

THE OTTOMAN PROVINCE OF DAMASCUS
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

by

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Thesis submitted for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

February, 1972

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ABSTRACT

The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the 16th century comprised a number of liwā's (liwā' = sanjaq). This thesis deals mainly with the liwā' of Damascus as a case study. Other liwā's are mentioned in this connection in as much as they concern and clarify the general picture. Prescribed limitations prevent full discussion of others. The thesis is composed of seven chapters, each of which deals with certain aspects of the history of the province.

The first chapter is concerned with local events prevailing between the Ottoman conquest 922/1516 and the suppression of al-Ghazālī's rebellion in 927/1521.

In the second chapter administrative divisions and demography of the liwā' during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century are defined. The study shows that the nāḥiya was the basic administrative unit and records periods of increase in the numbers of the population followed by sharp decline.

The structure of Ottoman administration is the subject of chapters three to five. The first of them outlines the function of the governor as responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the leadership of the military force whenever called upon. It emphasises his responsibility for the despatch and safe return of the pilgrimage caravan of Damascus. This was assisted by military units distributed throughout the province and housed in fortresses, augmented by the subsidiary forces of timar-holders. All these contingents assisted the Sultan in his wars with Persia, in the Yaman and against Cyprus in addition to their use in the suppression of rebellions. The forces grouped themselves into factions. As they also engaged in trade and industry, the factions vied with each other to win the support of local chieftains.

The administration of justice was the province of the Chief Judge and his deputies from the four madhhabs. They comprised some of the local population in addition to Ottoman personnel. There were several courts in Damascus and also one court functioned in each of the cities of Baʿalabakk, Bayrūt and Sidon. Deputy judges were usually appointed to dispense justice in the countryside. The office of Muḥfi is also defined in this chapter.

Chapter five chiefly deals with the office of Defterdār and taxation on various types of trade, land, trees, animals, etc.

In chapters six and seven there is an attempt to describe the relationship between the Ottomans and the indigenous population.

Four appendices and three relevant maps have been prepared and are appended.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks are due to all those who have helped me during the preparation of this thesis. I am indebted to Professor P.M. Holt, who has supervised this study, for his guidance, constructive criticism and encouragement. I am also deeply grateful to Professor V.L. Ménage for his extremely valuable direction and interest. My thanks are also due to Professor B. Lewis and Mr. M. Cook for their helpful comments and advice.

In addition, I should like to thank the Staffs of S.O.A.S., British Museum, Bodleian and Cambridge University Libraries.

I am deeply appreciative of the unique help and keen interest shown by Dr. A. Rafeq of the Department of History, University of Damascus; and also of the good offices of Dr. M.K. Faris, Mr. M. Muḥaffil and Mr. Suhayl Ghazzī.

To the authorities of the Libraries of Zāhiriyya, Aḥmadiyya, Arab Academy, French Institute, National Archives Department, Ḥama Museum and to Dr. N. ‘Aṭṭār and Mr. S. Sha‘ath of Aleppo Museum, my thanks are also due.

The personnel of Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Mr. R. ‘Abd al-Muttalib of the Department of Manuscripts, the Arab League and the Egyptian scholars will always be remembered for their unfailing help.

In Lebanon my thanks are gratefully expressed to the Staffs of the American University of Beirut and San Josef University Libraries. I am also obliged to Professors N. Ziadeh, M. Najm, K. Salibi, Shaykh Ḥ. al-Jāsir and Shaykh Z. Shāwīsh for their help and many kindnesses.

There are many Authorities in Turkey to whom I also render grateful thanks. Those for Dr. H. Sahillioglu are inexpressible in words; to Shaykh M. al-Ṭanjī, my deep gratitude for his outstanding help and also to Dr. B. Kültükoğlu and to Mr. H. Dündar.

My thanks are also due to the Staffs of the following libraries:- Başbakanlık Arşivi, Topkapı Saray Arşivi, Sultan Ahmet III, Kütüphanesi, Nürosmāniyya, Sulaymāniyya, 'Ātif Efendī, Rāghib Pāsha, Fātiḥ and that of the University of Istanbul.

It is with pleasure that I acknowledge the University of Jordan, without whose grant I should not have been able to complete this study. In this respect my special thanks are due to Professor A. Gharaibah and Mr. M. Ḥayārī for their encouragement and help. I should also express my gratitude to Mr. S. Shihābī, and to my friends A. Shurayda, Q. Ghazzāwī, M.A. Khurma and K. Madādha.

My deep gratitude is extended to Miss Elizabeth D.M. Bastable for her help, kindness and generosity.

M.A. Bakhit

February, 1972.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.Y.	Arabça Yazma
B.	Bachelor
b.	İbin
Bib. Nat.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BM	British Museum
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</u>
D.K.	Dār al-Kutub, Cairo
<u>E.I.¹</u>	<u>The Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition</u>
<u>E.I.²</u>	<u>The Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition</u>
H.	Household
<u>I.</u>	<u>İmām</u>
<u>I.A.</u>	<u>İslām Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul</u>
<u>IC</u>	<u>Islamic Culture</u>
<u>İ.Ü.</u>	<u>İstanbul Üniversitesi</u>
J.	Jew
<u>JESHO</u>	<u>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</u>
<u>JOAS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
<u>JRAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
<u>M.D.</u>	<u>Mühimme Defteri</u>
<u>M.M.</u>	<u>Maliyeden Müdevver Defteri</u>
MS.	Manuscript
<u>S.</u>	<u>Sayyid</u>

Sh.

SOAS

T.

T.D.

X.

Sharif

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London.

Turkoman

Tapu Defteri

Christian

NOTE ON THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

In this thesis the method adopted by the Encyclopaedia of Islam for transliterating Arabic words has been followed, with the exception that "k" is rendered as "q", the "dj" as "j" and the Arabic form of the "yā'" has in most instances been rendered as "y". The definite article "al-" has been retained separately, even before antero-palataals(ḥurūf shamsiyya). This is also applicable when it falls medially in compound names, except when the second part of such names is "Allah". It is then rendered as "ullah", e.g. "ʿAbdullah".

The system followed for transliteration of Turkish names and terms is that employed by İslām Ansiklopedisi. There are occasional discrepancies made in order to render the pronunciation of certain forms more clearly definable, for which I accept responsibility. In this connection the subject form of nouns has been retained regardless of their grammatical position in the sentence.

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D. ' <u>Awā'</u> id <u>Dār al-Khuḍar</u> (Levies in the Vegetables Market)	176
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AN ACCOUNT OF EVENTS FROM 922-7/1516-21

The Ottoman Conquest of Bilād al-Shām

The deterioration of the long established cordial relations between the Mamlūks and the Ottomans became more conspicuous in 886/1481. At this time Jem the son of Mehemmed II was contending with his brother, Sultan Bāyazīd, for the Sultanate. He sought refuge in Cairo where he was received with great pomp by Sultan al-Ashraf Qā' itbāy.¹ From that time, both Sultans were engaged in severe fighting and many cities and villages were devastated. The last decisive battle was fought on the 25th Rajab 922/24th August 1516, in the plain of Marj Dābiq,² to the north of Aleppo, when the Ottoman artillery routed the disunited Mamlūk army.³ After confiscating all Mamlūk possessions,⁴ Sultan Selīm with his army marched on Aleppo, which capitulated after its abandonment by the Mamlūks.⁵

The governor of its well fortified citadel, Qānsūh al-Ashrafī, joined the retreating Mamlūks without striking a blow, leaving everything, including the Mamlūk treasury to Sultan Selīm⁶ who confiscated all property to the smallest

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1. Ibn Tūlūn, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 953/1546) Mufākahat al-Khillān fī ḥawādith al-zamān, (2 vols., edited by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Cairo, 1962-64), vol.i, pp. 43, 47, 53-54. Shorter title Ibn Tūlūn Mufākahat, Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 930/1523), Badā' i' al-zuhūr fī waqā' i' al-duhūr, (vols.iii-v, edited by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1961-3), vol.iii, pp. 183, 185, 187, *passim*. Shorter title, Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 'Uqūd al-jumān fī waqā' i' al-zamān, MS. Aya Sofya Library, Istanbul, No. 3311, vol.ii, fols.231a-b, shorter title, Ibn Iyās, 'Uqūd.
 2. Sourdcl, D., "Dābiq", E.I.², vol.ii, p. 72.
 3. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, pp. 22, 38, Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp. 7, 23. Feridūn Bey, Aḥmad (d.991/1583). Munsha' at al-Salāḥīn, (2nd edition, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1274/1857), vol.i, pp. 424-5, 450-1, shorter title Feridūn Bey, Munsh' at. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.24. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, pp.69-71. See also Ayalon, David, Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom (London, 1956), pp.59-61, 180-3.
 4. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, p. 72.
 5. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, p. 73.
 6. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, pp.74-5, 85, 105.

detail.⁷ Sultan Selīm, who arrived on the outskirts of Aleppo on Thursday 29th Rajab 922/28th August 1516, entered the city on the following day to perform the Friday prayers in al-Uṭrūsh Mosque.⁸ Its preacher, ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ṣābūnī al-Ḥanafī (d. 922/1516), welcomed him. Later, although no contemporary sources mention that he addressed the Sultan as "The Servitor of the two Holy Places: Mecca and Medina", which title expressed the traditional seniority over all Muslims.⁹

From the outskirts of the city, Selīm imposed amnesty fees (māl al-amān) upon the Aleppine merchants who promptly paid them in order to save their lives.¹⁰

In Aleppo, Sultan Selīm faced no more serious incident other than that some of his camels were stolen by Arab Bedouins from the tribe of Zughayb. The Sultan ordered Aḥmad b. Ja‘far al-Ḥanafī known as Karāja Pāsha (d. 927/1520) the first Ottoman governor of Aleppo, and ‘Abd al-Karīm Chalabī, the first

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7. Ibn Iyās, Badā’ i‘, vol. v, pp. 75, 85, Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563) Durr al-ḥabab fī tārikh al-yāni Ḥalab, MS. Taymūriyya Library, No: 2105, fols. 64b-65a. Nūrosmāniyya Library No: 3293, fol. 103a. Istanbul University Library No: A.Y. 3190, fols. 78a, b. Shorter title Raḍī al-Ḥanbalī, Durr.
8. al-Uṭrūsh Mosque was built in 801/1398, by ‘Aqbughā al-Uṭrūsh (d. 806/1403), Mamlūk governor of Aleppo. From that time governors of Aleppo performed feast prayers there. Ibn al-Shihna, Muḥammad (d. 890/1485), al-Durr al-muntakhab fī tārikh mamlakat Ḥalab, (edited by Yūsuf Elyān Sarkīs, Bayrūt, 1909), pp. 73, 260. Shorter title Ibn al-Shihna, al-Durr al-muntakhab.
9. al-Shammā‘, Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Aḥmad (d. 936/1529). ‘Uyūn al-akhbār fīmā waqa‘ li jāmi‘ ihī fī al-iqāmati wal asfār, MS. D.K.M. No: 1639, Tārikh, 2 vols., vol. i, fol. 43b. Shorter title Shammā‘, ‘Uyūn. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, MS. BM. Add. 23978, fol. 149a. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufaḥahat, vol. ii, p. 25. Ibn Iyās, Badā’ i‘, vol. v, pp. 75-7, al-Ghazzī, Najm al-Dīn, (d. 1061/1650) al-Kawākib al-sā’ irah bi al-yān al-mi’ ah al-‘āshira, (3 vols., edited by Jibra’ il S. Jabbūr, Bayrūt, 1945-59), vol. i, p. 260. Shorter title Ghazzī, Kawākib. Cf. al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, Muḥammad, al-Tuḥfa al-bahiyya fi tamalluk Al-i ‘Othmān al-Diyar al-Miṣriyya, MS. Vienna, Code Arab. 925, A.F. 283, fols. 19b-20a. Shorter title al-Bakrī, Tuḥfa.
- x
10. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, MS. BM. Add. 23978, fol. 149a.

Ottoman defterdār in Aleppo, to track down the thieves. At that time a Bedouin amīr by the name of Mudlij with a group of Zughaybīs were in Aleppo. They sought the good offices of the judge Taqī al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ (d.922/1516) to request the responsible authorities to guarantee them safe conduct. This was granted on condition that the stolen camels would be returned. Probably in hope of Selīm's favour, Taqī al-Dīn pledged the fulfilment of this condition. Meanwhile, the Bedouins left the city and the camels were not returned. He was not relieved from the responsibility in the matter and was sent at the head of a squadron to catch the thieves. He was slain by the Zughaybīs during a fight against the Ottoman's punitive squadron.¹¹ Later, Mudlij led his tribes in a savage attack upon the retreating Mamlūks and corpses were left scattered from Aleppo to Damascus.

The Aleppines unanimously rose against the Mamlūks. They had frequently suffered depredations from them when they passed by on their way to the norther buffer principalities. Now they refused their entrance to the city, killed many and confiscated all their belongings. Ibn Iyās comments that their suffering at the hands of the Aleppines was worse than that they received during their defeat by the Ottomans.¹²

Sultan Selīm left Aleppo on Sha'abān 18th 922/16th September 1516, for

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11. R. Hanbalī, Durr, Nūrosmāniyya, MS. No:3297, fols.66a-b. Ī.Ū.A.Y.3190, fols. 145a-b. Taymūriyya, MS No:2105, fol.40a, BM.MS.No.Add.23978, fols.63a-b.
12. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, pp.73-4. Aḥmad b. Zunbul al-Rammāl (d.960/1552), Tārīkh Ibn Zunbul al-Rammāl (2 vols., MS. D.K.M. No:44), vol.i, pp.54-5, 60-5, another copy of the same work, MS. No:129, D.K.M., fols.20a,b-21a,b. Shorter title Ibn Zunbul, Tārīkh. Sultan Selīm commissioned Mudlij to transfer prisoners from Aleppo to Damascus. He adds that Mudlij frequently searched and robbed prisoners during transit. This is not verified by other sources. MS. No:44, vol.i, p.106.

Damascus,¹³ where the retreating Mamlūks had begun to gather. Zu'ar roamed the city and its suburbs killing, destroying and sacking. The confusion subsided when on Tuesday 5th Sha' bān/3rd September, the former governor of Ḥama, Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī (d.927/1521) arrived at Damascus. He was immediately elected by the senior Mamlūk amīrs as governor of the City.¹⁴ al-Ghazālī forbade the Mamlūks to retreat to Egypt till he received instructions from Tūmānbāy (d.923/1517). He ordered the gates to be opened and once again restored law and order.¹⁵ He accepted an invitation to lunch with the people of Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, one of the principal quarters of Damascus.¹⁶ The memory of how the Aleppines had dealt with the Mamlūks no doubt impressed him sufficiently to appreciate the value of popular good will.

al-Ghazālī, also succeeded in securing the allegiance of the influential Bedouin Chief of al-Biqā', Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥanash. Nāṣir approached al-Ghazālī with a bribe and a plan. According to this, Nāṣir would fight the Ottomans for which he would receive the governorship of Ḥoms. al-Ghazālī's part would be to execute Nāṣir's rival the muqaddam (local chieftain) 'Alā' al-Dīn b. al-Imad al-Maqdisī, known as Ibn 'Alīq, who was at that time imprisoned in Damascus. al-Ghazālī accepted and implemented these conditions.¹⁷

13. Feridūn Bey, Munsha'āt, vol.i, p.451.

14. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.24-5. I' lām al-warā biman wulliya min al-Aṭrāk bi Dīmashq al-Shām al-Kubrā (edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, Damascus 1964), p.214. Shorter title, Ibn Ṭūlūn, I' lām. For zu'ar in Damascus, see Lapidus, Ira, Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages, (Massachusetts, 1967), pp.153-63. See also Brinner, W.M., "The significance of the Ḥarāfīsh and their Sultan", JESHO, vol.vi, (1963), pp.190-215, also, "Ḥarfūsh", E.I.², vol.iii, p. 206.

15. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.25.

16. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.26.

17. In 921/1515 the people of Ibn 'Alīq, a local chieftain of Ḥoms region made a predatory raid on the Jewish Quarter in Damascus. Except for this incident his relations with the governor were good. His complaints in 922/1516 against the people of the village of Hayjāniyya carried weight; robes of honour were bestowed upon him and some of his relatives. =

To further appease Nāsir and to gain the loyalty of the Bedouin tribes of Āl Mirā, whose chief Jānbāy was the brother-in-law of Nāsir, al-Ghazālī bestowed a Robe of Honour on them both. In addition, he commissioned Jānbāy to guard the roads in the region of Ḥawrān and al-Marj which comprises the fertile plains surrounding Damascus.¹⁸

To the great dismay of al-Ghazālī, the governors who had been appointed to govern Ḥoms and Ḥama returned to Damascus on the 20th Sha'abān/18th September. They informed him that two Ottoman governors had been appointed to these cities and that Sultan Selim was approaching. al-Ghazālī convinced of defeat, sent his family to Egypt and permitted the Mamlūks to leave for Cairo. He, together with his bodyguard, left Damascus on Saturday 23rd Shab'ān/21st September 1516. Near Bāb al-Jābiya, he was confronted by the zu'ar. al-Ghazālī had anticipated such a confrontation and had placed the shaykh of Bāb al-Jābiya, al-Ma'aqlī in the front rank of his men. The shaykh was, however, attacked and slain by the zu'ar.¹⁹ They roamed the city looting and pillaging, even the houses of officials or judges were not spared.²⁰ 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī, known as Ibn al-Ṭahḥān, was

= His relation with al-Ghazālī while in Ḥama was probably not cordial. He was arrested by al-Ghazālī. His head was the price asked by Nāsir when he co-operated against the Ottomans. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.i, p. 389, vol.ii, pp.11, 21, 26. Ibn Kannān Muḥammad, (d.1153/1740), *Ḥadā'iq al-yāsamin fī dhikr qawānīn al-khulafā' wal salātin*, part of it edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, as supplement to *I'lam*, p. 277. Shorter title Ibn Kannān, *Ḥadā'iq*. In *Mufākahat* the surname was read by the editor as Ibn al-'Allāq. Duhmān read it in Ibn Kannān as Ibn 'Allān.

18. Jānbāy was the head of the Bedouin tribes of Āl Mirā in the region of Ḥawrān. He was supported by the governor of Damascus against 'Āmir b. Muqlid and against the tribe of Āl Bayād, in 894/1488 and 917/1511 respectively. He helped the governor to guard grateful pilgrim caravans against Bedouin attacks. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.i, pp.98, 104, 196, 248, 256-7, 291, 333-4, vol.ii, p.26. *I'lam*, pp.109, 141, 147-8, 173, 176.
19. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.ii, p.27.
20. Ibn Iyās, *Badā' i'*, vol.v, p.106.

their first victim.²¹ The house of the Ḥanafī judge ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Yūnus al-Nābulṣī²² (d.930/1523) was also about to be burnt, but his family managed to buy a reprieve from the zu‘ar. Meanwhile the judge himself had deserted the house.²³ Another intended victim was the rich Shāfi‘ī judge Wālī al-Dīn al-Farfūr (d.937/1530) but he escaped vengeance by a bribe of one hundred dīnārs. Afterwards, he took the precaution of employed guards.²⁴ Zu‘ar stripped the deputy of the Ḥanafī judge, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn b. al-Fīqī, and took away his clothes and injured his horse.²⁵ They also attacked the Samaritan quarter in Damascus with the intention of burning it had not a Jew by the name of Zaqqūq appeased them with one thousand dīnārs.²⁶ Added to this, fighting

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21. Ibn al-Ṭahhān was first a clerk in Sūq al-Tujjār, in Damascus. In 904/1498 he became market-inspector. His name is mentioned in 907/1501 as judge of al-Barr (the countryside). In 922/1516 he claimed the status of Sharīf which was suspected by Ibn Ṭūlūn who mentions that Ibn al-Ṭahhān destroyed a few mosques, cemeteries, and sold the material as scrap; he adds that it was said "he deserved to die". Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.201, 254, vol.ii, pp.6, 27.
22. He was chief Ḥanafī judge in Damascus from 911/1505 until the Ottoman occupation of the city. In 916/1510 he was arrested and jailed for about seven months, and then restored to his post. When in 926/1519 Wālī al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr fled to Aleppo, he was appointed by al-Ghazālī as the chief Ḥanafī acting judge. He was accused of a predilection for black people. He sold many endowments while in office. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.296, 306, 322, 363, 378, vol.ii, pp.17, 75, 92, 96. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Quḍāt Dimashq (edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus 1956), pp.237-9. Shorter title Ibn Ṭūlūn, Quḍāt Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.251-2.
23. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.27-8.
24. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.28.
25. al-Fīqī, described as black and somewhat ignorant, was appointed in 913/1507 by al-Nābulṣī as his deputy. In 924/1518 he was appointed as deputy to the supervisor (nāzir) of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d.568/1163) Bimāristān (hospital) in Damascus. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.313, vol.ii, p.79.
26. Zaqqūq, is mentioned as one of the qala‘iyīn (people working in the citadel). Ibn Kannān says that the amount of money paid was one thousand dirhams. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.27. Ibn Kannān, Ḥadā’iq, p.278.

was imminent between the people of the two villages of Dārayyā and al-Mizza in the south-west vicinity of Damascus. Panic increased when fire broke out during the night in one of the quarters where Kurds lived.²⁷

Damascus remained for six days in a state of turmoil without government. Only the citadel which was controlled and garrisoned by its Mamlūk governor 'Alībāy, remained calm. During this period of interregnum, Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī al-Maghribī al-Mālikī,²⁸ Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Jabāwī,²⁹ Shaykh Mubārak b. 'Abdullah al-Qābūnī³⁰ met the leading members of the quarters at Maydān al-Ḥaṣā where they decided to surrender Damascus to Sultan

27. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.27.

28. 'Abd al-Nabī migrated from North Africa to Damascus where he achieved the status of chief Mālikī muftī. In addition to iftā', he taught theology ('Ilm al-Kalām); later he was initiated by the famous Moroccan Sufi 'Alī b. Ma' mūn (d.917/1511), on his return in 912/1506, from Bursa to Damascus. When he visited Aleppo (902/1496), al-Hanbalī mentions that he engaged in a polemic discussion with learned men. When he died on Friday 23rd Ramadān 922/20th October 1516, Sultan Selīm was among those who performed massed prayer for the dead. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.236,313,324,328, vol.ii, pp.23-4, 68. Ibn Ṭulūn, al-Fulk al-mashhūr fī ahwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭulūn (Damascus 1348/1929), p.14. Shorter title, Ibn Ṭulūn, Fulk. R. Hanbalī, Durr, MS. BM. Add.23978, fol.144b, al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.256. Ibn. Kannān, Hadā'iq, pp.279-80, 284.

29. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Jabāwī, the head of the renowned Sufi family in Damascus, was highly esteemed by governors and officials. He organized a chanting circle in the 'Umayyad Mosque. It is said that people confessed their misdeeds to him. He died in 926/1519. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.24, 107. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.185. Ibn Kannān, Hadā'iq, p.279.

30. Mubārak (d.944/1537) probably of Abyssinian origin, migrated to Damascus in 897/1491. He campaigned against the widely spread habit of drinking wine. He settled in al-Qābūn, 2½ miles north of St. Thomas' Gate, in a convent which the chief Shafi'ī judge Taqī al-Dīn b. Qādī 'Ajlūn (d.928/1521) had built for him. He appears to have influenced the youth from Damascus and its environs. In 899/1493 his followers policed the road to Damascus, destroyed skins of wine and forbade people to bring it to the city. On hearing this the governor arrested Shaykh Mubārak together with a number of his followers.

Selīm.³¹

When Muṣliḥ Mīzān, Sultan Selīm's delegate to the Damascenes arrived at al-Qābūn on Thursday, 28th Sha' bān/26th September, he sent two of his aides together with Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī³² and Yūnus al-ʿĀdilī³³ to see if the Damascenes were ready to surrender. They were well received and the city surrendered.³⁴ Ismāʿīl b. al-Akrām (d.930/1523) approached the governor of the citadel to join them in surrender but he refused.³⁵ The

- = The chief Shāfiʿī judge intervened and Mubārak was released. People from al-Qābūn attacked the jail in Damascus to free his friends. Fighting broke out between them and the governor's forces and between 70-150 people died. Mubārak had a reputation for magnificent physique and skill in hunting and swimming. He headed a second convent in al-Ṣāliḥiyya. His son Muḥammad was renowned for his excellent recitation of the Holy Qurʾān. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. i, pp.154, 158. Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Qalāʾ id al-jawhariyya fi tarīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya, 2 vols. (edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, Damascus, 1949-56), vol. i, p.209. Shorter title, Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalāʾ id Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Ansarī, al-Rawḍ al-ʿaṣīr fīmā tayassara min akhbār al-qarn al-sābiʿ ila khitām al-qarn al-ʿāshir, MS. Tübingen, No:9886, fols.287a-b. Shorter title Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. ii, pp.245-6.
31. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. ii, p.28. Iʿlām, p.215.
32. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī, who also spoke the Turkish language, originated from Medina. He travelled widely and visited Persia and the land of the Ottomans. Later he attained a high position in the court of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Cairo. It seems that he was in contact with the Ottomans whom he joined immediately after the battle of Marj Dābiq. When Sultan Selīm marched to Egypt, he accompanied him but was killed by a Bedouin who presented his head to Sultan Ṭūmānbay. The Bedouin received a reward of one thousand dīnārs. Ibn Iyās, Badāʾiʿ, vol. vi, pp.84, 143-4.
33. Yūnus al-ʿĀdilī began his career as a soap merchant in Aleppo. He became bankrupt and migrated to Cairo where his influence in the Sultan's court had been great since the days of Sultan Qāʾ itbāy. Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī trusted him so completely that in 915/1509 he despatched him to Istanbul to buy timber. Yūnus, who joined the Ottomans after the battle of Marj-Dābiq, was highly esteemed by them and was exempted from all taxes until his death in Damascus in 936/1529. He accumulated great wealth under both the Mamlūks and Ottomans. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. ii, pp.337-8, 345. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, Taymūriyya, 2, 105, fols.201b-202a. Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols. 345b-346a. I .U.A.Y.3190, fol244a. BM. Add.23978, fols.215b-216a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. ii, p.91.
34. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. ii, p.28.
35. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Iʿlām, p.215.

Damascenes, also, sent Muḥammad b. Qorqamās to Muṣliḥ Mīzān to announce the decision made by the people of his city.³⁶ Muṣliḥ with about two hundred people entered Damascus and shut its gates. From the Umayyad Mosque, he together with the four chief judges and Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabī al-Maḡhrībī, wrote to Sultan Selīm announcing the surrender of Damascus and requesting that no harm should befall it. Muṣliḥ distributed his men near the gates and in the quarters of the city to maintain law and order and to avert further disturbances.³⁷ He avoided confrontation with the governor of the citadel, but paid him a visit of courtesy and received a robe of honour from him. The newly appointed governor was Yūnus Pāsha and he arrived at Damascus on Thursday, 29th Sha‘bān/27th September, ‘Alībāy and Khāyirbāy, (d. 928/1522) the former Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, together with a small retinue, met him. Yūnus Pāsha asked ‘Alībāy to man the citadel until the Sultan’s arrival. ‘Alībāy and Khāyirbāy with their retinue were each given a robe of honour.³⁸

Selīm's Arrival at Damascus

On the Friday previous to his arrival the khutba was read in the name of Sultan Selīm who reached al-Maṣṭaba³⁹ on Saturday the first of Ramaḍān 922/28th September 1516. On Sunday, Sultan Selīm held an audience during

36. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.28, 77. In 927/1520 he joined the Ottomans against al-Ghazālī, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.170.

37. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.29.

38. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p. 29. I‘lām, p. 219.

39. ‘Abdullah b. Muḥammad al-Badrī (d.894/1488) describes Maṣṭabat al-Sultān in al-Qābūn as a high, level piece of land one faddān in size, approached by more than twenty steps on all sides. At the top there was a palace which was a temporary residence for sultans or governors departing from or arriving at Damascus. It was in existence till 1350/1931 although the ground had sunk to one metre high. It =

which the four chief judges were received and kissed his hand.⁴⁰ Later the Ashraf headed by Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamza were received by the Sultan.⁴¹ Among those present in the camp of the Sultan was the Bedouin chieftain of al-Biqā', Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Ḥanash.⁴² When, however, 'Alībay came to hand the keys of the citadel to the Sultan, Selīm ordered the arrest of him and his followers.⁴³ A group of Damascenes headed by Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī al-Maghrībī and Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Kafārsūsī⁴⁴ was not allowed to see the Sultan.⁴⁵

= was later destroyed by peasants who used the land for cultivation. 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad al-Badrī, Nuzhat al-anām fī maḥasin al-Sham, (edited by Nu'mān al-A'zamī, Cairo, 1341), pp.264-5. Shorter title, Badrī, Nuzhat, Duhmān. A footnote in I'lām, p.44.

40. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.30.

41. Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī (830/1446-933/1526) began as a teacher in the Shāfi'ī School of Taqawīyya (established in 574/1178) in 875/1471. In 891/1486 he was given the supervision of, and teaching post in, the Shāfi'ī al-Amjadiyya School (established 628/1230). He attained, also, the position of the chief Shāfi'ī muftī in Dār al-'Adil (the Palace of Justice) in Damascus in 931/1524, and was assigned thirty akḥes from the poll-tax as a daily allowance. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad Nu'aymī (d.927/1520) al-Dāris fī tarīkh al-madāris (2 vols., edited by Ja'far al-Ḥasanī, Damascus, 1948-51), vol.i, pp.177, 224. Shorter title Nu'aymī, al-Dāris. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.40-6. 'Abd al-Ḥay b. Ahmad b. al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī al-Ṣalīhī (d.1090/1679), Shadharāt al-dhahab fī al-ḥbār man dhahab, (8 vols., edited by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-'Udsī, Cairo, 1350-51), vol.viii, pp.194-5. Shorter title Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt.

42. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.32.

43. In 917/1511, after serving in Aleppo, 'Alībay was transferred to Damascus as the Sultan's dawadār (secretary). In 918/1512 he was recalled to Egypt but returned to Damascus as governor of the citadel in 919/1523 in which capacity he served until the capitulation of Damascus to Sultan Selīm. He and his subordinates were then deported to Istanbul. On hearing rumours that the Turkomans intended to free him, Selīm ordered the execution of both him and his friends at the village of Ḥarastā. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.355, 368, 376, vol.ii, pp.31, 35. Ibn Iyās, Badā'ī', vol.v, p.111. Ibn Zūnbul, Tārīkh, MS. No:129, fols.25a, b.

44. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kafārsūsī al-Shāfi'ī (d.932/1525) reputed as a learned and pious man, highly esteemed by officials. In addition to teaching he issued fatwās and villagers refused to consult anyone else. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.54-5.

45. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.29.

Similarly, when ‘Abd al-Nabī, together with a group of learned men and a number of his students, called on 6th Ramaḍān/3rd October, to pay respect to the Sultan, they were not allowed into his presence although he received the Frankish merchants and their consul.⁴⁶

Selīm who had camped in al-Qābūn, escorted by a vast number of soldiers, entered Damascus for the first time on Thursday 6th Ramaḍān 922/3rd October 1516. He bathed and had his beard shaved at the al-Ḥamawī Bath.⁴⁷ On the next day, which was Friday, Selīm re-entered Damascus; went directly to the Umayyad Mosque where he performed the Friday prayers. The former Chief Shāfi‘ī judge, Walī al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr, delivered an eloquent sermon in which he called Sultan Selīm the "Victorious Servitor of the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina".⁴⁸ After the prayers, money was distributed to the attendants of the Umayyad Mosque.⁴⁹ On the 15th Ramaḍān/12th October, money was similarly distributed in all mosques and schools, both in the city and its suburbs. On the 16th, Sultan Selīm went to the Umayyad Mosque where he again performed the prayers and read from a copy of the Holy Qurān ascribed to Caliph ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (d. 35/635).⁵⁰ On that same night he went to the al-Kallāsah School⁵¹ to visit the sufi Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bilkhashī, whose residence was in the school.⁵² Shaykh Muḥammad refused to accept money from

46. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.32.

47. al-Ḥamawī Hammām was built by ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Ḥamawī (d.703/1303) who was governor in Damascus in 691-695/1291-1295. Ibn Ṭulūn, al-Ḥamawī, pp.9-10. Qalā’id, vol.i, pp.227-8. Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.32.

48. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.32-3.

49. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.33.

50. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.35-6.

51. al-Kallāsa School was established in 555/1160. For the history of this school see Nu‘aymī, al-Dāris, vol.i, pp.447-51.

52. The origin of Muḥammad al-Bilkhashī is not known. Ibn Ṭulūn states that he was reputed to be of Arabic origin. It is not known when he settled in Damascus. Most likely he was known to the Ottomans =

Selīm, who distributed money to the needy on this occasion, but advised the Sultan to be merciful to the people⁵³ in view of the recent assaults the army had made on the Damascenes.

Ottoman soldiers had invaded houses in Damascus and its suburbs. Many people had been driven from their homes, their belongings had been thrown outside, and no respect or mercy was shown either to old or young. Nor was any consideration shown to the learned, to the Sufis or to the reciters of the Holy Qur'ān. Ibn Ṭulūn himself was ejected from his house and his books tossed into the street. He adds that those who were able, left Damascus while others took refuge in mosques and schools.⁵⁴ In addition, when Sultan Selīm himself moved into Damascus he requisitioned a residence near the great Nūriyyah School,⁵⁵ and all people living in that quarter were evacuated. The different quarters of Damascus such as 'Ayn al-Karsh and al-Marja were occupied by soldiers, some of whom desecrated places of Feasts-Prayers and used them as stables for their animals. Others turned the 'Adhrāwiyyah School into a shed for sheep.⁵⁶

Sultan Selīm was eager to gain the loyalty of the Arab Bedouin tribes and to occupy the various cities in Palestine before the Mamlūks could re-organise themselves for attack. Nāsir's influential status among the Arab Bedouin

= previously as Sultan Selīm visited him. When he died in 923/1517 he was buried near the tomb of Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Arabī (d.638/1240). He was renowned for his piety and devotion. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.36. Aḥmad b. Mustafa b. Khalīl better known as Tāshkōprūzade (d.968/1560) al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-Dawlah al-'Othmāniyya (edited at the margin of Wafayat al-'A'yān, 2 vols., Cairo, 1882), vol.i, pp.550-3. Shorter title is Tāshkōprūzade, Shaqā'iq. Ghazzi, Kawakib, vol.i, pp.89-90.

53. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.36.

54. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.34.

55. For the history of this school, see Nu'aymī, al-Dāris, vol.i, p.606, passim.

56. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.35, for the history of this school see Nu'aymī, al-Dāris, vol.i, pp.373-4.

chieftains was the probable reason why the Sultan reinstated him as the muqaddam of al-Biqā', also giving him charge of the governments of Sidon and Bayrūt. In addition he gave Nāṣir the village of Nawā in Ḥawrān as a private iqjā' provided he would guarantee the loyalty of the Arab Bedouin tribes.⁵⁷

B. Selīm's Expeditions from Damascus

On the 17th Ramaḍān/14th October, a punitive expedition of about 4,000 soldiers, led by Yūnus Pāsha was sent against the no less important Muḥammad b. Sā'id al-Ghazzāwī,⁵⁸ the local Arab Bedouin chieftain of the district of 'Ajlūn. Sources give no information about the success or failure of this expedition. Ibn Tūlūn says that Sultan Selīm imprisoned Yūnus al-'Ādilī who had accompanied Yūnus Pāsha when he returned to Damascus because

57. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.32.

58. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abū Sayf Mudallal known as Ibn Sā'id al-Ghazzāwī was the local chieftain in the district of 'Ajlūn. His relation with the Mamlūks was not cordial. Two expeditions were sent against him in 904/1498, and 915/1509, during which much of his land and property were devastated. In 917/1511, accompanied by the famous Sufi Sage Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Ṣamādī (d.948/1541) at the head of his followers who were beating their drums, Nāṣir entered into Damascus where he was well received by the governor. Nāṣir presented him with several horses. When he went to the Umāyyad Mosque to perform the Friday prayers, such was his popularity, people gathered everywhere to see him, and to beg God to protect him. There was great rejoicing when peace was concluded between Nāṣir and the governor and the safety of pilgrims was assured. Ibn Iyās considers the submission of Ibn Sā'id when he went to visit Cairo to be a lucky sign for Sultan Qānsūh al-Ghawrī. Members of his family continued to enjoy an influential position right to the end of the sixteenth century. Ibn Tūlūn, I'lām, pp.90, 194, 196-8. Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.335, 343, 355, 360, 362, 365, vol.ii, pp. 36, 38. Ibn Iyās, Badā'i', vol.iv, p.246. Ibn Ayyūb Rawd, fols. 212b-213a. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), Tatajīm al-a'yān min abnā' al-zamān, 2 vols. - in progress, edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus, 1959-1963), vol.i, pp.186-7. Shorter title, Būrīnī, Tarājim.

he failed to report that Abd al-Karīm b. al-Jī'an, an official of the Mamlūk chancery, was hiding in Damascus.⁵⁹

On Thursday, 11th Shawwāl 922/7th November 1516, Selīm launched his first expedition against the Palestinian Cities. By the prevention of Mamlūk occupation the pilgrimage and the kiswa, which he was eager to send in order to enhance his prestige,⁶⁰ would be assured of a free passage. There is little information recorded concerning the progress made by the expedition but it would appear to have been slow.⁶¹ A reinforcement was sent from Damascus on Monday 6th Dhu'l Qa'da 922/1st December 1516, led by the Grand Vizier Sinān Pāsha. After ten days, Sultan Selīm received the news that his army had taken Jerusalem and Gaza. As a token of thanksgiving, Selīm visited the tomb of Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Arabī (d.638/1240) and most of the cemeteries in Damascus, giving alms on his way.⁶² Sinān Pāsha who carried a letter to Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī was met by a Mamlūk army at al-Sharī'a near Gaza, led by al-Ghazālī himself who was defeated after a skirmish.⁶³ Khayrībāy and Muḥammad b. Qurqmas realised the specially

59. 'Abd al-Karīm was working in the treasury department. He fell prisoner after the battle of Marj Dābiq. On Friday, 26th Shawwāl 922/23rd November, 1522, he arrived at Cairo in a bad state. Ibn Iyās, Badā'i' vol.v, pp.43, 77, 116. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.38.

60. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.38. It might be worth mentioning that when Tūmānbāy heard that Selīm was going to send kiswa to al-Ka'ba, he sent kiswa and money to the people in Mecca and Medina via the Red Sea since there was no caravan of pilgrims that year. Ibn Iyās, Badā'i', vol.v, p.115.

61. The Ottoman campaign was led by Iskandar Pāsha and Dā'ū' Pāsha, they occupied Gaza after its governor had been forced to leave the city. Tūmānbāy intended to lead the Mamlūks to recapture Gaza. Ibn Iyās, Badā'i', vol.v, pp.119-120. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.39.

62. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.40.

63. Sharī'a is located by Ibn Tūlūn as being near Gaza. Ibn Zunbul agrees with him but Ibn Iyās mentions it as being near Baysān. Perhaps Ibn Iyās was confused between the name of this place, which is about thirteen miles to the east of Gaza, and the name al=

important status of al-Ghazālī among the Mamlūks in Egypt and persuaded Selīm to send a letter to induce him to join the Ottomans. In his communication, Selīm reminded al-Ghazālī that several letters had been sent to him either by himself or from officials of his court but no reply had been received. He assured al-Ghazālī in the name of God, the Prophet and his ancestors that all courtesy would be extended to him and to any of his followers who would join him against the Mamlūks. He made it clear, however, that he should not miss this last opportunity for reconciliation.⁶⁴ It is not known whether this letter reached al-Ghazālī. It is, however, known that the Ottoman occupation of the hinterland and the coastal cities in Syria was accomplished with little bloodshed. Later, there were massacres in Şafad, Ramlah and Gaza. An Ottoman defeat near Gaza was rumoured in these cities; and in Şafad, whose people had surrendered their keys to Selīm, people began to attack the Ottomans who shut themselves into the fortification of the citadel. A great massacre resulted, and even greater slaughter occurred in Ramla. Ibn Zunbul who afterwards visited it, depicts it as derelict. He was told that Arab Bedouins from outside the city had poured into it to fight the Ottomans. He was further informed that the population had deserted it upon the arrival of an Ottoman force. Ibn Zunbul adds that later, Sultan Selīm sent an army against the people of Ramla; those who had remained in the city were taken to Gaza and there

= al-Sharīf a usually given to the River Jordan. Ibn Tūlūn, *I' lām*, p.221. *Mufākahat*, vol.ii, pp.44-5. Ibn Iyās, *Bada' i'*, vol.v, pp.128-9. Ibn Zunbul, *Tarīkh*, MS. No:44, vol.i, p.129. *Palestine and Transjordan* (Geographical Handbook Series, published by Naval Intelligence Division, London, 1943), p.384.

64. Jalālzāde, Muṣṭafā, known as Nishānjī (d.975/1567), *Ma' āsir-i Selīm Khān*, MS. BM. Add.7848, fols.189a-190a,b.

65. Ibn Tūlūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.ii, pp.33-41. Ibn Kannān, *Hadā' iq*, p.290. al-Ghazzī says that Yūsuf b. Yūnus b. Yūsuf al-Munqār (d.943/1526) was appointed a judge in Şafad (date unspecified). The city had been destroyed so he certainly did not go there. Probably destruction was due to the above mentioned fighting. Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, vol.ii, p.262.

set free.⁶⁶ About one thousand of the people of Gaza were put to death by order of Sinān Pāsha in reprisal for their rebellion against the Ottomans. Four hundred Ottomans had been slaughtered by them when the false rumour of the Ottoman rout by al-Ghazālī reached them. Sinān Pāsha's soldiers in addition searched houses for stolen Ottoman belongings and afterwards many of them were burnt.⁶⁷

A similar situation could well have arisen between the Damascenes and the Ottoman garrison when rumours reached Damascus that the Mamlūks had defeated the Sultan's army. On the 22nd Muḥarram 923/14th February 1917, the zu'ar in Damascus began to attack Ottoman supporters and turned their attacks against the Ottomans who fortified themselves in the citadel. The zu'ar appear to have controlled most of the city for five days until the governor, on the 27th, paraded his forces in an effort to frighten them and impress the people.⁶⁸ Fortunately for the governor, two letters arrived at Damascus: one from Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥanash and the second from the Bedouin chieftain of Marj Banū 'Āmir Ṭarabāy b. Qarāja.⁶⁹ They brought news of Selīm's victory. Ṭarabāy and Nāṣir received orders from Selīm to arrest Mamlūks fleeing from Egypt who might pass their region. He commanded both of them to return senior officers to Cairo and to execute ordinary

66. Ibn Zābul, Tārīkh, MS. No:44, pp.134-8. Ferīdūn bey, Munsha'āt, vol.i, p.452.

67. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, p.132.

68. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.42. I'lām, p.221.

69. Ṭarabāy b. Qarāja was appointed by the Mamlūks in 885/1480 to succeed his slain father as chieftain of the region of Marj Banū 'Āmir. After the defeat of the Mamlūks in Marj Dābiq, Ṭarabāy allied himself with the Ottomans who confirmed his position. His prerogatives in 945/1538 included supervision over al-Ghawr in 'Ajlūn district, Banū Kināna, Banū 'Ātika and Banū Jāhma. When Sultan Selīm left Damascus he was among the people who came to bid him farewell. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.22, vol.ii, p.82, T.D. No:192, pp.1, 11, 39, 44-7, 95-6, Topkapı Saray Arşivi, Document No:6341.

soldiers.⁷⁰ Sultan Selīm also sent a communication to the governor, by four couriers, which arrived on Friday, 6th Şafar 923/28th February 1517, with the news of his victory. He gave details of the fighting against the Mamlūks near Gaza and of their final defeat in Raydāniyya. The governor was instructed to fire a salute from the citadel to announce news of the victory and to allow everyone to join in the celebrations.⁷¹ These lasted for seven days and were, in some cases, an excuse for mischief.⁷²

The resulting disorder presented an opportunity to the governor to challenge the power of the zu'ar. On the night of 20th Şafar/14th March, he imposed a curfew and on the morning of the 21st every one was commanded to assemble. At that meeting the names of all zu'ar and their guardians (waman tadarakahū) were noted.⁷³ Poles were erected in every quarter of the city on which to impale thieves,⁷⁴ and an example was made of one thief from the village of Mannīn. The governor emphasised his action by impaling the most notorious thief by the name of Zughayb in the Mazābil Quarter.⁷⁵ His authority was now well established and on the 18th Ramaḍan 923/5th October 1517, he caused town criers to order roads and quarters to be cleared, especially that of al-Marja, where the Sultan would camp.⁷⁶

70. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.43. I'lām, pp.221-2. Topkapı Saray Arşivi, Document No:6341.

71. For the text of the letter see Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.44-7.

72. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.44, 58. I'lām, p.222.

73. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.58.

74. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.62.

75. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.62.

76. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.67. I'lām, p.223.

C. Selīm's Return to Damascus

The next morning Selīm arrived in great pomp. His soldiers were billeted on the houses and many people suffered as a result. Those soldiers who were unable to find billets camped in the orchards outside Damascus. One immediate result of this was a rise in prices.⁷⁷

On Saturday, 24th Ramaḍān 923/11th October 1517, the Sultan held his dīwān and made the decision to spend the winter in Damascus.⁷⁸

On the recommendation of his imām, Ḥalīm Chalabī (d.923/1517), probably during his dīwān, Selīm gave orders to build a mosque over the tomb of Muḥyī al-Dīn b. 'Arabī.⁷⁹ It would seem that he was eager to see the mosque completed before leaving Damascus. Perhaps to accelerate the progress of the work, an Ottoman supervisor was appointed and ten thousand dīnārs were placed at his disposal. The Sultan himself approved the design and then ordered its enlargement and also gave orders to build a convent (takiyya) for sufis to the north of the mosque. Columns were carried from the Vice-regal Palace (Dār al-Sa'āda) to the mosque. The expenses of maintenance and upkeep of both mosque and convent were endowed by the revenue from several villages. On Friday, 24th Muḥarram 924/5th February 1518, the Sultan, escorted by his senior amīrs and the learned men, performed in it the mid-day prayers. On that occasion, shops were closed and largesse distributed.⁸⁰

77. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.67-8. I'lām, pp.223-4.

78. Ferīdūn Bey, Munsha'āt, vol.i, p.455.

79. On the same day the dīwān was held, Walī al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr went with Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-'Attār and designed a mosque to be built over the tomb of Ibn 'Arabī. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.68.

80. Ibn Ṭūlūn gives detailed information of design and structure, of both the mosque and convent, and also the amount of food to be served every day. Qalā'id, vol.i, pp.63-6. Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.68-70, 72-3, 75, 79-80. I'lām, pp.224-7. al-Fulūk, p.23. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.210. Concerning revenue from villages assigned to the mosque and convent see T.D.No:602, (year 990/1582), p.161.

Three days after its completion, Selīm left Damascus.⁸¹

During his stay in Damascus, Sultan Selīm was eager to expedite the caravan of the pilgrims to Mecca and Medina. The caravan was delayed by the mustering of Arab Bedouin tribes in the region of Ḥawrān. Fearing that they would block roads and perhaps attack the pilgrims, Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī was sent to prevent such an occurrence on the 28th Ramaḍān 923/14th October 1517. Added to this, Muḥammad b. Sā'id who resided in the area reported that the tribes were fighting amongst themselves and that the pool of al-Ukhaydir⁸² on the way to Mecca had not been filled with water that year.⁸³ Unfortunately there is no information concerning the success of the expedition.

D. Selīm's Relationship with Local Chieftains

The dismissal of Nāsir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥanash by Sultan Selīm for sheltering refugee Mamlūks increased the tension in Ḥawrān, al-Biqā', Sidon and Bayrūt. Nāsir wrote several letters to Sultan Selīm before he was finally dismissed. He implored Selīm not to listen to any false charges which his detractors might make against him. Yet another letter, written in Syrian Arabic dialect to the Sultan was sent after he had actually been dismissed. He expressed his astonishment at the measures taken by the Sultan. He pointed out

81. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.81-2. I'lām, pp.227-8.

82. For the description of the pool in this station, and number of soldiers who were drawn from the Janissaries of Damascus to man its citadel, see Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khayārī al-Madanī (d.1083/1672), Tuḥfat al-udabā' wa salwat al-ghurabā', vol.i, (edited by Raja' Samarrā'ī, Baḡhdād, 1969), pp.50-3. Shorter title Khayārī, Tuḥfat.

83. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.66, 69, 71. I'lām, p.225. Ferīdūn Bey, Munsha'āt, vol.i, p.455.

that he had faithfully served him. Nāṣir added that, when the Sultan returned from Egypt, a decree of reaffirmation was sent to him. He had immediately sent his son to the Sultan who had treated him with kindness and conferred an honour upon him. He, himself, remained faithful to the Sultan in spite of dismissal and had sent some of his men to hand over Sidon to al-Ghazālī in obedience to his command. The latter had been sent to seize it for Muḥammad b. Qorqmās who was appointed to replace Nāṣir. By this action, Nāṣir cleverly disassociated himself from any future troubles which might be attributed to him. He appealed to the Sultan to desire al-Ghazālī to treat his people well and to spare damage to his cultivated land since he had no other source of income. He begged to be allowed to remain in his land. To him it would be unthinkable to seek refuge under any other shaykh or ruler.⁸⁴ It would seem that Selīm ignored Nāṣir's appeal and Nāṣir fled to al-Jawlān. The Sultan pursued him but failed to capture him and returned to Damascus.⁸⁵

Contemporary sources provide no information concerning Selīm's relations with the chieftains in Mount Lebanon. According to the Maronite historian, Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704), Sultan Selīm, after conquering Syria and Egypt, summoned the local chieftains from the Lebanese Mountains to Damascus in order to maintain law and order. Amīr Qorqmās b. Yūnus b. Ma'n, Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn al-Yamanī, and Amīr 'Assāf, obeyed the Sultan's command.

84. For the Turkish summary of Nāṣir's letters see Topkapi Saray Arşivi, Document No:6341. The number of the still extant Arabic letter is 10734. It is noticeable that its tone is not submissive.

85. For the background of the Ḥanash family see Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.212, 214, 224, 245, 274, 276-8, 292, 304, 305. vol.ii, pp.59, 62, 78-9, 82-3. I'lām, pp.101, 161, 162-3, 167, 183, 198-9, 226. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.205-6. Ibn Zunbul, Tārīkh, MS. No:44, vol.i, pp.108-9.

Qorqmās was appointed as the amīr of al-Shūf, Jamāl al-Dīn as the amīr of al-Gharb and ‘Assaf was made amīr of Kisrawān and Jubayl. They were instructed by the Sultan to improve their lands. Later, Lebanese historians such as Amīr Ḥaydar Aḥmad al-Shihābī (d.1835) and Ṭannūs Shidyāq (d.1861) claimed that a certain Fakhr al-Dīn al-Mʿanī headed the Lebanese chieftains' delegation. There Farkh al-Dīn delivered an eloquent address which impressed the Sultan who bestowed the title of Sulṭān al-barr (Sultan of the Countryside) upon him.⁸⁷ An event of such importance could not have escaped the notice of the Drūze historian Aḥmad b. Sibāt al-ʿĀlīhī (d.927/1520) who grew up among the Maʿnids. According to Ibn Sibāt, Fakhr al-Dīn was arrested in Damascus in 911/1505 and died in the following year. Duwayhī confirms this statement,⁸⁸ which invalidates the assertions of al-Shihābī and al-Shidyāq. Qorqmās died when hiding in a cave in 992/1584 during an Ottoman attack on al-Shūf after the tribute of Egypt had been sacked in the vicinity of the Bay of ʿAkkār.⁸⁹

If Duwayhi's version is to be considered, Qorqmās must have been a young lad when he went to Damascus in obedience to Sultan Selīm. It is strange

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86. Duwayhī, Istifān, Tārīkh al-azmina, (edited by Ferdinand Taoual, Bayrūt, 1950), p.236. Tārīkh al-ʿĀʿifāh al-Mārūniyya (edited by Rashid al-Shartūnī, Bayrūt, 1890), pp.152-3. Shorter title Tārīkh al-ʿĀʿifāh.
87. al-Shihābī, Ḥaydar Aḥmad, al-Ghurar al-ḥisān fī tawārīkh ḥawādīth al-azmān (edited by Naʿūm Mughabghab, Cairo, 1900), pp.559-61. Shorter title al-Ghurar al-ḥisān. al-Shidyāq, Ṭannūs, Akhbar al-aʿyān fī Jabal Lubnān, (edited by Buḥros Bustānī, Bayrūt, 1859), p.251. Shorter title Akhbar. Salibi, Kamāl "Fakhr al-Dīn", E.1.2 vol.ii, p. 749, he accepts their version.
88. Ibn Sibāt, Aḥmad, Tārīkh Ibn Sibāt, vol.ii, MS. (at the library of the American University of Bayrūt), No. MS.956.9.113, fol.421a. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.226. Tārīkh al-ʿĀʿifāh, p.145.
89. al-Būrīnī, Ḥasan (d.1024/1615), Tarājim, vol.i, pp.213-4. al-Shihābī, al-Ghurar al-ḥisān, pp.618-9. al-Shidyāq, Akhbar, pp.81, 251-2.

that contemporary sources do not refer either to this journey or to his long chieftainship. Even the Maʿnid's court historian the Ḥanafī Aḥmad al-Khālīdī al-Ṣafadī (d.1034/1624) does not mention that he was permitted audience with Sultan Selīm.⁹⁰ Al-Duwayhī's version of the affair is, therefore, open to suspicion of exaggeration.

II. Selīm appoints al-Ghazālī as Governor of Damascus

While Sultan Selīm was camping at al-Maṣṭaba, on his return to Istanbul, on Tuesday, Ṣafar 5th 924/16th February 1518, he chose to confer the governorship of al-Shām on Jānbirdī b. ʿAbdullah al-Ghazālī, an experienced Mamlūk.⁹¹

90. al-Khālīdī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Lubnān fī ʿahd al-Amīr Faḫr al-Dīn al-Maʿnī al-Jhānī*, (edited by Asad Rustum and Fuad Bustanī, 2nd print Bayrūt, 1969).

91. Jānbirdī b. ʿAbdullah al-Charkasī was purchased during the reign of Sultan Qāʾitbāy. He started his career among the private Mamlūks of the Sultan. He was first appointed as *shād*, (superintendent), of the village of Minyat Ghazāl with an area of 1081 *faddān*, and a revenue of six thousand *dīnārs*. From this village he derived his *nisba* (surname). He was promoted later to be *shād* of the province of al-Sharqiyya. Probably during his term of office, he acquainted himself with local Bedouin chieftains among whom was Aḥmad b. Baqar who, later, supported al-Ghazālī in his rebellion against the Ottomans. In 906/1500 he was appointed as *muhtasib* (market inspector) in Cairo for three months, after which he was transferred to Aleppo to work in the office of *hujūbiyya* (chamberlain), where he served until 911/1505 when he became chamberlain of Damascus. In addition to being chamberlain, he was appointed in 915/1509 as governor of Jerusalem and Karak-Shawbak. Two years later he became governor of Ṣafad for one year during which he had a serious misunderstanding with Sībāy, the governor of Damascus. Sultan Qānsūh's intervention reconciled them. From Ṣafad he was transferred to Ḥama where he governed until the defeat of the Mamlūks. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, vol. iv, pp. 6, 18, 23, 217, 267, vol. v, pp. 383-4. Ibn Tūlūn, *Mufākahat*, vol. i, pp. 293, 333, 353, 355, vol. ii, pp. 20, 82. *Iʿlām*, pp. 178, 183, 197, 228. Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā b. al-Makār* (d. 885/1480) *Kitāb al-tuḥfa al-saniyya bi asmāʾ al-Billād al-Miṣriyya*, (edited by B. Moritz, Cairo, 1898), p. 97. Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, vol. i, p. 198. P.M. Holt "al-Ghazālī", *E.I.* 2. vol. ii, p. 1042.

As chamberlain (ḥājib) of Damascus he endeavoured to maintain justice. Ibn Ṭūlūn reports that in 911/1505 he reproved the Governor for supporting zu'ar oppression. He used his influence to abolish the tax imposed on every animal slaughtered in the slaughter-house; he also co-operated with the governor to clear and close all public drinking houses which were a menace to law and order and against religion. No one was allowed to carry a knife and this measure checked the zu'ar. Such measures were greatly appreciated by the Damascenes and caused al-Ghazālī to be held in esteem.⁹²

Under the Ottomans, al-Ghazālī used every opportunity to gain the respect of the Damascenes. The practice of beating the drum thrice nightly, which roused Damascenes to prayer, was again restored and much appreciated.⁹³ He attended religious events, for example the tarāwīḥ and also the Prophet's birthday celebrations.⁹⁴ He facilitated the departure and guaranteed the safety of the pilgrims' caravan and made a special point of joining the procession preceding the departure.⁹⁵ Furthermore, in 924/1518, he himself met the pilgrims on their return. His action was justified as in this year the caravan was attacked by Jughaymān tribes which the escorting infantry was able to repulse.⁹⁶

92. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. i, pp. 295, 311, 314. I'lām, pp. 179-80, 185-6.

