

NOTES

1 IN THE BEIRUT VILAYET

1. See the works of Abbé de Binos, *Voyage au Mont-Liban* (Paris, 1809); Henry Charles Churchill, *Mount Lebanon: A Ten Years' Residence, from 1842 to 1852: Describing the Manners, Customs, and Religion of Its Inhabitants, with a Full & Correct Account of the Druze Religion, and Containing Historical Records of the Mountain Tribes* (Reading, 1994); Comte de Louis-Philippe-Albert d'Orléans, *Damas et le Liban: extraits du journal d'un voyage en Syrie au printemps de 1860* (Londres, 1861); Constantin Volney, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (Paris, 1959); Vicomte de Marcellus, *Souvenirs de l'Orient*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1839); Alphonse de Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1835); Ernest Renan, *Correspondances 1856–1861; Mission de Phénicie* (Brest, 1994); Valerie Boisser de Gaspurin, *Voyage en Levant* (Paris, 1878).
2. Sulayman Dahir, *Dictionary of Jabal 'Amil Villages*, "Mu'jam Qura Jabal 'Amil," in *al-'Irfan*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1930), p. 25.
3. David Urquhart, *The Lebanon (Mount Souria): A History and a Diary* (London, 1860), pp. 95–96.
4. Muhammad Bahjat and Rafiq al-Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut* (Beirut, 1916), pp. 292–295.
5. *Mut'a* or "pleasure" marriage is a temporary marriage that is contracted for a fixed period of time. It is practiced in Twelver Shi'i Islam, particularly in Iran. According to the Sunni legal schools, it is considered no more than legalized prostitution and therefore forbidden. Cf. *Mut'a*, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, VII, p. 757a.
6. Bahjat and Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut*.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

12. Proverb quoted to author by a multitude of people from different generations. Also see Ferdinand Abela, *Proverbes populaires du Liban Sud: Saida et ses environs* (Paris, 1981–1985).
13. “Yawmiyyat ‘Amili” (Diary of an ‘Amili), manuscript (hereafter cited as Diary MSS), June 3/4, 1918.
14. Cf. E. Robinson, *Séjour au Liban* (Beirut, 1947); Louis Lortet, *La Syrie d’aujourd’hui, voyages dans la Phénicie, le Liban et la Judée, 1875–1880* (Paris, 1884).
15. Al-Zayn, *Ma‘ al-Tarikh al-‘Amili*, p. 44.
16. *Jaridat Jabal ‘Amil*, March 14, 1912. *Jabal ‘Amil Newspaper* was a daily newspaper that Ahmad ‘Arif al-Zayn published for two years, 1911–1912, when the Ottoman authorities banned *al-‘Irfan* for a period. It had a more political propagandist nature and represented more clearly the opinions of the intellectuals, who only used to initial their articles not sign them. Herewith to be referred to as *JAN*.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Bahjat and Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut*, p. 40.
19. Jaber, “Pouvoir et société au Jabal ‘Amil de 1749 a 1920 dans la conscience des chroniqueurs chiites et dans un essai d’interprétation” (Ph.D. thesis, Paris IV, 1978), p. 10.
20. This is also mentioned in Dahir’s “Mu‘jam Qura Jabal ‘Amil.”
21. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” pp. 169–172.
22. Bahjat and Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut*, pp. 286, 291.
23. Victor Guérin, *Description géographique et archéologique de la Palestine, Part 3: Galilée* (Paris, 1880), pp. 86–283; he mentions that the villages without any water reserve were rare.
24. Bahjat and Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut*, pp. 286–328.
25. Martha Mundy, “Village Authority and the Legal Order of Property (the Southern Hawran, 1876–1922),” in Roger Owen, ed., *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), p. 67.
26. Quotes from A. al-Husayni, *Tarikh Suriya al-Iqtisadi* (Damascus, 1932) in Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 175.
27. Henri Guys, *Esquisse de l’état politique et commercial de la Syrie* (Paris, 1862), p. 38.
28. *Al-‘Irfan*, vol. 2 (1910), p. 235.
29. Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800–1914* (London, 1993), p. 164.
30. April 4, 1912, *JAN*.
31. Lortet, *La Syrie d’aujourd’hui*, p. 152.
32. Bahjat and Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut*, p. 322.
33. Michael Gilsenan, “Land and Labour in North Lebanon 1858–1950,” in Tarif Khalidi, ed., *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1984), p. 453.
34. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 220. See also Peter Sluglett and Marion Farouk-Sluglett, “The Application of the 1858 Land Code in Greater

- Syria: Some Preliminary Observations,” in Tarif Khalidi, ed., *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1984).
35. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 217.
 36. Fawaz Traboulsi, “Identités et solidarités croisés dans les conflits du Liban contemporain” (Ph.D. thesis, Paris, VIII, 1993), p. 102.
 37. ‘Urf is customary law as was practiced with regard to land ownership, both throughout the French Mandate period and earlier.
 38. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 216.
 39. André Latron, *La vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban: étude d'économie sociale* (Beirut, 1936), chapter 4.
 40. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 214.
 41. For a discussion of the sharecropping situation in Palestine, cf. Ya'akov Firestone, “Crop-Sharing Economies in Mandatory Palestine,” in Elie Kedourie and Sylvia Haim, eds., *Palestine and Israel in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (London, 1983).
 42. Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris, 1946), p. 195.
 43. On the 1858 Ottoman Land Law, see Haim Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder and London, 1987); Tarif Khalidi, ed., *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1984); Roger Owen, ed., *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).
 44. Muhammad Jabir Al Safa, “Safahat min Tarikh Jabal ‘Amil: Jabal ‘Amil Ba’d Zawal al-hukm al-‘Iqta’i,” in *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 27 (1937), pp. 385–390.
 45. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 134.
 46. Jabir al-Safa, “Safahat min Tarikh Jabal ‘Amil.”
 47. Cf. Albert Hourani, “From Jabal ‘Amil to Persia,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 49, 1986; Rula Jurdi, “Migration and Social Change: The ‘Ulama of Ottoman Jabal ‘Amil in Safavid Iran, 1501–1736” (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1998); Ja‘ far al-Muhajir, al-Hijra al-Amiliyya ila Iran: fi al-Asr al-Safawi: asbabuha al-Tarikhyya wa-nata’ijuha al-thaqafiyya wa-al-siyasiyya (Beirut, 1988).
 48. Roger Lescot, *Les Chiïtes du Liban-Sud*, Report to the Centre des Hautes Études de l’Asie Moderne, Paris (CHEAM, 1936).
 49. Cf. Muhsin al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, vol. 40 (Beirut, 1957) ; Waddah Charara, *Al-Umma al-Qaliqa* (Beirut, 1996); Muhammad Jawad Mughniyya, *Ma‘ ‘Ulama’ al-Najaf al-Ashraf*; Husayn Muruwwa, “Walidtu Shaykhan wa-Amutu Tiflan”; Ibrahim Baydun, ed., *Safahat min Tarikh Jabal ‘Amil*; ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din, “Al-Amiliyun fi al-Najaf,” in *Amal* (Beirut, 1987), serialized.
 50. Rafiq and Bahjat, *Wilayat Bayrut*, p. 294. Tarif al-Khalidi, “Shaykh Ahmad ‘Arif al-Zayn and al-‘Irfan,” in Marwan Buheiry, ed., *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890–1939* (Beirut, 1981), pp. 119–121.
 51. Lescot in 1936 wrote that until very recently the Assaads dominated the entire Jabal from their castle in Tibnin. He adds that they were

- driven to sell their lands in order to maintain their image of wealth and generosity, but that their descendents actually lived more modest lives. *Les Chiïtes*, 1936, pp. 9–10. Also see Arnold Hottinger, “Zu‘ama’ in Historical Perspective,” in Leonard Binder, ed., *Politics in Lebanon* (New York, 1966).
52. Gilsenan, “Land and Labour,” p. 456.
 53. The Ottoman parliament was created during the first constitutional period in 1877, following the reorganization of the Ottoman provinces in 1860. Its aim was to bridge the distance between the provinces and the center so that “every Ottoman male above the age of thirty with ability in Turkish and enjoying civil rights could be elected deputy”; Hasan Kayal, “Elections in the Ottoman Empire,” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 27 (1995), p. 266; and “Greater Syria under Ottoman Constitutional Rule: Ottomanism, Arabism, Regionalism,” in Philipp Thomas, ed., *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience* (Stuttgart, 1992).
 54. Charara, *Al-Umma*, p. 71. For a discussion of these speculations, see Gerber in *Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 75–76.
 55. Cf. Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century: Patterns of Government and Administration* (Jerusalem, 1973), chapter one.
 56. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” pp. 199–201.
 57. This is according to Muhsin al-Amin’s account of Ahmad ‘Usayran, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, vol. 54 (Beirut, 1968), pp. 16–18.
 58. Th. Zarcone and F. Zarinebaf-Shahr, *Les Iraniens d’Istanbul* (Paris, 1993), p. 29.
 59. Ali Effendi (d. 1908), Abdullah Bey (d. 1918), Rashid Bey (d. ca. 1962), Najib Bey (d. 1951), and Adil Bey (d. 1998).
 60. Public Record Office, PRO 371/ 4184, “General Report on Western Syria,” Beirut, July 1919.
 61. Ahmad Abu Said, *Mu‘jam al-Usar wa-l-Ashkhas* (Beirut, 1997), pp. 400–402.
 62. ‘Abd al-Karim Hubballah, “Yusuf al-Zayn 1879–1962, Hayatuhu al-Siyasiyya wa-l-Ijtima‘iyya” (M.A. thesis, Lebanese University, 1989), chapter one.
 63. Abu Said, *Mu‘jam al-Usar wa-l-Ashkhas*, pp. 298–299.
 64. Shaykh Ibrahim Al Sulayman, unpublished papers (n.d.).
 65. For a definition of *‘asabiyya*, see Ibn Khaldun in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 681.
 66. Clifford Geertz, “The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 255–310.
 67. Charara, *Al-Umma*, pp. 126–127.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 17.
 70. *Ibid.*, p. 221; *JAN*, July 4, 1912.

