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## **OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION IN MOUNT LEBANON AND THE SECTARIAN POLICY OF THE OTTOMAN IN THE REGION FROM TANZIMAT TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

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### **ABSTRACT**

In Mount Lebanon, where the religious, sectarian and racial diversity that it has embodied since ancient times has turned the region into a mosaic of tribes, the Ottoman administration, which Yavuz Sultan Selim started with the Merçidabık War in 1516, lasted for about four hundred years. Mount Lebanon, which had a very complex ethnic and religious structure, gave great importance to the preservation of the cultural and religious belonging of the sectarian elements in the region in terms of establishing and maintaining its political stability; for this reason, it adopted a management approach compatible with local conditions. In other respects, the fact that the geographical structure of the region, together with this religious and ethnic diversity, prevents transportation, left the state abstained from the direct management of the region; in this direction, the local politics and administrative system implemented by the Mamluk administration found an area of application in the Ottoman period on the axis of some minor changes. All these developments paved the way for the legal legitimacy of sects to be recognized. Under the Ottoman rule, Lebanon was ruled by the Emirate Period between 1516 and 1842, then by the Double Qaimmaqamiyya between 1842 and 1860, and finally by the Mutasarrifiyya period between 1861-1920. Between these periods, it was seen that the Mutasarrifiyya of Mount Lebanon was also under a certain influence with the Tanzimat, which is considered the most important element of the democratization, the foundations of which began to be formed with the French

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Revolution. Within the scope of the regulations brought together with the Tanzimat, the representations of religious communities and sects in the administration were made operable, as well as guaranteeing multiculturalism. The aim with this was to prevent the differentiations in the social dimension with representation at the administrative point.

**Keywords:** Mount Lebanon, Tanzimat, Emirates, Double Qaimmaqamiyya, Mutasarrifiyya

## CEBEL-İ LÜBNAN'DA OSMANLI YÖNETİMİ VE TANZİMATTAN BİRİNCİ DÜNYA SAVAŞINA OSMANLI'NIN BÖLGEDEKİ MEZHEP SİYASETİ

### ÖZET

Eski çağlardan bu yana bünyesinde barındırdığı dinsel, mezhepsel ve de ırksal çeşitliliğin bölgeyi adeta bir kavimler mozaiği haline getirdiği Cebel-i Lübnan'da, Yavuz Sultan Selim'in 1516 yılında Mercidabık Savaşı ile başlatmış olduğu Osmanlı idaresi yaklaşık dört yüz yıl boyunca sürmüştür. Etnik ve dini bakımdan son derece karmaşık bir yapıda olan Cebel-i Lübnan'da Osmanlı, siyasi istikrarının tesisi ve devamlılığı açısından bölgedeki mezhebi unsurların kültürel ve dini aidiyetlerinin korunmasına büyük önem vermiş; bu sebepten yerel şartlarla uyumlu bir yönetim anlayışı benimsemiştir. Öte yandan, bölgenin bu dini ve etnik çeşitliliğiyle birlikte coğrafi yapısının ulaşım engel teşkil etmesi ise bölgenin doğrudan yönetilmesi hususunda devleti çekimser bırakmış; bu doğrultuda Memlük yönetimince uygulanan yerel siyaset ve idari sistem bazı küçük değişiklikler ekseninde Osmanlı döneminde de uygulama alanı bulmuştur. Tüm bu gelişmelerle mezheplerin de hukuki meşruiyetlerinin tanınmasının önü açılmıştır. Osmanlı idaresi altında Lübnan, evvela 1516-1842 yıllarını kapsayan süreçte Emirlik Dönemi, ardından 1842-1860 yıllarıyla Çifte Kaymakamlık Dönemi son olarak da 1861-1920 yılları arasında Mutasarrıflık Dönemi ile yönetim altında tutulmuştur. Bu dönemler arasında Fransız İhtilâli ile temelleri oluşmaya başlayan demokratileşmenin en önemli unsuru sayılan Tanzimat ile Cebel-i Lübnan Mutasarrıflığının da belli etki altında kaldığı görülmüştür. Tanzimat ile birlikte getirilen düzenlemeler kapsamında çok kültürlülüğün teminat altına alınmasının yanı sıra yönetimde de dini cemaatlerin ve mezheplerin temsilcileri işletilebilir hale

getirilmiştir. Bununla hedeflenen ise toplumsal boyuttaki farklılaşmaların yönetsel noktada temsiliyet ile önüne geçmek olmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Cebel-i Lübnan, Tanzimat, Emirlik, Çifte Kaymakamlık, Mutasarrıflık

## INTRODUCTION

Lebanon, which serves as a mirror for the social and political issues of the Levant region in particular and the Middle East in general, came under Ottoman rule in the 16th century and remained under Ottoman rule until the end of World War I. Lebanon has been the scene of social, cultural, economic and political interactions and transformations throughout history due to its geographical location, and the invasions paved the way for foreign interventions and the hostilities it would bring. The religious and sectarian identities that emerged with the influence of its geographical conditions on its socio-cultural structure, on the other hand, have caused the political line of Mount Lebanon to be formed on the basis of this diversity throughout history.

After coming under Ottoman rule, Lebanon, which began to be governed by the emirates of the Damascus governorate, was given a semi-autonomous status, making it possible for people from all religions and sects to live together. Along with this system, the priorities of the Ottoman Empire in the region were to ensure internal security, to stabilize it, to collect taxes regularly, and to make certain of that the pilgrimage caravan, which regularly gathers in Damascus every year, goes to the Hejaz safely. At the administrative point, the Ottoman Sultans left the local feudal administration in Lebanon to the emirs in a semi-independent manner, without damaging the local fabric and in accordance with the current conditions; As a matter of fact, the Ottoman Empire itself avoided directing the region. In the region where the majority of the population consisted of Druze and Catholic Christian Maronites, the minority consisted of Shiites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Greek Kelkits, Nusayris. With the addition of a strategic location to this complex ethnic and religious structure, the efforts of European states to establish dominance in the region paved the way for direct and indirect conflicts of interest, and certain communities were supported by European states in this context. In this direction, the truth has emerged that the conflicts in Mount Lebanon are actually conflicts of interest carried out by the French and the British.

