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SIDON IN MAMLUK AND EARLY OTTOMAN TIMES

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On the 23rd of Jumādā II 504/4th December 1110, Sidon¹, after forty-seven days of sea and land siege, fell into the hands of Baldwin I (1100-1118) King of Jerusalem. The city was abandoned by its Muslim officials and dignitaries. Its capture by the Crusaders added a new barony (referred to as the Seigneurie de Sagette) to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and it was entrusted as a fief to Eustance Garnier, Lord of Caesarea. Several members of his family succeeded to its lordship and distinguished themselves in impressive diplomacy with their Muslim counterparts². The city changed hands between Muslims and Crusaders and consequently suffered massive damage³.

1 For a general account of the history of Sidon see Frederick Carl Eislen, *Sidon, a study in oriental history*, New York, 1907, Aḥmad 'Arif al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṣaydā*, Sidon, 1913, A Poidebard and J. Lauffray, *Sidon, A managements anti-ques Du Port De Saida*, Beyrouth, 1951, Munir al-Khoury, *Ṣayda 'Abr Ḥiqāb al-Tārīkh*, 2800 B.C. - 1966 A.D. Beirut, 1966, 'Abdul-'Azīz Salem, *Dirāsah fī Tārīkh Madīnat Ṣayda fī al-'Aṣr al-Islāmī*, Beirut, 1970, K.S. Salibi, *Munṣalaq Tārīkh Lubnān*, 643-1516, Beirut, 1979, P. Schwarz, «Sidon», *E.I.*, vol. IV, pp. 405-6. The Arabic translated version of this article, vol. XIV, pp. 457-59. For literature on Sidon available in the Arabic geographical texts, see Father A.S. Marmurji, al-Dominiki, *Buldāniyyat Filasṭīn al-'Arabiyyah*, Beirut, 1948, pp. 140-1.

2 See Ḥamzah b. Asad b. al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), *Dhīl Tārīkh Dimashq*, edited by H.F. Amedroz, Leyden, 1908, pp. 164-171, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Karīm b. al-Athīr, (d. 630/1232), *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, 13 vols., edited by Carolus Johannes Tornberg, E.J. Brill, Beirut, (Dar Ṣādir) 1965-67, vol. X, oo. 479-480, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Shaddād (d. 684/1285), *al-'Aṣr al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhīkr 'Umarā' al-Shām wa al-Jazīrah*, (Tārīkh Lubnān wa al-Urdun wa Filasṭīn), edited by Samī al-Dahhān, Damascus, 1862, pp. 98-100. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Pelican Books, 1971, 3 vols, Vol. II, pp. 68, 93, 124, 163, 164, 166, 191, 316, 339 405-6, 420, 438, 447-8, 458, 462, 469, 471, 489. Salem, *Dirāsah*, pp. 103-105, Salibi, *Munṣalaq*, pp. 86-7.

3 Ibn al-Athīr, *Ibid*, vol. XI, p. 542, Vol. XII, pp. 477-8, Ibn Shaddād, *Ibid*, p. 99, Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā (d. ca. 840/1456) *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, edited by Francis

Following his decisive victory over the Crusaders in Acre on the 17th of Jumādā II 690/May 18, 1291, Sultan al-Ashraf Salāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl (689/1290 - 693/1293), despatched amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shuja'ī al-Manṣūrī⁴ (d. 693/1293) to occupy Sidon. The news of his advance reached the Franks of the city who deserted it to take refuge in the nearby island citadel. Consequently, it was easy to capture the city, and build a quay which would enable Sanjar's army to lay seige to the citadel. Again it was deserted by its helpless occupanst who had no choice but to sail to Cyprus. Following his victory on Rajab 15th 690/14 July 1291, Sanjar issued orders to demolish its fortifications⁵.

The Mamluks, as new masters of Egypt, Yaman, Hijāz and Bilād al-Shām, succeeded not only in eliminating the Crusaders as an occupying power, but also in forcing the Mongols back to the Tigris which became a dividing line between the two powers. In spite of this, Bilād al-Shām was frequently exposed to Mongol raids and the Mamluks treated it as a frontier province, taking upon themselves its defence until the Ottomans defeated the Mamluks in 922 A.H/1516 A.D.

