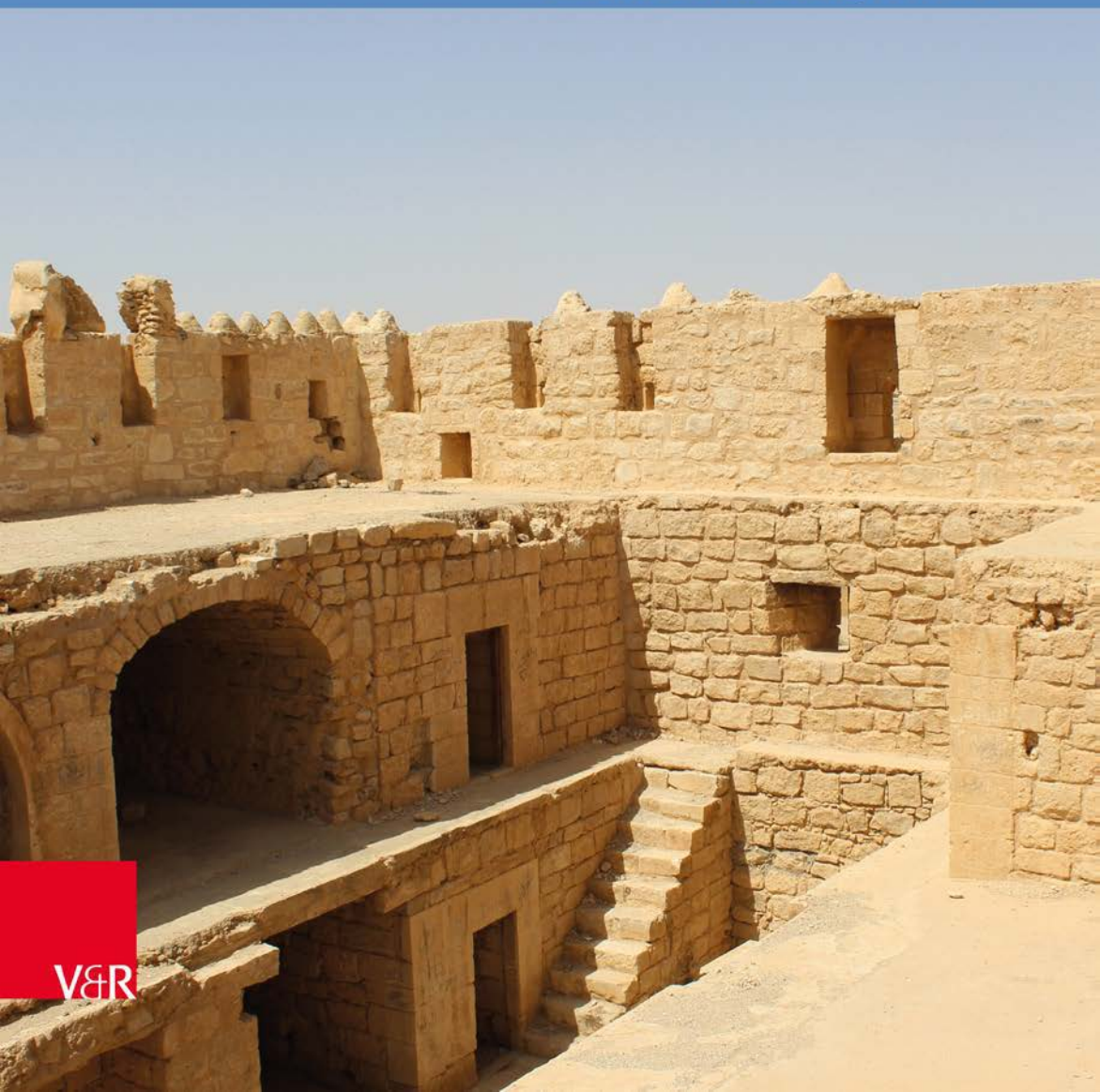
Stephan Conermann / Gül Şen (eds.)

The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition

Bonn University Press



V&R

V&R Academic

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

Ottoman Studies / Osmanistische Studien

Band 2

Herausgegeben von
Stephan Conermann, Sevgi Ağcagül und Gül Şen

Die Bände dieser Reihe sind peer-reviewed.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

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With 20 Illustrations

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ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

universitätbonn

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

ISSN 2366-3677
ISBN 978-3-8470-0637-4

Weitere Ausgaben und Online-Angebote sind erhältlich unter: www.v-r.de

Veröffentlichungen der Bonn University Press
erscheinen im Verlag V&R unipress GmbH.

Titelbild: The Ottoman Caravanserai at Qatrana, Jordan – Built in 1531 CE on the Syrian pilgrimage route by the order of Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent. Photo by Gül Şen, 2016.

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ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

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Notes from the Editors

The chapters in this volume were originally presented at the conference "The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century" held 5–7 March 2015 in Bonn. The conference brought together fourteen scholars from both Ottoman and Mamluk Studies with the aim to shed light on and rethink the transfer of rule in the region during the sixteenth century. It provided a unique opportunity to discuss the understudied transition period before and after the Ottoman Conquest in 1516–1517.

The conference was hosted by the "Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg: History and Society during the Mamluk Era" funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The editors of this volume are grateful to DFG for its generous funding which enabled them to organize this conference.

In the essays that follow, transliteration is not unified but internal consistency is sought. Variant spellings of personal and place names are listed in the relevant entries in the Index. Transliterations of textual passages are given mostly in the footnotes. Each bibliography is divided into sources and studies without any further subdivision. Spellings of the words of Ottoman or Arabic origin that have entered the English language follows standard dictionaries.

Stephan Conermann
Gül Şen
Bonn, September 2016

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

List of Illustrations

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

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ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

Abbreviations

BRIJMES	The British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
DİA	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi. Istanbul: TDV İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1988–2013.
EI^2	Encyclopeadia of Islam: New Edition. Leiden: Brill, 1998–2005.
İA	İslâm Ansiklopedisi: İslâm Âlemi Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Lûgatı. Istanbul: Maarif Matbası, 1940–1988.
IRCICA	Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
MSR	Mamluk Studies Review
ÖNB	Österreiche Nationalbibliothek
SHAJ	Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan
TALİD	Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

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Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen

Introduction: A Transitional Point of View

Periodizations are, as is known, highly dependent on perspectives. In Islamic history, the year 1516–1517[1] is often interpreted as marking an epochal change.[2] The Ottoman conquest of Bilād al-Shām (geographical Syria or Greater Syria) in 1516 and Egypt in 1517 has to date been the dominant narrative in Islamic studies (and beyond), marking not only the demise of the medieval Mamluk Sultanate, which was already in decline, but also the rise of an early modern Turkish empire.[3] Many elements of this point of view are problematic. First, it contemplates the pre-modern period in a purely Western-centric manner, through the lens of such terms as "medieval" and "early modern."[4]

1 All dates in this article are given in the Common Era unless otherwise indicated.

2 For a representative sample of conventional overviews, see *The Western Islamic World. Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) The New Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 2, or *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. M.W. Daly, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

3 Thus far, the fifteenth century has been regularly interpreted as a period of decline in the Mamluk Sultanate. This perception, however, is gradually evolving into a view of the fifteenth century – including developments in the sixteenth – as a time of transformation, several local and interregional factors leading to material long-term changes. See Amina Elbendary, *Crowds and Sultans. Urban Protest in Late Medieval Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press 2015), 1–18. The decline perspective is problematic ab initio because it is often put forward in contrast to a "golden" or "classic" era. See Sonja Brentjes, "The Prison of Categories – 'Decline' and its Company," in: *Islamic Philosophy, Science, religion and Culture: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, ed. Felicita Opwis and David Reisman (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 131–156, especially Thomas Bauer, "In Search of Post-Classical Literature. A Review Article," *Mamluk Studies Review* 11 (2007): 137–167. On the Ottoman Empire, see Christoph Herzog, "Zum Niedergangsdiskurs im Osmanischen Reich und in der islamischen Welt," in *Mythen, Geschichte(n), Identitäten: Der Kampf um die Vergangenheit*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Hamburg: EB Verlag, 1999), 69–90.

