

THE MIDDLE EAST



A HISTORY

FIFTH EDITION

VOLUME
I

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER
WILLIAM OCHSENWALD

The Middle East

A History

Volume I

FIFTH EDITION

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Volume I

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Volume I

About the Authors

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER was born in Warsaw, New York, in 1906 and attended Oberlin College (A.B., M.A.) and the University of Illinois (Ph.D., 1935). He was a member of the faculty of the Ohio State University from 1937 to 1972, except for leaves of absence to accept visiting professorships and grants for foreign travel and study. In addition, Professor Fisher worked with various branches of the U.S. government as a specialist in Middle Eastern problems. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and a member of the Accademia del Mediterraneo. He served as Director of Publications of the Middle East Institute and as editor of *The Middle East Journal* and contributed articles to numerous journals and encyclopedias. He was the author or editor of several books, among them *Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481–1512* (1948), *Social Forces in the Middle East* (1955), and *The Military in the Middle East* (1963). He died on December 10, 1987.

WILLIAM OCHSENWALD attended the Ohio State University (B.A., M.A.) and the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1971). He has been a member of the faculty of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University since 1971, with occasional leaves for research in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Britain, and France. He has received grants from the Fulbright-Hays program; the American Research Institute in Turkey; the former United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the Social Science Research Council and American Council of Learned Societies. In 1979–1980 and 1991 he was an Associate Fellow of the Middle East Centre, University of Cambridge. He is the author of two books, *The Hijaz Railroad* (1980) and *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia* (1984), and the co-editor of *Nationalism in a Non-National State: The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire* (1977); and has published many articles, among them essays appearing in *The Middle East Journal*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Die Welt des Islams*, *The Muslim World*, *Arabian Studies*, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Preface to the Fifth Edition

Sydney Nettleton Fisher's *The Middle East: A History* has been for many years the most important work in its field. Since it first appeared in 1959 it has gone through two later editions published in 1969 and 1979. After Professor Fisher's death in 1987, I completed work on the fourth edition, which was published in early 1990.

For the fifth edition of this work I have made numerous changes affecting almost every chapter. Many significant events have taken place in the Middle East and discussion of these matters has been added. In addition, much new research dealing with earlier times has been incorporated into appropriate chapters. Since general studies, monographs, and journal articles of high quality dealing with the history of the Middle East continue to appear in great abundance, I have made changes in the bibliographic references found at the end of each chapter. Despite these additions and changes, the total length of the work is about the same as the previous edition. I have divided the book into two volumes so as to make it easier to use in the two or three term course sequence. Each volume includes a brief table of contents for the other volume, as part of the frontmatter.

On a more substantial level, I have expanded the geographic scope of the book, thereby including more discussion of central Asia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan, as well as Libya, both for earlier periods and for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And while maintaining the basic approach of earlier editions, I have placed greater emphasis upon cultural, religious, gender, and social history. Other changes to this edition include a revised and expanded map program, the addition of a glossary, and the elimination of much detail, so as to permit attention to broader themes.

Throughout the book I have attempted to help the reader more easily understand periodization in the history of the Islamic Middle East. To this end, I have reorganized, expanded, and clarified the treatment of medieval history presented in Chapters 6, 11, and 12. Discussion of Islamic civilization in the Middle East has also been reorganized, with a separate chapter on social patterns. Chapter 19 now contains all the discussion of the Safavids, thereby making it easier to follow their story. Chapter 20 represents a new interpretation of the seventeenth century Ot-

toman Empire, while a more traditional view is still maintained for the eighteenth century in Chapter 21. To encourage comparisons, I have combined analysis of Turkish and Arab nationalism with late Ottoman political history in Chapter 27. Similarly, the discussions of combat during World War I and its diplomatic consequences have been placed together in Chapter 31.

Expansion of the scope of the text to include Afghanistan, central Asia, the Caucasus, and Libya is particularly noticeable in Part IV on the twentieth century. Chapters dealing with the period since 1945 for Iran and for Egypt, Sudan, and Libya have been subdivided chronologically so as to provide better treatment of the main themes of their history. I have placed the discussion of Iraq in a separate chapter from that devoted to Lebanon and Syria, just as I created a separate chapter about Yemen to indicate its historical differences from the other Arabian Peninsula states. The history of Jordan has been integrated into Chapters 48 and 49. While retaining the basic plan of Chapter 50 from the fourth edition, its length has been almost doubled so as to provide a fuller treatment of general trends since 1945.