During Mamluk times, Bilād al-Shām was divided into seven *niyābās* or provinces (sometimes referred to as *mamlakās*), the *niyābah* of Damascus⁶ being the most prominent. In addition, to the city of Damascus and its neighbourhood, its *niyābah* was made up of four *ṣafqās* (districts). Sidon, with its many surrounding villages and its dependent *iqlīms* (counties), was part of the northern

Hours and Kamal Ṣalibi, Catholic press, Beirut, 1969, pp. 19, 20, Salem, *Ibid*, p. 127.

4 For his biography, see Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Ayybak al-Ṣafadī, (d. 764/1362) *al-Wafī bi al-wafayāt*, vol. XV, edited by Bernd Radtke, Beirut, 1979, pp. 475-8, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭulūn, (d. 953/1546) *Plam al-Warā bi min Wuliyya Naibin min al-Atrak bi Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrā*, edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahman, Damascus, 1964, p. 9.

5 Ahmad al-Qalqashandī, (d. 821/1418) *Subḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā*, 14 vols, Cairo, 1913-1919, vol. III, p. 431, vol. III, p. 431, vol. VI, p. 178, Salīḥ b. Yaḥya, *Ibid*, p. 23. Salem, *Dirāsah*, pp. 155-7.

6 For these administrative divisions, see al-Qalqashandī, vol. IV, of *Subḥ* for Sidon, see the same volume p. 111, see also Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umarī, (d. 742/1341) *al-Ta'rīf bi al-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf*, Cairo, 1894, p. 179.

Ṣafqah of the *niyābah* of Damascus. Its *mutawallī* (governor) was *amīr* of the rank of *tablakhanah* and sometimes an *amīr* of ten. The Mamluks restored the sea-citadel where they stationed *bahriyyah* force (Seasoldiers), cavalry, sea-watchers (*Kashshāfah*) and other groups of labourers (*wa ṭawā'if min al-mustakhdamīn*). Correspondance with the governor of Sidon was made possible through the governor of Damascus and the governor of Sidon was addressed as

«اعز الله نصره الجناب الكريم»⁷ (may God give power to this noble excellency).

Our sources do not furnish us with the names of those who occupied the post. Yet it seems that indigenous personalities such as certain members of the Buhturids and the Ḥanash Family⁸ were entrusted with that office. It is worth noting that the Buhturids, «Lords of the Gharb» in al-Shuf mountains, were charged with the task of watching the coast from the Dog River (Lycus), north of Beirut, to the Dāmūr River. (Tamyras), south of the town, for any expected Frankish pirates or any organized attacks by sea⁹. In return, during Mamluk times, the Buhturids were usually reinvested in their *iqṭa'* after each Mamluk *rawk* (survey), the purpose of which was to redistribute arable lands among the Mamluks. It is interesting to note that part of their *iqṭa'* included some areas of land in Sidon and its dependent villages¹⁰; requiring the presence of some members of the family there. This arrangement was necessary because Sidon as a sea port of Damascus was attacked several times from the sea. In 706/1307, a Frankish group of ships occupied Sidon, and succeeded in pillaging the city and capturing a sizable number of its people. The governor of Safad, Shihāb al-Dīn b. Ṣubḥ al-Kurḏī¹¹

7 Qalqashandī, *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 202, Sālem, *Ibid.*, p. 159.

8 For the history of the Ḥanash Family see Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi, «Muhammad Ibn Ḥanash Muqaddam de la Biqa' 1499-1518», *Mélanges de L'Université Saint Joseph* Tom XLII, Fasc. 1 (1968) pp. 3-23, See also, Shams al-Dīn b. Ṭulūn, *Mufaḥahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 2 vols, edited by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Cairo, 1962-1964, vol. I, pp. 167-8, 367-8.

