya?): granaries. The ahrā were apparently utensils in which agricultural produces were stored. See Dozy and Quatremère, op.cit., I, p. 52, note 74. From this context it appears to have been used as a measure of capacity.
3. Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not give the day of the month.
4. Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp. 57-58.
5. R. Grousset, op.cit., III, back pages, in the genealogy of the house of Ibelin. Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā gave the name as هانقري بن دوفونقرب. Humfroy, not an Ibelin, became lord of Beirut by marrying Echive, daughter of Jean II of Ibelin (1247-1264).
6. Šāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p. 80.

The imprisonment of the Tanūkh amirs and their release after the death of Baibars have already been discussed.¹

In 1283, Shidyāq continued, the sons of Abū'l-Jaish forged another letter, supposedly from Ḥajjī II, his brother Khiḍr, and his cousin Ṣāliḥ (Shidyāq giving his name as 'Alī, instead of ibn 'Alī), to the Franks of Sidon, stating that they shall remain faithful to their agreement with them. The sons of Abū'l-Jaish intended by that to have the Tanūkh amirs returned to prison or killed. A testimony, however, was produced against the truth of the forgery of the sons of Abū'l-Jaish, and their plans remained fruitless.²

Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, who saw the testimony about the forgery of the sons of Abū'l-Jaish, described it as follows:

I have seen a testimony... dated Safar 28, 682 [May 28, 1283]; and I would like to mention it here while relating what happened to the three amirs as a result of lies and forgery. [The main part] of its contents [reads]: "Its witnesses know that Taqī'd-Dīn Najā bin Abī'l-Jaish bin Mufriḥ [Mufarrij?] is known for his falsehood, slander, and lies in his correspondence with the Franks and others in the names of the amirs Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin 'Alī and Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and his brother... Sa'ād ad-Dīn Khiḍr. He is opposing them and seeking to cause them harm in every way. This Taqī'd-Dīn went to Sidon and Acre at the beginning of Muḥarram, 682 [April 1, 1283] with forged letters in his writing in the names of the afore-mentioned [amirs], without their knowledge about it. The witnesses [of this testimony] do not know that the afore-mentioned [amirs] are responsible to any of this." Its witnesses are from the village of Mīdān in the land of Sidon; and there are also signatures of witnesses in Turkish under their own...⁴

1. Above, p.149.

2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.280. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp.199-200.

3. Shidyāq called him Najā bin Mufarrij bin Abī'l-Jaish. See above, p.261.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.72-73. Cheikho (p.73, fn.1) identified Mīdān as a village in Iqlim Jazzīn, east of Sidon.

After the failure of Taqī'd-Dīn Najā to incriminate the Tanūkh amirs in 1283, nothing is heard any more of the attempts on the part of the descendants of Abū'l-Jaish to do away with the Tanūkhs. Until the end of the Mamlūk period they seem to have contented themselves with a subsidiary position, leaving the hegemony to the Tanūkhs.¹

Shidyāq mentioned the sack of the Gharb in 1278, which took place while the three Tanūkh amirs were still in prison in Egypt.² In 1289, he continued, after the fall of Tripoli, the Tanūkhs lost their iqṭā'as, but regained them later in the reigns of Al-Ashraf Khalīl and an-Nāṣir Muḥammad.³

In the chapter on Duwaihī's history it was explained that Qalāūn, after the fall of Tripoli, had taken the iqṭā'as of the Tanūkhs and given them to the jund of Tripoli.⁴ This may have been an attempt at centralization on his part, by replacing the

1. Shidyāq said later that when the Ottomans conquered Syria in 1516, a descendant of Abū'l-Jaish, Jamāl ad-Dīn Aḥmād of Arslān, having joined Al-Ghazālī, the nā'ib of Damascus, in his treachery of the Mamlūks, was made by Al-Ghazālī the governor of the Gharb, the Matn, and the Jind, in the place of the Tanūkhs, who had remained faithful to the Mamlūks.

Op.cit., pp.725-726.

2. Ibid., p.279. See above, p.150.

3. Ibid., p.281.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā (pp.77-78), referring to the history of Ibn Abī'l-Haijā' (Izz ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Abī'l-Haijā) al-Hadhabānī al-Irbilī, d.700 A.H./1301 A.D., prefect of Damascus, historian, and poet. See Gaston Wiet, op.cit., p.364, no.2425.)

Ṣaid that in 687 A.H./1288 A.D. Qalāūn called for the amirs of the mountains and took their properties and iqṭā'as (except those of a certain Ibn al-Mu'in); and that after the fall of Tripoli the Tanūkhs' iqṭā'as were given over to the ḥalqa of Tripoli. Then he proceeded to tell how the Tanūkhs received their iqṭā'as back in the reigns of Al-Ashraf Khalīl and An-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Poliak, op.cit., pp.26-27, depending on Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā (pp.77-78 and 90) and Ibn

provincial military aristocracy of the hinterland of the Lebanese coast with his own jund. Qalāūn may also have dis-trusted the allegiance of the Tanūkhīs (as well as of the other Mountain amirs)¹ because of their previous relations with the Franks and the Mongols. Whatever the case may have been, Al-Ashraf and An-Nāṣir reversed their father's policy and returned the iqṭāʿs of the Gharb to the Tanūkhīs; but this time they assimilated them into the corps of the ḥalqa.²

Shidyāq next mentioned the restoration of the Gharb iqṭāʿs to the Tanūkhīs in 1291, and the confirmation of this restoration by An-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1293.³ Ṣāliḥ bin

(II, p.55), made the following comment on these events: "On the occasion of the conquest of Tripoli in 1289, which made the Mamlūks much more powerful in the Lebanon, Qalāūn confiscated all the fiefs of the Lebanese chieftains /who had no fixed military duties, except the communication of intelligence regarding the activities of the Crusaders/ and transformed them into the reserve of lands for the newly established al-ḥalqa of Tripoli. Afterwards the chieftains gradually recovered most of their fiefs, but this time they were created knights of al-ḥalqa or emirs of specified grades, ordered to maintain mamlūk troops corresponding to their rank, and made responsible for the watch of roads and shores in specified regions." On p.27, fn.2, depending on Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā (op.cit., pp.97 and 98), Poliak added: "The more influential chieftains used to receive the humbler ones into their service as mamlūks."

1. See previous foot-note.
2. See previous foot-note.
3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.281. See also above, p.153.

Yahyā mentioned the manshūr of Al-Ashraf Khalīl to "Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Huṣain and Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad, the son of his uncle Ḥajjī, who are new in the service of the ḥalqa of Damascus," dated Rabīʿ I 3, 691 (February 23, 1292).¹ Ṣāliḥ also mentioned a manshūr from An-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Zain ad-Dīn ʿAlī (Ṣāliḥ bin ʿAlī) accepting him back into his service and granting him several iqṭāʿs, dated Dhū'l-Ḥijja 4, 693 (October 25, 1294).² Shidyāq also added that when the iqṭāʿs of the amirs of the Gharb were returned to them by Al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1290 (actually 1292), two Arslān amirs, Saif ad-Dīn Mufarrij bin Yūsuf bin Abī'l-Jaish and his cousin ʿImād ad-Dīn Mūsā bin Masʿūd, were given iqṭāʿs.³ Although there is no evidence outside Shidyāq to that effect, it must be noted that the latter of the two Arslān amirs was mentioned by Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā among the amirs who received iqṭāʿs in the cadastre of 1313.⁴

Shidyāq's account of the first raid on Kisruān and the Jird in 1293⁵ is the same as the account given by Duwaihī in Tārīkh at-tāʾifa al-mārūniyya.⁶ After giving his account of this expedition, Shidyāq mentioned the dates of the deaths of Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ (1295), Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī (1297), and

1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.89.

2. Ibid., pp.79-80.

3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.719.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.94.

5. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.259-261.

6. Duwaihī, T.T.M., p.376. See above, pp.153 et seq.

Ṣaʿd ad-Dīn Khidr (1313).¹ These dates, as they appear in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā,² were Rabīʿ II 18, 695 (February 14, 1296), Shawwāl 12, 697 (July 23, 1298), and Dhū'l-Qaʿda 12, 713 (February 28, 1314). The mistakes Shidyāq made in the years are due to the fact that he did not take into consideration the day of the year when he changed Hijra into Christian dates, and he always gave the Christian year in which the Hijra year in question started.

In 1302, Shidyāq continued, there was a Frankish attack on Dāmūr. Of the two sons of Ḥajjī who were there at the time of the attack, one, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, was killed, and the other, ʿAbdallāh, was taken prisoner. Five days later Amir Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain bin Khidr, their cousin, ransomed ʿAbdallāh for 3000 Tyrian dinārs.³ Ibn Sibāṭ and Ibn Yaḥyā gave the date of this event as Wednesday, Jumādā I 8, 702 (December 29, 1302).⁴

The expedition against Kisruān in 1305, which has been discussed at length in the chapter on Duwaihī's history, was the next event related by Shidyāq:

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.281.
 2. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.60, 63, and 82.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.284-285. Duwaihī, T.A., p.160. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.289-290. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.150.
 4. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.289. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, loc.cit. It must be remembered that just over two months before this Frankish raid on Dāmūr, the Mamlūks had conducted a naval expedition on Arwād and taken it from the Franks (Ṣafar 28, 702). See Quatremère, op.cit., II, ii, pp.195-196.

