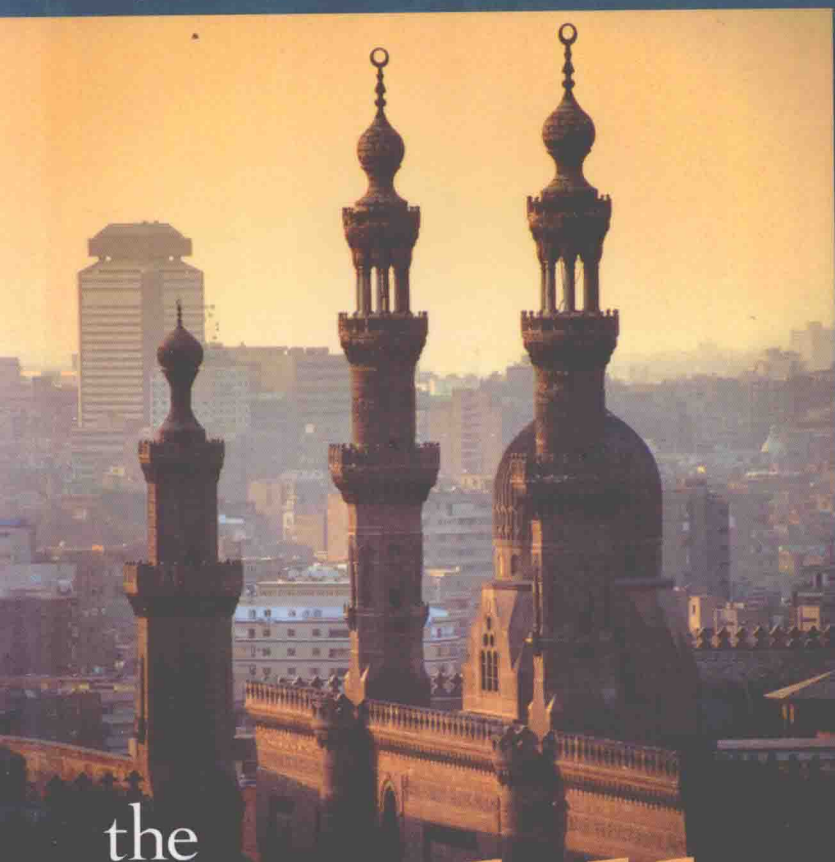


William Ochsenwald
Sydney Nettleton Fisher



Seventh Edition

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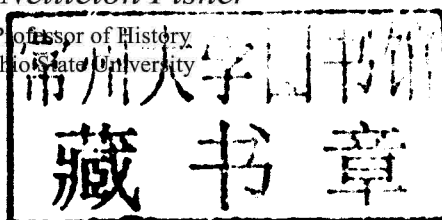
SEVENTH EDITION

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Late Professor of History
The Ohio State University





THE MIDDLE EAST: A HISTORY, SEVENTH EDITION

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About the Authors

WILLIAM OCHSENWALD attended the Ohio State University (B.A., M.A.) and the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1971). He was a member of the faculty of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University from 1971 until 2008, 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 three books, *The Hijaz Railroad* (1980), *Religion, Society, and the State in Arabia* (1984), and *Religion, Economy, and State in Ottoman-Arab History* (1998), 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*.

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. Professor Fisher 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 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.

Preface to the Seventh Edition

The grave problems affecting many parts of the Middle East have sharply increased in severity in recent years, while the impact of the region on the rest of the world has dramatically grown during the period of time since the appearance of the last edition of this book. A sound knowledge of the history of the Middle East is a prerequisite to viewing its present circumstances with understanding and clarity.

This seventh edition of *The Middle East: A History* appears fifty years after Sydney Nettleton Fisher wrote the first version that appeared in print in 1960. The extraordinary longevity of the book is a testament to the accomplishments of Professor Fisher, whose three editions (copyright dates of 1959, 1969, and 1979) provided an immensely useful and widely read guide to comprehending the complex and controversial history of the Middle East. In my revisions for the next three editions (copyright dates of 1990, 1997, and 2004), I retained much of his earlier work while also making numerous changes.

For this seventh edition I decided to concentrate on revising coverage of the period since the beginning of World War II in 1939. As a result, only a few changes have been made in Chapters 1 through 36. I have made numerous revisions in Chapters 37 through 51, including changes to the Glossary, Chronology, and List of Websites at the end of the book. I have subdivided the former chapter on Turkey since 1945 into two chapters, so as to explore at greater length crucial developments in that country's history since 1980. I have also created a new chapter on the history of central Asia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan because of the growing importance of that region. On the other hand, at the request of readers I have merged the former separate chapter on Yemen with a chapter covering Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman.