93. The three drums of the citadel were beaten three times nightly, the first time once, the second twice and the third, three times, to wake the populace to attend dawn prayers. The custom was established by Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī when his wife, 'Iṣmat al-Dīn Khātūn (d. 581/1185), overslept one night and failed to wake in time. Sūltan Selīm deemed it a Mamlūk custom and cancelled it. Badrī, Nuzhat, pp. 63-4. Nu'aymī, al-Dāris, vol. i, p. 510. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalā'id, vol. i, pp. 59-60.

94. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. ii, pp. 86-7, 101.

95. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. ii, p. 86.

96. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. ii, pp. 97-90. I'lām, p. 229. The editors read Jughaymān as al-Dughaym.

The precautions he took in 925/1519 were no less than those taken in the preceding year. On Shā'abān 19th 925/16th August 1519, before the departure of the caravan, al-Ghazālī hastened to Ḥawrān to arrest the Bedouin chieftain, Jughaymān, whom he anticipated to be a threat to the pilgrims. When he failed to arrest Jughaymān he instructed the caravan to go by the Damascus-Gaza route in order to avoid a possible clash with Jughaymān.⁹⁷ In the meantime, he went as far as Ma'ān where he took Jughaymān by surprise. Jughaymān escaped but his relative Duway'ir (Zuway'ir?) together with eleven other men were captured. They were taken to Damascus as prisoners, and but for the respect in which their governor was held, the mob would have stoned them.⁹⁸ Through the mediation of Aḥmad b. Qāsīm b. Baqar, known as Abu al-Shawārib (d.928/1521) they were released on Saturday 15th Ṣafar 926/16th February 1519, just one day after being taken to Damascus.⁹⁹ On Sunday, 21st Rabī' I, 926/2nd March 1520, Jughaymān's son arrived at Damascus as an envoy and for a short time there was peace between them.¹⁰⁰ News of more

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97. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.230, for routes between Damascus and Gaza, and names of the various stations, see Popper, William, Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382-1460 A.D.; Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt, (2 vols., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955-1957), vol.i, p.48. Shorter title, Popper, Egypt and Syria.
98. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.90-1. I'lām, pp.229-30. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, p.293.
99. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.97. He mentions that Jughaymān was released but as he was never arrested, it is probable that his relative is meant in this connection.
100. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.104.

fighting reached Damascus on Monday, 25th Rabi' II, 926/15th April 1520. In order to lessen Jughaymān's power, al-Ghazālī supported his rival Mulhīm. Their forces together moved against Jughaymān who defeated them, and on Tuesday 13th Jumādā I, 926/2nd May 1520, al-Ghazālī himself, at the head of a punitive force, went to fight Jughaymān. The result of this expedition is not known but it would appear to have been successful. On 25th Jumādā I/14th May, al-Ghazālī was in Damascus where he was received with great pomp.¹⁰¹ The traditional route to Mecca and Medina was apparently safe for on Saturday 17th Shawwāl 926/21 September 1520, the largest pilgrim caravan for seventy years set out for the Holy Places. The greatness of al-Ghazālī's achievements is reflected by the knowledge that Jughaymān's son was among those who patrolled the route to add to its safety. There was now a peaceful situation and Mulhīm was arrested and jailed in Damascus.¹⁰²

In addition to his ability to subdue and control the various tribes which threatened the pilgrim route, al-Ghazālī was able to discipline Tūba the muqaddam of Nāblūs. After Tūba was dismissed, he rose against al-Ghazālī's officials and among others he killed Muḥammad b. Bulaybil al-Jalūlī the son of the nāzir al-jaysh. al-Ghazālī despatched an army immediately which was instructed to kill the dignitaries of Nāblūs and anyone else who had been connected in any way with the rebellion.¹⁰³ Little is recorded in available sources concerning the achievements of this campaign. Ibn Ṭūlūn, however, relates that on Monday, 5th Shawwāl 926/9th September 1520, Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, son of the Shaykh of Nāblūs, together with the son of Ibn Sā'id and his grandson, were hanged.¹⁰⁴ No further confrontation is reported and

101. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.104, 106.

102. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.121-2.

103. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.119.

104. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.121.

friendly relations appear to have existed between al-Ghazālī and the tribes. In confirmation of this, when al-Ghazālī's dawādār Aslān (d.927/1521) returned from the countryside he was accompanied by Bedouin chieftains bearing many gifts for his master.¹⁰⁵

A. al-Ghazālī's Policy in Damascus

al-Ghazālī's policy aimed at maintaining law and order while keeping cordial relations with the Damascenes. He skillfully avoided a clash with the zu'ar and seems to have relied on persuasion and appeasement rather than enforcement. Several small incidents confirm this view. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn two of the zu'ar came to him in 926/1519, to seek pardon through the mediation of personnel in his retinue; they remained free and unquestioned.¹⁰⁶ On Monday, 19th Jumādā I, 926/18th May 1520, while al-Ghazālī was absent from Damascus, Aḥmad b. Qub'ayya, one of the zu'ar, celebrated the circumcision of his son. He invited several youths from the suburbs and villages to share the celebrations. They arrived armed and assembled in al-Ṣālihiyya quarter. Possibly inspired by al-Ghazālī's methods, the officials allowed them to form a procession, even lending seven decorated horses for the purpose. It moved peacefully through many parts of the city until it reached the Yamānī quarter where fighting was imminent because the procession mainly comprised Qaysī followers. The governor's deputy was, however, on the alert and managed to avert a crisis.¹⁰⁷ Except for one instance, incited by al-Ghazālī himself, the zu'ar neither theived

105. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.84.

106. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.101.

107. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.105.

nor murdered during his governorship.¹⁰⁸ He took no measures against any of the city's communities except that on Sunday, 16th Şafar 926/8th February 1520, he attacked the Kurdish community which was described as foreign to the city and a hotbed of thieves.¹⁰⁹ This incident emphasises al-Ghazālī's desire to maintain law and order.

While he was maintaining good relations with Sultan Selīm, his policy towards the officials working in the government departments in Damascus was directed towards the elimination of recently introduced Ottoman procedures. He endeavoured to curb the power of the Ottomans and their sympathisers among the administration. al-Ghazālī first came into conflict with Ḥasan bey, an Ottoman who had been given eighteen villages belonging to the deceased Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥanash as an *iqṭāʿ*. The annual revenue derived from them was ten thousand gold pieces. Ḥasan bey wrote to Istanbul accusing al-Ghazālī of supporting mischievous people in the region of al-Biqāʿ.¹¹⁰ al-Ghazālī despatched his *dawādār*, Qānim, with a gift of horses to Sultan Selīm and a letter of complaint against the behaviour of Ḥasan bey.¹¹¹ The Sultan sent Sinān, a

108. In Muḥarram 926/February 1516, a Jew journeying from Egypt was found killed. Some villagers of Dārawayā and Maṣīdal-Ḥadam were found to be responsible. When theft increased in al-Ṣālihiyya al-Ghazālī intended to reside there as a deterrent. Later, he found that the thieves came from neighbouring villages, and he arrested and jailed the *muqaddams* for harbouring them. When Ibn al-Fillī, prefect (*ʿarīf*) of the eastern quarter in al-Ṣālihiyya, was found killed, it was discovered that a man from Ḥama was guilty and he was put to death. Only in one case, when *zuʿar* were responsible, al-Ghazālī himself incited them to kill Ibn Qudaydir, Bab al-Jābiya Shaykh, in Muḥarram 926. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.ii, pp.91, 98-9, 101, 103.

109. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.ii, p.97.

110. Tokpaki Saray Arşivi, *Document No:8120*.

111. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Mufākahat*, vol.ii, p.93.

member of the muteferrika, to investigate the case. Sinan found al-Ghazālī free from all the charges which had been levied against him. al-Ghazālī took advantage of the opportunity and again wrote to Selīm. He suggested that the Sultan should add some of Ḥasan bey's villages to his own khāṣṣ and the rest to the land under al-Ghazālī's own supervision. He felt that the presence of Ḥasan bey in al-Biqā' would be a strain on the people.¹¹² The Sultan dismissed Ḥasan bey and appointed Yūsuf Sinān al-Rūmī to replace him.¹¹³

There were a number of cases when al-Ghazālī plotted against people working under him in the government of Damascus. One of his victims was Abū al-Fatīḥ b. Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Makkī the mutawallī (supervisor) of Selīm's convent in Damascus. On the recommendation of al-Ghazālī he was slain in al-Biqā' at the beginning of Muḥarram 926/ca. 24th December 1519. al-Ghazālī may have wanted to seize his wealth because on 16th Ṣafar 926/4th February 1520, he ordered the deceased's belongings to be confiscated and sold.¹¹⁴ The historian Ibn Ṭūlūn states explicitly that Sayyid Aḥmad al-Jurayhī, the supervisor of al-Ghazālī's khāṣṣ, was suffocated on Tuesday, 11th Ṣafar 926/30th January 1520, by orders of al-Ghazālī himself because he was pro-Ottoman. al-Ghazālī may have done that to ally himself more with the population (nās)

113. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.92-3. Yūsuf arrived at Damascus on Tuesday 26th Muḥarram 926, which indicates that the dispute between al-Ghazālī and Ḥasan was during 925/1519.

114. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.91, 97. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.163. It may have been that al-Ghazālī secretly wanted to gain the alliance of the "mischievous people" who, Ibn Ṭūlūn says were happy when he died.

because Ibn Ṭūlūn adds that due to this everyone was grateful for the release from his mischievous behaviour.¹¹⁵ al-Ghazālī used assassination alike against his subordinates, or potential foes. On Thursday, 22nd Jumādā II, 926/10th June 1520, he arrested al-Ja'barī the dragoman of the Franks, in Damascus, together with al-Ja'barī's second son, both of whom were jailed. He was accused of bringing Muslim women to the Franks and he was charged before al-Ghazālī. Although he is described as one of al-Ghazālī's closest friends, his property was confiscated. Five thousand dīnārs were offered to al-Ghazālī who thereupon set him free.¹¹⁶ Later, Sayyid 'Alī b. al-Sayyid 'Umar al-Fayqī, the Sultan's delegate, came to Damascus in Ramaḍān 926/August 1520, to replace Mamlūk currency by Ottoman. al-Ja'barī begged Sayyid 'Alī to persuade al-Ghazālī to return some of the money he had paid in order to free himself. al-Ghazālī, however, produced evidence that al-Ja'barī had provided Shāh Ismā'īl with weapons.¹¹⁷ Ibn Ṭūlūn believed that the accusations were unfounded, but nevertheless al-Ja'barī was strangled on Friday, 25th Ramaḍān 926/24th August, 1520. It may have been that al-Ja'barī had become aware of secret contacts made by al-Ghazālī with the Franks or possibly with Shāh Ismā'īl himself because a document retained at Topkapı Saray Arşivi contains an undated report of an embassy sent by al-Ghazālī to Shāh Ismā'īl to suggest a mutual alliance against the Ottomans.¹¹⁸

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115. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.96.
 116. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.111.
 117. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.120.
 118. Topkapı Saray Arşivi, Document No:5469.

Other victims of al-Ghazālī were Zayn al-Dīn b. al-‘Allāq, the former Marj mutakallim (local chief), and ‘Isā b. al-Ṭawīl, the Shaykh of the village of Ghuzlāniyya. Zayn al-Dīn fled from Marj to Ḥama where Sultan Selīm granted him an iqṭā‘. It would seem that Zayn was not on good terms with al-Ghazālī who was suspected of sending Ibn Maqdūh al-Kurdī, who was amīr of Marj at that time, to kill Zayn.¹¹⁹ On Saturday, 15th Rajab/2nd July al-Ghazālī strangled ‘Isā b. al-Ṭawīl, who was reported to be a supporter of Zayn.¹²⁰

Fearing assassination, the Ḥanafī judge in Damascus, Walī al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr (d.937/1530) fled to Aleppo, leaving Damascus on Thursday, 14th Muharram 926/5th January 1520, while al-Ghazālī was in Ḥawran waiting for the return of the pilgrims.¹²¹ The cause of his fear was a letter he had sent to the Sultan which complained of al-Ghazālī's behaviour. His messenger had been arrested and the letter confiscated and sent to the governor.¹²² Ibn Iyās, writing from Cairo, believed that Ibn al-Farfūr intended to inform the Sultan of al-Ghazālī's intended rebellion and of the Mamūlūks assembling in Damascus.¹²³

Both men had a different concept of court administration. al-Ghazālī advocated Mamlūk procedure which precluded fees and was popular among the people, and incidentally enhanced his own popularity. Ibn al-Farfūr advocated

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119. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.113.
 120. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.114.
 121. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.92-5.
 122. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.94-5.
 123. Ibn Iyās, Bada' i', vol.v, pp.319, 338-9.

Ottoman procedure, and this was a source of friction between them.¹²⁴

al-Ghazālī endeavoured to make a reconciliation with Ibn al-Farfūr while he was in Aleppo, but failed to do so.¹²⁵ He did not return to Damascus until the Ottoman army marched against it to quell the rebellion led by al-Ghazālī after the death of Selīm. It is noteworthy that after Ibn al-Farfūr's flight to Aleppo, al-Ghazālī ordered that no letter should leave Damascus until it had been approved by the rayyis al-su'āt (head courier). Many people suffered from this prohibition.¹²⁶

al-Ghazālī, in his relatively short period of government, paid great attention to the repair of government buildings as well as to mosques, schools and canals. It is noticeable that on his return to Damascus after the Sultan's departure he ordered the restoration of the Viceregal Palace (Dār al-Sa'āda) together with its stable. The work was carried out promptly.¹²⁷ In addition, he build six watch-towers (sing. bawwāba) which had loop-holes, in as many quarters of Damascus. He intended to erect other watch-towers in the wilderness from which to control the activities of thieves.¹²⁸

On Wednesday 10th Ramadān 924/15th September 1518, al-Ghazālī received an appointment as nāzir (supervisor) of the Umayyad Mosque to which he

124. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.169.

125. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.102.

126. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.100.

127. Dar al-Sa'āda was at N.W. corner of Damascus and had elaborate stables. Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.i, p.38. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.83. I'lām, p.228.

128. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.100. See also Creswell, K.A.C., "Bab-fortification", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.830-2.

devoted great attention.¹²⁹ He changed its floor; its marble was checked both inside and outside and damages were repaired. Columns and gates were scraped; some were re-painted and others ornamented with gold. Its revolting and verminous mats were replaced. Bannisters and windows were also either refixed and painted or replaced. The cleaning and repairing process cost about eighty thousand dīnārs.¹³⁰ He showed great interest in repairing schools. When people who lived near the Mankilāniyya School complained that the structure was merely a derelict shelter for wild dogs, al-Ghazālī was furious with the nāzir (supervisor), Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-Khayḍarī who was stealing its endowments and revenue. He gave orders to strangle him but he repealed the sentence thanks to the mediation of others, and finally released him.¹³¹ His treatment of Muḥibb al-Dīn b. Manʿa, supervisor of the endowments of the cemetery of Nimsha was different. He received corporal punishment and was later released on condition that he put the cemetery in order.¹³² He dismissed the dishonest endowments supervisor of Abū ʿUmar School,¹³³ Muḥammad b. Zurayq, who had sold many of its endowments. In this connection he appointed al-Najm b. al-Matānī on the 4th Ramaḍān 926/30th August 1520. This appointment was surrounded with pomp to such an extent that when he passed through the streets of

129. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.85.

130. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.103, 110, 116-7.

131. Information in the available sources is scanty concerning this school. Today there is a mosque in Damascus called Mankilānī Mosque, probably built on the site of the school. Nuʿaymī, al-Dāris, vol.i, p.459. Badran, ʿAbd al-Qādir (d.1346/1927), Munādamat al-aṣḥāb wa musāmarat al-khayāl, (Damascus 1379/1959), p.150. Shorter title Badrān, Munādamat, Talas, Asʿad, as a supplement to Thimār al-maqāsid fī dhikr al-masājid, (Bayrut, 1943), p.256. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.113.

132. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.114.

133. For the history of Abū ʿUmar School see Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalāʾid, vol.i, pp.165-83.

Damascus and al-Ṣālihiyya, flutes were blown, drums were beaten and town criers announced the appointment, which no doubt reflects the importance al-Ghazālī attached to the post.¹³⁴ Advised by al-Ghazālī's deputy, 'Ubayd b. al-Ṭawīl the Shaykh of al-Ṣālihiyya commenced the restoration of the park of al-Rabwa which had been derelict for five years although many futile attempts had been made to reconstruct it.¹³⁵ Further, al-Ghazālī cleaned the canals of the River Yazīd and the River Thawra with the least possible discomfort to the people in Damascus.¹³⁶

B. al-Ghazālī's Rebellion and its Suppression

While in Bayrūt, al-Ghazālī received news of the sudden death of the middle-aged Sultan Selīm, and hurriedly returned to Damascus.¹³⁷ On his way he dismissed Yūsuf b. Sinān al-Rūmī, the Ottoman Supervisor of al-Biqā', and appointed Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥanash in his place.¹³⁸ On Saturday,

134. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.117. Qalā' id, vol.i, p.176.

135. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.106.

136. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.103, concerning these rivers see Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalā' id, vol.i, pp.262-5.

137. On 28th Shawwāl 926/12th October 1519 Frankish pirates attacked Bayrūt in the hope of occupying it. The Bayrūtīs defended their city and repulsed the Franks. Ibn Ṭūlūn first gave their casualties as 400. Later when the Bayrūtīs reached Damascus two days after the attack, he says that the Frankish casualties numbered five hundred and eighty six. Losses among the Bayrūtīs were first estimated at about one hundred. Later, the number was said to be only five, which appears unlikely to be correct. On Sunday, 2nd Dhul Qa'da 926/15th October 1519, al-Ghazālī left Damascus for Bayrūt to assess the value of Frankish booty and to inspect the towers and ammunition of the harbour. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p. 123. I' lām, p.231.

138. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p. 123. I' lām, p. 231.

15th Dhu'l Qa' da 926/28th October 1520, the Ottomans, following the advice of Yūsuf b. Sinān fortified themselves in the citadel after they had disconnected the bridge in front of the main gate. al-Ghazālī laid siege to the citadel with the help of shabāb (youths) from the quarters of al-Shāghūr, al-Ṣālihiyya and Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, in addition to the services of the Damascenes who were working in the citadel under the Mamlūks, which fell on Monday the 17th of the month. There were in it about 150 Ottomans among them theologians and Sufis. Only two of them lost their lives: one of whom killed his wife fearing rape and afterwards killed himself. Sixty four people were arrested and the rest were set free. Yūsuf b. Sinān and al-Qaṣṣāb Aḥmad, the governor of the citadel, were sent to Jerusalem. al-Ghazālī pillaged the Ottoman houses and shops and confiscated the pilgrims' deposits which had been left with the Ottomans in Damascus. When al-Ghazālī entered the citadel, he immediately restored the Mamlūks' mode of dress.¹³⁹

On the Tuesday following his conquest of the citadel, he despatched one of his men, Qānṣūh al-Muqarqa' to take Ḥama, which he occupied after its Ottoman governor had fled to Aleppo.¹⁴⁰ On his way to Ḥama, Qānṣūh killed the Ottoman subāshī of Ḥomṣ and entrusted the government to Ibn Ḥarfūsh.¹⁴¹ Aware of the importance of Tripoli, al-Ghazālī sent his second dawādār, Qānim, there. Its governor fled to Aleppo and Qānim annexed the city.¹⁴²

139. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.124. I'lam, p.231. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.169.

140. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.124. I'lam, pp.231-2.

141. The Ḥarfūsh was the leading Shi'a family in the region of Ba'labakk. It continued to enjoy prominence in the government till the nineteenth century. Later it was converted to Christianity. The first name of this Harfūshi was unable to be established. Saḥībī, Kamal, "Ḥarfūsh", E.I.², vol.iii, pp.205-6. See also Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lam, p.232.

142. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lam, p.232.

al-Ghazālī hurriedly began to assemble an army comprising the Mamlūks who had gathered in Damascus, Kurds and Tukomans, probably from the region of Kisrawān¹⁴³ in the Lebanon. There were Arab Bedouins from the tribes of Ibn al-Hanash in al-Biqā' from the tribes of Nāblus, from Wadī al-ʿAjam tribes under the leadership of Yūnus b. al-Qawwās¹⁴⁴ and a tribal force from the neighbourhood of Damascus under the command of a muqaddam by the name of ʿUmar b. al-ʿAzaī (al-Gharqī?)¹⁴⁵ al-Ghazālī inspected the shabāb of the Damascene quarters but their participation in the mobilized army to march against Aleppo is not confirmed in contemporary available sources. It seems that few people from Damascus joined the army although it would appear that the heads of the quarters were with al-Ghazālī.¹⁴⁶ The total force numbered about twelve thousand soldiers, five hundred of them were armed

143. For the background of ʿAssaf family in Kisrawān, see Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-ʿāʾifa, pp.124, 156. Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.238, 244. al-Shidyāq, Akhbār, pp.346-7. See also Chapter VI, pp.204-6.

144. Ibn al-Qawwās is described by Ibn Ṭūlūn, in 895/1489, as the bitter enemy of the Bedouins. His relation with the governors in Damascus was not always cordial. In 907/1501 the deputy governor attacked Ibn al-Qawwās' village, looted it, stole his camels, and sheep, and plundered his belongings. As a probable reprisal, Bedouin tribes later attacked Damascus causing Qawwas to flee to Ṣafad. Qānsūh al-Burjī, the governor of Damascus, went to al-Ṣubayba Castle near Ṣafad in an attempt to crush Ibn al-Qawwās who again fled. He offered Qānsūh money which earned forgiveness and a robe of honour. Thereafter he supported the government and was the principal Arab Bedouin chieftain who allied himself with al-Ghazālī. After the defeat of al-Ghazālī, Iyās Pāsha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, beheaded Ibn al-Qawwas in 927/1521. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.124, 244-7, 250, 264. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110b. ʿIḷām, pp.141, 142, 154, 226, 237. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.170.

145. Nothing is known of him except that al-Ghazālī summoned him, together with other muqaddams, and accused them of harbouring the thieves who raided al-Salīhiyya. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.99. The editor here read the name as al-ʿAzaī. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.170. The editor read it as al-Gharqī.

146. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.109b.

with guns; he also possessed about twenty cannon.¹⁴⁷ Probably to provide provision for his army, al-Ghazālī ordered the closure of Selīm's convent and confiscated all kinds of provisions which were stored there.¹⁴⁸ While in Damascus he sent part of his army under the command of his dawādār Aṣḥān towards Aleppo accompanied by the governors of Jerusalem and Ṣafad.¹⁴⁹ al-Ghazālī spent almost a month in Damascus and before leaving the city for Aleppo, on Wednesday, 14th Dhu' l-Hijja 926/26th November 1520, he appointed Qaḍā Bardī, his third dawādār, as deputy in his absence and Ismā'īl b. al-Akram as the citadel's governor.¹⁵⁰

When Karāja Pāsha, the Ottoman governor of Aleppo, heard news of the departure of an army from Damascus against Aleppo, he employed people to fortify the city and to brick up its gates.¹⁵¹ From Aleppo, he attacked the two villages of Sarmin and Dārīkh to avenge the Ottomans who had been slaughtered by the people of these two villages and probably to use the booty he acquired as provisions. On his return to Aleppo, he was intercepted by a unit of al-Ghazālī's

147. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, pp.232-3. Ibn Iyās, Bada'i, vol.v, pp.382-3. R. Hanbalī, Durr, MS. Taymuriyya, No:2105, fols.46a, b. Nūrosmāniyya, MS. No:3293, fol.77a. I.Ü.A.Y. No:3190, fol.53b.

148. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.124.

149. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.232.

150. Amīr 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. al-Akram al-'Annābī began his career as a dawādār in the citadel of Damascus. He advanced to become amīr of Turkomans. When al-Ghazālī was defeated, amīr 'Imād al-Dīn remained unharmed and worked with the Ottomans. In 930/1523, he joined Khurram Pāsha, the governor of Damascus, in his expedition against the Ḍrūze, but due to sudden physical weakness, he returned from al-Biqā'. On his way back to Damascus he died in the village of Dummar. He was renowned for his assistance to poor students. Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Ghuraf al-'aliyya fi tarājim muta' akhiri al-Hanafiyya, MS. Taymuriyya, No:631, p.201. Shahīf 'Alī Library, MS. No:1924, fols.85b-86a. Shorter title, Ibn Ṭūlūn, Ghuraf. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.169.

151. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.232.

army. Karāja was defeated and the booty was regained; Karāja escaped and returned to Aleppo.¹⁵²

The vanguard of al-Ghazālī's troops arrived at al-Anṣārī in the outskirts of Aleppo on Tuesday, 23rd Dhu'l Ḥijja 926/5th December 1520. From Aleppo an army emerged which engaged with al-Ghazālī's force. A victory was not proclaimed by al-Ghazālī's army although his troops seem to have been superior. The city was invested, arrows and cannon were used, also the water supply was cut off. The situation became more tense with the arrival of al-Ghazālī on Saturday, 4th Muḥarram 927/16th December 1520. For two days there was fierce fighting and about two hundred Aleppines were killed by stray arrows or fire, although al-Ghazālī had warned the population to keep off the streets. Houses in the quarter of al-Anṣārī were pillaged to such an extent that even doors and windows were taken away.¹⁵³ The reason for this was because the siege was made during the bitter winter of Aleppo. It continued until the 9th Muḥarram/21st December when al-Ghazālī raised it. It would seem that losses in al-Ghazālī's army were slight; Ibn Ṭūlūn states that only a few were killed. The reaction of the Aleppines, whose loyalty Karāja Pāsha suspected, is not known.¹⁵⁴ It was from the Mamlūk Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Shāh al-Ḥalabī (better known as al-Maydānī, d.934/1527) that reaction came and he

152. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, p.233.

153. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, pp.233-4. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, *Rawḍ*, fol.109b. Muḥammad b. Jum'ah al-Maqqār (d.1156/1745), *Kitāb al-bāshāt wa al-quḍāt*, (edited by Saīḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid under the title of *Wulāt Damashq fi al-'ahd al-'Oṭhmānī*, Damascus, 1949), pp.1-2. Shorter title, Ibn Jum'ah, *Wulāt*.

154. al-Qaramānī, Aḥmad (d.1019/1611), *Akhbār al-duwal wa āthār al-uwal*, (edited by Muḥammad Amīn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī, Baghdad, 1282/1865), p.316. Shorter title *Qaramānī*, *Akhbār*, al-Jannābī, Muṣṭafā b. Ḥasan, (d.999/1590). *Kitāb al-'aylam al-zākhir fi ahwal al-awā'il wa al-awakhir* MS.Köprülü Library, İstanbul, No:1032, vol.ii, fol.803b. Shorter title *Jannābī*, *'Aylam*.

roused the people of Aleppo against al-Ghazālī.¹⁵⁵

al-Ghazālī was forced to raise the siege on 9th Muḥarram/21st December, and to return to Damascus. He received news that Khāyirbāy was advancing against him from Egypt¹⁵⁶ and probably also learned that 'Alī b. Shāh Siwār (d.928/1521) the local governor of Elbiṣṭān was marching against him.¹⁵⁷ It was almost a month later, on Friday, 8th Ṣafar 927/19th January 1521, that he reached Damascus. He immediately began to improve his position and strengthen his force by mobilizing the shabāb (youths) of Damascus and the neighbouring villages, in addition to the Bedouin tribes. He organised propaganda for this purpose and on Saturday, 16th Ṣafar 927 /27th January 1521 he met the Damascene armed shabāb in al-Marja (the public square of Damascus) where he asked them not to fight the Ottomans for his sake but to defend their families.¹⁵⁸ On Monday the 18th he summoned the learned men, theologians and merchants to the Umayyad Mosque in the hope that they would invest him as Sultan. They did not come to fulfil his desire.¹⁶⁰ The next day he summoned the people from the quarters and they answered promptly. When they were assembled, his dawādār Aṣḷān and the chief judge Sharaf al-Dīn b. Muflīh were commissioned to swear the loyalty both of themselves and the people to

155, R. Ḥanbalī, *Durr*, Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols.89b-90a. I.Ū.A.Y. 3190, fols.62b-63a. Taymūriyya No:12715H, vol.i, pp.344-5.

156. When al-Ghazālī heard of Selīm's death he wrote to Khāyirbāy in Egypt suggesting revolt against the Ottomans. Khāyirbāy declined the proposal and wrote to Sultan Süleymān informing him of al-Ghazālī's rebellious intentions. Khāyirbāy immediately began to gather Bedouin tribes to attack Damascus. Possibly, al-Ghazālī did not declare himself sultan in order not to antagonize Khāyirbāy, until he realized that Khāyirbāy would not join him; then he made the declaration. Ibn Iyās, *Bada' ʿ*, vol.v, pp.367-8, 370, 375; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, p.235. Ibn Z unbul, *Tārīkh*, MS.No:129, fols.117b-118a. MS.No:44, vol.ii, fols.68a,b.

157. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, p.235.

158. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, p.235. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, *Rawḍ*, fol.110a.

159. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām*, pp.235-6. Ibn Ṭūlūn, as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, *Rawḍ*, fol.110a.

160. Ibn Ṭūlūn, as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, *Rawḍ*, fol.110b.

al-Ghazālī.¹⁶¹ Probably because the learned men were reluctant, he sought popularity by prohibiting wine and hashīsh (cannabis) and abolishing the taxes (mukūs) imposed by the Ottomans.¹⁶² On the same day, al-Ghazālī went to al-Maṣṭaba, where he inspected the forces of zu'ar and tribes from al-Ghawṭa. A vanguard of two thousand cavalymen (fāris) drawn from these forces was sent to meet the Ottomans.¹⁶³ Possibly in order to punish the apathetic merchants who did not support him as did the shabāb, he was suspected of causing a blaze in four of the great markets of Damascus on Wednesday, 20th Ṣafar/31st January 1521.¹⁶⁴

al-Ghazālī was announced as Sultan al-Ashraf of the two holy shrines, a title accorded to the senior Muslim Sultan, on Friday, 22nd Ṣafar/2nd February 1521, in the Umayyad Mosque. Ibn Ṭūlūn records that when his procession passed the mob (ru'ā' al-nās) prayed and begged God to give him victory. There is no mention of any merchants or learned men being present during this ceremony. The day after he was invested, as Sultan, youths from the quarters of al-Qaṣab and al-Mazābil, and from the villages of Mizza, Barza and Kafarsūsa, were inspected by him. On Sunday he received homage as Sultan.¹⁶⁵ The lack of any reference to the presence of learned men or merchants on this occasion is also noticeable.

161. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I' lām, pp.235-6. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110b.

162. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110b.

163. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110b.

164. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110b. I' lām, p.235.

165. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I' lām, p. 236. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110b.

In spite of popular support there seems to have been some anxiety about the future of the city when news of the advancing Ottoman army reached Damascus. There was an influx of strangers from the countryside and from the neighbouring villages, in addition to pilgrims from Hama, Aleppo and from other lands of the Sultanate who had been compelled by al-Ghazālī to return to Damascus. This caused some people to move their families outside Damascus and many who lived near the walls vacated their houses.¹⁶⁶ Many could only pray that the fighting would be away from the city walls.

Fortunately for the Damascenes the actual engagement took place on Tuesday, 26th Šafar 927/6th February 1521, to the east of the village of Barza. In the short fight that ensued al-Ghazālī was deserted by his supporters. About three thousand and sixty people were killed; al-Ghazālī and many of his aides such as Ašlān and Qaḍā Bardī were killed. Mamlūks who could escape fled to Egypt where they were executed by Khayr-bay. Among them, in 928/1521, was Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Baqar who had supported al-Ghazālī and fought at his side.¹⁶⁷ The number of casualties is not surprising since the Ottoman army was composed of thirty thousand soldiers and about four thousand janissaries. They bore with them approximately 180 cannon, a larger number than Sultan Selīm had used at the battle of Marj Dābiq. To announce the news of victory, the head of al-Ghazālī and one thousand ears were sent to Istanbul.¹⁶⁸

166. Ibn Tūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110a, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.170.

167. Ibn Tūlūn, Ik lām, p.236. Ibn Tūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 110b-111a. Jannābī, 'Aylam, fols.803b-804a. Ibn Iyās, Badā'ī, vol.v, pp.380-2. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.170. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, Nūrosmāniyya, MS. No:3293, fol.77a. I.Ü.A.Y. 3190, fol.53b. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt, pp.283. Qaramānī, Akhbār al-duwal, pp.316-7.

168. Ibn Tūlūn, Ik lām, p.236. Ibn Tūlūn, as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.111b.

The Ottoman army swept through Damascus and its suburbs. It invaded houses, pillaged shops and stores. Women, learned men, Sufis, the young and the old were badly treated by the Ottomans to the extent that women assembling in the school of Abū 'Umar were attacked and stripped of their clothes.¹⁶⁹ In his autobiography, Ibn Ṭūlūn mentioned that a number of his own works were lost during this period of chaos.¹⁷⁰

On Wednesday 27th Ṣafar/7th February 1521, Farhād Pāsha, the commander of the army, accompanied by the former chief judge Walī al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr entered Damascus. They went to the citadel where the keys were handed to them by Ismā'īl b. al-Akram. Ismā'īl accompanied them to al-Ṣālihiyya and paid a visit to the tomb of Ibn 'Arabi.¹⁷¹ In every quarter and village they stationed a subāshī to control the behaviour of the army towards the people. At the same time a new subāshī was appointed as governor of the citadel.¹⁷² Farhād remained at the head of affairs in Damascus until 15th Rabi' al-Thani/27/28th February 1521, when Iyās Pāsha became the appointed governor of Damascus and its dependencies. Gaza, Jerusalem and Ṣafad were not under his direct jurisdiction.¹⁷³ Farhād Pāsha left Damascus with the army on the 15th Jumādā I/25th March 1521. One thousand janissaries arrived by sea two days later to help Iyās Pāsha with the government.¹⁷⁴

169. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.111a-b. I'lām, p.236.

170. Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Fulk, pp.30, 33, 39, 41, 45.

171. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.236. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.111a-b.

172. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.111a-b.

173. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.237.

174. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.237. Ibn Ṭūlūn, as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.112a-b. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāṭ, pp.3-4.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS AND THE DEMOGRAPHY

OF THE LĪWĀ' OF DAMASCUS

On Tuesday, 5 Şafar 924/16th February 1518, Sultan Selīm entrusted Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī with the niyāba (province) of Damascus and its dependent villages.¹ His governorship was extended from Damascus to al-‘Arīsh to include: Şafad, Nāblus, Jerusalem, Gaza and Karak-Şawbak. Ottoman governors were appointed in Homs, Hama and Tripoli.²

When Jānbirdī lost his life in a rebellion against the Ottomans in 927/1521, the jurisdiction of his successor Iyās Pāsha was reduced to Damascus and its mu‘amala. The other townships were each accountable to their special

1. Under the Mamlūks Bilād al-Shām was divided into the following provinces (sing. mamlaka): Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, Şafad, Karak-Şawbak and Hama. Later Homs, Gaza and Alexandria were sometimes treated as separate provinces. Damascus comprised a barr and four şafqās. The barr comprised an area extended on a horizontal line both east and west of the village of Khiyāra about twenty kilometres south of Damascus. Its Western borders extended from Zabadānī to meet the horizontal west of Khiyāra, forming a rectangle. Its northern border was defined between Zabadānī and Nabk, and on the eastern side it extended to the desert and took the north-easterly direction past the plateau to Nabk. The first Şafqa known as the southern coastal one comprised the ‘amals of Gaza, Ramlah, Lud, Qāqūn, Jerusalem, Hebron and Nāblus. The second Şafqa included the ‘amals of Baysān, Bānyās, al-Şa‘ra, Nawā, Adhīr‘āī, ‘Ajlūn, Şarkhad, Busrā and Zura. The third Şafqa embraced the ‘amals of Ba‘labakk, al-Biqā‘ al-Ba‘labakkī, al-Biqā‘ al-‘Azīzī, Bayrūt and Sidon. The fourth Şafqa covered the ‘amals of Homs, Miṣyāf, Qāra, Salamiya and Tadmur. Jarbar was part of the mamlakah of Damascus. al-‘Umārī Ibn Faḍlullah, Aḥmad (d. 742/1341), al-Ta‘rīf bil muṣṭalah al-sharīf, (Cairo, 1894), pp.176-81. Shorter title al-‘Umārī, Ta‘rīf, al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad (d. 821/1418), Subḥ al-a‘shā fī ṣinā‘at al-inshā, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913-19), vol. iv, pp.97-116, shorter title Qalqashandī, Subḥ, al-Dimashqī Shaykh al-Rabwa, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 727/1327), Nukhbat al-dāhr fī ‘ajā’ib al-barr wa al-baḥr, edited by Mehren, M.A. (Petersburg, 1866), pp.192-214. Shorter title Dimashqī, Nukhbat, Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīrī, Khalīl, (d. 873/1468), Zubdat Kashf al-mamālīk wa bayān al-ṭuruq wa al-masālik, edited by Ravaisse, P. (Paris, 1894), pp.131-5. Shorter title, Zāhīrī, Zubdat, Ziadeh, N., Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks (Beirut, 1953), pp.12-14. Shorter title, Ziadeh, N., Urban Life. Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol. i, map.no.13.
2. Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Tripoli and the coastal towns were in the hands of governors appointed by Sultan Selīm. Ibn Sibāt, Tārīkh, MS., vol. ii, fols.202b-203a. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufakhat, vol. ii, p.82. l‘lām, p.228.

ssanjaqbeys who had been appointed after the rebellion; each of these sanjaqbeys was subordinate to the governor of Damascus.³

The morning after Sultan Selīm entered Damascus on Sunday, 2nd Ramaḍān 922/28th November 1516 a census (‘iddat) was taken of all the residents of Damascus. Houses, shops and other buildings were also enumerated at the suggestion of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Fanārī (d.926/1519) the Ottoman judge of the city.⁴ Although the results of the census have not survived, a number of surveys which were carried out during the 16th century are still available and contain valuable information.

From these surveys an attempt to assess the administrative divisions of the liwa’ of Damascus and its demography during the reign of Sultan Süleymān and the beginning of Sultan Selīm II's reign is presented in this chapter. It is noticeable that numbers given in the Tapu Defters do not always coincide with the number of the recorded names. The discrepancies are mainly slight. The numbers given in this study follow the figures supplied.⁵ The liwa’ which was divided into nāhiyās⁶ will be dealt with in rotation from north towards the south.

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3. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I‘lām, p.237. For Sanjaqbey see Deny, J., "Sandjak", E.I.¹, vol.iv, pp.148-50.
 4. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.31. For the life of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, who was later appointed in Aleppo, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qudāt, p.309. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, MS. BM. Add.23976, fols. 103a, b.
 5. For discrepancies, see T.D.383, pp.9, 24, 179, 222, 313, 366, 567. T.D.263, pp.38, 55, 109, 116, 155, 222, 497. T.D.474, pp.29, 41, 53, 74, 329, 531.
 6. Cited as an administrative term in Arabic geographical and encyclopaedic works, viz: Istakhrī, Masālik al-mamalik, p.62. Ibn Ḥawaqal, Surat al-arḍ, pp.173, 179. Muqaddasī, Aḥsan, p.154. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.97. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, vol.xv, pp.309-13. Bustānī, B., Muḥīṭ, p.2050. See also Franz Babinger, "Nāhiye", E.I.¹ vol.iii, p.834.

1. Nāḥiyat Qāra

The demographic data is provided on the basis of households (khāna) and bachelors (mujarrad), whether Muslim, Christian or Jewish. Those who provided religious service to the community and Ashrāf are recorded separately as they were given tax exemption.⁷ The data available concerning this nāḥiyu are presented in the Tapu Defters as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms	Christian	
					Households	Bachelors
T.D .430 (pp.7-20)	9	711	132	13	442	142
T.D .401 (pp.144-63)	17	1530	304	19	806	159
T.D .263 (pp.358-96)	12	1119	267	9	702	272

The names of eight villages of this nāḥiya are repeated in these three surveys. Their census was thus:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christian	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	587	125	389	134
T.D .401	912	218	566	114
T.D .263	1019	244	538	219

The second table indicates that there was a steady growth in the population of these eight villages. It is noticeable that in this nāḥiya, Christians constituted approximately one-third of the population. Ibn Jubayr (d.614/1217) states that the entire population of Qāra were Christian, while Yāqūt (d.626/1229) says that most of its population were Christian.⁸ These surveys taken

7. T.D.263, p.1, T.D.474, p.2.

8. Ibn Jubayr, Rihālah (2nd edition, Leyden, 1907), p.259.

some three hundred years after Yāqūt, give a Muslim majority⁹ which would seem to indicate the continuous process of Islamization.

It is worth mentioning that Tadmur, which was a separate ‘amal (an administrative unit) in the fourth Ṣafqa under the Mamlūks,¹⁰ was part of this nāḥiya.

2. Nāḥiyat Qalamūn¹¹

Demographical literature concerning this nāḥiya which, under the Mamlūks, was part of the barr of Damascus,¹² is available in four surveys carried out at different times, as shown below:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.1-5)	4	214	35	3
T.D.401 (pp.139-43)	4	638	2	4
T.D.263 (pp.349-55)	3	367	27	2
T.D.474 (p.261)	1	125	-	-

This table shows that although the number of villages in this nāḥiya was small, the population of each village, compared with others in the rest of the province, was high. By comparing the figures provided in T.D.430 and T.D.401, it is observed that the population was almost three times as great. In the first three surveys, the names of three villages are repeated and the result

9. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-buldān (edited by Wüstenfeld, F., Leipzig 1866-70), vol.iv, p.114. Shorter title, Yāqūt, Mu‘jam. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.113.
10. al-‘Umarī, Ta‘rīf, p.180. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.114.
11. Yāqūt mentions that it was part of the country of Damascus, while Dimashqī refers to it as a separate iqlīm known as iqlīm Sinnir. Mu‘jam, vol.iv, p.166. Nukhbat, p.198.
12. al-‘Umarī, Ta‘rīf, p.177. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.97.

of their comparison in the different surveys is worthy of note:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	133	29
T.D.401	367	27
T.D.263	364	2

It is noticeable that by comparing the figures of T.D.430 and T.D.401 that the number of households is almost three times as many, followed by a slight decline. The name of one village, repeated in four surveys, confirms these figures:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	52	15
T.D.401	158	2
T.D.263	149	21
T.D.474	125	-

This table shows that the numbers tripled then gradually declined.

3. Nāḥiyat Jubbat al-‘Assāl

The figures for this nāḥiya which was part of the barr of Damascus,¹³ are available in three surveys which have reached us. Its population during the period under consideration was thus:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms	Christians	
					Households	Bachelors
T.D.401 (pp.115-38)	35	1336	227	31	642	109
T.D.263 (pp.308-12)	9	479	65	5	183	-
T.D.474 (pp.265-76) (pp.584-632)	34	1005	283	7	688	147

13. al-‘Umari, Ta‘rīf, p.177. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.97.

The demography of nine villages, the names of which are repeated in the three surveys, was as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .401	305	45	324	29
T.D .263	479	65	183	-
T.D .474	476	95	255	2

From these figures, it will be noticed that the population was rising steadily; and the village of Şaydnāyā remained Christian, and, also, they grew in number.

In the census of the thirty-two villages whose names appear in the survey of T.D .401 and T.D .474, the following is noticeable:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .401	1250	203	642	109
T.D .474	944	269	918	149

The observation here is that the number of Muslim households decreased while the number of Christian households increased.

4. Nāḥiyat al-Zabadānī

Under the Mamlūks it was part of the barr of Damascus.¹⁴ In available data from four defters, the number of villages and the population is recorded as follows:-

14. al-ʿUmari, Taʿrif, p.177. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.97.

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imams	Christians	
					Households	Bachelors
T.D .430 (pp .451-65)	21	673	60	18	181	12
T.D .401 (pp .304-25)	21	829	87	14	200	10
T.D .263 (pp .324-46)	14	847	179	15	226	6
T.D .474 (pp .287-95)	22	817	147	6	122	38

There are thirteen villages whose figures are provided in T.D .430 and T.D .401, also showing an increase in the population as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	633	59	181	12
T.D .401	714	79	200	10

It is noticeable that there was an increase in both Muslim and Christian populations. The names of sixteen villages also appear in T.D .430, T.D .401, and T.D .474. Their demography was as below:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	567	55	181	12
T.D .401	721	79	200	10
T.D .474	657	129	122	38

In this table, also, the number of both Muslim and Christian households increased, followed by a considerable decline in the households of both.

5. Nāhiyat Wādī Baradā

Three complete surveys of this nāhiya, which was part of the barr of Damascus are available and a fourth incomplete. According to these surveys the demography of this nāhiya was as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.442-50)	14	359	54	17
T.D.401 (pp.316-23)	15	563	64	15
T.D.263 (pp.300-6)	5	225	17	5
T.D.474 (pp.278-85)	15	418	134	4

Fourteen villages whose names also appear in the following surveys

give the total population as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	359	54
T.D.401	556	64
T.D.474	411	134

Yet again, there is an increase in the population then a decrease.

This is also supported by comparing the census of the five villages whose names appear in the lists of the four surveys:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	152	18
T.D.401	201	20
T.D.263	225	17
T.D.474	131	51

The same pattern is repeated with first an increase then a decrease in the populations.

6. Nāḥiyat Iqlīm Dārānī¹⁵

Four surveys of the above are available; and their figures were in this manner:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.467-75)	9	413	21	13
T.D.401 (pp.331-7)	9	574	24	10
T.D.263 (pp.288-95)	6	397	68	5
T.D.474 (pp.481-3)	2	43	6	1

T.D.430 and T.D.401 provide statistical figures for the same villages showing an increase in the population, but if the total population of the two villages which are common in all these four surveys are compared, the same rise and decline appears:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	45	2
T.D.401	88	-
T.D.263	64	5
T.D.474	43	6

7. Nāḥiyat Wādī al-‘Ajam

Under the Mamlūks, this nāḥiya was part of the barr of Damascus and the remainder was part of the ‘amal of Bānyās of the Southern Ṣafqa.¹⁶ Five

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15. Dimashqī speaks of an iqlīm by the name of Dārāyā; Dārānī is the nīsba form of Dārāyā, the largest village in it, and which was noted for its water-melons. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, vol.ii, p.536. Dimashqī, Nukhbat, p.198. Badrī, Nuzhat, pp.220, 223.
16. Qalqashandī, Subḥ, vol.iv, pp.97, 104.

defters provide demographic information about it, which was recorded as under:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D .430 (pp .477-99)	29	500	68	29
T.D .401 (pp .338-54)	33	731	106	29
T.D .263 (pp .273-9)	4	231	13	5
T.D .275 (pp .1-12)	7	149	-	-
T.D .474 (pp .487-93)	4	208	13	1

The census of twenty-five villages whose names are mentioned in T.D .430 and T.D .401 give the following figures

	Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	463	65
R.D .401	629	103

Again the population shows an increase and appears in the same manner in the census of the four villages which is recorded in T.D .430, T.D .401 and T.D .263 as under:-

	Households	Bachelors	<u>Sayyids</u>
T.D .430	136	18	-
T.D .401	202	2	-
T.D .263	231	13	4

There is no difference in the pattern when comparing the statistics of the four villages mentioned in T.D .474, viz:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	141	27
T.D .401	188	16
T.D .474	208	13

8. Nāḥiyat Marj al-Qibli Wal-Shamālī

This nāḥiya, under the Mamlūks, was part of the barr of Damascus.¹⁷

Available surveys show the following demography:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Turkomans		<u>Sharīfs</u>
					Households	Bachelors	
T.D .401 (pp.83-114)	53	1838	168	18	8	-	-
T.D .263 (pp.221-47) (pp.494-530)	63	2229	191	37	37	3	4
T.D .474 (pp.238-57) (pp.520-82)	64	2072	379	25	25	1	-

An increase in the number of the villages recorded is noticeable here.

In addition, by comparison with other regions, it was more densely populated, and the Turkoman element emerged with significant growth. The same pattern, here also, of increase and decrease in population is repeated. This is ratified by comparing the total population of the forty-six villages whose names appear in three surveys:-

17. al-ʿUmārī, Taʿrīf, p.177. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.97. Dimashqī points out that it was an iqḥīm. In this respect he probably used the term of iqḥīm to denote an area and not in the administrative sense as a specific area with its own administrative apparatus. Nukhbat, p.198.

	Households	Bachelors	Turkomans		<u>Sharīfs</u>
			Households	Bachelors	
T.D.401	1729	160	8	-	-
T.D.263	1859	156	29	3	4
T.D.474	1457	155	25	4	-

9. Nāḥiyat al-Ghawṭa

This, another part of the barr of Damascus under the Mamlūks, concerning which demographical literature is provided in three surveys.

Its fertility, compared to other nāḥiyās, attracted a larger population.

This also, in spite of its increase began to decline by the second half of the sixteenth century as shown by the next table:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Turkomans		<u>Sharīfs</u>	Jews	
					Households	Bachelors		Households	Bachelors
T.D.401 (pp.52-83)	30	1568	149	18	20	-	3	59	7
T.D.263 (pp.181-218) (pp.479-91)	31	1816	257	35	15	2	-	-	-
T.D.474 (pp.494-518)	31	1242	226	31	-	-	-	48	-

Here there is a palpable increase of 248 which, according to T.D.474, falls by 574 households. A Turkoman element is discernible in this nāḥiya as in Marj, while a Jewish element constituted a fair-sized minority in the village of Jawbar.¹⁸

18. According to Ibn Ṭulūn, Jews in Jawbar were the majority and Muslims were few there, but Tapu Defters show that Jews and Muslims were almost numerically equal. It may be that Ibn Ṭulūn was the only Muslim historian who referred to Jews in Jawbar. Neither Yāqūt nor other Arab geographers referred to Jews in that village. In the year 1521-22, five years after the Ottoman conquest, an Italian Jewish Rabbi by the name of Moses Bassola (d.1560) visited Damascus and Jawbar. He referred to the native Jewish community of the latter as comprising sixty families and also referred to a beautiful synagogue there. John Sanderson, when he visited =

Twenty villages are concerned in these surveys, their names recurring in each. A comparison of the numbers in these villages shows a similar pattern of increase and decrease:-

	Households	Bachelors	Turkomans		Jews	
			Households	Bachelors	Households	Bachelors
T.D.401	1560	149	20	-	59	7
T.D.263	1816	257	15	2	-	-
T.D.474	1233	226	-	-	48	-

10. Damascus

Statistics which concern the city of Damascus are available in three surveys. They quote the names of the mahallas(districts) and enumerate the zuqāqs (streets) constituting each mahalla.¹⁹ The growth of the population and its declines as reflected by these surveys is as follows:-

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- = Jawbar on the 19th June 1601, referred to the Jewish community and to a beautiful synagoge which he said had twelve gates of brass. Here books were kept and Jews performed their devotions. Ibn Ṭūlūn "Ḍarb al-ḥawṭa 'alā jamī'ī al-Ghawṭa", edited by M.A. Ṭalas, Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī, Damascus, vol.xxi, 1949, p.155. Lewis, B. "A Jewish source on Damascus just after the Ottoman Conquest", BSOAS, vol.x, (1940-42), p.183. The Travels of John Sanderson, pp.95-6. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, al-Ghawṭa, p.35.
19. Tapu Defters do not show the word "ḥāra". It was used by Damascene historians of the time. Many place-names referred to as "ḥāra" coincide with those of "mahalla" as given in the Tapu Defters. For comparison see Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Ḥārāt Dimashq al-qadīma", Machriq, vol.XXXV, (1937), pp.33-5. Qalā'id, pp.247, 254-5, 480, passim. I'lām, pp.118, 119, 177, 283, passim. Duhmān, Mukhṭaṭṭat, attached to Murūj. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, vol.x, pp.143-4, vol.xi, pp.164-5. al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-'arūs, vol.vii, p.283. See also Kramers, J.H. "Mahalla", E.I.I, vol.iii, p.110.

	No. of <u>Maḥalla</u>	House- holds	Bach- elors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christians		Jews	
					House- holds	Bache- lors	House- holds	Bache- lors
T.D.401 (pp.2-51)	36	7213	358	70	546	31	519	12
T.D.263 (pp.11-174)	37	8119	393	136	704	96	516	-
T.D.474 (pp.28-201)	39	7054	322	80	1021	164	546	56

In addition to these, there were ninety-two sharīfs and four natwāns (disabled, weak). Each Kurd and Turkoman community living in Damascus had its own zuqāq. Kurds constituted nineteen households and those of the Turkomans comprised twenty-four households and two bachelors.²⁰

Added to these were twenty zutt (gypsy) households living in Maḥalat al-Kharāb.²¹ These families, together with others of the same stock in the liwā, paid 1,000 akches per annum in taxes before 950/1543, and paid later (955/1548) 25,000 akches annually.²²

The figures show that the number of Christians steadily rose. It is probable that some Christians migrated from the countryside to Damascus. They had nineteen zuqāqs in Damascus, among these were four jamā'āt (groups) unidentified with any zuqāq. Their particular sects were not mentioned but the Maronites had their own zuqāq,²³ and their own patriarch.²⁴

20. T.D.401, p.10. T.D.474, p.138. There was, also, another zuqāq named Zuqāq Bīr al-Akrād. The population comprised 50 households, two bachelors and two sharīfs. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Kurds among them. T.D.401, p.38.

21. T.D.474, p.84.

22. The taxes paid by them was recorded as maḥsul-i ghurbattān-i nafs-i Shām ve nawāhīhā. T.D.401, p.53. T.D.423, p.6. T.D.263, p.175.

23. The Jacobite and Melchite patriarchs were the only ones recognized by the Mamlūk Sultans. al-ʿUmarī recommended a form of waṣīyya (oath) for each one of them. al-ʿUmarī, Tarīf, pp.144-6. al-Qalqashandī, Subḥ, vol.iv, p.194. T.D.474, pp.188-9, 190-1. Ziadeh, N., Urban Life, pp.115-6.

24. Duwayhī records in 936/1529 that the Maronite Patriarch of Damascus died and was succeeded by Jirjīs al-Ihdīnī. In 985/1577 he mentions =

The number of Jews did not increase. They were identified in the defters either according to their origin or sect, or their own particular district.

They were classified as follows:-

	T.D.401		T.D.263		T.D.474	
	Households	Bachelors	Households	Households	Bachelors	
Jamā'at Yahūd	-	-	101	22	-	
Jamā'at Saqāliba (Slavs) ²⁵	-	-	28	46	2	
Jamā'at-i Musta'riba	214	-	255	-	-	
Bustān al-Qiṭṭ ²⁶	-	-	-	268	19	(includes Jawbars Jews)
Jamā'at-i Maḥallat-i 'Annāba ²⁷	40	-	36	27	3	
Jamā'at-i Qarā'in (Karaites) ²⁸	-	-	36	40	-	
Samaritans of Bayt Lihya	51	9	60	46	5	
Jamā'at-i Yahūd Ifranji	201	3	-	97	27	
Yahūd Bayt Lihya	13	-	-	-	-	

= that a new patriarch by the name of Jirjis al-Basluqiti was appointed in al-Shām. Tārīkh al-Jā'ifa, p.158. Tārīkh al-azmina, p.175.

25. For definition of Saqāliba by Arabic sources see Barthold, W., "Slavs", E.I.¹, vol.iv, pp.467-8.

26. Bustān al-Qiṭṭ was near Hārat al-Yahūd but it appears that its inhabitants were not entirely Jewish. In 992/1584 it is recorded that 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥajjī bought from Muḥammad b. Tāi al-Dīn al-Khudārī and his mother Ḥalīma a house in the Maḥallat of Bustān al-Qiṭṭ. Mention is made that some of the neighbours were Jews. Sijill al-Maḥkamah al-Shar'iyya, Damascus, case No:163.

29 Shawwal 992, vol.i, p.172. Ibn Tulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.122. Lewis B., Notes and documents from the Turkish Archives, Jerusalem, 1952, pp.22-4. Shorter title: Lewis, B. Notes and documents.

27. According to Rabbi, Bassola, there was a synagogue for Jews in this quarter. See Lewis, B., "A Jewish Source", BSAOS, vol.x, p.183; also, Lewis, B., Notes and documents, p.42.