In 1304 (he said) Āqūsh al-Afram, the nā'ib of Damascus, sent to Kisruān and to the people of the mountains the Sharīf Zain ad-Dīn bin 'Adnān¹ to reconcile them to the Tanūkh amirs of whom the people of Kisruān and the mountains had killed two amirs when the Tanūkhs had sided with the Moslems at the battle of Jubail,² and to bring them back to obedience. [Āqūsh] sent them next Taqī'd-Dīn ibn Taimiyya and Amir Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh; but they did not agree to make peace and refused obedience to Āqūsh. When the delegates returned, the ʿulama' of Islam decided on killing [the people of Kisruān and the mountains] and on taking them into captivity because they had assaulted the armies of Islam at the battle of Jubail and because they had not returned to obedience. Āqūsh began to gather soldiers from all parts of Syria [and continued the preparations] for three years. In 1307 [he] marched on the mountain of the Jird and Kisruān with fifty thousand soldiers. They were met at 'Ain Şaufar by ten Druze amirs with ten thousand soldiers from the Jird. A great battle took place and the amirs were defeated.... The soldiers then surrounded those invincible mountains and, dismounting, climbed them from all sides, treading on a land whose inhabitants never imagined anyone would reach. They destroyed the villages, cut the vines, pulled down the churches, and killed [or] took captive all the Druzes and Christians in [that country] Finally Āqūsh commanded the Turkomans to settle on the coast of Kisruān.... Their darak (watch-post) was from Anṭiliās to Maghārat al-Asād on the bridge of Al-Mu'amaltain; and they were divided into three groups, each hundred horsemen taking the watch for one month, and residing [when they were on duty] in the fort of Jūniya.³

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1. Elsewhere (Akhbār al-a'yan..., pp. 719-720), Shidyāq gave his name fully as Zain ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Adnān. (See above, p. 158, fn. 4).
 2. By the battle of Jubail Shidyāq meant the first expedition against Kisruān in 1293. The two amirs, it has already been said (above, p. 158, fn. 1) were not killed in the first expedition but in 1305. It may be further noted that Shidyāq took Duwaihī's interpretation of Ibn Sibāṭ's narrative by saying that Ibn 'Adnān, Ibn Taimiyya, and Qarāqūsh came to reconcile the Kisruānis to the Tanūkhs (See above, pp. 159-160). Unlike Duwaihī, however, who used the word iṣlāḥ (reformation) to mean ṣulḥ (reconciliation), Shidyāq corrected his text and used the word ṣulḥ instead of Duwaihī's (and Ibn Sibāṭ's) iṣlāḥ.
 3. Shidyāq, op. cit., pp. 261-262. Note that Shidyāq gave the event the same wrong date (1307) as Duwaihī.

Shidyāq gave the same dates for the visits of Sharīf Zain ad-Dīn ibn ʿAdnān and Ibn Taimiyya to Kisruān and for the expedition of Āqūsh as Duwaihī.¹ Like Duwaihī, besides, whom he was copying, he mistook the purpose of the visits of Ibn ʿAdnān and Ibn Taimiyya to Kisruān and said that they came to reconcile the Kisruānīs and the people of the mountains to the Tanūkhs.² Not finding any reason for such a reconciliation in either Duwaihī or Ibn Sibāṭ, Shidyāq concluded that the reason for the hostility between the Tanūkhs and the people of Kisruān and the mountains was the fact that two amirs of the Tanūkhid family had been killed by the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs in the battle of Jubail (the expedition of 1292). Actually those two amirs (Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad II and his brother, Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad, sons of Ḥajjī II) were killed in the expedition of 1305, the expedition under discussion; and it was only Duwaihī who believed that they were killed by the Jirdīs and Kisruānīs in the supposed raid on the Gharb that followed the first expedition.³ It is interesting to note that although Ibn Sibāṭ mentioned the death of the two sons of Ḥajjī in the expedition of 1305, Shidyāq ignored it and followed Duwaihī's version.

1. Shidyāq's account of the expedition, in general, seems to have been taken from Tārīkh al-azmina. See Duwaihī, T.A., p.163. Also above, pp.158 et seq.

2. See above, p.295, fn.2 and pp.159-160.

3. See above, p.295, fn.1 and p.158, fn.1. Also Duwaihī, T.A., p.160.

Like other Maronite historians Shidyāq did not understand the real causes and the significance of the expedition of 1305.

An interesting fact concerning this expedition is mentioned by Shidyāq alone. When, he said, Zain ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin ʿAdnān al-Ḥusainī came on his mission to Lebanon before the expedition, he stayed as the guest of the Arslānid amir Saif ad-Dīn Mufarrij; and the marriage of the latter to the former's daughter, Nafīsa, was arranged.¹ Another interesting fact to note here is that Shidyāq gave in this passage the full name of Ibn ʿAdnān; whereas previously, in the above-quoted passage concerning the expedition, he gave it merely as Zain ad-Dīn ibn ʿAdnān. His full name is neither found in Sāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, nor in Ibn Sibāṭ, nor in Duwaihī. Shidyāq must have got it, directly or indirectly, from the Arslān family history.

Shidyāq devoted two separate chapters for the genealogy and history of the Turkomans of Kisruān, who later came to be known as Āl-ʿAssāf. These Turkomans, he said, were settled by An-Nāṣir Muḥammad² and were at first in Al-Kūra.³

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.719-720.
 2. Elsewhere (ibid., p.262) he said that they were settled in Kisruān by Aqūsh al-Afram after the expedition of 1305. See above, p.163, and Sāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.42.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.396.

Where Shidyāq got his information that these Turkomans were originally from Al-Kūra is not clear. They used to dwell, he added, in Zūq al-ʿAmiriyya, Zūq al-Kharāb, Zūq Maṣbah, and Zūq Mikāʿīl, as well as in ʿAin Tūrā and ʿAin Shiqqaiq, in Kisruān. In 1345 Yalbughā al-Atābikī ordered these Turkomans to live in Beirut and to assist the jund of Damascus in defending the city against the Franks.¹ The genealogy of the ʿAssāfs which Shidyāq gave, however, started with Amir ʿAssāf, who lived in the early years of Ottoman rule in Syria.²

The cadastre of 1313³ was the event next related by

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1. Shidyāq, loc.cit., Duwaihī, T.A., pp.177-178. See above, pp.165-166. This event must have taken place in 1365, not 1345, after the raid of the Franks of Cyprus on Alexandria, when Yalbughā started his project of ship-building in Beirut. Duwaihī also gave the wrong date.
 2. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.209 and 396.
 3. Maqrizī mentioned the cadastre (rawk) of Syria in 713 A.H. (1313-1314 A.D.). The cadastre, he said, ended in Dhū'l-Hijja of that year (March-April, 1314). In this cadastre, he added, new deeds (mithālāt) were given to the amirs and jundīs of Damascus, the iqṭāʿ of the niyāba of Damascus was increased, and several iqṭāʿs were taken over by diwān al-khāṣṣ (the diwān administering the sultan's private domain). See Maqrizī, Sulūk..., II, p.127. A.N. Poliak (op.cit., pp.23-25) made the following comment about the rawk of 1313 (and about the rauks in general): "The sultans struggled to make the fief-holders more and more dependent on the central government. At the beginning of the Mamlūk epoch we still find the influence of the Latin and Ayyūbid feudal systems, which made the fief-holders hereditary rulers of their respective regions. The means employed by the sultans to put an end to it was the rawk,* i.e. redistribution of lands between the sultan and the feudatories.... The idea was of Mongol origin, but the details of its execution were copied from the annual redivision of lands among the members of the village community. A speedy cadastral survey (kashf al-bilād) was made; then the estates were divided into royal and feudal; the feudal lands were redivided into the necessary number of fiefs of various grades, and the fiefs of each grade were redistributed by a drawing of lots among the knights and emirs of that grade.... [In al-rawk al-nāṣirī in Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon in 1313]

* This is Poliak's transliteration

Shidyāq. In 1313, he said, Mu'īn ad-Dīn, the nāzir al-jaish,¹ came to Damascus with the iqṭā'as and dealt them out among the jund of Syria. Each took what was allotted to him; and the Tanukhs received new iqṭā'as, aside from continuing to hold their old ones.²

Shidyāq's account of the changes in the iqṭā'as of

the domains of al-khāss in Syria and in Palestine were... enlarged... by the addition of the fertile plain of Damascus and of the villages which were employed as stations of post-horses on the route from Damascus to Egypt. Even more important was the fact that the feudatories received now new fiefs consisting of small portions dispersed in various places, where the lords, moreover, were strangers." Poliak referred to Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, to Maqrīzī, to Ibn Ḥajar, (II, p.171), to Ibn Ayās (I, p.159), to Zetterstēen (Beitrag..., p.160), and to Dhahabī (Duwal al-Islām, II, p.170).

1. The nāzir al-jaish was responsible for the allotment of the iqṭā'as in Syria and Egypt under the Mamlūks, and for the laws concerning those iqṭā'as. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie..., p.lxxii. Mu'īn ad-Dīn bin Mas'ūd bin Abī'l-Ḥadādīl Ibn Hashīsh was born in 666 A.H./1267-1268 A.D. and died in 729/1328-1329 A.D. He was appointed nāzir al-jaish in Damascus in 712 and helped Sanjar bin 'Abdallāh al-Jawlī in conducting the rauk of 1313 (Sanjar al-Jawlī was governor general of Gaza; see Wiet, op.cit., p.157, no.1102). Previously, in 709, he had been appointed head of diwān al-jaish in Egypt.) See Ibn Ḥajar, Ad-Ḍurar al-kāmina..., II, p.171, and IV, p.403. Gaston Wiet, op.cit., p.391, no.2605. See also Maqrīzī, loc.cit.
2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p. 281. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.89 - 94. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp. 245 - 248. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not give the name of nāzir al-jaish. Ibn Sibāt called him simply Mu'īn ad-Dīn, by his title, and so did Shidyāq.

the Tanūkh after the cadastre of 1313 does not differ from the accounts found in Ibn Sibāt and in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā.¹ Apparently the rauk (cadastre) originally changed the Tanūkh iqṭāʿs,² for after it Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain, nephew of Hajjī II, wrote to ^{Tankiz} ~~Ḥingiz~~, the nāʿib of Damascus, explaining to him that he and his relations, the other Tanūkh amirs, who were responsible for the guarding of the thaghr of Beirūt, held their iqṭāʿs permanently as legal private property.³ Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain pleaded that it was unfair to include the property of his family in the cadastre, because their homes, their men, and their clan were on this property, and they could not make use of any other. Besides, they saved much expense to the State by having their own men assist them in guarding the thaghr of Beirut.⁴

This letter of Nāṣir ad-Dīn seems to have had its effect. An-Nāṣir Muḥammad, after the situation had been explained to him by Tankiz, ordered that the Tanūkh should continue to hold their old iqṭāʿs, and that whatever increases are made in these iqṭāʿs should be met by increases in the jundīs. Since, Shidyāq continued, the iqṭāʿs of the Tanūkh

1. See previous foot-note.

2. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, p.89.