Following the failure of the targeted environment in the region with the Emirate system, Mount Lebanon was divided into Maronite governorships in the north and

Druze governorships in the south, and passed into the Double Governorship period; but this step was also inconclusive and brought with it new problems; because the Druze were living in the region reserved as the Maronite district governorship in the north, and the Maronites in the region reserved as the Druze district governorship in the south, and they did not want to obey the district governor of the region they resided in. These unrests revealed the fact that there are new decisions to be taken in the region and the inadequacy of the application of the Double Qaimmaqamiyya to solve the problems, and thereupon, a decision was taken to establish a new form of administration in the region with the Regulation dated 1861. With the new arrangement made, the period of Mutasarrifiyya was started in Lebanon and a process dominated by relative stability was initiated. This system, which continued with the new updates, lasted until the separation of Lebanon from the Ottoman Empire in 1918.

On the other hand, Tanzimat reforms, which can be considered as the most important step in the democratization of the Ottoman Empire and put into practice in 1839, also showed their effects in Mount Lebanon, and new administrative reforms were introduced with the Tanzimat. With the Tanzimat Fermanı, it was aimed to change certain aspects of the Ottoman Empire and society. Mount Lebanon, on the other side, was greatly affected by the administrative reforms made due to its multi-religious and sectarian structure, the continuity of multiculturalism in Lebanon was preserved, and the way for the representation of religious communities and sects in the region at the administrative point was opened with the Provincial Regulations.

## **1. Mount Lebanon in Geographical and Sectarian Context**

### **1.1. Geographic Structure**

It is known that the word Lebanon, which is used as Lübnân (لُبْنَان) in Arabic, Lebnan in Syriac, and Lebanon in Hebrew and some of today's Western languages, is 'white', which comes from the root of Ibn in Semitic languages and that the region is also named in this way because of the white-clad appearance of the snow-covered mountains.<sup>3</sup>

As for the Mount Lebanon (Jabal Lubnân/Jabal Garbî), which played an essential role in the formation of the country's cultural and historical characteristics as well as giving its name to the country, is the name of the mountain range formed by a

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<sup>3</sup>Mustafa L. Bilge, "Lübnan", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, Vol.27, (2003), 244-245.

parallel line drawing in the direction of the Anti Lebanon Mountains (Jabal Şarkî) by rising steeply on the narrow coastline of the mountain range where the heights reaches 4000 meters.<sup>4</sup> Mount Lebanon, or Cebel-i Lübnan in Turkish, is a mountainous region with unique topographical features, stretching from the Bared River in the Akkar Region in the north to the Zahrani River in the south. These mountains, whose formation consists of limestone, mostly decrease towards Biqa and Ba'albak plains in the parts with sloping slopes. While the eastern parts of the mountain are areas where drought is felt intensely, the western parts, which are favorable to vegetation prevails thanks to the heavy rainfall received from the Mediterranean, have offered living spaces to the settled communities in the mountain plateaus.<sup>5</sup> The Anti-Lebanon Mountains, which extend parallel to the Mount Lebanon and form the Lebanon-Syria border, stretch along a narrow coastline from the south of Homs to Lake Tiberias. Although it has the same structural features as Mount Lebanon, its arid climate has made the region the most backward region of the country in terms of functionality, so there has been no settlement even in the plains of the mountain. To the south of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains is Mount Hermon (Sheikh Mountain), the highest point of the range. To the south of Mount Hermon are the Golan Heights.<sup>6</sup>

Mount Lebanon also wasn't a political designation pointing to a region with certain borders until the 19th century. Due to the differences arising from the geographical definitions made by the states that have dominated the region, Mount Lebanon has found its place in the literature as a mountainous area of great importance, the width of which constantly changes during the sovereignty of each state. Evliya Çelebi, on the other hand, ascribed sanctity to the mountain of Mount Lebanon and stated that all of the Prophets attained the rank of prophethood after they visited this lofty mountain.<sup>7</sup>

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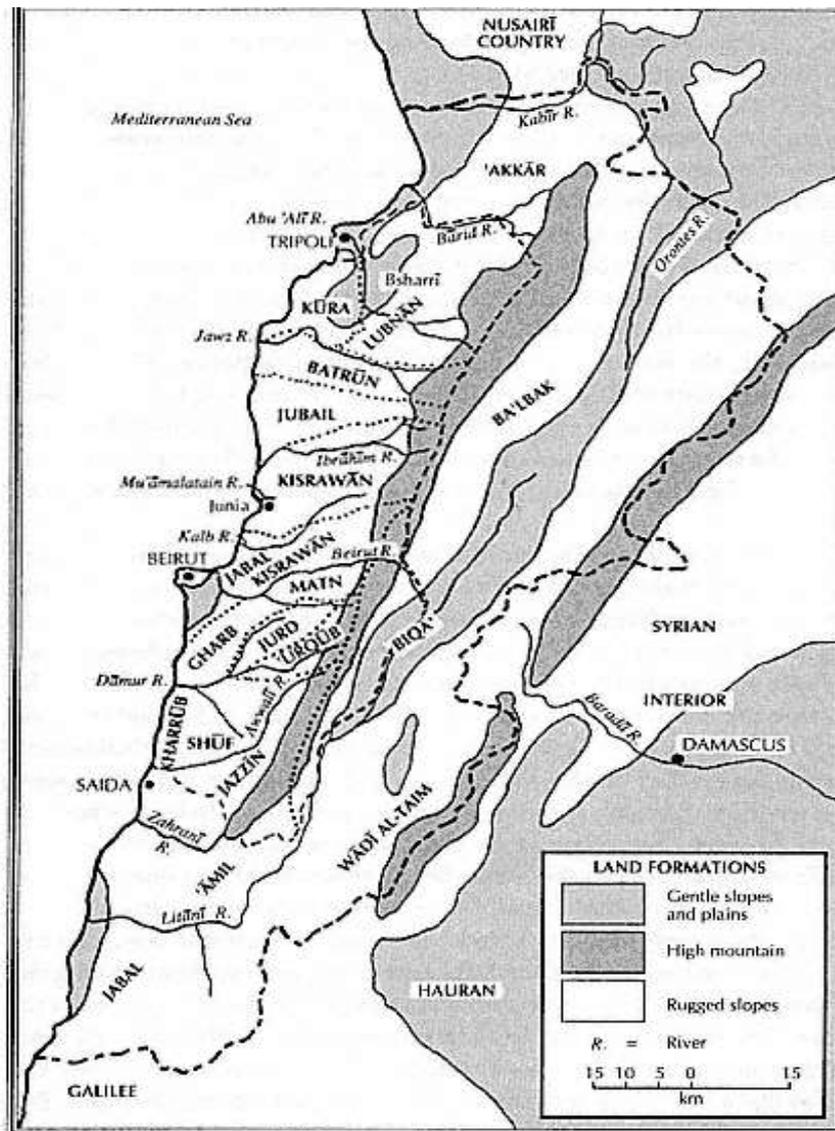
<sup>4</sup>Tuba Yıldız, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Osmanlı Devleti'nin Mezhep Politikası ve Hukuki Uygulamalar (1839-1914)", (Doctoral Thesis, İstanbul University, 2018), 16.