28. It is noteworthy that Jews had their own ra'īs who were responsible to the nā'ib of Damascus during Mamlūk times. Jews were referred to =

Most of the Jews appear to have been of local origin.²⁹ The number of the Iفرanj Jews is conspicuously large and possibly includes those expelled from Spain.³⁰ The Samaritan community, many of whose members held clerical posts, worked under both Mamlūks and Ottomans; and during the sixteenth century it was noted for this type of worker.³¹

It is apparent that the population in each nāḥiya increased and sometimes doubled prior to the decadepreceeding 950/1573, after which there was a decline, sometimes gradual and sometimes sharp. This pattern is applicable to the population of Damascus. Disease, droughts and earthquakes which had struck Damascus probably offer a partial explanation. In 930/1523, plague was rife in Damascus so that at its climax the victims daily numbered 200 in the city alone,

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- = in Arabic sources as two distinct sects, the Karaites and Rabbiites. al-ʿUmari, Taʿrīf, pp.142-3. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.194. Ibn Iyās Badāʾiʿ, vol.iv, p.244 where he mentions that Samaritans, Karaites and Rabbiites were compelled to pay money in 917/1511. Ziadeh, Urban, pp. pp.115-6.
29. Visiting Jewish travellers gave the number of Jews and Jewish Synagogues in Damascus. R. Detachia of Ratisbon (1174-1187) said there were ten thousand Jews under their own "prince". Meshullam Ben R. Menahem gave their number as four hundred and fifty Jewish households who were both "rich and honoured". Jewish Travellers, (edited by Elkan Alder, London, 1930), pp.85, 90, 110, 126, 199.
30. Ramberti, Benedetto, "The Second Book of the affairs of the Turks" edited and published by Lybyer, A.B., as an appendix to The Government of the Ottoman Empire, (2nd print, New York, 1966), p.241. Here he referred to Jews expelled from Spain and who came to Istanbul. See also Lewis, B., for the list of Jews in Şafad, Notes and documents, p.6. For the definition of Iفرanj, see Lewis, B., "Iفرانji", E.I.2, vol.iii, (fasc.57-8), pp.1044-6. For the Jewish communities in Istanbul during the 17th century see Heyd, U., "The Jewish Communities of Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century", Oriens, vol.vi (1953), pp.299-313. For Jews in Damascus during the 19th century see Gharāibah, A., Sūriyya fī al-garn al-tāsiʿashar, 1870-1876, (Cairo, 1961-2), pp.124-9. al-Maghribī, A., "Yahud al-Sham mundhu māʾat ʿām", Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī, Damascus, vol.ix (1929), pp.641-53.
31. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.31. Ziadeh, N., Urban, pp.99-100. The head of the Samaritans was residing in Nāblus. He had a residing, nāʾib =

and 30 in its suburb al-Ṣālihiyya.³² In that year, also, Aleppo had been similarly stricken, the disease taking a toll of 20-30 victims daily.³³ In the year 934/1527, drought struck the area and caused a sharp rise in prices. Istisqā' prayers were held in Jumādā, and the Sahīḥ al-Bukhārī was read. It was said that light rain fell followed by heavy rain.³⁴ In the next year, heavy rain fell for eight continuous days in Jumādā. It was so severe that many houses fell down and about fifty people were buried among the ruins.³⁵ Four years later plague struck Damascus and every village of its dependencies, with the exception of al-Mizza, had its victims.³⁶ Cases of plague were also reported in Aleppo during this and the following year.³⁷ Ibn Ayyūb records that an old man told him that during Ramaḍān 950/December 1543 there were not enough people to fill even the front row in the Umayyad Mosque.³⁸ This may have been due to plague which was again reported in Damascus in 951/1544.³⁹ Five years later, the River Baradā flooded and houses on its banks were swept away and

= (deputy) in Damascus, both recognized by the Mamlūks, al-ʿUmarī, Taʿrīf, p.144. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.194. Ziadeh, N., Urban, p. 115.

32. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qudāt, p.311. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.378b-379a. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Ghuraf, MS. Taymūriyya, Tārīkh, No:631, p.117. Shahīṭ ʿAlī, No:1924, fols.52b, 116b. The subjects concerning whom these biographies were written died of this plague. Ibn ʿImād al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.168-9, in two biographies he states the death of the subjects had been caused by plague.

33. Shammāʿ, ʿUyūn, MS. D.K. No:1639, vol.ii, fol.65b.

34. Ibn Ṭūlūn as quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.28a, 231a.

35. In Dhu'l Qaʿda during 928/March 1521 it rained heavily. Wind and lightning struck a group of nut trees outside Damascus and uprooted them. The frame of the Eagle Dome of the Umayyad Mosque was burned at the same time. Ibn Jumʿa, Wulāʾ, p.5.

36. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qudāt, p.315. Ibn ʿImād al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt, vol. viii, p.232.

37. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, Taymūriyya, No:2105, fol.8a. D.K. Tārīkh 12715, pp.36-7, pp.107-8.

38. Ibn Ayyūb, Tadhkira, MS. Zāhiriyya, No:7814, fol.105a.

39. Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Ghuraf, Shahīṭ ʿAlī, fol.316b, BM. Or.3046, fol.249b.

many people were killed. According to an eye witness, such a flood had not occurred in living memory. Sūq al-Bīmāristān, near the citadel, was completely flooded as was Sūq al-Naṭṭā'īn, near Bāb al-Farādīs. It swamped at Marja and deluged the Yalbughā Mosque.⁴⁰ Subsequently in 975/1567 a drought hit Damascus to an extent that the entire family of Ḥasan al-Būrīnī, the historian, was forced to leave Damascus for Jerusalem where they remained until 979/1571 when they returned to Damascus.⁴¹ The poet Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Māmāī al-Rūmī (d.985/1577)⁴² graphically describes how an earthquake struck Damascus at dawn. This he attributed as a punishment for corruption, lust and fraud.⁴³ Possibly such diseases and disasters partially explain the decrease in the population. Another possibility may be the inaccuracy or otherwise of surveys.

However, the population of Damascus during the last quarter of the century began to increase. Ibn Ayyūb, writing in 997/1588, says:-

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40. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.13a, b, 228b-229a. For location of these places see Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.i, pp.38-40, also maps Nos: 15 and 16.
41. al-Muḥibbī, Muḥammad (d.111/1699), Khulāṣat al-aṭhar fī a'yān al-garn al-ḥādī 'aṣhar, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1970), vol.ii, p.51. Shorter title, Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat.
42. Ibn Māmāī, from Istanbul, started his career as a janissary in the corps of Damascus. In 960/1552 he went on a pilgrimage; later he was dismissed from the corps. He worked as an interpreter both in the Kubrā and al-Q. isma Courts in Damascus. He was distinguished in the arts of mawwāl, zajal, and muwashshahat. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 252a, b-257a, b. Ghazzi, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.50-1.
43. Rawdat al-mushtāq wa bahjat al-'ushshāq, MS. Alexandria Municipal Library, No:2079. A photocopy available in the department of manuscripts of the Arab League, and another photocopy in the library of the Arab Academy in Damascus; both were consulted; fols.190a, b in each case. Shorter title, Ibn Māmāī, Dīwān.

The population of Damascus is now innumerable but its indigenous people do not exceed twenty thousand. The rest are either Egyptians, Aleppines, Ḥamawīs, Ḥimṣīs, Rūmīs, Baʿlabakkīs, Ṣafadīs, Ṣaydanīs or from Gaza, Qudsīs, ʿAjamīs, Maghribīs and Ṣaʿidīs. All these inhabit Damascus and own properties, fill posts or are craftsmen... [while] in Ramadān in 950, there were not enough persons to complete the front row of the Mosque, I found that in the middle of Shaʿbān in the year 997, as also in the year 998, I could not find my way except with difficulty, when I went to perform late evening prayers (al-ʿIshāʾ) in the Umayyad Mosque because it was so crowded. Praise be to Almighty God who gives and does not forget anyone. 44

From this it would seem that people were migrating to Damascus with a consequent crowding and resumption of its markets. This is confirmed by the fact that the precincts around the Umayyad Mosque became shops for selling perfumes, rose-water and stationery. All of this reflects a return of prosperity to the city.⁴⁵

The Lebanese part of the province of Damascus on its Western side, may be divided into three parallel areas: hinterland, mountain and coast. The hinterland was composed of the following naḥiyās:-

1) Baʿlabakk⁴⁶

Statistical data about the city of Baʿlabakk is available in three surveys.

It was as follows:-

	House-holds	Bachelors	Imāms	Christians		Jews		Sayyids
				House-holds	Bachelors	House-holds	Bachelors	
T.D .430 (pp.22-34)	1328	129	11	125	-	30	-	3
T.D .383 (pp.6-35)	1630	182	27	141	61	23	6	-
T.D .401 (pp.168-79)	1445	179	13	145	10	30	6	-

44. Ibn Ayyūb, Tadhkira, fol.105a, cf. Barkan, O.L., "Essai sur les Données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire Ottoman aux XV^e et XVI^e siècle", JESHO, vol.i (1957), p.27, and the review by Issawi, C., "Comments on Professor Barkan's estimate of the population of the Ottoman Empire 1520-1530", JESHO, vol.i, pp.329-31. See also Barkan, "Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", a chapter in Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, edited by M. Cook, pp.168, 171, Lapidus, Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages, pp.79, 85.

45. Ibn Ayyūb, Tadhkira, fol.224b.

46. Under the Mamlūks, it was a niyāba in the northern Ṣafqa, its governor =

The same pattern is repeated here; first an increase then a drop in the Muslim population. Tapu Defters do not refer to Shi'a in Ba'labakk since the Ottomans did not recognise the Shi'a and registered them as Muslims without specifying their madhhab. Christian churches are not specified but Maronites are referred to as a separate group.⁴⁷ Contrary to the Muslims, the Christian population of Ba'labakk did not decrease, neither did the number of the Jews in Ba'labakk. Similarly, Tapu Defters do not specify their sects.⁴⁸

2) Nāḥiyat Ba'labakk

During the Mamlūk period Ba'labakk had a separate wilāya comprising several villages, the names and number of which are not provided in Mamlūk sources. In the sixteenth century the number and size of the population of the villages are given as under:

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bachelors	Imāms	Christians	
					House-holds	Bachelors
T.D. 430 (pp.34-79)	34	1241	243	36	239	33
T.D. 383 (pp.39-111)	38	3007	218	21	601	2
T.D. 401 (pp.177-215)	37	2334	351	33	396	26

Yet again, the figures present an increase followed by a decline, both of which are applicable to Christians. This is traceable by comparison with the figures given for the twenty-eight villages whose names appear in the three surveys.

= was an amīr of ten; later he was an amīr of ṭablakhāna with no less than forty cavalry under his command, al-ʿUmari, Taʿrif, pp.74, 178-9. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, pp.15, 109-110, 201. Dimashqī, Nukhbat, p.199. J. Sourdcl-Thomine, "Ba'labakk", E.I.², vol.i, pp.970-1.

47. Around 937/1530, their number was 28 households, whereas before 955/1548, their number was 23 households. T.D.383, p.34. T.D.401, pp.76-7.

48. Neither Yāqūt, al-ʿUmari, nor Qalqashandī make any reference to Jews in Ba'labakk, Dimashqī claims that there were ancient buildings and =

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	1092	202	239	33
T.D.383	2344	253	355	2
T.D.401	1872	260	393	26

In these instances only the Christian population showed an increase.

3) Nāḥiyat Karak-Nūḥ

In the Mamlūk period the town of Karak Nūḥ was the centre of the 'amāl of al-Biqā' al-'Azīzī;⁴⁹ Tapu Defters show the same cycle of increase and decrease:-

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bach-elors	Imāms	Christians		Sayyids	Sharīfs
					House-holds	Bach-elors		
T.D.430 (pp.82-119)	36	1237	197	35	320	23	3	-
T.D.383 (pp.113-77)	36	2536	165	15	466	8	-	-
T.D.401 (pp.215-45)	37	2037	543	37	486	93	-	44

The names of thirty-four villages appear in the three census with the following demography:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians		Sayyids	Sharīfs
			Households	Bachelors		
T.D.430	1157	183	320	23	3	-
T.D.383	2370	124	466	8	-	-
T.D.401	1961	513	486	39	-	44

= and monuments related to the times of Abraham, Moses and Solomon. It is not known whether Jews lived there out of religious attachment or whether they practised their rites in one of these buildings. Nulḥbat, p.199. See also Lewis, B., Notes and documents, p.23.

49. Yāqūt describes Karak as a village at the bottom of the Lebanon Mountain, Mu'jam, vol.iv, p.261. al-'Umārī, Ta'rif, p.179. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, pp.110, 201.

The increase and decrease are applicable to Muslims only but in the case of Christians a steady increase is apparent.

4) Nāḥiyat Qūrna

This territory stretched to the south of Karak Nūḥ. Arab geographers do not appear to mention a place by this name in Lebanon. Its demography is as given below:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	<u>Sharīfs</u>	Blind
T.D. 430 (pp.120-48)	30	1198	192	29	2	1
T.D. 383 (pp.179-97) (pp.596-610)	26	1550	108	13	-	-
T.D. 401 (pp.245-65)	25	1331	308	25	-	-
T.D. 474 (pp.300-13) (pp.674-704)	26	1200	192	4	-	-

Here there is a decrease in the number of villages and, also, in the population. This is confirmed by comparison with the census of the twenty-one villages whose names are repeated in the four surveys:

	Households	Bachelors
T.D. 430	924	154
T.D. 383	1419	86
T.D. 401	1214	272
T.D. 474	1045	156

The pattern, first of increase then of decrease, continues.

5) Nāḥiyat Hammāra⁵⁰

This naḥiya comprised the eastern hills overlooking al-Biqā' to the south-east of Qūrna. Four surveys provide statistical information about this naḥiya whose demography was as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms	Christians	
					Households	Bachelors
T.D.430 (pp.160-77)	22	596	77	14	159	11
T.D.383 (pp.234-52) pp.612-23)	22	810	87	3	220	16
T.D.401 (pp.290-303)	23	843	9	16	200	-
T.D.474 (pp.353-64)	23	709	230	3	212	18

Again an increase in the population then a fall is confirmed and proved by comparing the total population of the nineteen villages whose statistics are available in the following surveys:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	545	71	159	11
T.D.383	736	77	220	16
T.D.401	719	9	200	-
T.D.474	611	176	212	18

Once again the pattern of increase then decrease is noticeable among the Muslims while Christian numbers rose.

50. Neither Yāqūt nor other Arab geographers mention it. Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions that its muqaddam, Muḥammad b. Sa' id al-Dīn, was slain by mobs in Damascus in 842/1438. al-Ghazzī refers to Hammāra as belonging to the 'amal of Biqā', I'lām, p.51. Kawākib, vol.iii, p.30.

6) Naḥiyāt Iqlīm al-Billān⁵¹

The number of villages and their populations in this nāḥiya, as provided by the available surveys was as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christian Households
T.D .430 (pp .432-41)	14	306	-	7	-
T.D .401 (pp .323-30)	15	539	7	12	2
T.D .263 (pp .282-5)	3	151	26	2	-
T.D .474 (pp .477-9, 775-6)	5	162	36	-	-

A comparison between the total number of the population of the eleven villages whose names appear in both T.D .430 and T.D .401 shows that:

	Households	Bachelors	Christian Households
T.D .430	280	-	-
T.D .401	437	6	2

There is a noticeable increase in population of the two villages repeated in all surveys and a considerable decrease immediately follows:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	88	-
T.D .401	111	1
T.D .263	68	4
T.D .474	48	4

51. Yāqūt does not refer to this place, but it remains one of the few in Syria which retains the title of iqlīm. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, al-Ghawṭa, p.145.

7) Nāḥiyat Wādī al-Taym⁵²

Four available surveys provide information about the number of villages and the size of population in Wādī al-Taym. These are:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.208-23)	25	573	86	9
T.D.401 (pp.366-83)	28	1198	45	26
T.D.263 (pp.450-72)	24	998	139	5
T.D.474 (pp.366-94)	26	1061	117	-

By comparing the total population in the twenty villages whose names are repeated in this surveys the following appear:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	521	82
T.D.401	1004	10
T.D.263	934	76
T.D.474	942	95

After a sharp increase, a decrease ensued. It is worth mentioning that these defters do not refer to Drūze since the Ottomans did not recognize this sect but registered it as Muslim. Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions that the people of the village of Jaramāna in al-Ghawṭa were Tayāmna (Drūze) and appeared to be

52. Yāqūt did not give a separate entry to it but mentioned it when he located Yābūs as a mountain in Wādī al-Taym of Damascus. Dimashqī describes it as one of the places surrounding Damascus and its aqālīm. Ibn Iyās defines it as a valley near Damascus inhabited by the followers of al-Hākim. He says that they belonged to Jahmiyya. Mu'jam, vol. iv, p.1007. Nukhbat, p.199. Nashq al-azhār MS. No:3039. Nūrosmānniya, fol.137b. For Jahmiyya see al-Shahrastānī, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm (d.548/1153), al-Milal wa al-nihāl, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1961), vol. i, pp.86-8.

migrating. He expressed surprised at this since the entire inhabitants of al-Ghawṣa were Sunna.⁵³

8. Nāḥiyat 'Arqūb⁵⁴

According to T.D.430 and T.D.401 it was combined with Wādī al-Taym.

In T.D.263 and T.D.474, it had its own census taken. Its demography was thus:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms
T.D.430 (pp.206-23)	5	61	23	3
T.D.401 (pp.366-83)	6	156	5	6
T.D.263 (pp.473-6)	6	121	27	1
(T.D.474 (pp.395-9)	5	110	6	-

There are four villages repeated in these surveys with a census as under:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	46	19
T.D.401	94	3
T.D.263	71	15
T.D.474	88	3

This table shows how the population rose, fell, then rose again.

53. In his scanty information about Wādī al-Taym, Ibn Tūlūn gives the impression that they were robbers and had terrified the population since the Crusaders. He refers to a khān built by the Sultan in 886/1481 in Wādī al-Taym, and to visits of inspection made by the nā'ib to this place. Under the Shihābis, formed their own contingent in the army of Fakhr al-Dīn II, which was a menace during the looting of Damascus in 1015/1606. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.46, 132, 370, Qalā' id, vol.i, p.39. Darb, p.155. al-Būrīnī, Hasan (d.1024/1615), Tarāijim al-a'yan min abnā' al-zamān, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1959, 1963), vol.ii, p.280. Shorter title, Būrīnī, Tarājim. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, al-Ghawṣa, p.35.

54. This is not mentioned by Yāqūt or other Arab geographers.

9) Nāḥiyat Iqlīm al-Zabīb⁵⁵

The demography of this nāḥiya is shown as:-

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christians	
					House-holds	Bachelors
T.D .430 (pp .421-31)	15	522	76	12	-	-
T.D .401 (pp .354-65)	17	1143	68	17	23	1
T.D .263 (pp .251-72)	16	1430	120	14	15	-
T.D .474 (pp .452-74) (pp .765-72)	16	968	162	2	25	-

In these surveys the names of twelve villages appear and their census produced:

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	436	70	-	-
T.D .401	944	29	12	2
T.D .263	1160	112	15	-
T.D .474	723	150	25	-

The continuous rise then a sharp fall are again conspicuous. In addition, a small number of Christians is discernible.

10) Nāḥiyat al-Sha'ra

Under the Mamlūks, it was one of ten amals which constituted the Southern Saḡqa of the Mamlaka of Damascus.⁵⁶ It was governed by an ordinary

55. It is not mentioned by the geographers. al-Khālidi al-Ṣafadi mentions, later, that Fakhr al-Dīn II in 1028/1618 divided this nāḥiya and Wādī al-Taym between the brothers Aḡmad and 'Alī the sons of Shihāb. Tārīkh, p.84.

56. al-'Umarī, Ta'rif, p.178. Qalqashandi, Ṣubḡ, vol.iv, p.104.

soldier from the ranks.⁵⁷ The census of this nāḥiya is provided in four surveys giving the following figures:-

	No. of villages	House holds	Bachelors	Imāms	Kūrekḥiyān	Christians	
						House holds	Bachelors
T.D.430 (pp.405-20)	25	521	123	18	-	-	-
T.D.401 (pp.531-49)	33	1407	242	28	29	3	2
T.D.263 (pp.400-17)	10	850	52	2	39	-	-
T.D.474 (pp.437-52)	33	1214	245	2	30	-	-

There are five villages whose demography is provided by all these surveys as shown below:

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	160	31
T.D.401	485	126
T.D.263	558	185
T.D.474	297	212

A similarity of increase and a sudden decline is again revealed and is confirmed by comparing the total population of the twenty-three villages whose names appear in T.D.430 and T.D.401:-

	Households	Bachelors	Kūrekḥiyān
T.D.430	1666	216	29
T.D.401	883	192	30

In this nāḥiya, as in al-Ḥūla, there is a group called kūrekḥiyān (hard labourers) which is, also, referred to as renjberān. This group was employed

57. Dimashqī only mentions the name in connection with the names of those dependencies of Damascus. Qalqashandī refers to it as a "wilāya", Nukhbat, p.199. Subḥ, vol. iv, p.200.

to cultivate ḡelḡuk (rice).

After the Ottoman conquest, the state participated in the cultivation of rice. Kūrekçiyān were brought in to augment the labour force. The date of their introduction is not certain but most likely it was in the late forties. References are made to them in connection with villages and farms which possessed rivers. The state claimed half of the produce in addition to al-‘ushr of the other half of the produce and kūrekçiyān were exempt from all other taxation.

In spite of state assistance in rice growing, production⁵⁸ was insufficient. Bilād al-Shām continued to import its rice from Egypt, but the Sultan issued a hūkūm (order) to prohibit its importation. This, naturally, caused hardship to the people and in 977/1569, the Sultan lifted his ban and it was again imported from Egypt. He also commanded the governor to grow rice in al-Shām and its neighbourhood as it was done in the old days.⁵⁹ This decision was taken in order to divert imports from Egypt to Istanbul where there was hardly sufficient rice to meet demand. A similar order, some ten years later, was issued to lift the prohibition from the Sultan's ‘imāret in Jerusalem, and again rice was allowed to be imported from Egypt.⁶⁰

58. T.D.401, pp.532-3. T.D.263, pp.400-2. T.D.474, pp.438-9. The role of the government was to provide seeds, supervise irrigation and the preparation of land for cultivation. See Barkan, O.L., Kanunlar, pp.205, 228, 238. Inalcik, Halil, "Filāḡa", E.I.2, vol.ii, p.907. Nuwayrī, Nihāyat, vol.viii, p.258. For the cultivation of rice in this area before the Ottoman conquest see Muqaddasī, Aḡsan, p.180. Qalqashandī, Subḡ, vol.iv, p.86. al-Zāhiri, Zubdat, p.46. Badrī, Nuzhat, p.303, Ibn Sibāt, Tārīkh, vol.ii, p.426.

59. M.D.ix, No:32, 18 Ramadān, 977, p.12. See also Heyd, U., Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615, (Oxford, 1960), p.133, note 3. Shorter title, Heyd, Ottoman documents.

60. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.132-3.

During the year 999/1590, Damascus suffered hardship from drought. Supplies of wheat, barley and rice were affected and prices soared. Ibn Ayyūb (d. c.1000/1592) refers several times to this fact which implies that rice was an article of diet together with wheat and barley.⁶¹

11) Nāḥiyat al-Ḥawliya

Under the Mamlūks, according to al-Zāhiri, it constituted an iqḥīm belonging to Bānyās.⁶² Its census is provided in four surveys which enumerated the population as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	<u>Kūrekṣiyān</u>
T.D.430 (pp.389-403)	20 plus 3 <u>mazra'ās</u>	343	57	9	-
T.D.401 (pp.551-67)	16	377	38	11	268
T.D.263 (pp.421-47)	15 plus 11 <u>mazra'ās</u>	524	34	10	356
T.D.474 (pp.401-30)	17 plus 9 <u>mazra'ās</u>	390	57	2	265

This table shows that there was a large number of kūrekṣiyān, because the humidity and abundant water rendered it suitable for the growing of rice.

The table shows that the number of kūrekṣiyān residents decreased and this fact, also, is applicable to the total population of the ten villages whose names appear in the four surveys as presented in the table below:-

61. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.339b, 340b, 342b-343a.

62. Ibn Shāhin al-Zāhiri, Zubdat, p.46. Yāqūt refers to it as a kūra lying between Bānyās and Tyre, part of the 'amal of Damascus and comprising several villages. Mu'jam, vol.ii, p.366.

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	210	46
T.D.401	346	27
T.D.263	353	26
T.D.474	299	49

Even this rich area shows a decrease in population.

The Mountain of Lebanon within the province of Damascus comprised the following nāhiyās:-

1) Nāhiyat Kisrawān

Dimashqī referred to Kisrawān as being part of the 'amal of Ba'labakk.⁶³

Little information remains concerning its administration. Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, when quoting al-Nuwayrī, mentions that in 706/1306 it was given as an iqṭā' to three hundred Turkoman cavalry with instructions to guard its roads from Anṭilyās to the borders of the mu'āmalah of Tripoli and watch the shore. This was still the situation when Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā wrote his history.⁶⁴ Suspected persons were prevented from reaching Nahr al-Kalb unless special permission had been obtained from the amīrs of al-Gharb.⁶⁵ However, later under the Ottomans it became a separate nāhiya with demography as shown below:-

63. Dimashqī, Nukhbat, p.199.

64. Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā (d. c. 840/1436), Tārīkh, Bayrūt, (edited by Francis Hours and Kamāl Ṣalībī, Bayrūt, 1969), p.39. Shorter title Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, Tārīkh.

65. Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, Tārīkh, pp. 29, 37. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.125. Salībī, K., "Northern Lebanon under the Dominance of Gazīr (1517-91)", Arabica. Tome XIV, Fas.ii, 1967, pp.144-8.

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bach-elors	Imāms	Christians	
					House-holds	Bach-elors
T.D .430 (pp .226-44)	28	391	37	7	198	21
T.D .383 (pp .353b-88)	31	404	103	3	297	5
T.D .401 (pp .385-401)	31	377	65	-	372	34

The increase and the decrease in the Muslim populations is again apparent. In addition, the number of Christians in this nāḥiya had vastly increased until it almost equalled the size of the Muslim population. The names of twenty-four villages, which appear in all these schedules, provide the following statistics:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	316	35	195	18
T.D .383	327	90	180	12
T.D .401	321	60	296	23

Here the increase in the number of the Muslims is negligible. The number of the Christian population has also risen. Duwayhī mentions that after the resuscitation of Kisrawān and Jubayl, following the Ottoman conquest, Twelver Shī'ās moved from neighbouring (jihat) Ba'labakk to settle in the villages of Fārayyā, Ḥarāḥīl and Biq'ātā; Sunnites came to al-Biqā' and Fatqā and also to the coastal villages of 'Almā and Fayṭarūn. In addition, Drūze came from Maṭn and Jurd to live in Brummānā and to inhabit the farms of Kisrawān, while Christians who had migrated to Tripoli returned.⁶⁶ This influx probably accounts for the halt in decrease of the Muslim population and the increase of the Christians.

66. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.152-3. For the location of these villages and places see Sālīhī, "Northern Lebanon", pp.150-1.

2) Nāḥiyat Matn⁶⁷

Administrative details of this area under the Mamlūks are scanty and vague. Most likely it was under the supervision of the Turkomans in Kisrawān.

A census given in three surveys has survived:

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	<u>Christian</u> <u>Households</u>
T.D.430 (pp.270-6)	12	341	33	1	-
T.D.383 (pp.277-99)	24	798	13	-	2
T.D.401 (pp.426-35)	24	536	58	-	2

The almost complete absence of Imāms is noticeable, and probably reflects the larger Drūze population of the area.⁶⁸

The Christian element is noticeably small.

There are nine villages whose names are repeated in the three surveys with the following demography:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	307	31
T.D.383	536	13
T.D.401	288	32

An increase and a decrease are noticeable as ever.

67. Little information is provided by available printed sources about Matn Ṣāliḥ b. Yahya mentioned that Sa'ad al-Dīn Khidr b. Muḥammad b. Hajjī, a Buhtirī amīr (d.713/1313) sent his horses to graze in Matn and Kafar Silwān, Duwayhī said that Drūze came from Matn and Jurd to live in Brummanā, Tārīkh, p. 56. Tārīkh al-azmina, p.153.

68. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.153.

3) Nāḥiyat Jurd⁶⁹

The following figures are given for this nāḥiya:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms
T.D.430 (pp.258-69)	19	478	62	7
T.D.383 (pp.341-61)	4	697	166	5
T.D.401 (pp.415-24)	17	655	81	1

The pattern of the increase and decrease is retained. This is attested to by comparison of the total population of the thirteen villages whose names appear in the three surveys given below:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	387	55
T.D.383	576	138
T.D.401	529	72

4) Nāḥiyat al-Gharb⁷⁰

Under the Mamlūks, this area was conferred upon various members of the family of Banū Buḥtur as an iqṭā'. It was considered as part of the mu'āmalah of Bayrūt. Its recorded demography is as follows:-

69. Dimashqī mentions that it was part of the 'amal of Ba'labakk. Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā refers to some villages like Baṭlūn, Btātīr, which were in Jurd as part of the jihāt of Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥajjī (d.697/1297), and remained in the hands of his grandsons until the time of Ṣāliḥ. Later Ibn Ṭūlūn refers to the village of Majdal Ma'awsh which was in Jurd as part of the mu'āmalah of Bayrūt. It is worth mentioning that Ṣāliḥ calls it Jurdayn, Nukhbat, p.199. Tārīkh, pp.51, 53, 55, 161. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufakhat, vol.i, p.359. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.277.
70. Under the Mamlūks, Gharb was conferred as an iqṭā' to Banū Buḥtur. al-Gharb was considered as part of the mu'āmalah of Bayrūt and amīrs from Banū Buḥtur were several times appointed to official positions in Bayrūt which was in their darak. See Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, Tārīkh, pp.40, 72, 85-7, 106-7. Salibi, K. "The Buḥturds of the Gharb, medieval lords of Beirut and Southern Lebanon", Arabica, vol.viii, (1961), pp.74-97.

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Blind
T.D.430 (pp.277-300)	32	1181	10	-	-
T.D.383 (pp.300-37)	24	1075	170	10	-
T.D.401 (pp.436-53)	34	1395	299	9	1

Of the twenty-four villages whose names are repeated in the above mentioned surveys, the census gives:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	1013	9
T.D.383	1075	175
T.D.401	1025	141

Here, both the increase and the decrease are slight.

5) Nāḥiyat Shūf al-Ḥarrādīn

Demographical information about this nāḥiya is given in four surveys together with the number of villages and their population as under:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Blind
T.D.430 (pp.150-8)	14	222	63	11	1
T.D.383 (pp.227-32) (pp.644-52)	13	511	80	7	-
T.D.401 (pp.265-72)	13	425	145	13	-
T.D.474 (pp.315-27) (pp.706-14)	12	347	131	6	-

The names of eleven villages reappear and their demographies are shown in the surveys as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	202	57
T.D .383	433	78
T.D .401	378	137
T.D .474	347	13

Again the pattern of increase and decrease is reflexive.

6) Nāḥiya Shūf al-Bayāq ⁷¹

Statistics from four surveys reveal the number of villages and their population as thus:-

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bach-elors	Imāms Sharīfs		Christians	
				Imāms	Sharīfs	House-holds	Bach-elors
T.D .430 (pp.179-205)	19	778	142	19	1	-	-
T.D .383 (pp.197-222) (pp.635-41)	20	1610	253	13	-	184	21
T.D .401 (pp.277-89)	19	1582	293	20	-	197	13
T.D .474 (pp.329-347)	20	1361	231	10	-	174	37

Attention must be paid to the presence of Christians in this nāḥiya.

No reference is made to their presence in the first survey which indicates an immigration to this area after the first census had been taken. The census of seventeen villages is available in the four surveys which survive:-

71. Available Mamlūk printed sources do not mention it. For comparison of its size during the nineteenth century see Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, Akhbār, pp.31-2. He calls it al-Shūf al-Bayāqī with a male population of 1,000 Muslims plus 11,473 Christians, p.34.

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	701	106	-	-
T.D.383	1496	234	184	21
T.D.401	1502	271	197	13
T.D.474	1239	208	174	37

The sharp rise occurs as elsewhere and the usual decrease also appears.

7) Nāḥiyat Shūf Ibn Maʿn wa al-Ḥayṭī wa al-Shuwayrānī⁷²

The demography of this nāḥiya was as follows:

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.302-29)	40	1466	36	8
T.D.383 (pp.511-63)	44	1626	213	2
T.D.401 (pp.453-74)	47	1700	225	31.

The number of villages shows an increase; in addition, no reference is made to Drūze in this nāḥiya which was a stronghold for them.⁷³ The names of thirty-five villages and their demography appear in all these surveys as follows:-

72. Dimashqī counted the following Shūfs as 'amals of Damascus: Shūf al-Mayādna, Shūf al-ʿAdasī, Shūf al-Ḥayṭī, Shūf al-Kharnūb, and Shūf al-Shūmar. Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā referred to is as al-Shūf but did not distinguish between the names of its various parts. Yāqūt did not mention it. Later, Shidyāq mentioned that al-Shūf constituted two parts: al-Shūf al-Ḥayṭī and al-Shūf al-Suwayḥānī, Nukhbāt, p.200. Tārīkh Bayrūt, pp.56-7, 185, 190, 249. Alkhabār, pp.30-1.

73. According to Shidyāq there were in this iqlīm 1,325 male Christians and 3,517 Drūze males. Alkhabār, p.34.

	Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	1307	35
T.D .383	1365	109
T.D .401	1311	110

Both the rise and fall, as shown in these figures, is slight.

8) Nāḥiyat Jizzīn ⁷⁴

The demography of this nāḥiya appears as:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D .430 (pp .383-6)	8	164	10	2
T.D .383 (pp .447-58)	8	230	64	8
T.D .401 (pp .523-7)	5	212	41	6

One point emerges forcibly: no Christians lived in this nāḥiya during the first half of the sixteenth century.

There are five villages, whose names appear in the three surveys, whose demography is as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D .430	120	5
T.D .383	190	54
T.D .401	212	41

In these groups of figures, the population shows a steady increase but no census is available for 976/1568 which prohibits the possibility of knowing whether a tendency toward decrease would be observable.

74. Neither Muqaddasī nor Yāqūt mentioned it. Ṣālīḥ b. Yahyā and Ibn Ṭulūn mentioned it once as Jazīn and its dependencies. Tārīkh, p.96. Mufākahat, vol.i, p.174. In Shidyāq's time it was part of Shu'f al-Ḥaythī. In Jizzin's iqlim, the population counted as 3,271 male Christians and 97 male Drūze. Alkḥbar, pp.31,36.

9) Nāḥiyat Iqlīm Kharrūb⁷⁵

Its demography in three surveys is:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.368-80)	21	435	27	11
T.D.383 (pp.461-84)	21	627	146	-
T.D.401 (pp.512-21)	21	496	66	18

Ina this nāḥiya the names of twenty villages appear in the three surveys and their demography was as presented below:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	420	26
T.D.383	610	142
T.D.401	488	68

The increase then the fall are again evident.

10) Nāḥiyat Iqlīm al-Tuffāḥ⁷⁶

Its demography was as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.338-56)	25	545	64	5
T.D.383 (pp.410-48)	26	1236	170	10
T.D.401 (pp.485-500)	22	869	62	7

75. Dimashqī gives the name of Shūf al-Kharrūb. Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā quotes a manshūr referring to it as Iqlīm al-Kharrūb. Nukhbat, p.200. Tārīkh p.60. Cf. Shidyāq, Akhbār, where he gives its population as 1,502 male Christians, 200 male Drūze, and 815 Sunni and Shi'a males, pp.33-4.

76. Neither Yāqūt nor Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā referred to it. Dimashqī stated that it was part of the ʿamal of Damascus. Nukhbat, p.200. Cf. Shidyāq, he gives the population as 1,784 male Christians and 31 male Drūze, Akhbār, pp.33-4.

There are fifteen villages whose names are repeated in the three surveys and their census was thus:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	385	42
T.D.383	893	137
T.D.401	738	20

Here again the pattern is retained.

11) Nāḥiyat Iqlīm Shūmar⁷⁷

The demography of this nāḥiya was as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms
T.D.430 (pp.357-67)	14	382	9	6
T.D.383 (pp.487-507)	14	411	162	4
T.D.401 (pp.502-10)	14	609	37	11

As in most cases there is an increase in the population but the census of 976/1568 is not available so it is not known whether this tendency continued or not.

12) Nāḥiyat Bayrūt⁷⁸

During the sixteenth century, it comprised only the city and its suburb known as al-Burj; and its demography was shown as:-

77. Dimashqī mentions it, Nukhbat, p.200.

78. al-ʿUmari says that it was an important ʿamal in the third Ṣafqa. Later, Qalqashandī reiterates the same. He adds that during his time its governor was of the ṭablakhāna rank. al-Zāhiri says it had its iqlīm to which a number of villages belonged. al-ʿUmari, Taʿrīf, p.179. Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, pp.110, 200. Zubdat, p.48. Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā, Tarīkh p.37. Elisseef, N., "Bayrut", E.I.2, vol.i, p.1138.

	House- holds	Bach- elors	Imāms	Christians		Jews House- holds	Sayyids	Sharīfs
				House- holds	Bach- elors			
T.D.430 (pp.248-50) (pp.253-5)	610	39	16	66	11	12	-	-
T.D.383 (pp.253-76)	809	269	17	95	30	16	-	-
T.D.401 (pp.403-7) (pp.410-11)	847	24	3	66	-	19	1	5

The increase in the population is consistent, in addition to the presence of Jews and Christians in the city.

13) Nāḥiyat Şayda⁷⁹

Like Bayrūt, its nāḥiya comprised only the city with a population of:-

	Households	Bachelors	Imāms	Jews
				Households
T.D.430 (pp.332-4)	196	-	-	26
T.D.383 (pp.395-406)	72	39	4	36
T.D.401 (pp.475-8)	466	22	3	-

Again an increase in population is followed by a decrease. In addition, the Jews,⁸⁰ who had their own maḥalla (district) do not appear in the third survey.

Finally, no reference is made to any Christians in the city.

79. In the Mamlūk times, it was a vast wilāya; and according to Qalqashandī more than 600 villages belonged to it. Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhīri put the figure as exceeding 200. In its government sometimes there was an amīr of ten or an amīr of jablakhāna. Tarīf, p.179. Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, pp.110, 202. Zubdat, p.47.

80. Lewis, B., Notes and documents, p.23. For parallel study see Lewis, B., "Jaffa in the 16th Century", Necatī Lugal Armaganından, (Turk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1969), pp.435-46.

The region of Ḥawrān⁸¹ during the sixteenth century was divided into the following nāḥiyas:-

- 1) Nāḥiyat Jaydur⁸² known also as Nawā

Nawā, under the Mamlūks, was the centre of an 'amal, in the southern Şafqa.⁸³ Its available demography during the first half of the century was thus:

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bachelors	Imāms	Turkomans	
					House-holds	Bachelors
T.D.430 (pp.501-23)	28	381	25	1	24	-
T.D.401 (pp.569-85)	37	679	49	28	8	1

The increased number of villages and the presence of Turkomans in this nāḥiya are recorded. Names of twenty-three of the villages appear in both surveys and their demography was as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	313	25
T.D.401	523	43

The increase in the number of the population still prevails. Unfortunately, surveys concerning this nāḥiya for the third quarter of the century are missing.

81. Ḥawrān, under the Mamlūks, was part of the southern Şafqa. Zāhiri says it is sometimes credited with containing several iqṭims comprising more than one thousand villages. Ta'rif, pp.177-8. Şubḥ, vol.iv, p.103. Zubdat, p.47. Sourdel, D., "Hawran", E.I.², vol.iii, pp.292-3.
82. Yāqūt defines it as a kūra from the country of Damascus. He refers to it by saying it and Jawlān were considered to be one kūra, Mu'jam, vol.ii, p.173.
83. Qalqashandī, Şubḥ, vol.iv, p.105. Muqaddasī describes it as the granary of wheat and cereals, Aḥsan, p.160.

2) Nāḥiyat Banū Kilāb⁸⁴

Its demography was as follows:-

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bachelors	Imāms	Christians		
					House-holds	Bachelors	Sharīfs
T.D.430 (pp.525-37)	16	254	20	5	5	-	-
T.D.401 (pp.587-99)	29	702	35	23	45	1	3

In addition to the increase in the number of the recorded villages there is an increase in the population. The Christians are more numerous; this is also ratified by comparing the total population of the fifteen villages whose names appear in the two surveys:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians		Sharīfs
			Households	Bachelors	
T.D.430	247	20	-	-	-
T.D.401	507	29	39	1	3

3) Nāḥiyat Banū Muqlid⁸⁵

The census of this nāḥiya is available in two surveys recording its demography thus:-

84. Banū Kilāb was among the main Arab tribes who migrated into Syria with the Islamic conquest. After the battle of Marj Rāhit (64/683) it moved northwards to settle around Aleppo. Members of this tribe were marsh warriors and it was their habit to penetrate the Byzantine land to kidnap boys and girls to sell them later. It is mentioned that it spoke Turkish. It suffered from the absence of strong unifying leadership. It is not surprising to find some branches of it allying themselves with Al Faql in Bilād al-Shām. It appears that this nāḥiya was named after these branches. al-Umari, Masālik, MS. Topkapı, No:2797, vol.iii, part 1, fols.28a, 50a-53b. Qalqashandī, Subh, vol.iv, pp.205, 231-2. Krenkow, F., "Kilāb", E.I.¹, vol.ii, p.1005. Zakkār, S., The Emirate of Aleppo, 352/1002 - 487/1094, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1969, pp.63-73.

85. A branch of Banū 'Uqayl was known by this name. Banū 'Uqayl who had founded an emirate in Iraq were dispersed from Iraq when the Seljuks advanced into the country. Most of them returned to Bahrain. If part of the tribe had moved to Hawrān, it was probably named after them. Qalqashandī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, Qalā' id al-jumān fī al-ta'rif bi qabā' il =

	No. of villages	House-holds	Bachelors	Imāms	Christians	
					House-holds	Bachelors
T.D.430 (pp.546-62)	39	480	7	4	26	-
T.D.401 (pp.666-83)	30	973	65	30	53	6

It is worth mentioning that in T.D.430 the names of eight villages were given but their census was not provided. In the same deftar the names of two villages were given and it is added that their inhabitants abandoned them. The names of twenty-three villages were provided with their census in both surveys which was as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	417	6	26	-
T.D.401	698	40	53	6

There is an increase in the number of both the Muslims and the Christians in this nāḥiya.

4) Nāḥiyat Banū Mālik al-Ashraf⁸⁶

Its demography was as follows:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	Imāms	Sharīfs
T.D.401 (pp.684-88)	10	204	-	8	5

= ‘Arab al-zaman, edited by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, (Cairo, 1963), p.120. Shorter title, Qalqashandī, Qalā’id. Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, Nihāyat al-arab fī ma‘rifat qabā’ il al-‘Arab, edited by ‘Alī al-Khāqānī, (Baghdad, 1958), p.338. Shorter title, Qalqashandī, Nihāyat. Kahḥāla ‘Umar Ridā, Mu‘jam qabā’ il al-‘Arab al-qadīma wa al-ḥadītha, 3 vols., (Damascus, 1949), vol.ii, p.801, Shorter title, Kahḥāla, Mu‘jam.

86. I could not identify a tribe by this name.

A striking increase is shown in the population. The names of six villages with their census appear in both surveys which was as follows:

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	59	1
T.D.401	168	-

The increase in population is noticeable.

5) Nāḥiyat Banū Nashba⁸⁷

The demography of this nāḥiya was as presented under:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	<u>Sharīfs</u>
T.D.430 (pp.538-42)	10	195	10	4	-
T.D.401 (pp.642-9)	12	463	7	17	1

Again, there was an increase in the population. This is also attested to by comparing the total census of the population of the nine villages whose names are repeated in both surveys, viz:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	185	10
T.D.401	366	7

It is noticeable that the number of the households had almost doubled.

6) Nāḥiyat Banū Hilāl⁸⁸

The names of twenty-three villages are given but their census is not

87. I was not able to identify the origin of this name.

88. Ibn Khaldūn states that Banū Hilāl lived in al-Shām until they migrated to al-Maghrib. Some remained in Ḥawrān, near a mountain which bore their name. Most of them were cultivators. Yāqūt, Dimashqī and Ibn Ṭūlūn refer to this mountain. Duhmān identifies it as Jabāl al-Shaykh. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, MS. Ahmet III, No:2925; vol.i, part iii, fōt.23a, ʿIbar, vol.vi, pp.23-4. Nukhbat, p.200. Qalāʾ id, vol.ii, p.344. *Ṣubḥ*, vol.i, p.341. Qalāʾ id, pp.117-8. Ibn Saʿīd, *Bast*, p.85. Idrīs, H.R., "Hilāl", *E.T.2*, vol.iii, pp.385-7; T.D.401, p.697.

provided.⁸⁹ No reference concerning this nāhiya in other available sources is recorded.

7) Nāhiyat Jawlān Gharbī wa Sharqī⁹⁰

As is the case with the Nāhiyat of Banū Hilāl, the names of eight villages are provided by one defter.⁹¹ Other defters do not refer to it.

8) Nāhiyat Banū ‘Abdullah⁹²

Data of its census is provided in two surveys as follows:

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christians	
					Households	Bachelors
T.D.430 (pp.565-72)	11	158	4	8	68	3
T.D.401 (pp.690-6)	14	396	17	20	100	3

The proportion of Christians is rather conspicuous, especially in the village of ‘Adhir‘āt where they were more numerous than the Muslims.

There are eleven villages whose names recur in the two surveys and they had the following demography:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians	
			Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	139	4	68	3
T.D.401	372	17	100	3

89. T.D.401, p.697.

90. Muqaddasī defines it as one of the rasāfiq of Damascus. Yāqūt was vague; he termed it a village which was said to be from the nawāhī of Damascus, Aḥsan, p.154. Mu‘jam, vol.ii, p.151.

91. T.D.423, pp.88-9, 108.

92. Qalqashandī enumerates thirteen tribes by the name of Banū ‘Abdullah. Two of them belonged to Banū Kināna; one was a Hilālī. If this nāhiya was named after any one of them, it is not certain which one it was. Nihayat, pp.312-4.

The consistent increase in the population appears here also in both Muslims and Christians.

9) Nāḥiyat Banū Mālik al-Ṣadīr⁹³

The names of forty-four villages are provided but their census is not given.⁹⁴

10) Nāḥiyat Banū 'Ātika

Two defters provide census data for this nāḥiya:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.562-4)	4	92	-	4
T.D.401 (pp.628-40)	25	389	4	11

There were four villages whose names occur in both surveys, and their census was

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	92	-
T.D.401	142	3

This shows an increase in the population, but T.D.474 is incomplete and its people may have increased or decreased.

11) Nāḥiyat Banū Kināna⁹⁵

Statistical figures for this nāḥiya were recorded in this manner:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>
T.D.430 (pp.572-82)	27	234	-	6
T.D.401 (pp.611-26)	48	700	38	30

It is worth mentioning that in the first survey a village is mentioned as having been abandoned by its inhabitants. The census of seventeen villages was provided by the two surveys as follows:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	175	-
T.D.401	325	25

A noticeable increase in the population is discernible.

93. Qalqashandī enumerates eleven tribes each named Banū Mālik. None was called Banū Mālik al-Ṣadīr. Nihāyat, pp.376-8. Qalā'id, p.88. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Lubāb, vol.iii, p.89.

94. T.D.401, pp.688-9. T.D.423, pp.96-7.

95. Banū Mudlij, a branch of this tribe lived in Ṣarḥad and Ḥawrān. This nāḥiya was, as it appears, named after it. It was a client of Āl Mira in Bilād al-Shām. al-'Umari, Masālik, fol.47a. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.i, p.351.

12) Nāḥiyat Banū Jahma⁹⁶

Its demography was thus:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christians Households
T.D.430 (pp.584-9)	16	132	-	2	4
T.D.401 (pp.600-8)	20	419	16	17	-

In T.D.430 the name of a village abandoned by its inhabitants is recorded. There are thirteen villages repeated in both surveys and their census is shown below:-

	Households	Bachelors	Christians Households
T.D.430	113	-	4
T.D.401	342	14	-

The usual increase in the population is noticeable. No reference is made to Christian inhabitants in the second survey.

13) Nāḥiyat Banū al-A'sar⁹⁷

Two defters provide its demography in this manner:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christians Households
T.D.430 (pp.591-6)	17	199	-	6	-
T.D.401 (pp.652-661)	25	500	22	20	38

96. It was not possible to establish the origin of this tribe. Available printed sources do not mention it, unless it is a corrupted form of Juhayna which, according to al-Ḥamdānī, lived in the country around Aleppo. They might have migrated to the south and the place may have taken their name. Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, p.207

97. It was not possible to identify a tribe by this name. al-Sam'ānī mentions a tribe by the name of A'sar. Perhaps the 's' is written s, and that it was a possible descendant of Banū al-A'sar, but this is by no means certain. Sam'ānī, Ansāb, vol.i, p.311. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubab, vol.i, p.60. Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, p.43. Kaḥḥāla, Mu'jam, vol.i, pp.34-5.

The names of fifteen villages appear in both surveys with a total census as follows:

	Households	Bachelors	Christians Households
T.D.430	168	-	.
T.D.401	358	20	21

In addition to the usual pattern of increase in the population, the presence of Christians is on record in this nāhiya.

14) Nāhiyat Banū 'Uqba⁹⁸

Two surveys provide its demography thus:-

	No. of villages	Households	Bachelors	<u>Imāms</u>	Christians Households
T.D.430 (pp.584-91)	4	23	-	-	-
T.D.401 (pp.663-4)	7	99	5	3	19

The presence of Christians is noticeable. There was a general increase in the population. This is supported by comparison with the number of the population of the four villages whose names are repeated in both surveys as under:-

	Households	Bachelors
T.D.430	23	-
T.D.401	77	3

98. There were three tribes by the name of Banū 'Uqba. One emanated from Judhām which lived in the area between Shawbak and Tabūk. Ibn Khaldūn described it as nomad roaming as far as Medina. The second was a branch of Banū Hilāl, and a third a branch of Kinda. Perhaps this nāhiya was named after Banū 'Uqba of Banū Hilāl, who settled there. Al-'Umārī, Masālik, MS. No:2797, fol.26a. Ibn Khaldūn, Ubar, vol.vi, p.11. Qalqashandī, Subh, vol.i, p.334. Nihayat, pp.336-7. Qala'id, p.65.

Here a striking increase in the number of the population is noticeable.

It would appear that when the nāhiya system was introduced, tribal and sectarian boundaries were taken into consideration in addition to other natural elements such as rivers and mountains. Until relevant Mamlūk sources have been carefully examined it is not possible to assert whether this system was introduced by the Ottomans or had existed within the Safqa system under the Mamlūks.

Demographic data reveals that the population of the province was heterogenous. There were four distinct groups of society: nomads, villagers, urban dwellers and Ottoman personnel,⁹⁹ the last-named imposing itself as a superstructure over the other groups.

Islam, Christianity and Judaism had their followers and each was subdivided into sects. During the period under consideration there was no persecution of either Christians or Jews who lived in their own special areas in more or less exclusive communities. Non-Sunni sects among the Muslims were less fortunate and the Drūze¹⁰⁰ in particular were subject to frequent persecution.

The population was also racially heterogenous. Into it were amalgamated Arabs, Turkomans, Kurds¹⁰¹ and gypsies in addition to many other ethnic groups.

99. Ottoman personnel is not counted in this chapter; for it see Chapter III, pp.97-108.

100. For campaigns against the Druze, see Chapter VI, pp.187-204.

101. Members of Arab, Turkoman and Kurdish tribes are not included in this survey. For their number and distribution, See Chapter VII, pp.223-32.

There is no apparent reason for the fall in the numbers of the population. On assessing tax payments it is noticeable that even while population numbers fell, tax payments rose.¹⁰² A suggested explanation could be that the surveys during the second half of the century were not thorough because of laxity in law and order. Another possibility is that incorrect numbers in households were submitted in order to avoid some occasional taxes.¹⁰³

102. For amount of taxes paid, see Chapter V, p.185.

103. For the location of nāḥiyas see map attached. See also demographic specimen given as an appendix.

CHAPTER III

The Office of the Governor and the Military Force
of the Province

1. The Office of the Governor

During the sixteenth century the province of Damascus comprised its liwā' which was subdivided into forty-eight nāḥiyās and included the sanjaqs (sanjaq = liwā' which is an administrative unit) of: Tadmur, Ṣafad, Lajjūn in Palestine, Nāblus, Jerusalem, Gaza, 'Ajlūn and Karak-Shaybak.¹ Its governor resided in the former Mamlūk governor's house which lay outside the citadel and was known as Dār al-Sa'āda.² He was appointed for one year and the appointment was subject to renewal. In the Tapu Defters he was referred to as mīr-i mīrān and as beylerbey in the Mūhimme Defteri. The city of Damascus was under his control together with its liwā'. The sanjaqs each had a governor referred to as sanjaqbey, but all were subordinate to the governor of the province.³

According to decrees (sing. hūkūm) issued by the Sultan, the function of both governors and sanjaqbeys was to keep law and order; hold the Bedouins in check; observe the activities of the Drūze and endeavour to crush innovations. All the posts included cooperation with the defterdār in collecting taxes from the

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1. M.D.i, No:357, 13 Dhu'l Qa'da 961, p.67. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.35, 'Aynī 'Alī Qawānīn Āl-i Osman, p.6. Lewis, B. "Studies", BSOAS, vol.xvi (1954), pp.272-3. Lewis does not mention the Sanjaq of Lajjūn.
 2. Ibn Tūlūn, I'lām, p.238, 240. It was in the N.W. corner, south of the citadel with elaborate stables. Calqashandī referred to it as Dār al-Niyāba. Ṣubḥī, vol.iv, p.195. Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.i, p.38.
 3. Ibn Tūlūn, I'lām, p.237. T.D.263, p.1. M.D.xviii, No:169, 10 Sha'abān 979, p.78. See also Ménage, V.L. "Beglerbegi", E.I.², vol.i, pp.1159-60. Deny, J., "Sandjak", E.I.¹, vol.iv, pp.148-50.

province. It was part of the duty of the governor of Damascus to help the defterdār of Aleppo by sending soldiers to collect taxes. His duties also extended to the maintenance of mosques, schools and fortresses. Another and special duty of officials in the province was to despatch by military escort the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca and ensure its safe return. In common with their colleagues in other parts of the Empire, the governors and the sanjaqbeys themselves led the military forces when necessary.

Ottoman administrative personnel in Damascus were numerically fewer than their Mamlūk predecessors.⁴ There was a governor at the head of the structure who was granted a khāṣṣ which yielded one million akches annually.⁵ He was assigned the revenue of a number of villages in addition to miscellaneous taxes levied for community services. This was known as bād-i havā and ‘assiyya in Damascus and its suburbs and Hawrān. It included, also, the fees paid by the tezkeresiz timar-holders for their berāt.⁶

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4. Cf. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol. iv, pp. 184-194; Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol. i, pp. 104-9.
 5. The khāṣṣ of the governor was spread over several nāhiyās. For names of villages and mazāri‘ assigned as a khāṣṣ see T.D. 169, pp. 36-44; this deftter records the annual khāṣṣ yielding as 1,002,761 akches. T.D. 383, pp. 567-70, 589, 631; T.D. 223, pp. 1, 176, 479, 494, 497; T.D. 275, pp. 45-123; T.D. 401, pp. 98-9, 125-7, 141, 152, 202-4, 284, 300, 326, 341-5, 517, 535-6, 571-2, 589-90, 612, 630, 645, 652, 671, 690-3; T.D. 423, pp. 103-5; T.D. 474, pp. 2, 501, 520-2, 719, 774-6; ‘Aynī . ‘Alī mentions that the mīr-i mirān khāṣṣ yielded 900,000 akches, Qawānīn-i Āl-i Osmān, p. 53. For akche, see Bowen, H. "Akçe", E.I.², vol. i, pp. 317-8.
 6. T.D. 169, p. 36. This deftter shows a total tax yield of 315,000 akches. Later in 976/1568, it rose to 360,000 akches, T.D. 474, p. 206. After 1530, it was the governor's prerogative to issue berāt to timariots whose timars yielded less than 6,000 akches annually. They were referred to as tezkeresiz. Any timar which yielded 6,000 or more required berāt from the Sultan. These timar-holders were known as tezkereli. See Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. i, part i, pp. 49-50. L. Fekete, 'Berāt', E.I.², vol. i, pp. 1170-1. For the legal meaning of barā‘a in Arabic see R. Brunschvig, "Barā‘a", E.I.², vol. i, pp. 1026-7. For these miscellaneous taxes see Chapter V, pp. 178-9.

Next in the strata of the hierarchy was the alay beyi referred to as mīr-i alay-i Shām who was a holder of a zi'āmet. He was the military commander of the province and, on his recommendation, vacancies in the timar holdings were filled. It was his privilege to have a standard and a drum. The first to be recorded as the holder of this post was Aḥmad b. Bāyezīd and the next to be mentioned in the defters was Arslān 'Alī bey. The alay beyi was assisted by a number of chāvushes who had their aghā and ketkhudā; and all were incorporated in the timar system.⁷

The general commander of the janissaries in Damascus was referred to as aghā-i yencheryān. The janissaries were divided into bōlūks, each headed by a bōlūkbāshī. Some of them were housed in the citadel, others in the city and the remainder were distributed among the nāḥiyas of the liwā'. The head of each unit in any nāḥiya was referred to as ser-i 'asker.⁸

The citadel of Damascus was governed by a dizdār and there is little information to be found concerning those who occupied this office. Among the few names mentioned is that of Ibrāhīm Qāsim (ca. 930/1523).⁹ In the following year Ḥusayn al-'Ajamī appears to have occupied and held it until his death in 947/1540.¹⁰ The name of a certain Aḥmad is mentioned in 976/1568

7. T.D.169, p.100; T.D. 423, pp.6, 109, 111, 113, 117, 137; T.D.474, p.531; Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.51, 145-7; Uzun Çarşili, Ismail Hakki, 'Alay beyi' I.A., vol.i, p.293; Bowen, H. 'Alay', E.I.2, vol.i, p.358; Deny, J., "Ze'āmet", E.I.1, vol.iv, pp.1221-2.