71. Dominique Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe* (Paris, 1971), p. 210.
72. Cf. Dahir, *Mu'jam Qura Jabal 'Amil, Yawmiyyat 'Amili*, manuscript; and Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh Jabal 'Amil* (Beirut, 1996).
73. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 237.
74. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 36.
75. Munzer Jaber, "Al-Shi'a fi Jabal 'Amil bayn al-Mabda'iyya wal-hifaz ala al-dat," in *al-Muntalaq*, vol. 105 (1993), p. 66.
76. *Amal al-'Amil* is also the name of the famous work of Baha' al-Din al-'Amili.
77. Muhsin al-Amin, *A'yan al-Shi'a*, vol. 9 (Beirut, 1957), pp. 22–24.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.
79. Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 228–229. Kansu mentions that Kamil al-Assaad changed political sides during his Mab'uthan career.
80. *Ibid.*
81. According to a profile of the Bey in the political reports of the French, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, is referred to from now on as MAE, Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique (CP), Kamil Bey changed from the Entente Party back to the Union and Progress Party in 1912 after he was harassed by the Turkish government. However he got into a quarrel with his colleagues from Beirut of the Reformist party over land in Hula that the government had agreed to cede. Kamil Bey wanted part of that land. During World War One, the Turks accused him of aiding the Arab revolt, but Enver and Talaat Pasha defended him.
82. 'Abd al-Muhsin Dahir, *Al-Dalalah al-'Amiliyyah lil Usra al-Wa'iliyyah*, vol. 2, p. 169.
83. Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in William Polk and Richard Chambers, eds., *The Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East* (Chicago, 1968), p. 46.
84. Hassan Hallaq, ed., *Mudhakkarat Salim 'Ali Salam* (Beirut, 1982), pp. 192–209.
85. Sulayman al-Bustani, *Ibra wa-Dhikra* (Beirut, 1978).
86. Charara, *Al-Umma*, p. 115.
87. H. Humani, "Ya Ayyuha al-Mab'uth," in *JAN*, December 2, 1911. The poem is in six long stanzas revolving around the same theme.

2 JABAL 'AMIL AND THE ARAB AWAKENING

1. Cf. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*; Ahmad Rida, "Mudhakkarati Lil-Tarikh," serialized in *al-'Irfan*; Sulayman Dahir, "Jabal 'Amil fil Harb al-Kawniyya" (Beirut, 1986), among others.
2. *JAN*, January 11, 1912.
3. Charara, *Al-Umma* (1996), chapter 3.
4. Cf. Sulayman Dahir's *Diary MSS*, Al Safa's "Tarikh Jabal 'Amil Manuscript," and Rida's "Mudhakkarat" in *al-'Irfan*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1945), pp. 202–205.

5. Hani Farhat, *al-Thulath al-‘Amili fi ‘Asr al-Nabda* (Beirut, 1981), p. 45. Cf. also Fawiz Tarhini, *al-Shaykh Ahmad Rida wa-l-Fikr al-‘Amili* (Beirut, 1983), and ‘Abd al-Latif Sharara, “al-Shaykh Ahmad Rida,” in *Wujub Tarikhiyya min al-Janub* (Beirut, 1983).
6. “Al Matawila wal-Shi’a fil-Tarikh” (The Mitwalis and the Shi’is in History), in *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1911); and “Ma Hiya al-Umma?” (What Is a Nation?), *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 2, no. 9 (1910).
7. Cf. Charara, *Al-Umma*, pp. 32–35.
8. Tarhini, *al-Shaykh Ahmad Rida wa-l-Fikr al-‘Amili*, p. 69.
9. Farhat, *al-Thulath al-‘Amili fi ‘Asr al-Nabda*, p. 175.
10. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 63.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
12. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, pp. 229–230.
13. Shafiq al-Arna’ut, “Adib Mujahid wa-Majallat *Ra’id*,” in *Wujub Thaqaifiyya min al-Janub* (Beirut, 1981).
14. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 245.
15. Cf. Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran* (Ithaca and London, 1989), chapter one.
16. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 43.
17. Cf. Idjaza, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, III: 1020b. See also Rula Jurdi, “Migration and Social Change,” pp. 26ff.
18. Cf. Meir Litvak, *Shi’i Scholars of Nineteenth Century Iraq* (Cambridge, 1998); Pierre-Jean Luizard, *La formation de l’Iraq contemporain* (Paris, 1991); Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi’is of Iraq* (Princeton, 1994).
19. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, pp. 241–246, Muhammad Kazim Makki, *Muntalaq al-Hayat al-Thaqaifiyya fi Jabal Amil* (Beirut, 1991).
20. Muhammad Jawad Rida, “Tatwir al-Ilm fi Qada’ Sour” (M.A. thesis, Lebanese University, 1980), p. 13.
21. Cf. Muhsin al-Amin’s autobiography in *Ayan al-Shi’i’a*, vol. 40 (Beirut, 1957).
22. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, pp. 264–266; and ‘Ali Mazraani, *al-Nabatieh fil-Dhakira* (Beirut, 1999), p. 270.
23. Charara, *Al-Umma*, pp. 87–88.
24. Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, p. 176.
25. Cf. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, pp. 2–43
26. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1918, pp. 9–10.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
30. Al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi’i’a*, vol. 40, p. 86.
31. Stephen Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate* (Oxford, 1958), p. 48.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.
33. Linda S Schilcher, “The Famine of 1915–1918 in Greater Syria,” in John Spagnolo, ed., *Problems of the Middle East in Historical Perspective* (Oxford, 1992).

34. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, p. 6.
35. Bahjat and Tamimi, *Wilayat Bayrut*, p. 322.
36. Schilcher, *Famine*, pp. 230–250.
37. Dahir, *Jabal ‘Amil*, p. 43.
38. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, December 18, 1918, pp. 212–213.
39. Fawaz Traboulsi, “Identités et solidarité croisées dans les conflits du Liban contemporain” (Ph.D. thesis, Paris, VIII, 1993), pp. 225–226.
40. Dahir, *Jabal ‘Amil*; ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din, *Bughyat al-Raghibin fi Silsilat Al Sharaf al-Din* (Beirut, 1991).
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 139–143.
43. Dahir, *Jabal ‘Amil*, p. 43.
44. Muhsin al-Amin, *Ayan al-Shi‘a*, vol. 40, p. 85.
45. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, p. 32.
46. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 229.
47. Some of these are: Muhammad Jamil Bayhum, *Qawafil al-Arab wa-Mawakibuha khilal-al-‘Usur* (Beirut, 1937); Sati‘ al-Husri, *Nushu‘ al-Fikra al-Qawmiyya* (Beirut, 1956); *al-Mu‘tamar al ‘Arabi al-Awwal* (Proceedings of the First Arab Conference, Cairo, 1913); As‘ad Dagher, *Mudhakkarat ‘Hamish al-Qadiyya al-Arabiyya* (Cairo, 1959); Amin Said, *al-Thawra al-Arabiyya al-Kubra*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1934).
48. George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (London, 1945), p. 187.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
50. Ahmad Jamal Pasha, *Memoirs* (Cairo, 1923), pp. 206–207.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 211.
53. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 115. See also Elizer Tauber, *The Emergence of the Arab Movements* (London, 1993).
54. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*; and Issam Shubaru, *‘Abd al-Karim al-Khalil, al-Zaim al-Sirri lil-Haraka al-Arabiya* (Beirut, 1996), p. 57.
55. Ahmad Rida, “Mudhakkarat Ahmad Rida fi Sijn ‘Aley,” in *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 58 (1970), pp. 606–706.
56. Ahmad Jamal Pasha, in *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 58 (1970), p. 207; “Min Tarikh al-Bakawat fi Jabal ‘Amil,” *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 49, p. 258.
57. Excerpts from a poem entitled “Death Is Life to the Homeland” written by Sulayman Dahir in memory of his friend ‘Abd al-Karim al-Khalil. Published in *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 33 (1946), p. 733.
58. Muhammad Jabir Al Safa, “Mudhakkarat Siyasiyya khilal al-I‘tiqal fi ‘Aley 1915,” photocopy.
59. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, p. 1.
60. Cf. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*.
61. Among the Shaykh’s many unpublished works are “Political History of the Shi‘is,” “An Ancient and Modern History of Jabal ‘Amil,” “Iraqi Travels,” “Iranian Travels,” several volumes of poetry, as well as a “Critique of Darwinism.”

62. This last point regarding poor security is reiterated several times earlier in 1912 in *JAN*. It appears to have been a major cause of concern for ‘Amilis.
63. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, June 9/10, 1918.
64. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1918, pp. 39–40.
65. Owen mentions that “Mount Lebanon’s special status meant that its inhabitants were not conscripted into the Ottoman army nor liable to pay the special taxes which were levied in time of war,” in *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800–1914* (London, 1993), p. 164.
66. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, p. 17.

