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**FAHREDDİN, Ma'noğlu**

**Madde Yayınlandıktan Sonra Gelen Doküman**

**03.05.2017**

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the Levantine coast .-- 2008 ISSN: 0707-5332 : International History Review, vol. 30 iv pp.  
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century | Hospitals | Christian military orders; Fakhr al-Dīn II b. Qurqumāz b. Ma'n, Amīr of

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

- 2111 SCHAM, Sandra A. The legacy of Fakhreddine II - a renaissance prince of Mount Lebanon. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, 3 iv (2015) pp. 428-436. Life and leadership of the Druze prince who was also a master builder who "was inspired by a sojourn in Renaissance Italy."

Fakhreddin  
Ma'nafin  
060016

01 Aralık 2016

MADDE YAYIMLANDIK  
SONRA GELEN DOKU

29 Kasım 2016

- 839 SCHAM, Sandra A. The legacy of Fakhreddine II *Fakhreddin Ma'nouf lu*  
a renaissance prince of Mount Lebanon. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, 3 iv (2015) pp. 428-436. Life and leadership of the Druze prince who was also a master builder who "was inspired by a sojourn in Renaissance Italy." *060016*

المعنيون في جبل لبنان ... ١٧٢٠  
- بنو معن أمراء الدروز ... ١٧٢٣ - ١٧٢٤

Fahreddin - Maan spūllat

17 1915

شاعر مصطفى، موسوعة العالم الاسلامي ورجالها،  
مج ٣، بيروت ١٩٩٣، ISAM KTP DN. 34792

13 KASIM 1991 ITM

madde: Fahreddin b. Aorkmaz

- A. Br. : c. , s.
- B. L. : c. , s.
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- M. L. : c. 18, s. 489
- T. A. : c. 10, s. 82

1183 CHEHAB, Hafez. Reconstructing the Medici portrait of Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ani. *Muqarnas*, 11 (1994) pp.116-124

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN 17 AGUSTOS 2000  
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Lübanan  
Fahreddin Manoglu  
al-KA'LÜF (Riyād) 14565. bb. 142  
al-KA'LÜF (\*Isa Iskandar)

تأريخ الامير  
فخر الدين المعني الثاني

Ta'rikh al-amir Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni al-thani. [A history of Lebanon in the first half of the 17th century A.D. in the reign of Prince Fakhr al-Din II. With photographs. Edited by Riyād Ma'lūf.]

al-Matba'at al-Kāthūlīkiyah: Beirut, 1966.  
Nusūs wa-Durūs, 31. 8°

14565. bb. 142  
FAKHR al-DIN al-MA'NI II, Amir of Lebanon  
al-KA'LÜF (\*Isa Iskandar)

Lübanan  
Fahreddin Manoglu  
تأريخ الامير  
فخر الدين المعني الثاني

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al-Matba'at al-Kāthūlīkiyah: Beirut, 1966.  
Nusūs wa-Durūs, 31. 8°

- LÜBANAN  
- 060016 FAHREDDIN b. MANOGLU (?)

HÄLIDİ al-SAFADİ (Ahmad b. Muhammad) المحدثي (أحمد بن محمد)

لبنان في عهد الأمير فخر الدين المعني الثاني. وهو كتاب تاريخ الأمير فخر الدين المعني الثاني  
أحمد بن محمد المحدثي. في خمسة دفتريه وتضمن على شهوره  
ومنازه الدكتور أحمد رستم... الدكتور فؤاد أرقام البستاني.

Le Liban à l'époque de Fakhr ad-Din II de Ahmad al-Hālidī as-Safādī [Par. 7545A. XVI]

Libanān fi Ahad al-Amīr...  
14565

54

HÄLIDİ al-SAFADİ (Ahmad...) المحدثي (أحمد...)

Reynold, al-Gamī'a al-Lubnāniyya, 1919. - 8, XII -  
194-3 p. pl. 4-t. [Par. 7545A. XVI]

(Le Liban à l'époque de Fakhr ad-Din al-Ma'ni al-Thani.)

(Qum al-Bawā'it al-Tārihiyya - 16.)

Madrasat al-Adab al-Sharīf al-  
Bustānī (Fu'ād Ephraim al-...) 336

حسن عثمان  
« فخر الدين بن معن »  
كلية الآداب - جامعة القاهرة 1934 (ماجستير)  
Fahreddin b. Maan(?)

09 TEMMUZ 1996

LÜBANAN  
- MAAN  
13 OCAK 1994  
85-962243

Shibli, Mishal.  
Fakhriddine II Maan : Prince du Liban, (1572-1635) / par Michel Chebli. --  
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viii, 150, [13] p. : ill., facsim. ;  
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L&S-Islamic history.

- 3498 BENIGNI, Elisabetta. Terre cristiane e confini d'Europa: il viaggio di Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī (1613-1618) fra le sponde del Mediterraneo. *Miscellanea arabica 2013-2014*. [A cura di] Angelo Arioli. Rome: Sapienza, Università di Roma, Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali / Edizione Nuova Cultura, 2014, (Nuova Sapienza Orientale, 5), pp. 105-124. His exile in Italy.
- Fahreddin Ma'nī*  
060016

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

04 Eylül 2015

Fakhraddin Ma'noglu (060016)

## F

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

07 Subat 2016

### Fakhr al-Din Ma'n

**Fakhr al-Dīn Man** (980–1045/1572/1635) was a Druze tax farmer from the Shūf region of what is today southern Lebanon, who was appointed governor (*beğ*) of the Ottoman district (*sancak*) of Şafad in 1001/1592–3. Often celebrated in local historiography as “the emir of the Druze” and, by extension, as the founder of modern Lebanon, more recent Ottomanist research has rather assimilated him to the *ayān* (Ar. *a'yān*) class of Ottoman provincial notables and the Celali rebels of the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century.

According to the Damascene biographer al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), the Ma'n family claimed to be of Lebanese Kurdish descent but with time merged into the local Druze community. A number of late Mamlūk chronicles refer to the Ma'ns as “emirs of the Shūf,” suggesting that they were incorporated into the Mamlūk provincial auxiliary and recognised to some degree as autonomous local leaders. Several family members are listed as tax farmers (sing. *mültezim*, Ar. *multazim*) in Ottoman documents from as early as

937/1530 and 950/1543; a Korkmaz (Qorqmaz) Ma'n is first mentioned as a Druze *mukaddem* (Ar. *muqaddam*, headman, chief) in 982/1574. Claims by later Lebanese writers that Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n “the First” offered his submission in 922/1516 to Sulṭān Selīm I (r. 918–26/1512–20); that the Ma'ns were given authority over all the Druze and headed a wide inter-confessional tribal bloc known as the “Qaysīs,” or that Fakhr al-Dīn “the Second” was eventually recognised as “ruler of the land of Syria” are not historically grounded.

Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n apparently succeeded to the leadership of the family some years after the death of his father, Korkmaz, during an Ottoman punitive campaign in 993/1585. In 1001/1592–3 he was appointed governor of the *sancak* of Şafad, thus acceding to the rank of *beğ*, or emir. In this capacity he helped the Ottomans curb the ambitions of the Sayfā governor household of Tripoli and, supported by a large army of privately recruited *sekbān* (mercenaries), he established his own hegemony throughout the coastal mountain region. Despite joining forces with the Kurdish

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Fahreddin Ma'noflu  
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# Syria and *Bilad al-Sham* under Ottoman Rule

Essays in honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq

Edited by  
Peter Sluglett  
with Stefan Weber

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2010

THE LEBANESE LEADERSHIP AT THE BEGINNING OF THE OTTOMAN PERIOD: A CASE STUDY OF THE MA'N FAMILY\*

MASSOUD DAHER

It is difficult to find generally acceptable terms and concepts to describe Lebanon and the Lebanese leadership in the sixteenth century. After all, the term 'Lebanon' in its current political sense only came into use in 1920 when the French mandate authorities created the state of Grand Liban, Greater Lebanon. Its geographical boundaries were established by the French shortly before the official announcement of the new state on 1 September of that year, and in 1922 the boundaries between Syria (then under French mandate) and Palestine (then under British mandate) were set permanently.

