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THE KHAZIN FAMILY: A CASE STUDY
OF THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CHANGE
ON TRADITIONAL ROLES

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY
OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY
MARY-JANE ANHOURY DEEB

JANUARY 1972

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT

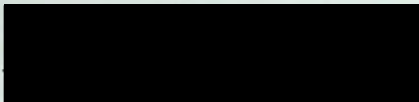
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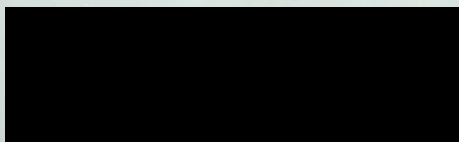
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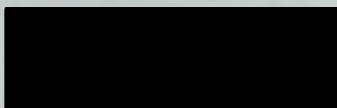
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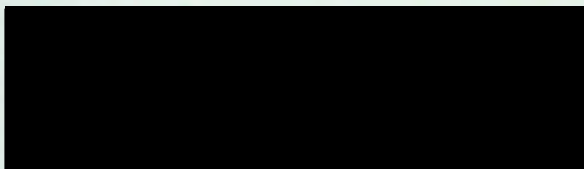
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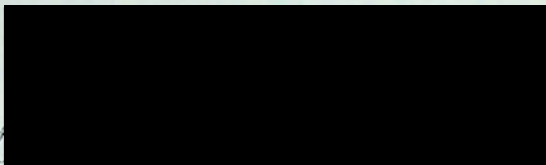
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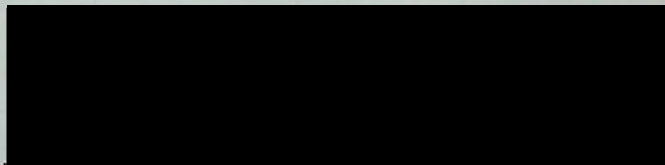


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I wish to thank Shaykh Salim al-Khazin who was very helpful and showed me his private papers, and Shaykh Fu'ad al-Khazin who gave me so much enlightening information on the branch of the Khazin family who had emigrated to Acre. I also wish to thank my parents who encouraged me to continue with my studies, and my mother who felt with me the agonies of writing a thesis (although in another country). To my husband I owe my deepest gratitude for his loving patience and deep insights which proved time and again an invaluable help to me at all stages of my work. Finally I wish to thank Mrs. Margaret Nasr for having done such a good job of the typing of my thesis.

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to answer the question of how social change affects traditional roles. It approaches this theoretical question by making a case study of an old Lebanese muqata'ji (or feudal) family who until the mid-nineteenth century may be said to have played traditional roles. It then views how social, political and economic changes in the society affected those roles and how they began changing through a process of adaptation to the environment.

The study was divided into four periods. First, I dealt with the traditional period which included mainly the years of the Shihabi Emirate extending from 1789 to 1840. During those years the traditional social structure of the society was studied and the particular roles of the Khazin family in that structure were described. The second period started from 1831 and extended to 1860. Those years saw the weakening and breakdown of the iqta' system in Lebanon, as well as the drastic change in the roles of the Khazin family. The third period or the Mutasarrifiya period (1861-1918) saw a new era of change in the society. Peace and economic stability flourished and the Khazins were given new opportunities to play new roles in that society. The last period which included the years 1918-1943 were characterized by the French Mandate and Lebanon underwent again very important socio-political and economic changes which affected the social structure of Lebanon and the roles the Khazin family played in that structure.

Finally, in my epilogue I looked briefly at the family in Lebanon today and compared it with one of its branches which was settled in Palestine, and showed how due to different forces of change in the two societies the roles of both groups had differed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | iii |
| ABSTRACT | iv |
| LIST OF TABLES | vii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| CHAPTER | |
| I THE KHAZINS IN THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD PRIOR TO 1840 | 16 |
| II THE KHAZINS IN A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (1831-1860) - THE DOUBLE QA'IM MAQAMIYA . | 44 |
| III THE KHAZINS IN THE MUTASARRIFIYA PERIOD (1861-1918) | 71 |
| IV THE KHAZINS DURING THE MANDATE (1918-1943). | 101 |
| EPILOGUE | 129 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 146 |

LIST OF TABLES

| TABLE | | Page |
|-------|---|------|
| I | IMPORTS AND EXPORTS DURING THE MUTASARRIFIYA | 77 |
| II | EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN LEBANON DURING THE MANDATE | 112 |
| III | OCCUPATIONS OF THE KHAZINS IN LEBANON . . . | 135 |
| IV | OCCUPATIONS OF THE KHATIR BRANCH OF THE KHAZIN FAMILY | 141 |
| V | COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE KHAZINS' AND THE KHATIRS' OCCUPATIONS | 142 |

INTRODUCTION

I. Statement and Importance of the Problem

"The Lebanese Republic is one of the most unusual states in the world. It is a conglomeration of paradoxes and contradictions. Since it became independent of France in 1943 it has struggled from one crisis to another, avoiding disaster by the narrowest of margins. Lebanon as a polity is archaic, inefficient and divided; it is also liberal, democratic and - in general - orderly. It is Arab and Western, Christian and Muslim, traditional and modern."¹

This study is therefore an attempt to study one aspect of this society and understand this apparent paradox found not only in the society as a whole but in every small unit of it. It tries to answer, on the practical level, the question of: how does social change affect traditional roles? This is a case study of a family, the Khazins whose history is long and therefore bears the imprints of the past as well as those of the present, i.e. through whom it is interesting to view some of the processes of social change and the way the traditional roles of the family were affected by it. The Khazins were the first Maronite family to be given a fief, that of Kisrawan, by Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni, for their services to him, in 1616,

¹Michael Hudson, The Precarious Republic: Political Modernisation in Lebanon (New York, 1968), p. 3.

and thus the first Maronites to become 'feudal lords', or mugata'jis. Up to 1858-1859 they also played other roles in the traditional structure of the society of Mount Lebanon like mudabbirs (advisors and administrators of a Hakim),¹ members of the manasib (the mugata'jis in their role as political leaders in the Shihabi Emirate),² and patrons as well as members of the Maronite Church. However, over a period of a century very rapid and drastic changes took place in Mount Lebanon destroying the old 'feudal' structure of the society and replacing it gradually by more 'modern' institutions. The aim of this case study is thus twofold: first, to trace the causes and describe the change which took place in Mount Lebanon over a century, and show how at various stages the social structure of the society took different forms. And secondly, to see how this changed environment affected the Khazin family, what opportunities it offered the family within its changed structure at every stage, and what the Khazins made of those opportunities. Thus my objectives would be to trace the effects of those changes on the traditional roles of the family and analyse the way the roles changed or the causes of why they did not change over the century under study.

As a case-study of one family only it is not possible to generalise to the rest of the society. However, the importance of the problem lies in the questions that it raises for that society.

¹ Iliya F. Harik, Politics and Change in a Traditional Society, 1711-1845 (New Jersey, 1968), p. x.

² Ibid.

To what extent, for instance, is rapid change in a society capable of destroying traditional social structures, and to what extent do elements of the old structures persist in the new ones?

Which are the social groups in a traditional social structure which are more resistant to change and which are the ones which are more receptive? Is there a difference and if so what are the causes of this difference?

As social change takes place in a society, the society itself selects, in a sense, those particular aspects of change to which it adapts, whilst rejecting others. What are those aspects of change which have been easier to assimilate in Lebanon and has there been characteristic patterns in this selection?

II. Theoretical Framework of Study

The Khazins in the three chapters dealing with change during the period (1840-1943) are seen to be playing roles which are contrasted to those they played in the traditional iqta' system. This system is traditional (and consequently the roles played within it are traditional too) because its "legitimacy is claimed for it and believed in on basis of the sanctity of the order and the attendant powers of control as they have been handed down from the past, 'have always existed'. The person or persons exercising authority are designated according to traditionally transmitted rules."¹

¹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, T. Parsons (ed.) (Illinois, 1947), p. 341.

This traditional system however, began to undergo change since 1830. By change I mean in this study: transformations (creations or abolitions) of the whole or parts of the social structure¹ of a society at a particular point in time. Thus Mount Lebanon had, prior to 1860, an albeit changing, but still definite type of social structure rooted in the iqta' system, a feudal system based on hereditary land tenure. In 1830 with the Egyptian invasion of Syria and Mount Lebanon, the traditional system began gradually to desintegrate. By 1861 the iqta' system was formally abolished by the Reglement Organique, and the whole social structure based on that system collapsed. From 1861 to 1918, the Mutassarifiya period saw the rise of a new structure, a 'modern' administrative machinery, which thus created new and important roles, and opportunities that did not exist in the older order. In 1920 with the French Mandate, began a new era of change in the Lebanese social structure. The parliamentary system was one of the most important changes that took place between 1920 and 1943. The social structure again suffered drastic changes as with social and economic changes new demands were made on people to play new roles.

Having thus defined social change in general, as well as in the particular context of Lebanon, I shall proceed to do the same with roles. In general by role I shall mean: A classification of a population "in accordance with the

¹Social structure will mean in this study "the inter-connection of roles and ... the coherence of the role system." S. F. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (London, 1969), p. 63.

jobs, offices or functions which individuals assume and the entitlements or responsibilities which fall to them."¹ And in the particular context of this study, I shall deal with roles at every stage of change in the social structure of Mount Lebanon. Prior to 1830 I shall deal with four main roles which the Khazins played, the role of the muqata'ji, or fief holder, the role of the mudabbir or advisor of the Hakim, the role as part of the manasib, or group of muqata'jis in their role as political leaders, and finally the role of patron or member of the Maronite Church. Those roles I shall call traditional. However, after 1861 I shall deal with the various new roles that the Khazins played within each stage of change in the social structure.

Finally, I maintained hypothetically when starting this research that the Khazins reacted to social change in two ways: by adapting to the change, or by lagging behind the change. By adaptation I meant the playing of new roles (relative to the environment) required by the changing environment. And by social lag I meant a persistence of action and attitude patterns adapted to roles of the past, with respect to a changing environment.²

However, in the course of my research I have had to qualify my hypothesis to some degree. Adaptation, I found, could take two forms not one: there was adaptation by playing new roles, as I had thought, but there was also

¹Nadel, p. 20.

²Ben-Ami, Social Change in a Hostile Environment (New Jersey, 1969), p. 188.

adaptation by combining traditional and new roles. This second form of adaptation comes very near to Professor Khalaf's theory of adaptive modernization, where adaptation reconciles "some of the universal and rational principles to the indigenous cultural traditions."¹ The only difference perhaps is in our approach to the concept. Whereas, Professor Khalaf believes that changes are adapted to the traditional culture, I view the traditional culture adapting to the changing environment. Thus he views adaptation as a process of assimilation of change into an existing system, whilst I have felt through my study, that one type of adaptation dealt with the combination of old and new elements. I have also felt that gradually in this combination the newer, and more 'rational' elements became predominant over the older and more 'traditional' elements. Thus I have viewed adaptation by the combination of old and new roles, as only a stage in a continuum, rather than as an end in itself.

When discussing social lag in my proposal, I questioned Ben Ami's idea that social lag involved "minimal adaptational consequences and a growing discrepancy between new needs and institutionally established functions."² However, my research has shown that Ben Ami's hypothesis was justified. Social lag, in at least, one instance, proved disastrous to the Khazin family who not only lost (temporarily it is true) their land, and their feudal prerogatives, but some even lost their lives,

¹Samir Khalaf, "Adaptive Modernization: the Case for Lebanon," unpublished paper (December, 1968), p. 8.

²Ben Ami, p. 188.

because of their inability to adapt. Thus I would qualify my original hypothesis by defining social lag as: a persistence of action and attitude patterns adapted to roles of the past, with respect to a changing environment and "involving minimal adaptational consequences."¹

In my proposal I also discussed Ogburn's theory of cultural lag, stating that I questioned his idea that the material part of culture changed first whilst the 'adaptive culture' or the non-material part of culture lagged behind.² As a matter of fact, in Mount Lebanon, were one to apply Ogburn's concept of cultural lag there would be many things which would remain obscure. For instance, the growth of a 'national' ideology during the Mutasarrifiya period and the subsequent effect this had on the Arab populations who joined the Allies against their Turkish rulers in the first World War, cannot be explained by a change in the material culture followed by a change in the adaptive culture. In that particular instance the reverse is true. However, since the first decade of the nineteenth century there were economic or material changes which, concomittantly with other non-material changes, transformed the social situation in Lebanon. Thus I believe that Ogburn's theory is an oversimplification of facts and that changes that take place could do so in the material and the non-material parts of culture, and either could lag behind the other. One could even go farther by

¹Ben Ami, p. 188.

²W. F. Ogburn, Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature (New York, 1922), p. 203.

saying that one part of the material culture can lag behind another part of the material culture, as for instance development in commerce and industry which is not accompanied by a development of a good communication system of roads, railroads, posts and telegraphs. This was the case in Lebanon in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Finally, a part of the 'adaptive culture', or non-material culture can change whilst another part of the 'adaptive culture' can lag behind. An illustration would be the simultaneous existence of confessionalism and aspirations of national harmony in the Lebanese structure.

III. Methodology

Data Collection

The material I have dealt with concerning the Khazin family has been of three kinds: first, I used memoirs and articles written and published by members of the family itself. This has included the genealogical and historical material given in Kitab al-Ansab fi al-'A'ila al-Khaziniya, written by Father Filib (Philip) al-Khazin. In it he traces the origin of every member of the family back to their first ancestor, Sarkis al-Khazin in the sixteenth century, and gives short biographical notes on certain important members of the family. It has also included Mufakkarat Hind, which is written by a woman of the Khazin family who was married to a relative of hers bearing the same name, Farid al-Khazin. It is a collection of reminiscences including her father's and her own generation and is of particular interest for the

Mutasarrifiya period. In al-Usul al-Tarikhiya, edited by Bulos Mas'ad and Nasib al-Khazin, I have made use of the published diary of Bishara Jafal al-Khazin, who wrote it in 1820. This diary includes his activities during a whole year, and is extremely enlightening as to the daily life of a muqata'ji lord in the traditional period. I have also used certain published documents concerning the family, and published by some of its members, like the one in Awraq Lubnaniya, "La Yurid al-Khaziniyun tadakhul al-Ikliryus fi al-Siyasa," which is a letter written by several members of the family to the pope in Rome in 1840, revealing their fear of the growing power of the Church in civil matters. Another document in Awraq Lubnaniya is "Dawud Basha yurji' al-Usra al-Khaziniya ila Kisrawan," which is a letter written by the first Mutasarrif stating that the Khazins were to return to their land (after having been expelled from it in 1858) as land-owners, but no longer as feudal lords. Finally, I have used newspapers and articles written and published by the family. Philip al-Khazin was the founder of the Arz newspaper in the Mutasarrifiya, and Louis al-Khazin was the founder of the Ra'is periodical in the same period. I have used both periodical and newspaper to shed light on their attitudes and ideas, as well as on their political activities.

The second type of source which I have used to collect information about the family has been works written by people who referred to the family. For instance I have used Tannus al-Shidyaq's Akhbar al-A'yan fi Jabal Lubnan, and Mansur

al-Hattuni, Nabdhah Tarikhiya fi al-Muqata'a al-Kisrawaniya, where a great deal is written about the family since the seventeenth century. Both works are of particular significance as their authors lived during the mid-nineteenth century and witnessed the incidents of the civil wars, the Kisrawan rebellion and the eventual breakdown of the feudal system. Another work of special interest for the family, and which I have made use of, is Antun Dahir al-'Aqiqi's work, which was edited and annotated by Malcolm Kerr. This work was written by a contemporary witness of the 1858 Kisrawan rebellion and as one reads through it one gets the 'feel' of the times, the attitudes of the 'people' or 'amma, towards their feudal lords, and the interpretations they gave to the changes that were taking place around them. An anonymous pamphlet published in Alexandria, during the Mutasarrifiya period, entitled Muzafar Basha fi Lubnan, also not only sheds light on the political situation during that period but mentions stories concerning several members of the Khazin family which are very meaningful to our study. I collected information about the Khazins for the Mandate period in two French yearly publications, L'Almanach and L'Indicateur Libano-Syrien which gave information about members in the administration and the government, in the professions, and in industry and commerce.

Finally, I collected information about the family by unstructured interviews of some key informants, some of the oldest members of the family. I wished to know mainly what the family was doing now. My two most important key informants

were Shaykh Salim al-Khazin who showed me his private papers and with whom I spent a whole day in his home in Faraya, and the other was Shaykh Fu'ad Fadil al-Khazin, one of the most prominent members of the family branch who left Kisrawan for Acre 300 years ago. Shaykh Fu'ad gave me extremely valuable information which I have used in my conclusion to compare the two branches of the family.

The material used in my chapters concerning the changes that took place in Lebanon during the period of my study were broadly of two kinds. They were first, primary sources which included travellers' accounts like Volney's work, Churchill's descriptions, Isaac Bird's and Henry Jessup's missionary reminiscences, Gabriel Charmes' accounts, etc. Among the primary sources are also the reports of the French to the United Nations, certain British despatches that I found in the Public Record Office in London, the private papers of William Yale and George Antonius which are to be found in the Middle East Centre in Oxford, and the voluminous work prepared under the last of the Mutasarrifs in 1917, describing the social and economic situation in Lebanon prior to the First World War. I have also used the original texts of the Reglement of 1864, the French Mandate of 1922, and the Lebanese Constitution of 1926, to describe the changes that were taking place in the political life of Lebanon.

Finally, I used some excellent secondary sources which are studies of the different periods of my thesis, like: Harik's Politics and Change in a Traditional Society, for the

traditional period of my study, Dominique Chevallier's two articles, and his book Societe du Mont Liban a L'Epoque de la Revolution Industrielle en Europe, for the breakdown of the iqta' system in Lebanon; Hourani's Syria and Lebanon, and Longrigg's Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate, for the Mandate period.

Division of Chapters

I have divided my chapters into two parts: one tries to give a picture of the changing environment, and the other attempts to see what roles the Khazins played in the new social structure. This division I believe was essential to the study for several reasons, first, the purpose of describing the various political, administrative, cultural and ideological changes has been in order to study the family in the framework of the whole society. I do not believe it would have been possible to understand the changing roles of the family without having had first a picture of the changing social environment. Secondly, the division was necessary in order to show that there was not one single change that affected the family but rather that it was a complexity of factors which altered the whole environment. Thus, although some changes did not affect the family directly they contributed to changing the environment in which the family was living and thus indirectly affected them. Thirdly, the description of the changing environment in one part of the chapter gives not only a picture of the whole society, but also shows what new opportunities were created for the family to play new roles. Thus it

becomes easier to see, in that light, that the occupations the Khazins held were based on a preferential choice of certain fields to others; hence the significance of the choice.

Tools of Analysis

I have chosen as my basic unit of study a family, because it is the most meaningful of all social units for Lebanon. "In fact, there is still much truth to the often repeated observation that in Lebanon the family, not the individual, is the basic social unit. To a large extent a person's status in society, his occupation, social and political prestige are defined largely by it. One's status, class, and power, in other words, are still partly ascribed by the accident of birth."¹

However, a study of the Khazin family, as such, is not the primary aim of my study, but rather the family is a meaningful unit of society through which I can view the effect of social change on traditional roles. Thus the aim of the study is not to investigate what each member of the family was doing but rather to analyse what the change in occupations and in education meant in terms of adaptation and social lag. The fact that the majority of the members of the Khazin family during the Mutasarrifiya and the Mandate periods, acquired little or no education and remained on the land, is very significant, in itself as a phenomenon of social lag. However, it is less interesting than the choice of some of the members

¹Samir Khalaf, "Primordial Ties and Politics in Lebanon," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 4, No. 3 (April, 1968), p. 246.

of the family to enter the administration or the professions, because though in the former case it does reveal a strong tendency of social lag, it is in the second case that we can note the meaning of change for a member of a traditional group. It is not in the complete refusal, but rather in the partial acceptance of change that one can understand what the elements are in the changed environment which are least acceptable and which demand the greater change in attitude and the more adaptation. Thus by entering the government and the administration, and by not getting involved in commerce and industry a member of the Khazin family revealed not only his attitude towards political power and leadership, but also his attitude towards members of the merchant class, and towards occupations dealing with buying, selling, bargaining, etc. Whilst by staying on the land a Khazin does not reveal what particular aspect of the change he dislikes more, nor what are his attitudes towards the other groups in the social structure.

Finally, I have used the concepts of social lag and adaptation to explain the reactions of the family to rapid social change. Those two concepts, however, do not carry with them a personal value judgement about how the Khazins should have reacted to change. I am not trying in this study to infer that it would have been better for the family to adapt to social change rather than lag behind. However, I have used social lag and adaptation as tools of analysis: to categorize the type of reaction of the family to change in general. As a social scientist I can only observe,

describe and analyse the reactions and the causes of those reactions of the family. I thus view social lag and adaptation as two poles of a continuum of acceptance or rejection of change, and not as a standard of behaviour to which a group has to conform.

CHAPTER I

THE KHAZINS IN THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD PRIOR TO 1840

In this first part of my study I shall look at the Khazin family in its traditional context, geographical, religious and, most important socio-political. The latter two aspects of the situation will be seen through an analysis of the roles played by the various social groups in the social structure of Mount Lebanon. It is against the perspective of this chapter that change will be seen to take place in the rest of the study.

Who were the Khazins? I have found two different versions of the origins of the family, al-Shidyaq¹ and al-Hattuni,² two nineteenth century Lebanese historians who seem to be using the same source of information, concerning the origin of the Khazins, which is that of the Patriarch Istifan al-Duwayhi³ who wrote in the seventeenth century. All three state that al-Shidyaq Sarkis ibn al-Khazin, the original ancestor of the family, lived in Jaj, a village in the province of Jbail and eventually moved, sometime in the mid-sixteenth century, to 'Ajaltun, in the Kisrawan, because of the greater security and justice he found there. He was an educated man who transcribed the bible in Karshuni.⁴

¹Tannus Yusuf al-Shidyaq, Akhbar al-A'yan fi Jabal Lubnan (Beirut, 1889), p. 80.

²Mansur Tannus al-Hattuni, Nabdha Tarikhiya fi al-Muqata'a al-Kisrawaniya (n.p., 1884), p. 71.

³Istifan al-Duwayhi, Tarikh al-Ta'ifa al-Maruniya (Beirut, 1890).

⁴Karshuni is Arabic transcribed in Syraic.