Other notable changes include adding coverage and analysis of the dramatic events that have taken place since the appearance of the sixth edition. Some examples are the 2003 war in Iraq and its consequences, the remarkable increase in oil revenues in the period 2000–2008, the numerous new policies of the Justice and Development party government in Turkey, the collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, the results of the Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon in 2005, the development of the Darfur tragedy in the Sudan, and the changes made in Iran since the election of Mahmud Ahmadinejad as president in 2005.

Throughout the coverage of the period since 1939, I have sought to guide more directly the reader's attention to crucial themes and to eliminate superfluous details. The

importance of the chart Periodization in the History of the Islamic Middle East has been emphasized by repeating it in several places in the book. I have expanded coverage of the history of women and gender relations and social and economic patterns.

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 Chapters 37 through 51. Unfortunately, due to space limitations I have had to omit mention of many valuable and useful works. However, I have been able to include some sites available on the World Wide Web, trying to pick those most likely to contain valuable historical information or analysis rather than polemics or partisanship. The reader should be aware that since Web Sites frequently change their addresses and even occasionally disappear, the sites mentioned in the text may need to be found using search engines or may no longer be available.

Recent developments in the Middle East have given rise to heated debates in the United States and Canada, making the subject of Middle Eastern history even more controversial in those countries than was the case earlier. I have attempted to adopt a balanced interpretation in discussing developments taking place between 2002 and 2008 while recognizing that the passage of more time is needed to improve our understanding of these events and their causes and consequences.

I have employed a somewhat systematic transliteration system, but I have not attempted, nor achieved, complete consistency. As Sydney Fisher pointed out in the preface to the first edition, words from Middle Eastern languages have been written in English in different ways, thereby causing much confusion. Among specialists there are divergent but strongly held views on proper transliteration. I have usually opted for 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 cases, however, I have opted for a spelling that is closer to the original, as in *Quran* and *ulama*, rather than *Koran* and *ulema*.

I have the pleasant duty of thanking a number of people for their assistance. For all four editions for which I have been responsible, the most important suggestions for revisions came from the some 7,000 students who took my classes between 1971 and 2008, who offered frank and useful recommendations that led to many changes. Among these discussions, those with David Grant were especially interesting. My thanks go to Craig Leonard and Lynn Lustberg for their invaluable editorial assistance with this edition. I also owe a debt of gratitude to the following persons for their advice and proposals for changes in earlier editions: Ismail Abdalla, Karl Barbir, Corinne Blake, Jean Braden, Nathan Citino, Linda Darling, Ronald Davis, Elizabeth Frierson, Justin McCarthy, John Mandaville, Caroline Marshall, Robert Olson, Donald Reid, Pat Risso, Ezel Kural Shaw, Christopher Vanneson, John Voll, and Clarence Zylstra. For their very useful suggestions for this present edition, I also wish to thank reviewers

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Once again, professional colleagues who have written other general studies of the history of the Middle East provided important new ideas and interpretations which challenged me to rethink my own earlier work. I found especially useful and stimulating works by William L. Cleveland and Arthur Brunton, Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., and Lawrence Davidson, Albert Hourani, Ira M. Lapidus, C. E. Bosworth, James L. Gelvin, Mehran Kamrava, Bernard Lewis, Zachary Lockman, Ilan Pappé, Glenn E. Perry, Malise Ruthven, and especially Palmira Brummett. 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.

My past and present colleagues at Virginia Tech have been of considerable assistance through their stimulating and provocative discussions. I wish to thank Glenn Bugh, Burton Kaufman, Charles Kennedy, and Robert Landen. The members of the Middle East Working Group at Virginia Tech have been of great help in many ways: Daniel Breslau, Brian Britt, Matthew Gabriele, Andrea Kavanaugh, Bettina Koch, Djavad Salehi-Isfahani, Benjamin Sax, Peter Schmitthenner, Laura Sjoberg, Yannis Stivachtis, and especially Najma Yousefi. Rachel Scott and Michael Horton have provided me with many useful insights into present-day circumstances in the Middle East. I acknowledge with gratitude the support of the department of history at Virginia Tech under the leadership of Burton Kaufman, Albert Moyer, Glenn Bugh, and Dan Thorp. Linda Fountaine and Jan Francis assisted me patiently and efficiently. The staff of the Interlibrary Loan office of Newman Library worked diligently in providing access to many book and articles.

I am very grateful to friends and family who have provided encouragement and support during the long time needed to complete this new edition. My thanks go in particular to Stewart A. Dean, Elizabeth Fisher, Martey Longmire, Donald Miller, Jon Miller, David Starkey, Norm and Pam Gary, Ronald and Joyce Ochsenwald, and Jim Riley.

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

William Ochsenwald

May 2009

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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