9 For the Buhturs see Kamal Salibi, «The Buhturids of the Ġarb» *Arabica*, vol. VIII, (1961), pp. 74-97.

10 Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, *Ibid.* pp. 73-165.

11 For his biography, see Ahmad b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852-1448) *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mī'ah al-Thāminah*, 5 vols., edited by Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, Cairo, 2nd edition, 1966-7, vol. I, p. 220.

(d. 771/1369) volunteered to free the prisoners by paying the Franks 500 *dirham* per head. The number of prisoners was so large that he had to borrow thirty thousand *dirhams* from the Prisoners' Bureau (*Dīwān al-Asrā*)¹². Again, in 784/1382 Sidon witnessed a devastating attack by a Genoese fleet which pillaged Beirut¹³. After reconciling themselves with the King of Cyprus, the Genoese, in 806/1403, repeated their attack on Beirut and Sidon. They were able, with their large fleet (46 vessels) to land occupy the small island facing Sidon and to spend the night there. Local and tribal forces were mobilized to defend Sidon since they feared that the Genoese would pillage the city as they had done in Beirut. Faced with this large, local mobilization, the Genoese most likely decided not to attack the city and sailed away¹⁴.

Sidon, during the Mamluk period, had its Sunni *qādī* (judge) who was appointed by the grand judge of Damascus as part of the latter's prerogative. It is probable that most of those who held the post were of local origin. This post remained in existence during the sixteenth century. *Shaykh* Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi (d. 1061/1650) mentioned in his biographical dictionary a certain *Shaykh* Chalabī (d. 987/1579)¹⁵ who had served as a judge in Sidon. The Turkish title, «Chalabi», indicates that during the Ottoman period it was possible to find non-locals holding the post.

From available Sultani, *hüküms* (Royal orders), during the early Ottoman times, it is obvious that the function of the judge was not confined to judicial cases presented to him. He was also asked to cooperate with his colleague in Beirut and with the governor of Damascus to execute certain orders sent by the Sultan. Their orders included instructions to collect overdue revenues and confiscate fire-arms held by the local people, especially the Druzes. He was sometimes asked to help in recruiting archers for the Ottoman military force¹⁶.

12 Şalih b. Yahyā, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

13 Şalih b. Yahyā, *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

15 Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah fī A'yān al-Mī'ah al-Āshirah*, 3 vols., edited by Jibrā'il Jabbūr, Beirut, 1945-1959, vol. III, p. 159.

16 See for example the following *hüküms*, M.D. VI, No. 54, year (972) p. 27, M.D. VII, (975) No. 400, p. 155, No. 1728, (976), p. 616.

Biographical dictionaries do not help us in elucidating the intellectual life of Sidon and its neighbourhood during the period under consideration. Al-Ghazzī mentions, in passing, a certain 'Umar al-Mubayyid as being a piousman in Sidon¹⁷. Al-Khālidi al-Şafadī (d. 1043/1624), the Ma'nid court historian, recorded that two Shaykhs, Muḥammad al-Ḥadī (d. 1042/1632)¹⁸ the Şāfi'i *muftī* of Sidon and Maḥmūd al-Mammūdī, both from Sidon, were commissioned by Fakhr al-Dīn in 1022/1613, in addition to other Sunni dignitaries, to form a delegation to intervene on his behalf¹⁹ with the governor of Damascus Muzzin Zādeh Ḥafiz Paşhā²⁰ (d. 1041/1631). In spite of these few names it appears that the intellectual life of Sidon was lull even during the eighteenth century. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulī (d. 1143/1731), who takes pleasure in recording names of 'Ulamā he met, on visiting Sidon in 1112/1700 mentions only a *muftī* by the name of Riḍwān who apparently did not impress him. Ironically, he mentions a pseudo learned man by the name of Ibn al-'Ālimah (son of the learned). On visiting the governor of Sidon, Muḥammad Qabalān Paşhā, he refers only to the head of the Arabic chancery (*Kātib al-'Arabī*) a certain Luṭfī Chalābī who happened to be al-Nābulī's friend²¹.