A more recent work by a Lebanese monk, member of this family, Philippe al-Khazin,¹ traces its origin to 1100 a.d., stating that the family came originally from the Hijaz or the Yemen and (probably as traders) moved to and fro between Damascus, Nablus and other parts of Syria and eventually arrived to Jaj where they settled.² From there he repeats almost textually what was said by the above mentioned historians. However, Charles Henry Churchill, an Englishman who lived in Mount Lebanon in the mid nineteenth century, states, without referring to the source of his information that:

The most important Sheik House amongst the Maronites is that of the Haazin, who inhabit Kesrouan. Its origin is not of the most illustrious, proceeding as it does from a shoemaker of the name of Habeeb il Haazin, who immigrated from the Houran about the middle of the sixteenth century, and settled at the village of Ghoshe, in Djebail, where he and his descendants lived in obscurity, until the days of the Emir Fakaradeen Maan.³

Anyway, whatever the origin of the family it certainly became, as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, one of the most important families of Mount Lebanon.⁴ It was with Abu Nadir al-Khazin that the family rose to pre-eminence in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was the advisor or mudabbir of the Emir Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni, and then later

¹ Filib (Philippe) al-Khazin, Kitab al-Ansab fi al-'A'ila al-Khaziniya (Junia, 1962), p. 123.

² It seems a common practice in Lebanon to trace the origins of one's family to great Arab tribes, although those ancestors may be completely fictitious.

³ Charles Henry Churchill, Mount Lebanon a Ten Years' Residence from 1842 to 1852 (London, 1835), Vol. I, p. 87.

⁴ See Kamal Salibi, Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon (Beirut, 1959), p. 167.

to other members of the dynasty and played an important role in protecting this family from Ottoman persecution.¹ It was he who was rewarded with a hereditary fief and awarded the title of shaikh by the Emir Fakhr ad-Din, in 1616, a title which the family has kept to this day. The fief was in the region of Kisrawan. Abu Naufal, his son, continued in the tradition of his father, increasing the prestige of his family as well as that of the Maronite community. With the help of the Maronite Patriarch² Abu Naufal became the first Maronite Lebanese French consul in Beirut.³ He was known at that time as the most important member of the Maronite community, and some even claimed that he was "the chief and the governor of the Maronite people".⁴ For four generations the family of Khazins kept the title of French consuls, until 1758 when the male line of this particular branch of the family became extinct.

As we shall see later the Khazin family played also a very important role in church affairs, not only as patrons of the Maronite church, but also as members of it. As shaikhs and feudal lords they played an important political role in the affairs of their province, and as advisors to the Druze Emirs influenced these to acquire more tolerant attitudes towards the

¹Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, pp. 140-143.

²See below. p. 32

³Rene Ristelhueber, Les Traditions Francaises au Liban (Paris, 1925), p. 146.

⁴Ibid., p. 160. Ristelhueber quotes a French Capucin friar as having written this about Abu Naufal, in his memoirs.

Maronites who consequently thrived and prospered, and grew into a very powerful community with a strong social consciousness.

The Maronites

The Maronites, as a religious sect, were originally Christians who lived in the plains of Antioch and Hama as well as in the cities of the Phoenician coast. Around the fourth century a hermit named Marun, living close to Antioch, became involved in the violent theological controversies on the human and divine nature of Christ, raging in his time, which eventually divided the Church of Rome from the Church of Constantinople. He held views similar to those held by the Christians who eventually formed the Roman Catholic Church in the West. He is supposed to have been a very pious man who made miracles and attracted a large following who were to become the first Maronites, the name they acquired after the death of their patron saint. The community grew and monks and monasteries spread. In the seventh century, a second patron of the Maronites Jean Marun, led the Maronites from the plains to the Mountains of Lebanon, as the Arab conquest swept over the plains of Antioch and the coasts of the Mediterranean. Since then the Maronites became a mountain people settled in what was to become the Lebanon. Due to the mountains they became an isolated and independent people living in small villages under the control of their village headmen. On the other hand, due to their religious beliefs they eventually, in the early twelfth century, joined the Church of Rome as a Uniate Church. As a consequence their Patriarch or religious leader became invested of his title by

the Pope in Rome, and the Maronites came more and more to rely on help from the West and especially from Roman Catholic France to settle internal conflicts or those they had with other members of Mount Lebanon, as for instance the Druzes.¹

Kisrawan and Mount Lebanon

It was not before the seventeenth century that the political and territorial community which shall be called Mount Lebanon in this study came to denote the whole range of the Lebanese mountains,² and the term became currently in use only at the time of Amir Bashir II rule of the Mountain (1789-1840).³ Prior to the eighteenth century Mount Lebanon meant only the northern districts of Bsharri, Batrun, Jubayl and sometimes Kisrawan, whilst the south was called Jabal al-Duruz.⁴ Tannus al-Shidyaq, on the other hand, wrote in the mid-nineteenth century that Mount Lebanon was divided into two regions, that of Tripoli and that of Sayda (the two Ottoman Vilayets), and that of Sayda was further divided into several provinces the most important of which was Kisrawan.⁵ Al-Shidyaq thus

¹See Ristelhueber's chapter on the Maronites. There is a great deal written about the Maronite Church, see for instance Pierre Dib, L'Eglise Maronite (Beirut, 1962), 2 vols, Niqula Murad, Notice Historique sur l'Origine de la Nation Maronite et sur ses Rapports avec la France, sur la Nation Druze et sur les Diverses Populations du Mont Liban (Paris, 1884); etc.

²Iliya F. Harik, Politics and Change in a Traditional Society Lebanon, 1711-1845 (New Jersey, 1968), p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 17.

⁴Kamal Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon (London, 1965), p. xii.

⁵Al-Shidyaq, p. 23.

included the ports of Sayda and Tripoli in his definition, which are not technically speaking part of the Mountain. However, Mount Lebanon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was much smaller in territory than is present day Lebanon as it included mainly the mountain range of Lebanon only, or a total area of about 6,000 square kilometers.¹ Kisrawan itself was made up of around 40 villages in the nineteenth century, according to al-Shidyaq,² and 52 according to al-Hattuni.³ We also have some rough estimates of the population of Kisrawan given to us by the French traveller Volney for the years 1783-1785: the figure 115,000 includes the total population of Kisrawan.⁴ Seventy years later al-Shidyaq gives us an approximative figure of the male population, only, of Kisrawan which is 10,053.⁵ This figure is very low relatively to Volney's estimate, and this must be accounted for either by the fact that due to the economic and political situation the population of Kisrawan emigrated or else that the figures that he gives us are incorrect.

Mount Lebanon, as the rest of Syria, was inhabited by many communities. Those communities were mainly religious and

¹William Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, 1788-1840 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1963), p. 1.

²Al-Shidyaq, pp. 23-24.

³Al-Hattuni's account was written 25 years after al-Shidyaq's, which might account for some differences. See pp. 23-26.

⁴C. F. Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte (Paris, 1959), p. 357.

⁵Al-Shidyaq, p. 34.

it was from the Druzes that the Ma'nid ruling dynasty was drawn. However, the Shihabi dynasty was Sunni. Apart from Maronites and Druzes there were many other Muslim and Christian sects cohabiting in the Mountain, but each was left to carry on with its life, religiously, socially and politically, in the manner it chose. Hourani gives us two main reasons for the almost complete autonomy these communities had in their internal affairs: first, was the Islamic doctrine which regarded Christians and Jews as people of the book who had the right to live according to the principles of their religion, and so the Islamic rulers (Ottoman Valis or Druze Hakims) did not interfere in their affairs. The second reason was based on a view accepted at this time concerning the role of the Government: "The Government existed to defend cultivated lands, to maintain order, to tax their population and for nothing more."¹ Thus communities did not look outside for a higher force to regulate their lives but basing themselves on traditions handed down to them for generations, as well as on their religious principles regulated their own day-to-day existence.

The Iqta's System

Having set the Khazin family in its proper historical context we will devote the rest of this chapter to a more thorough study of the iqta' system itself and attempt to understand the roles the Khazins played in this traditional socio-economic and political system. By the beginning of the Shihabi period in 1697,

¹Albert H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon (Beirut, 1968), pp. 61-62.

Mount Lebanon was already characterized by the iqta' or hereditary fief system. This system has been defined by Iliya Harik as "a political system in which authority is distributed among a number of autonomous hereditary aristocratic chiefs subordinate in certain political aspects to a common overlord."¹ However, the iqta' was not merely a political system it was also an economic one, "based upon the payment of an annual tribute by every territorial lord to his superior,"² and by every peasant to his overlord. The iqta' system was also a social system in which the position of various social groups was clearly defined as well as their interrelationships, their rights and their obligations. And finally the iqta' system involved a world view which rendered the system legitimate in the eyes of its members.

From 1516 till the end of World War I Mount Lebanon remained under Ottoman rule. However, "men gave (only) formal reverence to the (Ottoman) Sultan, who had also arrogated to himself the title of Caliph, ... but the limits of his government action were narrow. In practice customary law was supreme, and social power was in the hands of the feudal lords..."³ Thus, although the political structure was headed by the Sultan in Constantinople and the Ottoman Valis of Sayda and Tripoli, the Emir (Ma'nid and then Shihabi) headed the

¹Iliya F. Harik, "The Iqta' System in Lebanon: A Comparative Political View," Middle East Journal, Vol. XIX (Autumn, 1965), p. 405.

²A. N. Poliak, Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon 1250-1900 (London, 1939), p. 45.

³Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 24.

internal political structure of Mount Lebanon, with an advisor or mudabbir to help him, and every fief (there were approximately 100 fiefs in Lebanon during the Ottoman period)¹ was headed by its family of muqata'jis or feudal lords. Below the muqata'jis was, for the Maronites, the clergy, and in each of the villages of the muqata'a were the village elders.² At the very bottom of the ladder were the peasants who had no say whatsoever in political matters.

Each group in this social structure had a definite status and a particular role to play. The Emir or Hakim's first duty was to send to the Sultan a yearly tribute, the miri, through the Ottoman Valis of Sayda and Tripoli.³ He also had to defend Mount Lebanon from incursions by any neighbouring tribes, and from Ottoman Pashas who tried to acquire wealth or prerogatives not theirs by right.⁴ He alone could decide if war was to be waged against any other nation or community and had the right to ask for military support from the muqata'jis, as he himself had neither a

¹Poliak, p. 43.

²Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, p. 63. The elders seem to have had some power and even, as in the case of the Shuf district, be able to put pressure on muqata'aji's in order to protect the interests of their villages. It seems they also played an economic role in distributing the land to each peasant for which he became responsible to cultivate. Jacques Weuleresse, Paysans de Syrie et du Proche Orient (Paris, 1946), p. 123.

³Harik, Politics and Change, p. 38.

⁴Ibid., p. 61.

police force nor an army to fight his battles.¹ He also had a judicial function: that of arbitrating in conflicts between muqata'jis,² and he only had the right of punishing individuals with death for criminal offenses.³ He also dealt with Mount Lebanon's 'foreign policies' concerning demands from the Ottoman Sultan or the Valis, and Bashir II had also to contend with those of Muhammad 'Ali and his son Ibrahim, when the Egyptians conquered Syria in 1832.⁴ Finally the Hakim was the only man who could enfeoff a person, or raise a commoner to the rank of shaikh.⁵ However, when this was done the Hakim had no legal right to relieve a muqata'ji of his title or his rights thereof. As a conclusion one could say that "the Hakim...did not govern but represented the principle of imperative coordination and order among what otherwise might have been the disparate and conflicting interests of the different muqati'jis. Thus (he)...stood for the principle of unity in a politically pluralistic society."⁶

The mudabbirs were the administrative advisors of the Hakim who were appointed by him and this office was consequently not hereditary. The Khazins in the Ma'nid Emirate preceding the

¹Harik, "The Iqta' System," p. 410.

²Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, p. 10.

³Harik, Politics and Change, p. 63.

⁴Polk's work mentioned above is a very good study of the period of the Egyptian conquest and its repercussions on Mount Lebanon.

⁵Harik, "The Iqta' System," p. 415.

⁶Harik, Politics and Change, p. 61.

Shihabi one were very important mudabbirs: Abu Nadir al-Khazin was rewarded for his services and loyalty to his Hakim with the fief in the district of Kisrawan. His son, Abu Naufal al-Khazin, who later became French consul was also a mudabbir to the Amir Mulhim al-Ma'ni in the mid seventeenth century.¹ It was as mudabbir that Abu Naufal influenced the Ma'nids to favour the Maronites.² Later, although no longer themselves mudabbirs, they influenced for instance the Maronite Jirjis Baz to prevent an evaluation of their land in Kisrawan which the Hakim Bashir Shihab had ordered to be done. This shows that a strong mudabbir could, at times, even annul orders by the Emir himself.³

However, perhaps the most politically important group in the social-structure of Mount Lebanon were the muqata'jis themselves. As feudal lords of particular fiefs or districts they were independent of one another, and their subordination to the Hakim was limited to the payment of annual taxes and the rendering of military service when requested. Apart from this they had complete freedom in the administration of their own particular fief. However, certain matters did concern the whole Mount Lebanon, and consequently all the fiefholders, like, for instance, the election of the Hakim. In such

¹Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, pp. 140, 145. For the role of mudabbirs see Harik's chapter VII, pp. 167-199 in Politics and Change.

²Dib, p. 155.

³Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, p. 168.

matters the fiefholders joined together and formed what was known as the manasib. These together elected the Hakim, as there was no clear law of succession, and though the Hakim had to be a Shihabi from the descent of Haydar Musa,¹ tradition did not specify which Shihabi it was who would rule. The manasib in turn were made up of several factions or gharad,² which were made up of several houses of muqata'jis. The Khazins, for instance, belonged to the Junblati faction (a very powerful Druze family).³ The purpose of these factions was for the feudal lords to have some control over the Hakim and the affairs of the Mountain.

However, the muqata'jis in their role as individual fiefholders performed several functions. Politically, they governed the districts which they owned. They administered justice, and punished their subjects for petty offences. They also had to arm their peasants and provide for their upkeep when called to war by their Hakim. Administratively, they were responsible for the collection of taxes from the peasants, and after having taken their share of it they had to send it as yearly tribute to the Hakim. The muqata'ji also had the moral obligation of caring for his peasants and protecting them against anyone outside his fief who would wish to harm them.⁴

¹Harik, Politics and Change, p. 45.

²Harik, "The Iqta' System," p. 415.

³Harik, Politics and Change, p. 47.

⁴Ibid., p. 62.

A unique document of its kind was published in al-Usul al-Tarikhiya. It is the diary of a Khazin muqata'ji in Kisrawan in 1820, where his daily activities are jotted down and recorded for all that year starting in January and ending in December. It is fascinating to read it as it sheds light on the every day occurrences of a fief in Mount Lebanon 150 years ago.

On the 4th of January 1820, Bishara al-Khazin recorded that he received a letter from the Hakim asking him to inform his people not to stand in the way of the soldiers sent by the government to do some corvee labour, and not to prevent them from using the horses and donkeys of the place for the work.¹ Another entry stated that Bishara al-Khazin was sent some foreign currency and was asked to send back in exchange its equivalent in gold, which was to be weighed by a person specialised in such exchange.² However, by far the most numerous entries in this diary concern judicial matters that Bishara al-Khazin settled with what seemed to me an admirable sense of justice. The wife of Nijm Jamus was accused of fighting with her husband for instance and he attempted to make peace between them.³ Or a man died and left debts which his children were unable to pay. So Bishara accepted that the sum be payed in two allotments, the first that year and

¹Bishara Jafal al-Khazin, "Yawmiyat Hakim Iqta'i," in Nasib al-Khazin and Bulos Mas'ad (eds.), Al-Usul al-Tarikhiya, Vol. I (Beirut, 1956), pp. 62-63.

²Ibid., p. 63.

³Ibid., p. 64.

the second the following year.¹ It is interesting to note that when in some cases Bishara al-Khazin was unable to settle certain financial and judicial matters he referred the contestants to Deir al-Qamar, the traditional seat of the Hakim, where some form of higher court settled the suits.² The clergy also seem to have been involved in settling disputes although it seems that Bishara could and did disagree with them (and perhaps he could even revoke their judgement?)³ Another function of the muqata'ji which seems to have been taking up a lot of the time of Bishara was the collection of taxes. As one reads through his diary for that year one finds that some parts of Kisrawan had been plagued by locusts, and consequently Bishara al-Khazin provided his peasants with a certain amount of 'fuel', presumably wood to burn those locusts. He then was informed by the Hakim that the yearly miri tax had to be collected. Aware that part of the crop had been spoilt by the locusts, and that expenses had been made to acquire that fuel to burn the locusts, he wrote back asking for clemency for the people of Zuq Masbah, and for the decrease of the amount of their taxation by 600 piasters. This amount, he suggested, could be payed from the treasury of 'Akka with the permission of the Hakim.⁴ Finally, Bishara

¹Ibid., p. 67.

²Ibid., pp. 64, 67, 69.

³Ibid., p. 69.

⁴Ibid., pp. 68-73.

al-Khazin found himself doing other things such as guarding the roads (probably from bandits) when a certain Qabji Basha from Constantinople passed by them;¹ and arresting two bandits who stole some government wealth and were trying to escape to Egypt.²

Thus we find that Bishara al-Khazin was performing several of the traditional functions of a muqata'ji. He collected taxes, imposed law and order, and finally acted as a mediator between the central government and his own community.

Below the muqata'ji in the social structure of the Maronites was the Maronite clergy. The formal organization of the Maronite Church included a Patriarch and a number of bishops and below them came the secular priests and the monks. Their relationship until the seventeenth century was highly personal and every monastery had its own rules and obeyed only its superior.³ The higher clergy was selected on the basis of kin as well as on that of social status. It was poor and did not control the means of its own administration, nor was it able to pay its clergy. It consequently, became very dependent on notables for financial support and protection. Those upon whom the clergy relied most were the Khazins, who were one of the most influential Maronite families of Mount Lebanon. In the middle of the eighteenth century Patriarch Yusuf Istifan

¹Ibid., p. 65.

²Ibid.

³Harik, Politics and Change, pp. 76-81.

moved his seat permanently to Kisrawan, and Patriarch Yusuf Hubaysh started the tradition of spending the winter in Kisrawan which still holds for Maronite Patriarchs to this day.¹ Thus by having his seat in Kisrawan the Patriarch and consequently the rest of the Maronite Church came to be more and more under the direct influence of the Khazin family. Those gave the Church monasteries and waqf land,² protected it against any interference or persecuion, and in general helped them financially to carry out their religious work. However, the Khazins expected certain benefits in return. First of all they secured most of the important top clergy offices for members of their family. There were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries three Khazin Patriarchs: Patriarch Yusuf Dargham al-Khazin (from 1733 to 1742), Patriarch Tobia al-Khazin (from 1756 to 1766), and Patriarch Yusuf Raji al-Khazin (from 1845 to 1854).³ The Patriarch was the head of the Church and a very important person indeed. He was elected by the bishops and his title was bestowed upon him by the pope in Rome. As head of the Church in Mount Lebanon he had enormous prestige in the eyes of the people. And thus the Khazins either by having a member of its family as Patriarch or else by having the seat of the

¹ Ibid., p. 87.

² Waqf property is land or buildings offered by individuals or families for some religious purpose: like the building of a mosque, or the establishment of a hospital. Originally an Islamic idea it was later imitated by the Christians of the East.

³ Filib (Philippe) al-Khazin, "Man hum al-Batarika al-Khaziniyun?" in Awraq Lubnaniya, Vol. I (December, 1955), p. 577.

Patriarchate in Kisrawan, increased their own prestige as well as sanctioned with religion their own civil authority over their fief.¹ A very interesting document quoted by Harik is the statement that archbishops on coming to office in Kisrawan had to submit:

As regards their honors the sons of Shaykh Kattar (al-Khazin) we shall do their bidding and stand in their service; we shall also do their favour in whatever they require us to do. In return they will extend to us their aid and protection and preserve us in all matters corporeal...

We also promise their honors...that under all conditions and in all their dealings with us good or bad we should never rise above them to seek justice from higher authorities.²

This is an illustration of the tremendous influence the Khazins had even on the internal affairs of the Church.

The Khazins received other benefits from this 'alliance' with the Church. They received certain revenues from the monasteries in Kisrawan and when nuns or monks joined any of the monasteries under their patronage they received gifts in kind from them. But most important they had the support of the Maronite Church in affairs of political importance. Rene Ristelhueber, General Consul of France in Lebanon, has written a very interesting chapter in his book, Les Traditions Francaises au Liban, about the Khazins.³ He describes how Abu Naufal al-Khazin in 1655 became Vice-Consul of France in Beirut, and how he lost his position because of intrigues

¹Harik, Politics and Change, p. 90.

²Translation by Harik of the statement published by Mas'ad, and Khazin in al-Usul al-Tarikhiya, Vol. II (Beirut, 1957), p. 604.

³Ristelhueber, pp. 143-201.

directed against him by the French consulate in Sayda. He then shows how the Maronite Patriarch took up Abu Naufal's cause and sent intermediaries to Louis XIV in France¹ and used all its influence until he secured for Abu Naufal not merely the post of Vice-Consul, but that of Consul of France,² which became hereditary and lasted for four generations. Hosn al-Khazin grandson of Abu Naufal and also Consul of France in Beirut, used the Church to back his demands in France.³ Thus side by side the Khazins and the Church increased the power of each other. But it was finally the Church who profited most from this 'alliance', mainly because its source of wealth augmented as time went on due to the awqaf it received as well as the financial aid of all kind. In the meantime the Khazins were gradually becoming impoverished because they alienated their land by giving it to the Church, and because as their number grew the land had to be divided among the inheritors and further split by the sons of subsequent generations. With the decline of their wealth came the decline of their hold over the Church.

The peasants were on the lowest rung of that socio-political ladder. They had only an economic role to play: they were the ones who cultivated the land and produced the crops which provided the whole of Mount Lebanon with its

¹See, "Rahlat al-Mutran Ishaq al-Shidrawi ila Faransa sanat 1660," in al-Mashriq, Vol. II, 1889, p. 939.

²Philippe Khazin, al-Ansab, pp. 143-167.

³Ristelhueber, p. 175.

livelihood. The economic system of Mount Lebanon during the Shihabi Emirate was based on its rural structure. Dominique Chevallier in an article in which he tries to analyse the origins of the agrarian troubles of 1858 in Kisrawan,¹ gives us a very good idea of how the economic dimension of the iqta' system worked in practice.

The mulberry tree was the most important crop of the Kisrawan area. The peasants fed the silk-worm with those leaves and they in turn produced silk. The silk was then sent to cities or exported abroad. France and Italy were some of their most important markets. The silk production allowed not only the muqata'jis but also the peasants to acquire land and enrich themselves.² The production of mulberry leaves gave rise to an 'association' between the peasant and the Khazin muqata'ji. The latter would have the crop of mulberry leaves evaluated, on that part of the estate for which he was making this association with the peasant, before the crop was produced, and then ask from that peasant the payment in advance of quarter of the total value of the crop.³ When the crop was collected it was further divided into two equal shares between the associate and the landowner. With what was left to him, the associate had to hire the labourers

¹See Dominique Chevallier, "Aux Origines des Troubles Agraires Libanais en 1858," in Annales: Economies - Societes - Civilisations, Vol. 14 (1959), pp. 35-64.