8. T.D.423, pp.115, 139, 163, 184; T.D.169, p.110; T.D.263, p.513. See Huarī, C.L., "Sar", E.I.1, vol.iv, p.155.

9. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.33a.

10. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.30a, 31a, 36a, 39a. al-Ġhazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.139.

as its dīzdār and the holder of a zi'āmet.¹¹ Under the Mamlūks, Damascus was policed by 'assas and all of them were Mamlūk in origin. They were assisted by prefects (sing. 'arīf) of the ḥārāḥ who were abolished by the Ottomans and afterwards replaced by soldiers, giving the responsibility for their maintenance to the governor of Damascus. For this purpose, he collected twenty thousand akches annually which was actually a continuation of the ancient custom.¹²

Similar tax collections were made for the same purpose in Ba'labakk, Bayrūt and Sidon.¹³

II. The Fortresses and their Garrisons

The fortresses (sing. qal'a) in the province formed three lines. One of these was parallel to the coast from Bayrūt to al-'Arīsh; another was on the highway between Damascus and Cairo across Palestine, while a third chain on the road from Damascus to al-'Ulā helped to guard the route to Mecca.

In Bayrūt there were five watch-towers (sing. burj) with a total of fifty-two mūstahfizān (fortress-soldiers) to man them.¹⁴ They were paid in

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11. T.D. 474, p.691. It is described as yielding 12,400 akches annually.
 12. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.126, 222; T.D.275, pp.45, 121; T.D.423, p.103; T.D.401, p.53; this deftar gives the amount of collected money as fifty thousand akches. T.D.474, p.206. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.119, 324-5. Lewis, B. "Review of Islamic Society", BSCAS, p.600. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.164-5, 167; Aḥkam here shows corruption of 'asas in Ṣafad. See also "'Asas", E.I.2, vol.i, p.687.
 13. T.D.383, pp.36, 269, 402; T.D.401, p.178. Two thousand akches were collected in Ba'labakk, four thousand in Bayrūt and twelve thousand in Sidon. In 999/1590 the office in Bayrūt and Sidon was given to Qorqmās b. Mansūr b. Furaykh referred to as subāshī. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols. 213b-214a. See also Kramers, J.H. "Subāshī", E.I.1, vol.iv, pp.491-2.
 14. The burjs were al-Qal'a, 'Illiyīn, Sanbatīyya, Barrānī, known as al-Qintārī and Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn. M.M.3732, p.59; T.D.430, pp.256-7; this deftar gives the total number of mūstahfizān as 48. For name of a place in Bayrūt similar to the name of the third burj see Ṣalīḥ b. Yahyā, Tārīkh, p.32. See also J. Sourdél-Thomīne, "Burdj", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1315-8.

cash and it appears that their payment was very little in actual cash, in most cases less than three hundred akches a year.¹⁵ The upkeep of the watch-towers was covered by land-endowments which were expected to cover also the maintenance of the soldiers.¹⁶ It is worth mentioning that they were issued with swords, helmets, bows, armour, spears, lances, axes, muskets, cannon and gunpowder.¹⁷

In Sidon, to the south of Bayrūt there were two watch-towers; Burj al-Julbān which had fourteen soldiers to man it and Burj al-Khayyāt with only eight soldiers. The majority of the soldiers were paid one hundred akches a year. Like those of Bayrūt, both of these watch-towers were endowed with mazāri', watermills, baths and land. For example, the endowments of Burj al-Khayyāt yielded 9,420 akches annually. The armoury was well equipped with similar weapons to those of Bayrūt.¹⁸

15. T.D.430, pp.256-7.

16. T.D.401, p.271, the revenues were 580 akches; T.D.474, p.311; the revenues were 4,200 akches.

17. T.D.401, pp.256-7; Cf. Parry, J., 'Materials of War in the Ottoman Empire', Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, pp.219-29. Rafeq, A., 'The local forces in Syria in the 17th and 18th centuries', a paper presented at an S.O.A.S conference, 'War, Technology and Society in the Middle East', 1970, pp.21-9. Inalcik, H., paper, 'The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Firearms in the Middle East' presented at the same conference. See also appendices concerning firearms recorded in the Ottoman archives, pp.15-21. See also A.M. Yusuf, 'Šinā'at al-bārūd fi Ḥama fi al-qarn al-sādis 'ashar', Majallat al-Ḥawliyyāt al-Athariyya, vol.xviii, pp.67-82. Ayalon, 'Bārūd', E.I.2 vol.i, pp.1058-1061; Parry, 'Barud', E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1061-6.

18. M.M. 3723, pp.68-9; T.D.430, pp.331, 335; T.D.388, p.402; T.D.401, pp.441, 450; al-Julbān Tower was endowed in Tripoli; T.D.430, p.331. Qalqashandī quoting al-'Umarī refers to military sea-patrols (bahriyya), cavalry, scouts and other employees in the citadel of Sidon, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.202. See also Ayalon, D. "The Mamlūks and Naval Power", Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, vol.i, (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1967), No.8, pp.1-12; Ayalon, D., "Bahriyya", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.945-7.

Further south, in Acre, there was a watch-tower manned by eight soldiers,¹⁹ while that at Jaffa had only four.²⁰ In the citadel of Gaza, there were thirty-six mūstahfizān in addition to nine from the corps of mūteferrika.²¹ In 967/1559 the Sultan commanded the governor of Egypt to build a fortress at al-‘Arīsh which was then part of his province.²² Later in 1602/3 the Sultan approved of the erection of a fortress in Khān Yūnus to protect travellers and pilgrims from the attacks of the Bedouins.²³

The citadel of Damascus was, no doubt, the largest in the province. It had fourteen bāiūks of mustahfizān which in 961/1553 amounted to 142 and fell to 86 in 964/1556. The soldiers, who were organized into units identified by the names of their unit leader, were paid between 4-10 akches daily, although average remuneration was 5-6 akches.²⁴ The topchus (gunners) comprised two bāiūks and totalled twenty-six. Each bāiūk had its head, and over the entire unit was a ser assisted by a ketkhudā. Their range of payment varied between

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19. M.M.3723, pp.226-7. . Piri Reis, (d.962/1554?) refers to a tower built by the Mamluks which guarded the harbour of Acre probably Burj al-Sultan, "A Turkish description of the Coast of Palestine in the Early Sixteenth Century", Israel Exploration Journal, vol.vi, (1956), p.212. Heyd's note No.53.
20. M.M.3723, p.24. Cf. Piri Reis, pp.207-8. In his article on Jaffa, B. Lewis does not refer to any burj in Jaffa; see "Jaffa in the 16th century", Necati Lugal Armagan, pp.435-446.
21. M.M.3723, pp.18-22. For Mūteferrika, see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.87-8. Lybeyer, The Ottoman Empire in the Times of Suleiman, p.129. Piri Reis did not refer to a fortress in Gaza, p.207. In 1660 there were 44 guards in this fortress, see Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.190.
22. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.103.
23. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.185-6.
24. M.M.3723, pp.87-90, 93-4, 109-117.

5-10 akches a day and the majority received a daily payment of 6-7 akches. In 964/1556, their number fell to 19 while in 971/1563 it was only eleven.²⁵ There were, also, thirteen arabāciyān but in 964/1556 there were merely eleven and in 971/1563 they had dwindled to six. The average payment per man was 6 akches per day, although in some cases it ranged between 5-10 akches.²⁶ Besides these in 961/1553 there were eleven cebēcīyān (armourers) but their number in 964/1556 increased by one and dropped to six in 971/1563. They were paid between 5-10 akches a day.²⁷ It is worth mentioning that there were eleven from the mūteferrika paid between 5-8 akches daily.²⁸ In the citadel there were also four mehterān, two of them were paid 7 akches while the other two received 8 akches per day.²⁹ En route to Homs in al-Qastai there was a watch-tower which, in 971/1563, had 15 mustahfizān.³⁰

Recurring references in available sources show that there were one thousand janissaries in Damascus. The Damascene Chronicler, Ibn Ṭulūn (d.953/1546) mentions that after the failure of al-Ghazālī's rebellion in 927/1521, one thousand jannissaries arrived in Damascus.³¹ The Ottomans considered it politic

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25. M.M.3723, pp.87-92, 118-9. For topçhu, see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.66-8.
26. M.M.3723, pp.91, 96, 119-21. For arabācis see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, p.67.
27. M.M.3723, pp.11, 91, 94-6. For cebēcīyān, see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, pp.66-7. Ramberti, The Affairs of the Turks, p.252.
28. M.M.3723, pp.96, 123-4.
29. M.M.3723, pp.96, 123-4. For mehterān see Ramberti, The Affairs of the Turks, p.248. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, p.337.
30. M.M.3723, p.59.
31. Ibn Ṭulūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol . 112b; Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt p.4.

to maintain this number. If vacancies of between 100-200 occurred it was the duty of the governor to report this to the government in Istanbul so that they could be filled by Rūm and no Arab or Tāt (non-Turk) was permitted to join the regiment. In spite of this prohibition a number of decrees (sing. hüküm) reveal that Arabs and Tāts managed to infiltrate the ranks of the janissaries. Although in 979/1571 the Sultan ordered the governor of Damascus and the aghā of the janissaries to dismiss Arabs and Tāts, six years later the governor was again commanded to confer any vacant position upon capable brave people from the Rūm and to ban all Arabs and Tāts.³²

The Ottomans took great care to ensure safety on the highway between Damascus and Cairo through Palestine. At Qunaytra there was a fortress garrisoned by forty gönülliyān (volunteers), ten mūstahfizān, and three from the mūteferrika.³³ In 989/1581 the Sultan adopted a suggestion by the judges of Damascus, Şafad, Acre and the sanjaqbey of Şafad, and ordered the governor of Damascus and its defterdār to build a fortress at 'Uyūn al-Tujjār as merchants and pilgrims passed this way. The fortress was to be manned by ten mūstahfizān and thirty fāris (horsemen). A market was to be held there because it would be beneficial to the Muslims.³⁴ In 987/1579, on the same highway, a fortress was

32. M.D.vii, No.553, 20 Jumādā II, 975, p.202; No:789, 23 Sha' bān 975, p.279; No:621, 12 Jumādā II, 976, p.621; No:597, 17 Shawwāl, 978, p.291; No:1008, 24 Shawwāl, 979, p.526; Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.68-9. Tāt means non-Turkish subjects of the Sultan including Kurds, Persians; Heyd, p.68, footnote 2. By Arabs he most likely meant the Bedouins.

33. M.M.3723, pp.103-6. For gönülliyān see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.181, 192. A previous list provides the number as three hişāreriyan and thirty gönülliyān, M.M.3723, p.101.

34. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.110-113, 114-5; the number of the garrison in 1660 was 28 beshlūs (cavalrymen), Heyd, p.190.

renewed in Rās al-ʿAyn (Binār-Bāshī). One hundred horsemen and thirty fortress-soldiers were assigned there but only thirty reported. The governor of Gaza requested it to be annexed to his sanjaq and he promised to enlist capable replacements. In 1071/1660 it had 54 beshlūs (cavalrymen) and guards.³⁵

Along the road from Damascus to Cairo through Palestine there were ten manzils (halting-places). At each halt post-horses were kept in readiness, tended by members of 45 households. For this service they were exempted from taxes³⁶ which no doubt encouraged communities to grow at these points.

At the suggestion of the governors of Nāblus and Lajjūn in 972/1564 the Sultan consented to the conversion of the caravansaray at Jenīn into a fortress. Forty mounted musketeers and ten fortress-soldiers were stationed there.³⁷ The fortress of Jerusalem had 73 mūstahfizān and 22 mūteferrika.³⁸ This large number shows the Ottoman concern for the security of pilgrims to Jerusalem. The fortress of Hebron was garrisoned by thirty mūstahfizān,³⁹ while the fortress at Bayt Jibrīn, on the way to Gaza, was manned by thirty-six mūstahfizān and four mūteferrika.⁴⁰

The Ottomans added many fortresses en route to Mecca. al-Muzayrib, a

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35. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.106, note 4, 108-9, 190.
36. For location and names of halting places see Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.126-7, also his map.
37. Heyd, Ottoman documents, (in this hūkūm, hişāreri and mūstahfizān are used synonymously), pp.104-5, p.104, note 2. In 1660 it had 47 beshlūs and guards; Heyd, p.190.
38. M.M.3723, pp.2-13. In 1660 it had 90 guards. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.190.
39. M.M.3723, pp.14-16. In 1660 it had 34 guards. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.190.
40. M.M.3723, pp.51-6. In 1660 it had 60 beshlūs and guards. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.190.

meeting-place for pilgrims, had a fortress which in 971/1563 was guarded by forty five mūstahfizān and six mūteferrika.⁴¹ It was suggested that a fortress be built to the east, in Buṣrā, where one hundred mūstahfizān and one hundred janissaries would be stationed. Camels could be raised there to meet the needs of pilgrims and would add to the protection of the area.⁴²

In 967/1559 Sultan Süleymān ordered the construction of fortresses in Qatrāna, Ma'ān, Dhāt Hajj and Tabūk.⁴³ Previously, in 938/1531, a fortress was built in al-Ukhaydir. It was manned by twenty soldiers from Damascus and dues were collected from pilgrims to defray the expenses.⁴⁴

In the interior mountainous area, parallel to the pilgrim route, there were four fortresses. Sultan Süleymān commanded one to be built in 'Ajlūn.⁴⁵ South of 'Ajlūn in al-Ṣalt another was manned by fifty soldiers.⁴⁶ The fortress of al-Karak was garrisoned by sixty six mūstahfizān and eleven mūteferrika;⁴⁷ while that of al-Shawbak was manned by sixty eight mūstahfizān and six mūteferrika.⁴⁸

The governor of the province was assisted by the sipāhīs (sepoys) whose remuneration was covered by revenues from specified places in the province. They were composed of two categories: the za'īms and the tīmārjī (timar-holders).⁴⁹

41. M.M.3723, pp.60-5.

42. M.D.xiv, No:974, 4 Sha'bān, 978, p.657.

43. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.157. al-Qaramānī, Akhbār, p.440.

44. Nahrawālī, Fawā'id, pp.195-6. Ibn Jum'a, Wulāt, p.12. al-Khayārī Tuḥfat, pp.50-4. Ibn Kibrīt, Rihlat, p.133.

45. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.157.

46. M.M.3723, pp.46-8, in an insertion between pp.546-7, a note states that 'ulūfā was paid from the treasury of Aleppo in 971/1563.

47. M.M.3723, pp.28-35.

48. M.M.3723, pp.36-43. In 1660 it had 59 arabaci's. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.190. For location of these fortresses, see map attached.

49. For the definition of these two terms see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.47-50. See also, Haig, T.W., "Sepoy", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.229-30. Deny, J. "Timār", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp:767-768.

The number of the za'īms in the liwā' of Damascus increased gradually. Around 936/1529 there were five who received the equivalent of 258,771 akches; and in 955/1548 their number was sixteen who were paid 442,039 akches. In 936/1529 the average emolument of a za'īm was 51,754.2 akches while in 955/1548 a za'īm was paid an average of 27,502.37 akches.⁵⁰ In return, the za'īms were expected to be ready to fight when called upon. It was their duty also to provide a cebeli for every five thousand akches of their zi'āmet, together "with an initial allowance of the same amount for themselves."⁵¹ The tīmārjī were of two types: tezkereli and tezkeresiz. Around 936/1529, the number of the tezkereli was 9, rising in 955/1548 to 78, and in 976/1568 it increased to 155 which indicates the diminution of the governor's power.⁵²

Any tezkeresiz referred to in English as timariot, receiving less than 6,000 akches, the tezkereli was supplied by the governor. On their part the holders paid fees which constituted part of the governor's revenue. An examination of the names of the timar-holders discloses that the majority were tezkeresiz but their number gradually fell. Around 936/1529 there were 442 tezkeresiz and in 955/1548, 319 who dropped to 211 in 976/1568.⁵³ In return for their timars, those whose revenues were in the range of three thousand akches were required to give personal service in time of war if called upon. For every additional three thousand akches they had to provide a cebeli.⁵⁴ Careful scrutiny shows that

50. T.D.169, p.235; T.D.263, p.1; 'Aynī 'Alī mentions that in the liwā' of Shām there were 87 za'īms. This statement requires further study. Qawānīn-i, p.2.

51. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, p.50.

52. T.D.169, p.235; T.D.263, p.1; T.D.474, p.2.

53. T.D.169, p.235; T.D.263, p.1; T.D.474, p.2.

54. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, p.50.

many former Mamlūks were incorporated into the timar system. It is difficult to determine their exact proportion but there is a diminution of their names in the time-lapse of the records. Among these were included the sons and dependants of those who collaborated with the Ottomans. In addition some of the local chieftains and their sons, together with some members of the Sufi Samādī family and some from the family of Tālū were included in the timar system.⁵⁵ The amīr of Medina was also given a timar.⁵⁶

Other than these there were thirty three Turkoman sipāhīs who were assigned lands which gave an annual yield of 117,000 akches. References are also to be found about a Turkoman alay with its amīr, all of whom were incorporated into the timar system.⁵⁷

Available sources do not specify the number of cebecīs in the province of Damascus who were available for mobilization in case of war. On the other hand, 'Aynī 'Alī (d.1021/1612) says that according to the qānūnname, the province returned 2,600 cebecīs.⁵⁸

The Ottomans, in the province of Damascus, retained the old Mamlūk darak system by which the security of the roads was entrusted to local people and

55. T.D.169, pp.59, 80, 85, 92, 95, 101, 115, 127, 159, 176-7, 179, 183, 188, 197, 199, 201, 203, 208, 230; T.D.423, pp.121, 132, 149, 153-4, 166, 180, 185-6, 192, 197; T.D.401, pp.152, 581, 604, 605, 657, 678; T.D.474, pp.699, 712, 734-5; M.M.17642, p.30. Lewis, B. "Review of Islamic Society and the West," B.S.O.A.S., vol. xvi, part 3, p.600.

56. T.D.169, p.65.

57. T.D.474, pp.2, 735, 748. M.D.iv, No:2095, 15 Rajab, 968, p.200. For details about 101 timars which were granted to Turkomans in Ḥawrān between 956-9/1549-51, see Chapter VII, pp.266-7.

58. 'Aynī 'Alī, Qawānīn-i Āli Osmān, p.2.

in return they were exempted from ‘avāriḡ-i dīvāniyya and takālīf-i ‘ūrfiyya. The 25 households of the village of al-Qaṣṭal, the 172 households and the 55 bachelors in Qāra were all exempted from these taxes and, as was the case under the Mamlūks, it was their duty to guard roads between specified points.⁵⁹ In Palestine a local Bedouin chieftain asked to be a ṣāhib darak in return for a zi‘āmet or a sanjaq.⁶⁰ Similarly, Salāmah b. Nu‘aym, shaykh of the Mafāriḡah tribes in Hawran in 978/1570, sent a petition in which he stated he would be responsible for all routes in the province of Damascus for the grant of a timar for himself and another for his grandson. He claimed that he and his father before him were people of darak. The Sultan ordered the governor of Damascus to make enquiries concerning his capabilities but no reference is extant to show whether his petition was granted.⁶¹

The Military Force of the Province and the Wars of the Empire

The military force of the province was called upon by the Sultan to participate in wars against Persia, Cyprus and quell rebellions in the Yaman and in Anatolia led by ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Yāzījī (d.1010/1601).

In the campaign, Sultan Süleymān led against Persia in 961/1553 the reward for special gallantry was given in timars and promotions, which were received by some Damascene janissaries.⁶² In 986/1578 the governors of Damascus, Jerusalem, Ṣafad and Gaza led 600 timar-holders and 500 janissaries

59. T.D.401, pp.150, 154; see also Uzunçarşılı (editor), "Kanun-i Osman-ī Defter-ī Hakani" about 'Eshab-ī Derek" and "Derbandci Timarlari", Bellefen, vol.xv, (1951), pp.396-7.

60. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.98-9, 109.110.

61. M.D.xiv, No:947, 19 Rajab, 978, p.653.

62. M.D.i, Nos: 355, 392, 430, 437, 477, 508, 522, 603, 611, 616, 795, 1677. Most of these decrees were issued in Dhu'l Qa‘da 961, No:1137, 23 Ṣafar, 961; Nos:67, 73, 79, 80, 87, 93, 95, 110, 111, 136, 962, 1677, 2nd of Rabi‘i, 962.

in the Sultan's campaign against Persia. At least one thousand musketeers commanded by three amīrs were sent from Egypt as caretakers of the province during their absence.⁶³

Four years later, in 990/1582, the governor of Damascus led janissaries and timar-holders to join a further campaign against Persia. Only a few timar holders were allowed to remain and those who refused to obey were deprived of their timars. Recruitment extended even to Bedouins who were pressed into service as water carriers for the army.⁶⁴

A rebellion by Shi'a Zaydīs in the frontier province of the Yaman in 975/1567 encouraged by the death of Sultan Sūlḡymān reached abnormal proportions and placed the future of the Ottomans in the Yaman at the mercy of the rebels.⁶⁵ Armies from Damascus and Egypt were despatched and five hundred janissaries were called from the province of Damascus to crush it. Only three hundred obeyed the call and the acting governor was commanded to enforce obedience and to add one hundred more to their number. The defterdārs of Damascus and Aleppo were authorized to give the six hundred a year emoluments in advance for their services.⁶⁶ In addition 1,500 archers were also to be drawn from the locality. Many preferred to pay rather than serve. This aroused the anger of the Sultan who ordered the return of such money. The procedure was that one person was to report from every twenty-five households and the remaining

63. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.72-4.

64. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.74-6.

65. Nahrawālī, Barq, pp.168-71, 172, 175, 177, 178.

66. M.D.vii, No:607, 29 Jumādā II, 975; 608, 29 Jumādā II, 975, p.219. M.D.vii, Nos:1294, 2251, 2621, 17 Shawwāl 975, 20 Rabī' II 976, 22 Jumādā II, 976, pp.821, 952; Nahrawālī, Barq, p.213.

members to be responsible for his expenses. The defterdār of Damascus was also authorized to give each of the archers one month's pay in advance. In addition, twenty sappers were to join the army and the defterdār, again, was to provide all necessary provisions and equipment for this apparently urgent campaign.⁶⁷

Soldiers from Damascus were commanded to join Sultan Selīm II's campaign in 978/1570 against Cyprus. Three hundred janissaries⁶⁸ and a local force took part in the conquest of the island,⁶⁹ and archers were demanded from the province of Damascus. The exact number is not recorded, but at least the qādī of Bayrūt suggested one from every twenty households was to enlist.⁷⁰ Provisions, especially flour, were commanded to be sent to Cyprus via Tripoli,⁷¹ and the pious were to gather in mosques to pray for victory.⁷² The timars of the Damascene janissaries who were killed were given to others who had shown gallantry; and those who already possessed them were promoted.⁷³ A poem by Muḥammad Māmāi al-Rūmī (d.987/1579) was written to commemorate the bravery of those who fought.⁷⁴

In 1009/1600 a force led by the governor of Damascus was commissioned by the Sultan to quell a rebellion led by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Yāziji in Southern

67. M.D.vii, Nos:1278, 1281, 1465, 1750, 2123, 2256, 2266, 13 Shawwāl, 14 Shawwāl, 26 Dhu'l Qa'da 975, 18 Muḥarram, 27 Rabī' I, 20 Rabī' II, 23 Rabī' II, 976, pp.433, 444, 445, 509, 626, 776, 823, 827; Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.70-2. Nahrwālī, Barq, pp.210-1. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.214-7.
68. M.D.xiv, No:1348, 17 Ramaḍān 978, p.912.
69. Shidyāq, Alkhbar, pp.677-8.
70. M.D.xii, No:195, 19 Shawwāl, 978, p.91; M.D.xiv, No:1668, 7 Shawwāl 978, p.1132.
71. M.D.x, No:7, beginning of Muḥarram, 979, p.5; M.D.xvi, No.573. 4 Jumādā II, 979, p.326; Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.309. Duwaylī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.269-70.
72. M.D.xiv, No:1691, 23 Ramaḍān 978, p.1148.
73. M.D.viii, No:685, 23 Rabī' I, 978, p.61; M.D.xi, Nos:202, 203, 267, 283, 351, 404, 405, 410, 442, 465; 5 Jumādā II, 978, pp.26, 35, 37, 49, 63, 92; M.D.xiii, Nos:30, 32, 35, 80, 934, 29 Shawwāl, 8 Dhu'l Qa'da 978, 6 Muḥarram, 979, pp.5, 133. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.64-5.
74. Ibn Māmāi, Dīwan, fols.166a, b.

Anatolia but the force owing to the approach of winter had to withdraw. In the following year an army was mobilized in Damascus to join the campaign against 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. His army was routed and 'Abd al-Ḥalīm fled to Samsun where he died in the same year.⁷⁵

Decadence and lack of discipline are shown by the fact that many soldiers refused to present themselves for military service.⁷⁶ Symptoms of this deterioration began in Damascus after the suppression of Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī's rebellion. A number of janissaries were suspected of arson when a large part of Damascus was burned. Ibn Ṭūlūn records that a group of rabble (safala) from the janissaries were accommodated in the highly respected Ḥanbalī School of Abū 'Umar where their behaviour was reprehensible.⁷⁷ He also states that they would rudely snatch turbans from the heads of the 'Ulamā'.⁷⁸ He further records that Shihāb al-Dīn, wālī al-qīḥab wa al-'ulūq (prefect over prostitutes) under the Ottomans, was offered no interference when he openly flouted the Shari'a. On the occasion of his son's circumcision wine was drunk in public and women danced unveiled in the streets. Nobody protested because he was protected by the Ottomans.⁷⁹

75. For 'Abd al-Ḥalīm's biography, see Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.259-70. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.322-4.

76. M.D.viii, No:684, 23 Rabī' I, 978, p.61; M.D.xi, Nos:228, 314, 494, 19 Jumādā I, 978, beginning of Jumādā II, 978, 11 Jumādā II, 978, pp.29, 42, 71.

77. Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.35a, Ibn Jum'a, Wulāt, p.8.

78. Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 32b, 79b.

79. In 929/1522 the Ottomans appointed a wālī (prefect) in charge of al-'ulūq, (perverts). He had been one of them himself and for this appointment he was expected to pay five hundred 'Oṭhmānī every month. He also received a khil'a (robe). When, however, he exerted his authority over one of them, the people of Damascus rose against him, whereupon the governor cancelled his appointment. Qīḥab and 'ulūq, both female and male prostitutes might have been a remnant of the zu'ar and al-ḥarāfīsh fraternity. It is worth mentioning that prostitutes were known in Damascus under the Mamlūks, =

Many examples of offences, due to the lack of discipline, were committed by janissaries and sipāhīs during the second half of the century. In 966/1558 there were two murders by two sipāhīs; ⁸⁰ in 973/1565 a third sipāhī took part in the murder of a man in a bath in Zabādānī. After committing the crime he and his associates confiscated all the man's property. The Sultan decreed that they were to be punished according to the Shari'a. ⁸¹

So lax was discipline and widespread the habit of drinking among the janissaries, especially those with commissions to assist in tax-collection; ⁸² others would leave the assignment and absent themselves on a spree of, perhaps, three months when they would return and ask for payment of allowances for the period. ⁸³ Some would shirk duty on the pretext of service in the retinues of akābir (senior officials), and these were forbidden to leave their barracks. If they refused to obey their gediks (tenures) were to be confiscated. ⁸⁴ A further proof of laxity is shown by the record that soldiers left their own quarters in the citadel which were occupied by sons of previous janissaries who had died, for which they claimed the right of inheritance. The governor was asked to investigate and eject all who usurped this privilege; and order back to barracks all those whose duty was to be resident. ⁸⁵ In the general chaos, clashes inevitably occurred

= notably near one of the mosques in Damascus and also observed by al-Suwaydī in the 18th century. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. i, p. 21; Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 28a, b; al-Suwaydī, Nafhat, fol. 95a. Lapidus, Muslim Cities, pp. 82-3, 170, 173. Rafeq, A. The Province of Damascus, pp. 154, 185-6.

80. M.D. iii, No: 127, 13 Shawwāl, 966, p. 53; Nos: 141, 166, 16 Shawwāl, 24 Shawwāl, 966, pp. 60, 69.

81. M.D. v, No: 729, 9 Jumādā, 973, p. 283.

82. M.D. v, No: 1128, 4 Sha'abān, 973, p. 422; M.D. xxii, No: 197, 27 Şafar, 981, p. 96; M.D. xxiii, No: 37, 8 Jumādā II, 981, p. 21; No: 282, 28 Rajab, 981, p. 139.

83. M.D. xii, No: 587, 17 Shawwāl, 978, p. 291; No: 204, 15 Şafar, 979, p. 145.

84. M.D. xxi, No: 347, 4 Dhu'l Qa'da, 980, p. 144.

85. M.D. xiv, No: 243, 26 Şafar, 978, p. 169.

between the janissaries which were repeated throughout the province.⁸⁶ The governor's authority was so diminished that they refused to co-operate with him and frequently sheltered thieves.⁸⁷ Their misconduct even allied them with Bedouins to attack outlying villages.⁸⁸ One janissary went so far as to destroy part of the city wall to build himself a house and was commanded to repair it.⁸⁹

Subāshīs, who were deputed to police the province, misbehaved in such a way that they were banned from entering the Sultan's land (khāss). They maltreated the peasants and robbed them, and qādīs were authorized to punish the criminals as they deemed necessary.⁹⁰ Some za'ims who filled administrative posts not only failed to report for duty but stated that their own private affairs were more important. These officials, by decree of the Sultan, were to be dismissed together with any others who followed their example.⁹¹

Janissaries found that they were able to trade both in money and in kind. They became traders, craftsmen and moneylenders. They usually lent money in return for wheat, barley and, even more important, silk. It began by lending money to the people of the city and then to the villages and the names of even

86. M.D .xii, No:550, 18 Dhu' l Qa' da, 978, p.279; M.D .xiv, No:116, 18 Dhu' l Hija, 979, p.90; M.D .xii, No:1220, 17 Dhu' l Hija, 979, p.644.

87. M.D .iv, No:63, 8 Rabi' II, 967, p.8; M.D .v, No:550, 28 Rabi' II, 973, p.216; M.D .xiv, No:101, 5 Muḥarram, 979, p.59; M.D .x, No:555, 10 Muḥarram, 979, p.341.

88. M.D .xxii, No:565, 26 Rabi' II, 981, p.286.

89. M.D .xxviii, No:98, 24 Rajab, 984, p.40; see also Ghazzi concerning a darwish who hit a janissary and subsequently died after being jailed. Kawākib, vol.ii, p.160.

90. M.D .iii, No:355, 24 Dhu' l Hija, 966, p.136; M.D .xii, No:917, 24 Ṣafar, 979, p.478.

91. M.D .xii, No:351, 7 Dhu' l Hija, 978, p.165; M.D .xxii, No:255, 6 Rabi' II, 981, p.125.

Christian borrowers appear on the Shari'iyya court registers.⁹² Janissaries did a widespread trade in horses and mules. Their activities grew from small beginnings until they became the owners of mazāri', orchards, arable lands, shops, baths, slaves, valuable articles and houses.⁹³ Their influence obviously grew to such an extent that they began to interfere in the everyday life of many citizens.⁹⁴ They endowed their families from the proceeds and sometimes endowed charities, all of which indicates their influence and the extent of their wealth.⁹⁵

Through their growing wealth and close association with the city's officials, the janissaries acquired a new prestige. Their intimate knowledge of the families who borrowed from and traded with them combined to transmute them into a special group who were the mouthpiece of the Damascene community. One of them, Husayn Pāsha b. 'Abdullah, better known as Shawyazī (d.1027/1617), rose from the life of an ordinary janissary to become a high official. His interest in learning and apparent desire to help those to whom it was a profession, together with a charitable attitude towards orphans, no doubt added to his prestige and assisted his own advancement. Inefficient management swallowed the revenues from the Nūrī and Qaymarī Hospitals. He was entrusted with the management of

92. M.D.xvi, No:601, 20 Jumādā II, 979, p.339; Sijill al-Mahkama, Damascus, vol.i, case Nos: 94, 137, 148, 157, 165, 178, 188, 213, 253, 264, year 992, pp.134-5, 158, 163, 173, 180, 185, 196, 218-9, 225; vol.i., case Nos: 13, 179, 180, 197, year 993, pp.227-8, 260-1, 328-9.

93. Sijill, vol.i, case Nos: 131, 169, year 991, p.73; vol.i, case Nos: 95, 97, 124, 129, 131, 136, 138, 187, 190, 221, 234, year 992, pp.135, 137-8, 148-9, 152-5, 158-9, 177, 184-5, 186, 208, 234, 282; vol.i, case Nos: 248, 262, year 993, pp.228-9.

94. Sijill, vol.i, case Nos:88, 110, 195, year 992, pp.142, 144, 188-9.

95. T.D.602, pp.63-4, 118; M.M.15737, p.6; M.M.5847, pp.1-11.

the hospitals and their endowments and was so successful that their finances were restored. For the same reason he was entrusted with the care of the Umayyad Mosque, the finances of which he re-established. His efficiency gave him the office of treasurer (defterdār) of Damascus which also benefitted by his administration, and he was also appointed as the deputy of absent officials and judges. His exceptional character further appears in that he was the anathema of all who were lawless or criminal. He owned large estates and retained powerful influence in the city.⁹⁶

Those janissaries deputed to assist tax collection in Aleppo yearly, would first pay the requisite amount themselves. Their collection from the tax payer would be more than twice the correct sum. The system led to the abuse of privilege and they became petty tyrants enriched at the expense of the poorer land-owners and peasants. In 1008/1599, the new governor of Aleppo, Ibrāhīm Pāsha, realizing the extent of this abuse, petitioned the Sultan to be allowed to levy a new force of five hundred men in order to rid Aleppo of the Damascene contingent. The plan was approved and many clashes between the two forces followed with the result that many were killed on both sides. Aleppo suffered from destruction and plunder until finally, in 1013/1604, Aleppo was freed from the Damascene contingent. Damascus and its villages became the new target for janissary activity.⁹⁷

96. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.175-6. Lutf, fols.29b-30a; Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.410-11, vol.ii, pp.24-6. Badrān, Munādamat, p.381.

97. 'Urādī, 'Umar, Ma'ādin, fols.78b-89a. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.263-70. Ghazzī, Lutf, fols.31a, b, 49a-b. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.43-5, 129, 322-4, vol.iv, pp.448-51; Ghazzī, Nahr al-dhahab, vol.iii, pp.265-71.

III. The Pilgrimage Caravan

During Mamlūk times, pilgrims to the Hijāz from outside the Arabian Peninsula, went by caravan from 'Irāq, Egypt, Damascus and each caravan had its own maḥmal. In some years, there was a maḥmal from Aleppo and another from al-Karak. After the Ottoman conquest of the Mamlūk Sultanate, pilgrims were organized in two caravans: one from Egypt and the second from Damascus; each with its own maḥmal.⁹⁸ When in 962/1554, the governor of the Yaman sent a maḥmal the amīr of Mecca went to receive it as was the custom in earlier times, as also for the Egyptian and the Damascene maḥmals.⁹⁹

Damascus was the meeting place for all Muslims from the east. A number of decrees refer to pilgrims arriving from Samarqand, Sufis from Bukhārā, official envoys from Tashqand concerning whom the Sultan issued hūkūms to judges en route, the governor of Damascus and to the pilgrimage commander ordering them to help pilgrims, give them provisions, water, and not allow them to be disturbed.¹⁰⁰ It is recorded in 980/1572 that similar instructions were issued concerning the journey of the Sultan's mother.¹⁰¹

When the route from Baghdād to Mecca was closed, pilgrims from Persia and 'Irāq had to go to Damascus to join its caravan and on their return they had to pass through Damascus on their way home. It would seem that strict supervision

98. al-Rashīdī, Aḥmad, (d.1096/1695), Husn al-ibtihāj bidhikr man waliya 'imāret al-ḥājj, M.S.D.K. No:5559, fol.4b, al-Sakhāwī says that people from al-Karak had a rakb. No reference is made to a maḥmal. Kitāb al-tibr al-masbūk, p.19. For maḥmal, see Fr. Buhl, "Maḥmal", E.I., vol.iii, pp.123-4.

99. Nahrawāli, Barq, pp.121-2.

100. M.D.i, No:813, 29 Dhū'l-Qa'da 961, p.143; M.D.vii, Nos:748, 749; 22 Rajab, 975, p.266; No:760, 25 Rajab 975, p.270; No:761, 25 Rajab, 975, p.271; M.D.xvi, No:657, 19 Shawwāl 979, p.375.

101. M.D.xix, No:421, 4 Rabi' I, 980, p.204. In 975 similar instructions were given when the midwife of Muḥammad Shāh, the son of the Sultan, went to perform the pilgrimage. M.D.vii, No:264, 19 Rabi' I, 975, p.100.

was imposed, and they were escorted by military personnel from the borders to the Holy Places in 'Irāq . In these they were restricted to ten days' stay and only the ruling family could bury their dead there.¹⁰²

The pilgrimage caravan had an organized supervisory body . At the head there was amīr al-ḥajj who was responsible for the supply of camels, horses, water, fodder, and provided a military escort to the caravan. Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī successfully transported the caravan for three consecutive years¹⁰³ and succeeding Ottoman commanders followed his policy effectively.

Until 979/1571, the Ottomans sent a caravan every year commanded by a sanjaqbey or a senior official either from Damascus itself or from its proximity.¹⁰⁴ In 979/1571, however, most likely because soldiers were withdrawn from the province to fight in the Yaman and Cyprus, local people were entrusted with the appointment and they proved to be equally successful . From this year Qānṣūh al-Ghazzawī, a Bedouin chieftain from 'Ajlūn, successfully executed the function

102. M.D.vi, No:39, 12 Muḥarram 972; this hūkūm was addressed to the governor of Baghdād; M.D. viii, No:2717, 9 Rajab, 976, p.980.
103. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.88, 114, 116, 121. Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110a. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt, p.2. For amīr al-ḥajj see J. Horowitz, "Amīr al-Ḥajjī", E.I.¹, vol.i, p.33 and J. Jomier, E.I.², vol.i, pp.443-4.
104. In 930/1523 the sanjaqbey of Ṣafad led the caravan; in 932/1525 Uways al-Kaṣhīf was the commander. His title indicates that he was a Mamlūk. In 959/1551-1552 the governor of Ḥama Kurt.bey b. Khīrū Pāsha was entrusted with the office. Two years later the post was given to an Ottoman official, Ḥusayn bey b. Muḥammad al-Rūmī who was dismissed and jailed for complaints raised against him. In 965/1557 Yūnus the sanjaqbey of Homs was appointed to be responsible for the caravan, while in the following year Murād bey, the governor of 'Ajlūn, was commissioned to fulfil this task. In 967 Rīḍwān bey b. Kara Mustafā, the governor of Gaza, led the pilgrims to Mecca and in 974 Darwīsh Pāsha, the governor of Tripoli, =

until he was dismissed in 996/1587 for a petty offence.¹⁰⁵ The office passed to Aḥmad b. Riḍwān b. Kara Muṣṭafā (d.1015/1606), sanjaqbey of Gaza, for one year,¹⁰⁶ to be transferred to another Bedouin chieftain, Maṣṣūr b. Furaykh, from al-Biqā' who held it for two years.¹⁰⁷ After the dismissal of Maṣṣūr the post went to Farrūkh b. 'Abdullah (d.1030/1620), sanjaqbey of Nāblus,¹⁰⁸ and later to his son Muhammad who retained it until his death in 1048/1636. So successful was Muhammad in checking Bedouin outrages that merely to mention his name inspired fear. Muhammad's son 'Alī was entrusted with this office for a period of one year, and his second son 'Assāf held it successfully for several periods until his death in 1081/1670.¹⁰⁹ During the seventeenth century it appears to have been given to the Farrūkh family in the Sanjaq of Nāblus and occasionally to governors of 'Ajlūn and Karak, who had become established locally.

Officials were sent from Istanbul to supervise provisions for the journey for both the pilgrims and the animals. In 979/1571 the Sultan enquired from the

= performed the duty. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.35b, Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.282a. Nahravālī, Fawā'id, pp.210, 217, Barq, pp.46, 48, 124-5. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.150. M.D.i, No:1414, 25 Muḥarram, 962, p.230; M.D.ii, No:1437, 16 Dhu'l Qa'da 963, p.155; M.D.iv, No:109, 16 Rabi' II, 967, p.13.

105. For details, see Chapter VII, pp.247-252.

106. For the history of his family in Gaza see Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.191-2; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.187-9, vol.ii, p.16; al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, p.160.

107. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.10b-11a, fol.393a; al-Ghazzī, Luff, fols.212b-213a; al-Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.426-8. See also Chapter VII, pp.240-242.

108. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.271. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.7, 16, 35, 102, 112-3.

109. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.112-3. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.108-110. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a senior military officer, Khalīl Pāsha (d.1092/1681) was appointed to the post. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.133-4.

governor of Damascus whether it would be more efficient to employ janissaries from Damascus, whose local knowledge of the people and their ways might prove beneficial.¹¹⁰ The answer is not recorded but recurring official accounts show that the Sultan stressed that adequate biqismāt must be supplied to the pilgrims in addition to other necessary provisions.¹¹¹ The animals were previously mentioned, for the records show that in 976/1568 the governor of Egypt was commanded to provide adequate quantities of beans (fūl) to be sent to Judda for the camels. For this purpose five thousand gold pieces were assigned, together with fifty thousand filori for the purchase of necessary provisions. Amīr al-ḥajj was responsible for the transport of these commodities to Mecca and Medina.¹¹²

Water was always necessary for the welfare of both the pilgrims and their animals. In many places along the route there were pools or wells,¹¹³ or even streams,¹¹⁴ but in other halting places there were none. It was commanded that at all places, where there was natural water pilgrims should have free access to it but sometimes greedy officials would extract payment from the

110. M.D.v, No:1046, 27 Rajab, 973; M.D.xvi, No 300, 18 Rajab, 979.

111. M.D. No:12321, Topkapi Saray Arşivi, Thursday 18 Shawwāl, 951; M.D.vii, Nos:1501, 1505, 1506, 1st of Dhu'l Hijja, 975, pp.523, 525; M.D.xii, No:361, 7 Dhu'l Hijja, 978, p.70; M.D.xiv, No:1183, 25 Sha' bān 978, p.815, No:1692, 25 Ramaḍan, 978, p.1149; M.D.xvi, No:614, 20 Jumādā, 979, p.347.

112. M.D.vii, No:2656, 25 Jumādā II, 976, p.963; M.D.ix, No:27, 23 Ramaḍan 977, p.10; M.D.xii, No:924, 24 Şafar, 979, p.488; M.D.xxvii, No:939, 28 Dhu'l Hijja, 983, p.392. It had been the custom to send 3,400 arḍabs of beans from Egypt to Hijāz, of which 2,000 were sent to Judda because of the pilgrims' assembly there. al-Jazīrī, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (d. ca. 976/1568?), Durar al-fawā'id al-munazzamah fī akhbār al-ḥajj wa ṭarīq Makka al-Mu'azzama, edited by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1384/1964, pp.404-5. Shorter title: Jazīrī, Durar. For filori see Inakik, H., "Filori", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.914-5.

113. al-Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.124a, b; M.D.xiv, No:947, 19 Rajab, 978, p.653; Ibn Jum'a, Wulāf, pp.11-12.

114. al-Būrīnī, Tarājim, fol.124b. In 984/1576, a citadel and a pool were planned in al-Hadiyya Halt. M.D.xxix, No:224, 2nd of Dhu'l Hijja, 984, p.94.

poorer members of the caravan. When the matter was reported, the Sultan was angry and stipulated that access to water must be free to all.¹¹⁵

A special officer was entrusted with the supply of an adequate number of camels to ensure the comfort of the pilgrims. The official in charge of camel purchase and maintenance was known as mīr-i akhūr-i ḥajj. The first to hold this post was a certain Ibrāhīm who possessed a timar yielding 5,202 akches annually.¹¹⁶ His successor Muḥammad Bahrī (d.979/1571) was from the mūteferrika of Damascus.¹¹⁷

Many breeders of camels took the opportunity to exploit the purchase or hire of camels by pilgrims. There were several occasions when the Sultan instructed the governor of Damascus to confiscate the waqf and property of those breeders who tricked the caravan commanders into lending them money which was never returned.¹¹⁸

It was during 978/1570 that the deftardār of Damascus suggested that the fortress of Buṣrā be repaired and its surrounding land used as a breeding ground for the supply of camels for pilgrims. The scheme only lasted for approximately one year owing to the incompetence of Muḥammad Bahrī.¹¹⁹ After

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115. M.D.xiv, No:828, end of Jumādā, 978, p.580. Siqāya, (the supply of water) was a separate office. Qānsūh al-Ghazzawī asked for and was given responsibility for the saqqā'in (water suppliers). M.D.xviii, No:33, 27 Ramadān, 979, p.19.
116. T.D.169, p.59.
117. M.D.xiv, No:1188, 26 Sha'ban, 978, p.818; M.D.xii, No:862, 15 Rabī' II, 979, p.445.
118. M.D.iii, No:189, 3 Dhu'l Qa'da, 966, p.75; M.D.v, No:520, 21 Rabī' II, 973, p.208; No:805, 2nd Rabī' II, 973, p.205; M.D.vii, No:2680, 2681, 2 Rajab, 976, p.969; M.D.ix, No:1173, 3 Shawwāl 977, p.44.
119. M.D.xiv, No:974, 4 Sha'ban, 978, p.657; No:1443, 6 Dhu'l Hijja, 978, p.973, No:1446, 6 Dhu'l Hijja, 978, p.974; M.D.xii, No:338, 7 Dhu'l Hijja, 978, p.169; No:924, 24 Safar, 979, p.488. For Buṣrā (Bostra), see Buhl, F.R., "Boṣrā", E.I.1, vol.i, p.756, Abel, A., E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1275-7.

this experiment the previous custom was reverted to, and 300 camels yearly were supplied by Qansū al-Ghazzāwī, amīr al-ḥajj.¹²⁰ Sixty camels were assigned for special duties. Twenty of these carried biqismāt and twenty transported water. The remaining twenty carried litters for the transport of the sick and disabled. Again greed and avarice spoiled the service as many who could afford their own amenities claimed the privileges under false pretences. This angered the Sultan who ordered the close investigation of all individuals seeking the privilege.¹²¹

Qansūh al-Ghazzāwī boasted that he could reduce the rent of a camel from 10-12 to 1-2 filori and cut the price of loading from 12 to 5-6 filori.¹²² In one case 64 dīnārs were paid for the return services of three camels from Damascus to Mecca.¹²³

The usual military escort comprised one hundred sipāhīs and two hundred janissaries but from 973/1565 an additional number of one za'īm, ten sipāhīs and five janissaries were sent from Gaza. The escort was armed with guns and cannon and provided adequate protection against attacks.¹²⁴ The soldiers were provided with camels and provisions from the treasury of Damascus. In

120. M.D.xii, No:867, 8 Rabī' II, 976, p.448; M.D.xviii, No:25, 29 Ramaḍān 979, p.28; M.D.xxv, No:1142, 6 Dhu'l Hija, 981, p.103.

121. M.D.xxi, No:285, 20 Shawwāl, 980, p.116.

122. M.D.xxiv, No:1515, 19 Dhu'l Hija, 978, p.1023.

123. Sijill al-Mahkamah al-Shar' iyya, Aleppo, vol.ii, 24 Rabī' i, 990, p.123. In 965/1557, al-Nahrawālī paid nineteen gold dīnārs for each of his seven camels journeying between Mecca and Damascus. Fawā'id, p.193.

124. M.D.v, No:640, 16 Jumādā I, 973, p.251; M.D.vii, No:2513, 27 Jumādā I, 976, p.917; M.D.vii, No:918, 24 Ṣafar, 979, p.470; M.D.xxviii, No:666, 25 Rajab, 984, p.271. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.31a.

973/1565 an economy was introduced and money was substituted by which each sipāhī provided for his own needs.¹²⁵ The arrangement seems to have been cancelled for later the sipāhīs were again supplied with camels.¹²⁶ By 979/1571 each sipāhī was expected to provide his own camel and provisions as was the case during mobilisation for war.¹²⁷

Later many sipāhīs refused the call or, which was forbidden, sent deputies. The Sultan ordered the confiscation of the timars of those who disobeyed and their grants to be given to those who rendered obedience in this respect.¹²⁸

Attached to the caravan were a qāḍī,¹²⁹ a mu'adhḍin, an imām,¹³⁰ and a sanjaqdār.¹³¹ The officials known as amīr al-manzil was responsible for encampment at the halts.¹³² The commander himself was assisted by a general

125. M.D.v, No:1046, 27 Rajab, 973, p.395.

126. M.D.vii, No:805, 7 Shawwāl, 975, p.284.

127. M.D.xxiv, No:1483, 17 Şafar, 979, p.997; M.D.xii, No:918, 24 Şafar, 979, p.478.

128. M.D.vii, No:2513, 27 Jumādā I, 976, p.917; M.D.xxvii, No:145, 27 Rajab, 983, p.58.

129. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.110a. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt, p.2. Būrinī, Tarājim, fol.124a. In 1021 Būrinī was the qāḍī.

130. Ghazzī, Luff, fol.19b.

131. A certain Muḥammad, who was banner bearer, was given a timar which yielded 6,105 akches annually. In 981/1573 it was given to one Farrūkh who was granted a zi'āma, T.D.169, p.51; M.D.xciv, No:471, 10 Shawwāl, 981, p.47.

132. M.D.ii, No:745, 10 Rajab, 964, p.81; M.D.iv, No:2139, 23 Rajab, 968, p.204.

supervisor, known as nāẓir al-ḥajj who ensured the implementation of all the functions of the various official personnel.¹³³

Prior to its departure and headed by its banner and maḥmal the caravan would pass in procession through Damascus visiting its most important sites, such as the tombs of walīs (saints) and mosques. Camels of the maḥmal were decorated and the procession proceeded to the accompaniment of flutes, drums and chanting. The occasion was an auspicious one, and to the procession were added the military and 'ulamā' of the city. It began and ended at the governor's bouse where a banquet was spread.¹³⁴

It generally left Damascus during Shawwāl and the governor, chief judge and dignitaries accompanied it to Qubbat al-ḥajj (sometimes known as Qubbat Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī). Here the maḥmal was officially given into the custody of the caravan commander, who would wait there for three days so that parties who wished to join the main body were able to do so.¹³⁵ Some of the people from the city would even accompany the caravan as far south as al-Kiswa before returning to Damascus.¹³⁶ At Muzayrib the caravan would halt for seven days for pilgrims from outlying districts. Also at this place, the Bedouin chieftains were given their surras (purses of money) which virtually

133. M.D.xii, No:924, 24 Ṣafar, 979, p.488. The occupant of this office during that year was a za'im by the name of Ṣālīḥ.

134. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.86. Ibn Kannān, al-Mawākib, edited by Duhmān as a supplement to I'lām, pp.298-9. The month of the procession as given by Ibn Kannān was Shawwāl.

135. Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.35b. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fol.124a. Ibn Kannān, al-Mawākib, pp.299-300. M.D.xxiv, No:781, 3 Ṣafar, 978, p.288. Qubbat Yalbughā, sometimes referred to as Qubbat al-Naṣr, was near the Qadam village en route to Damascus. Officials would halt there for reception. It was named after Yalbughā, governor of Damascus from 746-8/1345-7. It was renovated in 921/1515. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, pp.19-20, 79, 86, 95, 105, passim. Mufākahat, vol.i, p.387. Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.i, p.40.

136. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fol.124a.

amounted to a bribe against molestation. Here also a bazaar was opened and merchants came from far and near to dispose of their wares. From the camel section alone, 5,000 akches were collected annually in purchase tax and became the perquisite of the governor of Damascus.¹³⁷

From thence the caravan passed to Medina and Mecca through a number of halts; where it rested and renewed water supplies. It was due to arrive in Mecca before the end of Dhu' l Qa' da.¹³⁸

The amīr of Mecca would receive the caravan and would be given a khil'a.¹³⁹ In 'Arafāt, the Egyptian maḥmal would take precedence.¹⁴⁰ There, often, clashes occurred between the two military escorts of the maḥmals. One such incident took place in 967/1559, when the commander of the Damascene caravan claimed seniority over the commander of the Egyptian caravan, and refused him precedence.¹⁴¹ For the same reason in 978/1570 the military head of the Damascene caravan struck the head of the commander of the Egyptian caravan.¹⁴² Occasionally, the pilgrims suffered inconveniences. In 940/1533 the pack animals were confiscated by the governor of the Yaman.¹⁴³ In addition, in 979/1572, the pilgrims suffered offences which earned the reprimand of the Sultan.¹⁴⁴ Great suffering was caused to them in 985/1577,

137. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.81, 378, 389. al-Khālidi, Tarīkh, p.133. M.D .xxiv, No:781, 3 Šafar, 981, p.288. T.D .474, p.206. Cf. al-Suwaydī, al-Nafḥah al-miskayya, M S. B M. Add.23, 385, fol.115a. al-Qasimī, Qāmūs al-Šīnā'āt. vol.i, pp.79, 159-60.

138. For names and descriptions of these halts see Shammā', 'Uyūn, vol.ii, fols.61a-63b. al-Burīnī, Tarājim, fols.124a, b. Nahrawālī, Fawa'id, pp.194-9. See also Rafeq, The Province of Damascus, p.341.

139. Nahrawālī, Barq, pp.46-7, 121. See also, Huart, CL., "Khil'a", E.I. vol.ii, p.955.

140. Nahrawālī, Barq, p.122.

141. al-Rashīdī, Ḥusn al-ibtihāj, fols.53b-54b, a.

142. M.D .xiv, No:1179, 24 Šar'bān, 978, p.812.

143. al-Nahrawālī, Barq, p.90.

144. M.D .x, No:345, 9 Ramaḍān, 979, p.225.

when the Damascene caravan usurped the halt allocated to the Egyptians.

A heavy thunderstorm caused most of the pilgrims from Damascus to be drowned near Mecca.¹⁴⁵

Not only were the caravans despatched with éclat, but the welcome given on their return was even greater. The amīr of mulāqāh (reception) would meet them, together with a retinue provided with camels, food and water.¹⁴⁶

Nearby villagers would come to meet them with gifts of food.¹⁴⁷ Small retail traders also carried their goods for sale to them.¹⁴⁸ The reception would partly consist of dignitaries such as Qānṣūh al-Ghazzāwī and later his son, Muḥammad, and Ibrāhīm b. Tālū.¹⁴⁹ Paradoxically, the Drūze amīr Fakhr al-Dīn II was commissioned to act in this manner on more than one occasion.¹⁵⁰

Soldiers who displayed gallantry in protecting or serving pilgrims received promotion in many cases or were given timars.¹⁵¹

The caravan brought prosperity and trade to Damascus both from commodities it brought and the purchases made by pilgrims from the Damascene stores.

145. al-Rashīdī, Husn al-ibtihāj, fols.56a, b.

146. Shammā', 'Uyūn, fols.10a, 124b. Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol. 31a. M.D.iii, No:1455, 23 Dhu'l Qa'da, 967, p.490; M.D.vii, No:1501, beginning of Dhu'l Ḥijja, 975, p.523; M.D.xiv, No:608, 22 Jumādā I, 978, p.424; M.D.xii, Nos:860, 862, 15 Rabi' I, 979, pp.444-5; M.D.xiv, No:1616, 19 Muḥarram, 979, p.1101. Cf. Ibn Kibrīt, Riḥlat, p.134.

147. Shammā', 'Uyūn, fol.11a.

148. Nahrawālī, Fawā'id, pp.197-9.

149. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.11a.

150. al-Khalidī, Tārīkh, pp.117-9, 198. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.309-313; Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.17-9. Holt, P.M., Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, p.117. For the 18th century, see Rafeq, A., The Province of Damascus, pp.52-76.

151. M.D.ii, No:32, 5 Rabi' I, 963, p.4; No:468, 25 Jumādā I, 963, p.51; No:171, 20 Rabi' I, 963, p.20.

Inevitably taxes were levied on incoming commodities, and if the caravan came by the Gaza route, taxes were collected at Khān Yūnus. If the caravan followed the direct route from Mecca to Damascus, taxes were collected at al-Kiswa. Taxes collected from commodities yielded a great amount of revenue to the treasury.¹⁵²

Outside the city gates, the caravan was met by all the dignitaries that were present at the commencement.¹⁵³ In 975/1567, the Sultan commanded the governor of Damascus not to destroy the maḥmal but to send it to Istanbul as a holy relic. The Sultan was to be notified of its arrival when a reception for it would be held in great honour.¹⁵⁴

IV. Buildings and Endowments

Damascus, during the period under consideration, witnessed a time of construction and repair. Schools, mosques, convents, bakeries, baths, bridges, markets and caravansarays were either built or repaired. Every class of society and travellers alike benefitted from this upsurge.