Contemporary Ottoman documents do not suggest a strong Lebanese military presence at the Battle of Marj Dabiq near Aleppo in 1516. The Lebanese chronicles claim the opposite, albeit without reference to verifiable sources. This discrepancy between the documents and the chronicles raises some questions. Did Fakhr al-Din I (r. 1516–1544) really participate in the Battle of Marj Dabiq? Did he have advance knowledge of the movement of Sultan Selim I's armies?

These and other methodological problems cast long shadows of doubt over the veracity of the Lebanese chronicles describing the rise of the Ma'n family based in Jabal al-Shuf (later known as Jabal al-Ma'n and then Jabal Lubnan). I do not want to comment on the reliability or otherwise of these chronicles, which, again, are not supported by the Ottoman documents. Instead, I will take the narratives that describe the historical reality of local leadership in the Lebanese *muqata'at* as my point of departure.

The Ottoman authorities viewed the assignment of local lords to the administration of the affairs of the Lebanese *muqata'at* as a way of guaranteeing the functioning of the imperial revenue system. It was left to local leaders to seize the chance to demonstrate their personal powers over their enemies, both within and outside their families, in order to earn their commission to collect taxes from local sources of revenue. Once appointed, the emir pocketed what he wanted, when he

\* This paper is translated by W. Matt Malczykcki.

233-246

LUBNAN  
- FAHREDDIN MA'NOULI 060016(?) 23890 78

AḤḌAB (°Aziz al-). • الاحدب (عزيز).

... فخر الدين ...

- Beyrouth, Dar al-kitāb al-lubnāni, 1973.

[4° 0<sup>2</sup>a. 1730

( Fahr al-Dīn... )

Liban. Histoire.

-Fahr al-Dīn II al-Ma'ni  
al-Kabir.

.../...

2

23889 78

AḤḌAB (°Aziz al-).

• الاحدب (عزيز).

... فخر الدين ...

[4° 0<sup>2</sup>a. 1730

... [1]-22Ip., portr., cartes, ill.  
en noir et en coul., couv.  
ill. en coul. [Acq. I4366-74]

(Fahr al-Dīn al-Kabir...)

[الكتاب الاول]  
فخر الدين الكبير  
موسس لبنان  
الحدب

.../...

3

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AḤḌAB (°Aziz al-).

• الاحدب (عزيز).

... فخر الدين ...

[4° 0<sup>2</sup>a. 1730

... 2.-173p., portr., cartes en coul.,  
fac-sim., ill. en noir et en :  
فخر الدين ان حكى  
عودوا الى النبايع  
coul., couv. ill. en coul.  
[Acq. I4367-74]  
(Fahr al-Dīn in ḥakā...)

6 NISAN 1995



MA'AN banu-, a family of Druze\* emirs prominent in the political and cultural life of sixteenth and seventeenth century Lebanon. Feudal lords established of old in the southern mountain regions they were by tradition considered the spokesmen for the local Druze as well as Maronite\* communities, but entered recorded history only with Emir Fakhr al-Din I (†1544) who as an ally of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in the war against the Egyptian Mamelukes\* obtained the official confirmation of his leadership position until then resting merely on customary law. He lost his life in a controversy with the Turkish Pasha of Damascus, and the ensuing blood feud filled the forty-year reign of his son Kurkmas (1544-1585) with unrest and devastation.

The outstanding figure of the dynasty was Emir Fakhr al-Din II (1585-1635) who succeeded his father at the age of sixteen. Aided by his remarkable faculty of winning popularity and voluntary obedience he soon re-established peace and order, and made the mountain roads safe again for the profitable transit from the Lebanese coast into Anatolia. The destroyed olive and mulberry groves were replanted, silk and olive oil, much in demand in Europe, became more than ever before richly flowing sources of wealth. The prosperity of his people led all over Mount Lebanon the Druze and Maronite villages and small market towns to seek his protection, and even the larger cities with a compact Moslem population such as Sidon and Beirut, anxious to share in the flourishing oversea-trade, declared their allegiance. He re-fortified the old mountain strongholds, built up a well-trained army, forced his weaker rivals into submission, and established solid business relations in Europe, especially with the great Italian merchant republics. It is uncertain whether or not at that time he had already in mind to expand his territory into Syria and Palestine and eventually to shake off the Turkish suzerainty, but apparently his growing prestige awakened suspicion of this order in Constantinople. Feeling no longer safe he transferred the government to his eldest son 'Ali and in 1613 with his four wives, ten children and a large retinue left for Italy. Splendidly received at the court of the Medici, 'Facardin, Prince of Lebanon' now entered into negotiations with the Kings of France and Spain, with the Pope and the Order of Malta, all of whom seem to have shown

RONALD, Stephan and Nandy, CEAC,  
S. 329, 1959 (Amsterdam)

Kamal S. Salibi

## THE SECRET OF THE HOUSE OF MA'N

In the early 1590s an obscure chieftain of the Druze district of the Shûf, in the mountain hinterland of Sidon, was appointed *multazim* (tax farmer) of the whole Druze mountain (the Shûf along with the Gharb, Jurd and Matn, in the hinterland of Beirut) by the Ottoman *beylerbeyi* (provincial governor) of Damascus. The name of this chieftain was Fakhr al-Dîn ibn Qurqumâs (Turkish *Korkmaz*), and he belonged to the family of the Ma'ns, who had been hereditary chieftains of the Shûf at least since the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In time, Fakhr al-Dîn made use of favourable circumstances to extend his dominion over the whole of Mount Lebanon, and also over other parts of the Syrian countryside. In 1633, however, the Ottomans turned against him and crushed him, and a mysterious figure called 'Alî 'Alam al-Dîn was appointed to replace him in the paramount chieftainship of the Druze mountain. For over three decades this man, and his sons after him, maintained themselves in power as paramount chieftains of the Druzes, while the Ma'ns were reduced to their original size as traditional chieftains of the Shûf. Finally, in 1667, Emir Aḥmad Ma'n, a grandnephew of Fakhr al-Dîn's, was appointed *multazim* of the Druze districts of the Shûf, Gharb, Jurd and Matn, and of the Maronite district of the Kisrawân, and the Ma'nid hegemony over the southern Lebanon was thus re-established. When Aḥmad Ma'n died without male progeny in 1697 he was succeeded in his *iltizâm*, and hence in the hegemony of the southern Lebanon, by the Shihâbs – Sunnite chieftains of Wâdî al-Taym, on the western slopes of Mount Hermon, who were descended from the Druze Ma'ns in the female line (see Table 1). In 1710-11 the 'Alam al-Dîns, in eclipse since 1667, re-emerged on the political scene to challenge the Shihâb succession; their revolt, however, failed and they were massacred to extermination. The Shihâbs subsequently became the unchallenged masters of the southern Lebanon, and remained so until their downfall in 1841.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, the period 1591-1697 in the history of the southern Lebanon was a period of Ma'nid ascendancy, except for the years between 1633 and 1667 when

<sup>1</sup> According to Ḥaydar al-Shihâbî (*Târikh al-Amîr Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihâbî*, Cairo, 1900, vol. 1, p. 324) and Ṭannus al-Shidyâq (*Akhhâr al-A'yân fî Jabal Lubnân*, Beirut, 1859, p. 247), who wrote in the nineteenth century (see below), the Ma'ns were established in the chieftainship of the Shûf as early as the twelfth century. The Druze historian Ṣâlih ibn Yahyâ (*Târikh Bayrût* . . . , ed. F. Hours and K. S. Salibi, Beirut, 1969, *passim*), writing in the first half of the fifteenth century about events since the twelfth, makes no mention of them whatsoever. His continuator, Ibn Sibât (d. 1520), however, mentioned the Ma'ns as chieftains of the Shûf in his own time. See references below.