I have attempted to provide a somewhat more systematic transliteration system for the fifth edition than was previously employed, but I have not attempted, nor achieved, complete consistency. As Sydney Fisher pointed out in his preface to the first edition, words from Middle Eastern languages have been written in English in different ways, thereby causing much confusion. While most specialists have strongly held but divergent views on proper transliteration, I have usually opted for what seem the simplest and most widely employed methods and spellings. Thus, I have shown 'ains in Arabic words in only one case (the Ba'th political party), and only in a few cases have I employed the symbols needed to represent modern Turkish spelling. In some instances, however, I have opted for a spelling that is closer to the original, as in the words Quran and ulama, instead of Koran and ulema.

Many people have helped me in various ways as I worked on this new edition. Students in my classes critically read and discussed the fourth edition of this work and offered useful suggestions for improvements. Dr. Jean Braden reminded me of the need to retain the basic approaches in earlier editions. Once again, professional colleagues who have written other general studies of the history of the Middle East provided important new ideas, data, and interpretations which challenged me to re-think my own earlier work. I found especially useful and stimulating works by Albert Hourani, William L. Cleveland, Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., and Ira M. Lapidus. Karl Barbir, Justin McCarthy, Donald Reid, and John Voll offered valuable suggestions for improvements. I greatly appreciated the comments of Linda Darling which made me reexamine the paradigm of Ottoman decline. And finally, I would like to thank all the manuscript reviewers whose valuable comments helped to shape this text: Karl Barbir, Siena College; Justin McCarthy, University of Louisville; Ronald Davis, Western Michigan University; Donald Reid, Georgia State University; and Ezel Kural Shaw, California State University, Northridge. Of course, I alone am responsible for those faults still remaining in this new edition.

My general approach to the history of the Middle East rests upon foundations established with the help of dedicated teachers and scholars with whom I have studied. They are Sydney Fisher, William McNeill, Marshall Hodgson, William Polk, Richard Chambers, Reuben Smith, Leonard Binder, and Marvin Zonis. I have

also gained many insights about general surveys of the history of the Middle East from discussions with Jere Bacharach, Herbert Bodman, Lynne Rienner, and Marilyn Waldman.

The members of the Virginia Tech Middle East Studies Society have been of considerable assistance through their stimulating and provocative discussions. I wish to thank David Barzilai, Burton Kaufman, Charles Kennedy, Robert Landen, Dean O'Donnell, Djavad Salehi Isfahani, and Peter Schmitthenner. I am especially grateful to Glenn Bugh, whose tactful help on ancient history was invaluable. I highly appreciate the help of Andrea Kavanaugh, who provided exciting insights into communications technology in the Middle East and North Africa. I acknowledge with gratitude the support of the Department of History at Virginia Tech under the leadership of Burton Kaufman and Albert Moyer. The three departmental secretaries—Linda Fountaine, Jan Francis, and Rhonda Wells—assisted me patiently and efficiently. Janet Bland and others on the staff of the Interlibrary Loan office of Newman Library worked diligently in providing access to many books and articles.

I am very grateful to my friends and family who have provided encouragement and support during the long time needed to complete this project. My thanks go in particular to Stewart A. Dean, Elizabeth Fisher, Donald Miller, Ronald and Joyce Ochsenwald, and Charles and Barbara Kaiser.

I can only hope that this fifth edition will be as useful to students and the general public as preceding versions have been. In this way the memory of Sydney Fisher, an inspiring teacher, writer, and friend, will be commemorated.

William Ochsenwald

Preface to the First Edition

For the last two thousand years and more the West has been drawn to, involved in, and fascinated by the culture, religion, resources, and politics of the Middle East. First the Greeks, then the Romans, later the Western Europeans, and now the Americans are discovering the Middle East and its peoples. Historically, the area has been labeled the Orient, the East, and Levant, or the Near East; at present the most widely used term is the Middle East.