This movement was inaugurated by Sultan Selīm who caused a mosque to be erected over the tomb of the renowned Sufi, Ibn 'Arabī to which a takiyya was attached. Not only were numbers of builders and artisans employed but thirty reciters of the Holy Qur'ān served in addition to a number of imāms, khaṭībs and mu'adhdhins. The takiyya was richly endowed with a number of

152. T.D.263, pp.4, 175; T.D.423, p.6; T.D.474, pp.10, 202. Barkan, Kanunlar, vol.i, p.221. Naḥrawālī mentions in 965/1557 that the tax collected in Kiswa on slaves was twenty silver muḥallaq for each individual, one silver muḥallaq was paid on each load; Fawā'id, p.199.

153. Ibn Ṭūlūn, quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols, 11b, 41b, 42b, 87b, 88b; Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.10b-11a.

154. M.D.vii, No:1399, 13 Dhu'l Qa'da, 975, p.494.

villages, the total revenue from which was 213,311 akches annually. To this was added revenue from watermills, the silk qaysāriyya and shops in Damascus. When this takiyya was burnt in 962/1554 it was repaired to be better than before.¹⁵⁵

As did his father before him, Sultan Süleymān in 962/1554 commanded that a mosque, takiyya and a school to teach law be built on the site of the old Mamlūk al-Ablaq Palace. On its completion an endowment was set up to feed the poor and the sufis. Available records show that a great number of people were employed in various capacities. It was endowed with the revenue from forty villages, the total revenue from which is not known although an incomplete deftter shows that it amounted to at least 367,753 akches. Its capacity was emphasized when the Sultan in 984/1576 ordered the building intended for the garrison to be converted to an additional takiyya attached to the main building. Food from this building intended for the poor was given to the rich. The Sultan in 978/1570 and 980/1572 issued decrees ordering the abuse to cease at once.¹⁵⁶ The building and repairing continued with great zest and many junior Ottoman officials contributed to the general enthusiasm.¹⁵⁷

155. Ibn Tūlūn, Qalā'id, vol.i, pp.66, 70. al-Fulk, p.23. al-'Almawī, Mukhtasar, MS. arabe Bib. Nat. 49431, fol.42b. T.D.401, pp.57, 82-4, 92, 121-2; T.D.602, p.161. For the details of the cookery see Sijill al-Mahkamah al-Shar'iyya, Damascus, vol.i, case 219, 5th Jumādā II, 993, p.350.

156. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.134b-135a, 273a, b; Tadhkirat, fol.225. al-'Almawī, Mukhtasar, fols.41b-42a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.22, 85, 157. Badrān, Munādamat, p.378. T.D.474, pp.516-8, 563, 565, 621, 625, 659, 661, 665, 702, 703; M.D.xiv, No:1113, 25 Sha'ban, 978, p.773. M.D.xix, No:322, 13 Šafar, 980, p.152. M.D.xxviii, No:459, 25 Rajab, 984, p.195. Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.i, p.30. Abd al-Qādir Rihāwī, "al-Takiyya wal madrasa al-Sulaymāniyya", Majalla al-hawliyyāt al-athariyya, Damascus, vol.vii, part i, pp.125-134.

157. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.47a. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.188-9. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.139; vol.iii, p.158. Badrān, Munādamat, pp.369, 378.

On the site chosen by the Bosian governor of Damascus, Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāsha (971-975/1563-67) built a khān which comprised 170 stores, a mosque, and a bakery together with a number of shops. Nearby he also erected a market of 41 ground floor shops with 29 more above them. Further, in Sūq al-Ṣarrāfīn, he repaired a sabīl and erected 79 more shops and a nearby bath. The same governor caused an 'amāra to be built in Qunayira which included a caravansary, a mosque, a school, and lodges for the poor and travellers; stables, a bath and a kitchen were also attached. Three months only was allowed during which travellers could occupy it at one time and food was served free of charge in the evenings. ¹⁵⁸

Approximately 88 people were employed in this 'amāra in the many capacities of preachers, reciters, teachers and attendants. The cost of their maintenance was 273 dirhams daily. For the purpose of its maintenance, the revenues from all his buildings in Damascus were to be utilized. In addition, it was endowed not only with the revenues from 31 entire villages, but also with part of a further 31, many mazāri', orchards, arable lands, watermills, baths, etc., too many to enumerate. A further privilege was extended in that all endowment was tax-free and considered in the same way as were the endowments of Mecca and Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron. ¹⁵⁹

158. Waqf Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāsha, pp.16-7, 20-2, 62-8, 151-7, 217-8. Ghazzī, Kawakib, vol.iii, pp.23-4, 207. Ibn Mamāi, Dīwān, fols. 210a, b-211-a. Kūtūkoğlu, Bekir "Mustafa Pasha", I.A., vol.viii, pp.732-6. See also Haig, T.W., "Sabil", E.I., vol.iv, pp.22-3.

159. The waqf was finally registered in 983-4/1575-6; all the names of villages and mazari' are provided in the waqf text, pp.38-110, passim, 211-16. T.D. 474, pp.25, 206, 276, 314, 319, 394, 397, 415, 417, 423, 433, 434, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 451, 452, 493, 540, 553, 570, 571, 677, 704, 736, 760, 761, 762.

Lālā Muṣṭafā's deputy in Damascus, Murād Pāsha, was made governor of the province in 976/1568. He, too, built a mosque in which he included rooms for, and served food to, the poor. In it people were employed to recite from the Holy Qur'ān.¹⁶⁰ Three years later his successor Darwīsh Pāsha (d. 987/1579) built another outside Bāb al-Jābiya. He also built a bath near the Umayyad Mosque, and added a qaysāriyya to which he transferred the silk market. His reasons for doing so were that better facilities were available for weighing the silk and a desire to discourage men and women mingling in the market. In his mosque he employed some fifty five personnel in various capacities. Sixteen students received tuition and their expenses were covered from its endowments.¹⁶¹

As successive governors came to power, each vied with his predecessor to create larger mosques with greater endowments. The Grand Vizier Sinān Pāsha (d. 1004/1595) who commanded his building programme in Sa'sa' and 'Uyūn al-Tujjār was appointed governor of Damascus in 995/1586. He transferred his efforts to Qūṭayfa and Acre and established two further buildings. Each contained a mosque, school, lodges, stables, and kitchens with the proviso that no-one would be allowed to remain longer than three months. He repeated his efforts in Bāb al-Jābiya where he built a mosque and also added a school as well as another mosque in the Sipāhīs' Market. This created employment for 370 people. The revenues for their maintenance was inevitably drawn from the usual innumerable sources. His fervour extended to building of yet another

160. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.150, 205-6. Ibn Jum'a, Wulāt, p.16. Badrān, Munādamat, p.379. Machriq, vol.XLII, pp.62-4.

161. "Waqf Darwīsh Pāsha", Sijill awqāf Dimashq, vol.v, pp.222-243, 278-296. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.150-152. Ibn Jum'a, Wulāt, pp.16-7. Ibn Māmāi, Dīwān, fol. 130a. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.127a, b-128a.

market and khān.¹⁶² Nor did the building campaign cease with his governorship, for in 1005/1596 a successor erected a luxurious dome outside Damascus for the departure and reception of the maḥmal.¹⁶³ Even an official in Istanbul who was not actually employed in Damascus built a further mosque in that city.¹⁶⁴ Other governors repaired other existing public buildings.¹⁶⁵

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162. Waqf Sinān Pāsha, pp. 3-7, 9-10, 19-25, 27-32, 33-4, passim. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 140b-141a, b. Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat, vol. ii, pp. 214-6; vol. iv, pp. 356-7. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fol. 46b-47a. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt, pp. 20-3. Tahsin Öz, "Yemen Fatihi Sinan Paşa Arşivi", Belleten, vol. x (1949), pp. 189-90. For the seizure of the waqf and its release, see Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp. 187-9.
163. Ibn Tālū, Darwīsh, Sāniḥāt, MS. B.M. 7583, fols. 144a-145a; D.K. No: 16222z fols. 136b-137b. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt, pp. 25-26.
164. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol. ii, p. 25; Badrān, Munāclamat, p. 381.
165. al-ʿAlmawī, Mukhtaṣār, D.K. 3419, p. 46. al-ʿAdawī in the margin: of Mukhtaṣār arabe 4943, fol. 43a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol. ii, pp. 24-7. Ibn Jum'ā, Wulāt, p. 29. Badrān, Munāclamat, p. 381.

CHAPTER IV

The Office of the Chief Judge, the Mufti and
Administration of Religions Offices

1. The Office of the Chief Judge

The chief judge (qādī al-quḍāt) in Damascus was almost invariably an Ottoman of the Ḥanafī Madhhab. The whole province came under his jurisdiction¹ and his responsibilities were many and varied. In addition to judicial duties, he would assist in tax collection, appraise the quality of woven cloths, investigate allegations of bribery, audit accounts of endowments, and, among other duties, ensure that slaughter of animals was conducted in the slaughter-house to ensure state revenues. Public ethics, the ban on Samaritan clerks in the service of subāshīs and amīns and the provision of food and camels for the pilgrims were among aspects for which he was responsible.² Sparse available records do not clarify the limits of his duties nor how he implemented them when they conflicted with the governor or other officials or how he managed to solve conflict in such cases.

Previous to the coming of Sultan Selīm to Damascus there were four judges, one from each school of law, of equal prestige. He appointed a Ḥanafī as the chief judge and the others were down-graded to subordinate positions; the Ḥanafī deputies, subsequently, were given precedence over other deputies in courts (sing. maḥkama).³

1. Ibn Tūlūn, Qudāt, p.309. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.60-1. M.D. ix, No:120, 3 Shawwāl, 977, p.45. M.D. xii, No:644, 17 Shawwāl, 978, p.312. Ibn Ayyūb, Dhayl, p.325. See also Th.W. Juynboll, "Qādī", E.I., vol.ii, pp.606-7.
2. M.D. vi, No:333, 28 Rabī' I, 972, p.154; No:54, 972, p.27; No:1433, 21 Dhū'l Ḥijja, 972, p.651; M.D. v, No:520, 21 Rabī' II, 973, p.208; No:351, 14 Rabī' I, 973, p.149; No:470, 11 Rabī' II, 973, p.191; M.D. vii, No:407, 29 Rabī' II, 975, p.157; No:954, 2 Ramaḍān, 975, p.332; No:1027, 9 Ramaḍān, 975, p.354; No:400, 22 Rabī' II, 935, p.155; No:2035, 15 Rabī' I, 976, p.743; No:2087, 22 Rabī' I, 976, p.763; M.D. xiv, No:422, 17 Rabī' I, 978, p.296; No:608, 22 Jumādā I, 978, p.428; M.D. xii, No:359, 7 Dhū'l Ḥijja, 978, p.770; No:889, 22 Rabī' II, 979, p.463; No:1461, 26 Rabī' I, 979, p.982; M.D. xxvii, No:332, 10 Ramaḍān, 983, p.141; M.D. xxix, No:196, 24 Shawwāl, 984, p.82.
3. Ibn Tūlūn, Qudāt, p.309. See also J. Schacht, 'Mehkeme', E.I., suppli. pp.144-6.

Courts were many and various in the large city of Damascus. They included: Bāb al-ʿEfendī Court (the chief judge court), al-Kubrā, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, Qanāt al-ʿAwnī, al-Sāliḥiyya and al-Qisma al-ʿAskariyya.⁴ The Kubrā Court was transferred from one madrasa (school) to another,⁵ while that of the chief judge (Bāb al-Efendī) was probably held in the former Mamlūk Palace of Justice, (Dār al-ʿAdl),⁶ but there is no indication whether other courts were actually held in madrasās or had their own separate buildings. After the Ottoman conquest there is a reference to one deputy judge who held the court in his own house, but this was only for a very short time.⁷

The chief judge, sometimes assisted by an interpreter (mutarjim) would function in his own court.⁸ Outside, but in the same building, deputies would listen to and adjudicate other cases according to their schools of law. In 959/1551, the chief judge built an annexe to which he transferred his deputies and he himself heard cases in the old building. After this he attended to other administrative duties by appointment only.⁹ One native deputy from each of the other madhhabs was attached to his court, but there was not always a Ḥanafī deputy among them - perhaps because he was himself a Ḥanafī and listened to such cases.¹⁰

4. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.33a, 36a, 88a, 110a, b, 131a, 157a. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.334a, Rawd, fols.52 a, b, 55b, 116a, b, 117a, 125a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.9-10; vol.iii, pp.204-5, Lutf, fol.6a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣāt, vol.i, pp.113, 280, 281, 407-8; vol.iii, pp.9, 17-18; vol.iv, pp.143-4, 159-60.
5. Ibn Tūlūn, Quḍāt, p.312, quoted in Rawd, fol.35a. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.6a. Kawākib, vol.iii, p.217.
6. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.76a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.141.
7. Ibn Tūlūn quoted in Rawd, fol.36b.
8. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.334b.
9. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.76a, 116a, b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.141.
10. Two people of local origin held this post; see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.67. Ibn Tūlūn, in Rawd, fols.28a, 42a. For Mālikī, deputy judges see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.208a, b. Ghazzī, Lutf, fols.4a, 8b. For Shāfiʿī deputy judges see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.206b-207a, 280a, Nuzhat, fol.332a, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.179-80, 183-5.

The Kubrā Court, second only in importance to the Bab al-Efendī Court, comprised a deputy from each school of law. The Ḥanafī deputy was usually Ottoman but the rest were invariably of local origin or migrants to Damascus from North Africa.¹¹

Available material shows that one of the Ḥanafī deputies in the Court of Maydān al-Ḥaṣā was Ottoman.¹² It is easy to deduce from the plentiful references that a native Shāfi'ī was always appointed as deputy judge,¹³ although a Ḥanbalī¹⁴ or Mālikī¹⁵ deputy was not always appointed. This may indicate that the local inhabitants were predominantly Shāfi'īs. Available

= Luṭf, fols.18b, 20b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.207-8, vol.ii, pp.159-60. Ibn al-Imād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.363-4. For Ḥanbalī deputy judges see Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.332a; Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols.45b-46a; Muḥibbī Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.143-4.

11. For names of Ḥanafī deputies see Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.28a, 30a, b, 31a, 33a, 36a, 39a. For the Shāfi'ī deputies see Ibn Ṭūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.8a, 30a, 31a, 36a, 39a, 280a; Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.265b, 266a, b. Nuzhat, fol.332a, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.13-15, 193-4, 217. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.17-8, 113-4, vol.iv, pp.159-60. For names and biographies of Mālikī deputies, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, in Rawḍ, fol.39a. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.208a, 280b. Nuzhat, fol.332a; Tadhkirat, fol.82a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.21-6, 161; Luṭf, fol.5b. For names and biographies of Ḥanbalī deputies see Ibn Ṭūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.28a, 30a, b, 33a; Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.57, 71. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.157a, 277a, b. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fol.5a; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.280-1, vol.iv, pp.143-4. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.350-2.
12. For names and biographies of Ḥanafī deputies see Ibn Ṭūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.28a, 30a, 31a, 33a, 36a, 39a, 157a, 178a, b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.122. In 999/1590 there was no Ḥanafī deputy; see Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.332a.
13. For names and biographies of Shāfi'ī deputies see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.52a, b, 266b, 280a; Ibn Ṭūlūn in Rawḍ, fol.88a; Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.332a, 398b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.9-10, vol.iii, pp.13, 183-5. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.159-60. Ibn al-Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, p.276.
14. For names and biographies see Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.332a, 384b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.175. Ibn al-Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.117-8.
15. For names and biographies of Mālikī deputies see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.52a, b, 266b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.13.

biographies show that a Ḥanafī¹⁶ and a Shāfi'ī¹⁷ deputy were generally appointed in the court of Qanāt al-'Awnī while the appointment of a Mālikī and Ḥanbalī¹⁹ does not always appear. All deputies with the exception of one Ottoman Ḥanafī deputy were of local origin.

The headquarters of the Ḥanbalī Madhhab predominantly lay in Ṣālihiyya quarter of Damascus, where also Shāfi'ī is lived, which is probably the explanation why native Ḥanbalī²⁰ and Shāfi'ī²¹ deputies were nearly always appointed. The appointment of a Ḥanafī deputy seems to have been occasional as in 992/1590. It was then given to an Ottoman in order to restrain a suspected subversion of income by local deputy-judges.²² The names of Mālikī deputies do not always appear in the records but when they do so they indicate persons of local origin.²³

16. For names and biographies of Ḥanafī deputies see Ibn Tūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.28a, 30a, b, 31 a, 36a, 42a. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.384a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.67, 156; Luṭf, fol.33a.
17. For names and biographies of Shāfi'ī deputies see Ibn Tūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.30a, b, 39a, 51b-52a, b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.52a, b, 265b, 266a, 280a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.13, 126, 179-80, 197, 217. Luṭf, fol.5b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.407-8.
18. For names and biographies of Mālikī deputies, see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.280b, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.122. Luṭf, fol.8b.
19. For names and biographies of Ḥanbalī deputies see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.55b, 169b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.175; Luṭf, fols.12b, 20b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.280-1, Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.317-8.
20. For names and biographies of Ḥanbalī deputies see Ibn Tūlūn in Rawḍ, fol.88a. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.30a, b, 169b. Nuzhat, fol.332a, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.175; Luṭf, fols.45b-46a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.280-1. Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.317-8.
21. For names and biographies of Shāfi'ī deputies see Ibn Tūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.39a, 42a. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.209a, 216a, 265b, 280b. Dhayl in Kitāb al-'Uḍāt, p.335. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.58, 157, vol.iii, pp.13, 197; Luṭf, fols.37a, b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp. 159-60. Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, p.274.
22. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.384b.
23. Ibn Tūlūn, in Rawḍ, fols.28a, 31a, 36a, 157a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.161.

A court, known as al-Qisma al-Askariyya, also functioned in Damascus which dealt with the inheritances of members of military corps or their families. It was staffed by local as well as Ottoman Ḥanafī deputy-judges.²⁴ In addition to these a court was held in Bāb al-Jābiya in 926/1519, but there is no further reference to it.²⁵ The Mu'ayyadiyya Court was also terminated in 945/1538.²⁶

The chief judge had deputies in the eight nāḥiyās of:- al-Marjayn, al-Ghawṭa, Jubbat al-Assāl, Wādī al-ʿAjam, Zabadānī, Ḥammāra, Biqāʿ and Wādī al-Taym. These nāḥiyās are referred to in the sources as al-Barr; and their deputy judges are referred to as the judges of al-Barr. Not all those who occupied the post in each nāḥiya were natives; some were Ottoman. There are no available records to show that one from each school of law was represented in any nāḥiya at the same time. Both Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī were among those appointed.²⁷ At one time the deputy judge in Ḥawrān was Ḥanafī and at another a Shāfiʿī. Both Ottoman and local judges were appointed at various times.²⁸

In towns like Baʿlabakk, Bayrūt, Sidon, Qāra, ʿAjlūn, Ṣalt, Karak-Shawbak, Nāblus, Jerusalem, Ramla, Ṣafad, Gaza, Lydda and Lajjūn, the deputy judges were subordinate to the chief judge and Ottoman as well as native personnel occupied the posts.²⁹

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24. For names and biographies of these deputies see Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.125a. Nuzhat fol.384b. Dārwish al-Ṭalawī, Sāniḥāt, fol.59a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.137, vol.iii, pp.204-5. Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, p.414.
25. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.121.
26. Ibn Ṭūlūn in Rawd, fols.39a, 42a, 88a, 169b. Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.317-8. I could not identify this school, Nuʿaymī mentions it but gave no details. al-Dāris, vol.ii, p.53.
27. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.334a, 384b. Rawd, fols.276a,b, 277a, 300b, 387b. Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.317-8, 344.
28. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Rawd, fol.39b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.19b, 157b-158a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.164-5. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, Ḥādī al-azʿān al-Najdiyya, MS. ʿAtif Efendi, No:2030, fol.38a.
29. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.82. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.160b, 276a,b-277a.

A circular from the chief judge issued in 999/1590 clearly specifies the function of a deputy. He must continue to judge cases according to his school of law; examine and sanction contracts of marriages and approve hujjās where appropriate; register all cases; dispense equal justice; inform the Hanafī deputy judge of all acts and decisions and obtain his signature of approval. The penalty for any contravention of these instructions was forfeiture of position and banishment from the town.³⁰ It is worth mentioning that in the event of dismissal or disgrace of a chief judge, deputies would not be involved.³¹

Under Mamlūk rule, the shāhid (witness)³² enjoyed a higher status. He was entitled to a separate office and had authority to use his own initiative in adjudicating minor cases. During Ottoman rule the office was integrated into the court proceedings³³ and the holder's duties reduced to clerical status. al-Ghazālī restored the Mamlūk practice,³⁴ but after his rebellion had been quelled it reverted to the Ottoman procedure. Sources refer to shāhid as 'adl and muwaqqi'; and these terms appear to have been used synonymously. The

= Nuzhat, fol.387b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.100, 160, 172-3; Lutf, fols.7b, 11a. "Waqf Darwish Pasha", Sijill awqāf Dimashq, vol.v, pp.222-3, 233.M.D.vi, No:1433, 21 Dhu'l Hijja 972, p.651. M.D.iii, No:1521, 6 Dhu'l Hijja, 967, p.505. M.D.vi, No:54, 972 p.27. M.D.v, No:68, 13 Muḥarram, 973, p.25. M.D.vii, No:1728, 16 Muḥarram, 976, p.616. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.46, 55, 56, 58, 61.

30. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.334b-335b.

31. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.90a,b. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.334b.

32. See H. Heffening, "Shāhid", E.I.¹, vol. iv, pp.261-2.

33. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.88-9. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, D.K.No:12715H., vol.i, pp.399-400, 639-640. Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharat, vol.viii, p.165.

34. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.88-9.

appointment was open to the four schools of law and until 999/1590 were given to people of local origin. It is difficult to establish their number in each court but the Shar' iyya Court registers reveal that each case was witnessed by eight to ten witnesses.³⁵ It is not known whether this applies in all cases as the registers of all courts are not extant.

There was a chief shāhid in every court. One of his subordinates drafted a case, a second copied it, while the chief's function, presumably, was to check its technical and legal form. The post obviously needed trained personnel and Ibn Ayyūb (d. ca. 1000/1591) refers to it as sinā'at al-tawrīq (craft of chancery.)³⁶

In 999/1590 some of the shāhids, who were almost entirely of local origin, were dismissed to be replaced by dānishmands (those who assisted the judge and collected his revenues) and one was appointed in each court to register cases. In one instance a new chief judge is said to have remarked upon his diminished personal revenue, particularly that which should have accrued from fees from hujjās (deeds). The interpreter replied that it was caused by the judge himself having instilled the fear of dismissal and stating that a complete change of deputies was necessary to the appointment of a new judge. When the chief judge realised this, he dispatched a circular of reassurance to them, together with instructions for future collection of fees. He appointed dānishmands in each court, probably in order to augment collection of fees.³⁷

35. Sijill al-Mahkama, Damascus, vol.i, pp.144, 145, 147, 150, 207. See also E. Tayan, "Adl", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.209-10.

36. For names and biographies of shāhids see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.80, 177-8; vol.iii, pp.30, 41-2, 53, 66, 77, 82, 100, 122, 125, 126. Luff, fols.6a, 7a,b, 10b, 11a, 12a, 18b, 23a, 24b, 30a, 31a, 52a,b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.38b, 50b, 51a, 52a,b, 55a,b, 56a, 171b-172a, 179a, 267a,b. Tadhkirat, fols.78b-79a. Sijill al-Mahkama al-Shar' iyya, Damascus, vol.i, case Nos:88, 110, 115, 195, year 992, pp.131-2, 142, 144, 188-9. Schacht, J., An introduction to Islamic Law, pp.192-4. Ziadah, N., Urban life, p.107.

37. Dānishmands are mentioned as early as 943/1536 accompanying the chief judge and assisting his administrations and collecting the revenues from a number of services (sing. khidma). Their behaviour was notoriously bad and

References to court procedure indicate that many judges were bilingual while many other Ottoman judges employed interpreters who were expert in both Arabic and Turkish languages.³⁸ Other court personnel, known as muḥdīrs, were employed to ensure the attendance of the parties.³⁹

During 'Abbāsīd⁴⁰ and Mamlūk rule⁴¹ the judges received state salaries; while under the Ottoman rule for every case presented; whether for dispute of any kind, registration of marriages, land, etc, the fees, referred to as yasak, were paid by the persons concerned.⁴² In the case of the marriage contract of a girl, a fee of 125 dirhams would be collected. The apportionment would be twenty dirhams for the chief judge's fee; one to the deputy who carried the contract, and four to the witnesses. The remaining sum of one hundred dirhams, referred to as resm-i 'arūs in the Tapu Defters, formed part of the Sultan's, governor's, or timar-holder's income depending upon its allocation. For the remarriage of a widow or a divorcee the fee was 75 dirhams; 50 of this amount was resm-i 'arūs and the remaining 25 would be divided in the same proportion. The legalization of a hujja cost 14 Sulṭānīs while a copy of it

= it is most likely that they were synonymous with the qassām, whose function was to collect the money due to the judge. Before his arrival in Damascus the chief judge sent a receiver (mutasallim) together with a number of qassāms to consummate the transfer of the collected fees due from each. Ibn Ṭulūn, Quḍāt, pp.316, 318, 319, 320, 321; in Rawḍ fol.89a. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuẓḥat, fols.334a, 387b.

38. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuẓḥat, fol.334b. Rawḍ, fols.208a, 253b-254a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.50, 147. Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.398, 414.

39. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.71, 98. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hānbalī, Durr, Taymūriyya, No:2105, fol.6b. D.K.12715H. vol.i, p.27.

40. M. Mez, Adam, Die Renaissance des Islam, the Arabic translation, al-Ḥadārah al-Islāmiyya fi'l qarn al-rābi', vol.i, pp.387-93.

41. Lapidus, I., Muslim Cities, pp.76, 138-9.

42. According to Maqrīzī (d.845/1441) the word yasak was Turkish in origin. It was in use in Syria and Egypt after Chingīz Khān (d.1227) wrote his code of law and named it Yāsa. Under the Ottomans it held many meanings according to the context of its usage. In Damascus it came to mean the term descriptive of all Ottoman practices, whether of administration, justice, =

cost eight. In 979/1571 hujjās legalization was reduced to 11 and the copy to six.⁴³ Those whose property had been stolen reimbursed the qāḍī al-kashf (inspector or investigator) for his work; the entire quarter's population united to pay the fees in cases of unidentified arson or murder, but the fees on these cases were not usually excessive.⁴⁴ Finally the employment of a muḥḍir cost one dirham.⁴⁵

= or taxation. Maqrīzī, Khitat, vol.i, pp.357-60. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.41, 77, 84, 85, 88-9, 120. al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-ʿarūs, vol.vii, p.98. Dozy, Supplement, vol.ii, pp.852-3. Levy, Reuben, The Social Structure of Islam, pp.258-63. For the Yāsa see also Petrushevsky, I.P., "The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Il-Khāns", The Cambridge History of Iran, vol.v, pp.522-5. See also Poliak, A.N., "The influence of Chingiz-Khan's Yāsa upon the general organization of the Mamlūk state", BSOAS, vol.x (1940-2), pp.862-76.

43. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.30, 41. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.108b-109a, 263a,b. Nuzhat, fols.343a, 389a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.222. Lewis, B., "Arus Resmi", E.I.2, vol.i, p.679. I was not able to find the ratio of exchange between the dirham and the akches. In 923/1517 the Ottomans partially replaced Mamlūk fulūs with new Ottoman ones and the devaluation reduced incomes by half. A dirham under the Mamlūks was equal to eight fals, but with the change it equalled 16 new fals. It is possible that Ibn Ṭulūn, who provided this piece of information, meant akche by fals. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.59, 65, 120. See also Miles, G.C., "Dirham", E.I.2 vol.ii, pp.319-20. Udovitch, A.L., "Fals", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.768-9. Balog, Paul, "A horde of late Mamlūk copper coins and observations on the metrology of the Mamlūk Fals", The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, 7th series, vol.ii (London, 1962), pp.243-73. The gold Sulṭānī was equal to eight akches. See Sijill al-mahkama, Damascus, 991/1583, vol.i, case 17, p.13, case 73, p.42, case 99, pp.56-7; 992/1584, vol.i, case 82, p.128, case 87, p.131; 993/1585, case 176, pp.226-7, case 218, p.380.

44. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.343a, 389a.

45. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.71, 98. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, Taymuriyya, No:2105; Tārīkh, fol. 6b; D.K.1271511, vol.i, p.27.

There appears to have been no fixed amount of income for the chief judge. The Ṣālihiyya Court references show it as being between 50-80 akches on some days and nothing on others.⁴⁶ al-Kubrā yielded three Sulṭānīs a week and on one occasion when it rose to five the deputy was dismissed as he was considered to have overcharged. There are no references concerning the estimated income from Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Court although the total amount was believed to be considerable. The chief judges from the barr received less than 10 Sulṭānīs monthly.⁴⁷ Throughout the province payment of these fees caused resentment from both the mass of the population and the ulamā'; so deep was this resentment that one judge resigned because such payment had been classed as a form of usury.⁴⁸

Some of the chief judges in Damascus were notorious for their corrupt practices. Walī al-Dīn b. al-Farfūr (d.937/1530), the chief Shāfi'i judge of Damascus under the Mamlūks, changed to the Hanafī Madhhab. He was one of the two Arab judges who succeeded to the office during the sixteenth century, and was a subject of criticism. He came from a wealthy family holding vast lands in lqīm al-Tuffāh and was married to a rich wife. His wealth enabled him to carry out various plans for construction and building and he led a luxurious life.

46. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.178b.

47. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.262a,b. Ibn Ṭūlūn in Rawḍ, fol.178b.

48. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.116, vol.iii, p.12. Ibn al-Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.191-2. A reference in T.D.169 (ca.936/1529) says that the following amounts of money were at the disposal of each judge probably as income:-

The judge of Damascus	18,000 <u>akches</u>
The judge of Bayrūt	3,600 "
The judge of Qāra	1,200 "
The judge of Ba'labakk	4,000 "
The judge of Sidon	1,500 "

This is the only reference concerning money at the disposal of judges, T.D.169, p.45.

He was, however, accused of taking money from orphans, confiscating property from partisans of al-Ghazālī; and his greed led him to annexe land near his orchard, to reach which by boat he destroyed a number of small public bridges (sing. ganṭara). In addition, he was accused of hypocrisy and crooked dealing. In 936/1529 he was dismissed and, while travelling towards Istanbul, was brought back from Aleppo and interrogated for his misdeeds, for fifteen sessions. He sold part of his estate and property to pay for proved allegations. He was held in the citadel until his death in 937/1530 when it was suspected that the governor had poisoned him for reasons of personal hatred. It is more probable, however, that the governor was both envious and jealous. Walī al-Dīn's influence and power were strong in Damascus and he was favoured by Sultan Selīm; also he had been chief judge, under the Ottomans, in Damascus for the third time for as long a period as six years.⁴⁹

Most of the Ottoman judges appointed to serve in Damascus were highly qualified people whose conduct was impeccable,⁵⁰ but some of them abused their position. ‘Uthmān b. Isrāfīl, (d.944/1537), who was twice a chief judge in Damascus, purloined the books intended for students and his death was not regretted.⁵¹ His successor, Ishāq al-Bursawī (d.944/1537) was poorly qualified

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49. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.71, 73. Quḍāt, pp.182-3, 309-10, 312-5, in Rawḍ, fols.178b-9a, b. Ibn Iyās, Baḍā’ī, vol.iv, p.85. Ghazzī, Kawākīb, vol.ii, pp.22-4. Ghazzī says that he remained with the Shāfi’ī Madhhab, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, I.Ü.A.Y. 3190, fols.66a, b. Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols.92a, b, 223b-224a. Taymūriyya, No:2105, fols.129a, b. D.K.12715 H., vol.ii, pp.111-4. Shammā, ‘Uyun, vol.ii, fol.14a. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.75a, b. Ghazzī, Badr al-Dīn, Maḥālī, MS. Kōprülü, No:1390, fols.3b, 9a, b. B.M. OR.3621, fols.5b, 15a, b. Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.224-5. Būrīnī, Ḥasan, Dīvān, fols. 95a, b. T.D.383, pp.413, 422, 447, passim.
50. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Quḍāt, pp.316, 318-9. Ibn Ayyūb, Dhayl, pp.325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335; Rawḍ, fols.53a, b. Tashkōprüzāde, Shaqā’iq, vol.i, pp.453-5, 638-9, vol.ii, pp.86-7, 96-7, 98-9. Ghazzī, Kawākīb, vol.ii, pp.109, 121, 151, vol.iii, pp.139, 141. Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.306-7, 338.
51. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Quḍāt, pp.315, 317-8. Tashkōprüzāde, Shaqā’iq, vol.ii, pp.85-6.

as a judge and was a suspected homosexual.⁵² Similarly, his successor, Abū al-Layth al-Rūmī (d.944/1536), was corrupt;⁵³ while another, Aḥmad Ḥalabī (d.957/1550), was extremely arrogant.⁵⁴ Yet another, Muḥammad b. Ma'īl (d.993/1585) was avaricious, oppressive and unjust,⁵⁵ and Muṣṭafā Efendī (d.989/1581) accepted bribes.⁵⁶

On the whole, deputy judges appear to have been appointed rather in consideration of their character and qualities than because of family or other influence. The appointment of some of them was considered disastrous. Some were noted for their avarice and bribery; also for defrauding orphans and complete perversion.⁵⁷ Some shāhids were also notoriously corrupt. They were sometimes known to forge documents; and in at least two instances the Sultan sent orders to investigate their corrupt practices in the courts. A certain Yūsuf b. Yūsuf b. Karīm al-Dīn (d.1032/1622) used his position to exploit judges, and al-Ḥazzī described him as the source of corruption in courts.⁵⁸ One of the interpreters, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Jamāl al-Dīn known as Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. ca.1000/1592) was noted for his greed and as a receiver of bribes; notables and even 'ulumā' feared his ruthlessness.⁵⁹ In 991/1583, the

52. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qudāt, pp.318-9.

53. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qudāt, pp.319-20.

54. Ibn Ayyūb, Dhayl, p.326.

55. Ibn Ayyūb, Dhayl, p.330. Ḥazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.29-30.

56. Ibn Ayyūb, Dhayl, p.333. Ḥazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.28.

57. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.387b, 389b; Rawḍ, fols.11b-12a, 206b-7a, 209a, 210a, 277a,b, 280a,b. Ḥazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.9-10, vol.iii, p.21. Luff, fols.6a, 7b, 12b, 20b, 31a,b, 38b, 47a. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, D.K.12715 H., vol.ii, pp.119-21.

58. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.55a,b, 267a,b. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.141a,b. Ḥazzī, Luff, fols.10b, 52a,b. MD.ix, No:100, 28 Ramaḍān, 977, p.38. M.D.xiv, No:99, 21 Dhu'l Qa'da, 981, p.33.

59. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.207b-208a.

Sultan sent a ghā'vūsh to investigate the cases of oppression alleged to have committed by deputy judges to the extent that "many villages and inhabited and cultivated places belonging to the province of Damascus are on the verge of falling into ruin."⁶⁰ He may have confirmed the truth of these allegations which would explain the dismissal of all Arab deputy judges, but after a short period, however, they were reinstated.⁶¹

A typical example of corruption in the courts is referred to in the sources as "the story of the Kapijī." In 988/1580 a certain Mahmūd b. Yūnus b. Shāhīn known as al-A'war died leaving 33,000 gold dīnārs. The ketkhudā of the janissaries in Damascus reported to Istanbul that Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Khattāb al-Hanbalī (d.992/1584),⁶² the chief shāhid in al-Kubrā Court and Alā' al-Dīn al-Khlahshāb, the interpreter, the deputy judge Shams al-Dīn b. Muhammad al-Rujayhī (d.1002/1593)⁶³ and others had concocted a deception in order to obtain this money which they had divided among themselves. They affirmed that the deceased had left a daughter to whom one of them would act as a wasī (guardian) and another nāzir (supervisor) of the inheritance. A kapijī (port soldier) by the name of Mahmūd Turkche Bilmez, together with a judge, was sent to Damascus to investigate the case. al-Rujayhī fled and the rest were arrested and tortured. Their property was confiscated and also that of many outstanding innocent 'ulamā'; several merchants and deputy judges were also arrested. The value of the total properties thus confiscated exceeded

60. Heyd, U., Ottoman documents, pp.54-5. See also Ghazzī when a deputy judge refused to sanction a forgery case which was approved by the chief judge. Kawakib, vol.iii, pp.204-5.

61. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.267b.

62. Ghazzī, Kawakib, vol.iii, p.16. The gold dīnār referred to in the Tapu Defters as sikke altun, appears less frequently and not many transactions are found in which this coin is recorded. In ca.930/1523 its value varied between 50-52 akches but in 990/1582, most likely as a result of inflation due to the introduction of silver from America, it was increased to 60 akches on the instruction of the Sultan. T.D.430, pp.91, 251, 457. Sijill al-Malikama, Aleppo, vol.ii, p.99.

63. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.5a. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.277a, b. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.143-4.

200,000 dīnārs. The outstanding deputy-judge, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, wrote to the Grand Muftī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Joyzāde (d.995/1586) ⁶⁴ in Istanbul explaining the situation and the ruthless manner in which they had been treated. This communication, together with similar complaints, were submitted to the Sultan who ordered the execution of the Kapji if the allegations could be substantiated. The trial took place and the Kapji was found guilty and hanged in 990/1582 while the prisoners were freed. ⁶⁵

As has already been mentioned, the military section in Damascus enjoyed its own court as far as inheritances were concerned. During the Mamlūk regime it also had its own judges. ⁶⁶ This does not appear to have been the case under Ottoman rule. Crimes were frequently committed by military personnel, and orders to investigate them were sent from Istanbul. Such orders were usually addressed to the governor ⁶⁷ except in a few cases. ⁶⁸ The inference is, therefore, that the governor was given the right to supercede the judge in such investigations.

As under the Mamlūks, ⁶⁹ the administration of penal law, under the Ottomans, was in the hands of the governor and his subordinates (especially the subāshīs) who

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64. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.27-9. Concerning Kapjis in Istanbul see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, p.355.
65. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.207b-208a, 267a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.15-16, 161, 132, 133, 161, 195. Luṭf, fol.5a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, fol.ii, pp.41-3.
66. Qalqashandī, Subḥ, vol.iv, p.192. There was both a Ḥanafī and a Shāfi'ī judge.
67. M.D.iii, No:127, 13 Shawwāl, 966, p.53; No:141, 16 Shawwāl, 966, p.60; No:355, 24 Dhu'l Ḥijja, 966, p.136. M.D.vi, No:1194, 14 Rajab 972, p.551. M.D.v, No:729, 9 Jumādā, II, 973, p.284. M.D.xiv, No:321, 15 Ṣafar, 978, p.223. M.D.xii, No:1220, 1 Dhu'l Ḥijja, 979, p.644. M.D.xxii, No:197, 27 Ṣafar, 981, p.96; No:565, 26 Rabī' II, 981. M.D.xxiii, No:37, 8 Jumādā, II, 981, p.21.
68. M.D.v, No:929, 9 Jumādā, II, 973, p.284. M.D.x, No:555, 10 Muḥarram, 979, p.341. M.D.xxii, No:197, 27 Ṣafar, 981, p.96.
69. Maqrīzī, Khīṭat, vol.iii, pp.357-60. Qalqashandī, Subḥ, vol.iv, p.185. See also Mawardi, al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya, pp.73-84.

were referred to as ḥukkām al-siyāsa or quḍāt al-siyāsa.⁷⁰ They are reputed to have tortured, killed and accepted money in some cases of zina' (prostitution),⁷¹ and to have paraded prostitutes in disgrace through the streets.⁷² The siyāsa jurisdiction supplemented the Sharī'a in these cases. In more serious cases the felons were sent to Istanbul⁷³ for trial. It is not known whether the post of qādī al-siyāsa extended to qādī al-kashf whose function was to investigate cases of larceny, robbery and murder.⁷⁴

In the light of the evidence which is extant, it appears that the judicial courts were not always able to check the activities of the military personnel. On 935/1528 the chief judge, supported by the 'ulamā'', was able to prevent the governor from building a pool in the forecourt of the Umayyad Mosque.⁷⁵ On another occasion in 967/1559, however, the chief judge was indignant when the governor's men refused to show respect as he passed. This led to a clash between the partisans of both sides and both reported the affair to Istanbul; and the outcome was the transfer of the judge.⁷⁶

The outstanding ability of the judge Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Joyzāde to check ḥukkām al-siyāsa and excesses by military personnel is especially recorded,⁷⁷ while another chief judge is credited with Messianic and Mahdist

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70. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.28. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.387a. Siyāsa denoting punishment was also used by Maqrīzī, Khīṭat, vol.iii, pp.357-60.
71. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.158. Ibn Jum'a, Wulāt, pp.8-9, 16-17.
72. Ibn Ṭulūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.113b-4a. Cf. Barkan, Kanūnlar, p.180, where the Kanūnname of al-Mawṣil states "Siyaset bedeli akçesi". Cf. "Yavuz Sultan Selimin oğlu Şehzade Süleymāna Manisa Sancagını idare etmesi için gönderdiği Siyasetname", Belleterin, vol.vi, (1942), pp.37-44.
73. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.38.
74. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.343a,b, 386b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.158.
75. Ibn Ṭulūn, Ik'ām, p.244, in Rawd, fol.30b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.13. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulṭān the Ḥanafī Muftī wrote a treatise entitled "al-Barq al-lāmī' fī al-manī' min al-birkah fil jāmi'".
76. Ibn Ayyūb, Dhayl, p.328.

qualities because he redressed grievances and relieved military oppression.⁷⁸

There is no doubt that the subāshīs were notorious for their lawlessness.⁷⁹ There is an instance recorded where a shopkeeper was jailed by them, beaten to death and his body hung on a tree. The case was reported to qādī al-kashf stating that the man had committed suicide. His family brought the matter to the attention of the chief judge, who appears to have been completely helpless and could only express his sympathy for the tragedy. When the governor heard that complaint had been made to the chief judge, he sent for the complainant and they received severe physical treatment.⁸⁰ A further example shows that a janissary, Kīwān b. 'Abdullah (d.1033/1623), habitually forged documents, blackmailed reputations by threats and even lashed a retired judge for an unpaid debt. There is no record of any interference or protection from his cruelty.⁸¹

II. The Office of Muftī⁸²

Although the Ottoman judicial system was founded on Ḥanafī law, other schools of law were not abolished. In addition to the chief judge there was also a recognized Ḥanafī muftī authorized to sign fatwās. In the period between the Ottoman conquest and 965/1557 the office of muftī was held in succession by two Damascenes. One of them, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulṭān (d.950/1543), noted for his independent judgement, was highly esteemed and frequently consulted by officials. In spite of the blindness which overtook him towards the end of

77. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.28.

78. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.117a, 166a,b. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols.47a, b.

79. al-Khalidī, Tārīkh, p.106.

80. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.386b-7a.

81. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.394a-5b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.170. Luṭf, fols.43b-4a,b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, pp.299-303.

82. See Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part ii, pp.133-8. E. Tayan, "Fatwā", E.I.², vol.ii, p.866. J.R. Walsh, "Fatwā - Ottoman Empire", E.I.², vol.ii, pp.866-7. Heyd, "Some aspects of the Ottoman Fatwa", B SOAS, vol.32 (1969), pp.35-56.

life, his opinion was still sought and his replies were sealed by his stamp to obviate forgery.⁸³

With the establishment of the Sulaymāniyya Madrasa in Damascus the supervision was assigned to the Hanafī muftī⁸⁴ and thereafter the post was given to an Ottoman. Between 965-984/1557-76 the office was entrusted to four Ottoman muftīs in succession, each of whom, in addition to iftā' and supervision, taught at the Sulaymāniyya.⁸⁵ Two Damascenes succeeded to the appointment between 984-97/1576-88. One of them was Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar b. Sulṭān (d.997/1588), a nephew of the first muftī, to be followed by an Ottoman.⁸⁶

Available evidence is not explicit concerning the muftī's attendance at courts, or whether cases were presented to him for opinion and authentication by the qāḍī. An opinion may, however, be deduced from Ibn Ayyūb's (d. ca.1000/1591) criticism of some of the Ottoman muftīs who, he said, knew no more than Arabic grammar and titles of books, and relied on local 'ulamā' to answer their questions for them. In one case a local 'ālim (learned scholar) abused his trust and phrased his opinions with deliberate vagueness in order to satisfy both clients and thus enhance his own prestige and fees.⁸⁷

83. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.12-14. Murādī, 'Urf al-Bashshām fī man waliya fatwā Dimashq al-Sham. MS. Zāhiriyya, No:9058, fols.2b, 10a, b. The second muftī was 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-'Akkārī (d.965/1557), see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.166, 168, 174. Murādī, 'Urf, fol.11a. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, D.K.12715 H, vol.i, p.190.

84. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.157.

85. For names and biographies see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.85, 91, 117-8, 168, 170. Murādī, 'Urf, fols.11b-13a, b. 'Alī Pālī Maṅq al-'Iqd al-manzūm vol.ii, pp.352-3. Ibn Māmāi al-Rūmī, Dīwan, fol.104b. Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.385-6, 400-1.

86. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.13-15, 196-7. Murādī, 'Urf, fols.12b-13a. Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.410-1.

87. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.273a, b.

Each mufī had a clerk who would put questions posed to him into writing. For this the clerk would be paid two akḥes. The mufī himself received five akḥes.⁸⁸ The mufī was also a teacher and nāzīr (supervisor) for which he drew additional income. Two mufīs are recorded as each earning 80 dirhams daily.⁸⁹

In Damascus there was more than one Shāfi'ī mufī at the same time. Recorded names of those who gave fatwās were those of local origin. There is no evidence to show that confirmation from the chief judge or the Hanafī mufī was asked or given, but in one case the chief judge forbade a Shāfi'ī mufī to issue fatwās. The Shāfi'ī mufīs taught in various schools and were paid both for their fatwās and teaching. Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d.984/1576) was exceptional as he issued fatwās free.⁹⁰ In Ba'labakk as well as in Sidon there was a Shāfi'ī mufī.⁹¹

Available biographies show that there was one Malikī mufī at a time. All of them except one were North Africans who had migrated to Damascus and settled in Damascus. Two of them worked as deputy-judges; another, for a while, as

88. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.273a,b.

89. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.13, 117-8.

90. For names and biographies of Shāfi'ī mufīs see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.40-3, vol.iii, pp.3-10, 114, 115, 119, 132-5, 182-6. Luḥf, fols.4b-5a, 24a. Ibn Ayyūb, Tadhkirat, fols.76a,b. Rādī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, D.K.12715 H, vol.i, pp.707-9. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.16-24, 43-7, fols.135b-6a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.369-71.

91. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.135b-6a, Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.11-14, 44-6.

the supervisor (nāz̄ir) of the Umayyad Mosque and they were also part-time teachers.⁹²

There was more than one Ḥanbalī muftī at the same time but by comparison there were less than the number of Shāfi'ī muftīs. This is probably because there were few Ḥanbalīs in Damascus except in the Ṣālihiyya suburb, which was predominantly inhabited by Ḥanbalīs from Palestine. Three muftīs were from the Shuwaykīs originating from the village of Shuwayka near Nāblus. The Ḥanbalī muftīs, like other muftīs, taught in schools but one of them was accused of unethical conduct.⁹³

III. The Administration of Public Buildings and their Awqāf

A. Hospitals:

There were two hospitals in Damascus: al-Nūrī and al-Qaymarī in Ṣālihiyya. Under the Mamlūks there were three equally recognised grades in the medical profession: surgery, cauterising and general practice, and the appointment as head of each section was made by the governor.⁹⁴ It is not clear whether this practice was continued by the Ottomans. More than one person is described in the sources as head of the physicians (ra'īs al-aṭibbā'). It is possible that this was an official or honorary title given by the biographer. In one case, a doctor who went to Istanbul returned with a title which may either

92. For names and biographies see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.256; vol.iii, pp.21-6; Luṭfī, fols.19a, 24b, 40a. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.275. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.97, 145, 373.

93. For names and biographies see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.99; vol.iii, pp.53, 115, 184, 215-6. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.48-52. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.165-6.

94. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.194.

have merely been claimed or have been awarded him.⁹⁵

The supervision of the Nūrī Hospital was always entrusted to an Ottoman; one of whom, originally from Persia, was suspected of Shī'ā inclinations.⁹⁶ A Damascene has been recorded as holding the post of clerk in that hospital.⁹⁷ It not only received in-patients; upon discharge a patient would receive a medical certificate of freedom from contagion.⁹⁸

The Qaymari Hospital, like the Nūrī, cared for both in- and out-patients and provided medicine. The medical staff seem always to have been Damascene.⁹⁹ The only known local supervisor was Yūsuf b. al-Munqār (d.943/1536).¹⁰⁰ Most of the time the supervision of this hospital was linked with the Nūrī Hospital, especially when the income of both diminished. The joint hospital supervision was entrusted to the former aghā of the janissaries, Ḥasan Shawyazī (d.1027/1617).¹⁰¹

95. For names and biographies of physicians, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.99-100. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.22; vol.ii, pp.44, 263. Luff, fols. 46a, b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.299-300, 324-7. Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, p.349.

96. For succeeding supervisors, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.79, and in Rawḍ, fols.67a, b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.121, 149, 214. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.209-10. Ibn al-ʿImād, Shadharāt, vol.viii, p.347. al-ʿAlmawī, Mukhtaṣar, MS. BM. Or.3035, fol.48a, Or.6772, fol. fol.38a.

97. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.137.

98. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.94, 121, 218, 257; vol.ii, pp.87, 185. One example from the Sharʿiyya Court was such: "Muḥammad b. Marʿī was accused by Muḥammad b. Jamāl of having the disease of elephantiasis (judhām). He possessed a certificate of clearance of contagion in this respect from the chief physician. Muḥammad b. Jamāl, however, objected to living near him. The judge examined the certificate and its signature and declared it authentic, and pronounced the verdict that no-one had the right to interfere with Muḥammad b. Marʿī", Sijill al-Mahkama al-Sharʿiyya, Damascus, vol.i, year 992, case no:202, p.191.

99. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalāʿ id, vol.i, pp.243-4.

100. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.262.

101. Ghazzī, Luff, fols.29b-30a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, p.25.

B. Convents (sing. takiyya):

All supervisory and clerical posts in al-Salīmiyya Takiyya were held by Ottomans,¹⁰² while all religious offices were held by local people.¹⁰³ Similarly, the supervision of the Sulaymāniyya was entrusted to the Ḥanafī mufī¹⁰⁴ who was usually an Ottoman, but in 999/1590, it was held by a Damascene notable Muḥammad b. Manjīk al-Yūsufī (d.1032/1622). He was jailed in the citadel for failing to produce arrears due to the takiyya.¹⁰⁵ It is only recorded on one occasion that the kātib (clerk) was an Ottoman.¹⁰⁶ Other duties such as those of the preachers and imāms were given to local people.¹⁰⁷

No Ottoman is recorded as having occupied a supervisory post in any of the convents. There were many convents in a derelict state; very few were ever repaired.¹⁰⁸ Instead the Ottomans built many large ones, among which were Salīmiyya and Sulaymāniyya.

C. The Umayyad Mosque:

The Umayyad Mosque had its own supervisor (nāzir), and the office was very important owing to the fact that many people were employed there or were dependent on its waqf.¹⁰⁹ This office was entrusted to both Ottoman and local personnel. Two Ottomans who occupied this post were of Persian origin.

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102. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.163; vol.ii, pp.108-9, 139, 252. Ibn Ṭulūn, Qalā'id, vol.i, p.65. Ibn al-Imād al-Ḥanbalī, Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.142, 347.
103. Ibn Ṭulūn, Fulk, p.23; Qalā'id, vol.i, p.66. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.53; vol.ii, p.190; vol.iii, pp.174-5.
104. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.157.
105. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fols.383b, 388a,b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.229-31.
106. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.128a,b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.306.
107. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.157, 166, 196. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fol.136a. Ibn Tālū, Sāniḥāt, D.K.11622 Z, fols.47b-48a. B.M. Or.7583. Rich, fol.52a.
108. Ibn Ṭulūn, Qalā'id, vol.i, p.186, 189, 194, 195, 196, 197, 202, 205, 206, 208. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.141.
109. For the number of employees and dependants, see M.M.5847, which gives 596 people as receiving annually 200,394 akches, pp.4-6.

Toward the end of the century it had been entrusted to two people who were originally from the military element.¹¹⁰ Three Arabs, two from Damascus and one from Morocco, occupied the post at various times. One of the Damascenes who was a sayyid was guilty of mal-administration and dependants complained that their allowances were delayed. The other two proved to be capable and qualified men.¹¹¹ The post was remunerative; one supervisor is recorded as being paid forty 'uthmānī (akche) a day while another was paid fifty.¹¹² All other posts such as teachers, preachers, leaders of prayer, readers of the Qur'ān¹¹³ - almost all others employed in various capacities, with the exception of the attendance checker¹¹⁴ were local people.¹¹⁵

D. Awqāf of Mecca and Medina:

The awqāf for Mecca and Medina were supervised separately from the others. Records show that the supervisors were mostly local people; only one was a Damascene of Ottoman origin, and one other was an Ottoman.¹¹⁶ Two

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110. For names and biographies see Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.46-8, in Rawḍ, fol.35b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.65a,b, 66a,b. Tadhkirat, fols.280a,b. Ibn Ṭālū, Sānihāt, D.K.11622 Z, fol.33b. Asad Efendi No:2731, fol.45b. BM Add.7594, fols.39a,b, Add.7583, fol.36b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.163; vol.ii, pp.108-9; vol.iii, p.129. Luṭf, fols.25a, 29b-30a, 41a. Ibn al-Imād, Ṣaḍḍharāt, vol.viii, pp.213-4, 347. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.24-7, 299-10, 410-11.
111. Ibn Ṭulūn in Rawḍ, fols.41b, 89a,b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.167a, b, 258a. Nahrawālī, Bawā'id, p.206. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.43-4. Luṭf, fol.24b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, p.373.
112. Ibn Ṭulūn, in Rawḍ, fol.41b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.167a, b. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fol.25a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.410-11. M.D.iv, No:1527, 10 Ṣafar, 968, p.150.
113. There were 120 readers. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.34b.
114. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.209a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.190-1.
115. Ibn Ṭulūn, Quḍat, p.309. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.13. Raḍi al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, Nūrosmāniyya, No:2393, fol.95b. I.Ü.A.Y. 3190, fol.67a, D.K.12715 H, vol.i, p.367.
116. For names and biographies see Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.75, in Rawḍ, fols.13a, 87b-88a, 157a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.89-90, 153; vol.iii, p.44.

Ottomans are mentioned as holding the post of clerk (kātib) and one Damascene,¹¹⁷ while the only recorded name of its tax-collector (jābī) was that of a local person.¹¹⁸ One of the holders, a Damascene named Taqī al-Dīn al-Qārī (d.945/1538), was jailed for arrears of money due,¹¹⁹ while Aḥmad Chalabī b. Sinān al-Qaramānī (d.1019/1610), who even entertained judges, was recorded as having exploited his position by using money from the waqf for his own purposes.¹²⁰

E. Madrasās (schools)

ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī (d.927/1520), in his compiled history, mentions that there were 157 madrasās in Damascus. Upon examination of the available records of the period one finds that many names of schools do not appear. This may indicate that many of them had vanished or were derelict.¹²¹ A small number were revived¹²² but it appears that the intention of Ottoman officials was rather to build new mosques and convents and attach schools to them than to repair derelict buildings.

117. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.149. Lutf, fol.22a. Nahrawāī, Fawā'id, p.208. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.209-10.

118. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.198.

119. Ibn Tūlūn in Rawḍ, fols.13a, 87b-88a, 157a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.89-90.

120. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.22a.

121. For names of obsolete schools, see al-ʿAlmawī, Mukhtaṣar, Taymūriyya, No:1499, pp.21, 28, 29, 48-9, 51. D.K. 3419, Tārīkh, p.36. Dib. Nat. arabe 4943, fols.6a, 7b, 11a,b, 12a,b, 13a, 19a,b, 21b-22a. B M. Or.3035, fols. 48a, 55a; Or.6772, fols.38b-44a; Or.3035, fols. 16b-17a, 35a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.10, 177, 189, 241, 260.

122. al-ʿAlmawī, Mukhtaṣar, arabe 4943, fols. 16a,b. Or.3035, fol.42b; Or. 6772, fols.33a,b. al-ʿAdawī in the margin of Mukhtaṣar, 4943, fol.14b.