<sup>5</sup>Engin Deniz Akarlı, *The Long Peace Ottoman Lebanon, 1861–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 7-8, <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6199p06t/>.

<sup>6</sup>Ali Bilgin Varlık, "Suriye Jeopolitiği-Suriye'deki Gelişmeler ve Türkiye", *Başkent University Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*, (2016): 7.

<sup>7</sup>Yıldız, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Osmanlı Devleti'nin Mezhep Politikası ve Hukuki Uygulamalar (1839-1914)", 18.

**Figure 1.** Traditional Districts of Mount Lebanon and Their Relationship to Land Formations



**Reference:** Engin Deniz Akarlı, Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1920, (1993).

## 1.2. Sectarian Structure

The Arabs called the region aş-Şam (Bilādü'ş-Şam), which includes today's two independent and separate states, Syria and Lebanon, as well as a certain part of the present state of Iraq and Palestine. Besides the structure of the existing people of this region, which can be translated into Turkish as “Büyük Suriye” which means Greater Syria, was mixed in origin, it also showed divergence in terms of adherence to religious beliefs. The Arabs, Phoenicians and Assyrians, who can be considered the oldest peoples of the region, later mixed with the Crusaders, Greeks, Turks and Romans. With the spread of Islam in the region, Arabic became the language spoken by the majority of the people, and the majority of the people,

especially in the interior, adopted Islam; however, no sectarian unity was observed within the religion of Islam; because, in addition to the main sects of Islam, the Druze and Mutawali also existed in the region and over time, they showed a more active image than other sects.<sup>8</sup>

When we look at Mount Lebanon specifically, it is possible to say that although the region is an inner region of the Ottoman Empire, it has an extremely complex structure in terms of religion and sect, and as such, it almost constitutes a mosaic of tribes. In the Mount Lebanon region, which is administratively under the rule of the Governorship of Damascus and located between the Eastern Mediterranean and Syria, settlements of various religions and sects have been experienced since the early ages. It is known that the first settlement remains of the region date back to 5000 BC, the pioneers of political and economic institutionalization were the Phoenicians of the Semitic race, and the Phoenicians didn't unite on a single political plane on the coasts. However, it is said that the Phoenicians established city-states that were independent from each other and shared the same belief.<sup>9</sup>

With the seizure of the Syrian coast by the Roman Empire in 64 BC, Roman culture and civilization influenced most of the coastal cities, especially Beirut. Along with Jesus, religious ideology took on a new meaning in the region, the birth of Christianity also replaced the strict paganism that prevailed in Rome. With the declaration of Christianity as the official religion of the state, the way for the spread of Christianity in Syria was paved. The people residing first in villages and towns and then in cities adopted Christianity. The inhabitants of the mountains of Lebanon preferred to stay away from Christianity. With the division of the Roman Empire into two in 395, different views and therefore more than one Christian sect emerged in Byzantine Lebanon. Different branches of Christianity, such as Maronites, Gregorian Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Chaldeans, Assyrians, began to be influential in Syria.<sup>10</sup>

While all these developments were taking place, Sunni culture also acquired a certain settlement area, and with the spread of the Umayyad and Abbasid religious ideology and the concentration of the population in favor of Sunnis, especially in

<sup>8</sup>Haluk Ülman, "1840-1845 Arasında Suriye ve Lübnan'ın Durumu ve Milletlerarası Politika", *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi*, (1963): 242-267.

<sup>9</sup>Turgut Subaşı, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Dürzî-Mârunî Çatışması ve Osmanlı Yönetiminin Aldığı Tedbirler (1840-1845)", *IV. Middle East Congress on Politics and Society Proceedings Book*, (2018): 194-211.

<sup>10</sup>Yasin Atlıoğlu, *Savaşta ve Barışta Lübnan Marunileri: Aziz Marun'dan İç Savaş'a Maruni Kimliği ve Çatışma*, (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları,2014), 31.

the coastal areas, the political and economic structure became administered by the Sunni authorities. Over time, by combining the cultural and religious traditions of the Sunnis with their socio-economic power, the formation of an elite urban class rather than a sectarian community was pioneered. The fact that Muslims didn't experience friction with the local people in the region also enabled cultural relations to be easily established.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the Muslims existing in Lebanon, Christianity and different faiths that found development around it, the existence of Jewish communities in big cities was also observed.<sup>12</sup> Christians have experienced various divisions among themselves, including Maronite, Greek (Catholic, Orthodox), Armenian (Gregorian, Protestant, Catholic), Syriac and similar sects. Muslim sects, on the other hand, have been defined as Ahl as-Sunnah (Sunnism), Shiism, Ismailism, Alevism and Druze. Although the sects were defined separately, Druze, Ismailism and Alevism were accepted as sub-branches of the Shiite sect. These differences in the sectarian context have led to conflicts and sometimes armed conflicts among the people in the process. These conflicts have taken place between the Druze and the Maronites in the historical dimension.<sup>13</sup>

## **2.Administration of the Region in the Ottoman Period**

Although the Levant (Bilâdü'ş-Şam, as mentioned above), which literally means "the place where the sun rises", was limited to the coastal regions of Egypt, Asia Minor and Syria until the 19th century, at the end of the First World War it was first used only for Syria, and then for the lands of Lebanon and Syria, which were under French mandate for the period 1920-1945. If a general definition is to be made, it extends from the Nile River in the south to the south of Turkey in the north; and also it is used for the west of the Fertile Crescent, which is limited to the Mediterranean in the west and the Persian Gulf in the east.<sup>14</sup>

The administration of Lebanon, located in the Levant region, was taken from the Tanukhs (Buhturs) who served on behalf of the Mamluks in the region with the Mercidabık War, which was fought by the Ottoman army under the command of

<sup>11</sup>Yıldız, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Osmanlı Devleti'nin Mezhep Politikası ve Hukuki Uygulamalar (1839-1914)", 23.