3 TURMOIL AND NEW ORDER

1. A good description of the formative phase of the Arab nationalist movement is provided by George Antonius in *The Arab Awakening*. See in particular, pp. 101–125.
2. See Khayriyya Qasimiyya’s survey of the institutions and evolution of Faysal’s government, *al-Hukuma al-‘Arabiyya fi Dimashq* (Beirut, 1982).
3. Cf. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate*, pp. 64–65.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Sulayman Dahir, *Diary MSS*, p. 109.
6. Ahmad Rida, “Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh,” *al-‘Irfan*, vols. 7–9 (1933) and vols. 2, 3 (1934).
7. Antonius in *The Arab Awakening* writes that the British troops had advanced from Haifa to Tyre, Saida, and Beirut by October 3, and that no Arab troops accompanied them (p. 238).
8. Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia* (London, 1989), p. 570.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Service Historique de l’Armée de Terre (SHAT) 4H 58, Rapport Hebdomadaire, December 28, 1918.
11. December 21, 1919, SHAT, 4H 58.
12. MAE Archives, Beyrouth, no. 2432, November 17, 1918.
13. Muhsin al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a*, vol. 40 (Beirut, 1957), pp. 91–92.
14. MAE, Beyrouth, no. 2432, October 29, 1918; Lescot, *Les Chiïtes*, p. 6. Cf. also Sabrina Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte* (Paris, 2000), pp. 14, 344; SHAT 4H 143.
15. Quoted from Munzer Jaber, “Mu’tamar Wadi al Hujayr Wa-Atharuhu” (M.A. thesis, Lebanese University, Beirut, 1973), p. 13.
16. MAE, Beyrouth, No. 2373, Saida-Tyr, 1920.
17. Roger Lescot wrote in his report that “in 1920 the authority of the al-Assaads on the Jabal remained considerable,” *Les Chiïtes*.
18. Cf. Charara, *Al-Umma*, chapter 7.
19. Qadri Qal‘aji, *Jil al-Fida’* (Beirut, n.d), chapter 18; Muhammad Said Bassam, “al-Tawajjuh al-Siyasiyya fi Jabal ‘Amil bayn 1918–1926” (Ph.D. thesis, Université de St. Joseph, Beirut, 1986), chapter one.

20. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, Friday, October 4, 1918.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–125.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
24. Conversation with Munzer Jaber, September 21, 1999.
25. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, p. 103.
26. Qal'aji, *Jil al-Fida'*, p. 303.
27. Nadine Meouchy, "Les formes de conscience politique et communautaire au Liban et en Syrie à l'époque du Mandat Français 1920–1939" (Ph.D. thesis, Paris IV, 1989).
28. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 208. In reference to one of the 'Amilis attending this conference, Jabir wrote that "Sayyid Muhammad al-Amin was extreme in his Arabism, struggling for this political ideology, enticing the Amilis to revolution . . ."
29. Report by Sulayman Dahir to the Arab government representative in Beirut, Rafiq al-Tamimi, March 8, 1919.
30. 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din, *Bughhiyyat al-Raghibin* (Beirut, 1991), pp. 148–149. Sharaf al-Din also presented this request in writing to the King–Crane Commission, the text of which is published in this book, pp. 453–454.
31. MAE, Beyrouth, vol. 42, Serie E-Levant 1918–1929, dossier: pétitions.
32. Shaykh Husayn Mughniyya; cf. Muhsin al-Amin, *Aḡyan al-Shi'a*, vol. 6.
33. *Dahir–Tamimi Correspondence* (hereafter referred as *DTC*), unpublished, March 16, 1919.
34. *DTC*, June 18, 1919.
35. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1919.
36. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1919; June 18, 1919; and June 22, 1919.
37. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1919.
38. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1919.
39. First publication of the King–Crane Report on the Near East, December 2, 1922, Appendix section entitled "Confidential."
40. MAE, Beyrouth, vol. 42, Serie E-Levant 1918–1929, dossier 1: pétitions.
41. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, pp. 345–346.
42. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, 2373, January 1920.
43. *DTC*, July 12, 1919.
44. Charara, *Al-Umma*, pp. 136–137.
45. *Ibid.*, also see T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London, 1989).
46. According to French documents, Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din received a monthly salary from the Damascus government. MAE, Beyrouth, CP 163, no. 2373, January 1920.
47. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 174.
48. Hourani, "Ottoman Reform," p. 45.
49. MAE, Beyrouth, no. 2432, October 21, 1918 and MAE, Beyrouth, no. 2432, November 15, 1918.

50. Qal'aji's *Jil al-Fida'*, pp. 300–305.
51. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 369.
52. Cf. Yücel Güçlü, "The Struggle for Mastery in Cilicia: Turkey, France, and the Ankara Agreement of 1921," in *International History Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (September 2001). Güçlü mentions the rise of "organized armed resistance throughout Turkish Territory . . . a series of hit-and-run attacks on French outposts between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates and east of the river," however she does not discuss the nature of this resistance, pp. 586–587.
53. Gerber, *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, pp. 135–136.
54. Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York, 1981), pp. 70–74.
55. For a discussion of qabadays, cf. Michael Johnson's *Class and Client in Beirut: The Sunni Muslim Community and the Lebanese State, 1840–1985* (London, 1986).
56. MAE, Beyrouth, dossier 2373, *Rapport sur Kamel Bey al-Asaad*, January 1920.
57. Meouchy, "Les formes de conscience politique et communautaire," chapter 4; she writes that "the phenomenon of the *'isabat* is not particular to the Arabs, nor to any specific community nor to a precise political leaning. It is a general mode of grouping in the region," p. 142.
58. Cf. also Elias Sadir, "Thawrat Sanat al-'Ishrin" (M.A. thesis, Lebanese University, 1972).
59. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, June 2, 1918; and *DTC*, November 9, 1919.
60. SHAT, dossier 4H 143 and MAE, Beyrouth, dossier 2432, Beyrouth, 1918–1922.
61. Cf. dossier 2432, MAE, Beyrouth, 1918–1922.
62. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate*, pp. 117–118.
63. Cf. Munzer Jaber, "Pouvoir et société au Jabal Amil de 1790 à 1920 dans la conscience des chroniqueurs chiïtes et dans un essai d'interprétation" (Ph.D. thesis, Paris IV, 1978), p. 150.
64. *DTC*, April 6, 1919.
65. Dahir, *Diary MSS*; Ahmad Rida, 'Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh', *al-'Irfan*, vol. 33, no. 8 (1944), p. 990.
66. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, November 9, 1919.
67. Jaber, "Mu'tamar Wadi al-Hujayr," p. 29; Rida, "Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh," p. 991.
68. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*, p. 351.
69. Philip Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate* (London, 1987), p. 99.
70. Meouchy, "Les formes de conscience politique et communautaire," p. 138.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.
72. MAE, Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, nos. 2432 and 2358.
73. Cf. Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims* (New York, 1999).
74. *Al-Bashir Newspaper*, October 22, 1919; Sader, "Thawrat Jabal Amil Sanat 1920," (M.A. thesis Lebanese University, 1972), p. 23.

75. Rida, "Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh," p. 256.
76. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, p. 306.
77. Qal'aji, *Jil al-Fida'*, p. 386.
78. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 126.
79. Cf. Jihad Bannout, *Adham Khanjar 1895–1923* (Antilyas, 1998).
80. Cf. 'Ali Murtada al-Amin, *Tha'ir Min Biladi: Sadiq Hamza al-Fa'ur*, Haruf, S. Lebanon (n.p., n.d.); also Jaber, "Mu'tamar Wadi al Hujayr," pp. 24–28.
81. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 25.
82. Ibid., p. 130.
83. *DTC*, November 9, 1919.
84. MAE, Beyrouth, Bulletin de Renseignement, no. 1675, no. 2432 and no. 2487: Liban Sud 1918–1923, 1921. Amin Said in his *Thawrat al-Arab fil-Qarn al-Isbrin* (Cairo, n.d), p. 107 reports on guerrilla operations against the French in early January 1920 where 70 soldiers were killed and 17 injured.
85. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 135.
86. Ibid., p. 138.
87. Rida, "Mudhakarar," *al-'Irfan*, vol. 34, no. 3 (1945), p. 354.
88. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 351.
89. Sharaf al-Din, *Bughyat*, p. 151.
90. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 140.
91. An early member of the 'Ahd Party and active in the Arab government. Cf. Qal'aji, *Jil al-Fida'*, pp. 91, 301.
92. Rida, "Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh," p. 989.
93. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 144. Sadiq al-Hamza agreed to avoid attacking Christians except those who conspired with the French against them.
94. Jabir Al Safa notes that Ahmad Rida, Sulayman Dahir, Ismail al-Khalil, Shaykh Izz al-Din Ali Izz al Din, and the author wrote the minutes of the meeting, *Tarikh*, p. 226.
95. Reference to Wadi al-Hujayr is only after the Christian massacres, and not in the details of the conference.
96. Sharaf al-Din, *Bughyyat*, p. 442.
97. Several elderly figures that I met in Lebanon still remember the conference, and the rewriting of the events at different intervals in *al-'Irfan*.
98. Sharaf al-Din, *Bughyat*, pp. 153–155.
99. Jaber, "Pouvoir," p. 141.
100. Sharaf al-Din, *Bughyat*, p. 154.
101. Charara, *Al-Umma*, pp. 193–195.
102. Statement of the Wadi Hujayr Conference as quoted by Muhammad Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*, p. 226.
103. MAE, a telegram from Gouraud states the death of over 50 people in "the greatest savagery committed by the Mitwalis," Série E-Levant, 313, no. 1019, May 15, 1920.
104. Clementine Khayat believed that the Shi'i notables and 'ulama met at Wadi Hujayr and decided to attack Christian villages. She adds