The United States, because of her great power and world position since the end of World War II, finds herself concerned with the contemporary problems of the Middle East. In general, Americans of today, many of whom have just become cognizant of the existence of the Middle East, find numerous aspects of its life and affairs quite unintelligible. This is particularly true when these complexities are expressed in the various and often conflicting pronouncements of propagandists for the Arabs, the Israelis and Zionism, the imperialists, the oil companies, the internationalists, the isolationists, the various nationalisms of the Middle East, and all sundry interests.

The attempt of this volume has been to present a brief account of the contemporary Middle Eastern scene so that the beginning college student or general reader can place the area in its proper setting and perspective. Many of the present situations and problems cannot be appreciated or evaluated properly without a knowledge and comprehension of the past, since the contemporary civilization of the Middle East probably has deeper and more significant roots in its past culture and experience than many other civilizations.

With this in mind, it was deemed advisable to begin the story, after a short introduction, with the life of the prophet Muhammad and the revolutionary changes that he made upon the society of his time. From this point the narrative has been carried forward, changing the central locus of the scene from Medina to Damascus to Baghdad to Asia Minor to Istanbul and back to the Arab lands as the fortunes of the area have developed, and at the same time examining each era more in detail as the present is approached.

Certain technicalities have been simplified for the beginner. The titles of many positions, past and present, have been translated into English equivalents in order

not to confuse the reader with strange words or tire his eyes with unfamiliar combinations of letters and words. The transliteration of Middle Eastern proper names has always presented difficulties. In Western literature pertaining to the Middle East, one can find the name of the Prophet rendered as Muhammad, Mohammed, Mohammad, Mohamed, Mahomet, Mehmed, Mehmet, Mehemet, and several other ways. In this book, Muhammad has been used for Arabs, Mehmed for Turks, and Mohammed for some others when individuals spelled the name in that fashion. For most words a spelling has been employed that would render them and their pronunciation most easily adopted by American readers. Where names of places or people have acquired a widely accepted Western spelling, those forms have been used.

Since almost every volume concerning detailed or specialized aspects of Middle Eastern life and affairs contains considerable bibliographical material, and because of the excellent and wide coverage provided in Richard Ettinghausen's *A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Books and Periodicals in Western Languages dealing with the Near and Middle East with Special Emphasis on Mediaeval and Modern Times* (The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 1952 and 1954), the inclusion of an extensive bibliography has not been felt necessary. The bibliographical entries at the end of the chapters have been supplied to indicate to the beginning student where easily accessible additional material on particular subjects may be obtained. These titles are suggested to serve as second steps for inquiring students who wish to dig more deeply into the many topics discussed only summarily in this text.

In gathering material for this volume it has been necessary to refer to a wide range of books, produced after years of diligent research and study by several generations of scholars in various lands. All will recognize my debt to these; students familiar with the literature of the diverse aspects of Middle Eastern history will appreciate my indebtedness to scholars of other years. This text could not have been written without their labors.

Through the years it has been my good fortune to obtain a closer knowledge of many aspects of Middle Eastern affairs and society through personal conversations and correspondence with many individuals concerned with that area of the world. Without mentioning names, I wish to thank them for the contributions they have made, sometimes unknowingly, to this text. Specifically I desire to pay tribute to inspiring teachers and mentors who have given me a better understanding of general and detailed problems and periods of Middle Eastern history. They are Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College; Dr. Edgar J. Fisher of Amherst, Virginia; the late Albert Howe Lybyer of the University of Illinois; Philip K. Hitti and the late Walter Livingston Wright, Jr., of Princeton University; and Paul Wittek of the University of London.

In addition to these I am under deep obligation to my colleagues Professors William F. McDonald and John R. Randall for their criticism and aid in regard to certain chapters. Also, Dr. Halford L. Hoskins of the Library of Congress and Professor George G. Arnakis of the University of Texas read the entire volume, offered valuable suggestions, and caught numerous errors and slips. Dr. J. Merle Rife, State University, Indiana, Pennsylvania, was most helpful in assisting in the compilation of the bibliographical references.