4 The issue of periodization in the context of the Ottoman Empire was discussed by the German research group in "Ottoman Europe: Methods and Perspectives of Early Modern Studies on Southeast Europe". The research group argues in its recent publication that the Ottoman Empire – with its large and long-standing territorial foothold in Europe – is an "integral part of Late Medieval and Early Modern European History." For the introductory chapter, see Andreas Helmedach, Markus Koller, Konrad Petrovszky, Stefan Rohdewald, "Das osmanische

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

Unfortunately, more meaningful classifications have not been able to establish themselves in our disciplines. The traditional view persists for heuristic reasons. What kind of heuristic process is this, however, as long as the strenuous effort to write a world or even global history still continues?[5] Is it not much more convenient simply to continue following the prevailing Western discourse in order to avoid the need to argue consistently and permanently against it? Why, one wonders, for example, has the approach of Marilyn R. Waldman (1943–1996) – a student of Marshall G. S. Hodgson (1922–1968) – in her unfortunately oft-ignored entry "Islamic World" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, never really been systematically followed?[6] Waldman begins not with the birth of Muḥammad (570) but farther back. For her, the expression "axis time" (800–200 BC), coined by Karl Jaspert (1883–1969), represents the ferment of the famous religious and cultural configurations in the Mediterranean region, India and China, and *a fortiori* in the area between the Nile and the Oxus (this, to avoid the terms "Middle," "Middle East," or even "Orient"). In reference to the Islamic civilization, the first phase of the "Formation and Orientation (500–634)", which ends with the death of the first successor of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, is followed, according to Waldman, by a time of "Conversion and Crystallization" (634–870). Although the rule of Muslim groups spread far and wide during that time, Muslims rarely accounted for the majority of the population in any given region. The subsequent period – "Migration and Renewal (1041–1405)" – saw the beginning of a new era marked by development of a normative canon and political fragmentation signaled by the arrival of the Seljuks, later strongly influenced by the Mongols and Timurids. After Timur's death, Waldman begins to document a change of power holders – from migrational and nomadic groups to sedentary elites in large centralized empires. Only after 1683 does the basic framework of a constantly expanding Islamic world change slowly. Waldman's entry ends with a sixth phase, titled "Reform, Dependency, and Recovery."

Although Waldman's article is but an overview, it reflects some of Hodgson's central concepts. Generally speaking, one who reads his opus magnum, *The Venture of Islam Conscience and History in World Civilization* (3 vols, Chicago

Europa als Gegenstand der Forschung," in *Das Osmanische Europa. Methoden und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung zu Südosteuropa*, ed. idem (Leipzig: Eudora Verlag, 2014), 9–23.

5 *The Journal of World History* was published in 1990, *The Journal of Global History* in 2005, and *New Global Studies* in 2007. Recently, several major projects on world history have been mounted: *The Cambridge World History* (7 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), *Geschichte der Welt* (6 vols., Munich: Beck, 2012 et seq.), *WBG Weltgeschichte. Eine globale Geschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 21. Jahrhundert* (6 vols., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009–2010) and *Globalgeschichte. Die Welt 1000–2000* (8 vols., Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2008–2010).

6 See www.britannica.com/topic/Islamic-world (last downloaded 7 September 2016).

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

1975–1977), today, forty years after it appeared, is surprised to see how many of his ideas perfectly and seamlessly fit in postcolonial debates as well as the recent discussions about the limits and possibilities of a global history.[7] All are still as refreshing as they are profoundly worthy: his consistent attempt to view the Islamicate regions as part of the history of world civilization, his efforts to counteract Eurocentrism (or Western-centrism) and a teleological interpretation of history that tapers down to European modernity, his rejection of the standard religious-norms-oriented interpretation of Muslim societies, and his hybrid cultural understanding, in the sense of continually assuming the existence of fruitful feedback between dominant and dominated groups.

But back to Waldman's periodization. Although she tries to break through the traditional dynastic historiography (Fatimids, Ayyubids, Mamluks, Ottomans) and promote other emphases, Waldman, like the others, unfortunately bases herself primarily on "concise" data. It is universally accepted, however – at least since Fernand Braudel's (1902–1985) studies on the Mediterranean – that a political event usually says nothing at all where structural changes are concerned.[8] If so, why always package historical events in wrappings of key facts?

After similarly adhering to the usual time frame (1250–1517) in the first phase of its project on the history and society of the Mamluk period,[9] the German Research Foundation (DFG)-funded research group has broadened its perspective since 2015, jettisoning the dynasty-defined classification in favor of a more flexible "Middle Islamic period" (12th–17th centuries). As for the beginning of this era, Stefan Heidemann offers excellent reasons for soft dating to the twelfth century:

> The transformation from the Early Islamic period to the Middle Islamic era during the 12th to 13th centuries is one of the most significant watersheds in world history. […] While developments that began already in Late Antiquity culminated in many respects in the early Islamic period; the Middle Islamic period, however, had quite a different cultural, political and material outlook. For the first time the majority of the population

7 The timeliness of Hodgson's approach has often been emphasized in recent years: B. B. Lawrence, "Genius Denied and Reclaimed: A 40-Year Retrospect on Marshall G.S. Hodgson's The Venture of Islam," *Marginalia* (11. November 2014 = marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/retrospect-hodgson-venture-islam/) and Steve Tamari, "The Venture of Marshall Hodgson: Visionary Historian of Islam and the World," *New Global Studies* 9, 1 (2015): 73–87. Still a good read: Edmund III Burke, "Islamic History as World History: Marshall Hodgson, 'The Venture of Islam,'" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979): 241–264.

8 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II (*Paris, 1949). On the reception of Braudel's theses, see John A. Marino, "The Exile and His Kingdom. The Reception of Braudel's Mediterranean," *The Journal of Modern History* 76 (2004): 622–652; see further Anthony Molho, "Like Ships Passing in the Dark. Reflections on the Reception of La Méditerranée," *U.S. Review* 24 (1): 139–162.

9 See www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

> in the Islamic realm was Muslim – with regional differences; cityscapes became islamicized, now being dominated by Islamic institutions and complexes; Islam in its theological, philosophical and cultural aspects became more self-centered yet cultural influences and economic exchanges with both China and the West increased dramatically by far. The old institution of the *waqf* became a political and economic instrument to finance new public and semi-public institutions. In this time Islamic culture as we know it today was formed. The middle decades of the 12th century saw the most dynamic developments in different areas within the society. Witnesses are the increasing literary production and the material culture: Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd initiated a vast building program transforming of the cities; the fundamental currency reforms occurred all over Western Asia; new techniques of fritware, gold enamelled glass and inlaid metal were introduced; and urban historiography and legal literature blossomed. The reasons for the transformation are poorly understood and rarely explored. The advent of the Saljūqs at the end of the 11th century had clearly laid the foundations for change, but the visible acceleration took only place two generations later.[10]

Not only do the archaeologists Donald Whitcomb[11] and Marcus Milwright[12] arrive at a similar processive evaluation of the march of social developments such as these, but Konrad Hirschler does the same in his treatise *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Country: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices*[13] (2013), as does – despite the title! – Bethany J. Walker in her book *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier*[14] (2011). The gateway to a "Middle Islamic period" as a frame of reference allows us, in regard to Bilād al-Shām and Egypt, to involve both the Ayyubid as well as the Ottoman period in process-oriented investigations. Thus, we can now deal with developments for which the establishment or demise of Mamluk rule do not establish an absolute starting block or endpoint. When it comes, for example, to issues of material culture, environmental history, (im)mobility, and border areas (but also to the history of ideas and poetry), it is imperative to consider dynamics and processes that can hardly be understood without going beyond the time of the Mamluk Sultanate and to take account of changes that long predate the Ottoman conquest. The environment is a case in point. Environmental history opens new perspectives by facilitating the effective study of rural societies as a highly mul-

10 See www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/voror/personen/heidemann/transformation.html (last access 9 September 2016).

11 "Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the Abbasid Period," *SHAJ* 4 (1992): 385–390.

12 *The Fortress of the Raven. Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

13 Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Country: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

14 Bethany J. Walker in her book *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2011). On her approach, see her "Militarization and to Nomadization: The Middle and Late Islamic Periods," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62/4 (1999): 202–232.

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tidisciplinary topic of inquiry. Although well integrated and interdisciplinary in Ottoman studies, research on environmental history is, with exception of a few studies that make no reference to studies in neighboring disciplines, very sparse in Mamluk studies.[15]

An environmental approach, however, has the potential to overcome the disciplinary isolation and facilitate study of interactions between local communities and natural environments in various respects such as natural-resource management, political ecology, socialized landscapes, and agricultural history. The resilience of rural populations should particularly be taken into account. It should be noted that the concept of resilience is very helpful[16] because it denotes the ability of a system to remain stable under pressure and recover after disruption. By invoking this concept, we may better understand why certain communities were able to survive various crises and political upheavals such as conquest by a foreign power. Resilience theory explores the complex relations that exist between natural and anthropogenic systems with all their complex political, economic, and cognitive contexts. Its interest encompasses the physical environment in all its characteristics. The predominant component of the physical environment, climate, however, should not be understood as the determinant of any human behavior; instead, it should be seen as a trigger. Likewise, social conflicts of local communities may be explored by investigating how local populations and authorities struggle over natural resources. Furthermore, since ecological processes always act in the long term and are not tied to political or dynastic transitions, research topics such as these may be considered only comparatively and must be carried out jointly by Ottoman and Mamluk scholars because they represent transformations that are detached from mere events.[17]

Here we finally arrive at the question of transitional periods. Basically, it comes down to asking how a change in political rule impacts societies overall and how

15 Two forerunner studies for Ottoman environmental history, both in the same year, are Alan Michail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and White, Sam. *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For an overview, see Onur İnal, "Environmental History as an Emerging Field in Ottoman Studies: An Historiographical Overview," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 38 (2011): 1–26. For the studies on environmental disasters and their impact related to the Mamluk period, see William F. Tucker, "Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria," *MSR* 3 (1999): 109–128; idem: "Miscellanea, Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamluk Egypt," *JESHO* 24/2 (1981): 215–224; Yousef Ghawanmeh, "Earthquake Effects on Bilad ash-Sham Settlements," *SHAJ* 5 (2000): 53–59 and Sarah Kate Raphael, *Climate and Political Climate. Environmental Disasters in the Medieval Levant,* Leiden-Boston, 2013.