- that the conferees concealed the true intention of their meeting by claiming to stop the activities of the gangs, *al-Mashriq Newspaper*, no. 1 (1920).
106. Rida, "Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh," vol. 33, p. 993.
 107. *Al-Bashir Newspaper*, May 18, 1920. This number may be excessive for an attack on a village and would have probably meant a higher number of casualties than what was claimed.
 108. SHAT 4H 143, May 25, 1920.
 109. MAE, Série E-Levant, no. 313, May 15, 1920.
 110. Amin al-Rihani, *Muluk al-Arab* in Jaber, "Mu'tamar Wadi al Hujayr," p. 80. Hasan al-Amin, Sayyid Muhsin al-Amin's son, in an interview on April 13, 1999, told me that he was present at the conference, a boy of 12, and remembered Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn inflaming the audience to violence. Mervin cites a cousin of the Sayyid, Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, who refers to the Sayyid's *fatwa* in a book entitled *al Nass wal-Ijtihad, Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 356.
 111. 'Abd al-Husayn al-Abdullah, *Hassad al-Ashwaq* (Saida, 1960), p. 157.
 112. Muhammad 'Ali-Humani, in *al-Uruba*, no. 20 (1934).
 113. Muhsin al-Amin, "Faysal al-Muhsin," *al-Uruba*, no. 5 (1947), p. 85
 114. Sharaf al-Din, *Bughiyat*, p. 443.
 115. SHAT 4H 143, Weekly report May 11–17, 1920.
 116. SHAT 4H 143, May 25, 1920, Gouraud to Nieger.
 117. Ibid.
 118. Ibid., May 28, 1920, Nieger to Gouraud.
 119. Foreign Office, FO371/5120, Telegram from Kamil al-Assaad to Naif Effendi Soubeh, Headquarters, Occupied Enemy Territory, Jerusalem.
 120. These soldiers were predominantly from French colonial Africa—Algeria and Senegal.
 121. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, June 4, 1920.
 122. SHAT 4H 143, June 15, 1920: Bulletin de Renseignement Militaires.
 123. This is also confirmed by the British archives, FO 371/5036, Letter from British Consulate in Beirut to the Foreign Office, London, June 12, 1920.
 124. Rida, *al-Irfan*, vol. 34, no. 2 (1944), pp. 202–205.
 125. 'Abd al-Husayn Sadiq, *Saqat al-Muta'a* (Saida, 1971), p. 149.

4 JABAL 'AMIL REDEFINED

1. Paul Nujaim, "La Question du Liban," *La Revue Phenicienne*, 1919.
2. Michel Chiha, *Politique Intérieure* (Beirut, 1964), pp. 49–51. Chiha wrote this as late as 1944 in summation of the evolving Lebano-centric thought that was reified with the creation of the Grand Liban.
3. Albert Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon: A Political Essay* (London, 1946), p. 85.

4. Quoted in Fredrick Hof, *Galilee Divided* (Boulder, 1985), p. 25.
5. Meir Zamir, "Smaller and Greater Lebanon—The Squaring of a Circle?," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, vol. 23 (1982), p. 34.
6. David Lloyd George, *Memories of the Peace Conference* (London, 1939), p. 758.
7. Cf. Jukka Nevakivi, *Britain, France and the Arab Middle East 1914–1920* (London, 1969); Christopher Andrew and Alexander Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas* (Stanford, 1981); Kedourie, *England and the Middle East* (Stanford, Calif., 1981); and John Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon, 1861–1914* (London, 1977).
8. H.W.V. Temperley, ed., *A History of the Peace Conferences of Paris*, vol. 6 (London, 1924), p. 164.
9. Hof, *Galilee Divided*, p. 9.
10. This is in addition to the protective claims the French made over the Assyrian population in the Mosul Vilayet.
11. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate*, pp. 62–66. John Spagnolo, "Franco-British Rivalry in the Middle East," in Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, eds., *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus* (London, 1988), p. 117.
12. Jean Pichon, *Le partage du Proche Orient* (Paris, 1938), in Hof, *Galilee Divided*, p. 15.
13. Hakim-Dowek, "The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea 1840–1914" (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1997), pp. 132–148.
14. Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Jewish History* (Dorset, U.K., 1984), p. 85.
15. Cf. Yusuf Sawda, *Fi Sabil Lubnan* (Alexandria, 1919); August Adib, *Lubnan Ba'd al-Harb* (Cairo, 1919); Ferdinand Tyan, *France et Liban* (Paris, 1917); M. Jouplain, *La question du Liban* (Paris, 1908).
16. Cf. Hakim-Dowek, "The Origin of the Lebanese National Idea"; Asher Kaufman, "Reviving Phoenicia: The Search for an Identity in Lebanon," chapters 2 and 3. Zamir, "Smaller and Greater Lebanon."
17. Cf. Paul Huvelin, "Que vaut la Syrie?" in *Supplément to L'Asie Française*, no. 1 (December 1921); "La Syrie," *Revue du Monde Musulman* (Paris, 1912), pp. 32–68; E. Morel, *L'influence Française dans le Levant et notamment en Syrie* (Lyon, 1900); Jean Psichari, *La Syrie* (Paris, 1920); Baron de Comité, "En Turquie d'Asie," in *L'Asie Française*, no. 145 (April 1913).
18. Lynn Lohéac, *Daoud Ammoun et La création de l'état Libanais* (Paris, 1978).
19. Issam Khalifa, *al-Hudud al-Janubiyya li-Lubnan bayna Mawaqif Nukhab al-Tawa'if wa-l-Sira' al-Dawli* (Beirut, 1985), p. 41.
20. Lohéac, *Daoud Ammoun*, p. 74.
21. Dahir, *Diary MSS*, December 18, 1918.
22. Khalifa, *al-Hudud al-Janubiyya li-Lubnan bayna Mawaqif Nukhab al-Tawa'if wa-l-Sira' al-Dawli*.

23. Papers of Patriarch Elias Hoyek, Folder 31, Maronite Church Archives, Bkarki.
24. Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864), p. 1.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Cf. note 21 in chapter 7, in this book.
29. Kaufman, "Reviving Phoenicia," p. 142.
30. Kamal Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens," in Bernard Lewis, ed., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962).
31. Hof, *Galilee Divided*, p. 2.
32. Bassam, "al-Tawajjuh al-Siyasiyya fi Jabal 'Amil bayn 1918–1926," p. 177.
33. Hakim-Dowek, "The Origin of the Lebanese National Idea," pp. 148–157.
34. Temperley, *History of the Peace Conferences*, pp. 164–165.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Hof, *Galilee Divided*, chapter 2.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 19. Cf. also Laura Eisenberg, *My Enemy's Enemy: Lebanon in the Early Zionist Imagination 1900–1948* (Detroit, 1994); and Karen Schultze, *Israel's Covert Diplomacy in Lebanon* (London, 1998).
39. Hof, *Galilee Divided*, p. 24.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
41. It is commonly agreed that the security vacuum in the South was fundamentally due to the Lebanese central authority's neglect of the region. The vulnerability of the area was evident with every Palestinian Jewish/Israeli confrontation that disrupted the local economy. This was the case from 1936 through the late 1960s when Palestinian militias took quasi-control of the South as a base to attack Israel in their war of liberation, resulting in the occupation of the South by Israel for more than two decades, 1978–2000.
42. Meir Zamir, *The Formation of Modern Lebanon* (London, 1985), p. 98. Census found in the MAE, E-Levant, vol. 39, p. 56. Zamir argues that the Muslims were underrepresented as many boycotted the census.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
44. Zamir, *The Formation of Modern Lebanon*, p. 76.
45. Cf. Andrew and Kanya-Forstner, *The Climax of French Imperial Expansion 1914–1924*; Kaufman, "Reviving Phoenicia," pp. 24–27; Philip Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate* (London, 1987), p. 74.
46. Zamir, *The Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 91–92.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
48. MAE, E-Levant, vol. 31, "Rapport de de Caix a Millerand," July 17, 1920, in Bassam, "al-Tawajjuh al-Siyasiyya fi Jabal 'Amil bayn 1918–1926," p. 176.

49. Ibid.
50. MAE, E-Levant, vol. 32, "Rapport de Millerand a Gouraud," August 6, 1920.
51. MAE, E-Levant, vol. 125, p. 277.
52. Phillipe Gouraud, *Le General Henri Gouraud au Liban et en Syrie 1919-1923* (Paris, 1993), p. 81.
53. Cf. *Report of the King-Crane Commission*, December 2, 1922, Appendix section entitled "Confidential." Archives MAE, Beyrouth, vol. 42, Serie E-Levant 1918-1929, dossier 1: pétitions.
54. MAE, Série E, Carton 412, Syrie-Liban, Politique Intérieure, 200, September 25–November 30, 1926, Memorandum from Robert de Caix to Philippe Berthelot, "l'organisation donne a la Syrie et au Liban de 1920 a 1923 et la crise actuelle."
55. Meir Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest for Statehood 1926-1939* (London, 1997), p. 9.
56. Zamir, "Smaller and Greater Lebanon," pp. 34-53.
57. Ibid., p. 72.
58. Meir Zamir, "Emile Eddé and the Territorial Integrity of Lebanon," in *Middle East Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1978), pp. 232-235.
59. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, p. 114.
60. *Map of Lebanon*, 1974, published by the National Defense Ministry.
61. Eisenberg, *My Enemy's Enemy*, p. 49.
62. Among these participators were Sa'ïd 'Aql, Muhammad Jamil Bayhum, Fu'ad Ifram al-Bustani, Jawad Bulus, Michel Chiha, Charles Corm, Georges Karam, Yusuf al-Sawda, Edmond Rabbath, Amin al-Rihani, and Taqi al-Din al-Sulh. With the exception of Rabbath who was a Greek Orthodox Damascene, the rest of these authors came from Mount Lebanon or Beirut and were already paving way for the dominance of these two centers of Lebanon.
63. This is in addition to the large body of secondary literature on Lebanon where the focus was principally on Mount Lebanon and Beirut. Cf. Kamal Salibi, *Modern History of Lebanon* (London, 1965); Zamir, *The Formation of Modern Lebanon*; Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon*.
64. Hourani, "Lebanon: Ideologies of the Mountain and the City," in *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford, 1981), p. 173.
65. Ibid., p. 171.
66. Albert Hourani, "Lebanon: The Historians and the Formation of a National Image," in *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford, 1981), p. 151.
67. Hakim-Dowek, "The Origin of the Lebanese National Idea."
68. Ibid., p. 8.
69. Ibid., p. 10.
70. Cf. Kaufman, "Reviving Phoenicia," chapter one.
71. Ibid.