<sup>2</sup> See K. S. Salibi, 'The Lebanese emirate, 1667-1841', in *al-Abḥath*, vol. xx (1967), English section, pp. 1-16; *The Modern History of Lebanon* (London, 1965), pp. 3-52.

## نجر الدين الثاني أمير لبنان

وبلاط تسكانا (١٦٠٥ - ١٦٣٥)

مقدمة تاريخية ومجموعة وثائق نشرها الأب بولس قرالي (١)

عرض ونقصد

صدرت في أوقات مختلفة مجموعات من الوثائق تضم أخباراً متناثرة عن نجر الدين بن معن أمير لبنان، وهي تتناول وقائع ومعلومات عامة عن سورية ولبنان في ذلك العهد (٢). أما المجموعة التي نحن بصددتها الآن، فهي أول مجموعة من الوثائق تنشر عن الأمير نجر الدين خاصة. ولقد استخرج الأب بولس قرالي أغلب هذه الوثائق من أرشيف الحكومة التاريخي في فلورنسا، ومن أرشيف ومكتبة الفاتيكان (٣)، وهو يختار الوثائق الهامة

مجمع كلية الآداب

جامعة القاهرة

المجلد السادس

الجزء الأول

(١٩٤٢)

Carali, P.: Fakhred Din II Principe del Libano e La Corte (١) di Toscana (1605-1635). Roma, 1936.

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Salignac, Baron De: Ambassade en Turquie. (1605-1610). Paris, 1889.

(٣) أغلب هذه المجموعة من الوثائق التي لم تنشر من قبل — باستثناء عدد يسير منها — مأخوذة من أرشيف فلورنسا ومن أرشيف ومكتبة الفاتيكان.

Archivio di Stato di Firenze: med. 4274 bis, 4275, 4276, 4277, 4279.

Archivio del Vaticano: F. Borghese, serie II; F. Barberino Latino della Bibl. Vaticana; F. Vaticano Arabo della Bibl. Vaticana . . . etc.

ولقد سبق أن استخدم أغلب هذه المجموعة من الوثائق من G. Mariti في كتابه:

Istoria di Faccardino Grand Emir dei Drusi, Livorno, 1787.

As the Porte after the conquest of Syria relied heavily on local elements to organize its administration, tension between regionalism and centralization, which was a fundamental feature of Ottoman policy, as explained in the previous chapter, became an endemic factor in Syrian politics. Several chiefs of local origin achieved political prominence on the provincial level, such as Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn in the first decennia of the 17th century, Zāhir al-ʿUmar and the ʿAzm family in the middle of the 18th century and Aḥmad al-Jazzār at the close of the 18th century. These administrators should not be considered to be incidental cases, but rather as exponents of developments which were to a large extent intimately connected with the nature of Ottoman administration in Syria, which was not only determined by superimposed administrative structures, but also by a continual power struggle between local rivals. The official system provided the political, administrative and ideological framework, and the extent to which it succeeded in absorbing the emerging contradictions and centrifugal tendencies determined the actual shape of the administration.

In this chapter the ascendancy of these regional rulers, who operated in the margins between provincial and imperial politics, will be examined. They all illustrate the dilemmas confronting the Porte and the contradictions which marked the imperial policies with respect to the Arab provinces. Moreover, they reflect the tendencies which evolved essentially from regional responses to the economic changes occurring on an international level.

### 2.1.1 *Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn*

The history of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn shows that the practice of the *iltizām* system was really based on a precarious balancing-act between power struggles on local, provincial and imperial levels. At the end of the 16th century the distribution of tax-farms in southern Syria and Mount Lebanon was determined by the ability of pretenders to fulfill the regular and irregular financial demands of the provincial and central authorities. Payments involved advance remittances (*muʿajjala*, or *saif*), regular taxes (*māl*; *irsāliyya*) and personal gifts to officials, which acquired a semi-official character (*khidma*). The domains were granted by the governors of Damascus and Tripoli, but sometimes by direct intervention by the Porte. The annual renewal of grants depended on the ability of the *multazim* to fulfill his tax obligations or to secure the support of powerful administrators in Damascus or Istanbul. Holdings could be sublet by the

*multazim* to local protégés, who provided him with the means to consolidate his power in the region.<sup>6</sup>

It seems that the Shūf mountains proved difficult for the Ottoman authorities to control throughout the 16th century, and that the Druze, who had become relatively rich through sericulture and contraband, repeatedly refused to pay their dues. More or less successful punitive campaigns were launched in 1565, 1574-76 and 1585. Presumably to prevent further disorder, the Porte decided to incorporate a prominent Druze chief into the administration. At first the Porte inclined towards the strong faction led by the Ḥarfūsh family, but in 1592 Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn was nominated sanjakkbey of Sidon. In 1602 he acquired the sanjak of Şafad as well. The appointment of Fakhr al-Dīn was clearly intended to reinforce Ottoman control over the southern parts of Mount Lebanon, which were hard to pacify by military means. However, by bestowing this role upon him, the Porte introduced a powerful new force into the politics of the region, and a rival to the Sayfā governor of Tripoli and the governor of Damascus. Fakhr al-Dīn carefully combined his personal interests as a regional leader with the interests of the state, increasing his power by nominating local allies or other members of the Maʿn family to positions within the administration of his domains, and by generous gifts to high officials, especially the Grand Vizier in Istanbul.<sup>7</sup>

The ambiguity of Fakhr al-Dīn's role is shown by his support for the insubordinate ʿAlī Janbulād, who took over the governorship of Aleppo in 1607. This support was probably inspired by the fact that the Porte had summoned Fakhr al-Dīn's arch-rival Yūsuf Sayfā in order to curb the aspirations of Janbulād. After the defeat of ʿAlī Janbulād, the conduct of Fakhr al-Dīn and his growing military power aroused the suspicions of the central authorities who eventually forced the emir to go into exile in Tuscany (1613-1618). He attempted to take advantage of his stay in Europe to rally support from the Christian sovereigns for a bold project of his, the conquering of the Holy Places with a combined force. However, the situation in Europe was unfavourable for such an undertaking and Fakhr al-Dīn had to content himself with moral support only. During his exile Druze opposition to the Maʿns came into the open, with

<sup>6</sup> On the implementation of the *iltizām* system in the Syrian provinces, see: Abu Husayn, pp. 15, 16, 19, 20, 85-87, 96-97, 104-105; until 1715 timars were still registered in al-ʿAkkār, Hībliṣ, pp. 24-36, 44-48; Duwayhī, pp. 463, 464, 475, 476, 486.

<sup>7</sup> Abu Husayn, pp. 77-79, 81, 83; Puget de St. Pierre, pp. 23, 25, 26; Minadoi, pp. 299 ff.; Duwayhī, p. 453; the main Arabic source for the history of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn is: al-Şafādī.