16 On this point, see, for instance, Christopher Lyon and John R. Parkins, "Toward a Social Theory of Resilience: Social Systems, Cultural Systems, and Collective Action in Transitioning Forest-Based Communities," *Rural Sociology* 78/4 (2013): 528–549.

17 We thank Bethany J. Walker for this assessment of the potential of environmental history.

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long such transformations actually last. The reconfiguration of power relations at the micro, meso, and macro levels and the emergence of new social orders take center stage. To pursue this point, it is apt to quote Linda T. Darling, who formulated the following thoughts in her wonderful wrap-up of our conference[18]:

> This conference has shown us several interesting things. One is that within the general topic of the transition of the Arab lands to Ottoman rule there are distinct subtopics around which groups of scholars can gather. These include subjects like governance, the economy, urban and rural life, religion, the built environment, social relations, and literature. We did not even begin to delve into diplomatic and commercial relations, environmental history per se, religious minorities, or a whole host of other possible topics. Another general conclusion is that in some of these areas we are poised on the threshold of exciting new reformulations and insights, while on others we have a lot of work before us until we can get past the stereotypes and conclusions of past generations. One big question that emerged from the papers is that of a turning point. Was there a turning point, and if so, when was it? The date of the Ottoman conquest? A generation later, when the rebellions had died down? After mid-century? Or would it differ depending on the subject matter? Some things – and this is especially true of conquest situations – some things change immediately, rapidly, and definitively. Some things change more gradually, and others not at all or scarcely so. We need to develop different timetables of change depending on whether we are looking at politics, religious orientations, or material culture, for example, and then see how these timetables interact and intersect. It is also important, as several papers showed, that we distinguish between the propaganda pictures, both positive and negative, and the actual course of events when it comes to things like economic change, urban restoration, or construction of irrigation systems. At the same time, we need to look at propaganda and attitudes in their own right, as several papers did. Attitudes appear to vary depending on whether we are hearing from contemporaries or later observers, insiders or outsiders, and we could fruitfully bounce these pictures off each other rather than treating each one as a single voice, more or less authoritative depending on the case. Among the papers there were also several attempts at reconstructing bodies of sources (literally or not so literally) that had been scattered by time, and more of this needs to be done, considering how fragmentary and scattered our source base is.

To assess and evaluate a transitional period properly, a long-range (*longue durée*) view of the attendant cultural, economic, legal, social, and political processes must be taken. Such an approach is, however, hindered in the case at hand, first of all by disciplinary and related language barriers in addition to the problematic perception of 1516–1517 as a separating caesura. The splitting of Islamic studies from the former discipline of Oriental studies, with Arabic as its main language, on the one hand, and Ottoman studies, on the other hand, has led to the clear demarcation if separate research fields.[19]

18 Linda T. Darling shared her thoughts with us in writing. From this paper we quote here.
19 Interestingly, there is no specific description of the history of the Ottoman studies since the

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Thus, there are "Mamlukologists," educated in Islamic studies, who focus extensively on the exploration of the Sultanate on the basis of Arabic sources, and there are "Ottomanists," whose subject is the Ottoman Empire. The latter, generally speaking, deal more with the perspective of the Center. Research at the provincial level is still rare. Even if both groups gather to discuss, for instance, Ottoman Syria or Ottoman Egypt, each scholar stays unfortunately within his or her subject, thwarting consideration of the aforementioned long-term processes of transformation. Such processes may become significantly apparent only when the period before a change of rule is considered and involved equally in the analysis. If so, what should be done? Again, Linda T. Darling deserves the floor:

> It struck me that with a great amount of lead time it might be possible to do collaborative work on some of these issues, perhaps by pairing some of the papers presented here and seeing how they could be made to speak more directly to each other, or perhaps by bringing in some people who could not attend this particular conference. Or, for example, what if on each of several topics a Mamlukist and an Ottomanist were to work together to see what they could discover about this transition during the next couple of years? Confronting different types of sources could also be a fruitful procedure. What if you could line up several scholars on the same topic in a chronological row and look at change over time? What if we had time to look for some of these missing sources in various archives?

It is thus urgent in the future, first, to develop a viable analytical approach toward "transitional periods" in the context of comparative empire research or within the framework of recent transcultural considerations on power and rule[20] and, second, to overcome the existing separation between the disciplines of Islamic studies.

Bilād al-Shām and Egypt were incorporated into the Ottoman state between 1516 and 1517 as a result of the defeat of the Mamluk forces in the battles of Marj Dābiq (1516) and Raydaniyya (1517). Three recognized consequences of this defeat and conquest were the geographical and demographic expansion of the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman control over the sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina, and finally, the defeat of the Ottomans' long-time rival, the Mamluk Sultanate.

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nineteenth century. Apart from the articles published in *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara: 4–8 Ekim 1999. Seksiyon I: Osmanlı Historiyografisi* (Ankara, TTK, 2002) and in the issue "Dünyada Türk Tarihçiliği" of the *TALİD* 15 (2010), one encounters only a few references in comprehensive works on Oriental studies. An exception is Susanne Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft" – Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 2004); Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire – Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (New York: German Historical Institute, 2009); or Ursula Wokoeck, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (London 2009).

20 The newly established collaborative research center, SFB 1167 "Macht und Herrschaft – Vormoderne Konfigurationen in transkultureller Perspektive" (www.sfb1167.uni-bonn.de/) promises such a reorientation.

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The conquest took place in an era that saw the largest expansion of the Ottoman Empire, which rose to become a vital player in world history. The flexibility and variety of the Ottomans' conceptualization and organization of these conquests and their policies in the integrated territories (the so-called "conquest methods") provide one of the first keys to understanding the period under discussion.[21]

The sixteenth century is in many ways distinguished from the ensuing periods (i. e., the eighteenth to twentieth centuries) in the political history of Egypt and Bilād al-Shām under late Mamluk and early Ottoman rule. Previous research, however, while focusing on the Ottoman conquest as a political and cultural turning point, has downplayed the complexity of state and society in the region. The terms in which terms this watershed should be understood and described remain unclear. Under the new rule and under the influence of Ottoman politics, this former Mamluk core region was divided into two new provinces, each with different characteristics. Egypt, the larger of the two and the largest Ottoman province, had a special position due to its strategic and financial importance for the empire. Bilād al-Shām, with its capital in Damascus, however, seems to have been a different case, where the new rulers evidently applied a policy of integrating the new territories into the imperial domain. It goes without saying that political history has largely shaped historians' perception of the Arab lands under Ottoman rule. A comparative analysis of the history of the two most powerful empires of that time from a transitional point of view, beyond a merely dynastic periodization – namely, a clear-cut distinction between the Mamluk and Ottoman eras – remains a desideratum. Despite the growing interest in both this period and these regions in the field of Mamluk studies,[22] little research has taken the period beyond the Ottoman conquest into account, usually stopping its analysis at exactly the political turning point of 1516–1517.

When categorizing the studies geographically and chronologically, the vast majority of studies focuses on Egypt rather than on Bilād al-Shām and, generally speaking, on the late Ottoman period rather than the sixteenth century.[23] The

21 A still timeless classic on the topic is Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 103–29. On the same topic, with emphasis on the consolidation, see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), especially 20–35. See further, e. g., Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel, *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013).

22 Stephan Conermann presents the state of research: Conermann, "Quo Vadis, Mamlukology? (A German Perspective)," in *Ubi sumus? Quo vademus? Mamluk Studies-State of the Art*, ed. idem (Goettingen: V&R unipress/Bonn University Press, 2013).