²Ibid., p. 44.

³Ibid., p. 46.

to collect the leaves, he had to plough the fields on which the mulberry trees were growing (a task that had to be done five times a year), he had to rebuild the terrace walls of those fields when they broke down,¹ but most important of all he had to pay all the taxes due to the landowner and to the government. It was those taxes that were the source of misery of the peasant of Mount Lebanon. Polk gives us a number of taxes which the peasant and his lord had to pay. Very often the peasant had to bear the whole burden of these taxes: the first was the miri or landtax which was taken on the mule loads of mulberry leaves; the Egyptians in 1834 introduced the head tax which was a tax payed for every member of a household;² the jizya was still another type of tax of which only Muslim populations were theoretically exempt, and that was payment substituting for military service. Then came the 'aydya'³ which were gifts in kind that were offered by the peasant to his muqata'ji for the birth of a son, a marriage, Christmas, Easter, etc., and included sugar, coffee, chickens, etc.⁴ But the worse part of it all was that he was at the mercy of the exigencies of the Ottoman Valis. If those asked the Hakim for supplementary taxes to be levied, it was the peasant who had to pay them. In the beginning of the nineteenth century there was so much abuse that the peasants instead of

¹ Ibid., pp. 48-50.

² Polk, p. 43

³ Chevallier, "Aux Origines...", p. 50.

⁴ Churchill, p. 97.

paying certain taxes once a year only, were forced to pay them up to seven or eight times in the same year.¹ The peasantry unable to meet all those payments began to borrow money. The loans were made by selling their future crops at very low prices, in order to have money on time to pay their taxes, i.e. the money was given to them first and later in return for the loan they would give their crop. In other cases they would borrow money at a minimum interest of twelve percent which could go up to fifty percent.² Thus, although Volney noted that the peasants of Kisrawan were still better off than those in the rest of Mount Lebanon,³ the economic condition of the peasant was very poor indeed. Ismail quotes a report by a French official to his Government in 1840 describing the situation of misery of the peasant in Lebanon: "They (the peasants) first gave up everything they had, they only fled before the whip when they had nothing anymore and they were still asked for more. In the abandoned villages not a child, not a woman not an old man is left..."⁴

What did all these groups in Mount Lebanon have in common? It was religion and tradition that regulated the life of a community⁵ that gave each group in the social structure

¹Adel Ismail, Histoire du Liban du XVIIe Siecle a Nos Jours, Vol. IV, Redressement et Declin du Feodalisme Libanais 1840-1861 (Beirut, 1958), p. 46.

²Volney, p. 379. The usurers were mainly Arab merchants from the cities. Chevallier, "Aux Origines..." p. 51.

³Volney, p. 378.

⁴See Rapport de Bourre in Ismail, p. 46. My translation from French.

⁵Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, pp. 61-62.

a view of itself and its role in the structure, and explained the position of the other groups and finally defined its relationship vis-a-vis these other groups. Tradition and social norms were handed down from one generation to another and were respected and venerated and never questioned.¹ Harik puts the basic world view of the people succinctly and well: "Mount Lebanon viewed the division of society into a hierarchy of classes as the normal social order which had always been in existence. Men were not equal for each had a place determined by his birth. A man was born as a commoner ('ammi), or as a noble: a shaykh, a muqaddam, or an amir, each class had its special place and rights in society."²

Thus it was that this view of the world around them moulded the relations of the various groups to each other. Churchill, in the nineteenth century, noticed for instance that each group moved in its "own sphere", and that there was no contact between landlord and peasant except for official purposes like collecting taxes.³ William Polk, in his study on Lebanon in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries noted that classes were distinct and separate, there was no record of social mobility and no intermarriage occurred between classes.⁴

¹Harik, "The Iqta' System," p. 409.

²Ibid.

³Churchill, p. 98.

⁴Polk, The Opening of South Lebanon, p. 50.

However, I believe that when these authors spoke of social strata they really meant the fundamental division existing in a feudal system between the rich and powerful and the poorer sections of the population. Shaikhs and Emirs (i.e. members of the only three Emir families of Mount Lebanon, the Arslans, the Shihabis and the Abi Lama's) did mix and in many cases intermarry. They were also in very close contact with the higher clergy. The Hakim's friends and advisors were recruited from among the members of these social groups although in protocol they were differentiated. However, it was the peasants, shepherds, small tradesmen, petty artisans, as well as servants, guards, etc., who rarely came into social contact with them. They were the ones who toiled, and work was regarded by members of the 'aristocracy' of Lebanon as "degrading" or "too humiliating to be entertained for a moment."¹

A story related in Hattuni's work illustrates how the relation between a shaykh and an 'ammi were defined by tradition and how the breaking of this common pattern caused surprise and anger:

It happened that the Shaikh 'Abbas al-Khazin who was buying silk in the market place of Zuq Mikayil insulted one of the silk merchants and manifested his accustomed authority (as a Khazin Shaikh). However, the individual who had been insulted retorted with a very insulting answer which included the shaikh and those present with him. This angered (the Shaikh) and his cousins and surprised them all.²

¹Churchill, p. 156.

²Hattuni, p. 335. My translation from the Arabic.

The sheer fact that Hattuni relates this story shows that it was very unusual, as historians of the time recounted those facts which were out of the ordinary. Thus the shaikh had the right to insult a commoner but was himself immune from any form of disrespect.

However, I believe that the social distance between classes has been slightly exaggerated by Churchill and Polk. Ristelhueber for instance gives us an illustration of what I mean when he quotes the Chevallier D'Arvieux saying that Abu Naufal al-Khazin would sit cross-legged among his peasants and discuss with them the problems of land and goats and cattle.¹ It was also in the tradition of great lords, to leave their house open and anyone passing had the right to enter and be fed and lodged.² The judicial function of muqata'jis also led them to have almost daily contact with their subjects.

Finally, the closeness of the relation between the muqata'ji and his subject can further be exemplified by the use of certain terms at the time to define their relation to each other: the smiyya,³ for instance, meant that a subject took the name of the muqata'ji to whom he owed loyalty, when he wanted to explain his position in society to strangers. When, on the other hand, the muqata'ji spoke

¹Ristelhueber, pp. 156-157.

²Ibid., p. 167. Hosn al-Khazin claimed that as his house was open to anyone and he provided for all from the greatest lord to the poorest peasant, his expenses justified his exemption from taxes. Ibid.

³Harik, "The Iqta' System," p. 411.

of his subjects he referred to them as nasuna,¹ our people or our men. In both terms there is this sense of belonging to a group and of a certain implied closeness and loyalty.

What is interesting is that although religion did play an extremely important political role from the mid nineteenth century onwards this had not always been the case. During the Shihabi Emirate political allegiance was owed to the muqata'ji of the fief on which a person happened to live, and that cut across religious and ethnic barriers.² As Kamal Salibi puts it, "The Khazins...did not allow their religion to prejudice their political activities"³ and mentions how one of the Khazins (Abu Nadir) brought up the young Druze Emir who later became the great Fakhr ad-Din II. However, the Maronite Church did gradually build up an ideology which was Maronite and 'national' and contrived from the beginning of the nineteenth century to overcome the barriers of traditional alliances and loyalties to fief-holders and make villagers owe their loyalty and seek protection from a higher unit which was the Church itself. It was this new ideology that was to become one of the causes of the breaking down of the traditional views of the iqta' system and the rise of a new 'national' world view in later years.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 411.

²Ibid.

³Salibi, Maronite Historians, p. 167.

⁴See Harik's chapter VIII, pp. 200-228 in Politics and Change.

Conclusion

As a conclusion to this chapter one can summarise it into the salient features of what I have called the traditional period in this study of social change.

Lebanon, in this traditional period which has generally included those years of the Shihabi Emirate, i.e. 1697-1841, was characterised by the iqta' system. This system has been taken as a unit of analysis because, first, it was geographically limited to Mount Lebanon, although other parts of Greater Syria might have had a similar system; secondly, as a political system it has remained constant for more than a hundred years;¹ thirdly, it embodied a social structure composed of several classes playing different roles, which had also remained stable for that period, although the Maronite clergy had begun to grow in importance, while some of the muqata'ji families like the Khazins were on the decline, thus heralding a new era of changes; and fourthly, the whole system was held together by a world view which 'explained' every man's position in the structure and rendered, in a sense, the system legitimate to its members.

Within this iqta' framework the Khazins played very definite roles. First of all they were responsible for the collection of taxes; secondly, on the judicial level, they maintained law and order, and settled the conflicts which took place on the local level of the community, and they acted as mediators between the Hakim and the members of their

¹Ibid., p. 37.

muqata'a. On the national level, as members of the manasib, they elected the Hakim, and had a say in matters that affected together all the communities and muqata'as of Mount Lebanon.

Vis-a-vis the clergy they acted mainly as patrons, giving land and money as well as protection to monasteries and convents, and receiving favours in return.

I have thus attempted to describe the role of the Khazins in this traditional period through a brief analysis of the social structure of Mount Lebanon, and consequently of Kisrawan. By shedding light on the role of the muqata'jis, for instance, the social group to which the Khazins belonged, not only can we understand the traditional role they played in Kisrawan, but we can also notice how the distribution of political power in the iqta' system itself was taking place. The analysis of the role of the peasantry also gives us not only an idea of how the Khazins acquired their wealth and what status they occupied vis-a-vis the peasants, but also a picture of the economic processes of the iqta' system. Finally, a study of the Maronite clergy during that period was not only important in understanding this social group which was part and parcel of the social structure of Mount Lebanon, and seeing the role the Khazins played within it, but it set the backstage to the very important political role the Church played in the following eras of the history of Mount Lebanon. It is only by understanding its position in this traditional period that one can grasp the way it grew into a political force in its own right.

Consequently, I believe that this approach, i.e. viewing the traditional period in my study through an analysis of the social structure of the iqta' system, is useful because it does not attempt to analyse the roles of the Khazin family in a vacuum, but tries to see them as part of a social, economic and political system existing in a specific geographical area and taking place within a specified period of time.

CHAPTER II

THE KHAZINS IN A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD (1831-1860)

THE DOUBLE QA'IM MAQAMIYA

Introduction

In the second chapter of this study we find Mount Lebanon undergoing radical and violent changes, the causes of which had begun accumulating, slowly at first, in the previous period. I shall consequently try here to outline briefly the type of changes that took place and attempt an interpretation of the causes that led to what can be described as the decline of feudalism in Mount Lebanon. Thus the decline of the Khazin muqata'ji family, during that period may be seen to be partly due to a more general decline in the feudal structure of the society itself. However, it also has causes peculiar to itself for the very disintegration of its own feudal authority in Kisrawan. It is this interplay of forces in the society at large and within the family that brought about its downfall in 1858.

The Forces of Change

I have classified the changes taking place in Mount Lebanon under two main categories, changes brought about by forces outside the society and forces that built up within the society. The external forces with which I shall deal

first were mainly of two kinds: political and economic, whilst the internal forces led to basic changes in the traditional social structure of Mount Lebanon.

The external political forces of change introduced in the country were of three kinds, the invasion of Syria and Lebanon by Egyptian forces, headed by Ibrahim Pasha the son of Muhammad 'Ali, between 1831 and 1840, the consequent involvement of the Great Powers (France, England, Russia, Austria, etc.) into what was known as the Eastern Question, and finally the re-occupation of Syria and Lebanon in 1840 by the Ottomans who began following a policy of centralisation hitherto unknown in Lebanon.

The invasion of Muhammad 'Ali had certain major effects on the mountain as a whole. First it introduced certain innovations which were to bring, eventually, a general rebellion;¹ and the second but most significant change it brought about, for the purpose of this study, was the involvement of the Great Powers in Lebanese affairs.

The aims of Muhammad 'Ali in invading Syria and Lebanon were: "(1) to secure the Egyptian-Syrian trade route and the Sinai frontier, (2) to seal off Syria as a potential place of escape for those who wanted to avoid the heavy obligations of the Egyptian state, and (3) to exploit the economic resources of Syria either for the direct use of Egypt, in such goods as timber and tobacco, or for the foreign exchange through sale of crops as silk."² In order to achieve these aims Ibrahim

¹Polk, pp. 116-117.

²Ibid., p. 106.

needed a strong military force¹ which involved recruiting the local peasants into the ranks of his army. As these were unwilling to leave their lands and families for years, they tried to avoid conscription by any means, and so forced conscription took place and men were taken from their villages and marched off in chains.² Disarmament of the population was another policy of Ibrahim to prevent any rebellion which could occur as it had in Palestine in 1834.³ In order to do this he used Maronites to disarm the Druzes thus leading to a war (in 1838 in the Huran) and a major split in the society. "Until the 1840's warfare in the mountain had been of the intermittent intestine variety, with Druze fighting against Druze, and Christian against Christian...the alignment was feudal and partisan rather than religious and denominational."⁴ Thus with Ibrahim the situation had changed and although not the only cause of the split between the two groups,⁵ one of the major achievements of Ibrahim's policy was to divide the nation into two, which eventually led to three bloody civil wars in 1841, 1845 and 1860.

¹Ibid., p. 116.

²Ibid., p. 117.

³See Asad Rustum, The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Disturbances of Palestine in 1834 (Beirut, 1938) for the causes of the rebellion against Ibrahim Pasha. Passim.

⁴Philip K. Hitti, Lebanon in History (London, 1957), p. 433.

⁵The curbing of the power of the Druze muqata'jis and the consequent rise in power of the Maronites during the reign of Bashir Shihab II as well as the ideological role played by the Maronite clergy in turning Christians against Druzes were some of the other causes of the civil wars. The Great Powers had also a role to play in this split. See Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 22.

In 1840 the country rebelled, peasants and shaikhs rose together, the former fighting against oppression and the latter reclaiming some of the feudal rights they had lost in the process of the Egyptian invasion. The first to rebel were the Druzes and Christians of the Shuf and Kisrawan.¹ Turkey who had lost an important province to her Egyptian vassal was waiting for the appropriate moment to regain Syria and Lebanon. Britain, on the other hand, had decided to curb Muhammad 'Ali's power in the Middle East as any further clash between the Ottoman Sultan and Muhammad 'Ali might bring the Russian fleet to Istanbul as it had previously in 1833.² They were also afraid of a foreign power controlling the route to India. Thus both the British and the Turks capitalized on the 1840 rebellion and intervened providing the insurgents with arms and backing them against the Egyptians. Bashir II, the Hakim, with the help of Ibrahim Pasha, crushed the insurrection. However, the Allied Powers (France, England, Austria, Russia, Prussia), and Turkey landed troops on Lebanese soil and when Ibrahim Pasha refused to surrender, Beirut was bombarded. Two weeks later the Egyptian forces had retreated,³ and Lebanon was back under Ottoman rule. Bashir II the strong Shihabi Emir who had kept under firm control Mount Lebanon for 52 years (1788-1840), was removed from power for having supported Ibrahim Pasha, and the country became ripe for

¹Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 42.

²Ibid., p. 43.

³Ibid., p. 42.

Thus as we have seen apart from the British, the Austrians had also helped in defeating the Egyptian forces, and thus become influential in Lebanon. They tried, as Roman Catholics, to attract the Maronites away from France, who at the moment was in disgrace for having supported Muhammad 'Ali.¹ The Russians were posing as the protectors of the Greek Orthodox community, being of the same faith.² The British attempting to get a foothold in Lebanon and unable to find a community like the French and the Russians having the same faith, eventually allied themselves to the Druzes, an alliance which became almost as important as that between the French and the Maronites.³ This in itself drew the two Lebanese communities farther and farther apart, as Britain and France struggled, each to acquire a greater influence in the affairs of Mount Lebanon. And finally Turkey recovering from the shock of having lost an important province for almost a decade changed its policy towards Lebanon. Intent on having complete control over the affairs of the Mountain, Sultan 'Abd al-Majid issued a reform decree, the Hatt-i Sherif of Gulhane, the importance of which was the idea of centralisation and the necessity for the provinces to depend more on Istanbul.⁴ This new policy was to guide the actions of the Ottoman Valis,

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²See Derek Hopwood, The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine 1843-1914 (Oxford, 1969), p. 5.

³Polk, p. 215.

⁴Moshe Ma'oz, Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861, The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society (Oxford, 1968), p. 34.

Mushirs, etc., in Lebanon during the rest of this period and also play an important role in the internal state of affairs in Mount Lebanon.

As we have seen the Egyptian invasion of Syria led to the entrance of the Great Powers in the political affairs of Lebanon. It was also accompanied by a very important introduction of European goods into the Lebanese market. Polk quotes Baron de Boislecomte who visited Lebanon and Syria soon after the Egyptian invasion, as saying: "The beginning of the domination of Mehmet Ali has immediately doubled the commerce of Beirut in the process of opening Damascus to the Europeans. Its imports rose 5½ million (francs?) under the Turks; it will rise to 11 million this year. Exports were about 4 million during the last years but will pass 6 million in 1833."¹ Guys, a French Consul during Ibrahim's rule, mentioned that trade was extensive between the ports of Syria and Lebanon and those of Triesta, Livourne, Genoa, Marseille and especially with the English ports.² He said that due to the higher prices of silk people were beginning to buy cotton from England,³ and Egypt was sending the linen. Weapons were also brought into Lebanon, in some measure by contraband.⁴ Coffee from Santo Domingo and Havana began appearing on the markets of Beirut and Damascus,⁵ even such 'luxuries' as rum,

¹Polk, p. 34.

²Henri Guys, Relation d'un Sejour de Plusieurs Annees dans ce Pays (Paris, 1850), Vol. I, p. 205.

³Ibid., p. 216.

⁴Polk, p. 165.

⁵Ibid.

glassware, furniture and paper was brought in from Bohemia, Trieste, Italy, and France.¹ This of course affected the Lebanese currency. Ibrahim also began using the local commodities and products of Lebanon, from coal and iron to wood and hides, for export to Egypt and for his own needs and those of his army.² Thus the economy of Lebanon began transforming itself during that period, and the country ceased to be self-sufficient, relying more and more on products from the outside.

Internally the changes were even more profound though perhaps less obvious. They were to revolutionize the whole traditional social structure of Mount Lebanon.³ The first was the growing political importance of the Maronite Church; the second was the new political system, devised by Metternich, by which Mount Lebanon was to be ruled: the system of the double Qa'im Maqamiya; and the third was the organization of peasant movements, in protest against taxation, forced conscription, etc.

During this period the status of the Maronite clergy underwent some basic change. It was in this period that they emerged in the forefront of the political life of Mount Lebanon. As all other changes the process had started back in the traditional period. As we have seen before, the Maronite Church had become organized and wealthy as far back

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³See for an excellent account of this period: Dominique Chevallier, La Societe du Mont Liban a l'Epoque de la Revolution Industrielle en Europe (Paris, 1971), passim.

as the mid-eighteenth century.¹ It began however to play an important role during the rule of Amir Bashir Shihab II. Already "in 1756 two members of this House (the Shihabis) were converted to Christianity, adopting the Maronite faith. Soon others followed and the influence of the Maronite Patriarch...steadily increased on the House of the Shihab."² However, it was only in the early nineteenth century that the Church began openly to play a political role.³ It had acquired wealth and power over the previous centuries. Henri Guys, could write in the 1850's that there were three categories of real estate property, the most prosperous category being that of the princes and the Church.⁴ The shaikhs fell only in the second category. We thus see that the wealth of the Church was equal to that of the ruling princes of the country and larger than that of any shaikh. Guys explains this by the fact that not only did the wealth of the Church augment yearly with the land and property given to it by its congregation, but it could not be split up as the wealth of individual muqata'jis was, as it belonged as a complete whole to the Church as such. Moreover, waqf land was free from taxation, and labour was unpaid, as it was mainly the young monks themselves who ploughed the land.⁵ Moreover, the

¹See above, pp.

²Clyde G. Hess, Jr. and Herbert L. Bodman, Jr. "Confessionalism and Feudalism in Lebanese Politics, in Middle East Journal, Vol. 8 (1954), p. 11.

³Harik, Politics and Change, p. 125.

⁴Guys, Vol. II, p.

⁵Ibid., p. 146.

Maronite Church had a traditional ally in France, which increased its own temporal power.¹ This ally to whom the Church appealed to when necessity arose, gave weight to any decision the Maronite Patriarch or his bishops took. So powerful was the Patriarch that in 1842, only he was able to stand against the Ottoman governor, 'Umar Pasha, and denounce the petitions that the latter was making to praise his rule, and forbid the Maronites to sign them.

In January 1842 after the Christian-Druze civil-war of 1841 came to an end, the Ottoman Mustafa Pasha announced the end of the Shihabi Emirate in Lebanon, and 'Umar Pasha al-Namsawi was appointed governor of Mount Lebanon. However, his rule lasted only for a few months. In January 1843 the Porte finally accepted the decision of the Great Powers to divide Lebanon in two administrative units, separated from each other geographically by the Beirut-Damascus road, the northern district being governed by a Maronite Qa'im-Maqam (district governor) and the South by a Druze Qa'im Maqam. Haydar Abu-Lami' was appointed as Christian Qa'im Maqam and Ahmad Arslan as Druze Qa'im Maqam, both belonging to old Emir feudal families.² However, the problem with the division, which was to lead to a second civil war in 1845, concerned those districts of

¹"With reference to the statement that the Maronite Convents in the Lebanon are under French consular protection, I ought to add that though this claim is neither formally recognized by the local authorities nor in direct terms asserted by French Consuls, yet it is practically carried out." F. O. 78/1386. Beyrout 5 November 1858. Copy No. 86 of a letter from Moore to Bulwer.

²Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, pp. 53-79.

mixed populations. To whom did a Maronite living in the Druze Qa'im-Maqamiya, for instance, owe his allegiance? The Ottoman government decided that it was to his Druze Qa'im Maqam, but the Maronite Patriarch thought otherwise and wrote letters to the Christians to refuse obedience to their Druze overlords.¹ The result was another civil war in 1845 between the Druze and Christians which was stopped by the Ottomans under pressure from the foreign powers. The Ottoman Foreign Minister Shakib Efendi then arrived to Lebanon to settle the issue of the Qa'im Maqamiya. The Reglement Shakib Efendi, promulgated in the last months of 1845, remained in force till 1860 at the end of the period under study in this chapter. To solve the problem of the mixed districts each Qa'im Maqam was to have a council or majlis composed of a deputy of the Qa'im Maqam, and a judge and an advisor of the Greek Orthodox, Maronite, Greek Catholic, Sunnite and Druze sects. The Shi'ites were to have only an advisor. The main functions of these councils were two-fold: a) the assessment and collection of taxes; b) the hearing of judicial cases, each sect having the right to have a member of its own faith presiding the session.²

¹Charles Henry Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites under the Turkish Rule from 1840 to 1860 (London, 1862), pp. 38. 86.