Most schools had supervisors (sing. nāzīr) who guaranteed collection of the awqāf revenues and paid dependants and employees.¹²³ From the recorded names of supervisors few of Ottoman origin are to be found.¹²⁴

'Ulamā' from Damascus were employed in the various schools as teachers, preachers, etc. During the sixteenth century at least 73 of them were thus employed.¹²⁵ Ibn Tūlūn in 926/1519 complained that four madrasās were supervised and dominated by Ottomans.¹²⁶ Upon examination of the names of supervisors and teachers, one finds that the number of Ottomans is negligible.¹²⁷ The 'ulamā' competed among themselves for appointments and many of them travelled to Istanbul or petitioned for appointment.¹²⁸ Some have left an account of their journeys. As early as 936/1529 Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī;¹²⁹ (d.984/1576) travelled to Istanbul to lobby officials there to approach the Qāqī-Askar to confirm him in the posts that his deceased father had held.¹³⁰

123. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.13, 181-2, 256, 310; vol.ii, pp.13, 68; vol.iii, pp.97-8. Darwish, b. Tālū, Sāniḥat, D.K.11622 Z, fols.46b-47a. Or.7583, Rich, fols.50b-51a.

124. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.256; vol.iii, pp.157, 168, 170. passim. Murādī, Urf, fols.11a, 12a, 13a, b, 18a. 'Alī Pālī, Uqd, vol.ii, pp.311-2, 352-3.

125. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, pp.13, 19, 20-1, 42, 51, 55, 57, 89, 100, 115, 127-8, 134, 135, 136, 175, 181-2, 191, 256, 310; vol.ii, pp.13, 21, 44, 47, 48, 49, 53, 67, 68, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 87, 89, 90, 93, 146-7, 157, 168, 244, 253, 254, 255, 256; vol.iii, pp.5, 13, 22, 28, 29, 37, 40, 41, 48, 73-4, 85, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 117, 125, 127-30, 143, 144, 164, 166, 169-70, 184, 206, 208, 215-6, 220.

126. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.109-10. Qalā'id, vol.i, pp.62, 130.

127. For names see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.175; vol.ii, p.87, vol.iii, pp.127-9. al-'Almawī, Or.3035, fol.16b; Or.6772, fols.12b-13a. arabe 4943, fols.7a, b. Ibn Tūlūn, Ghuraf, Shahīr 'Alī 1924, fol.36a. Taymūriyya, Tārīkh 631, p.79. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.37b.

128. Ibn Tūlūn, in Rawḍ, fols.37b, 41b, 42a, 89b. Būrīnī, Tarājīm, fol.136b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.137, 150; vol.iii, pp.37-9, 130, 149, 164-5, 177, 205. Luff, fols.27a, 50b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, p.61.

129. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.3-10.

130. Ghazzī, Badr al-Dīn, Matālī', MS. Kōprülü No:1390, fols.71a, 151a, b-3a. B. M. Or.3621, fols.3b, 27b, 28a, 31a, b, 32a, b. See also Ekrem Kamil, "Ghazzī-Mekki Seyahet namesi", Tarih Semineri Dergisi (Istanbul, 1937), =

Similarly Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ḥiṣnī in 965/1557 recorded his experience.¹³¹

There is a long poem by Shaykh Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī (d.1016/1607)¹³² who went to Istanbul in 981/1573 and remained there until 983/1575. He composed many poems in praise of various officials, almost abasing himself in his anxiety to achieve his objective, and was rewarded at least by the judgeship of Ma'raṭ al-Nu'mān.¹³³ Generally the appointment to offices was recommended by the chief judge of Damascus, but the final decision was taken by the Qādī-Askar of Anatolia.¹³⁴ The payment varied between 30 'uḥmānī 80 'uḥmānī, with a maximum of 100 a day.¹³⁵

IV. Problems Involving the Chief Judge and the 'ulamā'

One problem the Ottomans had to face in Damascus was excessive coffee drinking¹³⁶ and the 'ulamā' were divided among themselves concerning it. It is not known when coffee was first introduced to Damascus but when 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shāmī (d.963/1555) visited Damascus in 947/1540 on his way from Medina to Istanbul, he drank coffee and from that time the practice of drinking it became public.¹³⁷ The Ḥanafī muftī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulṭān

= pp.5-86, where he draws a comparison between their descriptions of their travels. My thanks are due to Professor V. Ménage who drew my attention to this article.

131. al-Ḥiṣnī, H.A., Kitāb manāzil al-musāfir, MS. Taymūriyya, No:634, pp. 10, 66, 67, 113.

132. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, pp.322-31.

133. al-Ḥamawī, Muḥibb al-Dīn, Bawādī al-dumū' al-andamiyya bi wādī al-diyār al-tūmiyya, MS. University Library, Cambridge, No: Q.C. 125, fols.237a, 240a,b, 241a,b, 243b, 244a, 258a,b, 259b, 263b. Arif Efendi, No:2030, fols.40a-41b, 43b, 44a,b, 45a,b, 47a,b, 48a, 64b-65a,b, 68a,b.

134. Ibn Ṭulūn, Fulk, p.25. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.28-9.

135. Ibn Ṭulūn in Rawd, fols.42a, 89b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.13, 28-9. See also Muḥibbī concerning the effect of the cut in 'ulamā' salaries in the 17th century, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.402-3.

136. See C. van Avendonk, "Kaḥwa", E.I.¹, vol.ii, pp.630-5.

137. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.197-9. Raqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, D.K. 12715 H, vol.i, pp.720-2.

(d.950/1543), considered coffee to be one of the tragedies of the age and gave a fatwā against it.¹³⁸ Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, al-‘Aythāwī (d.976/1568) supported by Muḥammad b. Sulṭān wrote a treatise against the beverage which was, however, praised by Ibn Sulṭān himself and the chief judge.¹³⁹ In 950/1543, 953/1546 and 961/1553 orders were issued from Istanbul to close coffee houses in Damascus as places of disrepute.¹⁴⁰ The repetition of such orders proves that the custom had become widespread and consequently difficult to curb. The practice flourished in spite of fatwās, probably because it was condoned by some of the Damascene ‘ulamā’.¹⁴¹ The Mālikī muftī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām (d.975/1567) wrote a muwashshah praising it.¹⁴² Two of his students, Muḥammad b. Māmāi (d.987/1579)¹⁴³ and Dārwish b. Ṭālū (d.1014/1605), both well known and influential poets, defended it.¹⁴⁴ When, however, the former chief judge of Damascus, Shaykh al-Islām

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138. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.12-14.
139. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.207, 222-3. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 301b-305a,b. ‘Uraqī, Ma‘ādin, Or.3618, fols.34a,b. Cf. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.43-7. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.369-71. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols.23a,b-24a,b.
140. Ibn Ṭūlūn, in Rawḍ, fols.302a,b-303a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.39, 152-3; vol.iii, p.185. Ibn Māmāi, Dīwān, fols.216b-217a. Ibn al-‘Imāḍ Shadharāt, vol.viii, pp.306-7.
141. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.305a. See also Fatwa al-Kamāl al-Qādirī, Zāhiriyya, No:1054. For names of coffee houses in Ṣālihiyya, see Ibn Kannān, Murūj, p.36. There was a coffee roasting store in Darwish Pasha Market, complete with four grinders; Sijill al-Mahkama al-Shari‘iyya, vol.i, case No:184, pp.183-4, year 992.
142. Darwish b. Ṭālū, Sāniḥāt, B M. Add.7583, fols.41a-42a. Add.7584, fols. 44a-45a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.180-1; vol.iii, pp.21-7.
143. Ibn Māmāi, Dīwān, fols.37b, 133b-134a. For his lamentation of a certain Aṣḥān who used to serve coffee, see fols.128b-129a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.50-1.
144. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.149-55. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.201-221. Sāniḥāt, fols.29b-30a. Coffee was served near Yalbughā Mosque. Some sufis frequented coffee houses and actually one made his living by selling it; Sāniḥāt, D.K.11622 Z, fol.27b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.90b-91a, 203b-204a.

Muḥammad Buṣṭānzāde¹⁴⁵ (d.1006/1597) gave a fatwā permitting it and the distinguished physician Dā'ūd b. 'Umar al-Anṭākī¹⁴⁶ (d.1008/1599) cited its usefulness from the medical point of view,¹⁴⁷ no doubt the campaign against it relaxed.

Boza (an intoxicating drink) was another problem which angered sufīs in Damascus and Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions that he wrote a book in its condemnation.¹⁴⁸ In 972/1564 the Sulṭān commanded the governor and the chief judge to close all boza, coffee houses and public drinking-places in Damascus. Rascals (safala) used them as meeting places from which to commit acts against the Sharī'a.¹⁴⁹ Mamlūk governors had tried to close public drinking places, but without success as is proved by the frequent references to wine (khamr).¹⁵⁰ Wine, produced in surrounding villages, was traded into the city. In 899/1493 a group of sufīs endeavoured to prevent this by intercepting it on the roads. The Mamlūk governor arrested the sufīs and a clash ensued during which some blood was shed.¹⁵¹ Taxes on wine were collected by the Ottomans, to be abolished in 976/1568 as a religious act.¹⁵²

145. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.9a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.223-6. See also J.H. Kramers; "Shaikh al-Islām", E.I.¹, vol.iv, pp.275-9. Kātib Chalabī; The Balance of Truth, pp.60-2. Heyd, U., Ottoman documents, pp.161-2.

146. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.140-9. Dā'ūd Anṭākī, Tadhkirat ulī al-atbāb vol.i, pp.122-3.

147. Kātib Chalabī, The Balance of Truth, pp.60-62.

148. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.7. Fulk, p.28. His book is entitled "al-Aqwāl al-munkirah li shurb al-boza al-muskira".

149. M.D.vi, No:1363, 972, p.620.

150. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.21, 30, 32, 84, 139, 205, 210, 215-6, 230, 284, 288, 303, 314, 363. Islam, pp.17, 186. See also, A.J. Wensinck, "Khamr", E.I.¹, vol.ii, pp.894-7.

151. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.245-6. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.153-4, 158.

152. T.D.169, p.1; T.D.401, p.52; T.D.275, p.175; T.D.423, p.5.

Ḥashīsh¹⁵³ (cannabis) was known, also, in Damascus and was opposed by the 'ulamā'.¹⁵⁴ There was a house for ḥashīsh in Damascus which paid a heavy tax.¹⁵⁵

Some of the Damascenes used eggs for gambling purposes; but the method is not known. In 940/1533, the chief judge ordered the eggs to be broken and the vendors to be compensated;¹⁵⁶ yet in spite of prohibition the practice continued. Damascenes held a feast of eggs on the first Thursday of April in every year, which was known as Khamīs al-Bayḍ.¹⁵⁷ It was a public feast and gambling with eggs was probably associated with this feast.

153. See M. Levy, "Ḥashīsh", E.I.², vol.iii, pp.266-7.

154. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.8, 65, 93-4, 205.

155. T.D.169, p.1; T.D.401, p.52; T.D.275, p.175; T.D.423, p.5; T.D.474, p.202.

156. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Quḍāt, p.316.

157. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.235, 288, 382; vol.ii, pp.59, 85. Ghazzī, Lūf, fol.8a. See also, B. Carra de Vaux, "Ḳimār", E.I.¹, vol.ii, pp.1009-10.

CHAPTER V

The Office of the Defterdār and the Taxation of the Province

I. The Office of the Defterdār and his Function

On Sunday, 2nd Ramadān 922/29th September 1516, which was the day after Sultan Selīm arrived at the outskirts of Damascus, his defterdār summoned the Samaritans employed by the Mamlūks as mubāshirs (tax-collectors) to present their accounts and money due.¹ Title deeds of iqṭā' and moneys from village taxes were demanded simultaneously.² Apparently the defterdār took no account of hardship caused to the people, supervisors of waqf, owners of mulk (privately owned land), and those in charge of state (sulṭānī) land were allowed no discrimination in the burden of taxation.³

Perhaps this explains the dismissal of the defterdār in the same year, 922/1516, to be replaced by a certain Ḥusayn Pāsha who restored the Mamlūk practice and the old procedures of taxation to the mubāshirs. This appears to have been a temporary measure because in 923/1517, another defterdār by the name of Nūḥ al-Rūmī was given the appointment. Records show that he, together with the governor and the chief judge, defined the status of the land surrounding Damascus. Supervisors of madrasās, mosques, cemeteries and convents were asked to present documents as proof of ownership of land with which their foundations were endowed. Some resentment was aroused by this action, which was probably calculated to expose misappropriation of lands, finances, or to increase revenue.

1. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.31.

2. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.34, 36. For general assessment of iqṭā' under the Mamlūks in Egypt, see Rabie, H.M., The Financial System of Egypt 564-741 A.H./1169-1341 A.D. (Ph.D. Thesis, S.O.A.S., 1968), pp.56-141. Shorter reference: Rabie, The Financial System. See also Sobernheim, M., "Iqṭā'", E.I.¹ vol.ii, pp.461-3. Cahen, C.L., "Iqṭā'", E.I.², vol.iii, pp.1088-91.

3. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.37-8. For defterdār, see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, vol.i, part ii, pp.5, 6, 24, 25-6, 29, 46-9, 58. Lewis, B., "Daftardār", E.I.², vol.ii, p.83.

So bitter was the resentment that on Wednesday 4th Dhu' l Qa' da 923/10th November 1517, Nūḥ was dismissed, and there is no record of his replacement.⁴

Shortly after, in 924/1518, Damascus and its dependencies were entrusted to Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī who was required to produce an annual tribute from taxes.⁵ Three years after al-Ghazālī's rebellion had been quelled (in 927/1521), Nūḥ was again sent to Damascus to survey the terrain and to divide it into state domain, timars, waqf, and privately owned lands.⁶

After the survey, the three provinces of Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli, which virtually comprised the whole of Syria, were welded into one treasure-administration with its chief defterdār's headquarters in Aleppo. He was referred to as the ʿArabistān defterdāri, Vilayet-i ʿArab defterdāri, ʿArab jānibi defterdāri, Ḥalab defterdāri, Defterdār-i diyār-i ʿArab or Defterdār al-mamlakah al-Shāmiyya wa mā maʿahā (the defterdār of the province of Damascus and its dependencies.)⁷

The defterdār was given a khāṣṣ.⁸ Two holders of this post were renowned for their justice, efficiency and sympathetic treatment of the people, and one of them was praised by more than one poet.⁹

4. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.59, 61-2, 65, 72-3.

5. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.82.

6. Ibn Ṭūlūn, quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd. fols.35a,b. The first Tapu Deftter probably dates from 930/1523. For dates of the available Deftters see bibliography.

7. M.D.iv, No:1501, 5 Šafar, 968, p.148. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp. 42, 115, 155. Raḡī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, Taymuriyya, No:2105, fols. 32a,b, 35b. D.K.12715 H, vol.i, pp.197, 220-2. Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fol53b. I.Ū.A.Y. No:3190, fols.35a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.37.

8. T.D.263, pp.480, 498. T.D.423, p.107.

9. Raḡī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr. Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols.53b-7a,b. I.Ū.A.Y. No:3190, fols.35a,b-8a,b. D.K. No:12715 H, vol.i, pp.197-200, 220-2. Taymuriyya, No:2105, fols.32a,b-6a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.37.

In Damascus, the defterdār had a deputy, referred to as ketkhudā-i defterdār, who was granted a zi'āmet.¹⁰ The nephew of Khāyirbāy of Egypt (d.928/1522), Muḥammad (Maḥmūd?) b. Qānṣūh b. Yanāl al-Muḥammadī held the post before he was promoted to the rank of sanjaqbey.¹¹ The Ketkhudā was assisted by a number of clerks (sing. kātib) and they were also given timars.¹²

This office in Damascus included the defterdār-i timāri hā-i Shām,¹³ together with his deputy,¹⁴ each of whom was given a zi'āmet. Their function was the complete charge of timars and their distribution.

In 975/1567 the treasuries of Damascus and Aleppo were separated.¹⁵ The reason is not given for this but as the change occurred one year after the death of Sultan Sūleymān, greater efficiency may have been the motive. The defterdār of Damascus, in addition to his responsibility to the province of Damascus, was put in charge of the province of Tripoli excluding the revenues from the port of the city (iskele) and the revenue from silk muqāṭa'a.¹⁶ In 979/1571 Jabala was withdrawn from the defterdār of Damascus and became the responsibility of the defterdār of Aleppo; the arrangement being considered more

10. T.D.166, p.33. Ibn Tūlūn, I'lām, p.243.

11. Radī al-Dīn al-Hanbalī, Durr, Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols.333b-4a. I.Ü.A.Y. No:3190, fols.211a,b. In 934/1527 a man named Gāsim bey was the ketkhudā, Ibn Tūlūn, I'lām, p.243.

12. T.D.401, p.105; T.D.427, pp.116, 117; T.D.474, p.770.

13. T.D.423, pp.18, 108; T.D.263, p.486. In T.D.401, a certain ʿAlī Chalabī had a khāss, p.98; in 993/1585, the defterdār of the timar was a certain ʿUthmān Aghā al-Ṭawāshī, al-ʿAimawī, Mukhtaṣar, D.K.No:3419, p.46.

14. T.D.423, p.108, T.D.263, p.532.

15. M.D.vii, No:356, 17 Rabī' II, 975, p.130; No:809, 7 Sha'ban, 975, p.285. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.42, 69, n.3. Rafeq, A., The Province of Damascus, pp.14-20.

16. M.D.vii, No:356, 17 Rabī' II, 975, p.130; No:809, 7 Sha'ban, 975, p.285. M.D.viii, No:538, 21 Dhu'l Qa'da, 980, p.224.

beneficial to the treasury because of the proximity of Jabala to Aleppo.¹⁷

No defterdār was ever of local origin. 'Alī b. Murād (d.980/1572), the first to occupy the post after Damascus became separated, was previously the defterdār of the timar in Damascus. He built several houses in Damascus for personal use, repaired some public buildings, led a luxurious life and enjoyed the eulogy of poets.¹⁸ Two of the defterdārs of Damascus were of Persian origin¹⁹ and towards the beginning of the seventeenth century the post was entrusted to the former aghā of the janissaries in Damascus, Ḥasan Shawyazī (d.1027/1617).²⁰ After retirement, a number of its employees were counted among the influential notables in Damascus.²¹

The defterdār functioned in the province of Damascus in collaboration with the governor, chief judge and timar holders and received taxes.²² Taxes were collected by the employment of paid amīns,²³ and subāshīs, or by farming. The amīns and subāshīs employed Samaritan assistants because of their knowledge of Arabic and siyāqat (accountancy). In 973/1565 the Sultan gave orders to dismiss

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17. M.D.x, No:40, 23 Muḥarram, 979, p.29. Jabala is a coastal town to the south of Latakia; about 183 kilometers from Aleppo and 367 kilometers from Damascus.
18. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd', fols.207a, b. Ibn Māmāi al-Rūmī, Dīwān, fols. 57a, 103b, 104a. al-'Almawī, Mukhtasar, arabe, 4943, fol.21a. Darwish al-Tālawī, Sānihāt, D.K. No:11622 Z, fols.25a, b. 'Asad Efendī, No:2731, fol.32b. BM. 7583. Rich, fols.28b-29a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.194.
19. al-Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.129b-130a. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.15b.
20. Ghazzī, Lutf, fols.29b-30a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.24-7.
21. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.9b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.29-30, 451. Būrīnī Dīwān, 135pr110, No:1257, fol.44b. Darwish Tālawī, Sānihāt, D.K. No:11622 Z, fols.42a, b. BM.7587. Rich, fol.141b; BM. 7583, fols.141b, 142a. For 'Alī Efendī (d.1018/1609) who died from fear of the governor of Damascus, see Ghazzī, Lutf, fols.41a, b.
22. M.D.iii, No:789, 12 Jumādā 967, p.226. M.D.v, No:532, 27 Rabī' II, 973, p.211. M.D.vii, No:1278, 14 Shawwāl, 975, p.974; No:2201, 11 Rabī' II, 976, p.804; M.D.xiv, No:1447, 6 Dhu'l Ḥijja, 978, p.974; M.D.xix, No:127, 20 Muḥarram, 980, p.58; M.D.xxii, No:511, 14 Rabī' II, 981, p.261.
23. See Lewis, B., "Emīn", E.I.², vol.ii, pp.695-6. Concerning "amīns" in the =

all Samaritans because it was alleged that they were forgers and oppressed Muslims.²⁴ A similar order was repeated two years later when the Sultan stressed that they must be dismissed.²⁵ In 977/1569 the order was repeated more emphatically.²⁶ It is worth mentioning that in 923/1517 Christians, Europeans, Jews and Samaritans were forbidden to ride a horse or donkey in Damascus or its suburbs or anywhere where there was "an assembly of people" (majāmi' al-nās).²⁷ In 989/1581, both Jews and Christians were forbidden to wear turbans ('amā' im) and only allowed special headgear (Pl. qaḥānis).²⁸

Every year soldiers were sent to Aleppo from Damascus to help in tax-collection. This force, which sometimes included Tāt, was reported to have drunk wine. Later they became a menace in the provinces of Aleppo and Damascus. On their own responsibility they extracted whatever additional payments they could collect.²⁹ Soldiers appear as tax-farmers in Damascus as indicated by the term der' uhdāi (in charge of).³⁰ Even judges were not averse to personal farming of mazāri'.³¹ Many of these mazāri' were farmed by local chieftains

= Kānunnāme of Mehmet II, see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol. i, part i, p.6, n.2, p.21, n.1.

24. M.D.v, No:470, 11 Rabi' II, 973, p.191.

25. M.D.vii, No:1537, 14 Dhu'l Hijja, 975, p.542.

26. M.D.ix, No:127, 3 Shawwāl, 977, p.47.

27. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.66.

28. Ibn Ayyūb, Tadhkirat, MS. Zāhiriyya, No:7814, fol.82b.

29. M.D.v, No:1128, 4 Sha' bān, 973, p.420. M.D.vii, No:33, beginning of Ṣafar, 975, p.7.

30. T.D.169, pp.3-4, 5; T.D.383, pp.107, 164, 186, 194, 229; T.D.401, p.79; T.D.423, pp.8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 29, 42, 43, 50; T.D.263, pp.200, 213, 214, 231, 238, 241, 246, 247, 443, 527; T.D.474, pp.214, 216, 242, 250, 276, 446.

31. T.D.383, pp.60, 68, 72.

or the tax was collected by the population of a village;³² and sometimes by Turkomans.³³

II. Types of Land and Methods of Assessment

During this period land in Damascus fell into three categories. All land which had been entrusted to any Mamlūks passed to the Ottoman Sultans and became state domain (sulṭānī) and part of it was given as timars. There was also privately owned land (mulk) and that which comprised waqf. The last came under two headings; waqf for public purposes (khayrī) and private hereditary waqf (dhurī).³⁴ All waqf land other than that of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron, the Umayyad Mosque, the buildings of Sultans Selīm and Süleymān in Damascus and those of Lālā Muṣṭafa, governor of Damascus, were subject to 'ushr tax, avāriz-i dīwāniyya and tokālī-i Örfiyya.³⁵

Sulṭānī land, which included granted timars, was entrusted to the local population for cultivation. In return, they surrendered part of the produce. The proportion was assessed either by dīmūs or muqāsama. The former term, of Grecian origin, corresponded to the Mamlūk term "faṣl" or "mafṣul".

32. T.D.383, pp.169, 172, 194, 282, 287, 291, 292, 309, 314, 316, 320, 322, 324, 326, 328, 335, 360, 361, 460, 473, 517, 525, 527, 550; T.D.401, pp.460, 473; T.D.263, pp.169, 196, 197, 198, 200, 206, 208, 210, 211, 213, 218, 221, 223, 237, 238, 247, 248, 291, 396, 441; T.D.423, pp.9, 11, 16, 24, 28, 29, 36, 44, 58-9. M.D.xiv, No: 1487, 17 Şafar, 979, p.1000; M.D.xvi, No:483, 15 Ramaḡān, 979, p.248, Sijill al-Mahkama al-Shar' iyya, Damascus, vol.i, case no:40, year 990, pp.250-1. See also Chapter vi, pp.

33. T.D.263, p.418.

34. For location and size of endowments see T.D.602, pp.2-342; for privately owned land see T.D.602, pp.345-420.

35. T.D.263, p.10. Barkan, Kanunlar, pp.226-7. T.D.401, pp.143, 147, 296. T.D.602, p.161. T.D.474, pp.206, 571, 760, 761, 762. For 'Ushr see Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm (d.182/798), Kitāb al-Kharāj, p.69. For its general assessment see Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation, pp.72-91. Grohmann, "'Ushr", E.I.¹, vol.iv, pp.1050-2. For 'avāriz see Bowen, "'Awāriz", E.I.², vol.i, pp.760-1.

According to al-Nuwayrī (d.732/1332), this method was of Frankish origin dating from Crusaders' times; the share was a fixed amount either in cash or in kind. The arabic term muqāta'a appearing in the Tapu Defters is equivalent to dīmūs. This applied to arable land and also to land planted with fruit trees.³⁶

Normally dīmūs was collected in two portions every year. The first at the time of threshing (harman vaktinde). The other at the time of grape ripening (pekmez). Olives were also assessed, when fully ripe, and silk when ready for processing. The date of collection varied according to districts, but in all cases was carefully recorded.³⁷

The method of muqāsama was also applied to revenues from Sultānī land, and the due share was specified before it was collected from each village or mazra'a. Shares varied from one village to another, according to the fertility of the land and its form of irrigation. The Sultan's share was a portion of 1/2, 1/3, 1/4 or 1/5 etc. of the total produce. The amount due is stated in terms of ghirāra specified in kind and value. In Sultan Süleyman's time the usual equivalent price of a ghirāra of wheat was static (80 akches) although it varied slightly from one place to another. During the reign of Sultan Selīm II the price was raised to 140 akches.³⁸

36. al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-arab, vol. viii, pp.260-1. T.D.263, p.3; T.D.474, p.11, T.D.430, p.459. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.220, Lewis, B., "Studies in the Ottoman Archives", BQAS, vol. xvi (1954), p.484.

37. T.D.263, p.3; T.D.474, p.11. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.220. For silk, see Inalcik, H., "Harir - The Ottoman Empire", E.I.², vol.iii, pp.211-18.

38. T.D.275, pp. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7; T.D.263, pp.239, 240, 244, 245, 259; T.D.430, pp.131, 132, 133; T.D.474, pp.252, 336, 405, passim. The ghirāra was the standard measure which in Damascus was "a little more than 250 litres". In addition the kayl was used. This in Damascus was 1/12 of the Damascus ghirāra. The makkkūk was also used and this equalled $2\frac{1}{4}$ - $2\frac{1}{2}$ ghirāra. See Ziadeh, N., Urban Life, p.142. Lewis, B., Notes and documents, p.17.

III. Taxes on Crops, Fruit Trees, Wood and Herbs

There were both shatawī (winter) and ṣayfī (summer) crops. Winter crops were sown in autumn and comprised wheat, barley, chick peas, lentils, meadow vetch, etc. Summer crops, which were sown towards the end of the winter season, included sorghum, millet, sesame, rice, safflower, cotton, hemp etc.³⁹ The revenue from winter crops are generally specified both in kind and in cash, but those of summer are not always so clearly defined. Often a single covering amount is given which is referred to as māl-i ṣayfī or mahsul-u ṣayfī.⁴⁰

Ottomans levied taxes on fruit trees by their numbers and these are officially referred to as kharāj.⁴¹ Taxes due on vines varied according to the area. Tradition decreed that the revenue from 100 off-shoots of vine (chabūgha) was 10 akches.⁴² but in some places 100 produced only nine akches,⁴³ while in more fertile places the collection was 20 akches.⁴⁴ Olive trees in the province were of two types: Rūmānī (i.e. infidel) and "Islamic". Half of the produce of the Rūmānī olives was claimed as kharāj, while from every two "Islamic" olive trees only

39. T.D.262, p.259. Nuwayrī, Nihāyat, vol.viii, pp.257-8.

40. T.D.275, pp.2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11.

41. Ibn Ṭūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.238a. T.D.263, pp.3-4; T.D.474, pp.10-11. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.221. For this tax in Egypt under the Mamluks see Rabie, M.H., The Financial System, pp.144-53. For kharāj see Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Kharāj, pp.23-7. Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation, pp.72-91. See also Juynbol, Th.W., "Kharāj", E.I., vol.ii, pp.902-3.

42. T.D.430, pp.82, 120, 160, 206, 228; T.D.383, pp.1, 234;410; T.D.401, pp.178, 245, 274, 354, 365; T.D.263, p.251.

43. T.D.430, p.405.

44. T.D.430, p.163; in some places every 100 yielded 18 akches, while in others five. T.D.430, p.164; T.D.401, p.115. Cf. Abū Yūsuf; he states that vines planted nearer a city yielded one dīnār on an approximate 1,000; those at a greater distance were charged one dīnār for an approximate 2,000. Kitāb al-Kharāj, p.41.

one akche was levied as kharāj.⁴⁵ In some places the records show that every three olive trees were taxed merely one akche.⁴⁶ Each fully grown walnut tree was taxed two akches, while underdeveloped trees (kūchūk) merely by one.⁴⁷ Concerning mulberry trees, every four trees yielded the value of one akche⁴⁸ while on all other fruit trees a tax of one akche was taken for every five trees.⁴⁹

Wood from uncultivated trees such as poplar and willow⁵⁰ together with acorns⁵¹ was subject to 'ushr. The tax on pastures (sing. mar'ā, otlak) was referred to either as resm-i otlak, resm-i mar'ā, or haqq-i-mar'ā.⁵² The basis of the assessment of this tax is not specified. It seems that the Mamlūk practice, as described by al-Nuwayrī persisted. It was collected according to the number

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45. T.D.263, pp.3, 449; T.D.474, pp.10-11, 357. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.220. Cf. Abu Yusuf, who did not differentiate between types of olive trees, states that every hundred nearby olive trees were charged one dīnār and those more distant yielded one dīnār for every 200 trees. A less than one day journey was considered near, more than one day was considered distant. Kitāb al-kharāj, p.41. According to von Hammer as quoted by Bernard Lewis, "Rūmānī" olive is that grown on infidel (Rūmānī) faddāns of land, while Islamic is that grown on Islamic faddāns of land. A "Rūman Faddān" is what "a pair of bulls can plough in one day and one night". An "Islamic Faddān" or "Arab Faddān" is "what it can plough in one whole day". Lewis, B., Notes and documents, pp.19, 38n, 38. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.220. In present day Jordan the term "Rūmānī olive" is still used when speaking of the wild olive fruit which grows uncultivated on waste or government owned land.
46. T.D.430, p.228.
47. T.D.263, p.3; T.D.474, p.11.
48. T.D.263, p.3; T.D.474, p.11; T.D.430, p.206. In some places two mulberry trees were charged 1 akche. T.D.430, p.228.
49. T.D.263, p.3; T.D.474, p.11. In some places every three fig trees, in others every hundred, returned nine akches, T.D.430, pp.228, 405.
50. T.D.423, p.7; T.D.263, p.300. An amount of 35,000 akches was collected for the 'ushr on the sale of poplar and willow trees in Damascus, Ghawṭa, Marj, Wādī Baradā and Zabadānī. For description of poplar trees in Damascus see Badrī, Nuzhat, p.254.
51. T.D.275, p.9.
52. T.D.263, pp.232, 414; T.D.383, pp.45, 50, 61, 72, 84, 140, 141, 150. T.D.430, pp.114, 243.

of cattle grazed on that particular pasture.⁵³

Qalī and ashnān herbs were valuable assets. All the produce from these herbs, which grow wild in the nāhiyās of Marj, Jubbat, al-ʿAssāl and Qalamūn, were collected, burned and the ashes carried to Damascus to be sold to the mīrī. These were used by soap-makers, painters (rassāmīn), bleachers and dyers. Rent of the land on which these herbs grew was valued at eight akches for each qinjār and a similar additional sum was charged for transport to the city.⁵⁴

In order to guarantee regular supplies the qānūnnāme of Damascus stipulated that a minimum fixed quantity must be produced from six villages in the province⁵⁵ which must be brought to Dār al-Ṭuʿma.⁵⁶ One third was allocated for sale to

53. Nuwayrī, Nihāyat, vol.viii, p.262. Cf. Abū Yūsuf, Kitāb al-Ḥharāj, pp.102-5; he does not mention any tax levied on pastures; see also Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation, p.136, where this tax is referred to as "uncanonical". For this tax collected during the 3rd/10th century, see H. Samarraie, Agriculture in Iraq during the 3rd Century A.H., (Ph.D. thesis, S.O.A.S., 1970), p.232. For this tax under the Mamluks in Egypt, see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.153-5.
54. T.D.263, pp.6-7. The most used weights in Damascus were the raṭl which equalled 1,911.6 grams and the qinjār equivalent to 100 raṭls. See Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.ii, p.40; Ziadeh, N., Urban Life, pp.141-4; Lewis, B., Notes and documents, pp.16-7.
55. The village of Dumayr was to supply a minimum of 1,000 qinjār and a maximum of 2,000 in the same proportion as land rent and transport rates. The village of Jurūd was charged a minimum of 500 qinjār and 1,200 akches returned as land rent; while the village of Ruḥayba was to supply 300 qinjār and in return to collect 1,000 akches as land rent. The village of Muʿazzamiyya was to provide 500 qinjār and to be paid 1,200 akches as land rent. From the village of Quṭayya 600 qinjār was demanded and it received 1,200 akches as land rent; while the village of Muʿaysra was to send 1,000 qinjār to be reimbursed with 1,200 akches as land rent. T.D.263, pp.6-7, 227. T.D.474, p.16; T.D.423, p.11; T.D.401, p.85. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.224.
56. Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions two Dārs: Dār al-Ṭuʿam al-ʿArīqa and Dār al-Aṣṣima, Mufaḥḥat, vol.i, pp.25, 106. For Dār al-Ṭuʿum under the Mamluks see Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.187. There was a grinding mill for ashnān at the base of Qāssyūn mountain, Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalāʿid, vol.i, p.40. Ibn Kannān, Murūj, p.11. See also, Munajjid, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, "Dūr al-Ṭuʿum bi Dimashq", al-Machriq, vol.xlii, pp.362-4.

the European (Ifranj) merchants, one third for various industries as previously mentioned, and a third was retained for the mīrī. Its sale was banned outside Dār al-Ṭu'ama and any quantity sold otherwise was liable to confiscation.⁵⁷

IV. Taxes on Minerals and Snow

Minerals were another source of Revenue. Salt from the lakes (sing. mamlaha) near Hayjāniyya, Jurd, Bayrūt and Sidon, and the one near the Nahr al-Kalb, was taxed at an annual fixed rate on the basis of the muqāṭa'a system.⁵⁸ A mine of iron (ahon) together with its three furnaces (sing. ocak) near Bayt Shabāb in the Lebanon yielded a specified annual revenue.⁵⁹ Sulphur produced by the hot mineral water of al-Himma, part of the Nāhiya of Banū Kināna, yielded an annual 3,200 akches.⁶⁰

Snow from the province of Damascus was considered a state monopoly. The inhabitants of the village of Mannīn organized themselves into four teams for its collection and transport. It was stored in Khān al-Thalj which belonged to the state. Its transport was paid for by the beverage sellers who were charged 20 akches

57. T.D.263, p.7; T.D.474, pp.16, 241. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.224. See also, al-Qāsimī, Qāmūs, vol.ii, pp.216, 268, 273.

58. T.D.263, p.527; T.D.423, p.62; T.D.401, pp.84, 482; T.D.430, pp.2, 338; T.D.474, p.482. M.D.vii, No:1728, 16 Muharram, 976, p.616. Concerning Hayjāniyya Salt Lake see also, Ibn Ṭūlun, Mufakhat, vol.i, p.377. Concerning a salt lake in al-ʿArish, see Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.136-7. For minerals in Syria under the Mamlūks, see Ziadeh, Urban Life, p.132. See also, Rabie, The Financial System, pp.160-7. Gibb and Bowen mention that salt was a state monopoly, nothing is available to prove this was so in the province of Damascus; Islamic Society, vol.i, part ii, pp.19-20.

59. According to T.D.430, the amount was 3,756 akches which according to T.D.383 increased to 5,000 akches. p.380. See also Qalqashandī, where he refers to a mountain near Bayrūt containing iron, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.111.

60. T.D.169, p.224.

for each qinjār. In addition they bought the snow from the state storehouse for a sum of 32 akches. A tip of 3 akches was distributed to the head of each of the four teams; and for the clerk acting for the team there was a tip of four akches; both of these sums being paid from government sources. The revenues accruing from the sale of snow were collected on the basis of farming.⁶¹

V. Taxes on Animals

Animals formed another source of revenue. The owner of two sheep or goats was taxed one akche. The young animals became taxable when they joined the herds.⁶² When flocks or herds required shelter in caves or grottoes, taxes were taken in the form of one sheep or goat or its value from every 100 heads. This was referred to as resm-i kishlak or maḥṣūl-i maḡhāra.⁶³

Milch buffaloes (saḡilur jāmūs) yielded a tax of six akches per head.⁶⁴

Fish from the lake of 'Uṭayba in the Nāḡhiya of al-Marj or the Nāḡhiya of Jawlān al-Gharbī were also taxable and the tax was referred to as maḥṣūl-i ṣaydi samak.

All fish or birds so hunted were brought to Dukkān al-Ṭayr in Damascus to be sold.

The taxes were farmed.⁶⁵ Even bee hives did not escape taxation, each being

61. T.D.263, p.6; T.D.474, p.15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. Badrī mentioned that snow of Mannīn remained through the year. It was brought to a special store in Damascus, and from there carried to Cairo, Nuzhat, p.347. See also, al-Qāsimī, Qāmūs, vol.i, p.72. For the amount accrued see appendix No:2.

62. T.D.263, pp.3, 203, 206; T.D.474, p.11. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.221. T.D.275, pp.213, 415; T.D.423, p.161.

63. T.D.263, p.4; T.D.474, pp.11-12. For names of some caves and amount of money collected, see T.D.401, pp.28, 543; T.D.423, p.62; T.D.263, p.417.

64. T.D.263, pp.9-10; T.D.474, p.21. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.226. T.D.275, pp.2, 35, 36.

65. T.D.263, pp.6, 237; T.D.474, pp.16, 247. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223; T.D.423, pp.12, 89. For revenues from Dukkān al-Ṭayr see appendix No:2. For taxes on fisheries under the Mamlūks, see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.170-2. For this shop in Damascus under the Mamlūks, see Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat al-rifāq, p.27.

liable for one akche.⁶⁶ Chickens,⁶⁷ rabbits, camels, donkeys, horses, and mules, appear to have been exempt.

VI. Taxes on Imports and Exports

Imports and exports from Damascus were taxable; spices, materials or other merchandise brought by pilgrims were subject to tax. Every camel-load (sing. himl, quantity unspecified), of material or spices paid the traditional tax of seven and a half gold pieces. This half piece was referred to under Mamlūk rule as mubāshiriyya, and also was farmed. If the caravan followed the Gaza route the tax was collected in Khān Yūnus, or at al-Kiswa if it followed the traditional route.⁶⁸ Any load disposed of to a European (Ifranjī) merchant cost the owner 10% while the buyer was charged an additional 9% as treasury tax. A Muslim buyer was exempt,⁶⁹ but a European merchant paid an additional 2% for storage in Damascus; and also $7\frac{1}{3}$ akches when each load was transferred to Bayrūt.⁷⁰

On imports from Europe such as cloth (chūqa), satin (atlas), damask (kamkhā), coral (murjān), kali (qalī), copper, an estimated 3% of the value was taxed on the basis of muqāṭa'a; articles (khurdawāt) such as glass, thread, linen, paper, etc. at four akches per load, and almonds from Europe 10 akches a chuwāl (bushel). On exporting raisins of Dirbil to Europe each box (kutu) was taxed 12 akches.⁷¹

66. T.D.263, p.10; T.D.474, p.21. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.226.

67. Cf. Rabie, The financial system, p.198.

68. T.D.263, p.4; T.D.474, p.12. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.221. For the total amount of revenue see appendix No:2.

69. T.D.263, p.4; T.D.474, p.12. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.221.

70. T.D.263, p.4; T.D.474, p.12. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.221. This tax in the qānūnnāmē is described as ḥaqq-i qiblih (?) most likely it is ḥaqq-i jalbihi.

71. T.D.263, p.4; T.D.474, p.12. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.221. For taxes on trade and transactions under the Mamlūks, see Rabie, The Financial System, pp. 172-7. For total money accrued see appendix No:2.

VII. Taxes Levied in Damascus

A. The Dilāliyya Tax (Auction)⁷²

Licensed auctioneers⁷³ (sing. dallāl) were allowed to collect a tax when commodities changed hands. From this they paid the treasury an amount calculated on the basis of farming. Goods from Mecca, such as ginger (zanjābīl), indigo (nīl) and gum (lōk), were assessed at five alches in every thousand and the tax was collected from both the buyer and the seller. The amount paid by each is not specified and it appears it was left to mutual arrangement. From imports of European materials and articles of adornment, 2% was deducted. Imported clothes, kali, copper and other similar merchandise, yielded a tax of 7/10%. Two thirds of this tax referred to as dilāliyya juwāniyya was the perquisite of the treasury and one third was the auctioneer's fee. All these levies were farmed.⁷⁴ Yet another auction tax, collected in Sūq al-Buzūriyya was referred to as dilāliyya barrāniyya and comprised every article sold. Five per cent of its value was collected, whether from the buyer or the seller is not specified.⁷⁵

72. For this tax under the Mamlūks see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.200-1. For the general history of this tax see Becker, C.H. "Dallāl", E.I.², vol.ii, pp.102-3.

73. M.D.xv, No:36, 18 Muḥarram, 979, p.4.

74. T.D.263, pp.4-5; T.D.474, pp.12-13. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.222. For the revenue from this tax see appendix No: 2.

75. T.D.273, p.6; T.D.474, p.15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. For this market see Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat, p.23. In Damascus land, awqāf, and women slaves had a separate dallāl or simsār. It appears that simsārs and dallāls constituted a group in Damascus. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī recommended that their character should be beyond reproach. "Kitāb al-ḥisba", Machriq, vol.xxxv, p.388. Nuzhat al-rifāq, p.23. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.55, 205, 377-8. Under the Ottomans, dallāls recommended by the governor received their appointments from Istanbul. M.D.xv, No:36, 18th Muḥarram, 979, p.4.

B. Qabbān Tax (Weighing Tax).⁷⁶

This tax was taken on each himl (load). The quantity comprised is not specified but appears to have been assessed by its size. A load of dibs (grape-syrup), lemons, salt, vinegar, colocasia⁷⁷ or Mashgharānī oil was taxed at three akches; rice, cheese, curdled milk (qunburīs),⁷⁸ chestnuts, at four akches; cheese produced by Christians was charged at four akches and the surrender of three blocks (qawālib) of the commodity. Similarly, dates were rated at four akches, in addition to half a raṭl. On a mule load of lemons the vendor paid five akches, while a mule load of pomegranates,⁷⁹ jujube, 'Ajlūnī oil, colocasia, was charged at six akches. Ma'arrī figs⁸⁰ yielded six akches in addition to one raṭl, while cucumbers grown outside Damascus were taxed seven akches. Dates from Iraq returned eight akches and two raṭls of the produce. Truffles (kama) were taxed eight akches for a complete, and four akches for a part, load. For each ṭin ('ulba) of yogurt from the southern environs, $\frac{1}{2}$ an akche was collected, while on those from Homs or Tripoli, one akche was collected. Two akches sufficed for tax on a skin (zarf) of carab syrup, $2\frac{1}{2}$ were extracted from fat (yāg), pistachios, hazelnuts, and pinekernels.⁸¹

76. For the origin of the term, see Lewis, B., Notes and documents, pp.20, 41n., 40.

77. For colocasia in Damascus, see Badrī, Nuzhat, pp.352-3.

78. It was exported to Egypt. Badrī, Nuzhat, p.364. Ba'labakk was known for its qunburīs. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Qalā'id, vol.ii, p.377.

79. For types of pomegranates in Damascus, see Badrī, Nuzhat, p.214.

80. For types of fig in Damascus, see Badrī, Nuzhat, p.261.

81. T.D.263, p.5; T.D.474, p.13. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.222. For amount accrued see appendix No:2.

C. 'Awā' id Dār al-Baṭṭīkh (Levies in the Fruit Market)

Here again taxes were levied on the basis of load. For each load of apricots, summer apples, peaches, summer pears, early season figs (dayfūr), of pomegranates, melons (shummām), early melons or grapes coming from the city itself, two akches were collected. Each load of winter apples or grapes from outlying districts, three akches were charged. Cherries, peaches, fresh pistachios or fresh hazelnuts or dried apricots yielded four akches. The levy on a basket of almonds or one thousand walnuts was one akche. In the same market $\frac{1}{2}$ an akche was levied on each basket (zenbīl) of roses or orange blossoms.⁸³

D. 'Awā' id Dār al-Khuḍar (Levies in the Vegetable Market)

These were mainly assessed by the bushel (chuwāl - quantity unspecified). A bushel of onions, aubergines, kidney beans (lūbya) or cauliflower represented a one akche tax in addition to one raṭl extracted as a tu'ma (gift). A bushel of cucumber ('ajjur) was taxed two akches; while a load of sour pomegranates or sour grapes yielded one akche. Each vendor of carrots or asparagus paid one akche every Friday.⁸⁵

82. Near the citadel, where fruit was sold, there were two Dārs of Baṭṭīkh: the old ('aṭīqa) and the new. Fruit was also sold in Suq al-Fākīha; and it had another market in al-Ṣālihiyya. In 890/1485, taxes (maks) were re-introduced on fruit. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nūzhat al-rifāq, pp.25, 27, Nos:76 and 146. Badrī, Nuzhat, p.63. Nu'aymī, al-Dāris, vol.i, pp.588-9; vol.ii, pp.152, 365. Ibn Tulun, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.66, 272. Qalqashandī, Subh, vol.iv, p.188. See also, Zayyāt, Ḥabīb, "Dūr al-baṭṭīkh bi Baghdād wa Dimashq", al-Machriq, vol.xxvii, pp.761-4. Munajjid, Sa'ād al-Dīn, "Dūr al-Baṭṭīkh bi Dimashq", al-Machriq, vol.xlii, pp.355-7.

83. T.D. 263, p.5; T.D. 474, p.14. Barkan, Kanunlar, pp.22-3.

84. Badrī, Nuzhat, p.63.

85. T.D. 263, pp.5-6; T.D. 474, p.14. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. For the value of the muqāṭa'a see appendix No:2. Taxes were taken from grapes bought for juice. Ibn Tulun wrote a book entitled: Tahdhīr al-mughaffalīn min bay' al-'inab wal-'aṣīr lilī khammārīn, which indicates that some of the grapes were bought for manufacture of wine, Fulk, p.32.

E. 'Awā' id Sūq al-Khayl (Levies in the Horse Market)

There was a special market in Damascus for horses close to the citadel.⁸⁶

When a horse was sold, six akches were demanded, three from the vendor and three from the buyer. A tax of 18 akches was required from the sale of a camel, while from buffaloes, eight akches, and from donkeys four akches were demanded, the payment being equally shared by the vendor and the buyer.⁸⁷ There was a special market for the sale of sheep and 2½ akches were claimed for each from the seller.⁸⁸

F. Other Taxes

Slaves also were sold in a separate market.⁸⁹ When a slave was sold, whether male or female, white or black, an amount of thirty akches was demanded from the seller in accordance with established tradition.⁹⁰

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86. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat al-rifāq, p.25, No: 72. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.176, 225.
87. T.D.263, p.6; T.D.474, pp.14-15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223.
88. T.D.263, p.6; T.D.474, p.15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. For this tax under the Mamlūks see Rabie, The Financial System, p.196. In 984/1576 the poet Darwīsh b. Tālū travelled to Istanbul where he composed a poem addressed to the chief judge of the city requesting his good offices to assist him to procure the post of Dār al-Ghanam in Damascus, Ṣāniḥāt, D.K.No:11622 Z, fols.50a,b. BM. 7583, Rich, fols.54a,b; in this copy the date is 985/1577. For the number of mosques in this market, see Nu'aymī, Dāris, vol.ii, pp.338, 341, 420.
89. It was held on Mondays and Thursdays. Ibn 'Abd-Hādī referred to nakh'thasīn to be of good character. Ibn Tūlūn mentioned there were separate brokers for women slaves. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat al-rifāq, p.23, No:29. Kitāb al-hisba, p.390. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.204. See also Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.191.
90. T.D.263, p.6; T.D.474, p.15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. Asārā here means slaves. For captured Muslims there were awqāf to ransom them. During this period revenues from some of these awqāf were transferred to the treasury. See Kitāb waqf al-qādī 'Uthmān b. Assad b. al-Manja, edited by Salāh al-Dīn al-Munajjid, pp.22, 24. T.D.383, p.237. Concerning a dīwān in Damascus for asrā, see Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.191. For taxes on slaves under the Mamlūks see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.195-6. For amount accruing see appendix No:2.

No marketing of cereals was allowed other than in Sūq al-Ghalla. Five akches were collected from the seller on each ghirāra.⁹¹

The tax of four akches on a raṭl of silk was shared equally by the vendor and buyer.⁹² In Damascus the tax was farmed.

The area of land irrigated by canals formed the basis of the amount land-owners paid towards maintenance of such waterways in continuance of the old practice. Any resulting surplus was claimed by the treasury. This payment was also farmed.⁹³

Every shop-keeper was taxed. The defters show collection from dyes, candles (sirāj khāna), reed mats, crucibles, the mint, āqsamāwiyya⁹⁴ (refreshing drink made from raisins and snow), presses, grinding mills, smiths, in fact nothing was too insignificant to escape taxation.⁹⁵

Public drinking houses (sing. khammāra), Bayt al-Ḥashīsh and gambling saloons paid taxes. Public offences and crimes, marriages and indeed most personal occasions were taxed, and the revenues are referred to as bād-i havā wa resm-i 'arūs wa jurm wa jināyat. In this connection, if a Muslim died without an

91. Ibn Tūlūn mentions that the maks on wheat was reintroduced in 926/1519 after 200 years' abolition. Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.104. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī mentions it by the name of Sūq al-Gamīh, Nuzhat al-rifāq, p.24, No:42. Concerning schools and mosques in this market, see Nu'aymi, Daris, vol.ii, pp.29, 332; he referred to it as Sūq al-Buzuriyyīn, vol.i, p.123. For amount accrued see appendix No:2. For this tax in Egypt under the Mamluks, see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.198-200.
92. T.D.263, p.6; T.D.474, p.15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. Silk in Damascus had a separate market. It appears that each quarter in the city had looms for weaving silk. In 987/1491 a tax was imposed on each loom which amount totalled 15,000 dirhams. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat al-rifāq, p.22, No:4. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.146. See also, Gharāibeh, A.K., "Ḥarīr - The Arab lands in the post-Mongol period", E.I.2, vol.iii, p.218.
93. T.D.263, p.6; T.D.474, p.15. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.350. Some people had set awqāf for this purpose; T.D.602, p.124. For a similar tax in Egypt under the Mamluks, see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.216-223. For amount accruing see appendix No:2.
94. It was sold all over Damascus especially near the citadel. It was, also, known in Cairo and Ḥama. Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat, p.27, No:36. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.167a. Ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, Zubdat, p.125. M.Y. Barghuth, Liwā' Ḥama fī al-qarn al-sādīs 'aṣhar, (MA.thesis, 'Ayn Shams University, 1970), p.127.
95. Concerning amount resulting see appendix No:2.

heir, his estate was forfeit to the treasury. Unclaimed animals and runaway slaves became state property. Further there was a general tax for policing the country referred to as resm-i 'assiyya.⁹⁶

Arab, Turkoman, Kurdish tribes and gypsies paid a fixed annual tax, referred to as 'ādā'.⁹⁷ Christians and Jews paid a poll-tax (jizya) of 80 akches per household which went to Bayt al-māl (a separate department in the treasury). In 977/1569 it was raised to 85 akches for Christians and to 90 for Jews.⁹⁸ It is not clear whether priests and rabbis were subject to this tax in Damascus because there is no special reference made for them in the defters. It appears to have been a standardized amount levied on rich and poor alike. There is no information recorded of any additional tax paid by Christians or Jews as service-money (ma'āsh) for those who collected the poll-tax.⁹⁹

VIII. Ihtisāb in Damascus:

Available Mamlūk sources do not qualify in detail the nature of Sultan Qā' itbāy's code concerning ih̄tisāb. Scattered references show that the :

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96. For these taxes see appendix No:2, Nuwayrī, Nihāyat, vol.viii, p.282. See also Rabie, The Financial System, pp.226-230, 231, 240-9.
97. See appendix No:2.
98. T.D.263, p.7; T.D.474, p.21. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.262. It appears that at the beginning of the century the poll tax was collected as a lump sum, see T.D.430, pp.20, 42, 88, 100, 169, 551. See also, Lewis, B., Notes and documents, pp.10-11. Coulson, N.J., "Bayt al-māl", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1141-3. Cahen, Cl., "Bayt al-māl", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1143-7. For this office under the Ottomans, see Lewis, B., "Bayt al-māl", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1147-8. For general outline of the history of jizya see Cahen, Cl., "Djizya", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.559-62, Inalcik, H., "Djizya - Ottoman", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.562-66, Cahen, Cl., "Djawālī", E.I.2, vol.ii, p.490. al-Zayyāt, Ḥabīb, "al-Jawālī", Machriq, vol.xli (1941), pp.1-12.
99. Such ma'āsh was paid under the Mamlūks in Egypt, see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.206-214.

muhtasib (market-inspector) obtained a monthly collection from each craft (ṣinā'a) referred to as mushāhara which was abolished in 909/1503. It appears that the exemption was of short duration, because in 918/1512 it was again abolished. It was also mentioned that the muhtasib occasionally used to levy payment on salaries and on the inhabitants of al-ḥarāt. It appears, therefore, that ihtisāb was a tax levied on craftsmen.¹⁰⁰ The qānūnnāme of Damascus did not stipulate the basis of ihtisāb nor the areas subject to this tax. It merely states that the code (qānūn) of Sultan Qā'itbāy should be retained.¹⁰¹ The method of assessment and the amount levied on each is not provided although the total figure is supplied.

When the first Ottoman chief judge assumed his duties in Damascus, in 922/1516, he also assumed that of the muhtasib.¹⁰² Later, when Damascus was entrusted to Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī he restored the latter as a separate office and farmed it.¹⁰³ After his rebellion had been quelled there is no further reference extant concerning the separate continuance of this office. Market inspection appears to have been combined with the office of the chief judge, while the collection of ihtisāb was the province of the defterdār. This, also, may explain the fact that biographical dictionaries do not contain a biography of any muhtasib in Damascus.

100. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.179, 251, 268, 287, 316, 374.

101. T.D.263, p.10. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.226. Galqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.193. Cahen, Cl., "Hisba", E.I.2, vol.iii, pp.485-8. Mantran, R., "Hisba - Ottoman Empire", E.I.2, vol.iii, pp.488-90. Inalcik, H., "The Ottoman economic mind and aspects of the Ottoman economy", in Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, pp.215-7. Rabie, The Financial System, pp.202-4.

102. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.30.

Damascenes were ordered to slaughter their animals in the places provided for this purpose and according to the records shown in Damascus, 912/1506, a tax of two dirhams per animal was imposed, together with one-quarter dirham for the official who stamped the meat. A temporary abolition of this tax and a subsequent reimposition of it occurred. In 975/1567, an additional slaughter-house was erected by order of the Sultan, which in 978/1570 was reported to him as being used for other purposes, such as dyeing and the sale of wax. The slaughter of animals was privately performed and the treasury suffered in consequence. He ordered the immediate evacuation of both trades, the restoration of the slaughter-house to its original use and the reimposition of the tax.¹⁰⁴

From records of muqāta'āt, Jews paid a separate tax for this service as a collective sum referred to as nahīrat al-Yahūd. This shows that their animals were not sent to the slaughter-house.¹⁰⁵ Nothing is available in this respect concerning Christians in Damascus which may be explained on the basis either that they were not allowed to slaughter animals or else their animals were sent to the slaughter-house.

103. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.83. Concerning names of people who held this office in al-Ṣālihiyya, see Ibn Ṭulūn, Qalā'id, vol.i, p.273.

104. Ibn Ṭulūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.311. Iklām, pp.185-6. M.D.vii, No:1295, 17 Shawwāl, 975, p.449. M.D.xiv, No:422, 17 Rabī' I, 978, p.296. The lists of muqāta'āt of Damascus do not show the amount accruing from the slaughter-house. They show a tax collected as bāshkhāna muqāta'āt-i. The qānunnāme states that "they [rawwāsīn, those who trade with heads of slaughtered animals] take the heads and the feet of sheep or goats slaughtered in the city for the bāshkhāna and their skins for the tannery". The method of assessment of this tax is not specified although the total amount is supplied. See T.D.263, p.6. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223, and see appendix No:2.

105. Concerning variations in reading of this word "nahīrat" or "nahīrat", see Lewis, B., Notes and documents, pp.12-13, 37, n.16. Concerning this tax in Aleppo, see Ibn al-Shihna, al-Durr al-muntakhab, p.148.