3. See above, p.298, fn.3, quoting Poliak.

4. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.282. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp.246-247. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, pp.91-92.

were doubled in size, the number of their jundīs, which had been 31, was likewise doubled and became 62.¹

Shidyāq gave the list of the Tanūkh amirs and the other amirs of the Gharb who received iqṭāʿs, which had been issued by dīwān al-jaish and dated Muḥarram 8, 714 (April 25, 1314).² The list, which Shidyāq took from Ibn Sibāṭ,³ gives the names of the amirs receiving iqṭāʿ, enumerates the villages of their iqṭāʿs, and fixes the number of jundīs (ṭawāshiyā)⁴ they were expected to provide. The names of the following amirs appear in this list: Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain (20 jundīs); his brother, ʿIzz ad-Dīn Al-Ḥasan (5 jundīs); ʿIzz ad-Dīn Ḥasan bin ʿAlī bin Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ (10 jundīs); Saif ad-Dīn Mufarrij bin Yūsuf bin Ṣāliḥ (10 jundīs); ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaimān bin Ghallāb⁵ (5 jundīs); Saif ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm

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1. Shidyāq, loc.cit., MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.247-248. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.92.
 2. Shidyāq, relating the events of the year 1313, gave the date only as Muḥarram 8. The full date is found in Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.94, and MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.249.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.282-284. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.247-249. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.92-94.
 4. Poliakoff (op.cit., pp.3, fn.4): Tawāshiyā is a term used to denote the private mamlūks of the jund al-balqa and the amirs.
 5. According to Shidyāq (op.cit., p.132) This ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaimān was the ancestor of the ʿAlam ad-Dīns who were responsible for the extermination of the Buḥturid Tanūkhs in 1633. According to Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā (genealogical tree facing p.40, and p.158) he belonged to a branch of the Tanūkhid family, a fact which Shidyāq accepted. Poliakoff (op.cit., p.13, fn.1) doubted the fact that the ʿAlam ad-Dīns were descendants of ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaimān (known as ar-Ramṭūnī) and that ʿAlam ad-Dīn himself was a cousin of the Buḥturids, suggesting that the Ramṭūnīs (from Ramṭūn, a village in the Shuḥḥār) were a separate family. I have not found any conclusive evidence to show that what Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā and Shidyāq claimed was definitely untrue, although it does not appear to be undoubtful. As such, I propose to

bin Muḥammad bin Ḥajjī [II] (5 jundīs); Shams ad-Dīn ~~bin~~
‘Abdallāh bin Ḥajjī (4 jundīs); ‘Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā bin Mas‘ūd
bin Abī'l-Jaish¹ (3 jundīs).^{*} The sum total of the jundīs
to be provided for by the amirs of the Gharb, according to
this list, was 62.

Of the amirs mentioned in this list only the last,
with three jundīs, is an Arslān. All the rest were Tanūkhids.

After giving the list of the amirs and of their
iqṭā‘s after the cadastre of 1313, Shidyāq added that the
amirs divided themselves into three groups (abdāl), guarding
the thaghr of Beirut in turn. The first badal included
Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain, his brother Al-Ḥasan, and his cousin,
Shams ad-Dīn ‘Abdallāh. The second badal was composed of
Saif ad-Dīn Mufarrij, ‘Izz ad-Dīn Ḥasan, and ‘Alam ad-Dīn
Sulaimān. Nāṣir ad-Dīn bin Sa‘dān, another descendant of
Abū'l-Jaish² who was not mentioned in the list as having
received iqṭā‘ in 1314, his two sons, ‘Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā bin
Mas‘ūd, and a Tanūkhid amir, Saif ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm, formed the
third badal. To keep the balance of number between those three
groups, five of the jundīs of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain served
with the third badal.³

consider this ‘Alam ad-Dīn ar-Ramtūnī tentatively as a
Tanūkhid amir until the opposite can be definitely proved.
Poliak refers to Ibn Ḥajar (Durar..., I, pp. 540-541) and
Manhal... (See Wiet, op.cit., p. 125, no. 856) for incomplete
genealogies of Sulaimān that differ slightly from Sāliḥ bin
Yaḥyā. The difference in Ibn Ḥajar is slight, and no
definite conclusions can be based on it. I have not been
able to see Manhal...

1. This ‘Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā is the only Arslānid amir mentioned
in this list.
2. Sāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp. 84, 96; and 98. See above, p. 264.
3. ~~p. 264~~ Shidyāq, op.cit., p. 284. MS. Ibn Sibāt, pp. 249-250 and

The Genoese naval attack on Beirut in 1333, which was the event next related by Shidyāq, has already been dealt with.¹ So was the attack on Wādī at-Taim by Ibn Ṣubḥ, to which Shidyāq gave the date 1341.²

Shidyāq, like Duwaihī, mentioned the fortification of Beirut by the Mamlūks in 1345 (actually 1365).³ He added, however, that the Arslāns were ordered to move their residence to Beirut along with the Tanūkhīs and the Turkomans of Kisruān.⁴

In 1349, Shidyāq continued, Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, son of Nāṣir ad-Dīn, received a letter from Damascus⁵ ordering

Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, pp.96-98. Poliak (*op.cit.*, p.27, fn.2), depending on the list of the mamlūks serving as jundīs to the amirs of the Gharb (pp.97-98 in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā) concluded that "the more influential chieftains used to receive the humbler ones into their service as mamlūks." Actually from this list found in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā it is found that among those mamlūks were some of the descendants of Abū'l-Jaish who were serving Tanūkhid amirs as jundīs. Among those jundīs was Mūsā bin Mas'ūd (p.98) who was listed among the amirs who received iqṭā'as and were responsible for three jundīs in 1314 (!).

1. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.285. See above, p.164.
2. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, pp.48-49. Also Shihābī, *Al-ghurar...*, pp.490 and 493. See above, p.165.
3. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, pp.285-286 and 396. See above, pp.165-166.
4. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p.720.
5. The letter, according to Shidyāq, was sent by the amirs Mas'ūd bin Al-Ḥuzairī, Baidamur (Taidamur) al-Hājib, Yalbughā, and Malik As (Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p.167). Mas'ūd bin al-Ḥuzairī (or bin al-Ḥuzair, as Ibn Ḥajar called him) was born in 683 A.H. (1284 A.D.) and died in 754 (1353). He held ~~the~~ during his lifetime the niyābas of Ghazza and Tripoli several times, and took charge of the niyāba of Damascus after the murder of Arghūnshāh, until the next nā'ib entered the city (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar...*, IV, p.348). Taidamur al-Hājib al-Ismā'īlī, once an amir in Aleppo, was hājib (chamberlain) in Damascus under Arghūnshāh (*ibid.*, II, p.232). Yalbughā (in Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, *Al-Mamlūk al-Yalbughā*) must have been ~~Yalbughā~~ al-Adilī, an amir of Damascus under Tankiz, the nā'ib of Damascus (1322-1340). He remained an important amir in Damascus until 1353, and held

him to arrest Aljibughā al-Muzaffarī, nā'ib of Tripoli,¹

the niyāba of that province during the absence of its nā'ib, Arghūn al-Kāmili, in 1350 (ibid., I, p.406). Malik Aṣ was another important amir in Damascus and held, among other positions, the shadd ad-dawāwīn (chief of the bureaucracy) in that province. He died in 756/1355. (Ibid., IV, p.357). For Arghūnshāh, see the following foot-note.

1. Gaston Wiet, op.cit., p.75, no.522. Iljibughā al-Muzaffarī was an amir of high rank in the reign of Al-Muzaffar Hājji (1347-1351). He remained for a time in the royal service as an amir mishwar (amir of the sultan's court protocol, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie..., p.lvii and loc.cit., fn.1). Later he got into trouble with other amirs and was sent, as a result, to Damascus, and finally made nā'ib of Tripoli. After remaining as nā'ib of Tripoli for one year, he went to Damascus on the pretext of hunting, killed its nā'ib, Arghūnshāh (Jumādā II 748 - 750 A.H./September, 1347 - 1349 A.D.), and tried to start a rumour that the nā'ib had committed suicide; and he produced a forged mansūm from the sultan and tried to confiscate Arghūnshāh's wealth. The amirs of Damascus, however, defeated him in battle, and he returned to Tripoli with what he could take of Arghūnshāh's wealth. Hearing of this, the Sultan insisted on his arrest, and he was sent prisoner to Cairo where he died on the pale in Rabi' II, 750/June-July, 1349. Ibn Hajar, Ad-durar al-kāmīna..., I, p.406. For Arghūnshāh, see H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., p.11. Ibn Ayās said that Aljibughā came to Damascus, arrested Arghūnshāh, and produced the forged marsūm from the Sultan in justification of that. Later Arghūnshāh was found murdered in prison, and it was not known who killed him. Ibn Ayās added that the askar of Damascus went to Tripoli, defeated Iljibughā in battle, and brought him back a prisoner to Damascus, where they hanged him. See Ibn Ayās, Badā'i' az-zuhūr..., I, pp.192-193. Although neither Ibn Ayās nor Ibn Hajar mentioned the fact that Zain ad-Dīn Sāliḥ of Tanūkh received orders to hold the route against Iljibughā at Nahr al-Kalb, it is only probable that he did play a part in the arrest of Iljibughā as one of the jund al-halqa of Damascus. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, who related the event, mentioned this fact. See below.