<sup>12</sup>Albert Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon: A Political Essay*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 121.

<sup>13</sup>Ülman, "1840-1845 Arasında Suriye ve Lübnan'ın Durumu ve Milletlerarası Politika", 244.

<sup>14</sup>William Harris, *Levant: Bir Kültürler Mozaığı* (Çev. Ercan Ertürk, 1. Baskı, Ankara: Literatür Yayınları,2005), 2-3.

Yavuz Sultan Selim with the Mamluks in 1516; and then another powerful Druze family of the period, who would establish the administration on behalf of the Ottoman Empire, was given to the Ma'ans (Ma'anoghli's; as the Ottomans called him).<sup>15</sup> The region, which remained under Ottoman rule for approximately 400 years until the end of the First World War, became a highly autonomous structure with the policies carried out by the Ottoman Empire, and in a position where all religions and cultures could be practiced freely. So much so that Islam, Christianity and Judaism originated in or near the borders of this region. Different understandings within these beliefs also paved the way for religious and sectarian diversity. Since the region is mountainous and far from political authority, it has been a shelter for opposition movements in general.<sup>16</sup>

Although the sovereignty was transferred to the Ottoman administration in the region where the management approach applied by the central administration was different from the administrative structure carried out in Anatolia and the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire gave local administrators the right to rule as long as they didn't oppose their own administration. Due to this relative autonomy in the administrative functioning, authority relations in the region became functional and the continuity of both the relations and the traditions was ensured.<sup>17</sup> The policy of tolerance, which the Ottoman Empire implemented in the conquered regions in general, enabled the preservation and continuation of the religious, cultural and social structures in the hands of the elements that existed in the conquered regions. The region, which was ruled by the governors appointed by the Sultan, witnessed the tensions between the local tribal leaders and alliances formed against the Ottoman rule in the first period of its capture. In 1518, the Ma'an family also participated in the rebellion of Sheikh Muhammet Ibn Al-Hanash to re-establish the Mamluk administration. In this revolt, in which many villages were damaged, three of the important names of the Ma'an family were captured by the Ottomans, and the same family later entered the struggle against the Safavid-linked Harfuş family, showing that they were on the side of the Ottoman administration. As a result of this event, since the Ma'an family gained the trust of the Ottoman administration, Fakhr al-Din I. was appointed as the sanjakkbey (*governor of a sanjak*)

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<sup>15</sup>Tufan Ş. Buzpınar, "Lübnan". TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, (2003), 248.

<sup>16</sup>Ahmet Bağlıoğlu, Lübnan'ın Tarihsel Dokusu ve Yönetim Anlayışındaki Mezhebî Etkiler, *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol.13, no.1 (2008), 14.

<sup>17</sup>İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı'da Değişim ve Anayasal Rejim Sorunu", (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008). 120.

to the Sidon-Beirut sanjaks. After all these developments, the Ma'an family gained a key position in Mount Lebanon.<sup>18</sup>

In the first period when the Ottomans entered the region, the Mamluk Empire consisted of seven provinces consisting of Egypt, the central province, and Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, Hama, Özkayak and Safed in Syria. The Ottomans simplified the administrative structure of Bilâdü's-Şam and divided it into four provinces as Aleppo, Sidon, Damascus and Tripoli. Mount Lebanon, on the other hand, was a region managed by local officials as a sanjak, sometimes attached to Damascus and sometimes to Sidon, among these provinces. Since the governor appointed by the Ottomans for the region resided in Damascus, he served as a bridge between Lebanon and the center. Emirs, clergy and sheikhs who are the residents of the region, on the other hand, have the right to act independently in their own internal affairs, as well as the right to transfer their duties and property rights, which constitute an autonomous structure, to their future children. These groups, which were also influential in the state administration, didn't have much responsibility other than supplying soldiers to the Ottoman army.<sup>19</sup>

Another image that the Ottomans encountered when they entered the region; the peasant people, who had made progress in agriculture and trade, the autonomy established by local leaders and the feudal structure that was the executor of the system. A political and administrative structure shaped in a similar framework stood out in Mount Lebanon. Villages in Mount Lebanon were divided into muqataa on the axis of certain lines in the north and south, and the small iqtas that emerged were placed under the administration of important families who dominated the traditions of the region. Yavuz Sultan Selim, who didn't want to carry out this fragmented structure and administration system consisting of eight muqataa in the north and south from a single center, didn't make any significant changes except for the sanjaks added to Aleppo and Damascus while transforming the current Mamluk administrative system into provinces. On the other hand, the strategically important Biqa valley muqataa was placed at the disposal of the pashas, and the Ottoman Empire counted it as a state treasury. In terms of politics, the local Emirs of the region came to the Sultan and presented their allegiance in

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<sup>18</sup>Erdoğan Keleş, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da İki Kaymakamlı İdari Düzenin Uygulanması ve 1850 Tarihli Nizamnâme", *Ankara Üniversitesi: Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.27, no.43 (2008), 132.

<sup>19</sup>Subaşı, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Dürzî-Mârûnî Çatışması ve Osmanlı Yönetiminin Aldığı Tedbirler (1840-1845)." 198.

person, without causing a war environment in the region by crossing the Mount Lebanon mountains of the Empire.<sup>20</sup>

During the Ottoman rule, Lebanon was governed by three different systems. The first of which was the Emirate Period between 1516-1842, the second was the Double Qaimmaqamiyya Period covering the years 1842-1860, and the third was the Mutasarrifiyya Period, which was experienced between 1861-1920.