²For the text of the Reglement see Filib and Farid al-Khazin, Majmu'at al-Muharrarat al-Siyasiya 'an Suriya wa Lubnan min Sanat 1840 ila Sanat 1910 (Junia, 1910), Vol. I, No. 124, pp. 218-237.

During this period peasants for the first time began playing a more active role in politics. This was due, to begin with, to the rivalry for power between Bashir II, the Hakim (1788-1840), and the muqata'jis, each using the peasants to weaken his opponent. Already in 1820, when 'Abdallah Pasha the Ottoman Vali, asked Bashir II to levy a very heavy tax on the peasants of Mount Lebanon, "the people of the Matn and Kisrawan rose in rebellion prompted by Hasan and Salman Shihab distant cousins of the governing emir."¹ The rebels were put down only a year later after having caused Bashir II to go on temporary voluntary exile to Egypt. Later it was Bashir II who used the peasants to control the shaykhs. In Kisrawan, for instance when the peasants complained of being over-taxed by the Khazins, Bashir II considered their complaints and sent a message to those shaikhs specifying the amount they were to collect from each village, and the amount that was due to himself.² In 1825 it was a Jumblati shaykh who led his peasants against the Emir, but unsuccessfully.³ On another occasion the muqata'jis organized their peasants to fight Ibrahim Pasha in the general rebellion of 1840, and later, in 1857, in Kisrawan the Khazin family split on the issue of the Christian Qa'im Maqamiya, and each group of the Khazins encouraged the peasants to organize themselves and make

¹Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 25.

²Chevallier, "Aux Origines...", p. 57.

³Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 27.

petitions to support either one or the other of the factions.¹ Thus the peasants had entered the arena of politics. Moreover, the clergy itself played a significant role in rallying the peasants together, away from their muqata'ji overlords, by formulating an ideology which could bind them together, and in providing them at times with their own leadership.

The cause of the split in the Khazin family was due to the fact that the Qa'im Maqam was an an Abi Lam'a whom the Khazins did not recognize as their superior.² At first they were unanimous in their desire to get rid of the Qa'im Maqam. However, Bentivoglio, the French ambassador, put pressure on some members of the family to support the Qa'im Maqam.³ This resulted in the split which weakened the family.

The Significance of those Changes for the Khazin Family

The involvement of the Great Powers in Lebanese affairs affected to a great extent the Khazin family. With the coming to an end of the branch of the family which held the French consulate of Beirut the Khazins lost the foreign protection they had enjoyed for four generations.⁴ Moreover, their increasing hostility towards the Maronite Church who had the complete support of the French further antagonized them from

¹Antun Dahir al-'Aqiqi, Lebanon in the Last Years of Feudalism, 1840-1868, A Contemporary Account by Antun Dahir al-'Aqiqi and Other Documents, Malcolm H. Kerr, ed. and trans. (Beirut, 1959), p. 19.

²'Aqiqi, p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 16.

⁴Chevallier, "Aux Origines...", p. 43.

the French. Churchill, in the mid-nineteenth century could say that "The French consul-general and the patriarch were their (the Khazins') avowed enemies."¹ Consequently, in 1858 when the peasants of Kisrawan rebelled against their muqata'jis, the Khazins appealed to the French for help,² but to no avail because the latter supported the Church who in turn was supporting the peasants.³ Later when the rebellion was eventually crushed, it was in the French consulate that Tanyus Shahin sought and received refuge and protection.⁴ Consequently, the Khazins turned towards the British, whom they were already regarding as their protector.⁵ However, it seems that the British were not at that point very interested in taking up the cause of Maronite muqata'jis as they were already very much involved with the Druzes, and so to the pleas of the Khazins in their hour of need the British ambassador turned a deaf ear.⁶ Finally, the Ottoman rulers in Lebanon, whose policy it was during that period "to show that no government but their own could possibly succeed in Lebanon, and the more Lebanon plunged into disorder and confusion, the nearer they hoped they were to

¹ Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites, p. 127.

² Al-Usul al-Tarikhiya, Vol. I, p. 346.

³ Aqiqi, p. 24, 25.

⁴ F. O. 78/1586. Copy of the dispatch No. 7 from Moore to Bulwer, n.d.

⁵ Noel Spencer, The Role of the Maronite Patriarchate in Lebanese Politics from 1840 to the Present, M.A. Thesis submitted at the American University of Beirut, 1963 (unpublished), p. 47.

⁶ Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites, p. 128.

its attainment,"¹ did nothing to control the situation in Kisrawan, and even withdrew some of their troops who were nearby at the time of the insurrection.²

Another point of significance to be mentioned here concerning the changes that took place in Mount Lebanon is the effect that the double Qa'im Maqamiya and the Reglement Shakib Effendi had on the Khazin family. The basic change was the formation of the majlis (council) of appointed men to help each Qa'im Maqam to rule his district. As we have seen before³ the basic functions of this majlis were the assessment and collection of taxes and the judicial settlement of cases in court. Consequently, those two functions which had been, in the traditional period the prerogatives of the muqata'jis were removed from them.⁴ Thus the Reglement Shakib Efendi dealt a blow to the authority of the fief-holders in their fiefs, and helped to weaken considerably the institution of muqata'jis.

On the economic level the changes introduced by external forces affected the whole economic system of Kisrawan. As we have seen in the previous chapter, silk production was the main economic activity in Kisrawan. Peasants and landlords were constantly busy with their mulberry trees, and when the silk

¹Ibid., p. 125.

²F. O. 78/1586. Moore to Russel. 19 December 1861. See also 'Aqiqi, p. 21. This was a result of their policy of centralisation, the more chaotic the situation in Lebanon became the greater the need for the Ottoman Government to intervene to restore order.

³See above p. 10.

⁴See al-Muharrarat al-Siyasiya, Vol. I, pp. 218-237.

worms produced their cocoons those were used to manufacture silk which was then exported to the cities and abroad, mainly to France. However, due to an increasing need for silk in France, and due to some dissatisfaction with the quality of the silk that was sent to them from Lebanon, some silk producers in France decided to install some modern steam-powered reeling factories in Lebanon in order to produce better silk and at the same time make use of the cheap labour available there.¹ The first French reels were set up in 1845 in the Shuf, south of Kisrawan, by Nicolas Portalis. The geological conditions were more favourable in the Shuf than they were in Kisrawan for the growth of the mulberry trees, and his equipment more modern than the Khazins'. Portalis also brought young French women² to teach the local workers the new ways of producing silk. Very soon he set up other reels in the Metn, just south of Kisrawan. Both the Metn and the particular district of the Shuf where he set up his reeling factories were closer to Beirut than Kisrawan and consequently that made trade through the port easier and more convenient than for Kisrawan.³

This resulted naturally in the decrease for the demand for silk of the kind that was produced in Kisrawan. In order to survive against the tremendous foreign competition, the peasants began using only those silk threads which were rejected by the owners of the bigger reeling factories and producing very

¹Chevallier, "Aux Origines...", pp. 51-52.

²Ibid., p. 52.

³Ibid.

mediocre material which could still be sold at a very low price on the local markets, and by making the salaries of the workers even lower than what they were. Another consequence of the foreign competition was the gradual dependence of the peasants and their muqata'jis, the Khazins, on the vagaries of the foreign market to regulate the price at which the silk was to be sold. The speculations of merchants affected them; and those began to have an ever increasing hold on the peasants and on the Khazin landlords of Kisrawan. They would lend them money and buy their crops at ridiculously low prices and then sell it later with much profit. In order to subsist the *Khazin muqata'jis, not able to compete with the French silk* producers began instead to sell cocoons. This of course increased the poverty of Kisrawan, by removing a source of income from the peasant family, where the women used to make the silk whilst the men were busy with the mulberry trees.¹

Thus the significance for our study of the introduction of European products and European technology in Lebanon is that the traditional economic pattern of Kisrawan became completely

¹Ducouso, a French Consular attache wrote in 1913 a little book on the history of the silk industry in Syria and Lebanon, L'Industrie de la Soie en Syrie et au Liban (Paris, 1913). He claimed that during the Ottoman rule, unfair taxation after having ruined the peasant, was imposed on his crop which was evaluated in advance at incredible prices. This discouraged the peasant from producing silk from fear of being taxed. Ducouso goes so far as to say that at the time of the installation of the first French reels the silk industry was almost non-existent in Syria and Mount Lebanon! (p. 123) He probably tends to exaggerate the state of the silk industry before 1840 in order to emphasize the 'beneficial' role played by the French reels. However, it is interesting to note that the local silk industry had already declined, to some extent, before the introduction of foreign competition, the latter only precipitating the further decline of the industry.

dislocated during that period. Not only were the peasants impoverished and indebted but so were the Khazin muqata'jis, who were described by a French traveller as "'the princes of olives and cheese'",¹ probably their staple diet! In another article, based on a document of the Khazin family, Chevallier describes the abode of a Khazin shaykh, pointing to the fact that the only difference between his home and that of his peasant is perhaps in the greater amount of furniture found, a big iron bed, some cushions and some mats, cupboards and little else,² the great mark of distinction of the lord being his horse.³ Thus in comparison to the muqata'jis who could afford to give away large pieces of land, as well as buildings, not only to their own Church but also to Jesuits and Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox monasteries,⁴ the Khazin shaykhs in the mid nineteenth century appear quite destitute.

The internal changes that took place in Mount Lebanon had also a strong impact on the Khazin muqata'jis. The growing power of the Maronite Church, for instance, affected seriously

¹Dominique Chevallier, "Que Possedait un Cheikh Maronite en 1859?" in Arabica, Vol. VII (1960), p. 78.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 79.

⁴See Shahin al-Khazin, "Awqaf al-'A'ila al-Khaziniya 'ala al-Tawa'if al-Laji'a ila Lubnan," in al-Mashriq, Vol. IV (1909), pp. 973-978. For instance in 1652 a house and a church with a piece of land were given to Jesuits, a Franciscan friar was given land by the Khazins to build a monastery in Harissa in 1681; the Armenian Catholics, in 1716, were given a monastery in the village of Ghusta; the Greek Melchites built a monastery on land given to them by Khazins in 1719; etc., pp. 974-975.

the traditional position in their own muqata'a. First the clergy began assuming some of the functions which had traditionally belonged to the feudal lords: leadership on the local level, for instance, began to be taken over by the lower clergy. We find village priests in 1840 challenging the villagers to rebel against the Egyptians,¹ and storing arms and weapons in the churches.² Even earlier, in 1820, Bishop Yusuf Istifan organized peasants in communes, with elected wakils or representatives to lead them in a rebellion against the Hakim.³ Military leadership in battle which had been the prerogative of the muqata'jis, began to change hands, and one reads of bishops leading their communities to war, in the spirit of the crusades.⁴ Even the judicial functions of the muqata'jis were threatened. We see Bashir II, for instance, approving of the patriarch's growing influence on the Maronites and encouraging him to settle the disputes, and judicial problems that arose between muqata'jis and between the 'common people'.⁵ Two Khazin shaykhs, for example, having had a disagreement were sent to the patriarch to settle their problems.⁶ But

¹Baptistin Poujoulat, Voyage a Constantinople dans L'Asie Mineure, en Mesopotamie, a Palmyre, en Syrie, en Palestine et en Egypte (Bruxelles, 1841), Vol. II, p. 286.

²Ibid.

³Harik, Politics and Change, p. 213.

⁴Isaac Bird, Bible Work in Bible Lands; or Events in the History of the Syrian Mission (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 350.

⁵Harik, Politics and Change, p. 231.

⁶Ibid., p. 232.

most important was the role the Church played in changing the world view of the 'ammiya, which eventually was one of the causes of the rebellion in 1858 in Kisrawan. Growing from their power, education, and organization the Maronite Church's ideology threatened the traditional iqta' world view. It saw the Maronites as a 'national' and religious community which transcended the limited loyalties to fief-holder, and sought identification in a higher unit which was the religious community. In this world view the muqata'jis place was no longer important and leadership could also exist among the clergy and among the 'ammiya.¹ The focus of unity for this new 'nation' was religion, and consequently it was religion that played a major part in the civil wars between Christians and Druzes. It was in the name of religion that the Patriarch led the peasants against their feudal lords,² and then against their fellow countrymen, proclaiming a new crusade.³ Religion was thus used as a mask to cover hostilities based on social economic and political rivalries and hostilities.⁴ The Khazina were well aware of this new challenge to their traditional position, and in a letter to the pope in Rome in 1843 they

¹Ibid., p. 166.

²See the Irlam petition by the Patriarch Yusuf Hubaysh to the Christians in Lebanon, in which he ordered them not to obey their Druze muqata'jis, but appoint wakils to take over the functions originally held by those feudal lords. Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites, p. 38.

³Bird, p. 350.

⁴Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites, p. 82.

expressed their fear, saying "in the last few years some members of the clergy have begun to interfere in political matters. This interference is growing daily and they have abandoned the duties of their vocation to meddle with wordly affairs which have nothing to do with them."¹ After exposing to the pope all the terrible consequences of such an interference, the Khazins asked him to put pressure on the Maronite Church and if it disobeyed to go even as far as removing from it the papal protection it enjoyed.²

The rebellions and peasant organizations during that period, starting with the 1820 revolt, were to be of great significance for the Khazin muqata'jis. To begin with the peasants who were being used by those in power as pawns in the game of politics, began to be aware of their own potentialities as a social group.³ Secondly, this awareness was further strengthened by the clergy's ideology of ties of loyalty that went beyond one's muqata'a to include members of other communities as well who had a similar faith.⁴ Thirdly, the institution of wakils⁵ to lead the people in the rebellion of 1820 proved to the peasants, that an 'ammi could also be a leader, and

¹"La Yurid al-Khaziniyun tadakhul al Ikliryus fi al-Siyasa," in Awraq Lubnaniya, Vol. III (1957), pp. 270-272. (My translation)

²Ibid.

³Chevallier, "Aux Origines....," p.

⁴See above p. 62.

⁵Harik, Politics and Change, p. 213.

that leadership was not the exclusive prerogative of the muqata'jis. Thus, in Kisrawan all those factors being present in 1858, and the Khazin family being divided on the issue of the Christian Qa'im Maqamiya, they arranged for the peasants to elect wakils to represent them and to make petitions complaining to the Ottoman authorities about the ruling Christian Qa'im Maqam.¹ Gradually those peasant organizations spread from one village to another, and very soon turned against their Khazin shaykhs. The wakils they had elected became their leaders, and very soon one of them, Tanyus Shahin² was elected their leader; "to whom they pledged a blind obedience; and he in his turn appointed leaders to do his bidding, and an executive committee to regulate judicial proceedings, and take cognisance of acts of disobedience. Emboldened by impunity, they declared their emancipation from all superior power..."³ Then after having tried some reconciliation with their Khazin muqata'jis, they drove them out of Kisrawan, took possession of their houses, seizing what they could find of silk, wheat, oil, etc., and stored them in the house of Tanyus Shahin.⁴ Then Shahin took over the functions of the old lords: distributing those provisions to all who passed by his house, settling disputes, and enfor-

¹'Aqiqi, p. 19.

²Churchill, The Druzes and the Maronites, p. 127.

³Tanyus Shahin was "an ex-muleteer, ex-blacksmith and self-appointed Robin Hood," 'Aqiqi, pp. 21-22.

⁴Ibid., p. 52.

cing his authority over all the villages around, in the name of the "republican government" of Kisrawan.¹ In 1860 when trouble was brewing in the Shuf between the Druzes and the Maronites, Tanyus Shahin organized a fighting force of five hundred men whom he headed to defend the Maronites of that region.² Thus we find the complete breakdown of the feudal position of the Khazins, very dramatically in their case, and the peasantry declaring the region a republic, divesting their lords of their authority and property and investing an 'ammi with the leadership of the district.

Reaction of the Khazin Family to those Changes

As a result of all those changes the Khazin family was faced with a threat to their traditional authority as muqata'jis long before they were expelled from Kisrawan in 1858. How did they react to this threat? I found that there were two basic reactions, one far outweighing the other and finally affecting the events of 1858. The first was an attempt to adapt to the changes and acquire positions of leadership in the emerging social structure; the other was the attempt to apply patterns of behaviour and attitude to situations that had changed and consequently to which those patterns were no longer relevant.

¹Ibid.

²Iskandar Abkarius, The Lebanon in Turmoil Syria and the Powers in 1860; Book of the Marvels of the Time Concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country, ed. and trans. J. F. Scheltema (New Haven), 1920, p. 66.

There were some attempts by individual members of the family to adapt to those changes and try to assume leadership in the new peasant movements. We find Shaykh Fadl al-Khazin for instance joining the 1820 revolt, and being sent at the head of the elected wakils to the Ottoman Vali to ask for a reduction in taxation.¹ However, he later left the movement and joined the rest of his family in fighting it.²

Another attempt at adaptation to the changing situation was made by some members of the Khazin family in 1840, to join and lead the rebels against the Egyptian forces. We find Salih al-Khazin named 'aqid (rank in the army), by the Turks over a force from Bait Shahab and leading them against the Egyptians.³ The fact that this is a completely new type of leadership can be seen if one notes first that leadership was by appointment and not by inheritance; secondly, that the legitimizing force behind his authority was not tradition but the decree from the Ottoman seraskier ordering the people to obey the shaykh; thirdly, that he was to lead a force which was from Bait Shahab which is in the Metn and not in Kisrawan, the original fief of the Khazins. Thus we find some members of the Khazin family aware of the changes taking place and trying to adapt to those changes.

¹Harik, Politics and Change, p. 216.

²Ibid., p. 221

³Majmu'at Muharrarat, Vol. I, No. 20, p. 25.

However, by and large the family did not adapt to the changing environment. On the contrary they clung to their old privileges and tried with all their might to keep the status quo. We find that in the economic sphere for instance, when the French introduced new silk reels in Mount Lebanon and every one began acquiring those reels, Kisrawan did not try to modernise its archaic equipment.¹ A conjectural explanation for this is that apart from the fact that it would have involved extra expenses on the part of the shaykhs, the modernisation of the equipment might have led to a change in the relations between the muqata'jis and his peasant and the loosening of the bonds of traditional loyalty to the fielf-holder, a change which the shaykhs might not have welcomed. Another factor which led to the economic crisis in Kisrawan, was that the Khazin muqata'jis wishing to protect their land from being split up among the ever increasing members of the family,² adopted the only traditional method of doing this they knew of: rendering the land a waqf property which consequently did not make use of the labour available, as monasteries had their own monks to cultivate the land.³ Thus unemployment increased, as well as poverty. Furthermore in order to pay their debts and continue to live in traditional style they resorted to the methods they

¹Chevallier, "Aux Origines....," p. 52.

²It was reported in 1861 that the family numbered "about four hundred souls." F. O. 78/1586. No. 35. Moore to Russel. Beirut, 19 December 1861.

³Chevallier, "Aux Origines....," p. 56.

used before: that is the increasing of taxation.¹ In their social relations they not only required the usual respect due to their rank but enforced greater social distinction as their actual power dwindled. "For they (the Khazins) no longer took any account of their subjects, nor even of the leading persons among them. They would say that the peasant and his possessions belonged to them, showing not the slightest regard for him. The most significant of the Khazins would insult the most reputable of the people..."² As the British put it, the Khazins had become "'a little too tenacious of their aristocratic privileges.'"³

Politically also we find them perhaps bewildered but again inept in meeting the forces of change. No longer able to have the same patronising relations with the Maronite Church as they had before, they did not try compromise on a new basis but antagonised it and thus not only lost its support but also that of France.⁴ They also resorted to traditional methods, intrigue and bribery, to keep their authority, leading to ever increasing debts and a major split in the family itself, thus weakening their position vis-a-vis the peasants.⁵ Finally, on the eve of the Kisrawan rebellion in 1858, the

¹ Ibid.

² 'Aqiqi, p. 45.

³ Quoted in 'Aqiqi, p. 73. Report from Dufferin to Bulwer in March 1861.

⁴ See above pp. 51-52.

⁵ 'Aqiqi, p. 42.

the peasants assembled and requested some of their Khazin muqata'jis to come to a meeting at which a reconciliation between both parties could be effected. However, at the meeting some of "the shaikhs made sweeping threats against the people, threatening to expel them from the land and to kill some of them; while others spoke to the people in a kindly way, (delcaring that) their duty as guardians restrained them from evil deeds."¹ In this meeting we find that the traditional attitude adopted towards the peasants clearly stated, as well as the incapacity of the muqata'jis to understand their plight, or understand the need for them to change in times of cricis. It was this which eventually precipitated the outburst which ended in their expulsion from Kisrawan.

Conclusion

Through an understanding of the interplay of social forces of change, those external to the society, and those generated within the society itself, we have attempted in the first part of the chapter to trace the underlying causes of the breakdown of the feudal system in Mount Lebanon, in the period extending roughly between 1840 and 1860. We have tried to see the peculiar significance of those forces of change for the muqata'a of Kisrawan, and for the particular case of the Khazin muqata'jis, in the second part; and finally

¹Aqiqi, p. 42.

²Ibid., p. 47.

we have attempted a brief analysis of the reactions of the Khazin muqata'jis to those changes, and the consequent result of their reaction on the process of change itself.

I have tried to show that although the feudal system in Mount Lebanon was breaking down due to the impact of several social forces, the fate of the Khazin family might have differed had they been able to grasp the meaning of those changes and adapt to them. For instance, had they modernised the archaic methods of silk production of Kisrawan, or had they compromised with the Church and retained its protection and that of France, or had they been ready to grant the demands of the peasants before it was too late, the Kisrawan rebellion might never have occurred.

It is consequently this social lag, or persistence of behaviour and attitude relevant only to the traditional period, that was one of the causes peculiar to the Khazin family for their eventual downfall in 1858.

CHAPTER III

THE KHAZINS IN THE MUTASARRIFIYA PERIOD (1861-1918)

Introduction

The end of the 1860 civil war saw the end of the iqta' system in Mount Lebanon. The Great Powers in unison decided to interfere and set up a new system of government in Lebanon which would assure peace and security to all its inhabitants. First, French troops under the General d'Hautpoul landed in Beirut to prevent any further massacres, and then an international commission was formed representing France, Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria and presided by the Turkish delegate Fu'ad Pasha. After several months of discussion, in June 1861, all the powers agreed to an organic statute, called the Reglement Organique,¹ which was to make Lebanon an autonomous Ottoman province. The Reglement and the concomitant changes that took place in Lebanon during that era led to radical changes in all spheres of life. There is much truth in Hitti's comment that, "Within a brief span of half a century it (Lebanon) practically evolved from medievalism to modernism."²

In this chapter I shall attempt to show what were the major changes that took place during that period: administratively, culturally and economically, and to see what were the

¹For the text of the Reglement see T. E. Holland, The European Concert in the Eastern Question, A Collection of Treaties and Other Public Acts (Oxford, 1885), pp. 210-219.