and Timurbughā Mintāsh,¹ and several of their mamlūks, and to hold the coastal route against them at Nahr al-Kalb. When, he continued, the nā'ib of Tripoli heard that Zain ad-Dīn was holding the route against him, he refrained from taking it.²

Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā gave a fuller version of the story.³ On Thursday evening, Rabī' I 23, 750 (June 11, 1349), he said, the nā'ib of Tripoli, Iljibughā Al-Muzaffarī, arrived in Damascus with a forged marsūm from the Sultan to arrest and execute Arghūnshāh, the nā'ib of Damascus. After having done away with Arghūnshāh, he returned to Tripoli and rebelled. When the amirs of Damascus, having realized the forgery of the marsūm on which he acted, heard of his intention to advance from Tripoli along the coast, they sent a marsūm to Zain ad-Dīn to hold the route against his advance at Nahr al-Kalb. When, Ṣāliḥ continued, the Tanūkhid amir held the route at Nahr al-Kalb, the nā'ib of Tripoli decided not to advance on that route. Finally he was arrested by the

1. See above, p.168, fn.1. Mintāsh, who became nā'ib as-saltāna in the reign of Barqūq (1382-1398), and who played an important part in the dethronement of Barqūq (1389-1390), had nothing to do with this event. Shidyāq was getting confused between his rebellion in Malatīa before the dethronement of Barqūq (see above) and the rebellion of Iljibughā Al-Muzaffarī. Actually the fellow-conspirator of Iljibughā against Arghūnshāh was "Al-Fakhri the Younger" (Saif ad-Dīn Mankalībughā al-Fakhri, who was nā'ib of Tripoli before Iljibughā? See Wiet, op.cit., p.382, no.2541).

2. See H. Laoust, op.cit., p.11.

3. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.286.

3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., p.167.

askar of Damascus and died at the pale (wussiṭa).¹

In his chapter on the Arslāns, Shidyāq added that the Arslānid amir Nūr ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, son of Mufarrij, was among the amirs ordered to hold the coastal route against Iljibughā.²

In 1350, Shidyāq continued, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain, who had laid the foundations of the greatness of the house of Tanūkh, died.³ Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā gave the date of his death as Shawwāl 13, 751 (December 14, 1350).⁴ Previously, in 1348, he had retired from the position of chief amir of the Gharb and was succeeded by his eldest son, Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ,⁵ which explains why it was the latter who received the orders to help in the arrest of Iljibughā.

After relating the Tanūkh line of succession following the death of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain, Shidyāq continued the history of the Tanūkhs with the events of the year 1373 (actually 1365-1366):

In 1773 (he said), when Amir Yalbughā al-Atābikī⁶ sent Amir Baidamur al-Khwārizmī⁷ to Beirut, the Turkomans of Kisruān came to him and agreed to send a thousand men to Cyprus for the war, asking Baidamur to send with them

1. See above, p.304, fn.1.

2. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.720.

3. Ibid., p.286.

4. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.129.

5. Ibid., p.130. Ibn Ḥajar, Durar..., II, p.55.

6. See above, p.166, fn.2. Yalbughā al-Atābikī was killed in 1366.

7. See above, p.165.

a letter to Yalbughā, that some of them may go over to Egypt to take over the iqṭāʿs of the amirs of the Gharb. When Amir Saʿd ad-Dīn Khidr bin Al-Hasan bin Khidr and Amir Saif ad-Dīn Yahyā bin Ṣāliḥ [bin Al-Husain] heard of that, they went to Egypt before them. When the Turkomans arrived there, Yalbughā gave them the titles (mithālāt) for the iqṭāʿs of the amirs of the Gharb. So the two [Tanūkh] amirs explained their case to the qaḍī ʿAlaʿ ad-Dīn, the secretary of the chancellery (kātim as-sirr).² [The latter] pleaded for them before Yalbughā, in their presence, and told him: "These [amirs] are of the planting of the first kings [of Islam] (ḥaʿulā ghars al-mulūk al-awāʿil). God forbid that they should lose what they have held from the first kings in your happy days!" Yalbughā then commanded that the titles of the Turkomans should be torn and that the amirs of the Gharb should be confirmed in their iqṭāʿs.³

According to Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, these events took place in 767 A.H. (1365-1366 A.D.). Ṣāliḥ said that after the Cypriot attack on Alexandria Yalbughā sent Baidamur al-Khwārizmī to Beirut to build ships there and to send them to Cyprus.⁴ The rest of the story, as told by Ṣāliḥ, goes

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1. Saif ad-Dīn Yahyā is the father of Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā the historian. Zain ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, his father, was still living at the time. He died in 1375. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.288. Before his death, in 1373, he had given his iqṭāʿ to his son Yahyā, Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā's father, as his father, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Al-Husain, had done for him before his death in 1350. See Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, p.166. This may have been the reason why Shidyāq gave the event the date 1373 instead of 1365. He might have thought that since it was Yahyā who went to Egypt to have the family iqṭāʿs restored to him and to his relations, the event must have taken place after his father had given over his iqṭāʿs to him (after 1373).
 2. In Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, ʿAlaʿ ad-Dīn bin Faḍl-Allāh. ʿAlaʿ ad-Dīn Abūʿl-Hasan ʿAlī bin Yahyā bin Faḍl-Allāh, Al-Qurashī, Al-ʿAdawī, Al-ʿUmari (d.1368) was secretary of the chancellery (kātim as-sirr or kātib as-sirr, the most important position in the wazirate, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie..., p.lxix and loc.cit., fn.2) in Egypt and belonged to a family who held this position in Egypt and Damascus during the fourteenth century. See Gaston Wiet, op.cit., p.217, no.1491, and p.248, no.1692.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.287-288.
 4. See above, pp.165-166.

much the same as Shidyāq's version of it.¹

These events took place in the days of Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's father, Saif ad-Dīn Yaḥyā bin Ṣāliḥ, who was one of the amirs who went to Egypt to plead for the restoration of the family iqṭāʿs after they had been taken over from the Tanūkhs by the Turkomans of Kisruān.

According to Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, the Turkomans of Kisruān had previously attempted, in 1361, to take over the Tanūkh iqṭāʿs, and had succeeded in doing so for a very short time.²

After relating an unsuccessful Genoese attack on Beirut in 1382, which Saif ad-Dīn Yaḥyā helped fight back,³ Shidyāq proceeded to relate the events that took place in Lebanon incidental to the rebellions in Syria that led to the deposition of Barqūq and to Barqūq's fighting his way back to the throne,⁴ in which the Tanūkhs sided with Barqūq and the Turkomans of Kisruān took the cause of the rebels. These events have already been discussed in the chapter on Duwaihī's history.⁵ Shidyāq, however, added to Duwaihī's account that the Arslāns, along with the Tanūkhs, were fighting on the side of Aẓ-Zāhir Barqūq.⁶ When, he said, the Gharb

1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.168.

2. Ibid., p.177.

3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.289-290. MS Ibn Sibāt, pp.310-311. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.35-36. ~~See above, pp.167-171.~~

4. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.263-264, 290-291, and 721-723.

5. See above, pp.167-171.

6. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.721-723.

was sacked and burnt by the Turkomans of Kisruān and their friends in 1388 (actually 1390), eleven amirs of the house of Abū'l-Jaish were killed.¹ The only survivor of this house was Saif ad-Dīn Yahyā bin Nūr ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin Mufarrij, who continued fighting on the side of Barqūq, and was finally granted by Barqūq several iqṭā'as in compensation.

The events centering around the dethronement and the restoration of Barqūq are the last mentioned by Shidyāq in the fourteenth century. The next event he mentioned belonged to the year 1413. (p. 197).

In that year, he said, in the reign of Al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh (1412-1421), there was a Frankish naval raid on Dāmūr.²

1. Shidyāq gave a list of the names of the Arslān amirs killed in 1388 (1390), as follows: Nūr ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ bin Mufarrij bin Yūsuf; his son, Tāj ad-Dīn Dāūd; Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abdallāh bin 'Uthmān bin Najā and his son, Shujā' ad-Dīn 'Ammār; 'Izz ad-Dīn Hamdān bin Najā; Nāṣir ad-Dīn Bashīr bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī; Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmad bin Mas'ūd bin ~~Hamdān~~ 'Uthmān; 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā bin Mas'ūd bin Abī'l-Jaish and his son, Faiḍ ad-Dīn 'Umar; Nāhid ad-Dīn Abū'l-Maḥāsīn bin Darwish bin 'Uthmān; Qutb ad-Dīn Khuzā'a bin Mas'ūd bin 'Uthmān and his brother, Najm ad-Dīn As'ad. The only Arslān amir mentioned by Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā (p. 197) among the dead of this raid is 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā bin Ḥassān bin Arslān (not bin Mas'ūd bin Abī'l-Jaish), Ṣāliḥ remarking that this man was better than his ancestors.
2. "From 1404 until 1414, say the chroniclers Machaeras, 636; Strambaldi, p. 264; Amadi, p. 498; Fl. Bustron, p. 356, the Sultan, who was on bad terms with the Emirs of Damascus, Tripoli, and Aleppo, had to endure constant raiding of his coasts by the King's Janus of Cyprus, 1398-1432 fleet, which included a number of Catalans. The Cypriotes grew rich on the booty and the slaves which these ~~raiders~~ brought home.... In 1414 the Sultan, Sheikh al-Muayyad, sought to put an end to these futile hostilities. He communicated with the King... and peace was proclaimed on 24 November 1414." G. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, p. 469. Hill added (ibid., fn. 3), referring to Schefer, Bertr. de la Broquiere, p. xxxvi, that in 1413 an expedition organized in Cyprus & landed between Beirut and Sidon at the mouth of Nahr ad-Dāmūr, but was repulsed.