### **2.1.Emirate Period (1516-1842)**

When the Ottoman Empire started to dominate the region with the Merçidabık War, the Lebanese lands were divided among the tribal chiefs who were present in the region. In the region where there is a multi-element structure, Tanukhs and Arslans, who were originally from Yemen and supported by the Mamluk administration, were brought to the region in order to defend the Mediterranean coast from Byzantine attacks during the Umayyad period, then settled in West Beirut and adopted the Druze belief. The Ma'ans were later invited by the Tanukhs to establish settlements in the region and undertook the collection of taxes from a few major villages in the Shouf region.<sup>21</sup> Towards the end of the Mamluk rule, the Tanukhs were divided into two as Qaysi and Yamani and weakened as a result of their struggle with each other, which brought the increase of the effectiveness of the Ma'ans and their taking the leadership in the region. Due to their participation in the Ottoman ranks in the Merçidabık War, the Druze Ma'an family was given the title of "sultan of the mountain" in Damascus by Yavuz Sultan Selim; at the same time the administration of the Shouf region, known as the Druze Mountain, was left to the Ma'an family.<sup>22</sup> The position of the Ma'ans in the region was further strengthened when Emir Fakhr al-Din Ma'an declared his loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan, who gave utmost importance to the regular collection of taxes in this period, the establishment of public order and the security of the pilgrimage caravan going from Damascus to the Hejaz; however, upon the detection of some Ma'an members participating in the rebellion initiated by Ibnu'l Haneş'sin in 1518, two expeditions were carried out against the Druze in 1523 and 1524. With the establishment of their obedience to the Ottoman Empire, the power of the Ma'ans over

<sup>20</sup>Yıldız, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Osmanlı Devleti'nin Mezhep Politikası ve Hukuki Uygulamalar (1839-1914)", 46.

<sup>21</sup>Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A history of modern Lebanon* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto, 2012), 5.

<sup>22</sup>Veyssel Ayhan and Özlem Tür, *Lübnan: Savaş, Barış, Direniş ve Türkiye ile İlişkiler*, First Edition, Bursa; Dora Yayın, 2009, 30.

the region gradually increased; however, in the following periods, rebellion movements against the Ottomans continued from time to time until the end of the Ma'an domination.<sup>23</sup>

The authority of the Druze Ma'an family, who was responsible for the administration of Lebanon, ended in 1697 and the Shihabi period, which would last until 1842, began in the region. The clearest example of the change in social balances in Mount Lebanon was the replacement of Druze Ma'ans in the regional administration by Sunni Shihabis. Emir Bashir Shihabi, who was the first Sunni emir of the Mount Lebanon after the long-lasting Druze emirates, made promises to the local people not to increase taxes and to secure the privileges they had before, against his rival Haydar Shihabi, and ensured his election and held the administration between 1697-1707. After the election, Emir Bashir followed a soft policy towards muqata'jis. On the other side, Bashir didn't completely reject Druze either; however, he needed the support of the muqataa'jis in order not to carry out the politics he would follow on a slippery ground, since he didn't dominate the rituals of the Druze sect, nor the politics-religion relationship of the Druze emirate tradition, and couldn't fully assimilate the social structure of the mountain. In other respects, Emir, being aware that he shouldn't ignore the interests of the Sublime Porte, took care to establish close relations with both the governor of Sidon and the governor of Tripoli. Although Emir Bashir continued the policies followed by Fakhr al-Din Ma'an, it can't be said that he was able to maintain his power for a long time. It is known that the reason for this is that the Yamanis from the Druze tribes submitted a declaration stating that they didn't accept Emir Bashir, although they declared their loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan. Thereupon, the Sublime Porte's accepting this request and threatening Emir Bashir's administration created a short-term tension, but Emir Bashir overcame this crisis.<sup>24</sup>

In 1732, Mulhim, a Sunni Muslim, became the emirate. The period of the Christian Shihabis began when Yusuf, the son of Mulhim, whose children had accepted Christianity, became an emir in 1770. Undoubtedly, the increasing power of the Maronites was effective in this change. Cultural, religious and commercial relations with Europe significantly increased the power of the Maronites in Lebanon. With the influence of the missionaries, apart from the two large Druze families, there were also some Druze who joined the Maronites. These developments in

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<sup>23</sup>Bağlıoğlu, "Lübnan'ın Tarihsel Dokusu ve Yönetim Anlayışındaki Mezhebî Etkiler", 22.

<sup>24</sup>Yıldız, "Cebel-i Lübnan'da Osmanlı Devleti'nin Mezhep Politikası ve Hukuki Uygulamalar (1839-1914)", 54.

Lebanon entered a new era as a result of the appointment of Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar as the governor of Sidon in 1775. Ahmad Pasha tried to weaken the emir by supporting his brothers against Emir Yusuf in order to keep the emirate's office under control, on the other hand, he used both groups against the Emir by supporting the Janbulads in the struggles among the Druze. As the events turned into conflict as a result of the internal competition, Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar intervened in the situation in 1788 and appointed Christian Bashir Shihab II from the same family to replace Yusuf.<sup>25</sup>

Bashir II, or Christian Bashir, who served as amir of Lebanon from 1788 to 1840, acquired a supportive circle and remained in office for 52 years. Since Bashir's appointment to the emirate made the Christians in the country stronger, many states with ambitions for Lebanon gave full support to Bashir's emirate. Emir Bashir II maintained his neutrality in local conflicts during his first appointment. The most serious political problem that Bashir faced was the uprising that resulted from the taxes. Since France attacked Egypt during this period when Bashir took office, the agenda of the Ottomans became the issue of this attack. In 1799, France started a siege to Akka, and the Maronites, who improved their relations with France in a positive way and wanted to get support from them, wanted France to seize Lebanon. Between 1832 and 1840, Lebanon came under Egyptian rule as a result of the rebellion initiated by İbrahim Pasha, son of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha. The large-scale revolts following all these developments led to Ibrahim Pasha's withdrawal from Lebanon. As a result of all these developments, Bashir II was exiled to Malta, and the Bashir III was brought in his place, and as a result of the Bashir III administration, which lasted for about two years, the Shihabi period ended in Lebanon with the Ottomans dismissing Shihab in 1842.<sup>26</sup>

## **2.2. Double Qaimmaqamiyya Period (1842-1860)**

As a result of the pressures made by the great powers on the Druze-Maronite conflicts in 1841, the Ottomans sent an army to intervene in the region, upon the failure of Mustafa Nuri Pasha, who was in charge of solving the problem, to reach an agreement between the parties, the emirate of the Bashir III was terminated in 1842 and Brigadier Ömer Pasha was appointed instead. Although Ömer Pasha tried to establish good relations with both sides, the Maronites tended to be close

<sup>25</sup>Buzpınar, "Lübnan", 249.