72. The minority “Greek” (Antiochian Melkite) Catholic community in Lebanon is an urban community largely based in Beirut. Chiha came from its *haute bourgeoisie*, which had strong cultural links to France and a strong financial power base in Beirut.
73. Fawaz Traboulsi, “Identités et solidarité croisés dans les conflits du Liban contemporain” (Ph.D. thesis, Paris, VIII, 1993), pp. 312–313.
74. Fawaz Traboulsi, *Silat Bila Wasl: Michel Chiha wa-l-Idyulujiyya al-Lubnaniyya* (Beirut, 1999), p. 184.
75. *Ibid.*, chapter 7.
76. Traboulsi, “Identités,” p. 299.
77. Bulus wrote that “politics was the daughter of history, history was the daughter of geography, and geography was almost immutable” in Traboulsi, “Identités,” p. 305.
78. *Ibid.*, chapter 7.
79. Chiha, *Politique intérieure*.
80. Hourani, *Lebanon*, p. 174.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
82. Cf. Kaufmann, “Reviving Phoenicia.” Also see discussion on Renan in notes. 24–28 in this chapter, in this book.
83. Cf., e.g., Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Inquiry* (New York, 1981), pp. 101ff.
84. The effect of this marginalization was the constant drive among nationalist Shi‘i writers to dilute or reduce with the mainstream and to underline the commonality with it. See, e.g., the chapter on Matawila in Isma‘il Haqqi, *Lubnan: Mabathith Ijtima‘iyya* (Beirut, 1975).
85. Cf. chapter 5 in this book.
86. Traboulsi, “Identités,” p. 312.
87. Arguably other peripheral communities of Lebanon were not mentioned either, including the Sunnis of Akkar and the mixed Muslim population of the Bekaa.
88. Cf. Raghid Solh, “Lebanon and Arab Nationalism, 1936–1945” (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1986), unpaginated, section on Conferences of the Coast.
89. ‘Itani, *Mudhakkarat Bayruti* (Beirut, 1977), p. 24.
90. A telling example of this is Rashid Beydoun, the Beirut Shi‘i politician and entrepreneur, who in order to stand for election as MP had to do so in the South as there were no electoral seats for the Shi‘is in Beirut until 1943.
91. Shaykh Ali al-Zayn, from Jibshit can be considered one of the principal intellectual figures of Lebanese ‘Amili history and literature. Although educated in Najaf, he was a critic of the establishment, particularly the education system. His position did not change when he returned to his village and he continued his literary and political efforts to effect change in Jabal ‘Amil. His work on the history of Jabal ‘Amil can be considered as a solid foundation and the first scientific attempt to tackle this vague subject. In his life and work, he symbolizes the predicament of ‘Amili intellectuals in the early decades of the

- Lebanese Republic. He was vocal in his critique of the Najaf schools publishing several articles on the subject, such as “Bawadir al-Islah fi Jamiyyat al-Najaf aw Nahdat Kashif al-Ghita’ ” (Glimpses of Reform at the Najaf University or the *Nahda* of Kashif al-Ghita’), in *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 29 (1939), pp. 179–185.
92. Hashim al-Amin, a poet, was one of Sayyid Muhsin al-Amin’s several sons who threw off his clerical cloak and became a harsh critique of his father’s world.
 93. Muhammad Sharara was born ca. 1906 in Bint Jbail to an ulama family. He traveled to Najaf to pursue religious studies, but was instead attracted to literary and political activities. Sharara remained in Iraq for most of his life, but contributed to the ‘Amili cultural scene, notably as a poet and literary critic.
 94. Muhammad al-Faqih, “Muhammad Ali al-Humani,” in *Wujub Thaqafiyya min al-Janub* (Beirut, 1984), p. 80.
 95. Tarif Khalid, “Shaykh Ahmad ‘Arif al-Zayn and Al-‘Irfan,” in Marwan Buheiri, ed., *Intellectual Life in the Arab East 1890–1939*, Beirut, 1981, p. 116.
 96. Several works have dealt with the conferences and their impact, namely Hassan Hallaq, *Mu’tamar al-Sabil wa-l-Aqdiya al-Arba’a* (Beirut, 1983); Raghid Solh, “Lebanon and Arab Nationalism, 1936–1945” (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1986); and Najwa Atiyah, “The Attitude of the Lebanese Sunnis towards the State of Lebanon” (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1973).
 97. Solh, “Lebanon and Arab Nationalism,” chapter 1.
 98. The essay is published in Hallaq’s *Mu’tamar al-Sabil*, pp. 75–89.
 99. Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (London, 1965), p. 187.
 100. Hallaq, *Mu’tamar al-Sabil*, p. 81.
 101. Cf. Rida’s article, “Al Matawila wal-Shi’a fil-Tarikh,” and “Ma Hiya al-Umma?” (What Is a Nation?), vol. 2, no. 9 (1910).
 102. His publications included *Mu’jam al-Lugha*, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1958–1961); *Risalat al-Khatt* (Saida, n.d.); *Da’irat al Mu’allimin* (Saida, n.d.); *Qamus Radd al-‘Ammi ‘ala al-Fasih* (Saida, 1957).
 103. Rida, “Mudhakkarat lil-Tarikh,” pp. 202–205.
 104. Hourani, *Lebanon*, p. 174ff.
 105. As several retired members of these parties mentioned in interviews, the South represented a human reservoir for all political parties; however, this was not reflected in any leadership position within these parties.
 106. Abbas Kelidar, “The Shi’i Imami Community and Politics in the Arab East,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1 (1983), p. 15.

5 OUT OF THE MARGINS

1. It features in political slogans, in journal articles (in *al-‘Irfan* and more contemporary newspapers), as well as in books and dissertations

- such as Bassam, "al-Tawajjuhāt al-Siyasiyah li Jabal 'Amil bayn 1918–1926," and Ali Shuyab, *Matalib Jabal 'Amil*.
2. Cf. *al-'Irfan*, vol. 17 (1929), p. 60; vol. 18 (1929), pp. 273, 405; vol. 20 (1930), pp. 43, 172; vol. 21 (1931), p. 441.
 3. For photographs, see Pierre Fournié and Jean-Louis Riccioli, *La France et le Proche-Orient 1916–1946* (Paris, 1997), p. 81.
 4. Interviews with Munzer Jaber, Ali Shuyab, Muhammad Bassam, Beirut, spring 2000.
 5. SHAT, "groupement Sud, situation politique du Djebel Amel," June 23, 1920.
 6. SHAT, Levant sous serie 4H, carton 4H9 dossier: "colonne Liban-Sun." Also see Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*, pp. 363–364.
 7. MAE, Levant-E, vol. 149, August–November 1924.
 8. Another Marjayoun newspaper, Jaridat al-Marj (60% readership in America) also complained of the government's neglect of the South and called for action, October 21, 1931.
 9. Alfred Abu Samra, *Ifritahiyyat al-Qalam al-Sarih 1931–1975* (Beirut, n.d.), pp. 9–27.
 10. Published also in *al-'Irfan*, vol. 7, no. 3 (December 1921).
 11. For example, a petition from the inhabitants of Tyre was forwarded to the High Commission to reduce the extortionate taxes levied, *al-'Irfan*, vol. 8, no. 1 (November 1922).
 12. *Al-'Irfan*, vol. 9, no. 1 (October 1923), p. 100.
 13. Ibid.
 14. MAE, Serie E-Levant, 412, Dossier 1, November 22, 1922, pp. 251–255.
 15. MAE, Beyrouth, 2432, "Lettre au Gouverneur du Grand Liban," July 29, 1922.
 16. *Al-'Irfan*, vol. 8, no. 6 (March 1923), p. 478.
 17. *Al-'Irfan*, vol. 9 (1923), p. 715.
 18. Roger Owen, *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon* (London, 1976), p. 24.
 19. Two more Sunni representatives, one from Saida and one from Beirut, were added on September 22, 1920, following protests of under-representation by Muslim representatives; see Shafiq Juha, *Ma'arakat Masir Lubnan*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1995), pp. 236–258.
 20. Ibid. Also see Masud Dahir, *Tarikh Lubnan al-Ijtima'i* (Beirut, 1974), pp. 55–60.
 21. The Province of the South was allotted six seats, three Shi'is, one Sunni, one Greek Catholic, and one Maronite.
 22. Cf. Hani Fahs, *al-Shi'a wa-al-Dawlah fi Lubnan: Malamih fi al-Ru'ya wa-al-Dhakirah* (Beirut, 1996).
 23. The Husayni and Hamadeh families (originally from the Hermel) had similar positions and proximity to Mount Lebanon and presented a similar social outlook on Lebanon.