Having in mind that Sidon was a Sunnite town surrounded by Shiite and Druze communities, one expects to find a more active

17 Ghazzī, *Ibid*, vol. I. p. 59.

18 Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥadī al-Saydāwī the Şāfi'i *Muftī* of Sidon wrote a book by the name of *Alḥann al-Ḥadī bayān al-Murajī wa al-Bādī*, seen by al-Muḥibbi who condemns it as of little value. For more details see Muḥammad al-Muḥibbi (d. 1111/1699), *Khulāṣat al Athar*, 4 vols., Beirut, n.d., vol. IV, pp. 11-14. Editors of al-Khālidi al-Şafadī, read his name as al-Ḥawī.

19 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khālidi al-Şafadī, *Tārikh al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'ni*, edited by Asad Rustum and Fouad Afram al-Bustānī, 2nd edition, Beirut, 1969, pp. 13-15. See also al-Muḥibbi for the biography of Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Şaydāwī, who was a Şāfi'i, travelled from his birth place Sidon seeking knowledge in Cairo and later went to Damascus, where he resided and died in 1065/1654, *Khulāṣat*, vol. IV, pp. 36-7.

20 For his biography seen Ibn Jum'ah al-Maqqar, *al-Bashāt wa al-Qudāt*, edited by Şalāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus, 1949, pp. 29-30. See also, Mehmed Sureyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmani*, Istanbul, 1971, vol. II, p. 98.

21 *al-Tuḥfah al-Nābulsiyyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Tarābulusiyyah*, edited by Heribert Busse, Beirut, 1971, p. 6.

intellectual and religious life. Our sources do not reveal the inter-communal relationship in Sidon and its environs, since several military expeditions were directed by the Mamluks and the Ottomans against the Shiite and Druze areas²².

In spite of all these severe measures, Shiite doctrine was able to preserve itself in the countryside of Sidon. It seems that it reached such an alarming state that on 25 Jumāda II 764/11 April 1363 the Mamluk Sultan sent an urgent warning (*manshūr*) to the people of Beirut and Sidon (as well as to their dependent villages and hamlets) expressing his worry about the spread of Shiism among the people of those places. His circular contained a theological attack on Shiism and specific instruction were given to put an immediate end to such «heretical» doctrine²³. It appears, from the available literature, that Shiites were forced to yield to the authority in contrast to the Druzes who were well organized, disciplined and remained a source of trouble to the authorities. Since their early days in Bilād al-Shām, it was a matter of routine for the Ottomans to send military expeditions against the Druze Villages, towns and hamlets. Yet this brave minority managed to survive, The 'Ulama' of Damascus wasted no time in inciting the authorities and the public against the Druzes. In 930/1523 they re-issued the famous *fatwā* of the learned savant Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdul-Ḥalīm b. Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) against the Druzes and other «heretical» sects²⁴.

The Ottoman Sultanate, in theory, did not recognize either the Druzes or the Shiites or the Alawids, but, as part of its administrative «Real-Politik», it dealt with them according to the prevailing circumstances. On registering the population, the Shiites and the Druzes were recorded in the *Tapu Defters* of Bilād al-Shām, as Sunnite Muslims. In some parts of Palestine, a certain tax, *resm-i rijāliyyah*²⁵ was collected from registered Muslim who were most

22 For an account of these military expedition, see K. Salibi, *Muntalaq*, pp. 132-141.

23 al-Qalqashandi, *Ibid*, vol. XIII, pp. 13-20.

24 See M.A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the 16th Century*. (Ph. D. Thesis, SOAS, 1972), pp. 187-189.

25 For this tax see Amnon Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and Revenue in the towns of Palestine in the 16th Century*, Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 18, 153.

likely non-Sunnite. However, no such tax was levied from Druze villages during the sixteenth century in the Sancak of Damascus.