<sup>26</sup>Mehmet Deniz Karakışla, "1840-1861 Tarihleri Arasında Cebel-i Lübnan'da Dürzi-Maruni Çatışması ve Bu Çatışmanın Bölgeye Etkisi" (Master Thesis, Hacettepe University, 2016), 10.

to the Western world. With the effect of the instability and the religion factor, the Western missionaries started to realize their ambitions on Lebanon. As a result of the thought that the problems experienced with the foreign interventions would become much more complex, it was decided to establish a new order in the region. Among the different views put forward, Austrian Prince Metternich's proposal was accepted and it was decided that Mount Lebanon would be divided into two different administrative regions, a Druze district governor in the south and a Maronite district governor in the north. With this arrangement, the powers of the Maronite and Druze communities in Lebanon would be based on equal legal grounds.<sup>27</sup>

The aim of this system was to prevent Druze-Maronite conflicts. In the background, it was to break the interference of foreign powers. Upon the acceptance of the Double Qaimmaqamiyya system, Haydar Ebü'l-Lam (Abüllam) was appointed as the Maronite regional governor and Ahmed Arslan was appointed as the Druze regional governor in 1843. The practice, which was initiated in this period when relative stability was tried to be achieved and some reforms were made in the administration, was partially successful in Lebanon; however, it couldn't prevent possible conflicts between groups in the region and the process that would lead to civil war.<sup>28</sup>

The powers of the disintegrated district governors didn't only cover those of their own sect, but also spread to the whole of the assigned region. This was the basis of the great problems to be experienced in the future; because the distribution of communities in the country wasn't homogeneous. For example, the Maronites didn't constitute the majority of the total population of the Maronite district governorship, and the Druze didn't constitute the population of the Druze district governor's district. The empowered Christians were in partnership with the Druze when it came to the autonomous administration of the country. In other respects, divisions began to be observed among Christians, and Orthodox Greeks demanded a third qaimmaqamiyya governorship. The ineffectiveness of the attempts made to ensure peace in the region after all these unrests couldn't prevent the problem from becoming international.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Irfan Acar, *Lübnan Bunalımı ve Filistin Sorunu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), 14.

<sup>28</sup>Caesar E. Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830- 1861*, (Oxford, Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2000), 210.

<sup>29</sup>Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, "Lübnan'ın Esas Teşkilat Tarihçesi", *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*. Vol.31, No.3 (1998), 19.

With the arrival of the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, Şekip Efendi, new decisions were made to strengthen the existing system and the system presented for the region ensured order in the region until 1860. The aim of this system was to prevent Western states from getting too involved in the region. Although there were no large-scale conflicts in the region until 1860, the events that broke out in May 1860 soon spread to the whole region and turned into a civil war. Western states wanted the Ottomans to intervene in the situation, but the Ottoman army was insufficient at the point of intervention and sent the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Keçecizade Fuad Pasha, to Beirut, which he had equipped with superior powers. Fuad Pasha took very strict measures in the region, but France, claiming that it would protect the Maronites, sent soldiers to the region. All these developments revealed the inadequacy of the Double Qaimmaqamiyya system and the necessity of a new application.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.3. Mutasarrifiyya Period (1861-1920)

After the civil war in 1860, the balance in the region changed again, and the Ottoman Empire was forced to make an administrative arrangement in Lebanon in favor of the Maronites; such that France has made a statement that it will not withdraw its soldiers from the region unless order is restored in Lebanon.<sup>31</sup> With the Lebanon Provincial Regulations prepared in 1861, Lebanon was accepted as a special governorship of the Ottoman Empire and this structure was given the name of the Mutasarrifiyya. As the executor of the system of Mutasarrifiyya, there would be a Christian ruler whose responsibility will be to the Sublime Porte, and at the same time a council would be established in which six main groups have the right to represent and each has two seats. Council members would be elected by each community leader and appointed by the government. Lebanese lands were divided into four regions as Beirut, Sidon, Biqa and Tripoli, and each region was made possible to be administered by local forces selected by the religious group that was dominant in that region. It was decided that Davit Efendi, who was an Ottoman citizen and a Christian Catholic, would be the governor of Lebanon.<sup>32</sup> The most important feature of the governorship system was the rapid development in economic, cultural and social terms; because the already experienced problems

<sup>30</sup>Buzpınar, "Lübnan", 251.

<sup>31</sup>Ayhan and Tür, *Lübnan: Savaş, Barış, Direniş ve Türkiye ile İlişkiler*, 42.

<sup>32</sup>İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000). 64.

and internal conflict was pushed into the background, especially close relations with Europe developed. Modernized systems implemented in agriculture; education and transportation facilities improved with newly built schools and bridges. Due to the increasing immigration towards the end of the century, a development was observed in relations with America, and the Lebanese who went there and returned again contributed to the economic revival of the country with the knowledge and capital they gained.<sup>33</sup>

Despite all these positive developments, it wasn't difficult to predict that the constructive atmosphere of the Mutasarrifiyya system wouldn't last long; because European states involved in many events in accordance with the protection mission they have imposed on Christians, and the British have continued to support Druze groups against the Maronites, which the French have supported since ancient times. This environment of pressure created by the European states pushed the Ottomans to develop a policy in favor of Christians, a situation that had never been experienced before.<sup>34</sup>