Amir Saif ad-Dawla Yahyā of Arslān and his men went to their encounter and checked their advance along the coast until the Sultan, who was in Damascus at the time,¹ advanced by way of the Biqāʿ to fight back the raid. Leaving his son, Jamāl ad-Dīn ʿAbdallāh, to check the advance of the Franks, Amir Yahyā set out to meet the Sultan in the Biqāʿ, and invited him to stay for three days at his home in Shwaifāt. After that, the Sultan and the Amir advanced against the Franks and forced them to clear off the coast; and after the retreat of the Frankish vessels, Amir Yahyā accompanied the Sultan back as far as the Biqāʿ. Before he returned home, the Sultan bestowed on him a robe of honour (khilʿa), gave him the title (laqqabahu) of malik al-umarāʾ, and made him governor of all the coastal districts (wa qamma ilaihi jamīʿ al-wilāyāt as-sāhiliyya). To this narrative of the event Shidyāq added that the Amir died in 1424² in Shwaifāt at the age of 58, leaving three sons: Jamāl ad-Dīn ʿAbdallāh, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Mufarrij (also known as Saif ad-Dīn), and Fakhr ad-Dīn ʿUthmān.³

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1. Al-Muʿayyad Shaikh left Cairo for Damascus on Muḥarram 4, 817 (March 26, 1414). H. Laoust, Les gouverneurs de Damas..., p.19. See also Nujūm... (Popper), VI, p.335. Also Ibn Ayās, op.cit., II, p.4 (early in 817 A.H.) and Ṣāliḥ bin Yahyā, op.cit., pp.217-218, who gave the date as the end of Dhū'l-Qaʿda, 816 (c. February 21, 1414).
 2. The date appears as 1324, the third digit being obviously a misprint.
 3. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.723-724.

Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā made no mention of this event, to which he was contemporary, probably because no member of his family seems to have taken part in it. Ibn Sibāṭ mentioned it, without giving a date, placing it between the events of the year 816 A.H. and those of 824 A.H. (1413-1421 A.D.) - during the reign of Al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh.¹ He described the incident very briefly, without making mention of the role played in it by Amir Yaḥyā of Arslān:

In the days of [Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh] the Franks made an attack; and he rose and fought them at a place called ad-Dāmūr, between Sidon and Beirut, and defeated them.

Duwaiḥī, depending on Ibn Sibāṭ, repeated the latter's account of the event,² without making any of the additions found in Shidyāq.

In 1424, Shidyāq continued, Sultan Barsbāy (1422-1438) ordered preparations to be made for the conquest of Cyprus,³

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1. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.333. I have not found a mention of this event in the other Arabic chronicles I consulted (Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, Ibn Hajar, Zettersteen (Beitrag...), Ibn Tūlūn, and Ibn Ayās).
 2. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p.201.
 3. For the Mamlūk conquest of Cyprus see M. Mustafā Ziāda, The Mamlūk conquest of Cyprus in the fifteenth century (Arabic), in the Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Egyptian University, I, 1933, pp.90-113. Also G. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, pp.470 et seq. Shidyāq here was not referring to Barsbāy's first expedition against Cyprus (August, 1424), but to the second expedition which was on a much larger scale and which set out from Tripoli, where the Egyptian fleet was joined by the Syrian contingent, on July 30, 1425. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, who took part in the expedition, gave an eye-witness account of it (see below).

and gave orders to the amirs of the Gharb to join in the expedition. Amir Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, the historian, answered the summons of the Sultan with a hundred men. After the expedition was over, the Mamlūk fleet proceeded from Cyprus to Egypt where the Sultan bestowed on Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā 200 dīnārs and a khillcā. After having stayed in Egypt for a time, Ṣāliḥ went back to his country (by land) by way of Damascus.¹

Shidyāq took his account of the role played by Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā in Barsbāy's expedition against Cyprus from Ibn Sibāṭ, who gave the date simply as 828 A.H. (1424-1425 A.D.).² Actually the expedition set out from Tripoli on Ramaḍān 14, 828 (July 30, 1425).³ It is not necessary for the purpose of this study to consider the expedition in detail. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, who gave an eye-witness account of it, said that he was in charge of an old galley (ghurāb)⁴ manned with approximately 100 sailors and fighters:

The noble marṣūm arrived for the amirs of the Gharb to join /the expedition/; so I joined them as a captain (muḡaddam) of an old ghurāb which had been built previously in Beirut.... And I had with me nearly one hundred men, sailors (bahriyya) and fighters (muḡātīla); and /our/

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1. Shidyāq, op.cit., pp.292-293. See Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.219-225.
 2. Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.337-339.
 3. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.222. See also above, p.311, fn.3.
 4. See Quatremère, op.cit., I, p.142, n.15. The shānī or shānī (pl. shawānī), also known as ghurāb (pl. aghriba) is a galley. "It is rowed with 140 oars, and in it there are the ~~rowers~~ and the ~~fighters~~", quot. Vat.arab.267, fol.82.
fighters rowers

ghurāb was the best sailing among the [other] ghurābs.¹

Shidyāq related as an event of the year 1444 the raid of Amir Ḥajj ibn al-Ḥamrā² on the house of ʿIzz ad-Dīn Ṣadaqa, the Tanūkhid amir, in Beirut. Ibn Sibāṭ, who gave 1444 as the date of the death of Ṣadaqa,³ a date which Shidyāq also gave,⁴ related the raid of Amir Ḥajj on Ṣadaqa's house among the events of Ṣadaqa's life, after giving the date of his death.⁵ Shidyāq, depending on Ibn Sibāṭ for his information about the event, thought that 1444 was the date of both, Amir Ḥajj's raid and the death of Ṣadaqa.⁶

From Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā's history it appears that the raid of Amir Ḥajj on Ṣadaqa's house took place in 1425, during Ṣāliḥ's absence in Cyprus. Ṣāliḥ said that he heard of the raid of Amir Ḥajj on Ṣadaqa's house on arriving in Damascus from Egypt on Dhū'l-Qaʿda 24, 828 (October 7, 1425), and that he had to return to the Gharb by way of Wādī at-Taim in fear of attack by Amir Ḥajj and his men in the Biqāʿ.⁷

After relating this incident, and Ṣadaqa's death in 1444, Shidyāq added that the wilāya of Ṣadaqa was from the frontiers of the niyāba of Tripoli to those of the niyāba of

1. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.221.

2. Banī al-Ḥamrā were semi-bedouin fief-holders in the Biqāʿ in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Poliak, Feudalism..., pp.12-13, depending on Shidyāq and on Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, pp.111, 154, 184, 225-226, and 231.

3. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, p.343.

4. Shidyāq, op.cit., p.293.

5. MS Ibn Sibāṭ, pp.343-345.

6. Shidyāq, loc.cit.

7. Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., pp.225-226.

Şafad, and that he was in charge of the darak of Beirut. He identified him as the great-great-grandson of Nāşir ad-Dīn Al-Ḥusain.¹ Şālih bin Yaḥyā called him the mutawallī (governor) of Beirut.²

Shidyāq did not relate any other events of importance concerning the history of the feudal families of the Gharb and the Turkomans of Kisruān before the Ottoman conquest. He simply gave the names, genealogies, and obituary dates of the amirs of those families for the remaining years of the Mamlūk period.³ The next event of importance he mentioned was the conquest of Syria by the Ottomans and its effect on the different feudal families of Lebanon; but this event already lies beyond the period under consideration.

The discussion in this chapter has been mainly concerned with the histories of the families of the Gharb; but it must be remembered that Shidyāq also dealt with the history of the Shihābs and the Maʿns in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods. Of these two families the Shihābs were not yet in Lebanon. They were settled during the period under discussion in Wādī at-Taim, which did not form part of Mount Lebanon, as defined by Shidyāq.³

The settlement of the Maʿns in the Shūf has already

1. Shidyāq, p.293.

2. Şālih bin Yaḥyā, op.cit., p.226.

3. ~~See below, Appendix I.~~ See the map at back cover.

been considered. They do not seem to have played a role of importance during this period.¹ It is with Fakhr ad-Dīn bin ʿUthmān, who became wālī of the Shūf towards the end of the fifteenth century, that the rise of Maʿnid power in Lebanon began. His arrest and release by the nāʾib of Damascus in 1505 has already been discussed in the previous chapter.²

Although written towards the middle of the nineteenth century, Akhbār al-aʿyān... is an important source for the history of Medieval Lebanon. It is true that to a great extent it is a repetition of Ibn Sibāṭ, who, himself, had repeated the history of Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā; but Shidyāq, by drawing from other sources which have apparently been lost, added considerable information to the history of the period and, unintentionally, introduced several doubts on the history of Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā, the fullest quasi-contemporary source on the internal history of central Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods.

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1. Poliak (Feudalism..., p.13, fn.1) did not accept the tradition related by Shidyāq that the Maʿnids were descended from a bedouin amir who allegedly settled in Lebanon in 1120. He argued that Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā did not know at all those members of this family who lived in the Mamlūk epoch according to Shidyāq. Depending on Ibn Yaḥyā, who made one mention of a certain "Fāris ad-Dīn Miʿsād ibn ʿIzz ad-Dīn Faḍāʾil ibn Miʿsād, muqaddam of the Shūf" (p.173), he reached the conclusion that the chieftains of the Shūf in the Mamlūk period were not the Maʿns but the Banū Miʿsād. It is not impossible, however, that, like in the Biqāʿ, where there was more than one family of muqaddams (Poliak, p.12), so in the Shūf there were more than one. Although it is possible that Shidyāq was wrong in saying that the Maʿnids were the amirs of the Shūf in this period, there seems to be, as yet, no conclusive evidence to the contrary.
 2. See above, pp.172-175.