According to five²⁶ available *Tapu Defters* of sixteenth century Sidon, the city was comprised of three quarters: Maḥallat Qalah (Citadel Quarter), 2. Maḥallat Dakākīn (Market Quarter), 3. Maḥallat Baḥr (Sea Side Quarter). It is interesting to note that the Jews, who were small in number, had their own quarter, while the few Christians in the city did not constitute a community and therefore did not have their own separate quarter. The *Tapu Defters*, which reflect the growth of the population of Sidon, were enumerated on the basis of the *Khānah*, (house-hold, h), *mujarrad* (bachelor, alien ?-b), disabled people(d), (see table on p. 60).

The increase in the population of Sidon during the sixteenth century is noticeable. There had been no sharp drop in the number of the inhabitants as has been noted in some parts of Bilād al-Shām²⁷. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that Sidon and Beirut served as seaports of Damascus, and consequently attracted more people to work there. This, also, may account for the steady increase in the number of households of the seaside quarter. It must be remembered that the Ma'nids treated Sidon as their seat where they gave protection to European merchants especially to the French who had a consul and a *khān* in the city²⁸. Recurring references point out that European ships (French, Flemish, and from the Italian cities) visited the port to buy cotton, silk and other commodities bought by European merchants from Damascus²⁹. Ottoman officials had the habit of sailing to Sidon in order to travel from there to Damascus³⁰, or to collect overdue taxes, or frequently to impose extra-

26 *T.D. 430* (Ca. 930/1523) pp. 332-8 *T.D. 401* (Ca. 950/1543); pp. 475-8. *T.D. 383*, (n.d.) pp. 390-402 *T.D. 543* (Ca. 976/1568) pp. 339-352 (These four defters are from the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul) *T.D. 177* (1005/1596 located at Kadastro Müdürlüğü, Ankara pp. 144-151.

27 See M.A. Bakhīt, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, pp. 46-944, and also see al-Khālīdī al-Şafādī, *Ibid*, pp. 17-19.

28 Father Paul Carali, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī al-Thānī Amīr Lubnān*, vol. II, Harisa, 1938, pp. 160, 169.

29 al-Khālīdī al-Şafādī, *Ibid*, pp. 17-19, 189, 103-104, 194.

30 al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat*, vol. IV, p. 427

	T.D. 430 (Ca. 930/1523)	T.D. 401 (Ca. 950/1543)	T.D. 383 (N.d)	T.D. 543 (Ca 976/1568)	T.D. 177 (1005/1596)
	h. b. r. d.	h. b. r. d.	h. b. r. d.	h. b. r. d.	h. b. r. d.
Citadel Quarter	64 — — —	180 7 1 —	276 20 1 —	287 11 2 —	233 80 — —
Market Quarter	68 — — —	142 8 1 —	197 12 2 —	151 50 — —	150 54 — —
Sea-Side Quarter	64 — — —	161 11 1 —	199 7 1 —	280 — — —	294 — — —
Jewish Quarter	26 — — —	25 — — —	36 — — —	25 — — —	24 — — —
Christian Group				3 — — —	3 — — —
Total Muslim Population	126 — — —	483 26 3 —	672 39 4 —	718 61 2 —	677 134 — —

ordinary levies. Sometimes they held the port of Sidon in return for gifts³¹.

Extant historical literature indicates that the city of Sidon had the following mosques³² during the early Ottoman period : —

- 1— al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, (The Grand Mosque) in the Citadel Quarter over looking the sea. It was endowed with a number of pieces of land and gardents³³ Shaykh 'Abdul Ghānī al-Nābulī classified it as «'Umarī», he described both its ornamental pool and its domed *fasqiyyah*. In addition, he referred to a well outside of the mosque whose water was slightly salty.
- 2— Jāmi' al-Kikhyā, which may have been Ottoman since early endowment deeds do not mention it.
- 3— Jāmi' Ibn Quṭaysh, which was, in the words of al-Nābulī, a new one, had a pool and a small marble *fasqiyyah*. These three mosques all had marble *minbars* (niches).
- 4— Jāmi' al-Baḥr (Sea-Side mosque) over-looked the sea, had its pool and similar to the other mosques it was endowed³⁴.
- 5— *Tapu Defter* 602, refers to a second mosque in the Sea-Quarter by the name of al-Muḥtasib Mosque³⁵. When Shaykh 'Abd-al-Ghānī al-Nābulī visited it, he stated that it was close to the *Saray* of the Pāshā. This mosque, which was the smallest in Sidon, had a running pool, and like other mosques had its own endowments.
- 6— al-Baṭṭāḥ Mosque, which was known as al-Sūq (Market) Mosque. It was constructed on the tomb of a certain Shaykh 'Alī al-Ghazzī who was considered by the people of Sidon to be a «saint». Comparatively speaking, its endowments were the largest³⁶ after those of the Grand Mosque.