Richard Van Leeuwen

Notables and Clergy in Mount Lebanon  
The Khāzīn Sheikhs and the Maronite Church

15 MAYIS 1996

(1736-1840) Leiden 1994, s. 38-42 - DN: 40126

HAFEZ CHEHAB

## RECONSTRUCTING THE MEDICI PORTRAIT OF FAKHR AL-DIN AL-MA<sup>C</sup>ANI

Before the nineteenth century, portraits of rulers in the Islamic Middle East were a rarity. Of all the princes of Mount Lebanon, only two are known to have been portrayed, Fakhr al-Din ibn Qurqmaz al-Ma<sup>C</sup>ani (1572–1635),<sup>1</sup> amir of the Shuf and governor of Mount Lebanon (r. 1590–1633), then under Ottoman control, and Bashir II al-Shihabi (r. 1787–1840), a descendant of the Ma<sup>C</sup>anids through several marriage alliances between the two houses. Several engravings purporting to depict Fakhr al-Din have surfaced, all of them by Western artists.

The earliest record of a portrait of Fakhr al-Din is documented in a letter written on July 20, 1659, by Sheikh Abu Nawfal al-Khazen, a Maronite overlord who had lived in Tuscany from 1635 to 1637. He wrote, on behalf of Fakhr al-Din's grandnephews amirs Qurqmaz and Ahmad, to Ferdinando II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, asking to borrow the portrait of Fakhr al-Din in the Grand Duke's possession. In it he reports the death of Fakhr al-Din's nephew Amir Milhim Ibn Yunis al-Ma<sup>C</sup>ani, and asks in the name of his two sons and successors that "Your Highness kindly allow the Jesuit Fathers, delegated by their Superior, to bring to the amirs the painted portrait of their uncle Amir Fakhr al-Din in the palace of Your Highness, or allow them to copy it, and send it here [to Beirut] from Livorno in the first vessel to sail to Saida or Beirut."<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that Ferdinando II acted upon his request, however, and the whereabouts of the portrait today is unknown.

Relations between the Medicis and Fakhr al-Din went back to the time of Ferdinando I de' Medici (r. 1587–1609). England, Spain, France, Tuscany, the city states of Venice and Genoa, and the cities of the Low Lands all competed for trade in the eastern Mediterranean, and vessels from all of them brought goods to Fakhr al-Din's ports of Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre. In 1608 Ferdinando I negotiated an agreement with Fakhr al-Din<sup>3</sup> that included a safe conduct to Tuscany for the Ma<sup>C</sup>anid prince.<sup>4</sup> The *Codice Mediceo del Regio Archivio di Firenze* (Fondo Mediceo), and the *Archivio Vaticano, Fondo Borghese II*, contain several letters concerning Fakhr al-Din for the period 1608–13.<sup>5</sup> Ferdinando I died on Feb-

ruary 7, 1609, but his son Cosimo II de' Medici (r. 1609–21) continued his father's relations with Fakhr al-Din. Their secret alliance was discovered by Ahmad Hafiz, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, and resulted in 1613 in a retaliatory raid on the amir's domains. Fakhr al-Din decided to exile himself; he left Saida with his younger wife and a retinue of around seventy-five people, and fled to Italy, leaving his mother, Sitt Nassab, of the Tanukh princely house, and his younger brother Yunis behind to govern his lands. Fakhr al-Din arrived at Livorno on November 3, 1613, the Grand Duke wrote to welcome him and sent a delegation to greet him headed by his first secretary Lorenzo Usimbardi.<sup>6</sup>

The amir's arrival at Florence is described in a chronicle of his reign attributed to Ahmad al-Khalidi al-Safadi (d. 1624).<sup>7</sup> After visiting Pisa and spending the night at the Villa Ambrogiana, Fakhr al-Din was greeted by the Grand Duke's uncle Don Giovanni de' Medici<sup>8</sup> in whose *carosse* the amir rode to the Palazzo Pitti. There Cosimo de' Medici, his wife, and his court received the prince from Mount Lebanon in the grand salon.<sup>9</sup> While in Florence, the amir and his family resided at the Palazzo Vecchio<sup>10</sup> in the apartment of Pope Leo X.<sup>11</sup> His main residence until May 1614 was in Livorno. In June 1614, he moved to the Palazzo Medici Riccardi<sup>12</sup> where he resided until the end of July 1615.<sup>13</sup> He soon became well known in Europe.<sup>14</sup>

According to the chronicle, Fakhr al-Din left Florence in 1615 for Messina, at the invitation of the duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Spain in Sicily (Spain was then at war with the Ottomans). The duke welcomed the amir and gave him a residence overlooking the harbor. At the amir's request he equipped him for a reconnaissance trip to Mt. Lebanon, while keeping his family and retinue in Messina. On the way back to Sicily, the amir stopped off at Malta,<sup>15</sup> where he was welcomed with great pomp. In the meanwhile the viceroy had moved to Palermo, and Fakhr al-Din followed him there and then on to Naples where he is said to have resided until 1618,<sup>16</sup> when he was finally able to return to Mount Lebanon after the assassination of Grand Vizier Nassuh Pasha and

MUQARNAS, vol: XI, 1994, Leiden, s. 117-124



مَشَوْرَاتُ الْجَامِعَةِ اللَّبْنَانِيَّةِ

قِسْمُ الدِّرَاسَاتِ التَّارِيخِيَّةِ

١٦

Demirbey No: 40318

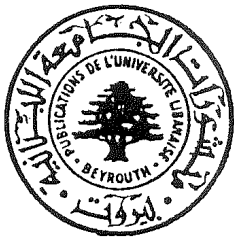
# لِبْنَانُ

فِي عَهْدِ الْأَمِيرِ فَخْرِ الدِّينِ المَعْنِيِّ الشَّامِيِّ

وَهُوَ كِتَابُ تَارِيخِ الْأَمِيرِ فَخْرِ الدِّينِ المَعْنِيِّ  
لِلشَّيْخِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ الدِّي الصِّفَدِيِّ

عَنِّي بِضَبْطِهِ وَنَشْرِهِ وَتَعْلِيْقِ حَوَاشِيهِ وَوَضْعِ مَقْدَمَتِهِ وَفَهْرَسِهِ

الدُّكْتُورُ أُسْدُ رُسْتُمُ      الدُّكْتُورُ فُوَادُ إِفْرَامُ البُسْتَانِيُّ  
رئيسُ الجَامِعَةِ اللَّبْنَانِيَّةِ      ١٩٦٥ - ١٩٩٧



بَيْرُوتُ ١٩٦٩

PUBLICATIONS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ LIBANAISE

SECTION DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES

XVI

# LE LIBAN

A L'ÉPOQUE DE FAHR-ED-DÏN II

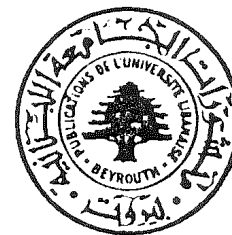
DE

AHMAD AL-HALIDI AS-SAFADI

*Texte établi publié avec notes, introduction et tables par.*

D<sup>r</sup> ASAD RUSTUM  
(1897-1965)

D<sup>r</sup> FOUAD E. BOUSTANY  
Recteur de l'Université Libanaise



BEYROUTH 1969

**MANNING, Henry Edward** (Totteridge, Hertfordshire 1808 - Londra 1892), İngiliz rahibi. Anglikan rahibi iken Oxford hareketine katılmış ve Katolikliği kabul etmiştir (1850). Sonra Katolik rahibi olmuştur (1851). Oblates of St. Charles tarikatını kurmuştur (1857). 1865'te Westminster piskoposu olarak Wiseman'ın halefi olmuştur. İrlandalı'lara yardım etmiş ve işçilerin durumunu düzeltmek için çalışmıştır. 1875'te kardinal olmuş, İngiliz Katolikleri'ne yurttaşlık haklarının tamamını sağlamakta büyük bir rol oynamıştır.