²Hitti, p. 450.

roles that the Khazins played in this new society. I will show how they adapted to it in all spheres and thus regained at least some of the prestige and power they had lost in the previous period.

Administrative Changes

According to the text of the Reglement the boundaries of Lebanon were altered.¹ Lebanon was to be composed of seven cazas (qada'), whose governors would be called qa'immaqams, and further divided into subdistricts (nahiya). At the lowest administrative level there were the villages. A Christian governor, appointed by the Porte and approved of by the signatory Powers ruled over Lebanon for a renewable period of five years.² He was supposed to be an Ottoman subject but not a Lebanese. This governor was called the mutassarif³ and the total area over which he ruled was the mutassarifiya of Lebanon. The mutassarif had executive power, the duty to maintain order and security in the Mountain, to collect taxes, and finally the right to appoint the various administrative officials of the districts and subdistricts of

¹Holland, Article III of the Reglement, p. 212-213. Beirut its main port, as well as Tripoli and Sidon, and the fertile plain of the Biqa'a were removed from the total territorial area of Mount Lebanon.

²Holland, p. 211, n. 1.

³In his book 'Ahd al-Mutassarifin fi Lubnan 1861-1918' (Beirut, 1967), Lahad Khatir tells us how the term mutassarif was chosen to designate the governor of Mount Lebanon. After the terms amir, wali, hakim and ra'is jumhuriya were discarded due to the connotations of other functions, or of feudal status, a member of the international commission found that the word "Plenipotentiaire" gave the nearest meaning to the functions of the governor of Mount Lebanon. It was then translated to the Arabic mutassarif to which all the powers agreed. Hence the term was coined for this particular office having no previous precedent. Khatir, p. 11.

Lebanon.¹ The mutasarrif was helped by a council (majlis) composed of twelve members. Those members were delegated by the mudirs. The Reglement states that there were to be seven mudiriyas,² corresponding roughly to the seven cazas or administrative units of Mount Lebanon. What is not clear is what kind of units the mudiriyas were. Kamal Salibi abstains from mentioning them completely speaking only of the nahiyas as the subdistricts.³ Hitti, on the other hand, does mention the mudiriyas, writing that, "each qa'm maqamiya was subdivided into mudiriyahs,"⁴ but makes no reference to the nahiya. Finally the Reglement itself uses the terms "mudirats"⁵ and "cantons" the latter clearly meaning a subdistrict of a qada'.⁶ The most plausible explanation would be that they were both one and the same thing.⁷

The council or majlis which helped the mutasarrif was, as mentioned above, composed of twelve members representing all the religious communities of Mount Lebanon. Their functions consisted of allotting taxes, controlling the revenues and expenses of the state, and in general acting as an advisory council to the mutasarrif. Justice was administered by village

¹Holland, Article II of the Reglement, p. 212.

²Ibid.

³Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 110.

⁴Hitti, p. 422.

⁵Holland, Article II of the Reglement, p. 212.

⁶Ibid., Article IV of the Reglement, p. 213.

⁷There is a reference that Barbar Fandi al-Khazin was mudir of nahiyat al-Zuq. Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, p. 186.

shaykhs who were elected by the village population. There were three courts of first instance, each composed of a judge and a substitute and six defenders designated by the community, and at the seat of the mutasarrif a judicial council composed of six judges of each religious sect, as well as six lawyers of the same sects, the latter being a kind of court of appeal.¹ Religious matters concerning the clergy was dealt with in ecclesiastical courts,² and matters relating to commerce were settled at the Commerical Court of Beirut.³

The Reglement also declared the abolition of feudalism and the equality of all before the law.⁴ Taxation was to be levied on the people and the money thereof spent on local needs, and only the surplus sent to Constantinople.⁵ Finally, law and order was maintained by a police force recruited from among the people at an average of seven men for every thousand inhabitants. A French traveller wrote in 1891 that there was a militia of 800 men and police-force of 400 men.⁶ They had been organized in 1861 and trained by French officers who used as a model one of their own regiments.⁷

¹Holland, Articles VI, VII, VIII, XIII, pp. 213-214, 215.

²Ibid., Article XVII, p. 218.

³Ibid., Article IX, p. 214.

⁴Ibid., Article V of the Reglement, p. 213.

⁵Ibid., Article XV of the Reglement, p. 217.

⁶Gabriel Charmes, Voyage en Syrie. Impressions et Souvenirs (Paris, 1891), pp. 256-257.

⁷Ibid., p. 269.

Economic Changes

There were eight Christian Mutasarrifs in Lebanon until the First World War.¹ In 1915 Ohanis Kuyumjyan resigned, and was replaced by 'Ali Munif, a Moslem Turk. At the same time the Ottoman Government declared that Lebanon's autonomy had come to an end.² However, Munif and his immediate successor Isma'il Haqqi still held the title of mutasarrif and so it was not until 1918 when the war ended and France occupied Syria and Lebanon that the mutasarrifiya officially came to an end.

The mutasarrifiya achieved a great deal in all spheres. Perhaps most important of all was the peace and security it offered to the Lebanese which allowed them to thrive and prosper. A unique work of its kind was undertaken by the last mutasarrif, Isma'il Haqqi.³ He attempted a study of the social, economic and cultural situation of Lebanon in 1917. This study sheds light on the progress that Lebanon made since the early days of the mutasarrifiya. Salibi says that "this survey, published in Beirut in the last year of Ottoman rule, was prepared by a group of specialists representing the best scholarship available in Lebanon at the time. Considering the speed with which it was issued, it was a truly remarkable work; it remains until today

¹For a brief sketch of the careers of those mutasarrifs before they ruled Mount Lebanon see Luwis Manassa, "Waza'if Mutasarrifin Lubnan qabl Ta'yinahum," Awraq Lubnaniya, Vol. III (1957), pp. 247-250; see also ibid., pp. 238-239.

²Henri Lammens, La Syrie Precis Historique, Vol. II (Beirut, 1921), p. 218.

³Isma'il Haqqi, Lubnan Mabahith 'Ilmiya wa Ijtima'iya (Beirut, 1334 A.H.).

the only complete survey of Lebanon ever made, and is a monument to the brief rule of an enlightened and devoted mutesararif."¹

Basing myself mainly on this primary source of information I shall try to give an idea of the economic development that took place in Lebanon during the mutasarrifiya. Agriculture was developed extensively, and we find reports on the growth not only of mulberry trees for silk, which remained the most important of Lebanese products, but also of maize and barley, of vegetables like potatoes, carrots, cauliflowers, lettuce, raddishes; and fruits like figs, lemons, apples, apricots, peaches, cherries, etc.² Industry was also encouraged. Mills, oil-presses, little soap-factories, and liquor factories were spread all over the land.³ The largest factories were the ones that produced silk; 154 factories comprising 8,669 reels existed in 1917, though a few of these had closed down.⁴ Dyeing, tanning, and shoemaking as well as iron-moulding and pottery making were the crafts of many of the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon.⁵ Finally the sea provided the inhabitants with the opportunity of building boats and ships, and of fishing in the bay of Junieh.⁶ Commerce progressed rapidly and in Haqqi's survey we find a table of

¹Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 117.

²Haqqi, pp. 323-330.

³Ibid., pp. 358-372.

⁴Ibid., p. 362.

⁵Ibid., p. 365.

⁶Ibid., p. 368.

imports and exports¹ on Mount Lebanon for that year which is very revealing as to the economic state of the country:

| EXPORT | Piasters | IMPORT | Piasters |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| silk cocoons | 40,000,000 | wheat | 20,000,000 |
| silk | 25,000,000 | barley and grains | 45,000,000 |
| bells and metal instruments | 5,000,000 | horses, mules, donkeys, cows | 2,500,000 |
| soap | 1,500,000 | animals for slaughter | 3,500,000 |
| leather | 2,700,000 | carriages (?) | 5,000,000 |
| material and handiwork | 1,500,000 | fat, sugar, coffee, etc. | 8,000,000 |
| dyes for hair | 1,000,000 | untanned leather | 5,000,000 |
| tobacco and cigarettes | 2,100,000 | cotton threads | 900,000 |
| potatoes | 300,000 | wool, bristles, and threads | 400,000 |
| liquor | 5,200,000 | European articles | 65,000,000 |
| olive oil | 12,500,000 | | |
| crops from fruit trees | 3,500,000 | | |
| fresh and dried grapes | 4,000,000 | | |
| summer resorts | 1,500,000 | | |
| money sent by emigrants | 90,000,000 | | |
| TOTAL | 196,300,000 | TOTAL | 155,300,000 |

Finally, a very important development took place in Lebanon, the building of good roads and the installation of tramways and trains. Since 1856, Edmond de Perthuis, a French nobleman, was asking the permission from the Porte to build and exploit a road

¹Ibid., p. 384. (My translation)

from Beirut to Damascus.¹ It was only in 1859 that the permission was granted and the work began that same year. In 1861 the road had reached Zahleh, in 1862 it had gone as far as Jdayda and it was only in 1863 that the first caravan of merchandise reached Damascus by the new road 111 kilometres long.² A system of carriages pulled by horses and mules with a regular time-table was also set up. This system helped travellers to make the journey in 13 hours when the same journey used to take, on the old roads, three days.³ This had a tremendous influence on the export and import of merchandise: "although the number of travellers remained, for years, around 11,000 per year,³ the traffic of merchandise increased from 4,730 tons in 1863, to 21,400 tons in 1890...."⁴ and thus prosperity increased in Mount Lebanon. However, it was the installation of trains that surpassed the beneficial effect of roads. In 1894 the first railway, Muzayrib-Damascus was set up covering the distance of 103 kilometres in 3 hours.⁵ The Beirut-Damascus railroad followed in 1895 covering 147 kilometres and passing through a number of villages and towns.⁶

¹ Eleuthere Elefteriades, Les Chemins de Fer en Syrie et au Liban - Etude Historique Financiere et Economique (Beirut, 1944), p. 37.

² Ibid., p. 39.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 42. (My translation)

⁵ Ibid., p. 46.

⁶ Ibid.

And finally the great Damascus-Hijaz train service which was inaugurated in Madina in 1908 was the crowning achievement of the railroad enterprises of that era.¹ Those roads and trains were to play not only a very important economic role, but a great political and cultural role as well. In addition to people, ideas, through books and through the press, could also travel faster, and reach a larger number of people in a shorter span of time.

Cultural Changes

One of the main changes that took place under the mutasarrifiya was in the cultural and ideological spheres. Schools began to mushroom everywhere, and education which had hitherto been almost completely limited to religious studies began to encompass a wider variety of subjects. The two main sponsors of those programs were the French and the Protestant missionaries.² Lammens tells us that France undertook the organization of public education, not only in Lebanon, but also in Syria and Palestine, on all levels. Before World War I there were innumerable primary schools and two French universities: one in Jerusalem, for the study of archeology, and the other in Beirut, the University of St. Joseph run by Jesuits. Lammens used a report stating that half the school

¹Ibid., p. 72.

²Both had started working before the mutasarrifiya period, however, they only flourished during that era, because of the general encouragement they received and the state of peace in the country.

population in those areas were in French institutions.¹ The Protestant missions on the other hand began to flourish after 1860. Henry Jessup a missionary himself, gives us an idea of the spread of the schools at the end of the nineteenth century. There were schools in Beirut, Zahla, Shamlan, Hasbaya, Kisrawan. In Kisrawan only there were three missionary schools; one in Ghurzuz established in 1858, one in al-Munsif (at that time part of Kisrawan) established in 1889 and one in Shaykhan established in 1890.² But most important of all was the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College in 1866 by the same missionaries. By 1908 this College, which later became the American University of Beirut, had five departments and a training school for nurses. Those departments were the Medical Department, the Pharmacy Department, the Commerical Department, the Collegiate Department and the Preparatory Department.³ However, the role of establishing schools was not limited only to France and Protestant Missions, the Ottoman mutasarrifs themselves were interested in establishing schools. Dawud Pasha, the first mutasarrif sponsored a high-school in 1862, which still exists today and bears his name al-Dawudiya.⁴ Franco Pasha the second mutasarrif, established during his rule (1868-1873) eleven government schools for boys

¹Lammens, p. 201.

²Henry H. Jessup, Fifty-Three Years in Syria (New York, 1910), Vol. II, Appendix IV, p. 807.

³Ibid., Vol. II, Appendix VI, p. 816.

⁴Hitti, p. 445.

and girls, free of charge;¹ the Greek-Orthodox, the Druzes and the Maronites established their own schools from fear of competition from other institutions; and finally the Austrians, Russians, English and Italians also established their schools. Beneficial as this proliferation of educational and cultural institutions was, it contributed to the creation of a problem of identity. As a French contemporary puts it dramatically: "All the schools are confessional; and all politics also.... No one is Syrian: the Moslems are Turks; the Christians are French, Austrian, Italians or Russians; the Druzes are English...the Metwalis who are not protected by any foreign power do not know which is their mother country, a fact for which they feel very sorry."² However, it is this very crisis in identity, in conjunction with the rapid growth in education in the country that led great thinkers like Nasif Yaziji and Butrus al-Bustani to express this problem and seek a solution for it. But before we discuss their ideas another important change should be mentioned which indirectly had profound repercussions, in Lebanon and elsewhere, in helping the diffusion of the new ideas that emerged in that era.

In 1834 the first printing press was introduced in Lebanon by the Protestant missionaries. They began translating the Bible to Arabic and printing it. Then the press began producing all kinds of other literary publications in Arabic. By 1908 the Bible House and Press Establishment had issued

¹Khatir, p. 45.

²Charmes, p. 163. (My translation)

92,311 Bibles and 183,602 publications of other kinds.¹ Although the first and most important printing press established in Lebanon it was not the only one. Between 1869 and 1911 there were 18 new printing presses established.² This also led to the growth and development of the periodical press and the first newspapers in Arabic began to appear. Very soon Beirut and Cairo became the two centres of Arabic thought and literature.

Ideological Changes

The 1860 massacres, the spread of education with the schools of different denominations and languages, and the spread of books and literature in Arabic, in a society where illiteracy had been rampant, and books known only to the higher clergy, opened new horizons to the Lebanese mind. Not only did it become aware of the West, and its achievements and power, but it also began questioning the whole world view it had hitherto taken for granted. To some members of the society the events of 1860 taught them that a community based on religion was a dangerous thing,³ and another basis for a community had to be found. Thus by the 1860's the need for reforming the society had become evident to at least some of the educated members of the society like officials, teachers, officers, etc. However, how was reform to take place? And what were the

¹Jessup, Vol. II, Appendix VI, p. 816.

²Haqqi, p. 478.

³Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939 (London, 1962), p. 97.

members of the society to strive for? "What is the good society, the norm which should direct the work of reform? Can this norm be derived from the principles of Islamic law, or is it necessary to go to the teachings and practice of modern Europe? Is there in fact any contradiction between the two?"¹ Those were some of the very basic questions that were asked by all, but the answers that were given and the solutions that were offered differed. The answers could perhaps be classified on three levels, the level of ideas, the level of politics, and the level of popular feelings.

On the level of ideas and thought two great figures dominated the nineteenth century in Lebanon. Nasif al-Yaziji and Butrus al-Bustani. Both had a great love for the Arabic language. Yaziji (1800-1871) wanted to make Arabic a suitable language for the modern world, capable of expressing new ideas and carrying with it the richness of the Arab civilization. However, his primary concern was literary and linguistic - "his interest was mainly in the manner of saying things."² But his ideas were new and were addressed to Arabs of all creeds.³ Butrus al-Bustani was a man of the following generation (1819-1883). He like Yaziji wished to see the revival of the Arabic language and its spread all over the Arabic speaking world. His Arabic dictionary, al-Muhit,

¹ Ibid., p. 67.

² Ibid., p. 95.

³ George Antonius, The Arab Awakening - The Story of the Arab National Movement (London, 1945), 2nd ed., p. 47.

and his Arabic encyclopaedia Da'irat al-Ma'arif, stand until today as some of the best works of their kind, capable of expressing simply and well modern concepts and ideas.¹ However, al-Bustani was not only interested in the language as such but was also interested in the 'national' revival of the Arab speaking world. During the events of 1860 he published several broadsheets of Nafir Suriya, the first political journal ever published in Lebanon or Syria.² Shocked by the massacres he called for co-operation between the sects and advocated the separation of the spiritual authority (al-sulta al-ruhiya) from the civil authority (al-sulta al-madaniya).³ He also tried to encourage feelings of patriotism, and addressed those broadsheets to abna' al-watan, fellow countrymen, signing them min muhib lil-watan,⁴ from one who loves his country. He is perhaps one of the first writers in Lebanon to write in terms of a 'watan,' a motherland, "'Syria' as a whole is his watan. All who live there share a land, customs, and also a language...."⁵ He saw the revival of the motherland through a knowledge of the Western civilization, which had after all learnt a great deal from the Arab civilization. Thus we see with Yaziji the early grasp of some of the problems facing Syria and Lebanon i.e. the decline of Arab culture, the

¹Hourani, Arabic Thought, p. 47.

²Antonius, p. 49.

³(Butrus al-Bustani), Nafir Suriya, No. X, 22 February 1861.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Hourani, Arabic Thought, p. 101.

general ignorance and illiteracy of the population, and finally religious fanaticism. With Bustani the questioning of the traditional world view and the development of new ideas goes one step further as he calls for a revival on the 'national' level, not only through a knowledge of the Arabic language and culture but also through a knowledge of Western thought.

From thence it was only a step to the political level and the founding of societies with political aims. Two literary societies had been set up in the 1840's, and in 1857 a third society was formed: the Syrian Scientific Society, Al-Jam'iyah al-'Ilmiyah al-Suriyah. Its membership belonged to various sects, unlike the two others, and, although its aims were to promote learning, it was at a secret meeting of some of its members in 1868, "that the Arab national movement may be said to have uttered its first cry."¹ At this meeting Ibrahim al-Yaziji, son of the great Nasif-al-Yaziji, composed a poem the essence of which was a call to the Arabs of all creeds to revolt against the Ottoman. This poem was learnt and spread all over the country by word of mouth.² Then in 1875 five educated young men established a secret society with a complete program for the granting of independence of Syria and Lebanon. They started working on all levels of society, inciting people to revolt.³ The idea of hurriyah, or freedom as we now use it, was first

¹ Antonius, p. 54.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 84.

used by a young student on the platform of the American University of Beirut in 1888 calling publicly for freedom and independence.¹ Thus we see how the traditional world view changed and gradually, step by step, developed into a political movement, whose voice continued to be heard half a century later. However, there was no unanimous consent on what 'nationalism' or 'independence' meant. By the beginning of World War I there were Arab nationalists who thought of independence for all the Arab speaking countries east of the Red Sea.² Some others, saw the whole of Syria, only, as their 'watan' for which they desired independence.³ A third group, saw an independent Greater Lebanon (whose boundaries would be similar to those of today) as the aim to strive for.⁴ Yet a fourth group, the Annexationalists and the Protectionalists thought of "autonomy in its broadest application under a French Protectorate,"⁵ or went as far as to advocate an "annexation pure and simple of Syria to France."⁶

Perhaps those very same questions and aspirations were expressed on the popular level in the national Lebanese hero Yusuf Karam. This man, perhaps primarily moved by personal

¹Hitti, p. 478.

²Antonius, p. 157.

³Ibid., p. 84.

⁴M. Jouplain (Paul Nujaym), La Question du Liban
Etude d'Histoire et de Droit International (Paris, 1908),
p. 584.

⁵The Private Papers of William Yale, The Syrian Question,
Article: Aspirations of the Lebanese, 28 January 1918, p. 12.
In the Middle East Centre, Oxford.

⁶Ibid.

ambition, became a national hero as he fought the mutasarrifs' men in the mountains throughout the 1860's. What is interesting is not what he fought for as much as what he stood for in the eyes of the people in the villages and towns of the mountains. One finds in the work of one of Karam's biographers,¹ interspersed among his deeds of bravery several references as to what people thought of him. Although he fought against the collection of taxation (reminiscent of the causes of the 'amiya' revolts of the 1820's and the 1840's), some saw him as the hero who would obtain the independence of Lebanon and freedom from the yoke of Turkish rule,² others saw him as the champion of the Christians, and of their cause after the massacre of the 1860's;³ and a third group saw him as a 'national' hero of Lebanon and Syria, as the "man of the future" representing all sects,⁴ but with no reference to independence.

Thus the traditional world view where a man owed his loyalty to his muqata'ji, had changed. In the previous period it had become loyalty to a higher community, his religious community. Finally, during this period of the mutasarrifiya, loyalty had transcended both units and was now claimed by the 'watan' or nation. However, until today the three forms of loyalty still co-exist to some degree.

¹Istifan al-Bash'alani, Lubnan wa Yusuf Bak Karam (Beirut, 1925). See also Yusuf al-Dibs, Fi Tarikh Suriya, Part IV, Vol. VIII, Fi Tarikh Suriya fi Ayam as-Salatin al-'Uthmaniyyun al-'Uzam (Beirut, 1905).

²Bash'alani, pp. 433-434.

³Ibid., p. 434.

⁴Ibid., p. 465.

The Khazin Family in the Mutasarrifiya Period

Two types of change that took place during the mutasarrifiya period affected profoundly the Khazin family. First the administrative changes introduced by the mutasarrifs, and secondly, the general cultural and ideological transformations that occurred between 1860 and 1918. I have found a reference to a Khazin owning a shop and dealing with the export of silk cocoons. However, this, I believe, was a unique instance for the family.

When Dawud Pasha became the first mutasarrif of Lebanon in 1861 he began to reorganise the machinery of government according to the text of the Reglement.¹ It is not very clear why he chose to give most of the important positions to members of the old muqata'ji families. Perhaps it was in order to facilitate the very radical transformation of government and make it easier for people to accept it, as by so doing "a political continuity was maintained in Lebanon's government, linking the period of the Mutessarifate with the earlier periods of the Emirate and double Kaymakamate...."² He might also have done this in order to check the formidable power of the church and clergy,³ by allying himself to the old aristocracy and thus creating another power in the land which he then could play against the Church and thus remain himself the master of the country. Whatever the reason, and although the iqta' system

¹See above pp. 72-74.

²Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 117.

³William Miller, The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801-1922 (Cambridge, 1923), p. 305.

had officially come to an end, the muqata'jis returned to office under different titles in the qada's and the nahiyas of Lebanon.