Sidon, during the early Ottoman times, had two *Zawiyas* :

31 al-Khālīdī al-Ṣafādī, *Ibid*, pp. 16-17, 85, 109.

32 For these mosques see al-Nābulī *al-Rihlah al-Tarabulsiyyah*, pp. 33-4

33 *T.D. 602* (n.d. BBA) pp. 143-4.

34 *Ibid*, p. 144.

35 *Ibid*. p. 144.

36 *Ibid*. p. 143.

- 1— *Ibn 'Aqil Zāwiyah* in the Sea-Side Quarter which had its own endowments³⁷.
- 2— *Shaykh 'Umar al-Mubayyid's Zawiyah* in the same quarter but with richer endowments³⁸.

Tapu Defter 602 enumerates endowments of a school by the name of al-Furūsiyyah(?)³⁹, school in the citadel Quarter. It is not known when this school came into existence nor when it ceased to function.

Two types of *waqf* deserve attention in Sidon. The revenues of the first were devoted to purchasing burial shrouds for the poor and strangers to the place⁴⁰. The second was designated to the Khandaq Well to provide drinking water to the city⁴¹. In addition, a *waqf* was given by a certain Khalīl b. 'Urayqāt for reciting the Holy Koran⁴² and a second one by Shams al-Dīn al-'Adawī to recite *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* in the Sea-Side Mosque⁴³.

We find that a certain Mūsā b. Mubāarak b. Ḥamra had a school in the village of 'Ayn Traz, in the Shuf District, where he endowed it⁴⁴. It is interesting to find a *zāwiyah* built in 901/1495 in the Druze village of Dayr al-Qamar. It appears that it was richly endowed to buy books on various religious subjects and to feed visitors and the poor especially during the month of Ramaḍān⁴⁵.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Sidon had three public baths. The smallest was in the market place, the second was known as *Shaykh's* bath and the third, known as al-Amir bath was largest and the most luxurious⁴⁶. It was built by Amir Fakhr al-Din the Ma'nid.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

38 *Ibid.* p. 143, see also Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, vol. I, p. 59. It is obvious that Shaykh 'Umar b. al-Mubayyid as a pious man was living in Sidon towards the end of the 9th century Hegirah/Path century.

39 *T.D. 602*, p. 143.

40 *T.D. 602*, p. 142.

41 *T.D. 602*, p. 142..

42 *T.D. 602*, p. 143.

43 *T.D. 602*, p. 143.

44 *T.D. 602*, p. 144, unfortunately the date of this endowment is not mentioned.

45 *T.D. 602*, p. 135.

46 Nābulisī, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

It is worth recording here that the image of Sidon as portrayed by the English traveller George Sandys who visited the area in 1611, was a gloomy one. He states «The town now being, is not worth our description, the walls neither fair nor of force, the haven decayed, when at best but serving for galleys. At the end of the Pier Stands at a paltry block-house furnished with suitable artillery. The Mosque, the Bannia (most likely the house of Fakhr al-Din) and cane (*khan*) for merchants, the only building of note»⁴⁷.

Sidon as the second port of Damascus after Beirut, was connected with Damascus with two over-land routes.

1— Damascus-Khan Maysalūn - Zibdul - Ḥuşayn - Beirut - Sidon⁴⁸.

2— Damascus - Dārāyyah al-Kubrā - Kafr Qiq al-Dibs - Rāshayyah - Mashgharah - Kafr Malkā - Sidon⁴⁹.