In 1864, the Lebanon Provincial Regulations was changed due to the disagreements between the Ottomans and the Maronites. Accordingly, in accordance with the wishes of the European states, a sectarian and proportional system was introduced to the administration in Lebanon, and the autonomous administration that the Ottomans had been applying for a long time was started to be implemented again. This system, which started to be legally implemented in Lebanon, recorded as a system that will continue to have effects on the region for many years and will lead to conflicts.<sup>35</sup> With the start of World War I, the Sublime Porte abolished the system of Mutasarrifiyye and began to appoint Muslim administrators to the region, and with the San Remo Conference held in 1920, Lebanon was officially released from Ottoman rule and left to the French mandate as a separate political unit.<sup>36</sup>

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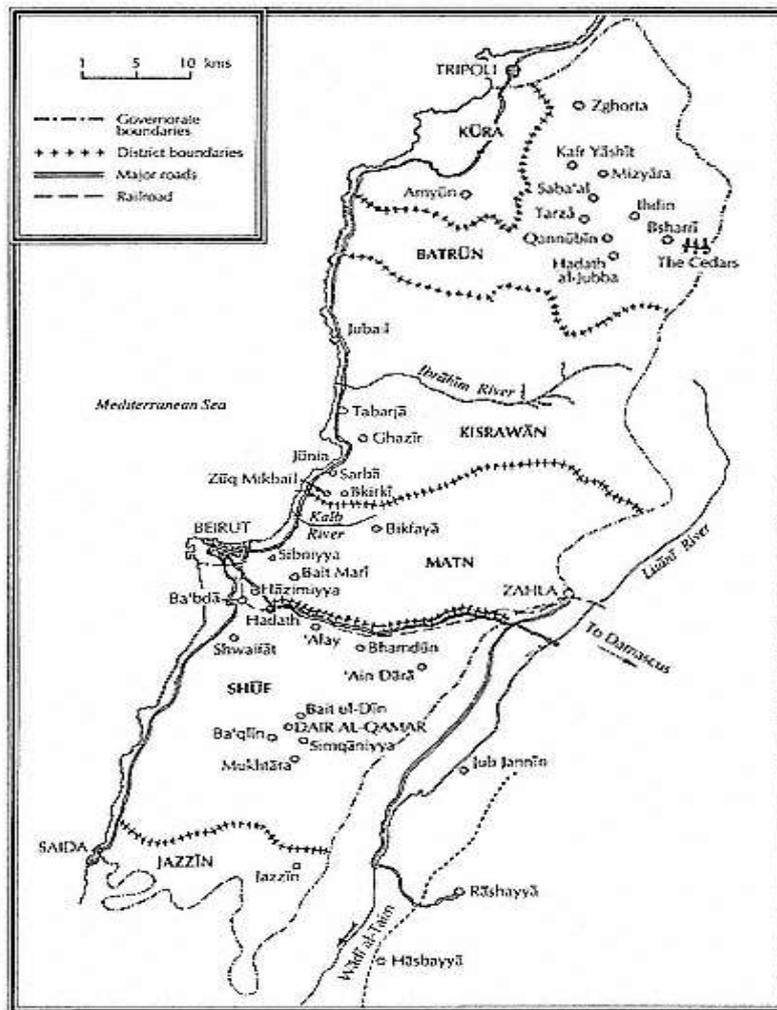
<sup>33</sup>Acar, Lübnan Bunalımı ve Filistin Sorunu, 20.

<sup>34</sup>Ebubekir Sofuoğlu and İlke Nur Akvarup, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Millet Sistemi ve Süryani-ler", *Sakarya University Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, Vol. 7, no.1 (2012), 355.

<sup>35</sup>Jacob Coleman Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record*, (New Jersey: Princeton, 1956), 169.

<sup>36</sup>William Cleveland, *Modern Ortadoğu Tarihi*, Mehmet Harmancı (çev.), (İstanbul: Agora Yayınları, 2008), 193-194.

**Figure 2.** The Governorate of Mount Lebanon, 1861–1920



**Reference:** Engin Deniz Akarlı, *Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon 1861-1920*, (1993).

### **3.The Sectarian Policy Implemented by the Ottomans in the Region with the Tanzimat**

In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was greatly affected by the movements such as nationalism, which increased their effects with the French Revolution, especially colonialism, due to the fact that it had a large number of nations. In this period, European states tried to enter into close relations with the groups living in this region in order to gain direct control and increase their influence in many regions under the guise of modernization. In this context, it was ensured that the structure in which the people of the region was responsible to the zu'ama' was replaced by a structure affiliated to the central government, in which non-Muslims were considered equal with Muslims. In this respect, the Arab regions, especially Lebanon, which were under Ottoman rule and in which many ethnic and religious

elements were located, were in an essential position. It was aimed to ensure the unity and integrity of the state with various reforms and regulations on all these developments. The Tanzimat Period, which started with the Hatt-ı Hümayun declaration announced in 1839, was the beginning of many changes and reform processes. What is aimed here emerged as the establishment and foundation of centralization with centralist policies.<sup>37</sup>

Considering the fact that the reforms made by the Ottoman Empire before the 19th century were much more superficial, it would be correct to say that the reforms and transformations made during the Tanzimat Period were much larger. It was the rebellions that emerged with the demands for independence that pushed the Ottomans to these innovation movements. The rebellion movements initiated by the Serbs first and then by the Greeks caused conflicts between the Ottoman and European states. In addition to these revolts in the Balkans, the rebellion initiated by the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha, also caused the Ottomans to come face to face with Europe. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire by its own governor led to the involvement of the states of France, Russia, England, Prussia and Austria, and the Ottomans developed certain practices in order to eliminate the military threat against the territorial integrity of the Empire and to strengthen the central government. At this very point, the Tanzimat emerged as a step to improve the Ottoman state institutions and social structure with comprehensive reforms.<sup>38</sup>

The Ottoman Empire wanted to implement the policies it had developed with the Tanzimat in Lebanon; however, the sectarian diversity of the region and the end of the autonomous administration that was implemented during the Shihabi period caused conflicts between the sects. With the Reform Edict of 1856, which was implemented in the following period, legal equality was provided to non-Muslims and a separate dimension was added to the reforms. The targeted reform movements was to bring the local administrators in the regions under the management of the central authority, to make improvements in the economic and social conditions of the people living within the Ottoman borders, and finally to create an Ottoman society in which Christians, Jews and Muslims had equal rights. In this context, Lebanon greatly affected by the social and administrative reforms due to

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<sup>37</sup>Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861: The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society*, (London: Clarendon P., 1968), 267.