H. E. MANNING

**MA'NOĞULLARI**, Lübnan'da Akkâ ile Sayda arasındaki sahil şeridi üzerinde bir ocaklık. Lübnan'ın yerli beş ocaklığından biri. Özellikle XVI. yüzyılın son çeyreği ile XVII. yüzyılda Dürziler (b. bk.) üzerinde büyük nüfuz tesis eden bir aile. Menşesi itibarıyla asıl vatanları Necd'te Diyar-ı Rebi'da idi. Ailenin kurucusu Emir Ma'n b. Haydar, babasının Eyyübîler'den sağlamış olduğu imkânlarla Halep civarına yerleşmiş idi. Daha sonra M.'nin Dürziler üzerinde nüfuz tesis ettikleri görülür. Memlûk beylerinin aralarındaki çekişmelerden faydalanan M., Baybars el-Mansuri'nin seferleri sonunda dağılan Dürzileri tekrar derleyip toplamışlar, Akkâ, Sur, Sayda ve Trablus ile Şuf ve Garp nahiyelerinde yerleşmelerini sağlamışlardı. Tennuhî ailesinin geçimsizlikler yüzünden parçalanması üzerine de Dürziler arasında kesin nüfuz sahibi olmuşlardı. Memlûk devletine bağlı olmakla beraber Dürzi bölgesinde bir çeşit muhtariyeti sağlayan M.'dan Osmanlı yönetimine boyun eğenlerin başında I. Fahreddin bulunur. Mercidâbık savaşında Sultan Kansu Gavri'nin maiyetinde iken savaşın en şiddetli anında Memlûk ordusundan kaçan bu emir, daha sonra Şam'da Yavuz'dan aman elde etmiş ve Cebel'deki bütün emirlerin üzerinde nüfuz sağlayarak Tonnuhîler'in tamamen za'fa uğramalarına sebep olmuştur. Yavuz I. Fahreddin'e Cebel'deki ocaklık haklarını tanımakla Dürzilerin Memlûk hakimiyetinde iken sağladıkları imtiyazları vermiştir. Onun 1544'te ölümü üzerine yerine oğlu Korkmaz geçti. Korkmaz, Osmanlı devletinin Trablus-Şam beylerbeyi ile olan münasebetlerini iyi yürütemedi. Osmanlı idaresine karşı tecavüzkâr bir tutuma girince Divân-i Hümayûn, o sırada Mısır'ın işçilerini düzenlemekle görevli Dâmâd İbrahim Paşa'ya Korkmaz'ı cezalandırma görevini verdi. İbrahim Paşa, Korkmaz kuvvetlerini bir silindir gibi ezdi ve 1584'te Sayda'dan Trablus'a kadar bütün Lübnan kıyılarını tarayarak bu âsi âileyi yola getirdi. Emir Korkmaz ağır pişkeşler ödemek suretiyle yetkilerini koruyabildi. 1586'da ölünce yerini oğlu II. Fahreddin (b. bk.) aldı. Fahreddin emirliğinin ilk yıllarında İbrahim Paşa'nın tenkil hareketinin de tesiriyle İstanbul'a karşı mutavatkâr bir politika izledi. İbrahim Paşa tarafından tahrib edilen Beyrut kalesini yeniden onardı. Çevresinde nüfuzunu gittikçe arttırarak hemen hemen bütün Lübnan'a hâkim bir duruma geldi. Hattâ Toskana Grandükü I. Ferdinand'la bir de ittifak yaptı. Bu gelişmeyi izleyen Divân-i Hümayûn Anadolu'daki Celâlî isyanlarına bir yenisini eklememek için duruma önce göz yumdu. Ancak M. Fahreddin, Haleb'i eline geçiren Canbuladoğlu Ali Paşa'yla hemen anlaştı ve Osmanlı tah-

tına sadık olan Trablus-Şam beylerbeyi Emir Seyf oğlu Yusuf Paşa'yı Hama'da yenilgiye uğratarak onu 1606 yılında Trablus'a kapanmaya zorladı. Fakat 1607'de Oruç ovasında Canbuladoğlu Ali Paşa ile birlikte Kuyucu Murad Paşa'ya yenilmesi Emir Fahreddin'in hayallerinin yıkılmasına sebep oldu. Lübnan, Suriye ve Filistin'de müstakil bir Dürzi hâkimiyeti kurma emeli suya düştü. Sadrâzam Nasûh Paşa'nın, 1613'te Şam beylerbeyi Hâfız Ahmed Paşa'yı Kapdân-ı Deryâ Dâmâd Mehmed Paşa (Öküz) ile birlikte Cebel konusunu çözmek üzere görevlendirmesi üzerine Fahreddin Dürziler arasındaki bağılılığı kaybetti ve 1608'de Toskana ile yaptığı anlaşmayı gerçekleştirmek ümidiyle Eylül ortalarında Avrupa'ya gitti. Medici sarayında her ne kadar iyi karşılandı ise de arzu ettiği Haçlı seferini gerçekleştiremedi. Hâfız Ahmed Paşa ise Lübnan'da M.'nin nüfuzunu kırmış onun yerine yeğeni Ali b. Harfuş'u emir nasbetmişti. Avrupa'dan dönüşünde artık bir emir olarak değil Ali adına özellikle askerî işleri yönetmeyi üzerine aldı. Osmanlı devleti ise yola gelmeyen ve Dürziler arasındaki itibarını bütün gayretlere rağmen kaybetmeyen M.'a 1625'te verdiği bir imtiyaz fermanı ile Halep'ten Kudüs'e kadar olan bölgede onları Dürzilerin başbuğları olarak tanıdı. Fakat kısa bir süre sonra Şam beylerbeyi Küçük Ahmed Paşa'nın giriştiği harekât karşısında direnemedi. 1634'te Magaret Cezin'de yenilgiye uğradı; oğlu Emir Mes'ud ve Hüseyin ile tutsak alındı. İstanbul'a gönderildi. Hüseyin, Enderûn-i Hümayûn'a verildi ama, babası ile ağabeyi Mes'ud öldürüldüler. Fahreddin'in ölümüyle M.'nin Dürziler arasındaki önemi de kayboldu. Gerçi kardeşi Yunus'un oğlu Melhem, Cezin savaşından kaçıp kurtulduktan sonra ailenin başına geçmişse de Kaysî partisini temsil eden Emir İlmüddin'in kendisine karşı cephe alması üzerine ailenin eski nüfuzunu îade edemedi. Trablus-Şam beylerbeyi Hasan Paşa'nın Cebel işlerine devamlı müdahalesi buna imkân da bırakmadı. Gerçi Şam beylerbeyinin izni ile Safed'de tekrar hâkimiyetini kurdu ise de, 1659'da ölümü bu geçici başarıyı ortadan kaldırdı. Öte yandan 1660'da Şam beylerbeyi Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa Trablus-Şam beylerbeyinin de desteği ile Kasrevan'da son M. emiri Melham'ın oğlu Ahmed'i tedib edince, M.'nin Lübnan üzerindeki nüfuzları tamamen çökmüş oldu. Onların yerini Kaysî partisinin temsil eden Şihâbîler aldılar. 1697'de Emir Ahmed'in ölümüyle M. ailesi son bulmuş oldu.