23 The following seminal works on Bilād al-Shām in the late Ottoman period should be noted: Jens Hanssen, *Fin de siècle Beirut. The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); on the world economy and local politics, linked through the export of cotton, see Thomas Philipp, *Acre. The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730–1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Stefan Weber, *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity*

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

question of available written sources plays a significant role here. The province of Egypt and the late Ottoman period are richer in primary sources than are the province of Bilād al-Shām and the early Ottoman era.[24] The Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire find some attention in general histories of the region.[25] Thematically, the core subjects of research remain the history of cities in terms of urban development and social and economic history. Most studies, however, center on the modern period[26] and even the research on cities still seems to fall short of the study of previous Mamluk and, from 1516 onward, Ottoman cities in southeastern Anatolia (coeval with northern Bilād al-Shām), with only a few noteworthy exceptions.[27]

Speaking of urban history, the comprehensive oeuvre of Abdul-Karim Rafeq has influenced research on Ottoman Bilād al-Shām in a broader context since

and Urban Transformation 1808–1918 (Arhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009); on jurisprudential debate over the ownership of agricultural land from the sixteenth century onward, see Martha Mundy and Richard Saumarez Smith: *Governing the Property, Making the Modern State. Ottoman Syria. Law, Administration and Production in Ottoman Syria* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

24 On Ottoman sources for the study of Arab provinces, first of all, Suraiya Faroqhi offers an indispensible introduction: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Barbara Kellner-Heinkele gives a detailed overview of written sources and studies on the Ottoman-ruled Arab lands in 1517–1800; see Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Der arabische Osten unter osmanischer Herrschaft 1517–1800"; Quellen, in *Geschichte der Arabischen Welt*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Munich: Beck, 1987), 323–364, 708–715. Uriel Heyd introduced the value of the Ottoman *Mühimme Defter*s for the study of the early period in southern Bilād al-Shām; see Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552–1615: A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1960).

25 For an earlier study, see P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent* (London: Longmans, 1966); Barbara Kellner-Heikele, "Der arabische Osten unter osmanischer Herrschaft 1517–1800," in *Geschichte der Arabischen Welt*, ed. Haarmann, 323–364. See further, Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule, 1516–1800* (London: Longmans, 2008).

26 E. g., on Ottoman Acre, Beirut, Damascus, Cairo, Aleppo, and Baghdad within the framework of the late Ottoman modernization process, see *The Empire in the City. Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002). For an architectural study, see Heghnar Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City. Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). James A. Reilly published several studies on the social and economic history and the historiography of Ottoman cities: on Hama, see idem *A Small Town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Bern and London: Peter Lang, 2002); on Lebanese cities, see idem, *The Ottoman Cities of Lebanon: Historical Legacy and Identity in the Modern Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016).

27 E. g., on the history of the cities Tarsus, Malatya, Ayıntāb (Gaziantep) and Mardin, see Çetin Altan, *Memluk Devleti'nin Kuzey Sınırı* (Ankara: TTK, 2009); on the architecture of the southern Anatolian city Mersin, see Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, Mersin: "The Formation of a Tanẓīmāt City in Southern Turkey," in *The Empire in the City. Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002), 253–274.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

the1970s.[28] Rafeq, although very willing to enrich our conference in 2015 in Bonn, could not join us at that time. His studies on Damascus, based on court records, prepare the ground for future work.[29] André Raymond (1925–2011), an urban historian himself, devotes himself to the history of Arab cities in several publications.[30] In his major study, *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottoman,* he demonstrates that, and in what way, existing structures of social and urban organization in the Arab major cities did survive under Ottoman rule, thus disproving the previously prevalent assumption that the Ottoman conquest set in motion a general decline of urban civilization.[31]

The contributions to the volume at hand perceive early Ottoman rule in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām not as a change of ruling dynasties that had a direct and radical impact on administration and society but as a time of transition. The assumption of heterogeneity in Mamluk and Ottoman statehood has induced many scholars not to regard the sixteenth century as such a period. This, along with the problem of having to consider primary sources in two different languages, left this interval with scanty scholarly attention until the recent past. In the continuation of this literature review, we will specify certain studies that we consider forerunners to the field of interest in this volume because they bring an epoch-spanning perspective to research on Egypt and Bilād al-Shām.

Ottoman Egypt at the time under discussion is introduced to us first in the early 1990s by Michael Winter, a leading historian on both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Among his several studies on the Mamluk–Ottoman transition, his *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule 1517–1798* is, due to its recourse to both Ottoman and Arabic sources, one the first works that tells the social history of the relevant area via different groups from ruling class to Bedouin tribes and tariqas.[32] Thomas Philipp (1941–2015), a proven expert on early

28 Among his other studies, Abdul-Karim Rafeq provides insights on Ottoman Damascus: *The Province of Damascus, 1723–1783* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966).

29 For a compiled bibliography of his works until 2010, see Timothy Fitzgerald, "Bibliography of the Published Works of Abdul-Karim Rafeq," in *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule: Essays in Honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq*, ed. Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 47–56.

30 André Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria and the Maghreb* (London: Ashgate Variorum, 2002).

31 André Raymond, *Grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottoman (*Paris: Sindbad, 1985); a concise translation into English: *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th–18th Centuries: An Introduction* (New York, London: New York University Press, 1984).

32 Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule 1517–1798* (London: Routledge, 1992). His earlier study focuses on the schools of law in the early Ottoman period in Egypt; see Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʾrānī* (New Brunswick- London: Transaction Books 1982). Winter traces the experience of two major Sufi networks (of Ibn Maymūn and al-Shaʾrānī) that witnessed the two dynasties, see idem, "Sufism in the Mamluk Empire (and in early Ottoman Egypt and

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modern Syria, and Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999), "the grand old man" of Mamluk studies, were the first scholars to adopt a supra-epochal perspective in a volume published in 1998. The title of that work, *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, is therefore somewhat misleading. The result of a conference in Germany in 1994, it comprises a number of seminal studies that cover both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām.[33] In particular, Jane Hathaway's and Michael Winter's contributions on Mamluk households and the Mamluk revival in Ottoman Egypt, respectively, deal precisely with the question of continuity and changes in the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule. Thomas Philipp traces the survival of Mamluk traditions beyond the sixteenth century and Daniel Crecelius focuses on the loyalty of eighteenth-century Egyptian households to Ottoman rule. André Raymond and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, basing themselves on earlier studies, offer a comprehensive survey of urban society in both pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Cairo. Raymond, analyzing the history of Cairo by focusing of the ruling elite's residential areas in the city through the Mamluk period and the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, concludes that continuity did exist at least until the eighteenth century.[34] In her investigation of urban patronage, Behrens-Abouseif also compares both periods, concluding that "Cairo's urban development in the Ottoman period was not dictated by a central policy or guided by an imperial vision. It was rather pragmatic and conservative. Thanks to this policy, the Mamluk heritage was maintained and preserved until modern times."[35]

Egypt and Bilād al-Shām from the establishment of the Mamluk Sultanate to the eighteenth century, well into the Ottoman era, is the subject of many studies

Syria) as a focus for religious, intellectual and social networks," in *Everything is on the Move. The Mamluk Empire as a Node in (Trans)Regional Networks*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Goettingen: V&R unipress/Bonn University Press, 2014). In a much earlier study, Stanford J. Shaw presents Ottoman Egypt on the basis of his edition and translation of an eighteenth-century Ottoman primary source, a *Niẓamnāme;* see *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. The Niẓâmnâme-i Mıṣır of Cezzâr Aḥmed Pasha*, ed. and trans. Stanford J. Shaw (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962). The Ottoman historian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's observations, committed to writing during his stay in Cairo in the late sixteenth century, are still an understudied primary source for the transition period; see *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Description of Cairo of 1599.* Text, transliteration, translation, notes, ed. and trans. Andreas Tietze (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975).

33 Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

34 André Raymond, "The Residential Districts of Cairo's Elite in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods (Fourteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Philipp and Haarmann, 207–223.

35 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Patterns of Urban Patronage in Cairo: A Comparison between the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* , ed. Philipp and Haarmann, 233 (224–234).

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

in Michael Winter's and Amalia Levanoni's thematically diverse 2004 volume.[36] It is illuminating to see how the Mamluks were visible in eighteenth-century Acre, in the Jazzār Aḥmād Pasha's Mamluk household (Thomas Philipp), within the local aristocracy of Mamluk origin as registered in the Ottoman administrative documents for *waqf*s in sixteenth-century Syria (Michael Winter), in popular genres as a memory of the Mamluk past – an impressive contribution by Jane Hathaway – and in the estates of military officers in the late seventeenth century (Andreé Raymond), both contributions – Winter's and Raymond's – in the Egyptian context.[37] Even though the 2006 Festschrift in honor of Michael Winter. "Mamluks and Ottomans," aims at the historical experience of Arabic-speaking societies during the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries, and even though the editors raise the issue of the neglected real continuity and the changes that were affected, it is only Miri Shefer's contribution on court physicians that actually spans both periods.

In 2009, *Turcica* published the proceedings of a colloquium on "Mamelukes, Turks, and Ottomans," held at the College de France in 2008. While the first three contributions in this collection deal with the period before the Ottoman conquest, the other articles take an epoch-spanning approach, particularly those of Gilles Veinstein[38] and Julien Loiseau,[39] respectively, on the importance of the pilgrimage and on funeral ceremonies and mausoleums for the representation of power in Egypt before and after 1517, and of Nicholas Michel[40] on continuities in *iqṭāʿ* and land administration.