Shidyāq did not reveal in his history his personal attitude towards any of the events or personalities he discussed; and no personal bias can be detected in Akhbār al-aʿyān... . Shidyāq was essentially a compiler; and his history is an uncritical and confused collection of material from a number of sources, to none of which he seems to have shown a marked preference. The bias and tone that are found in his works come invariably from the source on which he was depending for a particular event. Thus, when he copied Ibn Sibāṭ, whose history of the Gharb is biassed in favour of the Tanūkhs, he was uncomplimentary to the descendants of Abū'l-Jaish (whose prowess he praised when he copied from the Arslan family history) and to the Turkomans of Kisruān, the rivals of the Tanūkhs in the Mamlūk period. Likewise, many of the mistakes found in his history appear to have come originally from his sources.

Besides, Shidyāq did not attempt any interpretation of the material he compiled in Akhbār al-aʿyān... . His originality as a historiographer is only shown in the form in which he cast his material,¹ and in the fact that he was the first Maronite (or Lebanese) historian to attempt the writing of a history of Lebanon as a whole, Maronite and non-Maronite, Christian, Druze, and Moslem, from the time of

1. See above, pp. 239-240.

the Arab conquest to his own day.

Judged as a work of historiography, Akhbār al-aʿyān... is poor. It does not tell a consistent story. It is, however, the very fact that Shidyāq was little more than an uncritical compiler that makes his work such an important source for the history of medieval Lebanon. By bringing together the data he collected from different sources without attempting to sort out their confusion and to correct or reconcile their contradictions and inconsistencies, he seems to have preserved to a great extent the original nature of his source material; and it is a comparatively easy task for the historian today to sort out the material found in Akhbār al-aʿyān... according to its original sources and to analyse it accordingly.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Duwaihī, and Shidyāq may be considered as the leading representatives of three main schools of Maronite historiography. Their works, notwithstanding their various defects, are indispensable as sources for the history of Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī, the earliest of those three historians and the founder of the Maronite historiographic tradition, established the form of the historical zajaliyya which a number of Maronite historians used after him. The aim of his historiography was not to establish the truth of facts of the past; and he does not appear to have exercised much critical judgement in the choice of the material he used in his history. Although the story he gave in his main work, the Madiha..., gives an impression of coherence and chronological continuity in its structure, an examination of the facts of the story reveals a number of such facts or groups of fact that are little related to each other, if at all, and which are usually placed in the wrong chronological sequence. Most of those facts in themselves have a basis of truth which, at times, is easy to discover; but Ibn al-Qilā'ī usually draped them with much legendary material, confused some facts with others, and introduced into some considerable distortion.

Duwaiḥī broke away completely with the zajaliyya historiographical form of Ibn al-Qilāʿī, and established the polemical and narrative forms of the clerical prose school of Maronite historiography which survives to the present day, although it is no longer as productive as it had been in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He seems to have been much more influenced by the academic training he received in Italy than Ibn al-Qilāʿī had been; and the influence of this training reveals itself in the quality of his historical work. Duwaiḥī was also influenced by the works of the Arabic historians which he read and referred to when he wrote about the general history of the Near East in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods - works like those of Al-Kutubī, Abū'l-Fidā, Barhebraeus, and Al-Yūnīnī.¹ In Tārīkh al-azmina the influence of those Arabic chronicles on Duwaiḥī's historiography appears in the form of that work, which is the traditional form of the Arabic chronicle.

Unlike Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Duwaiḥī reveals in his history a consistent purpose to establish the truth of facts and an arduous search for those facts. Whereas Ibn al-Qilāʿī seems

1. Duwaiḥī, T.A., p.vii. Qutb ad-Dīn Mūsā Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī al-Baḥlabakkī (c.660-726 A.H./1261-1326 A.D.) was the author of a little known work, a continuation of Ibn al-Jauzī (Dhal mir'āt az-zamān). See Claude Cahen, "Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte, et la Mésopotamie de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul", in Revue des Études Islamiques, X, 1936, pp.344-345.

to have done little more than recording information that was found largely in the oral tradition of his community, Duwaihī embarked on a project of seeking out the history of his community from a wide variety of sources: Crusader chronicles, pilgrim and travel books, Eastern Christian chronicles and church books, as well as the works of earlier Maronite historians. A remarkable illustration of his diligence in research was his use of fragmentary historical material found on church books and of inscriptions as sources of history; and it was perhaps in this respect that the influence of his training in Italy on him as a historian was most marked. In his various historical writings he seems to have exhausted the amount of this type of source material accessible in his day. Besides, he was a far better Latin scholar than Ibn al-Qilā'ī, and his own translations of the papal letters were more correct than Ibn al-Qilā'ī's.

Duwaihī was, in general, a careful historian. He rendered in direct or indirect quotation most of the primary material he used for his history. This fact in itself makes of his historical works an invaluable source of information, since much of the source material he used is no longer accessible. In many instances his own critical treatment of this material is truly remarkable.

Like that of Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Duwaihī's history of the Maronites as a religious community is strongly coloured by his attempt to prove their original and unbroken orthodoxy

and union with Rome; but there is an important difference in the way each of them used history for this purpose. In spite of the fact that he was primarily a polemic, Duwaihī showed an interest in historical facts for their own value. He did not distort the facts he obtained from his sources to suit his preconceptions, as Ibn al-Qilāʿī had done, except in cases where such facts had already been distorted. He attempted rather to give the facts as he found them, and then to interpret them in a way that would make them fit into his preconceived scheme. Besides, the Maronites of his day, unlike their predecessors at the time of Ibn al-Qilāʿī, were unanimously reconciled to orthodoxy and to union with Rome. It was not necessary for Duwaihī to derive from history a sermon to prove to his people the vital necessity of union with Rome, as Ibn al-Qilāʿī had done. He noticed the confusion of events in Ibn al-Qilāʿī's history where such confusion was due to an attempt to show that a national misfortune had been the consequence of a break with Rome and a lapse into heresy, as in the case of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's account of the expedition against Kisruān in 1305 and Patriarch Armiā's voyage to Rome in 1215. In such cases Duwaihī called attention to Ibn al-Qilāʿī's mistakes and tried to correct them.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Duwaihī were both clerical historians, and both of them were primarily interested in the polemical defence of Maronite perpetual orthodoxy. The difference between them as polemicists was that whereas Ibn al-

Qilā'ī sought to prove this unbroken orthodoxy to his people to attract them to continue in union with Rome, Duwaihī was interested in the establishment of this unbroken orthodoxy as a fact for its own sake. In the work of Shidyāq, however, who was an early representative of the lay school of Maronite historiography, interest in the history of the Maronite church and its union with Rome is absent. In other respects too the history of Shidyāq differs considerably in subject matter from the histories of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī.

Like Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī, Shidyāq was interested in the political history of his community; but it was on the history of non-Maronite Lebanon that he concentrated his attention. His history of Maronite Lebanon in the later Middle Ages is little more than a poor abridgement of the histories of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī. It is for the history of non-Maronite Lebanon that his main work, Akhbār al-aṣyān..., is an important source. Whereas Duwaihī had to rely for this history almost entirely on the work of Ibn Sibat, which was mainly a history of the Tanūkhid family in so far as it dealt with the history of Lebanon, Shidyāq used other non-Maronite family histories, the most important of which for the pre-Ottoman period seems to have been the history of the Arslāns, a family which had disputed the governorship of the Gharb with the Tanūkhs throughout the Crusader and Mamlūk periods. By making extensive use of the history of the Arslāns, which seems to have been lost since his day,

Shidyāq preserved in his work a check on the histories of Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, otherwise the main Lebanese sources available for the history of non-Maronite Lebanon in the later Middle Ages.

As a historian, Shidyāq by no means showed the same scholarly qualities apparent in Duwaihī's history. His work is mainly an uncritical compilation of facts; and although he showed much diligence in his collection of information, he lacked Duwaihī's originality in this respect. Like Ibn al-Qilā'ī, he depended on oral tradition; but he was careful to note in which cases he did so; and, for the most part, he had written sources.

Shidyāq, however, had not received the same academic training as Duwaihī. His approach to his historical sources was naive and overcredulous. The uncomplex nature of his approach has its good points, however. He gave the history of Lebanon in the later Middle Ages as he found it in his sources without making any attempt at interpretation and, apparently, without eliminating any of the source material, even when it was not consistent with other material he included. Unlike the clerical historians, he had no preconceptions into which he sought to fit the facts he obtained from his sources. As such, he was strictly speaking more a copyist than a historian and the value of his work lies mainly in the fact that it is a simple restatement of unexamined source material.

The works of Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Duwaihī, and Shidyāq, taken together, cover a wide variety of topics touching almost every aspect of the internal history of Lebanon in Crusader and Mamlūk times. Some of these topics were dealt with purposively, while others were touched upon unintentionally.

Among those topics was the political geography of medieval Lebanon.¹ Shidyāq devoted a whole chapter in the first section of his history to consider this subject. Although he set out to enumerate and describe the feudal provinces of Lebanon in his own day, the comments he gave on the changes that took place in those provinces, and their subdivisions, are invaluable for the reconstruction of a map of feudal Lebanon in the later Middle Ages. Although neither Ibn al-Qilā'ī nor Duwaihī dealt with this question intentionally, their works contribute greatly to the understanding of the feudal geography of Lebanon. The names of feudal provinces appear very frequently in their works, sometimes with a mention of boundaries.

The history of the feudal families and dynasties of Lebanon, both Maronite and non-Maronite, is another of those topics. It was the main purpose of Shidyāq's history to tackle the subject; but again the works of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwaihī contribute to its knowledge. The names of the mugaddams of many towns and villages, like Hirdīn, Mishmish,

~~1. See below, Appendix I.~~

and Al-Āqūrā, are mentioned by Ibn al-Qilāʿī, but not accounted for by Shidyāq. A dynasty of twelfth century amirs of Kisruān, which is very poorly categorized by Shidyāq, is dealt with also by Ibn al-Qilāʿī, although no definite conclusions about it can be reached from his works. From Duwaihī's history an adequate account of the genealogy of the muqaddams of Bsharrāy, who gained supremacy over the other Maronite feudal lords towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, can be derived.¹ The history of Shidyāq, however, is one of the most valuable sources for the history of the Moslem and Druze feudal families.