<sup>38</sup>A.D. Novıçev, *Novıçev, 1839 Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu ve Dış Politikadaki Boyutları*, (İstanbul: İlmî Araştırmalar, 1997), Sayı 5 Çev. Darhan Hıdıralı, 53.

its multi-religious and sectarian structure. In other respects, although local governments and councils were established in the region, the Ottoman influence remained at a limited level, and France tried to establish a sphere of influence over the region by carrying out missionary activities by claiming its religious ties with the Maronites; England, on the other side, tried to balance the relationship France tried to establish with the Maronites by improving its relations with the Druze. In this direction, considering its social structure and traditions, it was seen that Ottoman influence was limited in Lebanon, which differed from other Arab-Ottoman regions.<sup>39</sup>

The Mount Lebanon Regulation, which was declared by Fuad Pasha as a provincial policy in 1861, was created within the framework of a bottom-up approach in the context of meeting social events and demands, considering other policies created in line with a top-down approach with the Tanzimat; however, the restructuring works related to the provinces occupied the agenda of the Tanzimat administration for a long time, they weren't implemented. On the other hand, the Mount Lebanon Regulation was a beginning for putting this idea into practice and shaped the policies which came after it; because with the new regulations introduced, the multiculturalism in Lebanon was preserved and thus, as stated in the Regulation, the religious communities and sects there were represented in the administration. As a result, it was seen that the problems experienced in Lebanon can only be overcome if the differentiated segments in the society have a say in the administration, and it was put into practice in this way.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to the positive developments, the efforts to ensure religious equality and freedom between Muslims and non-Muslims, which were aimed with the reforms of the Tanzimat Period, were very difficult to implement in Lebanon. In fact the demographic uncertainty in Lebanon didn't provide a suitable ground for Maronite and Druze groups to exist under equal conditions. It was thought that the realization of this religious equality could only be possible through local forces. In this context, it was observed that local powers have also become stronger by providing their own legitimacy. In addition, the legitimacy of the local

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<sup>39</sup>Iliya F. Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society; Lebanon, 1711- 1845*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), 35.

<sup>40</sup>Lütfi Özcan and Abdulkadir Aksoy, "Tanzimat Dönemi Taşra Politikalarının Cebel-i Lübnan Örneğinde Analizi", *Bilgi*, Vol.26 (2013), 114.

elites mentioned in terms of foreign powers were an important factor in paving the way for later interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>41</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Mount Lebanon, which have hosted many groups, communities and sects for centuries due to its geographical conditions and geopolitical location, have always been the shelter of a certain community. Compared to other regions and surrounding countries, the region has a richer and more favorable climate and topographic structure in terms of precipitation. Compared to other regions and neighboring countries, the fact that it has a more favorable climate and topographic structure in terms of precipitation has been the reason for the region's intense interest. The multifaceted charm of the region began during the Phoenician era; In the following process, the region expanded and diversified and turned into a more mixed structure in terms of population. As such, the region held the distinction of being the region of the Ottoman Empire that held the highest density and diversity in the sectarian context for a long time.

Despite its sectarian diversity, the regional administration in Mount Lebanon, where politics was carried out by Druze Emirs, came under the control of first Sunni and then Maronite Emirs, leaving the monopoly of the Druze Emirs in the 18th century; on the other hand, since the Ottoman Empire didn't touch the feudal structure when it entered the region and allowed the continuity of the existing order, this situation also allowed the interventions of the European powers. These foreign interventions also caused the feudal powers to mobilize against the Ottomans in time and made the Ottomans work hard at the point of solving the problems. When the tensions between the Druze and Maronites under the Emirate turned into conflict in the 1840s, the Ottoman's search for a solution proved inconclusive, revealing the necessity of a new administrative order in Mount Lebanon; As a result, it was decided that Mount Lebanon would be divided into two administrative regions and administered by the appointed district governors (qaimmaqams). In this period, when the Emirate period ended and the period of Double Qaimmaqamiyya began, no solution could be found for the problems observed between the communities; because in the regions where the sects live in a mixed state, administrative problems haven't been overcome. As no solution

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<sup>41</sup>Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History and Violence in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Lebanon*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 61.

could be found, the constant objections revealed how the issue turned into a problem. After these developments, the efforts of the solution-oriented minister sent by the Ottoman Empire to increase the efficiency of the district governorship system were ineffective due to the attempts of the European powers to increase their sphere of influence in the region, causing the division between the sectarian groups in the region to deepen. As the tensions between the groups moved to the next level, the Ottoman Empire came to the brink of a serious crisis, and the European powers were eager to get involved in the event again. As a result, it was decided that a new regulation, Mutasarrifiyya System, should be introduced after the failure of the Double Qaimmaqamiyya System in Mount Lebanon, and Lebanon was given the status of an independent Mutasarrifiyya with the regulation signed in 1861. With the development of a privileged administration approach in line with this system, which took shape in the shadow of Western powers, the foundations of the political system based on the communities that have survived to the present day will also be laid.

These arrangements made for the region sometimes remained as unsuccessful attempts, and sometimes provided a partial success and balance. While all these developments were being experienced, with the Tanzimat Edict of 1839, which tried to cover almost every area of the society from social services to local government understanding and practices, the representation of small administrative units in the assemblies was guaranteed and their effects on the administration were increased. On the other hand, while the undeniable Western influence in Mount Lebanon made the demographic heterogeneity more prone to conflicts in the political process, it was observed that although the reforms offered a wide spectrum in terms of representation, they also brought negative results in the society. In short, it has been seen that the Ottoman Empire, while trying to implement certain regulations that take into account the current internal dynamics of Mount Lebanon in line with the new reformist understanding that emerged with the Tanzimat, made a diplomatic struggle with the Western powers who wanted to take the region under their control in line with their political and economic purposes. In the middle of the 19th century, with the internal politics of the region turning outward with the conflicts, the region's obtaining a special management style, as mentioned before, had a great share in the emergence of today's Lebanese sect structure.

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