The results of the 2008 colloquium encouraged Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel to convene several prolific scholars for a discussion of the prehistory and effects of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in a volume published in 2013.[41] While the contributions of the resulting volume of proceedings discuss the prehistory and impact of the Ottoman conquest in regard to politics and culture in the Mediterranean region, a number of articles focus on the events from a

36 Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004).

37 See the following articles in the same volume: Thomas Philipp, "The Last Mamluk Household," 317–338; Michael Winter, "Mamluks and their Households in Late Mamluk Damascus: A waqf Study," 297–316; Jane Hathaway, "Mamluk 'revivals' and Mamluk Nostalgia in Ottoman Egypt," 387–406; André Raymond, "The Wealth of the Egyptian Emirs at the End of the Seventeenth Century," 359–372.

38 Gilles Veinstein, "Le serviteur des deux saints sanctuaires et ses mahmal. Des Mamelouks aux Ottomans," in *Turcica* 41 (2009): 229–246.

39 Julien Loiseau, "Le tombeau des sultans: constructions monumentales et strategies funéraires dans les sultanats mamelouk et ottoman," *Turcica* 41 (2009): 305–340.

40 Nicholas Michel, "Disparition et persistance de l'iqṭāʿ en Egypte après la conquête ottomane," *Turcica* 41 (2009): 341–350.

41 Benjamin Lellouch and Nicholas Michel (eds.), *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

trans-epochal perspective. In this context, the contributions of Lellouch and Nelly Hanna[42] the policies of Selīm I toward the Mamluk elite and on the administration of Egypt after 1517, respectively, of Julien Loiseau on urban structures before and after the conquest, and of Michael Winter and Doris Behrens-Abouseif on the impact of Ottoman rule[43] are noteworthy. Another contribution, obliquely titled relative to its subject, is Nicolas Michel's "The Circassians Have Burned the Books,"[44] analyzing the change of power within the administration of Egypt and the role of Mamluk officials during the post-1517 transition period.

The studies in Peter Sluglett's and Stefan Weber's volume (2010) carefully examine Bilād al-Shām in various aspects such as economics, urban institutions, and society in different periods including those preceding the nineteenth century.[45] Stefan Weber[46] offers an urban history of the port city of Sidon from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries; Thomas Philipp[47] analyzes the impact of the Ottoman conquest on the economy of Bilād al-Shām. In his most recent publication (2016), Toru Miura produces a detailed social history of one quarter in Damascus, Ṣāliḥiyya, from the Mamluk period to the nineteenth century. In his examination of personal networks, *waqf* surveys, and properties, based on a variety of official registers in the early Ottoman period, he provides very instructive insights into the administration and institutions of the relevant urban environment more generally.[48]

42 Benjamin Lellouch, "La politique mamelouke de Selīm Ier," in *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicholas Michel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 165–210; Nelly Hanna, "Egyptian Civilian Society and Tax-Farming in the Aftermath of the Ottoman Conquest," in *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicholas Michel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 211–224.

43 Michael Winter, "The Ottoman Conquest and Egyptian Culture," in *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos,* ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicholas Michel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 287–302; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt and the Arts," in *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos,* ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicholas Michel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 303–326.

44 Nicolas Michel, "Les Circassiens avaient brûlé les registres," in *Conquête Ottomane De L'Égypte (1517) Arrière-plan, Impact, Échos*, ed. Benjamin Lellouch and Nicholas Michel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 225–268.

45 Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber (eds.), *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule Essays in Honour of Abdul Karim Rafeq* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010).

46 Stefan Weber, "The Making of an Ottoman Harbour Town: Sidon/Saida from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," in *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul Karim Rafeq*, ed. Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 179–241.

47 Thomas Philipp, "The Economic Impact of the Ottoman Conquest on Bilad al-Sham," in *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul Karim Rafeq*, ed. Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 101–114.

48 Toru Miura, *Dynamism in the Urban Society of Damascus. The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries (*Leiden: Brill, 2016), especially 174–204. See also, Astrid

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

When the features of the Ottoman provinces are set within a broad framework of center and periphery at the administrative level, one sees plainly that administration did function differently in the central provinces than in the periphery in many senses.[49] The perception of "periphery" is extended to "frontier" or "borderland" research, allowing us to speak rather of "frontier studies."[50] This is a much more specific field of research than provincial history, thus, the question of continuity and change in the frontiers of the empires seems different than it is in the core lands. Considering southern Bilād al-Shām a "frontier zone" under Ottoman rule, Kamal Abdalfattah and Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth's study on fiscal activities in late-sixteenth-century Transjordan and Palestine, based on an Ottoman detailed register (*mufassal defter*), has been an outstanding reference book since the late 1970s.[51] This work is followed by Muhammad Adnan Bakhit's pioneering study, referenced in all subsequent research, on Damascus Province.[52] We are indebted to Muhammad Adnan Bakhit's highly relevant studies on the southern Bilād al-Shām, particularly Jordan, not only in his pioneering *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* but also in a plethora of studies on local elements such as families and tribes in regard to their role as subjects and also in their importance as players in local administration, taxation, and the establishment of endowments. Bakhit's publications deal with Ottoman administrative units (*livāʿ*) such as Shobak, Ajlun, al-Salt, and Sidon, and with those in sixteenth-century Palestine such as Safad, Lajjun, Nablus, Jerusalem, and Gaza.[53] The diversity of the local population and its notables, tribes, and families

Meier, "Patterns of Family Formation in Early Ottoman Damascus: Three Military Households in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in Honour of Abdul Karim Rafeq*, ed. Peter Sluglett and Stefan Weber (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 347–370.

49 Metin Kunt, basing himself on prosopographical sources, demonstrates how the central power successfully transformed several provincial administrations in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth centuries; see Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

50 For a discussion on these terms relating to the Mediterranean region, see Linda T. Darling, "The Mediterranean as a Borderland," *Review of Middle East Studies*, 46, 1 (2012), 54–63. Eugene L. Rogan's earlier study considers Transjordan a frontier; see Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire. Transjordan, 1850–1921* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

51 Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the late 16th Century* (Erlangen: Frankische Geographische Gesellschaft, 1977).

52 Muhammad Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1982).

53 On the non-Muslim population, see "The Christian Population of the Province of Damascus in the 16th Century," in Muhammad Adnan Bakhit, *Studies in the History of Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century*, introduced and co-edited by Thaer T.Al-Kadi (Amman: Jordan Uni-

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is documented in Bakhit's analyses of Ottoman documents and cadastral registers (*tapu defteri*). In her aforementioned interdisciplinary study on Mamluk Transjordan (2011), Walker, in the chapter on Ottoman Transjordan, demonstrates how rural life in Transjordan changed only in a lengthy process, the Ottoman conquest causing no discontinuity whatsoever.[54]

A transitional approach is applied mostly in the studies on archaeology and material culture, through which multi-period analysis reveals changes and continuities in daily and cultural life. Only in recent times has the Ottoman period begun to find its place in archaeological studies specifically.[55] With special focus on archaeological and historical aspects, the route of pilgrimage to Ottoman-ruled Mecca has been the subject of many studies.[56] The part of this route that crosses Syria and Transjordan is nicely illuminated in a very recent study that documents, among other things, the architectural features of the stations that served Bedouin tribes and Ottoman officials as staging points.[57] At this point, we should emphasize once again the potential of environmental history for the study of transitional periods. Adopting a trans-epochal approach to this field, Stuart Borsch deals with two major historical issues in the Egyptian history: the irrigation system and the Black Death. In his very recent *Medieval Egyptian Economic Growth: the Maryūṭ Lagoon* (2016), Borsch facilitates – despite his focus on 1250–1347 period of the Mamluk Sultanate – a long-range analysis of the economy in the Maryūṭ region of the Nile Delta.[58] In his further studies on the impacts of plague outbreaks on the Egyptian economy, Borsch investigates the functioning, control, and maintenance of Egypt's irrigation system. In this manner, the combination of quantitative investigation and textual analysis re-

versity Press, 2009), 69–11. The articles in this section of Bakhit's book reflect the diversity of the potential research fields.

54 Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* 273–288.

55 For a recent contribution focusing on pottery, see Bethany J. Walker (ed.), *Archaeological and Ethnographic Studies on the Pottery of the Ottoman Levant* (Boston-MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2009). For an earlier contribution, see Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, "The Future of the Ottoman Past," in ed. idem, *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire. Breaking New Ground* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), 3–32. Baram and Carroll discuss the issue and suggest several approaches, e. g., studying Ottoman archaeology as "historical archaeology" and in the broader context of "Middle Eastern studies."

56 E. g., Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans under the Ottomans, 1517–1683* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994). Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "New Light on the Transportation of the Damascene Pilgrimage during the Ottoman Period", *Islamic and Middle Eastern Societies: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Wadie Jwaideh* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1987), 127–136.

57 Andrew Petersen, *The Medieval and Ottoman Hajj Route in Jordan: An Archaeological and Historical Study*; with contributions by Michael Diboll [et al.] (Oxford: Oxbow, 2012).