M., özellikle Emir Fahreddin'in çalışmalarıyla bugünkü Lübnan'ın temellerini atmışlardır. Gözlerini ve ümitlerini Avrupa'ya çeviren bu emir, Suriye, Filistin ve Lübnan'da dağınık bir durumda yaşayan Mârûnî Hıristiyanlar'la Dürziler'i kaynaştırmış, ülkede tarımın gelişmesine yarayacak tedbirler aldığı kadar, Dürzi gençlerinin yetişmeleri için memlekette Fransız misyonerlerinin Cezvit okulları açmalarına izin vermiş, Fransa krallığının müzaharetini sağlamak için memleketin çeşitli yerlerindeki kilise ve manastırların onarılmasına müsaade etmişti. M. kendilerinden önce Dürziler'in liderliğini yürüten Tennuhîler gibi Yemânîler'in tarafını tutmuşlardı. Bu sebeple bayrakları Kaysîler'in kızıl bayrakları yerine ak renkte idi. M.'nin kuvvetli askerî birlikler beslemeye ve muhtar bir hükümdarlık sürdürmeye imkân sağlayan mâlî kaynakları ise, özellikle Sayda ve Beyrut gümrüklerinin hasılatını ellerinde tutmaları, Türk gemilerini soyan Malta korsanlarına kontrolleri altında limanları açmaları olmuştur. Emir Fahreddin'in Enderûn-i Hümayûn'da yetişen oğlu M. Hüseyin Ağa ise kapucubaşılığa kadar yükselmiş, 1659'da Hind-Türk hükümdarı Şâh-ı Cihân'a elçi olarak gönderilmiş, Şihâbîler'den Emir Haydar'ın Dürzi emirliğine tayininde müessir olmuştur. (İ. Parmaksızoğlu)

Fahreddin Maionoglu

## KHALIDI ON FAKHR AL-DĪN APOLOGY AS HISTORY

Abdul-Rahim Abu Husayn<sup>☆</sup>

EBHAS, vol: XLI (1993) Beirut, s.3-15

IRCICA

20 EKİM 1997

In the history of Ottoman Syria, the first four decades of the seventeenth century are viewed as the age of the Druze amir Fakhr al-Dīn Ma<sup>c</sup>n (d. 1635). The present paper being an assessment of one contemporary account of the man's career,<sup>1</sup> a summary of his story, for a start, would be in order.

From modest beginnings as *muqaddam* (local chief) of the Shūf in the southern Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn rose by stages to become the dominant figure in Syrian politics. Appointed *sanjakkbeyi* of Sidon-Beirut in 1592 or 1593 by Murād Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Damascus, with whom he had won favor, Fakhr al-Dīn was further appointed *sanjakkbeyi* of Şafad in A.H. 1011/A.D. 1602-3 when his patron Murād became a vizier in Istanbul. Next, in 1605, this same Murād became the grand vizier, which secured Fakhr al-Dīn's position for the duration of Murād's tenure of office. In 1611, however, Murād Pasha died, and Fakhr al-Dīn soon found himself in serious trouble.

The Druze amir, by then, had already given the Ottomans sufficient provocation. In 1606, he had allied himself with <sup>c</sup>Alī Jānbūlād, the Kurdish chief who had usurped power in Aleppo the year before, joining Jānbūlād in an attack on Tripoli, the Biqā<sup>c</sup> and Damascus. Next, in 1608, he had concluded a secret alliance with Tuscany, thereby giving the Ottomans more reason to become wary of him.

Attacked by Ḥafiz Aḥmad Pasha of Damascus in 1613, Fakhr al-Dīn fled to Italy, remaining there until 1618. After his return home, he won favor with the Ottomans again and embarked on a career of territorial expansion at the expense of various

☆ American University of Beirut.

1. Aḥmad al-Khālidī, *Tārīkh al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma<sup>c</sup>nī*, edited by A. Rustum and F.A. Bustānī and published under the title *Lubnān fī <sup>c</sup>Ahd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma<sup>c</sup>nī al-Thānī*, Beirut, 1936.



# فخر الدين المعني الثاني

حاكم لبنان

ودولة تسكانا

١٦٣٥ - ١٦٠٥

بقلم

اخوئي بولس قرالى

مدير المجلة البطريركية

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	60529
Tas. No:	356.81 KAR.F

الجزء الثاني

يحتوي الوثائق الشرقية بلغاتها

مع تعريب او تلخيص المقدمة التاريخية والوثائق الغربية

بمطبعة القديس بولس - حريصا (لبنان)

١٩٣٨

١٤ HAZİRAN 1999

une princesse impériale la place néanmoins dans un cas particulier. Or, il s'en faut de beaucoup qu'une telle union constitue en elle-même un facteur décisif d'accélération, mis à part le cas d'esprits ambitieux doués pour l'intrigue, comme Mîhr-i Mâh Sultân et Rüstem Paşa. Dans le système ottoman fortement "méritocratique", être *dâmâd* est un honneur, mais certainement pas un passe-droit, comme le montrent de nombreux exemples.

Lorsque la documentation rassemblée sera suffisante, une typologie des carrières pourra cependant être esquissée en prenant, par exemple, comme n° I le parcours à quatre étapes déjà évoqué, puis les trois cas suivants correspondant chacun à l'absence de l'une des premières étapes, le cas extrême étant le n° IV, celui d'Ibrâhîm Paşa où il y a passage direct de l'*ağalık* au grand-vizirat. Des subdivisions peuvent être introduites pour le cas des *dâmâd*, mais aussi des parents, alliés et clients du personnel administratif en place,<sup>8</sup> des descendants de grandes familles ou de hauts dignitaires. Mais ce schéma demeurera inerte s'il ne tient pas compte de l'effet du temps sur un appareil de l'État qui, de toute évidence, a une vie propre participant de celles des hommes qui le composent, des institutions qui le régissent et de conjonctures dont les effets s'exercent sur celles-ci et sur ceux-là.

Archivum Ottomanicum, 17 (1999)

Wiesbaden, s. 240-247

IRCIKA

D. 468

MADDE YATIRILAN  
SONRA GELEN BOKÜMAN

27 MARI 2003

<sup>8</sup> Il serait intéressant de voir si, au-delà de la première génération, il y a survivance de liens entre clients d'Ibrâhîm Paşa, d'İskender Çelebi, de Rüstem Paşa, de Şoköllu Mehmed Paşa, par exemple.

Fakhr al-Din Ma'n  
 THE UNKNOWN CAREER OF AHMAD MA'N  
 (1667-1697)

ABDUL-RAHIM ABU-HUSAYN

In the parts of Ottoman Syria which are today Lebanon, the Druze chiefs of the Ma'nid dynasty, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, occupied a position of political prominence which no other provincial Syrian leadership enjoyed. The turbulent history of the early Ma'ns, culminating in the career of the celebrated Emir Fakhr al-Din (1590-1633), has received considerable scholarly attention to date. By contrast, however, the career of Ahmad Ma'n - the grand nephew of Fakhr al-Din, and the last of the Ma'nid chiefs of the Shuf and Kisrawan mountains - has attracted little notice. In the traditional historiography of Lebanon, as in modern writings, he features as a shadowy and somewhat innocuous figure whose only notable achievement, in 1667, was the squashing of the Alam al-Dins: the chief political rivals of the Ma'ns who allegedly headed a Yemeni faction among the Druzes, in opposition to a Qaysi faction of which the Ma'ns were the leaders. Having achieved this victory, Emir Ahmad is depicted as having received the *iltizam* of the Shuf and Kisrawan districts from the Ottomans, to hold it without interruption for thirty years, until his death in 1697: a long period of imagined peace, unmarked by any notable event with respect to the relations of the emir with the Ottomans, as with respect to his relations with his neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

This bland portrayal of the career of Ahmad Ma'n largely derives from the principal local source that speaks about him: the chronicle entitled *Tarikh al-Azminah*, by the Maronite patriarch-historian Istifan al-Duwayhi (d. 1704).<sup>2</sup> As the protégé and personal friend of Emir Ahmad, who appreciated the favours the Ma'ns had consistently extended to the Maronite church and

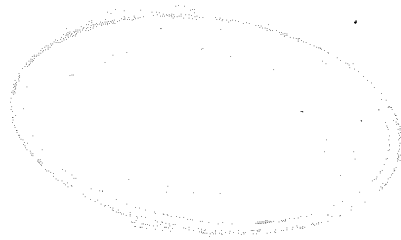
<sup>1</sup> See for example Kamal Salibi, *The Lebanese Emirate*, in: *Al-Abhath*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1967, pp. 1-16 (henceforth Salibi, "The Lebanese ..."); see also A. Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650*, Beirut, 1985, pp. 67-128.