The Khazin family was one of the families who benefited most from this new arrangement. First in the early 1860's, they returned officially to Kisrawan and were given back their land and property,¹ although not their feudal privileges. Then already in 1861 Amin Kisrawan al-Khazin was made qa'imaqam of Jizzin,² and in the following year (1862-1863) Qa'dan al-Khazin was appointed qa'imaqam of the same area.³ Qa'dan al-Khazin had already been appointed in 1860, even prior to the promulgation of the Reglement, hakim (governor) of Hasbaya and Rashaya by Fu'ad Pasha,⁴ and given the title of Bey as a compensation for the events of 1858,⁵ which the Turks had done nothing either to prevent or to control. Another member of the Khazin family who played a very important role in the administration of the mutasarrifiya, was Rashid Kan'an Ban al-Khazin (1843-1912).⁶ For thirty five years he remained in the administrative and governmental machine. At the age of 33 he became qa'imaqam of Jizzin,⁷ and was then transferred by

¹ A copy of the letter written by Dawud Pasha to the Shihabi qa'imaqam is found published in "Dawud Pasha yurji' al-Usra al-Khaziniya ila Kisrawan," Awraq Lubnaniya (1957), Vol. III, pp. 568-570.

² Philippe al-Khazin, Al-Ansab, page not numbered.

³ Ibid., p. 180; also Shakir al-Khuri, Majma' al Masarrat (Beirut, 1908), p. 113.

⁴ Philippe al-Khazin, Al-Ansab, p. 180.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For an account of his life and works, see the short biographical notes by his daughter, Hind al-Khazin, in her Mufakkarat Hind (Harissa, 1924), pp. 18-26.

⁷ Majma' al-Masarrat, p. 314.

the the mutasarrif Rustum Pasha, to Kisrawan where he became qa'im maqam from 1876 to 1880.¹ In 1884 he returned to Jizzin as qa'im maqam for two years.² In 1894 and until 1908 he was alternately qa'im maqam of Kisrawan and then Batrun and then Kisrawan and Batrun again.³ Rashid al-Khazin was also renowned for his sense of humour and became a personal friend of the sixth Mutasarrif, Muzafar Pasha, who was greatly entertained by his jokes.⁴ Qustantin al-Khazin was another member of the family who joined the government and occupied several posts in its administration. Between 1882 and 1886 he was a mudir of Dayr al-Qamar,⁵ and between 1886 and 1887 was qa'im maqam of Jizzin.⁶ Probably another person, with the same name,⁷ Qustantin Bey al-Khazin, occupied between 1879 and 1884 the post of qa'im maqam of Jizzin,⁸ and held the title of Bey like Qa'dan al-Khazin,⁹ which was a title of nobility in the Ottoman Empire. In 1868 Dawud 'Afif al-Khazin was the qa'im maqam of Jizzin.¹⁰ There were other Khazins who did not hold the position of qa'im maqam but that of mudir which

¹ Ibid., p. 315.

² Ibid., p. 493.

³ Ibid., pp. 551, 559.

⁴ Khatir, p. 161.

⁵ Majma' al-Masarrat, p. 493.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ My own deduction. See ibid., p. 315.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See above p. 87.

¹⁰ Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, page not numbered.

of Jurud Kisrawan,¹ and Rashid Salih al-Khazin (1839-1907) was mudir also of Jurud Kisrawan for twelve years, and also mudir of Junieh, and of Zuq Mikayil, all three areas in Kisrawan.² Barbar Fandi al-Khazin started his very eventful career as mudir of nahiyat al-Zuq, and finally reached the highest rank in the administration as member of the majlis or administrative council which helped the mutasarrif to govern the country.³ Kisrawan al-Khazin, during the rule of Muzafar Pasha, the sixth mutasarrif was appointed mudir of Zuq, then of Suq al-Gharb, then of Bshirri, then of Junieh and then later was returned to Zuq, "and all that took place within a very short span of time."⁴

The Khazins occupied other positions not directly in the administration, but almost as important as the ones held there. Qa'dan al-Khazin, for instance, was given the rank of Dabit or officer of the army,⁵ and Barbar al-Khazin rose to the rank of Amiralay, the highest rank in the Lebanese army at that time.⁶ The latter is interesting to note because it shows that to be appointed to a certain post, in the days of the mutasarrifs, was not an easy matter.

¹Ibid., page not numbered

²Ibid., pp. 182-183.

³Ibid., pp. 186-187.

⁴Muzafar Basha fi Lubnan (Alexandria, 1907) (anonymous), p. 120.

⁵Philippe al-Khazin, Mufakkarat Hind, p. 10.

⁶Muzafar Basha, p. 61; also Philippe al-Khazin, Al-Ansab, p. 187.

Barbar al-Khazin had no experience or training in the army as such,¹ but started his career as mudir of Zuq.² Eventually he was elected as member of the administrative council by the shaykhs of Kisrawan. Consequently, using his position and knowing that the mutasarrif needed money Barbar al-Khazin provided him with some,³ and in return was awarded the position of Bikbashi in the army. From then it was even easier to acquire the higher title of Amiralay. Muzafar Pasha, it was claimed, having borrowed the sum of 1000 liras from Barbar al-Khazin, on another occasion, repaid him with the title of Amiralay after asking for 100 liras more over and above the sum already borrowed.⁴ The same means of acquiring positions was used by another member of the family, Haykal al-Khazin, but less successfully. Haykal al-Khazin lent 300 liras to the mutasarrif, Muzafar Pasha, on the promise that he would be given the post of qa'im maqam of Kisrawan.⁵ However, another man was appointed qa'im maqam, and after his term in office came to an end, yet another man was appointed, until finally Haykal al-Khazin fell ill and died without having had the position he had sought.⁶

¹Muzafar Basha, p. 100.

²See above, p. 91.

³Muzafar Basha, p. 29.

⁴Ibid., p. 61

⁵Ibid., p. 37.

⁶Ibid.

There is a mention that several members of the Khazin family occupied a position in the army's hierarchy although the names and the number are not mentioned.¹ There is however, only one indirect reference that I was able to find of the Khazins being involved in some form of commerce. A certain mudir of Jbayl having lent the sum of 16,000 francs to the Pasha, a guarantee to the payment was made on the shop of Khazin and Safar,² Barbar al-Khazin having acted as the intermediary in this loan between the mudir and the mutasarrif. Some members of the Khazin family seem to have acted as intermediaries for other purposes too. The Maronite Patriarch, in the beginning of the twentieth century, was planning to make a tour in Europe and go and see the Pope in Rome. Being on bad terms with him, the mutasarrif begged Rashid al-Khazin to go and clear matters with the Patriarch, so that the latter would not go to Europe and complain about the mutasarrif.³ Thus we see that the Khazins also acted as mediators between the state and the Church.

The Khazins were also involved in the cultural and ideological transformations of the period. Rashid Salih al-Khazin (1839-1907), for instance, studied sciences at 'Ayn Tura and became a member of the committee for the cadastral survey of cultivated lands.⁴ Naufal Qansu al-Khazin

¹ Ibid., p. 100.

² Ibid., pp. 46-47.

³ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴ Philippe al-Khazin, Al-Ansab, pp. 182-183.

studied jurisprudence and was appointed judge over Batrun and then over Jizzin. He also became a writer and wrote numerous articles in newspapers. Eventually, he turned into a lawyer for the poor and destitute whom he defended in courts free of charge.¹ Yusuf Shujay' al-Khazin, studied at 'Ayn Tura, at Hikma and then at the American University of Beirut. He then emigrated to Egypt and worked in the civil service there for a while. He then worked in journalism until the beginning of World War I, and founded the newspaper al-Akhbar in 1896 with Dawud Barakat, as well as other newspapers like al-Khazana, and Barid al-Ahad.² There were other members of the family who entered into medicine. Hanna Milan al-Khazin, for instance, took his degree in medicine in 1902,³ whilst Louis al-Khazin, a medical doctor who graduated from the American University of Beirut in 1866,⁴ even published a medical periodical called al-Ra'is.⁵ This periodical claimed to be medical, surgical, scientific, literary and scientific!

Finally two figures of the Khazin family very much the product of an age of the growth of ideas of nationalism should be mentioned. They were the sons of Qa'dan al-Khazin,⁶ already

¹Ibid., page not numbered.

²Ibid., p. 192.

³Ibid., pp. 199-200.

⁴The American University of Beirut, Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952 (Beirut, 1953), p. 17.

⁵See al-Ra'is, 3 vols. (1901-1902), ed. Louis al-Khazin.

⁶See above, p. 89.

important as qa'im maqam in the mutasarrifiya. Philippe al-Khazin was born in 1865 and his brother Farid in 1869 both in the village of 'Aramun in Kisrawan, and were educated at the Jesuit school in Beirut.¹ Philippe then studied law and finding himself not competent enough in Islamic law went to Beirut to study under Muhammad 'Abdu.² Farid after finishing school was sent to learn Arabic in Qurnat Shahwan, as it seems that all his education had been in French.³ He then went to Beirut where he began working in the French company of the port of Beirut.⁴ Philippe was appointed dragoman in the French consulate in Beirut due to his thorough knowledge of both the French and Arabic languages.⁵ It was about that time that people were beginning to protest against the Ottoman government and speak of nationalism and independence. Very soon they joined the movement and Philippe began writing political articles in the newspaper "Sada al-Sharq" published in Alexandria, criticising Ottoman rule and demanding independence. Both brothers eventually set up their own printing press in Junieh, al-Arz, and then began publishing under the same name, a weekly journal which became in 1895 a daily newspaper.⁶ In

¹Hind al-Khazin, Mufakkarat Hind, p. 14.

²Ibid., p. 27.

³Ibid., p. 28.

⁴Ibid., p. 29.

⁵'Abd Allah al-Khuri, "Shahidan Lubnan al-Shaykh Filib wal Shaykh Farid Qa'dan al-Khazin," in al-Mashriq, Vol. 19 (1921), p. 402.

⁶Hind al-Khazin, Mufakkarat Hind, p. 35.

that newspaper they began to write freely about their national aspirations and consequently, a few years later, the newspaper had to close down, as the Ottoman government did not accept criticism of that kind. I was able to find a few issues of the Arz paper and I found an essay containing some of their views, edited many years after their death.¹ There one can see that they believed in the complete independence of Lebanon within wider boundaries. Their attitude was secular as they thought of the Lebanese nation as being composed of Druzes and Christians.² And although on excellent terms with France they did not want Lebanon to be in any way under the rule of France whether as a protectorate or a mandate country.³ In 1916 when the Ottoman government arrested nationalists in Lebanon and Syria and tried them and finally hanged them, Farid and Philippe were among those sentenced to death. They were hanged on May the 6th 1916, and are remembered until today as the martyrs of the early nationalist movement in Lebanon.⁴

Adaptation of the Khazins to the Changing Environment

What then is the meaning for our study of the roles that the Khazins played in the mutasarrifiya period? As we have seen in the previous chapter the Khazins were unable to grasp the

¹See Filib Qa'dan al-Khazin, Lamha Tarikhiya fi Istimrar Istiqlal Lubnan al-Tashri'i wal-Qada'i, ed. Ibrahim Yazbak (Junieh, 1910).

²Ibid., p. 58.

³Ibid., p. 73.

⁴See Yusuf, Istifan "Al-Shahidan al-Khaziniyan fi Sa'atuhuma al-Akhira," in Awraq Lubnaniya, Vol. I, No. 6 (June 1955), pp. 261-271.

meaning of the changing situation in the period 1840-1860. They did everything to continue behaving as they had in the traditional period, at a time when their actions and their attitudes were no longer relevant to the changing environment. This social lag led eventually to their own dramatic expulsion from Kisrawan in 1858.

However, the situation in the mutasarrifiya period is radically different. Here it seems that the members of the family awoke to the realization that their own world had changed and that if they were to continue living, and living with some of their old status and prestige, they had to adapt to the new system. What helped them to start with is that the mutasarrif himself needed the loyalty of the old muqata'ji families, as we have seen above,¹ and appointed them as officials in the new administrative machinery of the government. So consequently they found themselves playing new roles in the new structure due to the situation itself and not due to any particular effort on their part. However, they soon realised that to keep those positions they had to struggle for them. Thus we have seen Barbar al-Khazin and Haykal al-Khazin seeking certain positions, and using their influence and their money to get them. Other members of the family also began acquiring a foreign education in Beirut and entering in new fields like medicine, law and journalism. Thus the family, unlike the previous period, began taking advantage of the changes that were taking place in Lebanon to promote their own interests.

¹See above, p. 88.

However, adaptation in this period took place in two distinctive manners, the first is the combination of traditional and modern roles, and the second is the playing of completely new roles.

The combination of traditional and modern roles took place mainly in the sphere of government and administration. As we showed in the first chapter, the traditional roles included a) tax collecting, b) imposing law and order and settling judicial matters, c) taking military leadership when the Hakim needed a military force, d) acting politically on the national level as member of the manasib. Now those roles were included, in part at least, in the new positions that the Khazins occupied in the administration.

The majlis or administrative council, for instance, was a new unit: it involved election, a limited number of members, salaries, a full time office, etc. However, a member of this majlis, like Barbar al-Khazin played similar roles to those played by a muqata'ji in the traditional period. Their duties concerning the allotment of taxation is similar to that of the muqata'ji's function as tax collector; their responsibility as a body to advise the mutasarrif on matters of state is similar to the muqata'ji's role, as member of the manasib, in advising the Hakim.

The positions occupied in the Lebanese army by the Khazin family also involved this combination of old and new roles. The army as an organised body with a well defined hierarchy, was a new system introduced in the mountain with the Egyptian army. However, when the Khazins occupied such positions as Dabit,

bikbashi or amiralay in the army, the roles involved military leadership in times of conflicts or wars, a role which they used to play in the traditional period.

Finally the post of mudir or qa'im maqam of a qada' or a nahiya was a new position. It involved fixed salaries, appointment by the mutasarrif, a fixed term in office, and a possible change of residence at each appointment. However, the actual role played was not very different from that of a muqata'ji. Hind al-Khazin tells us for instance, in her memoirs, that her father (Rashid al-Khazin who was many times qa'im maqam) was known for his justice and for the setting right of wrongs suffered by those unjustly treated.¹ Thus although there existed judicial courts, people did go to the qa'im maqams or the mudirs to settle their problems, as they used to in the traditional period. In another context Hind al-Khazin tells us that her father was appointed qa'im maqam of Kisrawan in 1876 in order to re-establish peace and security al-amn wal-raha,² which had been threatened. Again this is reminiscent of the role of keeping law and order which the muqata'jis' position involved.

The mutasarrifiya saw also the rise of the need for completely new roles, which had never existed before in Mount Lebanon. The administration needed educated men; the presence of foreign companies of commerce and transport needed people with a knowledge of languages; the setting up of official judicial courts needed judges and lawyers; schools needed teachers, and the nationalist movement needed leaders and

¹Hind al-Khazin, Mufakkarat Hind, p. 20.

²Ibid., p. 22.

spokesmen.

The Khazin family thus adapted in another way by filling those new posts, by learning foreign languages, by entering in the universities, and becoming, journalists, physicians, lawyers and judges and eventually by providing writers and martyrs to one of the nationalist movements.

CHAPTER IV

THE KHAZINS DURING THE MANDATE (1918-1943)

Introduction

in two parts: the first will deal with the general changes (political, economic, administrative, etc.) that took place during the Mandate, and the second part will describe and analyse the roles the Khazins played in this period.

Political Changes

Although the Mandate over Syria and Lebanon was officially given to France by the League of Nations, in July 1922,¹ the occupation of those countries by the French really began in 1918, at the end of World War I. French troops headed by Colonel de Piepape and accompanied by British troops, landed in Beirut on the 7th of October 1918.² Between 1918 and 1921 the French were predominantly preoccupied with the relief of Syria and Lebanon which had been afflicted, during the last two years of the war with a famine which had decimated the

¹See for the text of the Mandate, Quincy Wright, Mandates Under the League of Nations (Chicago, 1930), pp. 607-611.

²For an account of the stages of the French occupation of Syria and Lebanon see R. de Gontaut-Biron, Comment la France s'est installée en Syrie (1918-1919) (Paris, 1922), passim.

population. Out of 300,000 to 350,000 deaths in Syria and Lebanon caused by famine and disease during those years,¹ Lebanon alone seems to have lost 200,000 inhabitants.² The number is enormous when one notes that the total population of Lebanon and Syria had been less than 4 million people.³ The causes of the famine were a plague of locusts which had ruined the countryside, maladministration, the state of war which had led the Turkish authorities to control the facilities for the import of wheat, the permission for which was withheld on political grounds, the depreciation of the currency and finally, the black-market trade in which some merchants engaged themselves and which made the little food available unobtainable to the general public.⁴

The war years were also marked by the Arab revolt in 1916 against the Turks and their entering into the war on the side of the Allies headed by their leader the Sharif of Mecca. To retaliate wholesale arrests were made by the Turks on the people of Syria and Lebanon, and imprisonments, torture and death sentences were made on any charge true or untrue. Finally most political societies were suppressed. Thus Lebanon emerged at the end of the war weak and exhausted on all levels.

Until 1925 the administration built by the French, which was to remain throughout their rule in Lebanon, was headed by a French governor appointed by the High Commissioner. However, after

¹ Antonius, p. 241.

² Gontaut-Biron, p. 88.

³ Antonius, p. 241.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 203, 242.

1925, the French High Commissioner Henri de Jouvenel asked the Lebanese Representative Council to draft a constitution. On the 23rd of May 1926 the Constitution was approved and the State of Greater Lebanon became the Republic of Lebanon.¹ Henceforth, the Republic was headed by its Christian presidents, and had a Lebanese Chamber of Deputies (and at one time even a Senate).² The constitution was amended twice in 1927 and in 1929, and suspended in 1932 for five years.³ Lebanon however, continued to be a mandatory territory until 1943.

A brief glance at the text of the Constitution will show that the powers of the Mandatory Power were much more extensive than those of the President of the Republic. The President was responsible for internal matters, whilst the French were responsible for all foreign policy.⁴ France had also the right of veto on certain 'fundamental' laws;⁵ and finally it could dissolve Parliament if it thought the measure necessary.⁶ In effect the French High Commissioner was also able to suspend the Constitution which he did between 1932 and 1937, and again from 1939 to 1943.⁷

¹Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 167.

²Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 180.

³For the text of the Constitution see F. R. and P. Dareste, Les Constitutions Modernes (Paris, 1933), Vol. V, pp. 706-716.

⁴Ibid., Article 93 of the Constitution, p. 716.

⁵Ibid., Article 102 of the Constitution, p. 717.

⁶S. H. Longrigg, Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate (London, 1958), p. 170.

⁷P.S.P.A. Dpt., American University of Beirut, The Lebanese Constitution (Beirut, 1960), p. 1.

Finally, it was "a matter of common knowledge, cynically tolerated by the majority of people concerned, that the choice of a president is imposed on the Chamber by the French High Commissioner."¹

However, the Constitution did lay the basis of modern government in Lebanon. First it stated that Lebanon was an independent state whose borders were unalterable except by special decrees.² It had officially a capital, Beirut, and a national flag.³ All Lebanese citizens were equal before the law,⁴ and had the freedom of thought, speech and education.⁵ And voting was the right of all (male) Lebanese aged twenty-one and above.⁶ However, the traditional representation of members of the different religious communities in the government was retained.⁷ The proportion of the seats in parliament was 5 Maronites to 3 Sunnites, to 3 Shi'ites, to 2 Greek Orthodox, to 1 Greek Catholic, to 1 Druze and to one of any other minority as for instance the Protestants.⁸ Although amended twice during the Mandate and once in 1943 after Lebanon achieved its independence, the constitution drafted in 1926 is still the constitution of Lebanon today.⁹

¹Letter from George Antonius to Mr. Rogers, Jerusalem 9th April, 1932. George Antonius Private Papers, Middle East Center, St. Antony's College, Oxford.

²Dareste, Article 1 of the Constitution, p. 706, ibid., Article 3 of the Constitution, p. 706.

³Ibid., Articles 4 and 5 of the Constitution, p. 706.

⁴Ibid., Article 7 of the Constitution, p. 706.

⁵Ibid., Article 13 of the Constitution, p. 707.

⁶Ibid., Article 21 of the Constitution, p. 708.

⁷Ibid., Article 95 of the Constitution, p. 716.

⁸Ibid., Article 96 of the Constitution, p. 716.

⁹The Lebanese Constitution, p. 1.

The occupation of Lebanon by the French and the changes they introduced in the country caused various 'nationalist' reactions on the part of the Lebanese people. Although the birth of Arab nationalism, Syrian nationalism and Lebanese nationalism took place during the mutasarrifiya, those same ideas found expression for the first time in the formation of modern political parties during the Mandate period. The Kata'ib or Phalangists, formed in 1936, can be said to represent the 'Lebanese nationalist' movement.¹ Although claiming to be secular² the majority of its members were Maronite Christians. The Najjada group and later Party was formed that same year and stood for pan-Arab nationalism. It was also the Muslim counterpart of the Kata'ib.³ However, there were also Christian Arab nationalists who believed in a secular Arab Nation,⁴ but did not belong to the Najjada Party. Syrian nationalism was represented by the Parti Populaire Syrien formed in 1932 by the son of a Lebanese emigre, Antun Sa'ade.⁵ Those were perhaps the three most important 'ideological' parties in Lebanon. There were however, others which were formed during the Mandate. There was the Communist Party formed as early as 1930, but which seems to have been more interested in internal issues than in the attainment of independence;⁶

¹See Pierre Gemayel, Connaissance des Kataeb leur Doctrine et leur Politique Nationale (Beirut, 1948), p. 5.

²Ibid., p. 9.

³E. E. Abouchdid, Thirty Years of Lebanon and Syria (Beirut, 1948), p. 80.

⁴"Il n'y a pas de nation syrienne. Il y a une nation arabe....," E. Rabbath, Unite Syrienne et Devenir Arabe (Paris, 1937), p. 33.

⁵Longrigg, p. 225.

⁶Ibid., p. 227.

there was the Dusturi Party (or Constitutional Bloc) whose members were the partisans of one of the Lebanese Prime Ministers Bishara al-Khuri, and who fought for the return of the Lebanese Constitution after its suspension in 1932;¹ and finally there was the National Bloc whose members were the partisans of Emile Edde, the rival of Bishara al-Khuri for the Presidency. This party however, was formed only towards the end of the Mandate in 1942.²

The political scene in Lebanon, especially during the 1930's was certainly not a quiet one. The communist party organized strikes,³ there were student agitations, clashes between the Phalangists and the Najjada Party took place; national elections generated intense competition between Bishara al-Khuri and Emile Edde the two leading contenders for the Presidency. The Churches were also involved in politics and they "served largely the purposes of political parties and pressed constantly for their own community interests."⁴ But most important of all, those groups were all demanding independence, and were highly critical of French rule and French administration. Thus "the great failure of French rule was to win the approval and cooperation of the Syrian and the bulk of the Lebanese people. A large part of the population, and especially the more articulate elements of it, was from the very beginning highly critical of French rule if not irreconcilably

¹Bishara al-Khuri, Haga'iq Lubnaniya (Beirut, 1960), Vol. I, p. 190.

²Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p. 186.

³Of railway workers in 1932 and of petroleum company workers in 1934-35. A printer's strike was also organized. Longrigg, p. 227.