58 Stuart Borsch, "Medieval Egyptian Economic Growth: the Maryūṭ Lagoon," in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517). Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Study II*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Goettingen: V&R unipress/Bonn University Press, 2016), 173–197.

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veals the development of the irrigation system, the pandemic, and depopulation, as well as their impacts on the agrarian economy through the centuries.[59]

This volume surmounts conventional concepts of periodization and addresses the notion of transition by investigating various aspects of its topic via fourteen contributions, each turning to previously unaddressed focal points and providing important results. It is an impressive achievement given the extreme paucity of sources for the transitional period discussed. After Michael Winter's opening essay, we editors divided the contributions into three main categories: Egypt, Syria, and Mamluks-Ottomans. Methodological approaches toward the contributions range from classical textual sources to archaeology, reflecting the possibilities of research on a welter of relevant topics.

In his opening essay, Winter points out the distinctions between two former centers and two distinctive imperial provinces. Egypt, with its economic potential and rich agricultural base, was a special case, whereas Bilād al-Shām was important as a transit area among major pilgrimage routes, with Damascus as a major center of scholarship and strong and stable administration. Winter also outlines the respective prejudices and stereotypes of the conquerors and the conquered in both regions. His inspiring thoughts on the transitional approach, offered from the perspective of a leading scholar, provide a framework within which scholars may be guided through the ensuing studies.

Four contributions to the section on Egypt deal with different contexts of the largest and richest domain of both empires on the basis of both Arabic and Ottoman written sources. Paulina B. Lewicka discusses a hybrid Mamluk-Ottoman cultural spirit that salvages knowledge from the previous period after an "acculturative process" in the extraordinary complex urban environment of Cairo via a reconfiguration of Hippocratic-Galenic and prophetic medicine. This local medical culture, reflected in a guide by the Egyptian Sufi al-Munāwī (d. 1631), *Memorandum on Decent Behavior,* embodies the Mamluk heritage in the daily life of post-Mamluk Cairo. In an edifying investigation, Lewicka demonstrates the possibility of studying this topic through a rich source such as al-Munāwī's unedited *Tadhkara* by setting this religious scholar of high-rank and his compendium in the cultural and social context of the transition period. Wakako Kumakura examines the way the Ottomans developed their administration of Egypt in the direction of centralization by focusing on the management of water use in Fayyūm Province – an area of perennial irrigation

59 E. g. on the trend of wages and prices, see Stuart Borsch, "Subsistence or Succumbing? Falling Wages in an Era of Plague," Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg Working Paper, 2014. https://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications/working-paper/ask-wp-13.pdf; idem, "Plague Depopulation and Irrigation Decay in Medieval Egypt," in the special inaugural issue *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death,* ed. Monica H. Green, *The Medieval Globe* 1 (2014): 125–156.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

supplied by the Yusuf Canal and an important location as a producer of summer crops and fruit. The change in the management of records on maintenance in Fayyūm may be regarded as a step of incorporating traditional local rural governance into the Ottoman bureaucratic administration. Thus, Kumakura presents the imperial perspective on the local level within a broader economic framework. Claudia Römer's contribution introduces readers to a variety of official documents that were included in various sixteenth-century works and integrated by their historian-authors into historical narrative accounts as a potential way to reconstruct lost documents. Her case study concerns the official mission of the Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Pasha from Istanbul to Egypt in 1525, shortly after the conquest. The examination of his decrees and reports to the court and the imperial decrees given to him during his journey to the former Mamluk province provides insights into Ottoman chancery practice in the early transition period. On the basis of several of the best known Ottoman sources, such as Muṣṭafā Bostan's *Süleymānnāme*, Römer describes, in a manner that stimulates further studies, how the chancery and decision-making functioned far from the central government. Another prominent Ottoman source, Evliyā Çelebi's (d. 1682) *Seyaḥatnāme* is the subject of Michael Winter's second contribution. By analyzing the depiction of the Ottoman conquest in the traveler Evliyā Çelebi's account, Winter discusses the reliability and the disaccord between this source and various Arab chroniclers. He also investigates the origins of the administrative changes that the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I introduced before the sultan returned to his capital, as described by Evliyā.

The section on Syria comprises four contributions on fiscal administration, poetry, and urban history. Linda T. Darling takes a closer look at the administrative transition between the empires. She emphasizes, first of all, the potential of the Ottoman *mühimme defter*s (registers for important state matters) for the writing of a fiscal history that would explore negotiation processes to understand the conditions in sixteenth-century Syria beyond political and military history, which have been tackled prominently in this field. These registers – most still available in the archives, although those for the first three decades after the conquest do not survive – and the imperial decrees that they contain provide the most detailed data on the bureaucratic aspect of Ottoman rule in the provinces. Darling discusses some typical problems specific to Syria's fiscal administration, focusing on a specific case involving a joint probe by officials from Syria and Egypt that highlights the state's fiscal priorities. Consulting a range of *mühimme* registers, she describes fiscal practices and personnel in the Ottoman-ruled Arab lands and compares their outcomes with those of the Mamluk administration. When it comes to the cultural environment of Syria, outputs in the field of poetry may yield diverse insights into the transitional cultural life. Alev Masarwa presents biographical data on the sixteenth-century Damascene poet Māmayya

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

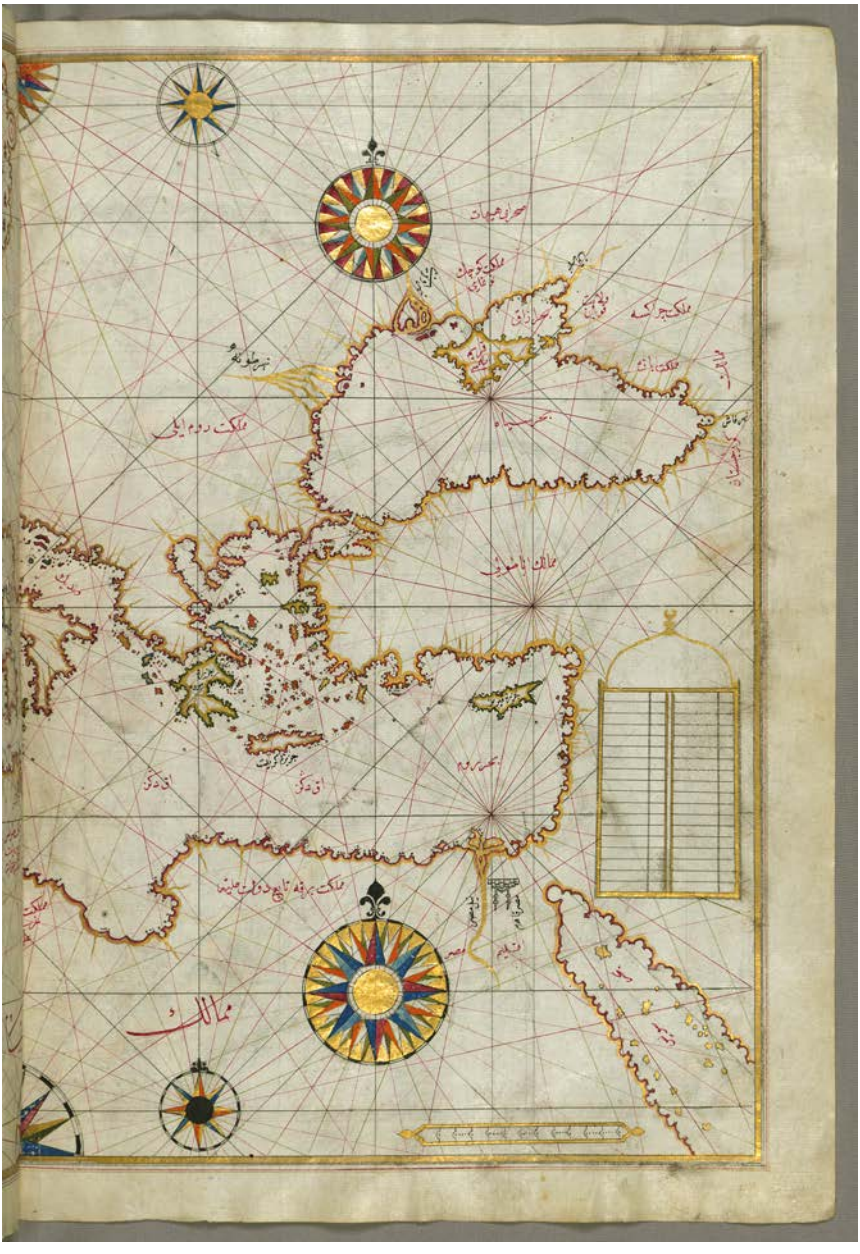
ar-Rūmī (d.1577 or 1579) and the poetic characteristics of his compendium *Garden of the Ardent Yearner and the Joy of the Lovers.* She focuses particular attention on the chronograms, a common elaborate strategy for the indirect indication of a specific time. Her highly instructive and comprehensive study of these chronograms, which decorated many imperial buildings in Damascus, not only demonstrates that this was an era of artful encoding and decoding but also shows how the chronograms as a symbolic order can help to reconstruct historical events at the imperial and local levels. A contribution to the urban history of Damascus is made by Toru Miura in respect of notable *ʿulamāʾ* families. Focusing on the turning point from Mamluk to the Ottoman rule in Damascus, he asks, on the basis of narrative and archival sources (mainly the accounts of Ibn Ṭūlūn [d. 1546] and Ibn al-Ḥimsī [d. 1528]) whether sociopolitical changes continued or ceased after the Ottoman conquest. Miura also discusses the "decline" paradigm that the aforementioned local historians applied to the Mamluk Sultanate and, through his study of families, the positions of the influential schools of law. Torsten Wollina also contributes to the Damascene urban history by focusing on the urban revival of Damascus. The urban reconstruction of Damascus, he argues, was already under way in the late fifteenth century, during the Mamluk era, and continued through the sixteenth century, with the Ottomans in control. By so contending, he illuminates the early Ottoman policy of architectural patronage. Wollina, taking recourse to Lefebvre's theory of space, explains which role of architecture served both imperial administrations in the provinces as well as others, as a tool for the attainment of power.