24. MAE, E-Levant, 412–2A-Politique Interieure-Exercice du Mandat, vol. 263, June 1925.
25. Born in Kfar Rumman, Nabatieh (1879–1962), he received his schooling in Saida. He began his career by cultivating his lands and then expanded his activities to other investments and politics.
26. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, Service de Renseignement, Youssef Bey Zein, June 18, 1929.
27. ‘Abd al-Karim Hubballah, “Yusuf al-Zayn 1879–1962, Hayatuhu al-Siyasiyya wal-Ijtima‘iyya” (M.A. thesis, Lebanese University, 1989), pp. 56–61.
28. Ibid., p. 96.
29. Ibid., p. 68.
30. He was related to both men through marriage. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, no. 396, Service de Renseignement, “Negib Bey Osseiran,” June 16, 1929.
31. He was elected to a number of committees in Parliament: Labor, Agriculture, Education, Health, and Industry. Between 1934 and 1936 he served as deputy president to the chamber.
32. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, no. 396, “Service de Renseignement, Députés du Liban Sud, Negib Esseyron,” n.d.
33. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, no. 396, Service de Renseignement, “Fadl Bey Fadl,” June 16, 1929.
34. MAE, Syrie-Liban, no. 1662, Bulletin d’information hebdomadaire (BIH), August 13, 1930.
35. In 1944, the Mandate Sûreté Générale was monitoring the activities of at least three such Shi‘i formations—“Jeunesse Instruite,” “Jeunesse Chiïtes,” and “Tala‘i”—MAE, Mandat Syrie-Liban, série de la Sûreté générale, no. 67: dossier J/6, March 18, 1944; April 5, 1944, and December 10, 1945.
36. *Al-Shira‘*, December 5, 1994.
37. Cf. *Al-‘Irfan*, vol. 7, no. 5 (February 1922), p. 637.
38. Pierre Rondot, *Les institutions politiques du Liban* (Paris, 1947), p. 66.
39. Yusuf al-Zayn was one of two Shi‘i deputies, the other was Subhi Haidar from Baalbek, who sat on the preparatory committee for establishing the basic regulations of the constitution. Juha, *Ma‘rakat Masir Lubnan*, p. 265.
40. Petition published in Amin Said, *Al-Thawra al-Arabiyya al-Kubra*, vol. 3 (Cairo, n.d.), p. 415.
41. MAE, Beyrouth, no. 1670, July 1–8, 1931.
42. Juha, *Ma‘rakat Masir Lubnan*, p. 270. Also see MAE, Syrie-Liban, CP, “Dossier Unité Syrienne Saida,” Several lists of petitions by the various trades in Saida calling for union with Syria.
43. *Journal Officiel du la République Libanaise*, January 1926, p. 3. The decree stated that the Muslim Shi‘i of Lebanon were an independent

- community whose internal affairs were regulated by the laws of the Ja'fari Sect.
44. MAE, Syrie-Liban, vol. 197, BIH. no. 4, Beyrouth, February 15, 1926. Also see Antoine Hokayem, *La Gènesè de la Constitution Libanaise de 1926* (Beirut, 1996), p. 233.
 45. For example, when discussing a budget for reconstruction of some monuments, a southern deputy lobbied for funds to be spent on a particular building in the South. Another example was compensation measures to be taken by reducing taxes for villages affected by raids during the Druze revolt such as Marjayoun. Yusuf al-Zayn also suggested adding al-Khiam to the list because it hosted thousands of refugees, *Mahadir Majlis al-Nuwab*, Session 4, November 17, 1927. Another example is when Fadl al-Fadl on December 17, 1929, lobbied for the annulment of the *a'shar* tax that was imposed in the South, but not throughout Lebanon. He demanded for Nabatieh to be made a *qa'immaqamiyya* for its central position and commercial importance for the region. In 1935, Bahij al-Fadl was still, in a lengthy request, demanding for an increase in schools in the South and the government's responsibility toward one of its regions, December 11, 1935.
 46. Mahadir Majlis al-Nuwab (Lebanese Parliamentary Records), December 1927.
 47. Yusuf Khuri, *Al-Bayanat al-Wizariyya*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1986), pp. 11–13.
 48. Mahadir Majlis al-Nuwab, December 16, 1929.
 49. Pechkoff was a notorious character in the South and is still remembered by many today as a ruler with an iron fist. There are several proverbs with references to him that were chanted during the early 1930s. He joined the French Foreign Legion and his early career was in Morocco. His sojourn in South Lebanon lasted nearly a decade: 1931–1940. Cf. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 436.
 50. MAE, Syrie-Liban, CP, no. 397, "Note du Commandant Pechkoff, 16 December 1933." Pechkoff further adds that this frustrated situation gave good ammunition for the Sunnis for inciting the Shi'is against the French, particularly the educated youth. However, he notes that although there is historic disagreement between the two sects, the government should ensure that no common cause be found between the two, as this would also destabilize the Palestinian border.
 51. MAE, Syrie-Liban, CP, no. 785, "Information Secret, March 1944, 23 December 1943."
 52. Cf. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, chapter 4.
 53. *Ibid.*, chapter 4, fn. 144.
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
 55. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, p. 171.
 56. *Ibid.*, p. 155. Also see *Dirasa iqtisadiyya wa-tanzimiyya li-idarat hasr al tabgh wa-l- tumbak al-lubnaniyya* (Beirut, 1972).
 57. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, p. 164.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
60. Abbas Bazzi, "Bint Jbail 1936, al-Intifada wal-Iqta'," in *Dirasat 'Arabiyya*, vol. 11, September 1969.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
62. Cf. Bazzi, "Bint Jbail 1936, al-Intifada wal-Iqta'," for a detailed narrative of the revolt in Bint Jbail. Also Nahla al-Faqih, "Ziraat al-Tabgh, al-Rukhas, Tatwir Jughrafiyatiha, Tarikhuha, 'Ilaqat Zira'at al-Tabgh bi "Idarat Hasr al-Tabgh wal-Tunbak al-Lubnaniyya" (M.A. thesis, Lebanese University, Beirut, 1981).
63. MAE, Syrie-Liban 413-2, Dossier No. 501, Politique intérieure—Exercice du Mandat, Letter no. 824 from M. Meyrier, Delegate to the HC in Lebanon to Minister of FA, August 21, 1936.
64. Jean Aziz was understandably critical of the activists. In a report to the governor of South Lebanon, he wrote: "These people who resisted M.S. Bazzi and his followers for their opposition to Syrian Unity, and their [Bazzi] attachment and defense of Lebanon—do not leave an opportunity without undermining Bazzi and spreading their corrupt message to Bint Jbail and surroundings." Papers of the Tyre Qa'immaqamiyya, August 25, 1936.
65. Cf. Bazzi, "Bint Jbail 1936, al-Intifada wal-Iqta'."
66. The pages of *al-Nahar* during this period are dominated by this crisis.
67. Hasan Qubaysi, *Tatawwur Madinat Sur 1900-1975* (Beirut, 1986), p. 137.
68. Khuri, *Al-Bayanat al-Wizariyya*, pp. 113-114.
69. Faris Sa'dah, *al-Mawsu'a al-Lubnaniyya*, vol. 3, 1934-1943 (Beirut, 1995).
70. MAE, Syrie-Liban, Cabinet Politique, no. 785, October 29, 1946, "Revendication de la Communauté Chiïtes," Lettre de Armand de Cayla ministre de France au Liban a Bidault, président du gouvernement provisoire de la République Française.
71. MAE, Syria-Liban, CP, no. 785, December 1, 1941.
72. Electoral program presented by Adel Osseiran, nominated to South Lebanon, 1937, p. 3.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
74. This list was composed of Najib Osseiran, Yusuf al-Zayn, Rashid Beydoun, Khalid Shahab, Kazim al-Khalil, Ahmad al-Assaad, Yusuf Salim, and Marun Kan'an.
75. Much of the information in the following paragraphs is derived from a series of interviews conducted in Lebanon in 1999-2000 with the Osseiran family.
76. Adil 'Usayran, *1905-1998: Kalam 'al-Watan* (Beirut, 1999), p. 13.
77. Osseiran was engaged with the US Point Four (International Cooperation Act of 1949) for developing schools in the South. He later founded and funded an agricultural college in Shukin, South Lebanon, in 1969. While the political potential of this and other

- projects cannot be dismissed, it is noteworthy that few leaders in positions of power engaged in such activities.
78. Osseiran would later be asked by the Lebanese government to go to Iran in 1947 to secure support for the Arab position on the Palestinian question. This mission was partially due to the historic relations between the Iranian government and his family, which had been granted Iranian consular status in the late nineteenth century. Also, in 1947, Osseiran negotiated a settlement between Iran and Saudi Arabia on the issue of Iranian pilgrims going to Mecca.
 79. His relations with the Christians in Jabal 'Amil were strong, particularly with the Greek Orthodox of Marjayoun.
 80. *Al Nahar*, throughout April 1936.
 81. This is evident from the personal tone of the correspondence between the two, Spears File, V/4, St. Anthony's College, Middle East Library.