⁴Ibid., p. 146.

opposed to it, and criticism and opposition did not grow less with the passing of time."¹

Independence came with the attack, in 1941, of the Free French and British troops in Lebanon. They fought the Vichy French in that country, and in order to get the support of the local population, General Catroux, head of the French regiments, signed pamphlets which were thrown from aeroplanes proclaiming the independence of Lebanon. Today independence day is celebrated as having taken place on the 22nd of November 1943, because only that year changes in the Constitution were made and Lebanon became constitutionally independent. However, until 1946 there were still French troops in the Levant.

Administrative Changes

The first change that took place when the French entered Lebanon and Syria, was the new territorial divisions of the land. Mount Lebanon became the State of Greater Lebanon and its boundaries were extended northwards, southwards and eastwards. It was divided into four sanjaqs: North Lebanon, the Biqa', Mount Lebanon, and South Lebanon. Each sanjaq was headed by a mutasarrif. Until 1925 the sanjaqs were further divided into twelve qadas headed by a qa'im maqam. There were two mudiriya's Dayr al-Qamar and Harmal, and two municipalities Beirut and Tripoli.¹ From June 1925 onwards new administrative units were created and older ones abolished.

¹Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 176.

²Edmond Rabbath, L'Evolution Politique de la Syrie sous le Mandat (Paris, 1928), p. 143.

The muhafaza¹ was introduced, and was headed by a muhafiz. The qadas, the mudiriyas and the municipalities were abolished and Dayr al-Qamar became an autonomous nahiya.² These administrative units were spread all over Greater Lebanon, which, in 1923, was composed of 1,670 towns and villages.³ Those units were governed first on the national level by a Representative Council which was composed of 30 members whose term in office was of four years. The council in turn elected its President, Vice-President, two Secretaries, as well as four councils for Finance, Justice, Public Works, Education, Hygiene and Medical Care.⁴ The Representative Council until 1926, when Lebanon became a Republic, constituted the national Lebanese Government whose main function seems to have been the examination of the budget.⁵

On the level of qadas each one was headed by its own governor, who was helped by an administrative council. This administrative council was elected by local councils on the village and small town level.⁶ The administrative councils and the local councils elected the members of the national Representative Council.

¹There were eleven muhafazat: Tripoli, Batrun, Kisrawan, Matn, Beirut, Shuf, Ba'albak, Zahla, Sayda, Sur and Marj'ayun. Longrigg, p. 150.

²Ibid.

³L'Indicateur Syrien (Beirut, 1923), p. 134.

⁴Ibid., p. 11.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

The actual administration of the country, however, was in the hands of what was called by the French at the time, the "services". They were composed of eight branches each one headed by a director. Those branches were: the "services" of the Interior, Justice, Public Works, Medical Care, Public Education, Agriculture and Forestry, and Economy.¹

The judicial system was one which was given much attention by the French. Existing courts were confirmed and new courts were created. Special mixed courts were introduced in order to settle problems arising between members of different nationalities.² A court of cassation appeared in Beirut made up of two chambers, one dealing with civil and criminal offences and the other with religious Muslim affairs.³ Beirut had also a court of appeal composed of two chambers, one for civil suits and one for criminal suits.⁴ In the various qadas (and then in the muhafazat) twelve courts of first instance were instituted. There were fourteen summary courts with justices of the peace, spread all over the country. Finally, there was a Commercial Court in Beirut, like at the time of the mutasarrifiya.⁵ Those courts increased as the population and the need for them augmented.

The Lebanese budget was examined and much was done to establish some regular revenues as the country had been economically

¹L'Indicateur Libano-Syrien (Beirut, 1925), p. 135.

²Longrigg, p. 263.

³L'Indicateur (1923), p. 14.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

exhausted during the war. Two sources of revenue helped mainly to settle the problems of the budget: the revenue that was collected by the Department of Customs and direct taxation where more efficiency and better standards of accountancy was introduced.¹

Finally, the army, the gendarmerie and the police force underwent considerable change. The regular troops were composed of North African and Senegalese soldiers,² but auxiliary troops were formed mainly of Syrians and Lebanese. In 1926 there were 290 Lebanese in the auxiliary troops.³ There were 47 officers in the Gendarmerie and 1,324 lower grade members of that Gendarmerie.⁴ Their functions varied to include the maintenance of law and order, looking after prisons,⁵ their involvement in semi-military raids when needed, as well as the regulation of traffic.⁶

The Surete Generale, was introduced also by the French to keep records of all politically 'suspicious' characters.

¹Longrigg, p. 265.

²Ibid., p. 137.

³Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Rapport a la Societe des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban (Annee 1926) (Paris, 1927), Appendix No. 3, p. 219.

⁴Ibid., Appendix 4, p. 220.

⁵Prisons were increased and their conditions improved. Sanitary facilities were introduced, workshops were created and the prisoners were given physical training. Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Rapport a la Societe des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban (Annee 1938) (Paris, 1939), p. 138.

⁶Longrigg, p. 270.

The Police force in Lebanon was used to aid the Surete in its investigations.¹

However, perhaps the most important and the most resented of all these changes was the presence of French officials on all levels of the government and the administration. Lebanon had grown accustomed to a certain degree of autonomy in its internal affairs which, with the French occupation, was lost completely. Starting from the 'election' of the President of the Republic² to the appointment of certain members of the Chamber of Deputies,³ to the presiding and inspecting of judicial courts on all levels, to the complete French monopoly of the department of Customs and to the exclusive limitation of the highest positions in the army, the police and the Gendarmerie to French citizens, the country was under the complete control of the Mandatory Power. This was a very fundamental cause for the profound dissatisfaction with French Government of even the most Francophile of the Lebanese.

Changes in the Social Structure

The re-establishment of security and order after the war led to an indirect change, population growth increased tremendously during the two decades of the Mandate period. As we have

¹The Police was made up of 454 men stationed in Tripoli, Saida but mainly in Beirut, Rapport (1938), p. 138.

²See above, p. 104.

³"It follows that the efforts of candidates are directed not towards a canvassing of public opinion in their favour, but rather towards a campaign whose intrigue and protestation of loyalty and devotion to the French are the dominant features." Private Papers of George Antonius, 9 April 1932.

mentioned before¹ the population of Lebanon in 1924 was 637,029. However, towards the end of the Mandate, in 1942, it had almost doubled as the figure rose to 1,116,000.² This, of course, led to more emigration towards the urban centres, and more pressure on education and occupations in those centres.

In the field of education there was also an important improvement. During the war many schools had closed down, and, in general, most people suffered from the difficulty of acquiring proper training in any field during the years 1914-1918.³ By 1937, however, there were 1,504 schools in Lebanon:

TABLE II ⁴

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN LEBANON
DURING THE MANDATE

| Type of Institution | Number of Schools | Number of Students |
|---|-------------------|----------------------|
| Government Primary Schools | 151 | 17,292 |
| Private Confessional Schools Primary and Secondary | 793 | 73,493 |
| Foreign Schools Primary and Secondary | 538 | 40,213 |
| Technical Institutions | 22 | 840 |
| University and Higher Education | no figure given | 1,155 |
| Total | 1,504 | 132,993 ⁵ |

¹ See above, p. 102.

² Estimate in Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, p. 85.

³ I was told this by a member of the Khazin family.

⁴ This table summarises a table given in Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Rapport a la Societe des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban (Annee 1937) (Paris, 1938), p. 159.

⁵ This table gives the total number of students as 132,798, but according to my calculations this number is incorrect.

Of the private confessional schools the Maronite alone had 370 schools with 23,710 students.¹ Thus we see that education spread again with renewed vitality and led to the formation of a new social group of educated men and professionals. These began leading the country culturally, whether as teachers, journalists, lawyers or writers, etc., as well as moulding their political ideas and attitudes.

Another social group, which already existed during the *mutasarrifiya*,² which began to rise in the Mandate, was the 'modern' industrialists and merchants. Those rose to prominence due to the

¹Rapport (1937), p. 160.

²There existed up to the first half of the nineteenth century a powerful class of urban notables or *a'yan*, who were merchants and/or *'ulama'*, and who belonged to old Sunni families of considerable wealth and influence (A. H. Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in W. R. Polk and R. L. Chambers, eds., Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East (Chicago, 1968), pp. 52-53). However, when European products and modern industry began to enter into the Syrian and Lebanese markets, in the early nineteenth century (see above, p. 102), it destroyed the local industries and dislocated the local economy. This led not only to the ruin of artisans but also to that of the merchants whose trade was bound up with local products (Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," p. 61). European trade gave rise to another phenomenon: a new class of merchants began to be formed, not as traders *per se*, but as intermediaries in trade between the local and the European markets (Dominique Chevallier, "Western Development and Eastern Crisis in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Syria confronted with the European Economy," in the Beginnings of Modernization, p. 221). Those merchants also belonged to a different social group from that of the older merchant class. Due to the policy of protecting religious communities that some European powers adopted, this new class began to be formed mainly of Christians and Jews (Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," p. 67), and no longer of Sunni Muslims as previously. However, "this new capitalism still remained marginal" (Chevallier, "Western Development and Eastern Crisis," p. 221), and I believe that only during the Mandate was it able to become a powerful class due to the greater freedom in the country, as well as to the general economic flourish of those years.

new impetus given to industry and commerce during that period. Some figures could perhaps give an idea of the extent to which the output of industries in Lebanon increased during those years. The 1938 figure for the general industrial output was 407% of the 1932 figure, whilst the 1943 figure was 793% of the 1932 figure.¹ Two industries in particular had an outstanding increase in output: the jam and conserved fruits industry and the tanning of hide. The figures for those were in 1943 2413% and 1372% of the figures of 1932.²

In commerce, import trade was far more important than export trade. New products were being introduced on the market from all over the world, due to the growing needs of the 'modern times'. Motor vehicles, for instance, were around 100 in Lebanon and Syria, in 1919,³ and rose to 6,493 by 1937 in Lebanon alone.⁴ Other articles such as machines and electrical appliances, as well as luxury articles like musical instruments and works of art, also began to appear in Lebanon.⁵ Longrigg says that, "it was possible to claim in 1939 that the value of exports had been 70 million francs in 1921 and 892 million in 1938; and of imports, 600 million in 1921 and 1,687 million in 1938."⁶ Traditional trade, on the other hand, declined:

¹The Arab Office, "Arab Progress: Industry," Pamphlet 49, in The Problem of Palestine (Jerusalem, March 1946), p. 6.

²Ibid.

³Longrigg, p. 277 n. 2.

⁴Rapport (Annee 1937), p. 166.

⁵Rapport (Annee 1938), p. 200.

⁶Longrigg, p. 272.

the trade of silk cocoons, for instance, was not able to resist foreign competition and declined from 1,850 tons in 1925, to nothing at all by 1943.¹

The budget however, was balanced by certain other factors: Lebanese emigrés who sent remittances to relatives back home; money spent by the French personnel as well as by the army units posted in Lebanon, tourism which was already important during the mutasarrifiya;² funds sent by various countries in the world for the relief of refugees (Armenians and others) coming into the country; and finally funds sent by America, France, England, etc., for the development of educational institutions.³

Thus the economic boom that Lebanon had, especially during the 1930's, led to the increase in importance of this group of Christian urban merchants. Those adopted all the Western means and attitudes towards business and industry, like modern machines, accountancy, laws regulating work conditions,⁴ banking,⁵ etc. Together with the professionals this commercial social group formed a new challenge to the old rural families, not only in the economic sphere but also in the political arena.

¹ Arab Office, "Arab Progress: Agriculture," Pamphlet 47, in The Problem of Palestine, p. 12.

² See above, Table I, p. 77.

³ Longrigg, p. 273.

⁴ Rapport (Annee 1937), p. 164.

⁵ There were four main banks in Lebanon by 1924, apart from the numerous 'bankers', these were: Banque de Syrie, Banco di Roma, Anglo-Palestine Company Ltd., and Banque Francaise de Syrie. L'Indicateur Syrien, Annuaire de la Syrie du Liban et de la Palestine (Beirut, 1924), p.

The Khazin Family in the Mandate Period

The occupations of the Khazin family during the two decades of the French Mandate can be divided into three distinct categories: civil services and administrative positions, professions, in the sense of liberal professions, and positions in the army, police or Gendarmerie.

The Khazins in the Government and the Administration

The greatest number of positions held by the Khazin family was in the government and the administration, Yusuf al-Khazin, for instance, became in 1928 one of the elected Maronite deputies of Mount Lebanon.¹ He continued to be a member of the Chamber of Deputies until 1932.² Prior to this, in the early years of the French Mandate he was a member of the Representative Council,³ which, as we have seen,⁴ played the role of a governing body until the Constitution was promulgated and Lebanon began to have a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. He was also 'un homme de lettres', a writer and a journalist who had spent the early years of his life as a journalist in Egypt.⁵ Back in Lebanon he took up again the Arz newspaper⁶ which had been closed down by his predecessors Philippe and Farid al-Khazin, during the Mutasarrifiya, when

¹L'Indicateur Libano-Syrien (Beirut, 1928-1929), p. 158.

²Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1933), p. 154.

³L'Indicateur (1924), p. 88; and L'Indicateur (1923), p. 155.

⁴See above, p. 108.

⁵"Bab al-Akhbar," Al-Majalla al-Suriya, Vol. III, No. 2 (1928), p. 132.

⁶L'Indicateur (1925), p. 253.

Ottoman interference with their newspaper had rendered it necessary to do so. He was a Francophile and partly relied on French support (which was very important) for his election to the post of deputy.¹

Farid al-Khazin closely followed in the footsteps of his relative. In 1934 he was one of the elected Maronite Deputies for the sanjaq of Mount Lebanon.² He remained deputy until 1937,³ when he was re-elected for two more years until 1939.⁴ In the elections which took place during the war, however, Farid al-Khazin lost his place as a deputy, as it seems he did not have French support. It may also have been due to the fact that he was a member of the Dusturi Party of Bishara al-Khuri, at a time when the French were backing his opponent Emile Edde.⁵

Kisrawan al-Khazin was also important in the government during the Mandate. As early as 1922 he was appointed mutasarrif of Mount Lebanon.⁶ In 1929 he became the muhafiz of Batrun,⁷ and in 1930⁸ he rose to the position of mutasarrif of the sanjaq of North Lebanon where he remained for two years.⁹

¹Bishara al-Khuri, Vol. I, p. 177.

²Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1935), p. 162.

³Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1938), p. 200.

⁴Bishara al-Khuri, Vol. I, p. 328.

⁵Ibid., p. 257.

⁶L'Indicateur (1923), p. 157.

⁷Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1930), p. 115.

⁸Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1931), p. 145.

⁹Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1932), p. 155.

Jamil al-Khazin had a career in the "services" of Public Works. In 1922 he became head of the Office for Buildings and Construction,¹ where he remained for a few years. He then moved to a higher position and became Inspector of Public Works.² A few years later he became the director of the "service" of Public Works between 1929 and 1931.³ Later having reached the highest position in his own "service" he became Director of another "service" that of the Economy and Tourism, for a few years.⁴

There were a few other members of the Khazin family whose position in the government and the administration we were able to trace: for instance, Ban al-Khazin was mudir of Jbayl between 1924⁵ and 1928,⁶ Amin al-Khazin was mudir of Ghusta in the early years of the Mandate;⁷ and Hanna Rayij al-Khazin worked in the Ministry of Finance towards the end of the Mandate.⁸

However, under the same category was another group of people: the judges. I have put them under this heading although they had training in Law, a liberal profession, their occupation,

¹L'Indicateur (1923), p. 112.

²L'Indicateur (1928-1929), p. 167.

³Almanach (1930), p. 154.

⁴Almanach (1933), p. 154.

⁵L'Indicateur (1925), p. 169.

⁶L'Indicateur (1928-1929), p. 160.

⁷L'Indicateur (1927), p. 90.

⁸Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, pp. 204-205.

as judges, put them under the direct control of the government and the administration of Greater Lebanon. As we have seen before¹ one of the changes that took place with the Mandate was the reform of the judicial procedure of the country, which had begun during the Mutasarrifiya. In those new courts some of the Khazins occupied quite prominent positions.

Shafiq al-Khazin was in 1928 a judge in a court of first instance in Zgharta, in the north of Lebanon.² He then became Justice of the Peace in Beirut in 1929.³ Then from 1930 to 1933 he became a member and a judge of the Mixed Courts in Lebanon.⁴ In 1935 he became a Juge a la Direction des Juges Immobiliers,⁵ and then moved to the position of Substitut au Parquet.⁶ In 1937 he became a Justice of the Peace at the head of the Court of Peace of Beirut, till the early years of the Second World War.⁷

Alfred al-Khazin was also a prominent judge during the Mandate period, although he never was more than a Justice of the Peace. Already in 1922 we find him judge in a court of

¹See above, p. 109.

²L'Indicateur (1928-1929), p. 165

³Almanach (1930), p. 118.

⁴Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1934), page not numbered.

⁵Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1936), p. 178.

⁶Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1937), p. 139.

⁷Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1939), p. 176.

first instance in Batrun,¹ and in 1923 he held the same position but in 1923:² A year later he was moved to Beirut where he became Adjoint au Juge de Paix there.³ In 1929 he became himself Justice of the Peace in a court of first instance in Beirut.⁴ He was then made Justice of the Peace in the sanjaq of Mount Lebanon in 1934,⁵ and finally until the beginning of the Second World War he was Justice of the Peace in Jbayl.⁶

Finally in 1939 I found a brief reference to yet another judge of the Khazin family: Simon al-Khazin, who was Justice of the Peace in Amyun, a district in al-Kura.⁷

The Khazins in the Professions

What is interesting to note here is that all the Khazins about whom I found information and who fell in this category were physicians with one exception: a pharmacist. No other liberal profession seems to have attracted them. Apart from Yusuf al-Khazin who was primarily a politician I have found no mention of any other Khazin being involved in journalism. There were no teachers either, or architects and only one engineer who entered in the government. The few members who did study

¹L'Indicateur (1923), p. 160.

²L'Indicateur (1924), p. 94.

³L'Indicateur (1925), p. 171.

⁴Almanach (1930), p. 118.

⁵Almanach (1935), p. 171.

⁶Almanach (1939), p. 180.

⁷Almanach Francais (Beirut, 1940), p. 171.

law entered the administration as judges.¹

Hanna Milan al-Khazin was a renowned physician in his day.² He helped father Yusuf al-J'itawi to establish the Lebanese hospital at the end of 1926 and became head of that hospital for the rest of the Mandate period.³ Today his son Philippe al-Khazin, a physician himself, is filling the same post.

Jean al-Khazin was another physician member of the family, who was Chief of Clinic at the French Faculty of Medicine,⁴ and Louis al-Khazin was the medecin legiste of Junieh for many years.⁵ There were other members of the family who were physicians also, like Rashid al-Khazin,⁶ and Sulayman al-Khazin,⁷ but about whom I was not able to elicit more information. Sakhr al-Khazin was also a physician but was not stationed in Lebanon but in Egypt where he served as physician for the Egyptian army,⁸ and Shukrallah al-Khazin was a physician in 'Ajaltun.⁹

¹ Shaykh Salim al-Khazin was a lawyer during the Mandate but he falls in the category of people who worked both in the Mandate and in the period of Independence, and who became a Deputy and could thus be placed in the group of those who worked in the administration.

² "Bab al-Akhbar," Al-Majalla al-Suriya, Vol. II, No. 2 (1927), p. 125.

³ Philippe al-Khazin, al-Ansab, pp. 199-200.

⁴ L'Indicateur (1923), p. 191.

⁵ L'Indicateur (1925), p. 294.

⁶ This information was given to me in an interview with a member of the Khazin family.

⁷ L'Indicateur (1925), p. 160.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ L'Indicateur (1925), p. 160.

Finally there was one other member of the family who was not a physician but a pharmacist. Qayssar (or Cesar) al-Khazin had a pharmacy in Junieh for many years.¹

The Khazins in the Army

The most prominent member of the Khazin family in the army was Khalil al-Khazin. A brief sketch by a British official will give an idea of the person he was: "A Maronite. Born about 1878. Belongs to a leading family in Lebanon. Is senior native officer commanding the Lebanese gendarmerie. Happy-go-lucky and full of humour.... Retired from active service in 1937."² He had an army career before becoming the Lebanese with the highest position in the Gendarmerie. In the early twenties he was Chef de Bataillon et Commandant Adjoint de la Gendarmerie.³ It is only towards the end of that decade that he rose to the position of the Senior Native Officer Commanding the Lebanese Gendarmerie,⁴ where he remained until he retired in 1937.

Another member of the family who was in the army was Emile al-Khazin. Ibrahim al-Aswad⁵ describes him as an officer

¹L'Indicateur (1928-1929), p. 354.

²F. O. 371/23280. Records of Leading Personalities in Syria and Lebanon. File 1291. Chapter II. August 9, 1939.

³L'Indicateur (1925), p. 175; L'Indicateur (1924), p. 163.

⁴L'Indicateur (1928-1929), p. 269.

⁵Ibrahim al-Aswad, Tanwir al-Adhhan fi Tarikh Lubanan, Vol. I (Beirut, 1925), p. 567.

in the Lebanese Gendarmerie, and head of a force of 250 young men, in the areas of Harmal and Ba'albak. Those young men, according to al-Aswad, attached themselves to Emile al-Khazin as though they were 'his own men'. However, al-Aswad mentions that those fighting men did not receive a salary,¹ which makes me doubt whether this group of men were regularly engaged in the gendarmerie, or if they were just volunteers who helped the French in the first years of their occupation to establish order in the country.

Antun al-Khazin was also an officer in the gendarmerie. He was of the rank of captain in the Lebanese Gendarmerie as well as being Adjoint au Commandant,² of the regiment stationed in Zahla.

Finally, I was told in an interview that there were three other members of the family who were in the army: Iskandar al-Khazin, Barbar al-Khazin,³ and Amin al-Khazin.⁴ However, I was not able to elicit any information concerning their particular status in the army, nor where they were stationed.

Adaptation and Social Lag

By the beginning of the Mandate a large proportion of the family had returned to Kisrawan where they were living off the land.⁵ Only a minority remained in the cities and the towns.

¹Ibid.

²L'Indicateur (1924), p. 97.

³He was not the one who became Amiralay during the Mutasarrifiya. See above, pp. 91-92.

⁴This information was given to me in an interview with a member of the Khazin family.

⁵Gathered in an interview with one of the older members of the Khazin family.

Among the latter there were certain definite trends in their occupations and education, which could be analysed in terms of adaptation to the changing environment and social lag.

First there is a great similarity in the occupations they held during the Mandate and those they occupied during the Mutasarrifiya. A predomiance of the members of the Khazin family were engaged in the administration and the army. In these occupations, as we have shown before, they played some of the traditional roles their forefathers had played before them as muqata'jis. This can even be seen in some of the professions they held like law for instance: there were no lawyers with an independent practice, but rather all those who took up law became judges in the administration, thus continuing to play the judicial role of the muqata'ji rather than the more 'modern' role of an independent lawyer.