The final section, "Mamluks-Ottomans," comprises five contributions. Drawing on Arabic, Ottoman, and European sources, Timothy J. Fitzgerald reconstructs the late-Mamluk legal and political scene in the Levantine town of Aleppo by analyzing the Ottoman conquest of that city and the first several decades of imperial rule there from a comparative perspective, demonstrating the varied response of the Ottoman agents even within the region. By focusing attention so closely, Fitzgerald presents significant findings and disproves the textbook assumption that this strategically important provincial center was incorporated into the Ottoman system with the same ease by which it was militarily defeated. In contrast, he argues that the construction of Ottoman imperial order was a lengthy and difficult process. Conflicts surrounding questions of law, taxation, and religious and political identity flared frequently. Violence was endemic and daily life was precarious as Aleppines and state agents struggled to establish an acceptable modus vivendi. Yet conditions in sixteenth-century Aleppo were not unique. To place matters in perspective, Fitzgerald's study compares events in Aleppo with what was occurring globally in this age of violent conquest and early modern imperial formation. A Mamluk-Ottoman perspective converges in the travelers' accounts that Yehoshua Frenkel examines. After the "geography of power"

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

changed, many scholars traveled from Arabic-speaking provinces to the Turkish-speaking cities in Asia Minor and beyond. Analyzing the depictions of Arab travelers such as al-Ghazzī al-Dimashqī (d. 1577), Frenkel demonstrates a clear continuation of Mamluk scholarship deep into the Ottoman era, portraying the relationship between Istanbul and contemporary Damascene and Arab sages and supporting the view of their attitude toward the new Ottoman Sultanate as neutral. Cihan Yüksel Muslu sheds light on two geographical areas that, although not far from provincial centers, are largely unknown: the northern border of the bygone Mamluk Empire and the southeastern part of its Ottoman successor. She focuses on a number of today's Anatolian towns and problematizes in particular the transition, attending to various attempts to reorganize administration in these Mamluk-Ottoman borderlands, as may be gleaned from a preliminary survey of records. Drawing an administrative picture of this region by studying Ottoman *taḥrīr defter*s (registers), Yüksel Muslu demonstrates how this borderland was an area of struggle first among three major empires – Ottomans, Mamluks, and Safavids – as well as the local Dulkadirid Principality, and later between the last-mentioned and the Ottomans. Thus, she reveals the complex imperial transition that occurred between 1516 and 1530 in this very specific region. One of the most salient historical figures during and after the Ottoman conquest, also mentioned in many articles in the present volume, is Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī (d. 1521). Gül Şen focuses on this governor of Damascus – first under the Mamluks, then under the Ottomans – as a transitional figure by examining sixteenth-century Ottoman historical writing. She discusses the narrative modus operandi of historians to understand how they made a moral tale out of a failed anti-Ottoman rebellion that flowed from a later claim to sovereignty by this transitional figure. By revealing the fictional potential of the coeval historiography with its claim for factuality, Şen offers a way to read known narrative sources from a new perspective that yields a different understanding of famous figures and events and an indirect textual representation of sovereignty. The rural landscape of the southern Bilād al-Shām is traced archaeologically by Bethany J. Walker with a focus on the material culture (ceramics and vernacular architecture), settlement, and land use, each presented in regard to Transjordan and historical Palestine on the base of several archaeological surveys. Thus, she gives insights into this region, which looks so different from urban centers archaeologically as well. The resulting finding is that the transitional aspect of the sixteenth century – the aspect and the period under discussion – is apparently most visible in the life of local communities. Walker contends that the transition of land administration in Syria was desultory at both local and rural levels. A strong regionalism appears in the material culture as the most important characteristic of the century at issue. She also highlights the importance of a dialogue between archaeologists and historians for a better understanding of local history after the Ottoman conquest of Syria.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374



Map. Eastern Mediterranean, Aegean and the Black Sea. *Kitāb-ı baḥriye* (Book on Navigation) by Pīrī Reʾīs (d. 1554 CE). This is a seventeenth- century edition. Walters Ms. W.658, fol. 63b. Reproduced with permission of The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

Michael Winter

Egypt and Syria in the Sixteenth Century

The events of the first decades of the sixteenth century are recorded by two excellent eyewitness chroniclers, Muḥammad b. Iyās (d. ca. 1524)[1] in Cairo, and Shams al-Din b. Ṭūlūn (d. 1546) in Damascus. Other sources are available, but these two important chroniclers and biographers record the fullest, liveliest, and most direct and credible story of the transition of Syria and Egypt from the Mamluk to the Ottoman rule, standing out as the best chroniclers of the sixteenth century. Both wrote diaries that show day by day how a new regime replaced the old one. Moreover, they describe the attitudes of the local populations to the new masters and their policies. They were very different from each other, and unknowingly complete each other.

Ibn Iyās was one of *awlād al-nās*, the sons of the Mamluks. This social status gave him both intimate knowledge of the military and political elite, as well as empathy for the subject people. He combined ways to get inside information from the government, with understanding of the common people. His language and style are fluent and lively, but not grammatical, often mixed with colloquial expressions. Although he identified with the Mamluks, he was sincere enough to criticize them for their misdeeds. His characterization of the sultans is usually credible. Ibn Iyās was a great, but also the last, link in the rich tradition of Egyptian historiography during the Mamluk era. The tradition stops abruptly at his death, six years after the Ottoman conquest. It cannot be determined whether this gap in history writing occurred because Egypt was relegated from the center of an empire to the periphery of another, or because a great part of the sixteenth century passed peacefully without major political upheavals. The fact remains that the next important chronicler to write about Egypt's events, Muhammad b. Abi'l-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1676), lived only in the next century. He was a

1 M. Winter, "Ibn Iyas," https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historians/61, accessed 15 May 2016.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

scion of an aristocratic Sufi family, and the most distinguished historian of Egypt in the late sixteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth century.[2]

Other sources for the history of Egypt's transition to Ottoman rule include an interesting chronicle of Egypt, written in Ottoman Turkish by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Diyārbakrī, a *qāḍī* who served in Egypt during the period immediately after the Ottoman conquest.[3] His work closely follows the fifth part of Ibn Iyās's *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*. Many parts of the Turkish text are translations from the Arabic, and a particular benefit of this work is the translation of Arabic terminology into Turkish. Yet, this work continues Ibn Iyās's narrative by two and a half years. This is an important addition, because it covers the rebellion of Ahmed Pasha *Hain*, "the Traitor," against the Ottoman state and the Bedouin shaykhs' part in this uprising and its aftermath.

The writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565), the greatest Sufi writer in the sixteenth century in Egypt, are interesting for students of Sufism and of society, but are of little use for political history. Still, amid mystical reflections, he adds passages against the Ottoman occupation, or a hint criticizing the *qānūn*, the sultans' law, as different from the *sharīʿa*.[4]

An unusual chronicle in Hebrew was written in 1523 by a Rabbi Eliyahu Capsali, who lived in Crete.[5] It was quite unusual at this time for Jews to write history. The information about Egypt must have been given by a source on the spot, and reflects the reactions of Egyptian Jewry. Capsali regarded the Ottoman victories over the Mamluks, and also over the Venetians, as heaven-sent. He calls the Mamluks "enemies of the Jews," and the Ottoman sultans "charitable kings."

The Turkish archives of the *Başbakanlık* (Prime Minister's Office) in Istanbul hold precious information about the issues of concern to the Ottoman government. Yet, even the archival sources concerning Egypt become abundant only toward the end of Sultan Süleymān's reign, leaving a gap of five crucial decades from the Ottoman conquest. The best corpus of documents for the period under study is the imperial decrees preserved in the *mühimme defterleri* that often refer to earlier periods. The main issues mentioned are the military, the Arab tribes, the religious minorities, and the Yemen. Of special interest are the Turkish military terms.