The relations of the Lebanese feudal dynasties (Maronite, Moslem, and Druze) with the Frankish states and the Moslem states are not dealt with separately by any of the three historians; but their works throw light on these relations. Considerable information can be derived from Shidyāq about the relations between the Moslem and Druze amirs of Lebanon and the Atābeg, Zangid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk rulers of Syria. Ibn al-Qilāʿī's account of the relations of the lords of Jubail with the Maronite amirs and patriarchs reveal some interesting facts, and so does Duwaihī's account of the relations between the muqaddams of Bsharrāy and the Mamlūks.

The relations between the Maronites and the Moslems and Druzes of Lebanon do not seem to have been very important

1. See below, Appendix II.

in the period under consideration. Practically no mention of them is made by Maronite historians. The relations between the Maronites and the other Eastern Christians (Ethiopian Monophysites, Jacobites, and Melchites), however, are dealt on at length by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, the relevant passages about them in Duwaihī adding but slightly to Ibn al-Qilā'ī's account.

The uncertain attitude of the Maronites towards their Eastern Christian neighbours coloured to a great extent their relations with Rome, which seem to have fluctuated between union and practical schism throughout the Crusader and Mamlūk periods. These relations between the Maronites and the Roman Church form one of the most intricate and important questions in the history of medieval Lebanon. Ibn al-Qilā'ī dealt with the subject at considerable length; and Duwaihī devoted to it the whole of the second part of Tārīkh at-tā'ifa al-mārūniyya.

The internal history of the Maronite church in the period under consideration, which can only with difficulty be separated from the history of the Maronite church as a satellite of Rome, was not dealt with as elaborately as the latter subject was by the Maronite historians. Duwaihī's chronology of the Maronite patriarchs is the fullest contribution of Maronite historiography to the subject, and Anaissī's modern work on the subject is basically an expansion and correction of Duwaihī's work. Incidental material in

Duwaihī's other works as well as in Ibn al-Qilāḥī's works helps in the reconstruction of this history, although it is by no means sufficient for the purpose.

None of the three historians considered in this study dealt separately with the social, economic, and cultural history of Lebanon in the period under consideration. From incidental material found in their works, however, some idea can be formed about this subject. Duwaihī mentioned plague epidemics, droughts, and excessive rainfall or snow while relating the events of some years in Tārīkh al-azmina, and commented briefly on the effects of such misfortunes on the country. He also mentioned the building and reconstruction of churches and forts in Maronite Lebanon while relating the events of other years. Occasionally he mentioned Maronite writers and their works, or the number of copyists found in a particular village at a particular time.

It must be remembered that Maronite historians were partial (or depended on partial sources) in dealing with most of these topics. The information they presented in their works about medieval Lebanon cannot be taken at its face value, and the utmost care must be exercised in its examination and analysis before it can be used for the writing of the history of Lebanon in the later Middle Ages. It must also be remembered, however, in dealing with the history of the relations between the Maronite church and Rome, that some of the accusations made against the fidelity of the medieval

Maronites to Rome, brought up in the writings of contemporary European pilgrims and historians, were not true. The historian of medieval Lebanon, while taking into consideration the tendency of Maronite historiography to defend the Maronites against well-founded charges of schism or heresy, must also bear in mind that some of those charges were without foundation, and have their roots in their authors' ignorance of Maronite affairs and in the ever-present tendency on the part of pilgrims and travellers to depend in their writings what previous ones had noted, without trying to record their own observations.

With all its shortcomings, Maronite historiography is the main source of the history of Maronite Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamlūk periods; and, with the exception of the histories of Ṣāliḥ bin Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, it is also the main source for the history of non-Maronite Lebanon in that period. With careful critical handling, the histories of Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Duwaihī, and Shidyāq, which form a prominent part of the Maronite historiographic heritage, can be used to reap a harvest of facts which will help greatly in reducing the obscurity surrounding the history of medieval Lebanon.

It must be remembered, moreover, that the historians whose works have been examined in this study, although the most prominent, are not the only Maronite historians who

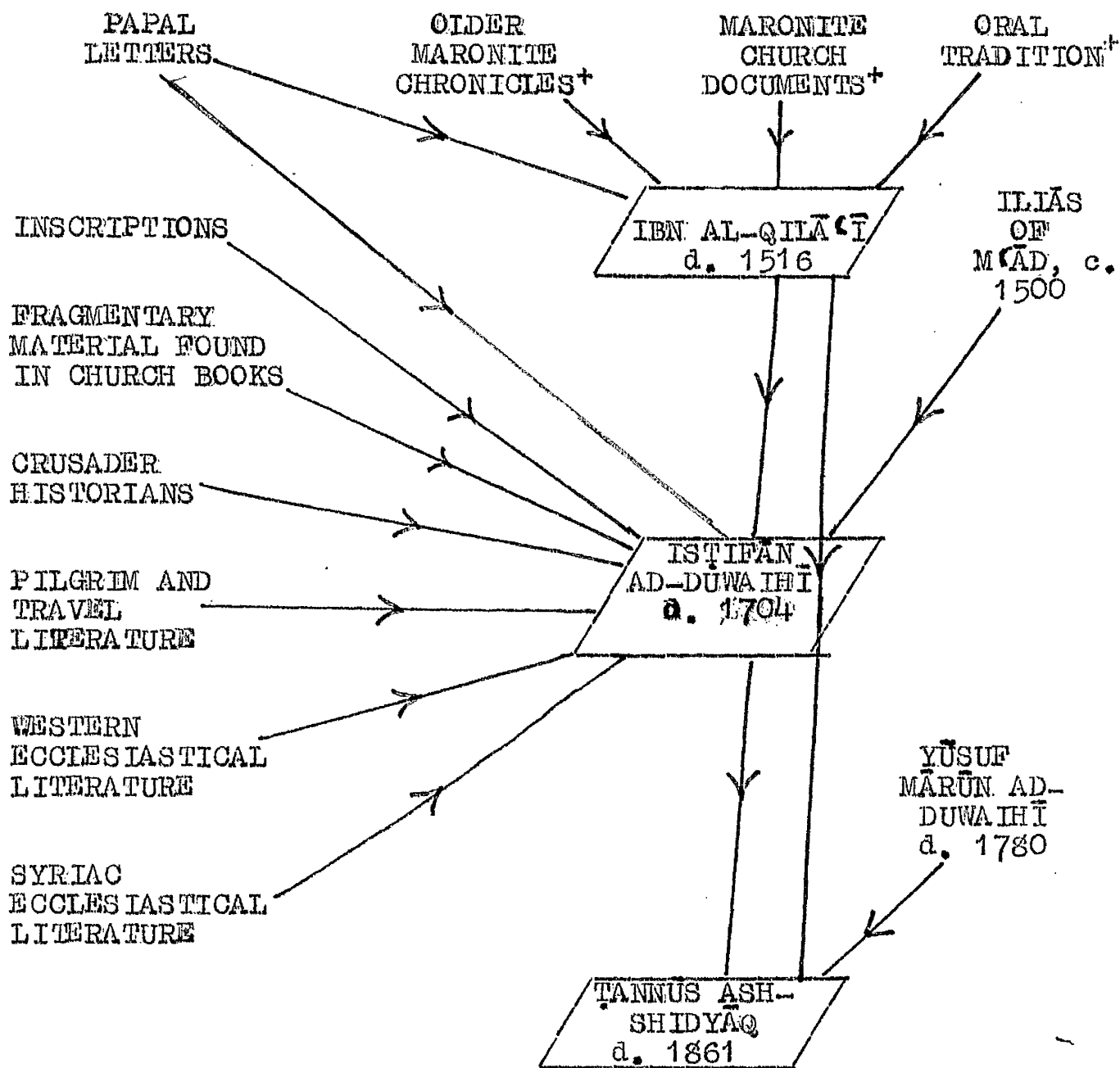
dealt with the history of medieval Lebanon. There are others whose works are found; and there may well have been many more whose works lie forgotten in the monasteries of Maronite Lebanon and are yet to be discovered. This study is only the beginning of research in a field that may be much vaster than it is at present imagined to be.