<sup>2</sup> Istifan al-Duwayhi, *Tarikh al-Azminah: 1095-1699*, ed. Ferdinand Taoutel, Beirut, 1951 (henceforth Duwayhi).

## TURMOIL

own people's standards to this extent are so far a small minority, but the longer that chaos continues its reign in Lebanon, the larger their numbers will sadly grow to be.

Najib Alamuddin Cbe, Turmoil: The Druzes,  
Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.  
London 1993, B. 75-99 DIA KIP 39299.



7 MART 1996  
MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## 4. The Ottoman Empire and the Reign of Fakhruddin II

The headquarters of the Druze Faith may have been in Cairo, but its doctrines were to thrive in Mount Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon range, in northern and south-western Syria, in and around Damascus and in northern Palestine. Thus were the Druzes in Lebanon from the very beginning. And for seven hundred years Lebanon was known as the 'Mountain of the Druzes'. Lebanon and Palestine were, at the time, part of Syria, and the Arab tribes who responded to the Divine Call and became Druzes spread all across Syria in more areas than they occupy today.

The Tanukhs, or Buhturs, were the first powerful feudal Druze tribe to leave north Syria early in the eleventh century to settle in the Lebanese mountains east of Beirut. They were ordered to do so by the caliph, to defend the coast and protect communications. The Ma'anids were, in the twelfth century, the second feudal tribe to leave Syria for Lebanon after their defeat in the north by the Crusaders. They followed in the footsteps of the Tanukhs, with whom they were related through marriage, their orders being to assist the Tanukhs in protecting the coastal plains. The Tanukhs welcomed them as honoured guests and kinsmen, and legend tells how, one clear sunny day, the Tanukhi host took the elder of the Ma'anids up to the highest mountain east of Beirut, which overlooked not only the coastal plains but also a large and mostly uninhabited stretch of hills and valleys to the east. The host said to his guest, 'Shoof,' which

د . محمد عدنان البخيت

حسين الذي ولد ، كما يذكر المؤرخ احمد بن محمد الصفدي ( ت ١٠٣٤ هـ / ١٦٢٤ م ) في الرابع عشر من شهر ذي الحجة ختام سنة ١٠٣٠ هـ / ٢٩ تشرين الاول ١٦٢١ م ، والثاني شقيقه حسن الذي كان ميلاده في ليلة السادس من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٣٣ هـ / ٢٦ كانون الثاني ١٦٢٤ م (١) .

كان الامير فخر الدين يحاول الحصول على مناصب رفيعة لابنه الامير حسين وهو مازال طفلا في المهدي . فلم يترك فرصة لتقديمه الى المسؤولين العثمانيين الا واغتنمها (٢) . وقد اثمرت هذه الجهود وعادت على الامير حسين بالنفع الذي كان يرجوه له ابوه ، ففي سنة ١٠٣١ هـ / ١٦٢٢ م مر ببيروت خليل باشا (٣) ( ت ١٠٣٩ هـ / ١٦٢٩ م - ٣٠ م ) قائد الاسطول العثماني آنذاك « فأرسل اليه فخر الدين ولده الامير حسين وكان عمره آنذاك أقل من سنة . . . وخلص عليه الوزير خليل باشا واعطاه عرضا بسنجقية عجلون وقدم اليه خدمة العرض الف غرش » (٤) . ان فخر الدين ، بلا شك ، كان يسعى في الحصول على هذا اللواء لابنه الطفل ، لتصفية الاسرة الغزاوية زعيمة الجناح القيسي لتؤول هذه الزعامة اليه .

في هذه الاثناء ورد أمر الى والي الشام باناطة سنجق عجلون بالامير احمد بن حمدان الغزاوي . ولكن الوالي الذي كان ، على الأرجح ، متواطئا مع فخر الدين ماطل بتنفيذ هذا الامر ، بحجة قرب خروج قافلة الحج الشريف الى مكة المكرمة ، وان الامير احمد لن يتمكن من توفير الحماية الكافية لها ضد اية محاولة محتملة لهجوم القبائل البدوية عليها وهي في طريقها الى مكة المكرمة .

لقد استطاع الوالي بمباطلته تلك ان يكسب عنصر الزمن للامير فخر الدين ، ففي اثناء ذلك ارسل فخر الدين احد مماليكه ، المعروف باسم محمد آغا أبو شاهين ، الى الحاج درويش واكيل فخر الدين « الذي أوقفه في الباب العالي لقضاء مصالحه يستعجله في الحصول على هذا الحكم ، وذلك بتقرير السنجق الى الامير حسين » (٥) .

وتكللت جهود الحاج درويش بالنجاح . ففي شهر ذي الحجة ١٠٣١ هـ / تشرين اول ١٦٢٢ م ، وصل محمد آغا أبو شاهين من الباب العالي يحمل معه حكما شريفا وخلصا سنوية بسنجقية عجلون للامير حسين . ومن الطريف بالذكر ان الامير احمد الغزاوي قصد عون الامير فخر الدين ليسانده لدى العثمانيين من اجل الحصول على سنجق عجلون ، فاذا بالامير فخر الدين يفاجئه بأمر اناطة هذا السنجق بابنه الطفل حسين . « وكان جواب الامير احمد السمع والطاعة لله ولرسوله ولوالي الامر . . . وقال انا أولا وآخرا منك واليك وبسنجق وبغير سنجق محسوب عليك » (٦) .

## الأمير حسين بن فخر الدين المعني حياته وآثاره

د . محمد عدنان البخيت

الجامعة الاردنية - قسم التاريخ

يلاحظ الدارس لتاريخ بلاد الشام في مطلع القرن السابع عشر الميلادي ظاهرتين متمازتين . الاولى تتمثل بظهور القوى المحلية والموزعة في الارياف والبادية ما بين جناحين متخاصمين : الجناح القيسي الذي كان بداية بزعامة الاسرة الغزاوية في لواء عجلون ثم تحولت هذه الزعامة الى الاسرة المعنية الدرزية في الشوف ، والجناح الثاني الذي يعرف بالمينية بزعامة آل سيفا في منطقة عكار وطرابلس الشام ، تلك الاسرة التركمانية الاصل السنية المذهب ، التي عرفت بولائها المستمر للدولة العثمانية

اما الظاهرة الثانية التي تستلفت نظر الدارس فتتمثل بتفسخ القوة العسكرية النظامية العثمانية ، الموزعة في مختلف القلاع والابراج والحصون في بلاد الشام . ونتيجة لانعدام الضبط والربط ، وللظروف الاقتصادية المتردية التي تركت آثارها على أفراد تلك القوة ، فان بعض عناصرها بدأ بالهروب من الخدمة النظامية والاتحاق بقوى الحركة الجلالية الخارجة على الدولة العثمانية في بلاد الاناضول ، او الانضمام الى زعامات الاسر المحلية لتخدم لديها بصفة مرتزقة . زيادة على ذلك ، فان الغالبية العظمى من العناصر التي لم تهرب ، انقسمت على نفسها الى فئات متناحرة ، رأى قسم منها ان يناصر الجناح اليميني ، وآثرت الفئات الاخرى ان تأخذ عى عاتقها الالتزام بالجناح القيسي .