The town was protected by two watch-towers (*burj*), manned by soldiers, sea patrols, cavalry, scouts and other employees. In 1070/1660, for example, there were fifty three *muṣtaḥfiẓān*, (guards) in Sidon⁵⁰.

The *Kanunname* of the Province of Damascus of the sixteenth century enumerated : Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and Jaffa as ports in the province where customs on exports and imports were levied under the name of *Mūjib Bāb Minā*⁵¹ (Dues collected at the port-gate). For a more comprehensive understanding of the Ottoman taxation system in Sidon, it is necessary to list the following types of taxes and the amounts accrued from each *muqātā'a* in Sidon during the sixteenth century⁵².

47 George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey* (London, 1652), p. 164.

48 Ibn Faḍallāh al-'Umarī, *Ta'rīf*, p. 194.

49 al-Nābulṣī, *Rihlah*, pp. 2-6. c.f. 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl Abū al-Fidā, (d. 732/1332), *Kitāb Taqwīm al-Buldān*, edited by M. Reinoud and Mac Guckin De Slane, Paris, 1840, pp. 248-9.

50 See M.A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, p. 100, U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615*, (O.U.P) 1960, p. 190.

51 For this *Kanunname* see Ö.L. Barkan, (editor) *XV ve XI inci asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları, Kanunlar*, vol. I, İstanbul, 1943, pp. 220-227.

52 *T.D. 169*, p. 9, *T.D. 430*, pp. 443-5, *T.D. 383*, pp. 401-2, *T.D. 401*, p. 478, *T.D. 423*, p. 69, *T.D. 543*, pp. 351-2, *T.D. 177*, p. 150.

Annual Revenues collected in Sidon
as *muqāṭā'a* on the basis of the *akçe*

المحصول السنوي لمقاطعات نفس صيدا
المجموعة بالأقجة

- I. Revenues of the Port
محصول اسككة - نفس مزبورہ
- II. Revenues of the Slaughter House
محصول قصابية - نفس مزبورہ
- III. Revenues of the Dyeing House
محصول مصبغة - نفس مزبورہ
- IV. Revenues of markets inspection, measuring, molasses
محصول احتساب وقبان وكيالية وياج ديس در نفس مزبورہ
- V. Revenues of market for horses, donkeys, etc.
محصول باج بازار اسب ودواب سائرة در نفس مزبورہ
- VI. Revenues of treasury, absent and missing persons and running away slaves in Sidon and its dependents.
محصول بيت المال ومال غايب ومال مفقود ويوم وعبد ابق در مزبورہ وتوابها
- VII. Revenues of miscellaneous irregular taxes and marriage fees.
محصول باد هوا ورسم عروسانه نفس صيدا
- VIII. Revenues of taxes collected from «infidel» (Christian) pilgrims arriving via sea to visit the Holy Sepulcher each was charged three *paras*.

محصول باج كفرة كه قدس شريفده قامه اولان زيارتنه دكزدن كلوركيدر هر نفر دن اوچر باره النور

- IX. Taxes collected on wine shops, and *bāj* on wine brought to Sidon by Christians and Jews, provided that they do not sell it to Muslims in accordance with the old custom.
 محصول میخانه نفس مزبورہ کندی نفساری ایچون کتورد کاری خردان عادت قد ۴۰
 اوزره باج النوب من بدم مسلمانلره بیع ایلمسلر .
- X. Revenues of the soap shop, comprised four doors.
 محصول رسم خان مصنعة در نفس صیدا باب عدد ۴ .
- XI. Revenues collected on Oxen each two to be charged ten akçes annually.
 محصول معادیه نفس صیدا تابع مزبورہ بهرفدان فی سنه ۱۰
- XII. Toll-tax collected en route near Wādī Zanni Pass.
 محصول غفارة دربند وادی زانی (۴)
- XIII. Toll-tax collected en route near Wadi Mayli, known as Wādī Ḥabis.
 محصول غفارة وادی میلی (?) نام دیگر وادی حایس تابع مزبورہ .
- XIV. Revenues of house of wine and of brokerage of Sidon.
 محصول میخانه و سمساریه نفس صیدا تابع مزبورہ
- XV. Taxes on winter-pasturage on the basis of one sheep or its equivalent price for each one hundred sheep.
 محصول قشلاق معز و غنم خارجدن کلوب قشلاق یوز قیوننده برقیون ویا بها سی النور فی سنه .
- XVI. Poll-tax on Jews.
 جزیه یهودیان در نفس مزبورہ
- XVII. Taxes on olives presses : twenty doors, each to pay six akçes.
 رسم معاصر زیت باب ۲۰ فی ۶ .
- XVIII. Taxes on silk wheels : ten in number.
 رسم دوالیب حریر ۱۰
- XIX. Taxes collected for night-watching of the city.
 محصول عسیه - نفس صیدا