6 VENUES FOR INTEGRATION

1. Cf. 'Itani's text on the Shi'is of Lebanon in his *Mudhakkarat Bayruti*, p. 24. 'Itani's work is part of a long tradition of diminishing the presence and importance of the Shi'is in a Sunni environment. An example from the end of the nineteenth century is Muhammad 'Abd al-Jawwad al-Qayati's *Nafhat al-Basham fi Rihlat al-Sham* (Beirut, 1981). Al-Qayati visits Saida and its environs, inventories its sites and holy places, and succeeds nevertheless in avoiding any mention of its Shi'is.
2. The complete separation of the Shi'i sect from the authority of the Sunni Dar al-Fatwa had to wait until Sayyid Musa al-Sadr's initiative to create al-Majlis al-Islami al-Shi'i al-A'la.
3. 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din, *Ihtijaj 'ala Qanun al-Tawa'if*, photocopy of pamphlet (Tyre, 1939).
4. Cf. Ali al-Wardi, *Lambat Ijtima'iyya min Tarikh al-'Iraq al-Hadith* (Baghdad, 1969); as well as the work of Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporain*, which provides a detailed and discerning analysis on the nature of Shi'ism in Iraq and its role in that state.
5. Jabir Al Safa, *Tarikh*; Muhammad Kurani, *al-Judhur al-Tarikhyya lil-muqawama al-Islamiyya fi Jabal 'Amil* (Beirut, 1993); Jihad Bannut, *Harakat al-Nidal Fi Jabal Amil* (Beirut, 1993); Hasan al-Amin, *Sarab al-Istiqlal fi Bilad al-Sham 1918-1920* (Beirut, 1998).
6. He is said to have participated along with Yusuf al-Zayn in official discussions on the constitution in 1925, Bassam, "al-Tawajjuh al-Siyasiyya fi Jabal 'Amil bayn 1918-1926," pp. 213-232.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 394.
9. Luizard, *La formation de l'Irak contemporain*, p. 519.
10. Interview with Zaynab Osseiran, daughter of Munir, June 1999.
11. Cf. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 424 and Munzer Jaber, "Mu'tamar Wadi al-Hujayr," pp. 123-124.

12. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, dossier no. 607.
13. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, dossier no. 607, "Services Speciaux, Tyre, Le Capitaine Pechkoff au Haut Commissaire," November 5, 1931.
14. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, dossier no. 607, "Demande de Nomination," February 13, 1936.
15. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, dossier no. 607, "Requête présentée par les deux députés chiïtes à Monsieur le Conseiller Administratif du Liban-Sud," March 8, 1934.
16. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, dossier no. 607, "Nomination d'un moufti chiïte à Saida."
17. *Ibid.*, Letter from Pechkoff to the Secretary of the High Commission on the choice of nomination of a Shi'i Mufti in Saida, March 30, 1934.
18. *Ibid.*, "Remerciements," June 11–15, 1934.
19. MAE, Beyrouth, CP, no. 456: "Revendications de la Communauté Chiïte, Démarche du Cheikh Munir Osseyran au sujet des traitements des magistrates des juridictions chiïtes de statut personnel," January 27, 1936.
20. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*, p. 397.
21. MAE, dossier no. 501, Syrie-Liban 413–2 Politique intérieure—Exercice du Mandat, Letter no. 824 from M. Meyrier, Delegate to the HC in Lebanon to Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 21, 1936.
22. In addition, the Sayyid ultimately gained French support for establishing his school, al-Ja'fariyya, against the mounted opposition of the Tyre notables.
23. Cf. Waddah Charara, *Transformations d'une manifestation religieuse dans un village du Liban-Sud (Ashura)* (Beirut, 1968).
24. *Al-'Irfan*, vol. 12 (1927), p. 583; Muhsin al-Amin, *Risalat al-Tanzih li-A'mal al-Shabih* (Saida, 1928).
25. Shaykh Abdallah al-Subayti had a dramatic reply to Sayyid Muhsin's position in a book entitled *Rannat al-Asa, Nazra fi risalat al-Tanzih li-A'mal al-Shabih* (Baghdad, 1929), in which al-Amin's position is portrayed as a betrayal of the community.
26. During a meeting on July 9, 1999, the late Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din expressed a similar view to al-Amin, when a person present expressed an interest in converting from Sunni to Shi'i Islam. His reaction to her was, "You are already a Shi'i," clearly indicating his opinion that the differences between the sects is merely in form.
27. Interview with Munzer Jaber, January 23, 2000.
28. For a detailed review of the status of education during the Ottoman period, see Tamara Chalabi, "Community and Nation State: The Shi'is of Jabal 'Amil and the New Lebanon 1918–1943" (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 2003), Chapter 6.
29. Masud Dahir, *Tarikh Lubnan al-Ijtimai'i, 1914–1926* (Beirut, 1974), p. 187.

30. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*, pp. 178–179.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
32. For details on the activities of Sayyid Muhsin and the Shi‘i community in Damascus, see Muhsin Al-Amin, *A‘yan al-Shi‘a, Siratubu bi-Qalamibi wa-Qalam al-Akharin*, vol. 40 (Beirut, 1957); Adib Rumani, *Sira wa-Tarikh* (Beirut, 1993); Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*.
33. Rashid Beydoun, *Qawl wa-F‘il* (Beirut, n.d.).
34. Introduction, Bayan ‘Amal al-Jam‘iyya al-Khairiyya al-‘Amiliyya, 1929.
35. E. Early, “The ‘Amiliyya Society in Beirut: A Case Study of an Emerging Urban Za‘im” (M.A. thesis, AUB, 1971), p. 48.
36. Interviews with officials from al-‘Amiliyya College, Spring 2000.
37. Most accounts of the Shi‘is’ presence in Beirut spoke of the bad treatment they received from many Sunnis to the extent that they were denied access to their mosques and were referred to as *Mitwalis*, a derogatory connotation. One well-known story is that upon hearing that some Shi‘is were kicked out of a mosque, Rashid Beydoun barged into the mosque with these men and challenged anyone to prevent them from praying. This gained him respect from the Shi‘is and established him in their minds as their patron in Beirut.
38. The ‘Amili Society published yearly reports of its educational and fundraising activities. It reported at length on the expatriate ‘Amilis’ donations to the Society.
39. Kamil Muruwwa, *Nahnu fi Afrigiyya* (Beirut, 1938).
40. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*, p. 180.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
42. *Al-‘Irfan*, vol. 26, no. 4 (November 1928), pp. 410–413; *al-‘Irfan*, vol. 28, no. 4 (November 1929), pp. 441–446.
43. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiïte*, p. 187.
44. Al-Madrasa al-Ja‘fariyya fi Sur, *Al-Bayan al-Sanawi 1938–1939*.
45. Similar to many other schools in Lebanon, al-Ja‘fariyya became a center of political activity with nationalist and leftist tendencies, competing to organize students for various causes such as the Palestinian and the Algerian ones; Al-Madrasa al-Ja‘fariyya fi Sur, *Risalat al-Ja‘fariyya* (March 1983).
46. Official documents issued by state authorities provided by Dr. Ali Sharaf al-Din, current director of the school, clearly indicate that the property is a *waqf* for the “Shi‘i Islamic Community” with Sharaf al-Din’s sons as its *walis* (trustees). A *shar‘ai* document also provided by Dr. Ali Sharaf al-Din consisting of a binding religious agreement witnessed by ten notables lists the land as having been originally *muwat*, dead land, a form of *musha‘* land.
47. There is an entire dossier on the piece of land in question that would later house al-Ja‘fariyya school, MAE, Beyrouth, No. 2958.
48. Sharaf-al-Din, *Bughyat*, pp. 120–124.

49. Al-Kulliyya al-Ja'fariyya, *Min al-Mahd ila al-Lahd, Kifah wa Najah* (1953), p. 13.

7 HISTORY AND CULTURE

1. On this subject, see the works of Hassan Hallaq, 'Umar 'Abd al-Salam Tadmuri and the journal published by Dar al-Fatwa, *al-Fikr al-Islami*.
2. Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle et temps social chez les historiens libanais contemporains* (Beirut, 1984), chapter 1.
3. Cf. Kamal Salibi, *Lebanon* (London, 1965).
4. This contact was multilayered from Western investment in land cultivation belonging to the church to the establishment of schools through religious orders.
5. Cf. Dominique Chevallier, *La société du Mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe* (Paris, 1971).
6. Kamal Salibi, *House of Many Mansions: A History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London, 1988), p. 113.
7. "Traditional authority, at the Druze level, by far transcended the powers they [Druze tribal chiefs] enjoyed as heads of cantons under the Shihabi system"; *ibid.*, p. 112.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
9. Salibi writes, "traditional Maronite historiography seems to have originated as an expression of national pride. As a small and closely-knit community surrounded by enemies, the Maronites tended to be deeply interested in their history, taking pride in having retained their identity through many changes of fortune. Their church, perhaps the smallest of the Eastern Christian communions and by no means the oldest, was the first to begin a tradition of attachment to Rome. More important still, it was never subject to the same degree of Moslem tutelage as the other Eastern Christian churches . . . A related factor which also contributed to the development of a Maronite history writing was the determination of the Maronites to refute all evidence pointing to their origin and all the denials of their original and unbroken orthodoxy and union with Rome"; *Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon* (Beirut, 1959), pp. 15–16.
10. The historic canons of the Maronite community were predominantly written by religious men, among which are *Tarikh al-Ta'ifa al-Maruniyya* (History of the Maronite Community) by Patriarch Istifan Duwayhi (d. 1704); *Al-Jami' al-Mufassal fi Tawarikh al-Mawarina al-Mu'assal* (1905) (Original Collection of Maronite Histories) by Bishop Yusuf al-Dibs (d. 1907); *Ta'rikh al-Ribbaniya al-Maruniya* (History of the Maronite Clergy) by Father Butros Fahd; *Tarikh al-Mawarina al-Dini Wa Al-Siyasi wa Al-hadari* (Religious, Political and Cultural History of the Maronites), and *Ta'rikh Kisrawan* (The History of Kisrawan) by Father Philippe al-Khazin.
11. Salibi, *Maronite Historians*, p. 32.