وبالرغم من تلك الظروف السيئة المليئة بالتفسخ والعداء بين جميع القوى ، سواء العسكرية او المحلية ، كما ذكرنا آنفا ، الا ان عددا من المصاهرات قد تمت بين الاسرتين المتنازعتين ، الاسرة المعنية والاسرة السيفية ، وذلك في مطلع القرن السابع عشر الميلادي . ومع أن الهدف من وراء تلك المصاهرات كان سياسيا ، الا انها على ما يظهر لم تنجح في تحقيق الغاية من ورائها وهي تحسين العلاقات بينهما . فهذا زعيم الاسرة المعنية وكبيرها - الامير فخر الدين - يعقد قرانه على ابنة الامير علي بن سيفا شقيق يوسف باشا سيفا . ويشمر هذا الزواج ولدين : الاول الامير

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## 5. The Ma'anid Succession and the Two Bashirs

Lebanon lost its autonomy with the death of Fakhruddin II, and all who governed after him did so under dominant Turkish rule. It was a rule exercised with malice and retribution in mind, for the Ottomans continued to smart over the memory of Fakhruddin's victorious independence and could never forgive him for having sought Christian European aid. The Druzes especially were hated by the Ottomans for their unceasing struggle for independence and the frequent defeats they inflicted in battle, which represented humiliations for the Turks. During the Ottoman rule of Syria and Lebanon, the Druzes are said to have waged fourteen battles against them, winning eleven and losing only three. The factor to irk the Ottomans most was that while the Druzes represented the most powerful community in Lebanon, so that the Turks could not avoid continuing to appoint them as rulers, they were also, by definition, the group from which there was most to fear.

Several Ma'anid Druze princes therefore succeeded Fakhruddin II, all appointed by the Ottomans. The first of these was Ali Alamuddin, the Alamuddins being the Druze standard bearers, whose name in Arabic means 'The Flag of Religion'. Prince Ali, then his sons, ruled the Mountain of the Druzes from 1633 to 1667. Other Ma'anids were next appointed to take over from the Alamuddins, until, in 1697, the Ma'anid male lines became extinct and the Lebanese feudal lords were instructed by the Ottoman Turks to meet

## The Ma'anid Succession and the Two Bashirs

and elect a successor. The man they chose was Bashir Shihab I, a notable Sunni Moslem and a kinsman of the Ma'anids by marriage. The Ottomans, however, withheld approval and insisted the succession must go to twelve-year-old Haydar Shihab, grandson of Ahmad Ma'an and a distant relative of Bashir. In this they were insisting on the principle of hereditary descent, and it came about that a compromise was reached whereby Bashir I would rule as regent till Haydar came of age.

It would be a mistake to think of this election of an emir of Lebanon by the feudal lords as a liberal democratic practice sponsored by the Ottoman Turks. Far from it: such a practice was primarily designed to provoke jealousy and dissension among the Druze feudal lords and to fire individual aspirations to be selected ruler of Lebanon. By provoking the Druzes into fighting between themselves, the Turks could thus cleverly exploit to the full their policy of divide and rule.

The Druzes and the other communities in Syria and Lebanon had for quite some time been split into two feuding clans – the Qaysites and the Yamanites. These divisions were a legacy of two early Arabian parties, the Qaysites being emigrants from north Arabia, and the Yamanites earlier emigrants from southern Arabia. The Ottoman Turks had naturally encouraged the split, especially among the Druzes, the most warlike of the communities, for it was far easier to control and rule two parties than it was a motley collection of unruly feudal lords; and while they were in power, the Shihabs followed the same tactic.

Bashir Shihab I's rule (1697–1707) in fact turned out to be relatively peaceful, but his ward, Haydar, when he came of age and assumed power, soon fell foul of the Ottomans. The governing Turkish pasha took the decision to appoint Yousef Alamuddin as Emir of Lebanon to replace Haydar, and Yousef ejected Haydar from his headquarters at Dayr al-Qamar and assumed power in his place. His rule, however,





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ARABIK

فكري زكي الجزار ، مداخل المؤلفين و الأعلام العرب حتى عام ١٢١٥ هـ = ١٨٠٠ ،  
الجزء الثالث ، ١٩٩٤ الرياد . ص . 33-34 . /DIA KTP.29966.

فخر الدين المعنى ( أمير « الشوف » في لبنان )

فخر الدين بن قرقماس بن فخر الدين الأول ، المعنى ، الدرزي (١) :

٩٨ - ١٠٤٤ هـ .

١٥٧٢ - ١٦٣٥ م

(١) الدرزي : نسبة إلى « الدرروز » في لبنان . وهذه النسبة متنازع عليها : يقول المحبي في خلاصة الأثر : « ... وكان بعض حفدة فخر الدين - المترجم له - حكى لي عنه أنه كان يقول : أصل آبائنا من الأكراد سكنوا هذه البلاد فأطلق عليهم (الدرروز) باعتبار المجاورة لا أنهم منهم » . ويعقب « المحبي » على هذا بقوله : « ... وهذا أيضاً غير ثابت » كما سبق أن أشار « المحبي » إلى أن آل المترجم له يزعمون أن نسبتهم إلى معن بن زائدة ولم يثبت ذلك .

ولفت نظرنا خير الدين الزركلي ، رحمه الله ، إلى أن المحامي داود التكريني الدمشقي نهبه إلى كلمة كتبها سليم الدحداح في مجلة المشرق ٤ : ٣٨٩ خلاصتها : « أن الأمراء المعنيين (سنيون) ... وإنما غلط الإفرنج في نسبة الأمير فخر الدين إلى المذهب الدرزي لما ورد في فرمانات الدولة العثمانية من نسبته بأمير الدرروز ، أو ، أمير جبل الدرروز » .

١ - خلاصة الأثر ٣ : ٢٦٦ .

٢ - الأعلام ط ٣ في ٥ : ٣٣٧ ؛ ط ٤ في ٥ : ١٣٧ .

## العلاقات بين فخر الدين المعني الثاني

## والدولة العثمانية

(١٥٩٠ - ١٦٣٥)

للدكتور عمر عبد العزيز عامر

## ١ - دخول « لبنان » في حوزة العثمانيين :

في أواخر القرن الخامس عشر وأوائل القرن السادس عشر شهد حوض البحر المتوسط انقلاباً جذرياً في التجارة الدولية ، وتغيراً في الطرق التجارية الرئيسية ، كما شهد أيضاً انقلاباً سياسياً في توازن القوى الدولية الرئيسية . وكان لهذين الانقلابين ، التجاري والسياسي ، أثر سيء في لبنان . فلقد تحول طريق التجارة الرئيسي إلى رأس الرجاء الصالح ، ولم يعد البحر المتوسط «بحراً يتوسط العالم المتمدن» كما كان زمن الفينيقيين . وفي نفس الوقت أخذ العثمانيون - الذين كانوا خلال القرنين الأخيرين يثبتون أركان ملكهم في البلدان التي استولوا عليها في آسيا الصغرى وشبه جزيرة البلقان - يتطلعون جنوباً إلى البلدان العربية التي كانت في حوزة المماليك . وكانت السلطنة المملوكية قد فقدت قوتها ونفوذها لأسباب عسكرية واقتصادية . فأنحل النظام العسكري المملوكي وأهملت التدريبات التقليدية في الفروسية وكره المماليك استخدام الأسلحة النارية ، وكان الأمر على عكس ذلك في الدولة العثمانية التي استخدمت الأسلحة النارية ، وهي لا تزال فتية ، فبلغت بها ذروة قوتها (١) . ومما عجل بانحطاط الاقتصاد المملوكي تحول طرق التجارة

(١) عبد الكريم رافق ، بلاد الشام ومصر من الفتح العثماني إلى حملة نابليون بونابرت (١٥١٦ - ١٩١٨) ، دمشق ، ١٩٦٦ ، ص ١٩ - ٢٣ .