However, any faults in fact or judgment which remain are my sole responsibility. Further recognition is due The Ohio State University Graduate School for assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

This text could not have been prepared without the tolerance and cooperation of my entire family, which has lived with the manuscript for several years.

Sydney Nettleton Fisher

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A History

Volume I

Contents

LIST OF MAPS	xix
LIST OF CHARTS AND GENEALOGIES	xx
PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION	xxi
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION	xxv

1. Geographic Prologue 1
Geography; Physiography; Climate; Flora and Fauna; Resources; People; References.
2. Pre-Islamic Politics and Society in the Middle East 9
The Rise of Civilization; Ancient Empires; Alexander and the Greeks; The Roman Empire and Its Successors; Pre-Islamic Civilization in the Middle East; Christianity; The Arabs; Western Arabian Society; References.

Part One THE RISE AND SPREAD OF ISLAM

3. Muhammad: His Life and Leadership 25
Muhammad's Early Life; His Call; Preaching and Converts; Persecution; Flight to Medina; Conflict with Mecca; Victory; References.
4. The Establishment of the Muslim State 38
The Caliphate; Abu Bakr; Umar; Problems of Administration; Uthman; Muslim Political Factions; Ali; References.

5.	The Spread and Organization of the Muslim Empire Under the Umayyads	50
	<i>Campaigns Against Byzantium; North Africa and Spain; Expansion in Asia; Fiscal Developments; Social Organization; Political Administration; Opposition and Overthrow; References.</i>	
6.	The Flowering of the Muslim World Under the Early Abbasids	64
	<i>The Glory of Baghdad; Administrative Organization; Economic and Social Life; Decentralization Until 945; References.</i>	
7.	Islam	75
	<i>The Rise and Spread of Islam; The Quran; Hadith; Dogmas; Duties; Virtues and Sins; References.</i>	
8.	Muslim Theology and Law	83
	<i>Theology; Sunnites and the Science of Tradition; Muslim Law; Four Sunnite Schools; Rationalism; Asceticism and Mysticism; Fraternal Orders; Shiism; References.</i>	
9.	Muslim Civilization in the Middle East	96
	<i>Philosophy; Medicine; Mathematics and Astronomy; Sciences; Geography; Poetry and Literature; History; The Minor Arts; References.</i>	
10.	Social Patterns	109
	<i>The Roles of Women and Men; Cities and Mosques; Education; Recreation; Agriculture; References.</i>	
11.	The Early Medieval Middle East	120
	<i>Spain and North Africa; The Eastern and Central Regions; Crusaders and Ayyubids; References.</i>	
12.	The Late Medieval Middle East	133
	<i>The Mongol Invasions; Mamluk Rule Begins in Egypt; The Il-Khans and Timur; Decline in Iran and Egypt; References.</i>	

Part Two THE OTTOMAN AND SAFAVID EMPIRES

13. The Byzantine Empire
147

Establishment of the State; Political History; The Orthodox Church; Agriculture, Artisans, and Trade; The Crusades; The End of Byzantine Rule; References.
14. Ottoman Origins and Early History
157

The Turkish Seljuks in Anatolia; Turkification of Anatolia; Other Turkish States; Ghazi Society; Ottoman Origins: Osman and Orhan; Ottoman Expansion: Orhan and Murad I; Bayezid I; Economic, Social, and Political Changes; Defeat at Ankara; References.
15. The Winning of the Ottoman Empire
170

Mehmed I Reunites the State; The Ottoman Army; Expansion in Asia; Murad II; Ottoman Society and Culture; Military Developments; Mehmed II; Capture of Constantinople; References.
16. Expansion of the Ottoman Empire
181

Mehmed II's Conquests; Istanbul and the Orthodox Patriarchate; Bayezid and Jem; Wars of Bayezid II; Selim's Succession; War Against Safavid Iran; The Conquest of Egypt; Selim I; References.
17. Institutions of the Ottoman Empire
190

The Sultan; The Palace Services; The Palace School; The Military-Governing Administration; The Scribal-Financial Bureaucracy; The Religious-Judicial Establishment; Non-Muslim Subjects and Foreigners; References.
18. The Ottoman Empire as a World Power
201

Suleiman I; Suleiman's Court; Belgrade, Rhodes, and Vienna; Naval Activities; Eastern Campaigns; Hungary Again; The Succession of Selim II; Imperial Administration; Selim II; Ottoman Architecture and Art; Ottoman Literature; References.