The role of deputy, which only appears in the Mandate period, was a new role which however, was not very different from that of a member of the majlis or Administrative Council during the Mutasarrifiya. Elections for instance, were the means, in both periods to get a position either as a member of the majlis or as a deputy. However, in practice the situation was different. We have seen above how the Turkish Mutasarrif was bribed and his approval sought in order to get a position in the administration.¹ During the Mandate, although elections were supposed to be free, we saw that Yusuf al-Khazin was always careful to have the French on his side,² whilst Farid

¹See above, p. 92.

²See above, p. 117.

al-Khazin who did not have their support lost in the 1943 elections.¹ Thus in both periods their role vis-a-vis the ruling power was similar.

The role of deputy also involved what the previous roles of qa'im maqam, mudir, and before that of muqata'ji involved too - that is mediation between the central government and the people. A deputy for whom elections were to a large extent important had to satisfy some demands, at least, of the people of his electorate district, and thus try to convince the central government to grant them. An example in point is the mediating role that Yusuf al-Khazin played between the people of his electorate and the government, on the issue of emigrants. Kisrawan, like other areas in Mount Lebanon, had seen thousands of its inhabitants leaving the country as emigrants to the four corners of the world, in the beginning of the century, and even earlier. However, in the late twenties many emigrants wished to return to Lebanon because of the Depression which affected economically America. So Yusuf al-Khazin fought in Parliament for them to acquire the Lebanese nationality which they did not have as they had emigrated before Lebanon had become independent.² He thus not only won the gratitude of the emigrants but also of their relatives and the members of their community at home.

Thus we could say that the members of the Khazin family who entered the government and the administration, as well as

¹See above, p. 117.

²Al-Majalla al-Suriya, Vol. III, p. 132.

the army, and played the roles of judges, deputies, officers, etc. were adapting by combining old and new roles.

The second trend that one can notice as one looks through the occupations and education of the Khazins is a decline in the number of people who entered in different professions. Although there were quite large numbers, relatively speaking, of physicians, there were no writers, one journalist who was primarily a politician, no teachers, and no lawyers. This might be due to the fact that part of the family was settled on the land of Kisrawan and consequently was no longer interested in education to provide it with a revenue. The price of the land was increasing and agricultural conditions had been improved. Consequently, their land could provide them with a revenue large enough for their needs.

On the other hand it is also possible that the family thought that only the army, the government and medicine were occupations worthy to be held by members of the family. This was certainly true of their attitude towards other occupations.¹

In either case both reasons are examples of social lag. The former case is a return to the mountains, the reluctance to acquire education, and an insistence on living off traditional resources. It is interesting to note that some members of the family were living during the Mandate, and are still doing so today, from revenues from waqf property given to the Maronite Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth century on condition that its revenues would be given to the members of a certain branch of the family.²

¹See below, p. 128.

²This information was given to me in an interview with a member of the Khazin family.

The latter case is also an illustration of social lag as it shows ideas and attitudes which were no longer relevant to the environment in which they were living.

Finally, the third trend which is a particularly interesting one, and which was already apparent in the Mutasarrifiya period, is that the family did not get involved in any way with either industry or commerce.¹ This is particularly surprising as already during the second half of the nineteenth century we see old muqata'ji families like the Talhuqs, Jumblats, and Arslans investing their capital in trade, buying buildings and renting them to shops.² It seems that already they realised that revenues from the land would no longer be sufficient and that in order to keep their wealth and power they had to invest their capital in commerce and industry. However, at the time "only an insignificant portion of the feudal class managed to adapt to the new conditions: the majority of Syrian feudal lords were ruined and impoverished."³ The Khazins, neither then, nor during the Mutasarrifiya or in the Mandate period, got seriously involved in trade or industry.

¹L'Indicateur Libano-Syrien has a relatively complete list of all the industrialists and tradesmen in Lebanon during the Mandate. I was only able to find in 1923 and in 1925 the mention of a Salim al-Khazin and a E. and M. al-Khazin who were habberdashers (probably the same shop which moved from father to sons).

²I. M. Smilianskaya, "From Subsistence to Market Economy, 1850's," in C. Issawi, ed., The Economic History of the Middle East (Chicago, 1966), p. 240.

³Ibid.

Intrigued by this almost total absence of the Khazins in this sphere I asked a member of the family why it was that there had not been some attempts along those lines. The answer was, "we are not used to such occupations;" the tone clearly meant it is below our dignity to enter in such fields. This again shows social lag, as mentioned before, as those were attitudes which were no longer relevant to the changing society. However, this was also one of the most dangerous attitudes for their own position and power. As we have mentioned before¹ the rising of a new urban class composed of merchants and industrialists led to their threatening of the political privileges of the rural traditional families from the beginning of the Mandate.

Thus I believe that the only way for the family to have kept its political privileges in a society where its traditional status was threatened, would have been for them to enter into the industrial and commercial fields as well as in the professions.

¹See above, pp. 113 - 114.

EPILOGUE

To conclude this study one should perhaps raise two questions: First, what are some of the trends apparent in the thesis and what are some of the conclusions one could draw from it? Second, what are some of the trends of the generations who have lived during the Independence period (1943-) and what can one foretell from those trends? My conclusion will thus be an attempt to answer those two questions. However, it will not try to generalize from this case study of one family to the rest of the society, although it will raise some questions concerning the Lebanese society and the opportunities it provides for social lag and for the adaptation of its members to changes occurring within it.

The aim of the study has been to view the reaction of a family playing certain traditional roles, to social change taking place in the society. Those traditional roles are extremely important as one would not be able to understand the subsequent roles the family chose to play if one did not first understand the roles they played in the traditional iqta' system.

There was first the economic role of the family: as muqata'jis they were responsible to the highest local authority, the Hakim, for the payment of annual taxes. Those taxes were collected on the revenue from silk production and from taxes levied on and collected from the peasants. The muqata'ji also had to obey the Hakim when the latter had decided to go to war, and to act as

military leader to the men he recruited from among his peasants and his relatives, in battle. A Khazin muqata'ji also acted as a judge in his own district, settled conflicts, punished criminals, and in general saw that law and order was maintained on his land. He also had a very important role to play: that of mediator between the Hakim and the Government in general, and 'his people'. He protected those against too heavy taxation and interceded for them when a problem arose. As a muqata'ji he was part of the manasib who were a grouping of the muqata'jis who elected the Hakim and who advised him on matters of general communal interest. Finally, the Khazin family played two roles which were peculiar to themselves and which other muqata'ji families did not play. First, they were members as well as patrons of the Maronite Church and thus wielded a great deal of power; and secondly, they were for four generations consuls of France in Beirut thus having not only French protection but also French support in any decision they took.

During the Mutasarrifiya and the Mandate periods we have seen that the Khazin family began to play new roles that had been created by the changes taking place in the society. The trend in both periods was a preferential choice for occupations in the administration and in the army (Gendarmerie or police). My interpretation for this trend is that the members chose to play in the new system, those roles which contained within themselves certain elements of their traditional roles. As members of the Representative Council during the Mutasarrifiya, Barbar al-Khazin, for instance, had the duty of allotting taxes (although not of

actually levying them). He also was member of this Council which advised the Mutasarrif on matters of national interest (as he would have done as member of the manasib in the previous period). Again during the Mandate a Khazin Deputy would be playing a similar role to that of a member of the Representative Council, or a member of the manasib. He would examine the budget, decide what taxes had to be levied, advise the President on matters of State, and have a similar status and prestige to that held by his predecessors in the manasib and the Representative Council. As qa'im maqam, mudir, muhafiz, etc., the Khazin who held those positions again played a similar role to that of muqata'ji. He kept law and order, dealt with local administrative problems, and as we have shown, even settled disputes and administered justice, in spite of the fact that there were courts to do that. In the army of the Mutasarrifiya or the Mandate the Khazins played a military role which they were familiar with as sons and grandsons of muqata'jis who led their men in battle. Finally the large number of judges found among the Khazins points to the fact that the judicial role which they had lost with the abolition of their feudal privileges and the establishment of official courts, they were playing again in courts.

Such roles, however, contained within themselves elements which were radically new to the traditional system of the iqta'. Thus posts as members of the Representative Council or of Deputies in Parliament were obtained by elections or by appointments, as were the posts of qa'im maqam, mudir, or muhafiz. The

individuals holding those posts were moved at the will of the government from one region to another and were given fixed salaries. Their term in office also was not indefinite but was limited to a certain number of years, and the basis of the legitimacy of their authority was shifting from traditional to the more secular power of the government which appointed them. As such, by playing these roles, the Khazins were in fact adapting to new circumstances by combining the elements of old and new roles.

The Khazins also adapted by playing completely new roles. This we have seen both in the Mutasarrifiya and the Mandate periods. They became journalists, physicians, pharmacists, members of political groups and two of their members died as martyrs during the struggle for independence. One or two also made some unsuccessful attempts at commerce.

The predominant trend in the three periods, has been however, one of "social lag." Although education was available for all, during the Mutasarrifiya, and the Mandate periods, only a minority continued its education and entered into institutions of higher learning. Among those, too, there was not enough variety as most of them chose law or medicine and ignored almost completely engineering, the sciences, teaching, and other liberal professions. Even among those who studied law there was a trend towards filling administrative positions rather than towards free practices. Thus even among those who were educated there was a clear lag in attitude as the other liberal professions seem not to have been considered worthy of the status of the family.

This social lag can also be noted in the reluctance of the family during the Mutasarrifiya and the Mandate to enter into commerce and industry although those two fields were undergoing tremendous change and becoming (especially commerce) one of the most viable sources of income for the country.

The pattern of social lag, however, had different manifestations in each of the periods under study. The most pronounced form of social lag took place in the period 1840-1860, where there was very little awareness of the changes that were taking place in the society, and even when there was awareness there was very little or nothing done to adapt to the changing circumstances. During the Mutasarrifiya, however, there seems to have been a great deal of adaptation and a very marked decrease in social lag. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the Khazins, having been expelled from their land and having had their sheer existence threatened, awoke to the realization that in order to survive they had to adapt to the changing circumstances. In the Mandate period, on the other hand, one notes an increase in social lag, as the members in the professions decrease, and more members of the family seem to be settled on and living off the land almost exclusively. This again may be due to the fact that the family being no longer threatened in Kisrawan and still owning a great deal of land (the price of which was rising rapidly) in that region, no longer felt the need to seek other outlets for their livelihood.

What, now, are some of the trends of the generations who have lived and worked in the Independence period, that is since 1943?

In an interview with Shaykh Salim al-Khazin I was able to collect information about most of the living adult male members of the Khazin family residing in Lebanon. Out of 125 there were only 13 about whom I could get no information. Thus from the information Shaykh Salim gave me I was able to note some definite trends.¹

First there was a definite increase in the professions as compared with earlier periods: not only in the number of people who acquired higher education but in the variety of professions they chose to enter. For instance there are eight lawyers: among those eight six have a practice of their own and are not involved in the administration. Only two were in the administration: one as a judge, and the other as a Deputy. This is a definite change from the Mandate period. There are three engineers: one is a contractor, another is the president of the Contractors Syndicate and a third is a mechanical engineer. Those are almost new fields in which only the Khazins of the Independence period have entered.² There is also an architect for interior decoration who made his studies in France and in the United States. There is another member of the family who has entered a completely new field and has become a teacher and then a headmaster of a school. Finally there are two physicians and one pharmacist, which is rather similar to the previous period.

¹See Table III. p. 135.

²There was only one engineer, to my knowledge, in the Mandate period, who later became Director of the 'service' of Public Works, this was Jamil al-Khazin.

| | Land owners | Industry & Commerce | Profes- sions | Employees in Priv. Co. Servants | Civil Servants | Army | Clergy | Unknown | Totals |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|----------------|------|--------|---------|--------|
| Number | 39 | 16 | 16 | 10 | 20 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 125 |
| percent of 125 | 31.2% | 12.8% | 12.8% | 8% | 16.8% | 5.6% | 2.4% | 10.4% | 100% |
| percent of 112 (125 - 13B) | 34.8% | 14.3% | 14.3% | 9% | 18% | 6.2% | 2.7% | - | 99.3% |

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS OF THE KHAZINS IN LEBANON

There is another interesting trend, which corresponds with the differentiation and occupational diversification the society was witnessing at the time: this is the holding of different positions and occupations by one person.¹ For example Philippe al-Khazin is a physician, Chief physician of the Lebanese Hospital, Professor of Medical Pathology at the Faculte Francaise de Medecine, on the Board of Directors of the Joseph GeaGea Bank, and of the Societe Libanaise des Industries du Bois Agglomeré, and is now an elected Deputy for Kisrawan.²

Salim al-Khazin, who has now just retired, was a lawyer, became a Deputy for several years, was President of the Societe Nationale des Transports Lourds, and created the winter resort of Faraya-Mzaar, one of the most important in Lebanon, on whose board he is now Director.³

Fu'ad al-Khazin is a civil engineer by training, is married to the first woman Deputy in Lebanon, Myrna Bustani, is on the Board of Directors of several companies: CAT (a contractors company), and the Societe Hoteliere pour le Tourisme.⁴

Another trend which also appears to be peculiar of the Independence period is the entering of some members of the Khazin family in companies as employees. We find ten members thus employed:

¹See Samir Khalaf and Per Kongstad, "Hamra of Beirut: A Case of Rapid Urbanization" (September, 1971), unpublished yet, p. 83.

²Who's Who 1967-1968 (Beirut, 1968), p. 587.

³Ibid., pp. 587-588.

⁴Ibid., p. 586.

one in the Service Foncier at Juniya (a real-estate company); two in the Casino du Liban; two in the Middle East Airlines; one in the Iraqi Petroleum Company; one in a bank; another in the Faraya skiing resort; one in a cement company; and finally a Khazin is working in an engineering office belonging to Jamil al-Khazin and sons.

A particularly important change is in the number of Khazins who are now entering the fields of commerce and industry. Four members of the family, all brothers, are the owners of an important factory of plastics. Another Khazin is a partner in a factory for the building of the bodies of motor-cars, trucks, etc.

There are ten members of the Khazin family involved in commerce. What is interesting to note here is that five of them are not resident in Lebanon. One of these grows and trades in coffee in Ethiopia; two are important merchants in Argentina; one is in the U.S.A.; and the fifth is in Venezuela. The five others are resident in Lebanon: one trades in building materials another in sanitary materials, a third in coffee, and there are two others who are also merchants, however, I do not have more information concerning them.

However, today still the trend is for the largest number of employed Khazins to enter in the administration and the government. There are twenty one Khazins in those occupations. Several are employees in the Ministry of Finance, and some are working in the Ministry of Public Works whose Chief of Cabinet was a Khazin. One of them is the Director General of the Fruits Bureau whose advertisement department is headed by a Khazin too.

There is a Khazin who is president of the Quarantine of Beirut and another who is the head of the Agricultural Bureau of Kisrawan. One works in the Telephone service of Juniya, and another works for the Water Service in Kisrawan. In Kisrawan there is a Khazin who is the head of the Agricultural Bureau there. The Director General of the Ministry of Interior was at one time a Khazin and the Chief of Cabinet for the muhafaza of Mount Lebanon during the Independence period.

However, approximately one third of the family (39 out of the 112 members whose occupations are known to me, or 33.4%) are still living off their land. As the price of land in Lebanon has been rising at a tremendous pace, each time one of the members needs money he sells a piece of his land. They also live off the revenues of awqaf property which were given to monasteries one or two centuries ago on the condition that the revenues be given to the family.

Thus to summarise the trends in occupation and education of the two generations of the Independence period, one can say that: in general there has been a very marked adaptation in all spheres, of two thirds of the family, to the changing environment of modern Lebanon. However, there is still a third of the family who are uneducated and living completely off the land. One could perhaps anticipate that eventually most of the members will have sold their land and will be forced to seek occupations which in turn would require skills and education.

Although from one case study I cannot generalize, however by showing how two branches of the Khazin family adapted differently

to different environments, one can perhaps get an idea of how the difference in social change and in environment can affect differently two similar social groups. The comparison I shall make is between a branch of the Khazin family (the Khatir branch) who emigrated from Mount Lebanon almost three centuries ago and the rest of the family who remained in Lebanon.

Shaykh Fu'ad al-Khazin¹ told me that Yusuf Khatir al-Khazin left Kisrawan in 1688 due to certain family disagreements and settled near Acre in the village of Ba'na. From then on a new branch of the family was created living on land which was not their fief and having to work for a living. Gradually, the family grew in wealth and began acquiring land. By the first decades of the twentieth century members of the family owned land in Acre, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Haifa and Rami. In 1948, however, a large part of their land was taken over by the Israelis, and approximately a third of the family came to Lebanon to build their lives again on the land of their origin.

Basing myself on the genealogy of the Khatir branch mentioned in Filib al-Khazin's work, I asked Shaykh Fu'ad to tell me what were the educational and occupational backgrounds of the adult male members of the branch.² Out of a total of 54 members there were thirteen whose background was unknown or who were still studying. Of the remaining 41 adult male members of the

¹Shaykh Fu'ad al-Khazin gave me all the information I have concerning the Khatir branch, being himself one of its members who returned to Lebanon in 1948.

²See Table IV. p. 141

Khatir branch by far the largest number (26) had acquired a higher education and had entered the professions. Several members had become teachers and two were headmasters of secondary schools. Others had become journalists and one is now Chief Editor of the Daily Star newspaper in Lebanon. Medicine and pharmacy also attracted a few members of the family: some had their own pharmacy or clinic, whilst a few others entered into the administration in the Ministry of Public Health. Engineers which I have included among the twenty six members in the profession group also were found among quite a few members of the family. Several engineers among whom is Shaykh Fu'ad and his sons have become contractors of important companies. The latter are partners in companies in Abu Dhabi, Bahrain and other parts of the Arab peninsula as well as in Lebanon. However, before that Fu'ad al-Khazin was for eight years professor of engineering at the American University of Beirut, where his daughter is now teaching medicine. Thus this group of engineers can be said to be overlapping two categories of occupation: professions and business. I have categorized them in the former category for the purpose of clarity.

The membership of the Khatir branch in the category of those who entered the professions can be contrasted to that of the Khazins who remained in Lebanon.¹ The former have approximately 63.4% of their members in the professions, whilst the latter have only about 14.3%. An analysis of the possible reasons for this difference will be given below.

¹See Table V. p. 142.

| | Land-owners | Industry & Commerce | Profes-sions | Unknown | Total |
|------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|---------|--------|
| Number | 12 | 3 | 26 | 13 | 54 |
| Percentage of 54 | 22% | 6% | 48.9 | 23.2% | 100.1% |
| Percentage of 41 | 29.25% | 7.3% | 63.4% | - | 99.95% |

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS OF THE KHATIR BRANCH OF THE KHAZIM FAMILY

| | Land-owners | Industry & Commerce | Professions | Employees in Priv. Co. | Civil Servants | Army | Clergy | Unknown | Total |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------|------|--------|---------|-------|
| Percentage of 125 of the Khazins | 31.2% | 12.8% | 12.8% | 8% | 16.8% | 5.6% | 2.4% | 10.4% | 100% |
| Percentage of 54 of the Khatir branch | 22% | 6% | 48.9% | | | | | 23.2% | 100% |
| Percentage of 112 of the Khazins | 34.8 | 14.3% | 14.3% | 9% | 18% | 6.2% | 2.7% | - | 99.3% |
| Percentage of 41 of the Khatir branch | 29.25% | 7.3% | 63.4% | | | | | | 99.5% |

TABLE V

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE KHAZIN'S AND THE KHATIR'S OCCUPATIONS

The landowners of the Khatir branch fall into the second most important occupational category. They number twelve out of 41 or 29.25% of the total. The difference between them and the Khazins in Lebanon is not very great, as the latter have 34.8% of their members who are landowners.¹

The category which includes tradesmen and industrialists has the smallest number of members in the Khatir branch. Only 7.3% of the members of this branch are dealing directly with commerce (and none with industry) whilst 14.3% of the Khazins in Lebanon have entered both the commercial and industrial spheres. In the government and the administration only two or three members of the Khatir professionals have entered: in the Public Health Service and in the Service of Public Works. None however, has attempted to acquire a political position in the country or enter into any politically important service in the Government. This contrasts sharply with the Khazins in Lebanon who have always had at least some of their members in the government machine, and who today have about 18.7% of their members in the government. The army also is an occupation which only the Khazins in Lebanon have entered having about 7 members in the Lebanese army.

Thus we have seen how the branch of the Khazin family who lived in what is now Israel, reacted differently to their environment. This is not only true of occupations and education, but also religiously they became Greek Orthodox because there were no

¹The category of landowners include only those who live on their land and whose main income comes from it.

Maronites in their area, and during the Mandate occupation which was British in Palestine, they acquired an English education whilst the Khazins in Lebanon had a predominantly French education.

Shaykh Fu'ad al-Khazin attributed the reason that most of the members of his branch did not enter the administration as civil servants or attempt to play a political role, to the fact that even before 1948 such positions were passing into the hands of the Jews who were backed by British support. In other words there existed in Palestine a powerful group of people who acted as an obstacle to the Khazins getting into power, an obstacle which did not exist in Lebanon. The environment therefore made it easier for a member of the Khazins in Lebanon to enter into the government, than it did for a member of the Khatir branch in Palestine. This explains also why most members unable to find a career in the administration did not have much choice but to enter the professions and commerce. Commerce, in turn, has been since 1948 controlled mainly by the Israelis and consequently as Arabs the Khazins were in a sense almost compelled to enter the professions.

The still relatively high proportion of landowners of the Khatir branch is declining rapidly as the newer generation is no longer interested in the land which is permanently threatened by the Israelis, and are gradually leaving the country to go to Lebanon or the U.S.A. In Lebanon however, the situation is different, landowners are still very attached to their land. This is due not only to the fact that land is becoming more

expensive and therefore an important source of income, but certain attitudes still exist within the society which perpetuates this attachment to the land and this reluctance to leave it. Two examples that were given to me by Shaykh Salim can illustrate this point. He told me that he has had to build a little chapel in his own house, in Faraya (Kisrawan) in order to avoid going to Church on Sundays, as that meant shaking hands with the whole congregation of 200 souls. At condolences, also, every one in the room stands up when he enters, although the protocole requires only the relatives of the deceased to do so. This is a sign of respect for the family to which he belongs. Thus a Khazin who remains on his land in Kisrawan, not only has still certain financial advantages but enjoys an important status which he may not enjoy, to the same extent at least, were he to be occupied in the city.

Thus we see that adaptation and social lag to the environment will differ with different forces of social change. Those elements of change encourage or discourage certain behavioural patterns and attitudes within the environment itself, which make the choice of adaptation and/or social lag easier or more difficult.

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