XX. Taxes collected on salt produced near al-Burj al-Barrani.

محصول مملحة صيدا در نزد البرج البراني المشهور

XXI. Taxes collected on buffaloes.

رسم جواميس

XXII. Taxes collected on bees and goats.

رسم موز ونحل

Following the flight of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī, in 1613, to Tuscany, the Ottoman carved out Safed, Sidon, Beirut and Ghazir and created a new province. With this arrangement, they intended to watch carefully the behaviour of the Druzes⁵³. This shortlived experiment was most likely an antecedent to the later arrangement whereby, in 1660, Sidon became the seat of a new province. Again, the attempt was planned in order o crush local Arab power groups. In the words of Istifan al-Duwayhi (d. 1704)

وحتى يحطم ذراع أولاد العرب عمل (والي دمشق الشام أحمد باشا ابن الصدر الأعظم محمد كوبرلي) صيدا باشاوية

«In order to twist the arms of the Arabs, he (governor of Damascus, Aḥmad Pāsha Köprülü) made Sidon a *Pashāwiyyah* (province)»⁵⁴. This started a new chapter in the history of Sidon during Ottoman times, which deserves a separate treatment.

53 al-Khalidī al-Ṣafadī, *Ibid*, p. 33, U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, pp. 47-48.

54 Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704) *Tārīkh al-Azminah*, edited by FR Ferdinand Toutal, Beirut, 1951, pp. 357-9.

	<i>T.D. 169</i> <i>Ca. 932-8)</i> 1525-31	<i>T.D. 401</i> (Ca. 930/1523)	<i>T.D. 383</i> (Ca. 950/1543)	<i>T.D. 383</i> (N.D.)	<i>T.D. 423</i> (Ca. 952/1545)	<i>T.D. 543</i> (Ca. 976/1568)	<i>T.D. 177</i> (1005/1596)
I	1.000	2.000	8.000	16.000	16.000	18.000	25.000
II	450	1.000	1.500	1.800	1.800	2.000	3.000
III	3.100	450	200	265	265	265	300
IV	2.000	3.100	15.000	20.000	20.000	22.000	26.000
V	400	400	400	300	300	3.200	4.500
VI	—	—	—	2.000	2.000	3.000	5.000
VII	2.000	2.000	2.000	3.750	3.750	5.000	6.000
VIII	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.200	2.000
IX	—	—	2.000	6.000	6.000	10.000	12.000
X	—	—	200	1.050	1.050	1.400	1.750
XI	—	—	1.000	2.000	2.000	3.000	3.000
XII	—	—	2.400	9.500	—	10.000	11.000
XIII	—	—	2.400	9.500	—	10.000	12.000
XIV	—	—	—	400	400	500	1.000
XV	1.000	1.000	4.000	6.000	6.000	7.000	8.000

XVI	—	—	2.000	—	—	2.000	2.000
XVII	—	—	—	1.080	1.080	1.200	1.200
XVIII	—	—	—	240	240	600	600
XIX	—	—	—	12.000	12.000	2.000	8.000
XX	—	—	200	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.500
XXI	—	—	—	—	150	200	500
XXII	—	—	—	—	—	1.500	1.500

The general observation to be noted is the obvious increase in the amount of money collected under each tax on the basis of the akce.