2 On him, see, Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Ibn Abi l-Surūr and his Works," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 38/1 (1975), 24–31.

3 The important text has been studied thoroughly by Benjamin Lellouch, *Les Ottomans en Egypte: historiens et conquérants au XVIe siècle* (Louvain/Dudley, MA, 2006).

4 M. Winter, "al-Sharānī," https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historians/78, accessed 15 May 2016.

5 Rabbi Eliyahu Capsali, *Seder Eliyahu Zuta*, eds. A. Shmuelevitz, Sh. Simonson and M. Benayahu (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1975, 1977, 1983), 3 vols [in Hebrew].

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Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn[6] of Damascus was a learned *ʿālim*, an expert in the sciences of Islam. He came from a Turkish family, but did not speak Turkish. He was a prolific writer, and a serious historian and biographer. Ibn Ṭūlūn hated cruelty and injustice, regardless of who caused them. He was sensitive to the suffering of young camels looking for their mothers. He was a humanist. His most important chronicle is a history of Syria and Egypt.[7] He wrote a useful history of the *qāḍī*s of Damascus from the earlieset times until his own day.[8] Ibn Ṭūlūn's Arabic is that of a religious scholar. His historical writing was not as dramatic as that of Ibn Iyās, but it is less biased and more accurate. His description of the Ottomans is more balanced. His facts are trustworthy, and can be verified by materials in the Ottoman archives. As a native of Damascus with deep roots in his town, Ibn Ṭūlūn identified with his townsmen's suffering from the huge army of occupation. Personally, his books were thrown out by the soldiers. Yet, he reports that Sultan Selim restored order by punishing unruly and riotous soldiers harshly. He also showed respect to *'ulama'* and Sufis. While Ibn Iyās describes the Ottoman army as rabble, Ibn Ṭūlūn visited the Ottoman camp and was impressed by its orderliness.

The writing of history in Syria did not come to a halt, as it did in Egypt. Historiography in sixteenth-century Syria was richer than that in Egypt at the same period. Here we have to mention the biographer Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1650 or 1651) of Damascus.[9] His work is the first of three centennial dictionaries of Ottoman Syria. Many of his obituaries are well written, full of information, and extend over three centuries. He hailed from a family of *'ulama'* and orthodox Sufis in Damascus (despite the *nisba* al-Ghazzī), and held several religious offices. Al-Ghazzī had good relations with representatives of the Ottoman administration. However, he criticized in writing and conversation various measures that the Ottomans applied that were considered contrary to the *sharīʿa*. He was not as tolerant as Ibn Tulun.

6 On him, see Stephan Conermann, "Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8,1 (2004): 115–39; Chaim Nissim, "The Historiography of Syria in the Late Mamluk Period and the Beginning of the Ottoman Period: The Historical Writings of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Ṭūlūn (1475–1546)," Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2012 [in Hebrew].

7 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān fi al-zamān: tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Shām*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Cairo, 1962–64), 2 vols. Despite the title, the work is primarily on the history of Syria, particularly on Damascus.

8 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq: al-thaghir al-bassām fī dhikr man wulliyya qaḍāʾ al-Shām*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1956). Since Ibn Ṭūlūn was a Ḥanafi, his teacher ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʿaymī, a Shāfiʿī scholar, wrote the biographies of the Shāfiʿī judges.

9 Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira*, ed. Jabrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr (2nd ed., Beirut, 1979), 3 vols.

ISBN Print: 9783847106371 – ISBN E-Book: 9783847006374

Among the important Turkish works for this period is an Ottoman chronicle which is in fact an official history. The writer was Hoca Sa'düddīn (d. 1599). He wrote on the authority of his father, Hafiz Muhammad, who was one of Sultan Selim's chamberlains, and who accompanied him on his campaign.[10] Another work is Feridun's *Munsheāt ül-selātīn*, a collection of the sultan's correspondence with other monarchs, campaign logbooks, and letters announcing conquests (*fetiḥnāme*). This, of course, is official historiography, and an important source for Ottoman propaganda.[11]

The Ottoman Occupation[12]

The sixteenth century started with dramatic events and developments that caused deep changes in what is now called the Middle East. It is difficult to grade them by importance, but together they changed the balance of power for centuries. These were the advent of the Shi'a Safavid state in Persia; the growing tensions between the Mamluks and the Ottomans, the two Sunni empires; and the naval activities of the Portuguese in the Red Sea after they discovered the route via the Cape of Good Hope, which caused the loss of the transit trade in Indian spices through Egypt. The strong rulers at the beginning of the century were Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī of Egypt; the Ottoman sultan Bayazid, and after him, Selim the Grim (*Yavuz*); and the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl. These rulers were strong, able and ruthless. The advent of Selim I, the most formidable of all, was the crucial event toward Ottoman supremacy in the region.

In 1501, Shah Ismā'īl turned Persia into a Shi'a state of the *Ithna 'ashariyya* creed. He presented himself not only as a charismatic leader, but as the living representative of the hidden Imam of the Twelver Shi'a. The Safavid propaganda won over many Turkmens in Anatolia. These were called Kizilbash (Red Heads, after their headdress). For the Ottomans, Persia was no longer just a hostile neighbor, but directly threatened the control of their territories in Anatolia. Neither Bayazid nor his two sons were able to suppress the Kizilbash's rebellion. Selim compelled his father to abdicate, and ascended the Ottoman throne. Then he executed his brothers and their sons. He embarked upon a policy far more warlike than his father's. He carried out a massacre of Kizilbash in Anatolia. The sources speak of tens of thousands dead and imprisoned Shi'is.

10 Muhammad Sa'düddīn, *Tacü't-tevarih*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (Ankara, c1992).
11 Feridun, *Mecmuat-i münşeat üs-selatin* (Istanbul, AH 1274).
12 For a concise and lucid account of the historical developments, see P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516–1922: A Political History* (Ithaca and London, 1966), 33–45.

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In August 1512, Selim defeated Ismāʿīl's army at Chaldiran in Azerbaijan, using the firearms that the Ottomans had, and that their enemies did not possess. Despite their defeat, the Safavids were still considered a potential threat. The direct cause of the war between the Ottomans and the Mamluks was the implications of the Safavid threat. Both Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and the Ottomans were worried. The Safavids invaded Mamluk territories in the north-east. The Mamluks' fears increased due to the association of such an invasion with the redoubtable Timur Lenk, who had invaded Syria a century before, inflicting immense destruction. Later, Ismāʿīl apologized to al-Ghawrī. This was the beginning of the correspondence between the Safavids and the Mamluks, as both empires feared the power of the Ottomans and the aggressiveness of Sultan Selim.

Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī understood that Selim was a more formidable enemy than Ismāʿīl. 'Alā' al-Dawla was the lord of Albistan, a buffer principality that was situated on the route that the Ottoman army had to take in order to reach its Safavid enemies. This principality maneuvered between the Ottomans and the Mamluks. After a series of battles, the territory was in the realm of the Mamluks. 'Alā' al-Dawla was very hostile to the Ottomans during their march. Selim killed him, and his region was later annexed to the Ottoman Empire. Selim sent al-Ghawrī a *fetihnāme* with the severed heads of 'Alā' al-Dawla, several of his sons and his vizier. Al-Ghawrī ordered that the heads be given a proper burial, and prepared to go to war against Selim. In order to increase the religious character of his army, he took with him the chief *qadi*s and several Sufi shaykhs. He ordered the caliph to go with him, ignoring his excuses for staying in Cairo.

The Ottomans justified their decision to fight a Sunni Muslim state like themselves with the excuse that Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī had allied himself with Shah Ismāʿīl, the ruler of the heretic Safavids. Another charge that the Ottomans made against Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī was that he had executed Ottoman emissaries whom Selim sent to negotiate with him. The Ottoman *'ulama'* noted that killing messengers is forbidden in Islam, even if they are infidels. Saʿdüddin, the Ottoman chronicler, quotes a verse: "When the Circassian supports the Kizilbash, we shall draw our swords also against him." In the Ottoman propaganda, the Safavids were called 'useless' (*Kizilbash bed maʿash*) and the Mamluks 'devils' (*Charakisa abalisa*).

It is difficult to prove historically the absence of a treaty between Ismāʿīl and al-Ghawrī; serious historians believed that it did exist. It is not certain that such a treaty was ever composed. Sultan al-Ghawrī was very cautious by nature, and was fully aware of the weakness of his situation. His state's economy was in trouble and his army undisciplined and seditious. He also suspected the Safavids' intentions. There was an exchange of letters between the courts, but there is no evidence that al-Ghawrī committed himself to assist Ismāʿāl militarily. After the battle of Chaldiran, Ismāʿāl sent letters to European and Middle Eastern rulers in

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