19. The Flowering and Decay of Safavid Iran 215
Establishment of the Safavids in Iran; Shah Tahmasp I; Shah Abbas the Great of Isfahan; Administration and Trade Under Abbas; The Splendor of Isfahan; Uzbek Central Asia; Shahs Safi and Abbas II; The Decline and End of Safavid Iran; References.

20. The Transformation of the Ottoman Empire 231
The Transformation of the Sultanate; Fiscal, Administrative, and Military Transformation; The Fundamental Causes of Transformation; Changes in the Provinces; External Affairs: Europe, the Mediterranean, and the East; Military Resurgence Under the Köprülü's; Military Defeats; Treaty of Karlowitz, 1699; References.

21. The Retreat of the Ottoman Empire Begins 247
The Sultanate; Wars with Russia and Austria; Commerce and the Capitulations; Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji; Peace of Jassy; Domestic Changes; Rebellious Provinces; Search for Reform; Nadir Shah and Chaos in Iran and Central Asia; References.

Part Three

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MIDDLE EAST

22. The Era of the French Revolution and Napoleon 261
The Reforms of Selim III; Napoleon Invades Egypt; Uprisings in Serbia and Arabia; Overthrow of Selim; Mahmud II and the Napoleonic Wars; The Qajar Dynasty; Diplomacy in Iran; Reform in Iran; References.

23. Mahmud II: Greek Nationalism and Ottoman Reform 272
The Greek Revolution; Intervention by Egypt and the Great Powers; Treaty of Adrianople; Destruction of the Janissaries; Mehmet Ali and Mahmud II; Mahmud's Reforms; References.

24. Mehmet Ali, Ismail, and the Development of Egypt 281
Rise of Mehmet Ali; Arabia, the Sudan, and Greece; Conquest of Syria; Defeat of Mehmet Ali; Organization of Egypt; Abbas and Said Pashas; The Suez Canal and Ismail; Ismail's Rule; Bankruptcy and European Intervention; References.

25. Ottoman Tanzimat and European Ambitions 297
Hatt-i Sharif; European Interests in the Ottoman Empire; Commerce and the Capitulations; Religious Issues; Tanzimat; The Crimean War; Hatt-i Humayun; Lebanon and Syria; Social Changes and Political Reformers; Young Ottomans; Midhat Pasha and the Constitution; Ottoman Finances; Balkan Problems; Russian-Ottoman War; The Congress of Berlin; References.
26. Abdulhamid II and Autocratic Reform 315
Accession of Abdulhamid II; Ottoman Public Debt Administration; Continuing Reforms; The Press, Women, and Education; The Armenian Question; Crete; Macedonia; Railways and Economic Growth; References.
27. The Young Turks and Nationalism 326
Secret Societies; The Revolution; Failure of the Counterrevolution; War with Italy over Libya; The Committee of Union and Progress; Ottoman, Islamic, and Turkish Nationalisms; Arab Cultural Nationalism; The Birth of Arab Nationalism; The Young Turks and Arab Nationalism; Arab Secret Societies; The Arab Princes; The Balkan Wars; The Triumvirate; References.
28. British Occupation of Egypt and the Sudan 341
Stabilization of British Control; Lord Cromer and Egyptian Government; Khedive Abbas Hilmi II vs. Lord Cromer; Egyptian Nationalism; Economic and Cultural Challenges; The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; Taba and Dinshaway; The Legislative Assembly and Saad Zaghlul; References.
29. Qajar Iran and Reform 355
Muhammad Shah and the Ulama; The Caucasus, Central Asia, and Afghanistan; Babism and Bahaism; First Years of Nasir al-Din Shah; The Age of Attempted Reforms; The Economy and the Tobacco Concession; References.
30. Iran's Constitutional Revolution 366
Muzaffar al-Din Shah and the Constitutional Revolution; Muhammad Ali Shah and the Counterrevolution; Muhammad Ali Shah Abdicates; Constitutional Government, 1909–1911; The Strangling of Iran; References.