A P P E N D I C E S
A N D
B I B L I O G R A P H Y

APPENDIX I

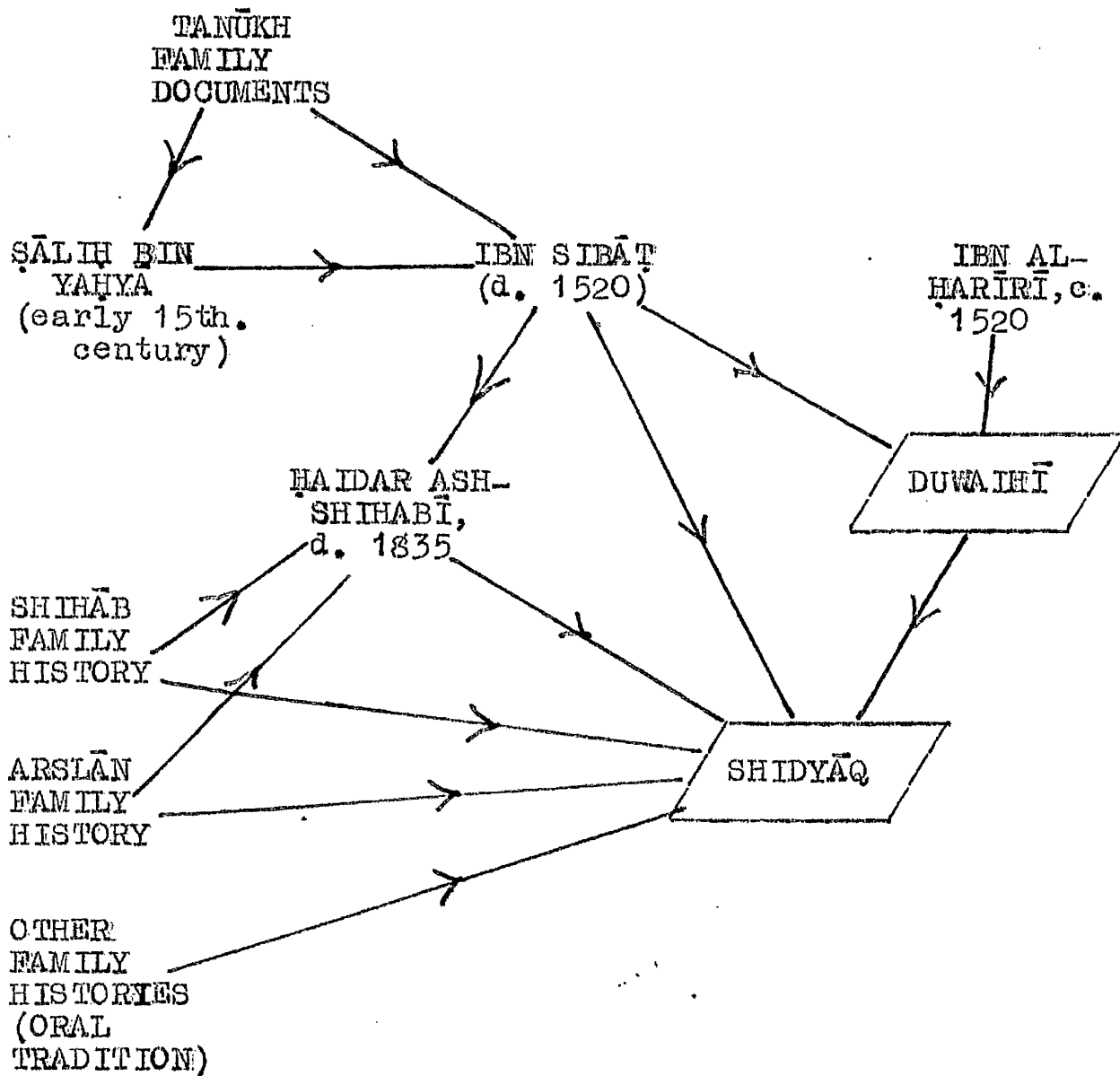
CHARTS REPRESENTING THE SOURCES OF
IBN AL-QILĀCĪ, DUWAĪHĪ, AND SHIDYĀQ
FOR THE HISTORY OF LEBANON
IN THE PERIOD 1100 - 1516

Chart I: Sources for the History of the Maronites



+ These sources are presumed.

Chart II: Sources for the History of Non-Maronite Lebanon



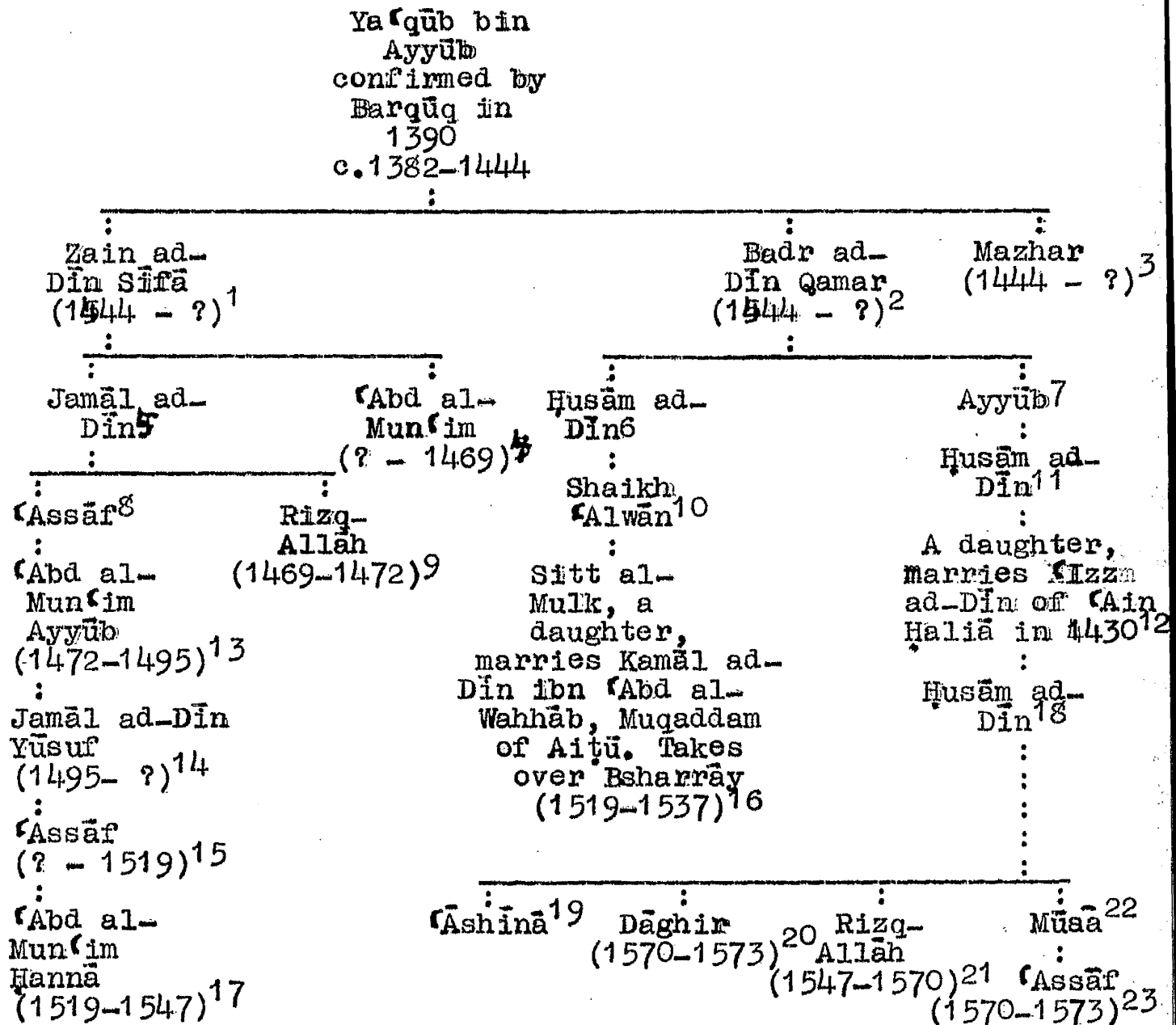
APPENDIX II

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE

MUQADDAMS OF BSHARRĀY

c. 1382 - 1573

(After Duwaihī)⁺



+ For references to Duwaihī, see the following page.

Notes on the Genealogical Table of
the Muqaddams of Bsharrāy

1. Duwaihī, T.A., p.207
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. It is not clear from Duwaihī whether Sifā, Qamar, and Mazhar held the muqaddamiyya jointly or in succession. Duwaihī did not give the dates of their deaths.
4. Ibid., p.213. Duwaihī only mentioned the date of his death, without saying when he became muqaddam of Bsharrāy.
5. Ibid., pp.213 and 215. Duwaihī did not say whether this Jamāl ad-Dīn ever held the position of muqaddam.
6. Ibid., p.240.
7. Ibid., p.258.
8. Ibid., pp.215
9. Ibid., pp.213 and 215.
10. Ibid., pp.240 and 258.
11. Ibid., p.258. This Husām ad-Dīn may have been the same person as Husām ad-Dīn ibn Qamar (see n.6). Husām ad-Dīn is a title, not a name; and he may have been called Husām ad-Dīn Ayyūb (not ibn Ayyūb; see n.7). Duwaihī may have seen the name of the same person in different contexts as Husām ad-Dīn Ayyūb, and simply as Husām ad-Dīn, and thus believed them to be two persons, when in reality they may have been one.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp.215, 217, 218, and 221. In the last reference, Duwaihī called him simply 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb ibn Jamāl ad-Dīn ibn Sifā, omitting his father, 'Assāf (see n.8). This must have been a mistake, because Duwaihī mentioned twice (pp.215 and 217) that 'Abd al-Mun'im was the nephew of Rūzq-Allāh, not his brother.
14. Ibid., p.221. Duwaihī did not give the date of his death.
15. Ibid., p.240. Duwaihī said his name was also Iliās: "Muqaddam 'Assāf of Bsharrāy, and he is Iliās bin Jamāl ad-Dīn bin 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb". (?)
16. Ibid., pp.240 and 251. He was known as Ibn 'Ajrama. He took over the muqaddamiyya of Bsharrāy because the son and successor of 'Assāf, 'Abd al-Mun'im Ḥannā, was a minor. The latter killed him in 1537, and became thus sole muqaddam of Bsharrāy.
17. Ibid., pp.240, 251, and 258. 'Abd al-Mun'im Ḥannā was the last descendant of Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb in the male line.
18. Ibid., pp.258 and 268.
19. Ibid., pp.258 and 268-269. He did not become muqaddam.
20. Ibid., pp.258 and ~~268-269~~ 272.
21. Ibid., pp.258 and 268-269.
22. Ibid., pp.258 and 272.
23. Ibid., pp.258 and 272. Dāghir (n.20) and 'Assaf were killed in 1573; and with their death the rule of the descendants of Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb in Bsharrāy ended.

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FEUDAL PROVINCES
OF
MEDIÆVAL LEBANON



Legend

- Present Boundary of the Lebanese Republic
- - - - Frontier of Medieval Lebanon
- - - - Frontier of feudal provinces
- ~~~~~ River
- Important cities and big towns
- Important Crusader Forts
- Beirut - Damascus highway
- ⊕ Seat of the Maronite Patriarch

Scale 1:200,000

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