12. Salibi, *Maronite Historians*, p. 23.
13. *Ibid.*, 17.
14. *Ibid.* The Druze, e.g., were never challenged doctrinally on their faith. Their position with regard to orthodox Islam was well defined: they were outsiders and functioned as such. They were not therefore compelled, like the Maronites, to defend their faith in the face of competing faiths.
15. "le nouveau cadre théorique libanais a commencé à se former dans les deux dernières décennies du Mutasarifat." Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle*, pp. 209–210.
16. Lammens, in particular, was concerned with establishing the existence of a Syrian nation that had withstood foreign invasions including that of the desert Arabs carrying Islam. He was notorious for his anti-Islamic positions and devoted many studies to his cause. He considered Mount Lebanon, or what he called *L'Asile du Liban*, to be part of Syria, but "a refuge for those Syrians who valued their freedom," thus nurturing the communitarian dimension with the French Mandate; see Kamal Salibi, "Islam and Syria in the Writings of Henri Lammens" in Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East*, vol. 4 (London, 1962); also Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle*.
17. Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle*, p. 209.
18. Unpublished lecture on Lebanese historiography, Munzer Jaber, 1979, 10pp.
19. Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle*, p. 302.
20. *Ibid.*, on Butrus Daw's interpretation of St. Marun, p. 265.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
22. This is not at odds with Josephus's reference to the inhabitants of the region of Tyre as Arabs during Alexander's siege (whether they were ethnically Arabs or not); *Works of Josephus*, vol. II (1864).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
24. Among these are *Jabal 'Amil fi Qarn* (Jabal 'Amil in a Century) by Rida al-Rukayni. They are journals that deal with the events of daily life starting in the early eighteenth century, which the author either experienced or heard of. It was continued by his son, Haydar Rida (d. 1832) who also wrote of the time he lived in, in a similar style. What distinguishes it is the naïveté of the recordings, their simplicity and frankness, which was not altered to suit a specifically desired conclusion.
25. Among such work is al Hurr al-'Amili's (d. 1693) work, *Amal al-Amil fi Tarikh Jabal 'Amil* (Hope of the Hopeful in the History of Jabal 'Amil).
26. This mentality extends beyond the reaction to the victory of the Umayyads over Ahl al-Bayt.
27. Cf. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, chapter one.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
29. It is important to note here the significance of these men writing their community's history, as sayyids in the first degree (i.e., as descendants

- of the Prophet and the Imams), and as ‘ulama and shaykhs presenting a cohesive narrative that is politically motivated to ensure them good relations with the ruling notables, Jaber, “Pouvoir,” pp. 323–325.
30. Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 388.
 31. Cf. Waddah Charara, *Transformations d’une manifestation religieuse*, chapter one.
 32. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 326.
 33. Henri Lammens’s article “Les Perses du Liban ou les origines des Metoualis,” examines the assertion of various scholars on the origin of the Syrian/Lebanese Shi’is; Persian brought by Mu’awiya, Isma’ili, and Kurds and concludes that in fact the Mitwalis are Arabs, descending from the Banu ‘Amila tribe, *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Université St. Joseph (Beirut, 1929).
 34. Lammens mentions that according to the historian Ya’qubi, the Banu ‘Amili, converted to Shi’i Islam in the third century A.H.; *ibid.*, p. 39.
 35. It also has the result of marginalizing these other Shi’is from the emerging Lebanese Shi’i identity being taken over by its ‘Amil component.
 36. Jaber, “Pouvoir,” p. 335.
 37. This relates back to al-Hurr al-‘Amili’s knowledge of Jabal ‘Amil’s conversion, in Mervin, *Un Réformisme Chiite*, p. 387.
 38. Ulrich Haarmann, “Abu Dharr-Muhammad’s Revolutionary Companion,” *Muslim World*, no. 4 (1978), p. 285. Haarmann also states that there is little information on Abu Dharr’s career.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
 41. Beydoun explains this point through the ideological debates of Lebanese historians, specifically Sunni, on the origins of the Maronite. In response to Kamal Salibi’s statement that the “Lebanese Idea” was developed through Maronite group solidarity, Zaki Naqqach, a Sunni historian, retorts that the “Lebanese Idea” was born thanks to the Arabs, and thanks to those exercising power, starting with Imam al-‘Awza’i to the Tanukhs, to ‘Alam al-Din to the Ma’ans then to the Chihabs. Beydoun elaborates that while refuting the Maronite historical hegemony to Lebanon, Naqqach is also prescribing to the Maronite position of origin, by leaning on those in power, the Sunnis; *Identité confessionnelle*, p. 66.
 42. Cf. Muhammad Amin Tulay’, *Asl al-Muwahhidin al-Duruz wa-Usulubum* (The Origin of the Druze Unitarists and Their Origins) (Beirut, 1961); and Abdullah Najjar, *Madhab al-Muwahhidin al-Duruz* (The Doctrine of the Druze Unitarians) (Beirut, n.d.), in Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle*, pp. 58–59. The main historian of the Druze community is Salih ibn Yahya, whose works include *Tarikh Bayrut wa-akhbar al-Umara’ al-Buhturiyyin min Bani al-Gharb* (History of Beirut and the Buhtur Emirs of Gharb) (Beirut, 1927).
 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 577–578.
 44. *Ibid.*
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 305. It is important to note of the least “Western-oriented” Christian communities, the Greek Orthodox have been the most

- prolific at embracing Western ideologies, Marxism, National Socialism, Nationalism, with advocates such as Antun Saadeh, Michel 'Afla, and Farah Antun.
46. For a detailed analysis of the work of these writers, see Chalabi, "Community and Nation State," pp. 312–335.
 47. Cf. Beydoun, *Identité confessionnelle*, pp. 66–76, 229–233.
 48. Another publication, a newspaper by the title, *Majallat al-Marj* was also founded in 1909 by As'ad Rahhal and Daniel Za'rabin, from Marjayoun. However it was more of a bulletin board that served as a link between Marjayoun and its predominantly Greek Orthodox immigrant populations.
 49. There were some other journals that emerged in Iraq, most notably *al-Ghari* in Najaf, but they did not acquire the same number of readers or have the longevity that *al-'Irfan* sustained.
 50. Kazim Shiri, *Majallat al-'Irfan wa Takwin Muthaqqafi Jabal 'Amil* (Diplome, Lebanese University, 1983), chapter 3.
 51. *Al-'Irfan*, vol. 1 (August 8, 1909), pp. 398–401.
 52. Tarif Khalidi, "Shaykh Ahmad 'Arif al-Zayn and *Al-'Irfan*," in Marwan Buheiry, ed., *Intellectual Life from the Arab East* (Beirut, 1981), p. 112.
 53. The distribution rate of *al-'Irfan* has not been established due to the fact that the printing press and offices of the journal in Saida were burnt during the recent Civil War. However, Naef mentions that 1,000 issues were in circulation (date unspecified), "Les Chiïtes Du Liban et le Mandat Francais: La Position de La Revue *Al-'Irfan*," in *Actes de la Troisième Rencontre des Etudes sur la Presse du Moyen Orient*, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, July 2–5, 1996, p. 12.
 54. Halil Inalcik, "Application of the Tanzimat and Its Social Effects," in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vol. 5 (1973), pp. 97–127; Moshe Maoz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840–1861; The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (London, 1968).
 55. Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983), chapters 3 and 5.
 56. Khalidi, "Shaykh Ahmad 'Arif al-Zayn and *Al-'Irfan*," pp. 111–112.
 57. Ibid.
 58. "al-'am al jaded, fa ayna al 'Ahd al sa'id," *al-'Irfan*, vol. 25 (1934/1935), p. 1.
 59. Silvia Naef, "La presse en tant que moteur du renouveau culturel et littéraire: la revue chiïte Libanaise *al-'Irfan*," in *Asiatische Studien/ Études Asiatiques* (Bern, L.2. 1996), p. 393. Also see Kazim Shiri, *Majallat al-'Irfan wa-Takwin Muthaqqafi Jabal 'Amil* (Diplôme, Lebanese University, 1983).
 60. *Al-'Irfan*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 52, 321, 351, 372, 382, 393, 418, 510, 513, 559.
 61. Ahmad Rida, *al-'Irfan*, vol. 2 (1910), pp. 237–242, 286–330, 337, 381–392.

62. The history of the Phoenicians, a pivotal point of reference in the post-1920 Lebanon is published in *al-'Irfan*, vol. 10 (1925); vol. 11, 12 (1926–1927). The history of Alexander the Great is also serialized throughout 1926. Furthermore, 'Ali al-Zayn, e.g., claims 'Amili descent from the citizens of Tyre who resisted Alexander the Great's siege in the third century B.C., *Lil-Bahth 'An Tarikhina Fi Lubnan* (Beirut, 1973), p. 81.
63. For example, the relation with Najaf of a prominent group of 'Amili scholars began disintegrating in the 1930s when local events took over. The Lebanese option eventually provided a cultural/intellectual alternative to the Shi'i world of Najaf. The press is one tool that facilitates this.
64. "Shu'ara' Suriya," "Bayrut," "Tarabulus al-Gharb," "Hama," "Hums," *al-'Irfan*, vol. 13, 14, 15 (1911–1914).
65. One example is *Majallat al-Marj* that was published by the *al-'Irfan* printing press starting from 1930; Naef, "La presse en tant que moteur du renouveau culturel et litteraire," p. 391. Another is Alfred Abu Samra's *al-Qalam al-Sarib*, founded in 1931 also in Marjayoun.
66. See articles by Mansur Jurdak (AUB professor in Mathematics from Marjayoun) in *al-'Irfan*, vol. 6, also references in Naef, "La presse en tant que moteur du renouveau culturel et litteraire," p. 396.
67. Khalidi, "Shaykh Ahmad 'Arif al-Zayn and *Al-'Irfan*," p. 112.
68. 'Abd al-Husayn-Abdallah, *Hasad al-Ashwaq* (Saida, 1960).
69. Adnan al-Amin, *Diwan 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Amin* (Beirut, 1988).
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