IX. The Bāj System

During the period under consideration, the province of Damascus did not constitute one tariff zone. Several octrois were distributed throughout the territory and at these places taxes, referred to as bāj-i ghāfāra, were collected.¹⁰⁶ These were collected on the basis of a load and the general assessment for the camel load was two akches; a horse or mule load one, while a donkey load was charged half an akche. In most octrois the nature of the merchandise was not specified, but in a few octrois the amount of duty is recorded as varying according to the nature of the merchandise. At a station near Nahr al-Kalb, a camel load of silk from Aleppo or its surroundings paid ten akches. For merchandise transported from Dayrūt to Tripoli or to its surroundings a camel load of cloth (chūqa) was taxed 10 akches; for a horse or mule load the tax was four akches. Near Ba'labakk a camel load of spices was levied at eight akches. In Sa'isa', al-Qunaytra, for each camel load the tax was four akches; for horse or mule loads two akches and for a donkey load one akche.

For a slave of whatever sex or colour, 10 akches was paid, but no tax was required on Ḥabash slaves. At the same time, a flock of sheep or goats numbering 100, passing through any octroi to be sold in Damascus, one sheep or its value was demanded as bāj.¹⁰⁷

106. For this tax see Köprülü, M.F., "Bādī", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.860-2. For "bac-ubūr", see Gibb and Bowan, Islamic Society, vol.i, part ii, p.9 n.4, p.15. For ghāfāra see Combe, E. "A note: Qafar-Khafāra" BSOAS, vol.x (1940), p.490. See also Lewis, B., Notes and documents, pp.21-22. See also Rabie concerning Qatya, The Financial System, pp.194-5.

107. For locations see map attached; for amount accrued see appendix No:3. Arabic literature dealing with slave-traffic differentiates between Zanji, Ḥabash, Nūbī, and Bajawī, but does not indicate the basis of the difference. The question arises as to whether this was on racial or geographical grounds. Ethiopians, though dark skinned, are of semitic origin. al-Najāshī, King of Ethiopia, was reputed for his tolerant treatment of those Muslims who migrated to his kingdom during the time of the Prophet, which probably accounts for the more considerate treatment given to Ḥabash slaves. See al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥasan b. Buḥān (d.444/1052), Risāla fī Shīrā' al-raḡīq wa taqīb al-'abīd, (edited by 'Abd al-Salām Ḥarūn, Nawadīr al-Makhtūfāt, Collection iv, Cairo, 1952), pp.374-6. See also Muḥammad =

A European Christian merchant was assessed at 10 akches, while a Georgian Christian paid one piece of gold at each octroi en route. In Sa'isa Christian merchants were taxed 18 akches, while Jews were taxed at five akches at all stations except Sa'isa', where they were charged six akches.¹⁰⁸

X. Port Customs

Taxes were also levied on imports and exports through the ports of Bayrūt, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Jaffa. This tax is referred to as mūjib-i bāb-i mīna' (port customs). A review of the code of taxation for these ports shows that Damascus imported velvet cloth, leather, skins, coral, amber, saffron, crystal, wine, paper, copper, sugar, honey, almonds, hazelnuts, and rice. It exported perfumes, wool, silk, raisins, cotton, thread, soda, and kali.¹⁰⁹

XI. Taxes Abolished

In 955/1548 many taxes were abolished after a land survey was completed. These included the old tax of dawra,¹¹⁰ originally for supply in kind of provisions for the governor and any of his subordinates on their tour of the country. Later this deteriorated into a money tax with its original reason forgotten. In addition, himāya¹¹¹ (which was protection money); resm-i ḥaṣād (reaping tax); rajādiyya (to carry the crops to the threshing place); and futūḥ baydar (permission

= al-Ghazālī (d. ?), Hidāyat al-murīd fī taqlīb al-‘abid, (edited by A. Hārūn in the same collection), pp.393, 410.

108. T.D.383, pp.193, 194, 248; T.D.401, pp.303, 318, 343, 344; T.D.263, pp.278, 284, 302, 304, 306; T.D.423, pp.49, 51; T.D.430, pp.145, 163; T.D.474, pp.346, 361, 433, 479.

109. For types of imports and exports and amount of taxes see T.D.263, pp.7-10; T.D.474, pp.17-21. Barkan, Kanunlar, pp.224-6. For similar tax in Egypt under the Mamlūks see Rabie, The Financial System, pp.182-193.

110. Money collected for this tax was referred to by Ibn Tūlūn as dirham dawra, I'lām, p.58.

111. For the origin and history of this tax see Cahen, Cl., "Himāya", E.I.2, vol.iii, p.394.

to commence thrashing) were abolished in the countryside, the reason given being that they were a bad innovation (bid'at-i sayy'a).¹¹² In the city itself taxes collected on tarrāsin (porters) and from the Bath of Hammām al-Ward¹¹³ and on a number of grinding mills and presses were abolished because they had been imposed by the wife of the last Mamlūk governor of Damascus, Sībāy.¹¹⁴ In 977/1569, the muqāta'a of khamr, which yielded in excess of 300,000 akches annually was lifted. Christians were, however, allowed to import wine provided they paid the equivalent of 40,000 akches annually and they were not permitted to resell to any Muslim. The abolition of the wine-tax was an act of benevolence commemorating the accession of Sultan Selīm II.¹¹⁵

Revenues due from the province of Damascus were yearly collected and received in Istanbul by Nairūz¹¹⁶ (originally the commencement of the Persian year and after adopted by Muslims as the commencement of the fiscal year). Those from silk were collected seasonally.¹¹⁷ Revenues from the province almost

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112. T.D.263, p.10. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.227.
113. For this Bath see Nu'aymī, al-Dāris, vol.ii, pp.64, 273-4; and see also M. Kayyāl, al-Hammāmat al-Dimashqiyya wa taqālīdihā, (Damascus, 1964), pp.63-65.
114. T.D.263, p.6. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.223. For biography of Sībāy (d.922/1516), see Ibn Tūlūn, ī'lam, pp.175-8, 180, 211.
115. T.D.474, p.21. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.226.
116. M.D.v, No:521, 21 Rabī' II, 973, p.209; M.D.vii, No:384, 19 Rabī' II, 975, p.150; M.D.xxi, No:184, 24 Ramadān, 980, p.76.
117. T.D.263, p.3; T.D.474, p.10. Barkan, Kanunlar, p.220.

doubled in less than half a century as the following table shows:-

T.D. No.	Total/ <u>akches</u>	Sultan's share	Governor's allowance
169 (c. 930/1523) (p.235)	8,493,284	5,216,208	1,002,761
263 (955/1548) (p.1)	13,663,396	10,354,909	1,000,000
474 (976/1568) ¹¹⁸ (p.2)	15,804,300	11,024,300	1,000,000

118. Cf. Levy concerning revenues from Syria under Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.H.170-193/786-809), The Social Structure of Islam, p.319. See also the revenues from Syria in Qudāma b. Ja'far and 'Alī b. 'Isa as quoted by H. Samarraie in al-Mu'assasāt al-idāriyya fī al-dawla al-'Abbāsiyya, (Damascus, 1971), pp.213, 218.

CHAPTER VI

Indigenous Power-Groups and their Relationship
with the Ottomans

I. Ottoman Relationship with Power-Groups in the Countryside

A. The Maʿnids

The first Ottoman reference to this Druze family in 937/1530 names a certain amir Yunus a tax-farmer of three mazraʿās (farms) yielding 4,200 akches annually and it is probable that he was the head of the family.¹

Two campaigns were waged against them; one in 929/1522 and the other in 930/1523 each led by the governor of Damascus Khurram Pasha. He had previously been governor of Tripoli and he might have realized that his predecessor had no authority over the local Druze, particularly after the rebellion of Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī in 927/1521. He lost no time in asserting his authority and after his first successful campaign he burnt 43 villages, sent four loads of heads to Damascus and returned in triumph bringing with him many of their books which were antagonistic to Sunnīs and Nuṣayrīs.

The Damascenes rejoiced at the victory and many poems were composed in honour of the new ruler.²

1. T.D.383, pp.517, 523. A certain Zayn b. Maʿn was mentioned as owning a watermill which had two stones but was out of order. There is also mention that Ibn Maʿn (?) managed and tax-farmed a mazraʿa for 200 akches. T.D.401, pp.460, 473. Concerning the rise of the Druze and their doctrine, see Hodgson, M.G.S., "Durūz", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.631-3. idem, "al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the origin of the Druze religion", J.A.O.S., vol.82 (1962), pp.5-20. See also, Assad, S., The Reign of al-Ḥakīm Bī ʿAmr Allāh, 306/996 - 411/1021, (Ph.D. Thesis, SOAS, 1971), pp.228-66.

2. Ibn Tūlūn, Iʿlām, pp.241-2. Ibn Jumʿa, Wulāt, p.6. For Sunnī See Wensinck, A.J. "Sunna", E.I.1, vol.iv, pp.555-7. For Nuṣayri history and doctrine, see Massignon, L. "Nuṣayrī", E.I.1, vol.iii, pp.963-7.

The Drūze reacted by killing the Subāshī appointed by the governor to which he retaliated by burning another 30 villages, capturing about 300 women and children and sending three loads of heads to Damascus. In addition, he confiscated most of the Drūze's livestock. All this received the support of the 'ulamā' of Damascus who considered the measure to be an act of duty.³

The poet Muḥammad b. Māmāi al-Rūmī (d.987/1579) portrays an expedition led by the governor of Damascus against the Drūze. Although no date is given, the Drūze leader is spoken of as Yūnus which may well be the Yūnus referred to as rich, generous and brave. The expedition was instigated by the judge of Sidon whose complaints reached Istanbul via merchants and notables visiting there. Yūnus was taken prisoner and hanged.⁴

Newly introduced long-range muskets were used by the Drūze of 'Ayn Dārā in 973/1565. They attacked the Sipāhī who was in charge of tax-collection. A fight ensued and there were many casualties on both sides. The range of the new weapons prevented the Ottomans from close combat and gave the advantage to the Drūze. Instructions came from the Sultan that the disturbances must be quelled at all costs.⁵

During 967/1559, fleeing rebels sheltered with the chieftains (sing.

3. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, pp.241-2. Ibn Jum'ā, Viulāt, pp.7-8. Among the 'ulamā' who legalized this campaign was Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Balāḥīnsī (d.936/1529) for his biography see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.115, vol.ii, pp.87-9, vol.iii, pp.122, 127, 219, 222.
4. Ibn Māmāi, Dīwān, fols.130a,b.
5. M.D.v, No:198, 5 Ṣafar, 973, p.85; No:217, 12 Ṣafar, 973, p.94; No:565, 28 Rabī' II, 973, p.222. Firearms became widespread in Anatolia after the rebellion of Prince Bāyezīd in 967/1559 who armed his peasant supporters with tūfenks. It is possible that some of these arms reached Syria. In addition, European ships which visited the Syrian coastal ports for trade were reported to have sold arms to local people. More than that, some za'īms sold arms to the ra'iyya. See Heyd, Ottoman documents, =

muqaddam) of the mountains.⁶ Six years later, when Sharaf al-Dīn, a muqaddam, fell into the power of the governor, one thousand of his followers rose against the authority. The Sultan commanded that Sharaf al-Dīn should be executed and all his followers completely disarmed.⁷ When in 975/1564 the Sultan was again positioned to confiscate Drūze firearms, the governor and the judges of Bayrūt and Sidon were instructed to deposit them in the citadel of Damascus.⁸

The next year the Sultan was informed that firearms were being manufactured in the neighbourhood of Sidon. The bearing of such weapons, except by janissaries or other authorized persons, was strictly forbidden.⁹ So rigorous was the treatment of the Drūze that they petitioned the Sultan for clemency. The governor was instructed to send a mild reply, gain their confidence, and use it as a strategy to destroy them.¹⁰

Because the military force of Damascus was employed in the empire's wars, chaos became rife in the countryside. The ancient enmity between Qaysīs and Yamanīs revived and rival corps of the remaining Damascene force

= pp.81-3. Inalcik, H., "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Firearms in the Middle East", paper contributed to War, Technology and Society in the Middle East, (Conference, SOAS, 1970), pp.2-7.

6. M.D.v, No:988, 13 Shawwāl, 967, p.97.

7. M.D.v, No:1091, 4 Sha' bān, 973, p.412.

8. M.D.vii, No:400, 22 Rabī' II, 975, p.155.

9. M.D.vii, No:1945, 25 Ṣafar, 976, p.705. M.D.vii, No:2587, 16 Jumādā I, 976, p.941.

10. M.D.vii, No:2615, 25 Jumādā II, 976, p.950.

sought to ally themselves with one or other of these factions. Qaysīs were chiefly Drūze, and the Yamanīs, Sunnis. In 978/1570 three Yamanīs were killed during a clash and the Qaysīs fortified themselves in the village of Kafar Silwān. In spite of a punitive force sent against them by which 33 of their number were killed, those remaining were able to cause havoc by looting surrounding villages. The depleted force of the governor and the difficult terrain, together with the longer range guns of the Qaysīs made it impossible to dislodge them. The Sultan, therefore, ordered a combined attack by the governors of Damascus, Ḥomṣ and Ḥama.¹¹ In 982/1574, a joint force from Damascus and Tripoli succeeded in dispersing them and pursued them to the mountains where they again defied capture and a reinforcement to the Ottomans was despatched by sea.¹²

11. M.D. xiv, No:285, 17 Rabī' I, 978, p.409; No:449, 17 Rabī' I, 978, p.316. Damascenes were divided into two factions: Qaysī and Yamanī. The inhabitants of Ṣālihiyya, Bāb al-Jābiya, Shāghūr, Shaykh Raslān, Qubaybāt and Masjid al-Qaṣab were Qaysī. The inhabitants of Mazābil, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and al-Suwayqah al-Mahrūqa were Yamanī. The muqaddam of Nāblus, Hasan b. Ismā'īl, the Jayūsī family in Palestine, the Harfushīs of Ba'labakk, the Tayamna in Wādī al-Taym and the muqaddams of Marj and Zabadānī were Yamanī. Clashes between these two factions were frequent. See Ibn Tulūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.121, 183, 189, 190-1, 196, 200; vol.ii, p.155. Lapidus, Muslim Cities, pp.88-91. For the history of the relationship between Qaysī and Yamanī in Palestine in the first half of the 19th century, see Macalister, Stewart, "Wars of Yaman and Qais in the Southern Half of Palestine", Palestine Exploration Fund (London, 1906), pp.33-50. See also Haddād, E.N., "Political Parties in Syria and Palestine (Qaisi and Yemeni)", Journal of Palestine Oriental Society, vol.i (Jerusalem, 1921), pp.209-14. See also Shaykh Naṣif al-Yāziḥī (d.1871) who portrays this enmity in his "Tihāmiyya wa-Yaqāma," Majma' al-bahrayn (Dayrūt, 1924), p.343. By the end of the 17th century the Qaysī-Yamanī rift began to die out in the Lebanese Mountain. Two political factions came into existence known as Jānbulatīs and Yazbakīs. The people began to divide along these two lines. For an assessment of the relationship between them see Polk, W., The Opening of South Lebanon 1788-1840, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963). Salibi, K., The Modern History of Lebanon (London, 1965), pp.9-12.

12. M.D. xxvi, No:614, 1 Jumādā II, 982, p.217.

Even the augmented force appears to have been inadequate for, in the following year, the governor of Damascus was urged to disarm the Drūze and send their muskets to Istanbul. They appear, however, to have continued their defiance and refusal to pay taxes in spite of amīns sent to them; and the governor was urged to capture their chiefs and punish them.¹³ There are, however, no records extant concerning the implementation of this command.

In 992/1584, the Qaysīs received their most severe blow. Tribute from Egypt en route for Istanbul was robbed in the vicinity of the Bay of 'Akkār. Ibrāhīm Pāsha, the former governor of Egypt, was also on his way to Istanbul. He led the Ottomans against the Sunnite chieftain Yūsuf Sayfā (d.1034/1624) who fled at his approach. Ibrāhīm Pāsha devastated the countryside of 'Akkār and was incited by Mansūr b. Furaykh to attack the Drūze who were accused of the robbery. Ibrāhīm Pāsha, together with local chieftains, killed some 500 Drūze elders after closing the roads to the area. Qurqamās b. Ma'n the Drūze leader refused to meet Ibrāhīm Pāsha and met his death in a cave. Ibrāhīm Pāsha's forces devastated many Shūf villages and, more important still, the Drūze were disarmed. Burīnī (d.1024/1615) says that thousands of muskets were confiscated.¹⁴

Six years later, Fakhr al-Dīn II, son of the deceased Qurqamās, assumed leadership of the Shūf. He took immediate steps to build a standing army from among outlawed Sukbān.¹⁵ By generous gifts he placated officials

13. M.D.xxvii, No:686, 23 Dhu'l Qa'da 983, p.288; M.D.xxix, No:70, 25 Ramaḍān, 984, p.29.

14. Burīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.323-5. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.202. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.59-61. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.284. Shidyāq, Akhbār, pp.251-2, 350, 677. Shihabī, Ghurar, pp.618-9. For Yūsuf's biography see Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, p.503. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.291.

15. Sukbān (Persian word, means dog-keeper) formed the third division of the corps of the Janissaries. See Huart, C. L. "Sagbān", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.203-4. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part i, pp.59-61, 315.

in order to use them to eliminate his enemies and avenge his father. He cunningly induced the governor of Damascus, Murād Pāsha,¹⁶ in 1002-3/1593-4, to get rid of the Sunnī Furaykh family.¹⁷ He welcomed the suggestion of the governor of Damascus when, in 1007/1598, he was asked to fight the Sunnī Chieftain of 'Akkār, Yūsuf Sayfā. Fakhr al-Dīn defeated him near Nahr al-Kalb.¹⁸ This began a series of raids and battles and caused many casualties and the destruction of land and villages belonging to both combatants.¹⁹

Fakhr al-Dīn pursued his intention of destroying Yūsuf Sayfā. An opportunity occurred in 1014/1605 when 'Alī Jānbulāq rebelled in Aleppo against the Ottomans. 'Alī belonged to a well known Kurdish family, members of which were entrusted with various administrative posts in the regions of Killis and 'Azāz. Ḥusayn, 'Alī's uncle, was appointed as governor of Aleppo in 1014/1605. In that year, he failed to aid the Grand Vizier Sinān Çagālzāde in his expedition against Persia; and Sinān ordered Ḥusayn's death. 'Alī, who at the time was acting on behalf of his uncle in Aleppo, declared a rebellion against the Sultan. The Ottomans, then, were engaged in a war with Austria and for this reason the Sultan acquiesced to Yūsuf Sayfā's request to be commissioned to lead the army of Damascus and quell 'Alī's rebellion. In the following year, the army of 'Alī and the military forces of Damascus supported by forces from Ḥama and Tripoli met near Ḥama. In a short encounter 'Alī's forces routed the combined forces under Yūsuf Sayfā, who was forced to flee. After this victory, 'Alī asked Fakhr al-Dīn to join him in pursuit

16. For the biography of Murād Pāsha, see Lutf, fols.46b-47a.

17. Ghazzī, Lutf, fols.41a, 40a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.426-8.

18. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.291.

19. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.296.

of Yūsuf Sayfā. At the same time, a leader of one of the two Janissary factions in Damascus, Kīwān b. ‘Abdullah (d.1033/1623), in order to destroy his opponents in Damascus, induced Fakhr al-Dīn to join ‘Alī Jānbulāt. Fakhr al-Dīn, tempted by this offer, led his forces, together with the forces of the Ḥarfūshis of Ba‘labakk and the Shihābis of Wādī al-Taym, to join ‘Alī Jānbulāt in his march against Damascus. In 1015/1605, the Damascene army was defeated and many quarters of Damascus were brutally looted. When ‘Alī heard that Yūsuf Sayfā had escaped from Damascus, he accepted 125,000 piastres in return for withdrawal. ‘Alī received this amount of money, and his forces and those of his allies were withdrawn. Fakhr al-Dīn as a result of his alliance with ‘Alī Jānbulāt, was classified as a Jalālī.²⁰

On 23rd October 1596, the battle of Haçova or Keresztes was fought between the Ottomans and Austria. Çagāl Sinān Pāsha, the Grand Vizier, announced that all Sukbān who had not fought were outlawed.²¹ This affected about 30,000 men who subsequently became a menace in Anatolia and Syria. They joined the rebels, described as Jalālīs, who had already caused havoc in Anatolia. When, in 1606, the treaty of Sivatorok was ratified between the opponents, the Ottomans were free to deal with the various rebellions. In the following year, the Grand Vizier, Murād Pāsha, was instructed to eliminate the Jalālīs, ‘Alī b. Jānbulāt and the outlawed Sukbān.²² Fakhr al-Dīn

20. Būrīnī, Tarājīm, vol.ii, pp.271-96. See also the last unpublished part of Tarājīm, fols.150a,b-152b. Ghazzī, Lujf, fols.31a, 49a,b. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, pp.135-40, 299-303. Ghazzī, Nahr, vol.iii, pp.271-7.

21. For treaty and terms of peace, see von Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, vol.viii, Book XLII, pp.109-11.

22. For a detailed assessment, see Political unrest and rebellion in Anatolia 1605-1609, by W.J. Griswold (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966), pp.52-66, 100-21, 222. Būrīnī, Tarājīm, vol.ii, p.283. See also Lewis, B., The Emergence of Modern Turkey (2nd edition, London, 1968), p.36.

sent 300,000 piastres together with his nine year old son, 'Alī, as a gift to Murād Pasha who had previously governed Damascus and was sympathetic towards the Mamluks. Fakhr al-Dīn declared that he had been compelled to join 'Alī b. Jāmbulāt,²³ which no doubt counted in his favour when Damascus delegates later that year complained to Murād Pasha concerning both 'Alī b. Jāmbulāt and Fakhr al-Dīn. Kīwān was able to use Naqīb al-Ashrāf, a member of the delegation, to admit that the complaints were incited by the other faction who were the sworn enemies of Fakhr al-Dīn and Kīwān. The mission failed and the Grand Vizier upheld Kīwān and Fakhr al-Dīn.²⁴

When Murād Pasha died in 1023/1611, Fakhr al-Dīn lost a patron, for his successor Naṣūḥ Pasha remembered that in 1012/1603, Fakhr al-Dīn had been with the Damascene army attacking Aleppo. Naṣūḥ led the Sultan's armies against Persia and on his return, he received Muṣṭafā, the Ketkhudā of Fakhr al-Dīn. He resented not only the relatively small sum of 20,000 piastres but was insulted because a mere official had been sent as messenger and not Fakhr al-Dīn's son. When Naṣūḥ arrived in Aleppo he demanded additional cash; and Fakhr al-Dīn sent fifty thousand piastres to the Sultan, twenty five thousand to Naṣūḥ, and gave five thousand to the messenger.²⁵ In Aleppo, Naṣūḥ moreover received Ḥāfiẓ Pasha,²⁶ the governor of Damascus (1618-1623), together with Kan'ān b. al-Ukbaṣhī one of the leaders of the faction against Kīwān and Fakhr al-Dīn. In addition he received Farrūkh b. 'Abdullah (d.1030/1620) the commander

23. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.5-6.

24. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, p.201. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.302.

25. Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.5-7. See also Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.448-51.

26. For his biography, see Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.201-19. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.380-5. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.302-3.

of the pilgrimage caravan.²⁷

Together they decided to undermine the authority of Fakhr al-Dīn by removing Ḥamdān b. Qānsūh, a Qaysī local chieftain and a sanjaqbey of ‘Ajlūn and Karak-Shawbak, who was his ally. The two sanjaqs would be entrusted to Farrūkh b. ‘Abdullah to whom money was allocated for his support. Ḥāfiz Pāsha in addition led a force from Damascus to implement the decision. Ḥamdān, however, realized that he was unable to compete with the strength of the government force, submitted, declaring himself to be the Sultan's slave.²⁸ He took refuge with Fakhr al-Dīn who clearly realized the gravity of the situation and endeavoured to pacify Ḥamdān and his ally ‘Amr b. Jabr, Shaykh of the Mafārijah tribe, by the information that he had despatched three shiploads of soap to Istanbul hoping that the gift would induce friendship. Kiwān however strongly urged that military assistance should be given to Ḥamdān and forced Fakhr al-Dīn to send a contingent with them to fight the Damascene army. They were the victors at a battle fought at Muzayrīb in 1022/1613, but word reached Istanbul that Damascus was once more at the mercy of Fakhr al-Dīn.²⁹

When Naṣūh Pāsha, the Grand Vizier, learned of conditions in Damascus he sent an auxiliary force to strengthen the army there which marched to battle against Fakhr al-Dīn. Fakhr al-Dīn had provisioned the citadels of Shaqīf and Bānyās with sufficient food, ammunitions and equipment to withstand a five-year siege; but he sent a delegate to Damascus to sue for peace. The terms given were an open invitation to Fakhr al-Dīn to come himself and submit, whereupon, he

27. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.204. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.271.

28. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.205. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.7-8.

29. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.8-10. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.303.

decided to fly to safety. He discovered that the highways had been blocked and was forced to remain in Sidon. Kīwān was first to board a ship there and insisted that Fakhr al-Dīn should follow. At first he hesitated but later succumbed to pressure from Kīwān and joined him in voluntary exile in Tuscany.³⁰ Hāfiz Pāsha led the strong army against the two citadels but was unable to conquer them, although the effort was partially successful. Fakhr al-Dīn's mother went to Hāfiz Pāsha with 25,000 piastres and four horses as a gift, but he demanded 300,000 piastres as a price for peace. Although Fakhr al-Dīn's mother was courteously treated she was kept in custody, and all land entrusted to the Ma'nids including al-Shūf was transferred to the Yamanīs.³¹

In the following year Safad, Sidon and Bayrūt was made a separate province, probably in order to control the Drūze. Fakhr al-Dīn's Ketkhudā, Muṣṭafā, served under the new governor Ḥasan Bustānjī and gave him details of the district.³² Under the leadership of Hāfiz Pāsha the Ottomans launched another campaign against the two citadels and included the forces of local chieftains; some of whom were former allies of the Ma'nids. Although Hāfiz Pāsha succeeded in destroying part of al-Shūf, he did not reach the citadels. On his way, he received news of the death of Naṣūh Pāsha who had been succeeded by the Grand Vizier Muḥammad Pāsha, who was sympathetic to the Ma'nids. Hāfiz Pāsha, withdrew to Damascus and shortly afterwards he was replaced.³³

Even with these changes the intention of destroying the Sukbān and the

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30. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.12-18. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.207. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.303-4.
31. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.19-20, 23-5. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.207-10. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.304.
32. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.47-8. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, p.33.
33. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.33-9. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.211-3. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.304.

two citadels was not abandoned. Instead, a new strategy was employed. A letter sent to Fakhr al-Dīn invited his return. The Sukbān's leaders in each citadel were subtly approached and offered reinstatement as sipāhīs if they would abandon the citadels to destruction. They concurred but stipulated that the sanjāq of Ṣafad was to be entrusted to amīr Yūnus, Fakhr al-Dīn's brother, and Bayrūt to amīr ‘Alī, son of Fakhr al-Dīn. These conditions were accepted and the citadels were destroyed. The Ma‘nids had been given no choice but were forced to accept the position.³⁴

With the return of Fakhr al-Dīn to Acre in 1027/1617, the rivalry between the two military factions under Kīwān and that under Kurd Ḥamza was revitalized; Kurd Ḥamza had succeeded Kan‘ān bōlūkbāshī in opposing Fakhr al-Dīn. The governor of Tripoli pledged support to Fakhr al-Dīn if he would attack Yūsuf Sayfā. Yūsuf Sayfā appealed to Kurd Ḥamza and to the governors of Damascus and Aleppo for assistance. Fakhr al-Dīn was issued with an ultimatum when their armies reached al-Quṣayr; he raised the siege and accepted reconciliation with Yūsuf Sayfā.³⁵

Ḥamdān b. Qānṣūh and his ally ‘Amr, who had meanwhile been reinstated in ‘Ajlūn, were again dismissed by the strategy of Kurd Ḥamza. Again they appealed for help from Fakhr al-Dīn and in 1028/1618, by bribery on his part, in addition to his influence in Istanbul, their status was restored.³⁶

In 1030/1620, new alliances were made and enmities forgotten. Fakhr al-Dīn, Kīwān and Kurd Ḥamza formed a triple alliance of mutual assistance. Shortly after, Fakhr al-Dīn was sent by the governor of Damascus to collect taxes from Yūsuf Sayfā in Tripoli, an official commission which coincided with his avowed intention to destroy his enemy. Yūsuf Sayfā's influence at court enabled

34. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.42-50. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.307.

35. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.68-81. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.311.

36. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.84-7, 98-104.

him to obtain a force sufficiently strong to implement Fakhr al-Dīn's withdrawal and he reluctantly left Tripoli.³⁷

Fakhr al-Dīn seems to have realized that his difficulties with the Ottomans were augmented by his alliance with the Ghazzāwīs for in 1031/1621 he disassociated himself from Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān b. Qānṣūh and Fakhr al-Dīn managed to have the Sanjaq of 'Ajlūn entrusted to his two year old son, Husayn.³⁸ Now confident of his loyalty, the Ottomans again despatched him to Tripoli to assist in tax-collection. His loyalty was proved for when approached by its governor to raise a rebellion against the Sultan he replied that the wishes of the Sultan were his law.³⁹ The triple alliance was short-lived. Yūnus Ḥarfūsh, a former ally of Fakhr al-Dīn and governor of Ba' labakk, caused the split. He approached Kurd Ḥamza with a conspiracy against Fakhr al-Dīn who retaliated by destroying the property of Yūnus in the village of Qubb Ilyās in al-Biqā'. Military officials summoned by Muṣṭafā Pāsha, the governor of Damascus met to discuss the situation and old enmities re-emerged. Kīwān and a small minority were alone in favour of Fakhr al-Dīn. They left Muṣṭafā Pāsha, strongly influenced by Kurd Ḥamza and Yūnus Ḥarfūsh who persuaded Muṣṭafā Pāsha to lead an army against Fakhr al-Dīn and Kīwān. To the regular Damascene soldiers were added those of Yūsuf Sayfā, Yūnus Ḥarfūsh and Aḥmad Ṭarabāy. In 1033/1623, Fakhr al-Dīn defeated them at 'Anjarr and Muṣṭafā Pāsha was taken prisoner while Kurd Ḥamza and Yūnus Ḥarfūsh fled to Aleppo. Courtesy and consideration were extended to Muṣṭafā Pāsha who admitted that, influenced by Kurd Ḥamza and Yūnus Ḥarfūsh, he had led the fight against his captor. Together they proceeded to Ba' labakk, the stronghold of Yūnus Ḥarfūsh,

37. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.94-5, 98-104. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.313-4.

38. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.117-8.

39. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, p.123.

and sacked, then demolished its well-fortified citadel. They, also, decided that Kīwān should be installed as leader of the military force of Damascus. Meanwhile, a delegation of 'ulama' from Damascus arrived to beg the release of Muṣṭafā Pāsha.

Events, however, proved favourable to Muṣṭafā Pāsha for when Fakhr al-Dīn refused to execute some of the arrested military officers, Kīwān decided to return to Damascus after openly insulting Fakhr al-Dīn. In a sudden fit of anger, Fakhr al-Dīn drew his dagger and slew Kīwān. When Muṣṭafā heard of the incident he expressed the hope that a similar fate would befall Kurd Ḥamza who was at that time in Aleppo. Meanwhile the Damascenes executed and confiscated the property of Kurd Ḥamza's followers.⁴⁰ Muṣṭafā Pāsha upon his return to Damascus was able to exert his authority with greater effect. He summoned a meeting of the learned Damascenes and high military officials to formulate rules for the behaviour of janissaries. A published edict (hujja) commanded that henceforth there should be no practice of usury by any soldier and they should be compelled to observe the law.⁴¹

After these liquidations which later included Ketkhudā Muṣṭafa, Fakhr al-Dīn faced the problem of controlling the Sukbān. Never an easy task, it mounted when he raided Aḥmad Ṭarabāy in Lajjūn; they flouted his commands which no doubt accounts for his failure. Forces were sent by his old enemies Yūsuf Sayfā and the governor of Damascus which rescued him from probable

40. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.134, 136, 137, 138-9, 140-5, 146-56. Ghazzī, Lujf, fols.16a, 43b-45a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, pp.299-303. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.316-8.

41. Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.161-2, 174, 178-9. Ghazzī, Lujf, fols.15a, 16a,b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, p.114; vol.iv, pp.294-6. For the legal meaning of hujja see Brunshvig, R., "Bayyina", E.1.2, vol.i, pp.1150-1.

destruction at the hands of Ahmad Ṭarabāy.⁴²

In 1036/1626, the Grand Vizier Khalīl Pāsha raised an army against Fakhr al-Dīn who was accused of building citadels manned by Sukbān. Fakhr al-Dīn offered to hand them over to the Grand Vizier together with a large sum of money which appeased him. Fakhr al-Dīn continued to build citadels. Some thirty in all, scattered over Syria, were under his command and in 1042/1632 the Sultan sent another expedition against him. This time he was taken to Istanbul and there executed; a great victory over a Druze leader which rejoiced the hearts of the Damascenes.⁴³

B. The Ḥarfūsh Family in Ba'labakk

The Ḥarfūsh, a Shi'a family of obscure origin, claimed descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzā'a.⁴⁴ In 903/1497 a certain Ibn Ḥarfūsh (?) is recorded as nā'ib (governor) of Ba'labakk.⁴⁵ Ibn Ḥarfūsh, described as a tribal chieftain, allied himself with Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥanash when he was fleeing from Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī. Both of them were beheaded by Jānbirdī who sent their heads to Sultān Selīm.⁴⁶ Later Jānbirdī, then himself a rebel, realized the influence of both these families and bestowed al-Biqā' upon the son of Nāṣir while he gave

42. Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.160, 175-6, 186-9, 192-3.

43. Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.385-8; vol.iii, pp.266-8. Supplement in al-Khālīdī, pp.242-9. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.320-9. Ibn Jum'a, Wulā'at, p.31. Fakhr al-Dīn left one son, Husayn Ma'nzāde who wrote an extant manuscript entitled Tamyīz. He went as an ambassador to India. K. Salibi, The Modern History of Lebanon, p.3. One copy of the manuscript is available in the library of 'Atif Efendi, Istanbul, No:2233, another in Esad Efendi, No:2551.

44. Ma'lūf, Dawānī, pp.155, 159, 213, 217, 228, 231, "al-Umarā' al-Ḥarfūshiyyun", al-'Irfān, vol.ix, pp.292-3. K. Salibi, "Ḥarfūsh", E.I.2, vol.iii, pp.205-6.

45. Ibn al-Mubarrid, quoted by Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, p.200.

46. Ibn Iyās, Badā' i', vol.v, p.252. Feridūn bey Munsha'at, p.457. Ma'lūf, "Umarā' ", 'Irfān, p.294.

Ḥoms to a certain Ibn Ḥarfūsh whose first name was probably Mūsā.⁴⁷ When the rebellion failed the families fell from Ottoman favour and Ba' labakk was given to Muḥammad b. Baydamar.⁴⁸ The family, however, is mentioned in a quarrel between the traditional factions of Yamanīs and Qaysīs and appears to have occurred frequently in connection with local disputes.⁴⁹

In 975/1567 Mūsā b. Ḥarfūsh, head of the family, possessed a zi'āmet. He was asked to lead archers against the Yaman and was offered a sanjaq for such service.⁵⁰ No records are extant concerning acceptance, but in the following year he was among those local chieftains who received hūkūms from the Sultan to refuse exemption money (badal) from qualified archers commanded to service in the Yaman.⁵¹ His son Husayn also held a zi'āmet⁵² and his second son 'Alī became governor of Ba' labakk. When a tribute-convoy from Egypt was sacked in the vicinity of the Bay of 'Akkār in 992/1584, 'Alī was amongst those local chieftains taken to Istanbul.⁵³ Abū 'Alī b. Qunbur, better known as al-Aqrā', who was employed by the Ḥarfūshīs, succeeded 'Alī as governor of Ba' labakk.

47. Ibn Tūlūn, I' lām, p.232.

48. Ibn Tūlūn, quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.112a, b. In 907/1501, the governor of Damascus hanged Ibn Baydamar, the nā'ib of Ba' labakk, for which Ibn Tūlūn gives no reason; this indicates that the Baydamar family was a rival to the Ḥarfūsh. Mufākahat, vol.i, p.251.

49. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.250-1. Shidyāq, Akhbār, pp.96, 216-7. Shihābī, Ghurar, pp.609-10.

50. M.D.vii, No:1174, 28 Ramaḍān, 975, p.409.

51. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.70, n.3.

52. T.D.474, p.509.

53. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.202.

‘Alī was detained in Istanbul considerably longer than was expected and his family began to resent al-Aqra's control.

Intrigues were begun against him supported by some two thousand Drūze. al-Aqra' on his part was backed by the Arab tribes, Turkomans and Qorqmās the son of Mansūr b. Furaykh. The factions clashed on Wednesday, 21st Rajab 994/8th July 1586 when the Drūze were routed. Būrīnī states that their casualties numbered 1,080 and further affirms that 1,000 heads were sent to Damascus. After ‘Alī b. Ḥarfūsh's return to Ba‘labakk in 997/1588, he killed al-Aqra' but he was forced to seek refuge with the Drūze in ‘Ayn Dāra. The son of the dead ‘Alī b. al-Aqra' was installed as governor and ‘Alī Ḥarfūsh received an amnesty from the governor of Damascus.⁵⁴ He was well received in Damascus but he was arrested and put to death on the 12th Muḥarram 999/10th November 1590, which caused sorrow to the population of the city who had appreciated his generosity and kindness.⁵⁵

His son Musā, who had Sunnī inclinations, later succeeded his father in Ba‘labakk. He was on good terms with the governor of Damascus and in 1007/1598 the governor incited him to wage war against the Sayfā. Backed by amīr Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad known as Ibn A‘waj al-Raqaba⁵⁶ (d.1019/1610) amīr of Ḥama, together with Fakhr al-Dīn, they defeated Yūsuf Sayfā near Ghazīr and ‘Alī b. Sayfā was killed.⁵⁷

54. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.148a,b. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.24b.

55. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.7a, Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.194; Lutf, fol.39b. Ghazzī mentions that he was killed in 1001/1592 or 1002/1593. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, p.432. Ma‘lūf, Fakhr al-Dīn, p.61.

56. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.45-51.

57. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.48a.

When 'Alī Jānbulāt, together with Fakhr al-Dīn, marched against Damascus in 1015/1606, in pursuit of Yūsuf Sayfā, Mūsā volunteered to intercede; and when his mission failed he returned to Damascus. The rebels preferred to recognize his cousin Yūnus as the governor of Ba'labakk but when 'Alī Jānbulāt and Fakhr al-Dīn withdrew, Mūsā tried to regain his position but failed. At his death in Damascus in the same year, Yūnus became the undisputed leader of the Harfūsh family.⁵⁸

Yūnus utilized every possible means of self-aggrandisement. Although he was appointed by 'Alī Jānbulāt and Fakhr al-Dīn he pursued his own policy regardless of Fakhr al-Dīn whom Yūnus appeased until his interests could be better served by alliance with the governor of Damascus. In 1023/1614, he first joined Fakhr al-Dīn and abandoned him for Hāfiz Pāsha.⁵⁹ When Fakhr al-Dīn left for Tuscany, Yūnus advised the Sukbān to destroy the two citadels of Bānyās and Shaqīf,⁶⁰ thus weakening the Ma'nids and strengthening his own position. To this end he sent his son, who was married to the daughter of Fakhr al-Dīn to build a residence in the village of Mushghara with the intention of undermining the loyalty of the people towards Fakhr al-Dīn. Fakhr al-Dīn's son, 'Alī, was helpless against the Harfūsh machinations⁶¹ which Yūnus continued when Fakhr al-Dīn returned and roused Kurd Ḥamza and Muṣṭafā Pāsha against Fakhr al-Dīn and Kīwān which led to the skirmish at 'Anjarr.⁶² The defeated Yūnus fled

58. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, p.275, fols.148b, 149a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.432-3. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmīna, pp.291-303. Shīdyāq, Akhbār, pp.252-3.

59. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.5, 11-12, 22.

60. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, p.50.

61. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.66-7, 70

62. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.97, 114, 134-5, 138, 146, 148-51. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmīna, p.318.

to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān where the governor of Aleppo arrested and jailed him in Salamiya. In 1035/1625 Ba'labakk was given to Fakhr al-Dīn who, by means of bribery, destroyed Yūnus in the following year.⁶³ The destruction caused by successive rival factions reduced Ba'labakk and its surroundings to a state of dereliction. In 1048/1638 when Yahyā al-Mahāsini (d.1053/1643) passed the area en route for Tripoli, he recorded the devastation in a poem comparing it with the famous lament for Andalusia composed by Abū al-Baqā' al-Randī.⁶⁴

C. The 'Assāf Family in Kisrawān

Reliable information concerning this Turkoman family during the first half of the sixteenth century is meagre. According to Duwayhī, 'Assāf, the head of the family at the time, upon whom Kisrawān and Jubayl were conferred by Sulṭān Selīm, chose Ghazīr as his place of residence. He died in 924/1518, leaving his three sons Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Qā' itbāy and was succeeded by Ḥasan. Qā' itbāy, his half-brother, disputed the succession and he succeeded in assassinating his two brothers when they visited Bayrūt. Most probably supported by Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, he succeeded in Kisrawān and, childless

63. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.171, 172. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.318, 319, 321-3.

64. al-Mahāsini, Yahyā, al-Ma'nāzil al-Mahāsiniyya fī al-riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusiyya, MS. I.U.A.Y. No:4329, fols.5b-6a. Abū al-Baqā' Ṣāliḥ b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yazīd b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mūsā al-Randī lived in the second half of the seventh century/13th century. For his biography and excerpts of his poetry see al-Ansārī, Muhammad b. Muḥammad al-Uwaysī al-Murrākushī (d.703/1303), al-Dḥayl wa al-takmilah li kitābay al-mawṣūl wa al-Ṣila, part iv (edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās, Bayrūt, 1965), pp.136-9, al-Maqqarī, Ahmad b. Muḥammad (d.1041/1632), Nafḥ al-ḥib min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb, 8 vols. (edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās, Bayrūt, 1968), vol.iii, p.347; vol.iv, pp.147, 486-490; vol.v, p.602. Kannūn, 'Abdullah, al-'Aṣf wa al-rayḥān, Taṭwān, 1969, pp.179-99.

himself, spared his brother Ḥasan's son Maṣṣūr who, according to Duwayhī, succeeded Ḥā' itbāy after his death in 930/1523.⁶⁵

Tapū Defters show that between 930-955/1523-1548, Kisrawān was entrusted to an amīr named Mūsā bey but nothing further is mentioned about him in available literature. The title amīr (amir = bey) may indicate that Mūsā was a member of the 'Assāf family and assumed its leadership while Maṣṣūr was a child.⁶⁶

Maṣṣūr appears to have assumed leadership after 955/1548 but information concerning him is scanty, most of it being provided by Duwayhī, and its authenticity is doubtful. In a decree dated 982/1574 he was described as one of the Drūze muqaddams who claimed that they had no muskets.⁶⁷ After many complaints concerning his conduct, Maṣṣūr was dismissed in 987/1579 in favour of his son Muḥammad.⁶⁸

Muḥammad was among those accused of the robbery of the Egyptian tribute in 992/1584 and was taken to Istanbul; but was released and appointed tax-farmer of the province of Tripoli although not of the city. He clashed with Yūsuf Sayfā who refused to pay the taxes. When he endeavoured to collect them by force, a bullet killed him and he left no successor. The people of Tripoli rejoiced at his death, which gave them relief from his unscrupulous

65. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.238-9, 244, 249, 254. Shidyāq, Akḥbār, pp.346-7. K. Salibi, "Northern Lebanon under the dominance of Gazīr, (1517-1591)", Arabica, Tome xiv, fasc.2, 1967, pp.144-66.

66. T.D.430, pp.277-300. T.D.383, pp.300-33. T.D.401, pp.436-53. T.D.169, p.2.

67. M.D.xxvi, No:488, 10 Jumādā I, 982, p.180.

68. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.281.

taxation. Yūsuf Sayfā married Muḥammad's wife and inherited the family fortune.⁶⁹ Thus circumstances brought Yūsuf Sayfā into closer contact with his enemy Fakhr al-Dīn.

D. The Arslān Family in al-Gharb and Jurd

Questionable tradition infers that Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. Mufarijj, the head of the Arslān family, was among the party welcoming Sultan Selīm on his arrival at Damascus, and received from him the government of the areas of Gharb and Jurd. When al-Ghazālī led his expedition against Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥanash, Jamāl is said to have supported him. For his services he received the government of al-Shūf by which the Yamanī faction in that quarter was strengthened.⁷⁰ Jamāl al-Dīn who is said to have owned a water-mill near the village of Dayr Qublayn,⁷¹ abdicated in favour of his son Muḥammad at an unspecified date. Muḥammad is reported as having taken part in the campaign against Cyprus in 1570. He returned with a recommendation from Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāsha, commander of the campaign, to Murād Pāsha, the governor of Damascus.⁷²

His prestige was heightened when, in 1579, Yūsuf Sayfā was appointed governor of Tripoli as they were both members of the Yamanī faction.

69. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.104a. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, pp.285-8. Salībī, "Northern Lebanon", Arabica, Tome xiv, fasc.2, p.165.

70. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.236.

71. T.D.430, p.299; T.D.383, p.335. Sharaf al-Dīn of the same family, tax-farmer for 10 mazāri' yielding annually 16,894 akches also owned a bustān which yielded 240 akches yearly. T.D.383, pp.309, 316, 319, 322, 326, 328, 335. Shidyāq mentions a certain Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. 'Uthmān (d.1552), who is probably identical with the reference made in the Tapu Defter, Akhbar, pp.676-7.

72. Shidyāq, Akhbar, p.677.

He, too, was among those amīrs who were arrested, sent to Istanbul and afterwards released. On his return, he built himself a palace in Shuwayfāt and also repaired his quarter in ‘Aramūn.⁷³

On his death in 1605, Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Mudhḥij who joined Ḥāfiẓ Pāsha against Fakhr al-Dīn in 1023/1614. The usual sacking and looting took place in al-Shūf and Fakhr al-Dīn's son, ‘Alī, revenged himself by defeating the Yamanī alliance of Arslans and Sayfās at the battle of ‘Ayn al-Nā‘ma in 1025/1616. In this battle Mudhḥij lost Jurd and Gharb which were sacked and plundered and their residence was destroyed. The family fled to the Sayfās of Tripoli for refuge, where Mudhḥij died in 1617. He left three sons: Yūsuf, ‘Izz al-Dīn and Yahyā. Yūsuf allied himself with the Ma‘nids, Yahyā with the Sayfās and ‘Izz al-Dīn had no interest in politics. With the death of Yahyā in 1632, the Arslanīs ceased to be of any significance in local politics.⁷⁴

E. The Shihāb Family in Wādī al-Taym

In the Sulṭānī Khāṣṣ of Wādī al-Taym lived the Sunnite family of Shihāb. Most information about this family is derived from later Lebanese sources and is probably inaccurate. According to these sources, Manṣūr, the head of the family, continued to be the recognised chieftain of Wādī al-Taym until his death in 1535, when he was succeeded by his son Mulḥim who held the chieftainship until his death in 972/1564. He was succeeded by his son Manṣūr, who, on his death in 1597, left two sons, ‘Alī and Aḥmad.⁷⁵

73. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.284. Shidyāq, Akhbār, pp.675-7.

74. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.12, 22-3, 35-6, 51-3, 75, 88. Duwayhī, Tārīkh al-azmina, p.291. Shidyāq, Akhbār, pp.678-9.

75. Shidyāq, Akhbār, p.51. Shihābī, Ghurār, pp.610, 614, 622.

The Muḥimme Defteri refers to a certain Ibn Shihāb who in 981/1573, with Manṣūr b. Furaykh and other chieftains, attacked and sacked many villages in northern Palestine.⁷⁶ In 982/1574 Qāsīm b. Shihāb was one of the muqaddams who denied being in possession of muskets after they had been collected.⁷⁷ Qāsīm may have been the same Manṣūr mentioned above, because it was a custom among Muslims to possess compound names.

The Shihābīs most of the time allied themselves with the Maʿnids. In 1015/1606 Aḥmad with his men were in the army of Fakhr al-Dīn which laid siege to Damascus, but in 1022/1613 he joined Hāfiz Pāsha while his brother ʿAlī remained faithful to the Maʿnids. The successive governors of Damascus helped Aḥmad against his brother ʿAlī who was forced to retreat. When Fakhr al-Dīn returned, he reconciled the two brothers by dividing Wādī al-Taym between them.⁷⁸ After that, the Shihābīs allied themselves with the Maʿnids and later succeeded them in 1697 as leaders of the Drūze.⁷⁹

II. Relationship between the Ottomans and the Sufis in the Province During the Sixteenth Century

A. The Jabāwī Order (ṭarīqa).⁸⁰

Ḥusayn al-Jabāwī, the head of the order, was among those prominent people who decided to surrender Damascus to Sulṭān Selīm. A waqfiyya

76. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.84-5.

77. M.D.xxvii, No:488, 10 Jumādā, 982, p.180.

78. Būrīnī, Tarālim, vol.ii, pp.275 - 80. al-Khalidī, Tārīkh, pp.22, 35, 39, 44, 57, 69, 83-4, 149, 157.

79. Shidyāq, Akhbar, p.58. Shihābī, Ḥhurar, pp.448-9. Salībī, K., The Modern History of Lebanon, pp.3-4. Holt, P.M., Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, pp.120-1.

80. For the chain of Shaykhs of this order see Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.33-5. Zabīdī, Murtādā, ʿIqd al-jawhar al-thāmin fī al-dhikr wa juruq al-ilbās wal talqīn, M.S. fols.66a,b. I would like to thank Shaykh Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Tanjī who lent me his copy of this manuscript. The grandfather, Saʿd al-Dīn, originally a robber, lived =

shows that Sultan Selīm visited Shaykh Ḥusayn in his house, built a zāwiya (convent) for him in Qubaybāt Quarter, and endowed it with pieces of land and watermills for its maintenance and that of the Shaykh's family.⁸¹

Shaykh Ḥusayn (d.926/1519) was held in great veneration by the officials and his son Aḥmad who succeeded him wielded even greater influence by reason of his reputed ability to cure the sick. When he died the chief judge led the prayers and people visited his tomb to ask for blessing. His brother Muḥammad Saʿd al-Dīn (d.987/1579) succeeded him as head of the order and completed their zāwiya.⁸²

Muḥammad Saʿd al-Dīn in turn was succeeded by his son Muḥammad (d.1020/1611) who owned many lands, orchards, baths, shops, and mazraʿās. He built himself a huge house, reconstructed the zāwiya and entertained many people, including officials, daily.⁸³ His wealth and extravagance are demonstrated when at the birth of a child to his son ʿIsā, the notables of Damascus came to congratulate him. He celebrated the occasion by sending zalābiyya (a kind of thin, sweet fritter or waffle) to all officials and notables,

= in the village of Jabā where he afterwards built a zāwiya. His son moved to the village of Bayt Jinn in Ḥawrān, which accounts for reference to them as Jinnāwī. A certain Shaykh Khamīs (d.918/1512) brought the Sufi Ḥasan, who settled in the Qubaybāt Quarter of Damascus. Ghazzī, Kawākih, vol.i, pp.174-5, 191-2. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.40. See also Massingnon, L., "Ṭarīqa", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.667-72, idem, "Taṣawwuf", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.681-5.

81. Awqāf Dimashq, vol.ii, pp.26-9. T.D.401, p.337; T.D.474, p.482; M.M.15737, p.7. Ibn Tulun, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.24, 107. See also Lévi-Provençal, E., "Zāwiya", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.1220-1, Marçais, Georges, "Ribāt", E.I.I, vol.iii, pp.1151-3.

82. Ghazzī, Kawākih, vol.i, pp.174-5, 185. al-Nuʿaymī, al-Dāris, vol.ii, p.222. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, p.41. In 978/1570, the Sulṭān issued a ḥukm to the governor of Damascus to immunise the followers of Shaykh Saʿd al-Dīn against interference unless they actually violated Sharīʿa. M.D.xi, No:497, 11 Jumādā II, 978, p.71.

83. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols. 6b-7a. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.305-6. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.160-1.

Muslims and Christians alike. The patriarch (unidentified) in Damascus, for his part, sent a gift of money to the Shaykh. Drummers, singers, dancers, and jugglers entertained his guests for seven days. The evenings brought entertainment by shadow players and magicians; all these were paid and well treated by him.⁸⁴

Shaykh Muḥammad enjoyed great prestige among the people of Damascus but his influence with army personnel was very limited. He had no success as a mediator and sometimes remained passive. When in 1005/1596 taxes were increased, sympathy for the population was expressed by the chief judge. The Shaykh remained a passive onlooker who did not even voice their grievances to the Sultan and only blessed the chief judge, who, at least, took steps to rectify it.⁸⁵ In 1012/1603 the Damascene army marched on Aleppo. The Sultan forbade this and the governor deputed the Shaykh to reason with them. The decree stated that if the soldiers persisted in their disobedience they would be outlawed. They ignored both threats and exhortation and continued on their way.⁸⁶

Similarly, when ʿAlī Jānbulāt besieged Damascus in 1015/1606 in order to capture Yūsuf Sayfā, Shaykh Muḥammad was deputed to remonstrate with ʿAlī and inform him that Yūsuf Sayfā had fled, he took the passive line which he tried to force on the people. He himself managed to get from ʿAlī a

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84. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.360a; concerning the rift between Muḥammad and his son ʿIsā (d.1019/1610) see Būrīnī, Tarājīm, vol.ii, pp.365-6. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fol.42a.
85. Būrīnī, Dīwān, MS, Kōprülü, No:1257, fols.39a, b.
86. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols.49a, b, Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.449-50.

guard for his own house.⁸⁷ Later, he was in the delegation to the Grand Vizier Murād Pāsha which went to complain about 'Alī's behaviour.

All of them were, however, ignored by Murād Pāsha.⁸⁸

B. The Ṣamādīs.⁸⁹

Sulṭān Selīm who endowed the Jabāwīs appears to have neglected the Ṣamādīs. It was doubtless for this reason that Shaykh Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. 'Alī al-Ṣamādī (d.948/1541) went to Istanbul to put his case to the Sulṭān. It was considered favourably and their zāwiya was endowed with the village of Kafībat al-Mā' near Ba'labakk but later this was changed to 80 ghirāra of wheat from the village of Kanākīr in Ḥawrān. When in 932/1525, the governor of Damascus disputed the endowment, Shaykh Muḥammad again set out for Istanbul. This time he carried a written complaint from the 'ulamā' of Damascus concerning excessive taxes and many of them were present at his departure. When the governor learned of the intended complaint, he sent a messenger to bring Shaykh Muḥammad from Ba'labakk to Damascus. All those who had complained were rebuked or punished, but the endowment was finally conferred in 934/1527. Muḥammad's influence was great. He was considered as a walī by both local people and officials whom he entertained each year when he celebrated the birthday of the Prophet.⁹⁰

87. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.278-9.

88. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, p.291.

89. The founder of this order was Shaykh Sālīm. He was a student of the famous Sufi Shaykh, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī (d.561/1166). Their zāwiya was in the village of Ṣamad in Ḥawrān. One of his descendents, Shaykh Sālīḥ (d.825/1421) was described by Ibn Ḥajar as a rich and influential person whose word was never disputed among the people of the barr (countryside). Ibn Ḥajar, Inbā', MS. BM. No:23, 330, fol.114a. For background and teaching of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir, see Braune, W., "Abd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.69-70.

90. Ibn Ṭulūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 36a,b, 259a,b, 260a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.31-2. T.D.401, p.338. T.D.602, p.340. Concerning their zāwiya in Ṣālīḥiyya see Ibn Ṭulūn, Qalā'id, vol.i, p.210. Badrān, Munādamat, pp.381-3.

His son Muḥammad continued in his father's tradition and when in 969/1561 he visited Istanbul he was well received by the Sultan and was assigned five pārās per day for his expenses. Another member of his family, Yūnus, was given a timar which yielded 1,600 akches annually. Muḥammad was highly esteemed by the 'ulamā' of Damascus and the Bakrīs, the Sufi family of Cairo. The Ṣamādīs became subject to criticism in 985/1577 when the family officially claimed descend from the Prophet, and from then respect for them partly diminished.⁹¹ Muḥammad's son, Muslim, succeeded him and enjoyed similar prestige. Together with many followers, he went to Jerusalem where he appropriated a drum of the Jabāwīs, claiming that only Ṣamādīs used drums. A clash between them and the Jabāwīs was narrowly averted by officials and 'ulamā'.⁹²

In 1016/1607 his son and successor, 'Isā (d.1021/1612) was among those who went to Aleppo to complain to the Grand Vizier, Murād Pāsha, about 'Alī Jānbulāt, and Fakhr al-Dīn. On a second occasion he was sent to the Grand Vizier by the governor of Damascus and succeeded in reducing the tax of nuzul.⁹³ 'Isā was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm who also enjoyed an influential position among Damascenes and officials and was well received when he visited Istanbul.⁹⁴

91. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr Nūrosmāniyya, No:2105, fol.232a, Ī. Ū. A.Y. 3190, fol.167b. Taymūriyya, No:2105, fol.133b. D.K.12715 Ḥ. vol.ii, p.143, B. Ni.23978, fol.213b. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.260a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, p.49. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.16-20. T.D.474, pp.434-5. M.D.ii, No:10508, Dhu'l Ḥijja, 963, p.163. No:2157, 14 Jumādā, II, 964, p.242.

92. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fol.47a, Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.362-3. See Būrīnī's praising poem for Shaykh Muslim, Dīwan, fol.13b.

93. Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols.42a,b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.244. Concerning the nuzul tax collected in time of war in kind and cash, see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.i, part ii, pp.30-2.

94. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.48-9.

Part of the family remained in Şamad while others worked as supervisors (mutawallīs) of the waqf for Hebron in the village of al-Rabaḍ in the Sanjaq of 'Ajlūn.⁹⁵

C. Other orders

The Qādiriyya Order numbered few in Damascus and little information is extant concerning its head, Sulaymān (d.945/1538). It is known that he adopted Islam and was the student of the Moroccan Sufi 'Alī b. Ma'mūn.⁹⁶ Sulaymān's son Aḥmad (d.1005/1596) was influential among people and officials alike. He repaired the derelict Kilichīyya School⁹⁷ in Damascus aided by volunteers from the villages. Officials frequently visited him, seeking his advice.⁹⁸ For corruption in 990/1582, the governor of Damascus caused his naqīb to be strangled.⁹⁹ In 1008/1599, Nāṣir b. 'Abdān one of his men was corrupt (mufsid) and he was crucified.¹⁰⁰

A new order sprang into being by reason of its founder Shaykh Uways al-Qaramānī (d.951/1544). He foretold the imminent appearance of the Mahdī and many people believed and followed him, with the result that he was arrested and jailed in Aleppo. His best known student, Dā'ūd al-Mar'ashī,

95. Sijill al-Mahkama, Damascus, vol.i, 18 Rabī' II, 993, p.281; vol.ii, II Jumādā, 993, pp.314-5.

96. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.148. For Qādiriyya see Margoliouth, D.S., "Qādirīya", E.I.I, vol.vii, pp.608-11.

97. Concerning this school see Nu'aymī, al-Dāris, vol.i, p.434. Badrān, Munādamat, pp.195-7.

98. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.49b-50a. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.36-9. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.51, idem, Lutf, fol.22b. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.207-8.

99. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.158.

100. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.38-9. Ghazzī, Lutf, fol.48b. For the legal meaning of fāsīd, see De Bellefonds, Y. Linant, "Fāsīd wa bāṭil", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.329-33.

fled to Antioch and joined his master upon his release, and together they lived in Damascus. Another of his students took up residence in the Shi'a city of Ba' labakk. His beliefs continued to be promulgated after his death, and Dā'ūd was arrested and strangled in 954/1547.¹⁰¹ The imminence of the Mahdī was preached chiefly in the areas where Shi'a were strongest. The Ottomans realized the threat and steadily crushed it.

Usually the sufis of Damascus were respected by the officials especially by 'Isā Bāk al-Fanārī, (d.950/1543), the governor of Damascus¹⁰² who was reputed for his firm beliefs and his kindness to Shaykh 'Ulwān b. 'Atiyya (d.936/1529) in Ḥama,¹⁰³ Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar al-'Uqaybī (d.951/1544),¹⁰⁴ Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Qaysar al-Qubaybātī al-Ḥanbalī (d.975/1565)¹⁰⁵ and to all others of that belief. He visited many of their convents and received initiation from some and was blessed by all.¹⁰⁶

101. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.124-5, 143.

102. For his biography see R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, D.K. 12715 H, vol.i, pp.766-7, 769-70. Nūrosmāniyya, No:2393, fols.191b-192a. I.U.A.Y. 3190, fols.138b-139a. Taymuriyya, 2105, fol.112a. Ibn Tūlūn, I'lām, pp.243-4, 246, 248. Ṭashkōprūzāde, Shaqā'iq, vol.ii, pp.19-20. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.235-236.

103. Shammā', 'Uyūn, vol.ii, fol.133a. For 'Ulwān's biography see Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.206-13.

104. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.229-33, 236.

105. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols.265a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.56-60. Nahravālī, Fawā'id, p.207. Shāṭṭī, Mukhtaṣar, pp.86-7.

106. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, pp.118-9. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, Nūrosmāniyya, fols.90a,b. I.U.A.Y. fol.63b. Taymuriyya, fols.54a,b.

III. Relationship of Ottoman Officials with Naqīb al-Ashraf

Available literature does not show that the Naqīb al-Ashraf¹⁰⁷ in Damascus exerted any special influence in the city. Successive naqībs were employed as supervisors (sing. nāzīr) in madrasās or mosques and these posts were coveted by many. The first naqīb, after the Ottoman conquest, was Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṣaltī (d.982/1574). Although his learning was very limited, he was employed as a supervisor of the Qaymariyya madrasa and later the Umayyad Mosque to become the general supervisor of madrasās and mosques. His son Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d.971/1563) was entrusted with supervision of the Tankiz Mosque. Persons eligible for allowances from institutions under the two men were not happy with the administration and were occasionally unable to draw their benefits. Both father and son were suspected of dishonesty.¹⁰⁸ ✓

A rival of the Ṣaltīs, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣafadī, known as Ibn al-Ḥamrāwī (d.976/1568) managed several times to secure the posts for himself. He was more popular than the Ṣaltīs. Benefits were duly conferred and, at his own expense he widened roads and opened a gate through the market to enable worshippers to gain access to the Umayyad Mosque at all times. He earned the praise of contemporary poets by his hospitality, and his mediation was generally acceptable to officials.¹⁰⁹

107. The office of naqīb existed in Damascus under the Mamlūks and for his function see Alqāshandī, Subh, vol. iv, pp. 37-8, 193. For description of the relationship between the Ashraf in Aleppo and the Ottomans see Bodman, H., Political factions in Aleppo, 1760-1828, the University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

108. There is no distinguished member of this family recorded in the sources. The janissary, Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Rūmī (d.998/1589), son-in-law to the family, appears to have inherited its fortune. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Ṣaltī (d.998/1589), another member of the family, supervised al-Nāsiriyya School and the Tankiz Mosque. He was notorious for his luxury and wine drinking. He also defrauded the endowments of the school and mosque. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols. 16a, b-17a, 269a, b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. iii, pp. 49-50, 87, 179-80, 205.

109. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fols. 256b-257a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. iii, pp. 43-4, 205.

Other Ashrāf exercised less influence than the Ṣaltīs. When in 931/1524 Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī (d. 933/1526) went among other delegates to meet the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pāsha and complain about certain taxes, they were refused audience. When he left, Ibrāhīm assigned thirty ‘Othmānī (akches) to Shaykh Ḥamza who was known for his subservience towards officials.¹¹⁰ His son, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī (d.989/1581) was a judge and succeeded Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṣaltī as naqīb and nothing is recorded concerning his conduct while in office.¹¹¹

His successor, Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza (d.1009/1600), was an unlearned, over-zealous but pious man who, on one occasion, incurred the displeasure of both judge and governor by a mistaken claim that a lavatory was about to be erected near the tomb of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. It was rumoured that it had received the approval of the chief judge. He went angrily to the governor stating that the scheme would pollute the tomb. The matter was investigated and proved untrue. Ḥusayn was rebuked both by the governor and the judge.¹¹² His brother and successor, Muḥammad (d.1017/1608) was an insignificant and twisted personality. He was very much disliked. On the one occasion when he was sent among other ‘ulamā’ to the Grand Vizier Murād Pāsha to complain about ‘Alī Jānbulāq and Fakhr al-Dīn, he was used by Kīwān to give false testimony and his death was regretted by no one.¹¹³

110. Ibn Ṭulūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.32a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.i, p.42.

111. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, pp.179-80.

112. Ghazzī, Luḥf, fol.40b. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.328-9.

113. Ghazzī, Luḥf, fols.9a, b. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.439.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. ʿAjlān (d.1025/1616) who succeeded, combined the three offices of naqīb, Shaykh mashāyikh al-ḥiraf (head of crafts) and head of the Rifāʿiyya Order. His impact on the administration of these offices was not recorded nor was any complaint made against him. All of this indicates a good but insignificant personality.¹¹⁴

None of these successive naqībs made any special impact on their surroundings, probably because Ashraf were few in number, merely 92 in all, and some of their behaviour was reprehensible.¹¹⁵ Nothing is left to show that the people of the ḥiraf were in any way organised into professional guilds or in any other way which would have given them solidity.¹¹⁶ The Rifāʿiyya order was introduced from Egypt and recruited a few supporters.¹¹⁷

IV. Relationship of Ottoman Officials with the Notables of Damascus

The Manjik and Ṭālu families continued their influence in Damascus during the 14th and 17th centuries.

Manjik acquired its name from Sayf al-Dīn Manjik (d.776/1374)

114. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.84-5. Ghazzī, Lutf, fols.7a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.220. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.144-5, 169.

115. See Chapter II, p.57. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.84-5. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.220.

116. For a general survey of the history of Turkish guilds see Baer, G., "Guilds in Middle Eastern history", Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, pp.11-30. idem, "The administrative, economic and social function of Turkish guilds", Int. J. Middle East. Stud., vol.i, part i (1970), pp.29-50; idem, "Monopolies and restrictive practices of Turkish guilds", JESHO, vol.XIII (1970), pp.145-65, idem, "The structure of Turkish guilds and its significance for Ottoman history", Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, vol. iv (Jerusalem, 1971), pp.176-96. Concerning the history of Egyptian guilds, see idem, Egyptian guilds in modern times, Jerusalem, 1964. For ḥiraf see Massignon, L., "Ṣinf", E.I., vol.iv, pp.436-7, idem, "Islamic guilds", Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol.vii, pp.214-6, 233.

117. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iii, p.437.

a Mamlūk governor of Damascus.¹¹⁸ His grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn was considered favourably by more than one Mamlūk Sultan and became sufficiently rich to buy land, build two mosques outside Damascus and endow them. In addition, he repaired the Abū ‘Umar Madrasa in al-Ṣālihiyya and constructed a pool for the use of pilgrims in Tabūk.¹¹⁹ Their huge wealth created family endowments and assured their distinction among the notables of Damascus. ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Manjik (d.940/1533) supervised the endowments as head of the family and was personally considered one of the most notable personages of the city.¹²⁰ His son Ibrāhīm (d.991/1583) was described as simple, but because of the family's prestige he was offered the governorship of Homs, Ḥama or Ṣafad, which he declined. He was, however, highly eulogised by officials, judges and poets for his great generosity.¹²¹ His successor and nephew ‘Abd al-Latīf was also reputed for generosity and his brother Manjik was given a zi‘āmet which added to his already luxurious life.¹²²

‘Abd al-Latīf was followed in turn by his nephew Muḥammad b. Manjik who, in addition to the supervision of the family endowments, also supervised those of Mecca, Medina and those of Sultan Selīm's takiyya. He was further given the governorship of Karak-Shawbak and later of Tadmur, then Ruhā’ and Raqqā.

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118. Ibn Hajar, al-Durar, vol. iv, pp.360-1. Ibn Tūlūn, I‘lām, pp.22-4. Badrān, Munādamat, pp.209-10. For a survey of relationship between notables of the Fertile Crescent and the Ottomans see Hourani, A., A Vision of History (Bayrūt, 1961), pp.35-70. For the ‘Azīm family who attained power in the 18th century, see Rafeq, A., The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783, Bayrūt, 1970.
119. Ibn Taghrībīrdī, Nujūm, vol. vii, pp.269-71. Sakhāwī, Dau’, vol. vi, p.281. For the biographies of his son Ibrāhīm, (d.888/1483) and al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (d.918/1512) and his nephew ‘Abd al-Qādir, see Sakhāwī, Dau’, vol. i, p.125. Ibn Iyās, Badā’i’, vol. iii, p.199. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. i, p.61. Ibn al-‘Imād, al-Hanbalī, Shadharāt, vol. viii, pp.240-1. Nu‘aymī, al-Dāris, vol. ii, pp.105-6, 141-2, 299, 444-5.
120. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. i, pp.129-30. For the details of their waqf see Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol. i, pp.148-50.
121. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. ii, pp.173-5; vol. iii, pp.88-90, Lutf, fol.15b. Būrīnī, Tarājīm, vol. i, pp.314-6.
122. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.288a. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. iii, pp.97, 117, 210.

He was celebrated for his capable and honest approach and for his protection of the poorer peasants against exploitation by Subāshīs.

His luxurious palace in Damascus witnessed the reception of many officials and notables. Later, he built another equally, if not even more, luxurious palace outside the city which was presented to the governor of Damascus, Kūchūlk Aḥmad Pāsha. His son Aḥmad was a chāush in al-Bāb al-‘Alī (the Sultan's palace) while ‘Umar his second son was given a zi‘āmet.¹²³

The family allied itself and held its state under the Mamlūks, but later transferred their allegiance to the Ottomans from whom they received continued favour. Intercession for any Damascene cause derived its force from favours thus granted.

Like the Manjik, the Ṭālū family were not originally Damascene, and claimed descent from the Artuqids.¹²⁴ Under the Mamlūks some of its members achieved prominence. Taqī al-Dīn b. Ṭālū was the dawadār of the Shāfi‘ī judge in Damascus in 913/1507 to become in 915/1509 the deputy supervisor of the Umayyad Mosque.¹²⁵ His brother ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, married to the cousin of the historian Ibn Ṭūlūn, was in 922/1516 naqīb al-jaysh (adjutant of the army).¹²⁶ He was sufficiently important to be mentioned as one who took part in receiving Sulṭān Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī on his way to Aleppo in 922/1516.

123. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.274b-275a,b. Būrīnī, Tarājim, fol.128b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.229-31. Before 1718 the name al-Bāb al-‘Alī denoted the Sultan's palace, after that date it refers to the office of the Grand Vizier. See Deny, J., "Bāb-i ‘Alī", E.I.2, vol.i, p.836.

124. For the history of the family see al-‘Umārī, quoted by al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, pp.164-5, 170-1, 176. Mustalah, p.32. Cahen, C.I., "Artuqids", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.6662-7. Bosworth, E., The Islamic Dynasties, pp.119-20.

125. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufakahat, vol.i, pp.317, 338.

126. For description and function of this office, see Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, pp.21-2, 186. Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.I, pp.105-6.

When Sulṭān Selīm entered Damascus, he received a gift but he remained loyal to the Mamlūks. From Egypt he wrote a letter to Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabī al-Maghribī rebuking him for his support of the Ottomans and reminding him that he was not native to Damascus. He also falsely informed him that Sulṭān Selīm had been arrested which, when learned in Damascus, caused much confusion.¹²⁷

It appears that he was among the many Mamlūk employees who were pardoned by Sulṭān Selīm and was installed as a deputy supervisor of the Umayyad Mosque. In 926/1519 he went on a pilgrimage. He might have suspected the intentions of al-Ghazālī, and for this reason he remained in Mecca in order to disassociate himself from al-Ghazālī who refused to allow him to collect his allowance while he was deputy supervisor.¹²⁸

Tapu Defters show that many members of this family held timars. Among them Ibrāhīm, his son Ḥasan, Uthmān, Muḥammad and ‘Alī, all of whom received only small timars.¹²⁹

Ibrāhīm b. Ṭālū (d.1024/1615) attained a distinguished position. He began his career in the service of the governor of Damascus, Aḥmad Pāsha al-Khālidi (ca.965/1557),¹³⁰ and when this governor was transferred, Ibrāhīm accompanied him. He became chāush in al-Bāb al-‘Alī. When the campaign against Cyprus was launched he supervised the supply of provisions from

127. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.i, pp.317, 362, 365, vol.ii, pp.11-12, 34, 42, I‘lām, pp.198, 221.

128. Ibn Ṭūlūn, quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.109b. Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.85, 88, 121.

129. T.D.169, pp.59, 95, 101, 115; T.D.401, pp.106-7, 544; T.D.383, p.603; T.D.423, pp.132, 149.

130. Concerning his biography see Burīnī, Tarājim, vol.i, pp.188-90.

from Damascus and led its army. Probably for this service he was the first local person later to be appointed head of the military force in Damascus. In 997/1588 he was given the Sanjaq of Nāblus where he served for two years. In 999/1590 he became amīr al-mulāqah and demonstrated his ability to provide security for pilgrims. His last official appointment, in 1016/1607 was as governor of Tadmur.¹³¹

131. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.289, 309-13. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.204; Lūf, fol.17b. Ibn Ayyūb, Nuzhat, fol.11a, Muhibbat Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.17-8. Darwish al-Ṭalawī, Sāniḥāt, fols.137a-138a. Ghazzī appears to have misquoted 1014 as the year of his death. The correct year seems to have been 1024, otherwise Būrīnī would have mentioned it.

CHAPTER VII

The Arab, Turkoman and Kurdish Tribes in the
Province of Damascus during the Sixteenth Century

1. The distribution of Arab tribes in the Province and their annual 'ādāt

In their biographical dictionaries, Syrian writers of the sixteenth century furnished plenty of information about life in the cities. On the other hand, little attention seems to have been paid to life in the countryside or to tribal life. In line with their biographical tradition, historians of the time provide scanty information about some Arab chieftains. The absence of genealogical treatises deserves particular attention, when one bears in mind that the Arab tribes were active at this time, and often influenced the policy of the Ottomans towards the Province of Damascus.

Ottoman defters, which are rich in details of the history of the Turkomans in Syria, unfortunately provide only fragmentary information about Arab tribes. A number of defters are not available to scholars either because they are missing, or because they have not yet been identified and catalogued; and consequently there are many gaps in available data. In this section the distribution of Arab tribes in the Province will be dealt with from South to North in rotation, according to their localities.

There were five tribes (sing. tā'ifa) in the Sanjaq of Gaza. Banū 'Aṭīyya was the largest and comprised 14 branches; paid an annual 'ādāt (tax) to the Sultān's Khāṣṣ amounting to 15,000 akḥes.¹ This tribe was not confined to that sanjaq only, but other branches were distributed over the strip parallel

1. T.D.1015 provides the names of the fourteen branches. al-Jazīrī provides names of 18 branches only many of which are common to both records. For comparison, see T.D.1015, p.19, al-Jazīrī, Durar al-fawā'id, pp.499-501. See also Lecerf, J., "Ashīra", E.I.2, vol.i, p.700. Sourdcl, D. "Ghazza", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.1056-7.

to the Red Sea coast as far as Maghārat Shu‘ayb.² Banū ‘Aṭā’, whose name is usually associated with that of Banū ‘Aṭīyya, especially during uprisings, was scarcely less important. It had nine branches and paid an annual ‘ādāt to the Sultān's Khāṣṣ of 12,500 akches.³ One of its branches occupied part of the Nāḥiyat of Qāra to the north of Damascus. The precise number of its households is not known but it appears to have been large and paid an ‘ādāt of 7,000 akches annually.⁴ Some of the members of this tribe in the Sanjaq of Gaza seem to have been engaged in agriculture. A record shows that it owned land in five villages in addition to a mazra‘a, (farm).⁵ A timar with the revenue of 26,080 akches annually is also registered as being shared between this tribe and the tribe of Sawālmah.⁶ Sawālmah comprised nine branches and paid 12,500 akches per annum as ‘ādāt.⁷ Perhaps some branches of this tribe had migrated northwards as towards the beginning of the seventeenth century a certain tribe by the name of Sawālmah is mentioned as occupying an area near Ramlah in Palestine.⁸ Jarm, with its 12 branches, was the fourth tribe. Its annual payment as an ‘ādāt to the Sultān's Khāṣṣ was 10,000 akches.⁹

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2. al-Jazīrī, Durar al-fawā'id, pp.410, 499-502. For the Red Sea see Becker, C.H. / Beckingham, C.F. 7, "Baḥr al-Ḳulzum", E.1.2, vol.i, pp.931-3.
 3. For names of branches see T.D.1015, p.20.
 4. T.D.430, p.20. T.D.401, p.147.
 5. Banū ‘Aṭā's share in the revenue was 5,610 akches annually which might indicate that the land owned by them was not large. T.D.1015, pp.68, 75, 78, 83, 97, 108.
 6. T.D.998, p.291.
 7. For names of branches see T.D.1015, p.20.
 8. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, p.185. Concerning Ramlah see Honigmann, E., "al-Ramla", E.1.1, vol.iii, pp.115-7. For Palestine see Sourdell, D., "Filasṭīn", E.1.2, vol.ii, pp.910-3.
 9. For names of branches see T.D.1015, p.19. According to al-Ḥamdānī the Muhimindār (d.770/1301) as quoted by Ḡalqashandī (d.821/1418), Jarm was one of the clans of the big tribe of Ṭayy. This clan lived in the region of Ḥawrān, some had migrated into Egypt. Ḡalqashandī, =

The fifth tribe in the Sanjaq of Gaza was that of Hutaym which had two branches. Their total payment to the Sultan's Khass was 8,000 akches.¹⁰ 106 households of this tribe lived in Marj around Damascus and their annual 'adat was 8,500 akches.¹¹

It appears that most of the population of the Sanjaq of Karak-Shawbak were nomads. Some branches of Banū 'Aṣṣiyya, mainly the branch of Ka'ābnah, were living parallel to the Red Sea coast.¹² Further inland, in the south, the land was inhabited by the tribe of Huwayṭāt, while Banū Lām al-Mafāriḥ, which was composed of four branches, had their holdings in the north.¹³ Neither a mention of the number of their households nor any reference to payment of 'adat to the Ottomans is made concerning either tribe.

Ottoman defters do not mention which tribes were living in the Balqā' but al-Khalīdī al-Ṣafadī (d.1034/1624) states that there were two

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- = quoting al-Ḥamdānī, gives the names of branches of this tribe, Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat ansāb al-'Arab, (edited by 'Alī al-Khāqānī, Baghdad 1958), pp.195-6.
10. The two branches were Samā and al-Ṣāmid. T.D.1015, p.19. A branch of this tribe lived in norther Ḥijāz. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulī (d.1143/1731) mentions that he passed by an Arab tribe called Hutaym. He exchanged his filly for a camel with Irshud, a member of that tribe. al-Ḥaḡiqat wa al-majāz fī riḥlat Bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr wa al-Ḥijāz, MS. No.2376, Esad Efendi Library, Istanbul, fols.249b-250a. See also Schleifer, J., "Hutaim", E.I.1, vol.ii, pp.348-9; Rentz, G., "Hutaym", E.I.2, vol.iii, pp.641-2.
11. T.D.423, p.99.
12. al-Jazīrī, Durar al-fawā'id, pp.410, 497, 501. For the history of al-Karak and al-Shawbak under the Mamlūks see Bakhīt, M.A., Mamlakat al-Karak fī al-'ahd al-Mamlūkī, M.A. Thesis, the American University of Beirut, 1965. See also Buhl, F.R., "al-Kerak", E.I.1, vol.ii, p.855. Honigmann, E., "al-Shawbak", E.I.1, vol.iv, pp.340-1.
13. According to Qutb al-Dīn al-Nahravālī (d.990/1582), Huwayṭāt was a branch of the Banū 'Uqba, which was the main Arab tribe in the Mamlakah of al-Karak under the Mamlūks. Its chief was recognized by the Mamlūk Sultans. On writing to him the title Sāmī was used. Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, p.364. Ṣubḥ, vol.vii, p.188. Nahravālī, al-fawā'id, pp.271-4. Banu Lām was divided into 4 main clans each of which comprised a number of branches. For names and divisions of branches see al-Jazīrī, Durar, p.514. See also Schleifer, J., "al-Huwayṭāt", E.I.1, vol.ii, p.349; Rentz, G., "al-Huwayṭāt", E.I.2, vol.iii, pp.642-4.

tribes by the name of Jahāwīshah and Da'jah who lived there.¹⁴ Under the Mamlūks this area was inhabited by the tribes of Banū Mahdī and Banū Ṣakhr.¹⁵ The only allusion to them is that four mazra'ās (farms) in al-Ghawr near Baysān were entrusted to them to cultivate.¹⁶ In addition, a mazra'a in al-Ghawr was cultivated by a certain tribe by the name of Karīm.¹⁷ The tribe of Banū Manzūr occupied land to the east of al-Ghawr at the Nāḥiyat of Banū Jahma. There were 145 households, each paying 23 akches annually as an 'ādat. In addition to the bād-i havā the total amount of money levied from it was 5,835 akches. Three mazra'ās which yielded 3,736 akches yearly to the treasury were given to this tribe to cultivate.¹⁸ The tribe of Banū Sa'id was distributed in the two neighbouring Nāḥiyas of Banū A'sar and Banū Kināna. It had 226 households and its 'ādat was 16,260 akches and it was part of the income of the governor of Damascus. Altogether, in addition to resm-i 'arūs (marriage fees) and bād-i havā, it paid annually 50,000 akches.¹⁹ Near to Banū Sa'id, in the Nāḥiyat of Banū 'Ātikah, the tribe of

14. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, p.119. For Balqā' see Sourdcl-Thomine, J., "al-Balqā'" E.I.2, vol.i, pp.997-8.
15. Mamlūk sources mention that Banū Ṣakhr were composed of six branches. For names see al-'Umarī, Masālik, MS. Topkapisaray, No:2797, vol.iii, part i, fol.24a. al-Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, pp.132, 141, 147, 303, 442, 447. Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.243. Banū Mahdī was a branch of Judām. It lived in the region of al-Balqā', under the Mamlūks, and was divided into 25 branches. See Qalqashandī, Qalā'id, p.66.
16. The two mazra'ās entrusted to them in al-Ghawr were Ḥakmiyyat and Ḥamām. They yielded annually 4,500 akches to the treasury but in 944 these two mazra'ās were left uncultivated which indicates that this part of Banū Mahdī reverted to its old nomadic life. The mazra'ās of Iṣṭabā and Jubūl al-Suflā yielding annually 11,000 akches were in the custody of Banū Ṣakhr. T.D.192, pp.35-6. See also Buhl, F.R. (Sourdcl, D.), "al-Ghawr", E.I.2, vol.ii, pp.1024-5.
17. T.D.192, p.37.
18. T.D.192, pp.47-52, the registered amount of money due for collection was 5,835 akches, but if every household paid 23 akches, plus 2,600 bād-i havā, the total amount would be 5,935 akches.
19. T.D.275, pp.41-5. T.D.423, p.106.

Rabī'a of 31 households was established. Each household paid twenty akches yearly as an 'ādāt. Together with 400 akches collected from it as bād-i havā, it paid 1,020 akches every year.²⁰ A tribe by the name of Hāmid lived in the Nāhiyat of Jaydūr in Ḥawrān. It was given a timar which yielded annually 2,000 akches.²¹ Lajāh, in Southern Ḥawrān, referred to as Jabal, was one of the main centres for the gathering of Arab tribes. Defters refer to tribes living there as 'Urbān-i Jabal'; also the name of Fuqarā' i-i 'Urbān-i Jabal is frequently used to refer to some of these tribes. There were twenty-one jamā'at, and their total number in 958/1551 was 1122 households. According to the 977/1569 survey their number dramatically dropped to 858 households plus 137 bachelors.²² This decrease is in agreement with the pattern noticed when the demography of the ^{Liwā'} ~~province~~ was dealt with. These jamā'at were dominated by Banū Nu'aym one branch of which lived in al-Biqā' and another in the Nāhiyat of al-Ḥāwla. The 'ādāt, bād-i-havā and resm-i arūs paid by Banū Nu'aym of Jabal and Al Diyāb (Dhiyāb?) are given in the defters as follows:

Year	amount/ <u>akches</u>
936/1529	6,000 ²³
958/1551	18,134 ²⁴
977/1569	10,500 ²⁵

20. T.D.192, p.45.

21. M.M.No:17642, p.31.

22. For the census of 'Arab-i Jabal in 958/1551 and 977/1567 see T.D.275, pp.84-105; T.D.491, pp.403/21. Tapu Defters do not differentiate between the terms ḡā'ifa and jamā'at, both of which can be translated "groups". By comparison of tribal numbers, however, it is evident that those referred to as 'ḡā'ifa are small in number while those of 'jamā'at are large. For Lajah see Yāqūt who spells it al-Llājah, Mu'jam, vol. iv, p.350.

23. T.D.169, p.2.

24. T.D.275, p.89.

25. T.D.491, pp.403-5.

By comparing the amount paid in 958/1551 and 977/1569, one sees that in 977/1569 they paid a little less than two-thirds. This coincides with the decrease in the number of the households. A similarity is noticeable in the decrease of money paid by the rest of the tribes in that area. In 958/1551 ‘ādat reached 70,000 akches, but in 977/1569 it dropped to 5,000.²⁶ It is worth mentioning that a branch of ‘Urbānī: Jabal by the name of Āl ‘Atīq numbering 21 households was at that time living in the Nāḥiyat of Banū Nashba. The nature of taxes paid by it indicates that this tribe was engaged in agriculture.²⁷

Twelve Arab ja’ifās lived in the Nāḥiyat of Marj Banū ‘Āmir (Esdraelon). Their households numbered 104 in 944/1537,²⁸ and their ‘ādat was 30,000 akches annually.²⁹ Other small tribes in Marj Banū ‘Āmir such as Banū Aslam, Banū Ghaliḥ and Banū Qaṭārna, Banū Zughayb and Ta‘ākna (Da‘ākna?) were living as cultivators.³⁰ In this area, two jamā‘at known as Munjid Walad

26. T.D.275, p.105; T.D.491, p.421.

27. They paid 12 ghirāra of wheat, 10 ghirāra of barley, 150 akches for māl-i sayfi, 100 akches as fees for goats and bees, and 85 akches for resm-i ‘arūs and bād-i havā. The total amount was 3,935 akches.

28. For names and census of the twelve ja’ifās see T.D.192, pp.57-8. Under the Mamlūks Marj Banū ‘Āmir constituted a separate ‘amal in the Province of Ṣafad. It was mainly inhabited by Yamanī tribes. For its description see al-‘Uḥmānī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d.700/1373), Tārīkh Ṣafad, edited by B. Lewis under the title of "An Arabic Account of the Province of Safad", BSOAS, vol.xv (1953, pp.477-88), p.483. Shorter reference, ‘Uḥmānī, Tārīkh Ṣafad. See also Kramers, J.H. "Ṣafad", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.51-2.

29. T.D.192, p.58.

30. Banū Aslam, who were composed of nine households, were mentioned as living in the village of Ta‘naq which was originally a mazra‘a but became a village. They paid in kind 22.5 ghirāra of wheat valuing 2,700 akches, 11 ghirāra of barley equal to 792 akches. In addition their ma‘ādiyya (tax on cows?) was 360 akches and their bād-i havā was 90 akches. Banū Ghaliḥ and Banū Qaṭārna who comprised 12 households lived in the village of ‘Amāra which had been a mazra‘a but became a village. They gave as the treasury share of the produce 23 ghirāra of wheat equal in value to 3,120 akches, and 7 ghirāra of barley valuing 490 akches. Their ma‘ādiyya and goats fees were 280 akches and 175 akches respectively. The total amount was 4,175. The 110 extra akches =

Zayn Sharaf and Mujir Sharaf retained their nomadic life. Each had to provide annually young camels equal to 800 akches as ḥaqq-i mara'ā (pasture tax). It is understood from a note in one of the defters that this was collected in accordance with the old custom and it had not been altered.³¹ Further to the north-east, Banū Hāritha to whom the leading family of Ṭarabāy belonged, livead near Jacob's Daughter's Bridge. Their households totalled 51 paying annually 3,555 akches as an 'ādāt. Three other tribes, Kalbayn, Shurafā and Shūmar lived near Banū Hāritha. Their total number was 56 households and their total annual 'ādāt was 4,830 akches.³² The following tribes lived in Nahiyat of Hūla:-

Name	No. of households	Bachelors	No. of households	Bachelors
Banū <u>Shaybān</u>	95	3	116	3
Banū <u>Nu'aym</u>	51	1	120	4
Banū <u>Ghanī</u>			136	4
Banū <u>Nimr</u>			22	1
Banū <u>Yūsuf</u>			11	
Banū <u>'Alī</u>	57			
Banū <u>'Arab</u>	25			

= might have been in return for the bād-i havā. Banū Zughayb were 19 households who lived in the village of Qulayl. Three mazra'ās were in their custody. They paid one fourth of the produce of these three mazra'ās to the treasury. In addition to ma'ādiyyah and bād-i havā the total amount they paid annually was 8,380 akches. Arab Ta'akana farmed the Mazra'a of 'Ayn Jarzah for which they paid the treasury 500 akches. T.D.192, pp.9, 11-2, 18-9, 58-9, 64.

31. T.D.192, pp.59-60.

32. T.D.300, pp.75, 176, 216-7.

33. T.D.430, pp.401-3.

34. T.D.401, pp.706-13.

There is a noticeable rise in the number of households of Banū Shaybān and Banū Nu‘aym. It is, also, to be noted that the names of Banū Ghānī, Banū Nimr and Banū Yūsuf do not appear in the first survey. This may mean that they either migrated into this place after the first survey was made, or that the first survey was not thorough. In the second survey the names of Banū ‘Alī and Banū ‘Arab do not appear. They may have migrated to another place since all of them were described as migratory. It was their habit to spend winter in ^{Hawla} Hūla and summer in al-Biqā‘.³⁵ In 930/1523 all of them were paying 2,000 akches as himāya (protection tax). In addition to this sum, ‘Alī had to pay 2,000 akches annually but the reason is not given. If any tribe among them was sufficiently enterprising and cultivated land, it had to pay additional taxes.³⁶ Their total payment as an ‘adat according to T.D.401 was 15,000 akches.³⁷ In 930/1523 there were 16 additional tribes to those already mentioned who lived in the Nāḥiyat of Hūla but their names do not appear in other surveys. They paid a total ‘adat of 5,536 akches,³⁸ which indicates that they were a comparatively small jamā‘at.

al-Biqā‘, around which Arab tribal activities centred, is as fertile as ^{Hawla} Hūla. According to the survey of 958/1551 there were 25 jamā‘at with an aggregate of 700 households. The largest amongst them was a tribe by the name of Banū ‘Aṣṣ (?). The number of its households in 958/1551 was 171. In 977/1569 the number had lessened to 112 households. Neither the origin or even the exact pronunciation of its name is known, nor is it mentioned in the local Arabic sources. The second largest amongst them was Banū Nu‘aym

35. T.D.401, p.710. See also Sourdcl-Thomine, J., "al-Biqā‘", E.I.2, vol.i, p.1214.

36. T.D.430, pp.401-3.

37. T.D.401, p.710.

38. For names and money paid by them, see T.D.430, p.403.

comprising 76 households, while others varied between 4 and 63. According to the survey of 977/1569 the total number of Arab households in al-Biqā' was 590.³⁹ In this survey the names of Āl 'Alī, Āl Faḍl and Banū Nu'aym al-Qabbāla do not appear. It had the names of two jamā'at: Hājī b. Sayf and Kassāb numbering 21 and 19 households respectively, which are not shown in the survey of 958/1551. According to this survey all these jamā'at were paying an 'ādat of 40,000 akches annually,⁴⁰ while in 977/1569 their total payment was 23,000 akches.⁴¹ It is to be noted that the decline in the number of households is matched by a decrease in the revenue collected from this tribe.

The Ḥanash Family, which had dominated the tribes of al-Biqā' till 976/1568, and which also was granted authority and the right of tax farming by the Ottomans, is not mentioned in the Tapu Defters but one finds this information in the Muḥimme Defteri.

Āl 'Alī, described by Arab genealogists as a large tribe living in Marj and Ghawṭa around Damascus,⁴² had a branch comprising 9 households which lived in al-Biqā'. Defters do not mention their number in the vicinity of Damascus but state the amount of their payment in 932/1525 as 9,042 akches,⁴⁴ and in 934/1527 it fell to 3,100 akches.⁴⁵ Āl 'Alī had timars in Gaza,

39. For names and census see T.D.275, pp.105-118; T.D.491, pp.421-33.

40. T.D.275, p.118.

41. T.D.491, p.433.

42. Āl 'Alī were a branch of Āl Faḍl, their land was the Marj and Ghawṭa around Damascus. al-'Umarī, Masālik, fols.28a, 46a. al-Ta'rif, p.79. al-Qalqashandī, Subh, vol.iv, p.210; Qalā'id, p.81.

43. T.D.275, p.118.

44. They were paying 1,239 akches as resm-i 'arus, and 7,803 akches as ma'adiyya. T.D.998, p.286.

45. They were providing thirty camels and ten horses equal to 11,000 akches; their ma'adiyya was 2,000 akches. No reference has been made to the fees of ghafāra. T.D.169, p.26.

Hawrān, Nāḥiyat Banū Kilāb, Qāra and Tadmur which indicates that they were a large tribe with branches in all these places.⁴⁶ Most probably they engaged in agriculture and became semi-established villagers. This may explain the decline in payments.

Recurring references are made to a tribe by the name of 'Utayba. It comprised 11 households living near the lake of 'Utayba in Marj to the east of Damascus and were chiefly fishermen. The proceeds from their hunting and fishing had to be sent to Dukkān al-Tayr in Damascus; and they were prohibited from selling any of their catches anywhere else. They were commanded to produce 300 fish daily during the season and no excuse was accepted for failure. In addition, 1,000 akches as fayda-i muqāṭa'at-i sayd-i samak (fishery tax) was required from them annually.⁴⁷

II. Amīr al-'Arab

The institution of the Arab Emirate in Bilād al-Shām which was officially recognized by al-Malik al-'Ādil of the Ayyūbids (596/1196-616/1218) and maintained by the Mamlūk Sulṭāns,⁴⁸ was preserved by the Ottomans during the sixteenth century. The grant of an iqṭā' to an amīr of

46. Āl 'Alī had one fourth of the village of Mutbīn in the Nāḥiyat of Banū Kilāb as their timar. It yielded 1,350 akches annually. It is most likely it was the same timar referred to in T.D.998 which was mentioned in Hawrān without specifying the location. Their second timar was in the village of Nabk in the Nāḥiyat of Qāra. They had $3\frac{1}{5}$ qirāt of the village which yielded 2,293 akches annually. Their timar in Gaza gave a return of 26,080 akches, and their timar in Marj and Ghawṭa returned 9,670 akches. T.D.430, pp.13, 350; T.D.998, pp.286, 289, 291.
47. The River Baradā carries the drainage and sewage of Damascus and its villages, and flows to the east of Damascus. Its water there forms Lake 'Utayba. It was renowned for its reeds and rushes which were thick enough for a hiding place and gave good hunting and fishing. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vol.i, p.516. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ansārī al-Dimashqī (d.727/1327), Nukhbat, p.198. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.84. al-Badri, Nuzhat, p.255; T.D.263, p.237; T.D.474, p.247. Lammens, H. "Baradā", E.I.I, vol.i, p.652. Ellisseeff, N., "Baradā", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.1029-30. See also Chapter V, p.172.
48. al-'Umārī, Masālik, MS. vol.iii, part i, fol.29a. Qalqashandī, =

‘Arab-i Shām, customary under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks,⁴⁹ was continued by the Ottomans as a timar. This yielded an annual sum of 7,193 akches.⁵⁰ The amīr had to supply the Ottomans with 1,050 young camels every year; the value of each was 200 akches. In addition he had to provide them with 30 young horses each valued at 1,000 akches. The total value of these animals, which amounted to 240,000 akches, formed part of the revenues of the Sultān from the province of Damascus.⁵¹

Available sources do not explain the prerogatives or the function of the post of the amīr neither do they shed any light upon his status in the administration of Syria. The qānūnnāme of Damascus does not refer to the Arab tribes nor to the function of the amīr. It is not clear whether the approval of the Sultān was needed for the recognition of the amīr by the Arab tribes and the officials in general.

According to Arabic sources the office was hereditary in the house of Āl Ḥayār of Āl Faḍl at Salamiya.⁵² Mudlij b. Zāhir b. ‘Assāf b. ‘Ijl al-Ḥayārī was amīr al-‘Arab in Bilād al-Shām under the last Mamlūks and he continued to hold this office under the Ottomans until his death in 945/1538. Mudlij, who

= Ṣubḥ, vol. ix, p.254, vol. xii, p.293. Ḥayārī, M., al-Imārah al-‘Arabīyya, (M.A. Thesis, the American University of Beirut, 1969), pp.79, 106.

49. al-‘Umari, Masālik, MS. Ayāsufyā, vol. xxvii, fols.55a, 163a, b, vol. iii, Topkapı, fol.30a. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah, vol. xiii, p.221. Abu al-Fidā’, al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar, vol. iv, pp.71, 84. Maqrīzī, Sulūk, vol. ii, pp.144, 644.

50. He had one fourth of the revenue of the village of Nāmīr in the Nāḥiyat of Banū Mālīk in Ḥawrān. According to T.D.430, it yielded 2,200 akches which later increased to 2,843 akches. This timar was exempted from ‘ushr. He had another timar in the village of Masawīr in the Nāḥiyat of Banū Muqlid in Ḥawrān; it yielded 4,350 akches annually. T.D.430, p. 543; T.D.401, pp.682, 686.

51. T.D.169, p.2; T.D.263, p.175; T.D.423, p.6; T.D.401, p.53.

52. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, MS. Taymūriyya, No:2105, fol.181a, Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols.212b-213a. I.U.A.Y. No:3190, fols.218a, b. al-Būrīnī, Tarajim, vol. ii, pp.239-40. al-Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol. ii, p.222.

was reputed for his physical strength and his cruelty, came into conflict with the governor of Damascus 'Īsā Pāshā Bāk al-Fanārī (934/1523-937/1530). The causes of this conflict are not known. When 'Īsā tried to arrest Mudlij and kill him, he failed. When Mudlij died he was buried in the village of Asāwir; and his tomb was revered and visited by Bedouins who considered him to have been a man of sanctity.⁵³ He exerted great influence and fear during his life. As previously mentioned, Mudlij and his tribe were commissioned by Sulṭān Selīm after the battle of Marj Dābiq to escort Mamlūks officials from Aleppo to Damascus whom he robbed on the journey. The amīr was a law to himself and no one disputed his decisions as the following anecdote shows. While Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyya b. 'Ulwān al-Ḥamawī (d.936/1529) a renowned Sufi, was in seclusion (mu'takif) during the last third of Ramadān, Mudlij sent him three camels as a gift. Shaykh 'Ulwān was not able to refuse but, later, he gave orders to sell them and to distribute their price amongst the poor of the quarters in Ḥama; but nothing was to be given to the sufis there. Shaykh Shammā' (d.936/1529) commends his action by saying: "It was a wise policy where both the affairs of this mundane World and the Next were taken into consideration."⁵⁴

After his death Mudlij was succeeded by his son Zāhir; and there is no

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53. Radī al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr, MS. Taymūriyya, 2105. .. fol.181a. Nūrosmāniyya, No:3293, fols.212b-213a. I.U.A.Y. No:3190, fols.218a,b. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.250. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, (d.984/1576) relates that while he and his companions were travelling to Istanbul in 936/1529 they passed by the people of Mudlij near Hama; one of his companions saw a woman cutting green wheat. He told that it was against Shārī'a to do that. The woman replied, "Long live Mudlij, may God protect him, he allows us to do this and more", al-Maṭālī', al-badriyyah fī al-manāzil al-Rūmiyya. MS. Koprulu, No:1390, fol.21b. BM. Or.3621, fols.11a,b.
54. al-Shammā' 'Umar, Uyūn, MS. D.K. No:1639, fol.145b.

record of how long he retained his position before he was killed by one of his relatives called Aḥmad, al-‘Urādī (d. 1026/1615) relates that Zāhir was near the camp of Aḥmad who invited him to a meal. As food was being served, Aḥmad took Zāhir by surprise and struck off his head with a sword he had concealed in his sleeve. Aḥmad then confiscated his property and assumed the chieftainship. Zāhir's son, Mudliḥ, sought refuge with his two uncles; Dandan and Fayyād. Together they tried to avenge Zāhir but failed, as Aḥmad had the backing of most of the Arab tribes and was financially in a much better position than the avengers. It is said that during the last years of his life, Aḥmad associated with men of piety and began to repent. One day he met Dandan in the desert and offered him his life. Dandan refused and forgave him; and Aḥmad offered his daughter in marriage to Dandan.⁵⁵ When Aḥmad died he was succeeded by his son Shadīd who is described as tyrannical and brutal. He was obsessed with committing unlawful acts and met his death in a tent near Aleppo while playing chess. Mudliḥ, the son of Zāhir, was among those present, and repeated Aḥmad's own tactics and stabbed him with a dagger he had hidden (1018/1609).⁵⁶ Mudliḥ did not inherit the imārah but his uncle Fayyād assumed the position and retained it until his death in 1029/1618.⁵⁷ His eldest son, Sayf, was not fit for the imārah and Husayn his second son was too young. Nevertheless, the latter was recognized by the Arabs for a short

55. al-‘Urādī, ‘Umar, Ma‘ādin, MS. BM. Or:3618, fols.37a,b-38a.

56. The family kept its fortune in boxes in one tent which was well guarded day and night. Whoever owned it was the amīr of all Arabs. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.239-40. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, p.222.

57. al-‘Urādī, Ma‘ādin, fols.79a,b. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, p.80.

period, but when his cousin, Mudlij, disputed the succession and Mudlij became amīr they were outwardly reconciled. Each, however, secretly conspired against the other. Ḥusayn sought refuge with the Druze amīr of al-Shūf, Fakhr al-Dīn II who was approached by Mudlij to behead Ḥusayn. To cement the pact Mudlij offered his daughter in marriage to Fakhr al-Dīn's son 'Alī, and also the payment of 10,000 piastres together with ten horses. Fakhr al-Dīn refused this tempting proposal claiming that it was against his ethics and when Ḥusayn left Fakhr al-Dīn in 1033/1623 he went to Aleppo. From there, he began to prey on Mudlij's cattle. For the second time, Mudlij begged help from Fakhr al-Dīn but Fakhr al-Dīn, who had visited Mudlij's camp, told him that it was out of the question to attack Ḥusayn as it was winter and provisions would be in short supply. One night, disguised as a woman, Ḥusayn entered Mudlij's tent but Mudlij's wife who was Ḥusayn's step-mother, recognizing him, warned him and he fled. Not long after Ḥusayn fell into the hands of Murād Pāsha, the governor of Aleppo (1033-5/1623-5). Murād wrote to Mudlij telling him that he would behead Ḥusayn for 25,000 piastres which Mudlij paid immediately and Ḥusayn was suffocated in 1033/1623. Murād, next, attacked the camp of Ḥusayn, but Ḥusayn's followers repulsed him and stripped his soldiers of their clothes.⁵⁸ This victory, however, did not prevent Mudlij from maintaining his position as amīr al-‘Arab.⁵⁹

III. Administrative and Tax-Farming Posts Entrusted to Bedouin Chieftains in the Province

After the occupation of Syria by Sulṭān Selīm in 922/1516, two Arab chieftains, Nāṣir al-Dīn b. al-Ḥanash and Ṭarabāy b. Garāja allied themselves

58. al-‘Urādī, Ma‘ādin, fols.79a, b-80a. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.88, 113, 156-8, 164. al-Ghazzī, Kāmil, Nahr al-dhahab, vol.iii, pp.278-9.

59. For the genealogical tree of Āl Ḥayār known as Āl Abū Rīsha, see appendix No.4 .

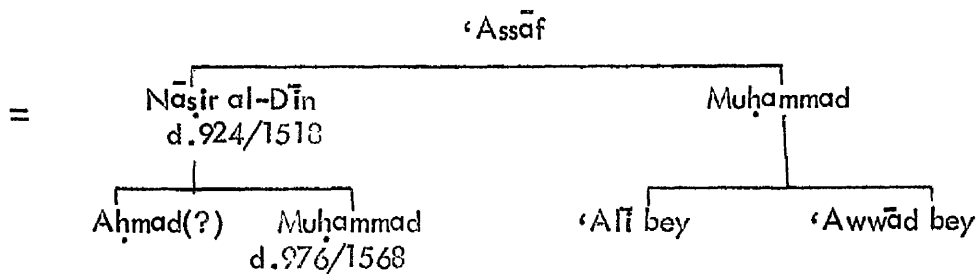
with Selīm. Nāṣir retained the administration of al-Biqāʿ, Bayrūt and Sidon which he had held under the Mamlūks. His sympathy extended, however, to sheltering some fugitive Mamlūks and for this reason he lost the Sultān's favour, and narrowly escaped arrest. Selīm's deputy, Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, captured and executed him in 924/1518;⁶⁰ and Ottoman officials were appointed to his office. When al-Ghazālī started his rebellion against the Ottomans in 926/1520, he dismissed Sinān the Ottoman governor of al-Biqāʿ and its dependencies and appointed the muqaddam (local chieftain) Aḥmad, one of the murdered Nāṣir al-Dīn, in his place. By his acceptance of this appointment, Aḥmad reinstated himself and his family in al-Biqāʿ, but available sources give no information of Ottoman reaction towards him after Jānbirdī's collapse. Nevertheless, the family continued to enjoy an influential position in the area, although the fate of Aḥmad remains obscure. Muḥammad, a brother of Aḥmad, is described in a waqfiyya dated 950/1543 as the amīr of al-Biqāʿ, Karak-Nūḥ and their dependencies. According to this waqfiyya, he endowed the cemetery of the tomb alleged to be that of the prophet Noah, with two watermills, three orchards, nine pieces of land and the halves of two other orchards, for its maintenance.⁶¹ It is evident, from this, that he owned land and was obviously wealthy.

60. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.123. Ibn Iyās, Badāʾiʿ, vol.v, pp.252-3. Faridān bey, Munshaʾat, vol.i, p.457. Hours, F., and Salibi, K., "Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanāsh", Melanges de l'université Saint-Joseph, Tome XLIII, Fasc.1, 1968, pp.3-23.

61. A MS copy of this waqfiyya is preserved in the Mudīriyyat al-Awqāf in Damascus dated 905/1499, but this should probably be 950/1543 since it mentions "the late Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥanāsh" and it is known that he was killed in 924/1518. Among the signatories were Ḥusayn Ḥarfūsh, who had a ziʿāmet in 977/1569, and his

cousins, ʿAwwād bey and ʿAlī bey, the sons of Muḥammad b. ʿAssāf al-Ḥanāsh, Sijillāt Awqāf Dimashq, vol.ii, pp.196-200. T.D.474, p.509. The genealogy of the Ḥanāsh family was as follows:-

Muḥammad was among the Arab chieftains who in 976/1568 were delegated to receive the Ṣafavid minister Ma‘ṣūm bey (d.976/1568) who was passing through Damascus on his way to Mecca as a pilgrim. Armed tribesmen and some Ottoman soldiers of Damascus formed a double line along the road between Damascus and the village of Ḥarastā, about eight kilometres to the north of Damascus.⁶² He was also amongst the Arab chieftains to whom a hūkūm (order) was sent by the Sulṭān on the 14th of Rabī‘ I 976/ 6th September, 1968, commanding them on threat of punishment not to accept exemption money (badal) from qualified archers drafted to serve under Muṣṭafā Pāshā, the governor of Damascus, when he was sent to fight rebels in the Yaman.⁶³ Muḥammad was, also, a tax-farmer



62. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.126a,b. Ma‘ṣūm bey served the Ṣafavid administration under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1542-76) as military commander, amīr al-dīwān and wazīr. In 976/1568 he made a pilgrimage in order to rouse pro-Ṣafavid Sufis against the Ottomans. The people of the Maḥallat al-Kharāb area in Damascus were overjoyed on his arrival. It was said that he felt Damascus and its surroundings worthy of being the Shāh's seat.

On learning this, the Sulṭān issued a hūkūm for his execution.

See al-Bidlīsī, Sharaf Khān (d.1007/1598?), Sharafnāme, 2 vols. (translated into Arabic by Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Awnī, Cairo, 1962), vol.i, p.334, vol.ii, pp.174, 184, 194-8, 206-10, 256. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols.126a,b. Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.150. Ibn Ayyūb and Ghazzī put the date of this execution in 974/1566. See also Savory, R.M., "The Principal Offices of the Ṣafavid State during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76)", BSOAS, vol.xxiv (1961, pp.65-85), pp.75-6.

63. M.D.vii, No:1250, 3rd of Shawwāl 975, p.433, No:1465, 26 Dhu'l Qa‘da, 975, p.509; No:1750, 18 Muḥarram 976, p.626; No:2026, p.739.

for Karak-Nūḥ and for al-Shūf. In 976/1568 he owed the treasury of Damascus 13,334 gold pieces (sikke altun). With an escort of three or four of his men, he went to Damascus with 4,000 gold pieces in part payment of his debt. But while he was there a rebellion ('isyān) broke out in the city and he was killed. His escort disappeared together with the money. The defterdār of Damascus reported the matter to the Sulṭān who commanded the governor, the qādī, and the defterdār to carry out an immediate investigation, and to act according to the Sharī'a. They were to use any means to collect the māl-i mīrī and the property of the escort was to be confiscated until the money was forthcoming.⁶⁴

At the time of Nāṣir's dismissal, he had written to Sulṭān Selīm referring to the land he had cultivated and of which he was probably the owner.⁶⁵

Tapu Defters prepared under Sulṭān Süleymān or Selīm II do not mention either the name of the Hanash Family or any land which may have been their property.

Nor were they included in the timar system as was the Qawwās Family, in

Shaḡhab, whose head, Yūnus, allied himself, with al-Ghazālī in his rebellion.⁶⁶

64. M.D.xiv, No:1487, 17th Ṣafar 979, p.1000.

65. Topkapi Saray Arşivi, No:10734.

66. Yūnus b. Qawwās at the head of his tribesmen was one of the main supporters of Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī in his rebellion. He was beheaded later in 927/1521 by Iyās Pāsha. In spite of that, members of his family benefited from the timar system. Aḥmad b. Qawwās in 935/1528 had a timar yielding 2,502 akches annually. Muḥammad had a zi'āmet, the available recorded yield being 1,666 akches yearly, which later increased to 17,703 akches. Mudlij the son of Yūnus started with a timar yielding 4,662 akches which in 952/1545 had increased to 5,999 akches. In 961/1553 he was promoted for his gallantry in action against the Hutaym tribes and his income increased to 9,920 akches. Ibn Ṭūlūn, I'lām, p.237. T.D.169, pp.50, 194, 202. T.D.423, p.110. M.M. No:17642, p.30.

With the death of Muḥammad in 976/1568 political prestige of the Ḥanash family came to an end.⁶⁷ From then onwards, a hitherto humble Bedouin family by the name of Furaykh began to assume influence. Maṣūr, its head, began life as a farm labourer (sing. rajjād). He became known as a scourge of lawlessness and as a man of great courage.⁶⁸ In 981/1573 together with a certain Ibn Shihāb and three thousand of their joint followers, attacked and plundered several villages in the region of Acre. Fifty or sixty of its inhabitants were killed, and although the Sultān commanded the arrest and punishment of all rebels⁶⁹ no further action appears to have been taken against him. The Ottomans became aware of his qualities as an administrator and he was given the government of al-Biqā'. Maṣūr hated the Drūze and the Shī'a and suggested that it was the Drūze who were responsible for the robbery of the Egyptian tribute in the vicinity of the Bay of 'Akkār in 992/1584. Ibrāhīm Pāsha, the former Ottoman viceroy in Egypt, on his way back to Istanbul, attacked the Drūze amīr, Qorqmās b. Ma'n and devastated many villages in the Shūf.⁷⁰ Shortly after the destruction of the Drūze amīr, the governments of Nāblus, Ṣafad and 'Ajlūn were given to Maṣūr in addition to that of al-Biqā'. He took this opportunity to employ forced labour (sukhra) to

67. In the seventeenth century references were made to members of a family by the name of Ḥanash in Ḥoms and they were mentioned as Bayt al-Ḥanash; if they belonged to the Ḥanash of al-Biqā' this indicates that part or all the family had migrated to Ḥoms. Muḥakkakarāt aḥad abnā' madīnat Ḥoms, 1100-1135, MS. at the Library of the American University of Beirut, MS. No. 956-9, T.181, pp.315, 353, 406, 407. I would like to thank Dr. A. Rafeq of the University of Damascus, who drew my attention to this manuscript and provided me with this information.

68. al-Ghazzī, Luṭf, fols.212a-b. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, p.426.

69. Heyd, U., Ottoman documents, pp.84-5, pp. For Acre see Buhl, F., "Akkā", E.I.1, vol.i, p.241, idem, E.I.2, vol.i, p.341.

70. al-Ghazzī, Luṭf, fol.213a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, p.426.

build himself two palaces, one at Qubb Ilyās in al-Biqā' and, for the other in Damascus, white marble was brought from the coast together with red stone from al-Biqā'.

In 998/1589 and 999/1590 he rose to even greater prominence when he was appointed as amīr al-ḥajj.⁷¹ Qorqmās, his son, was entrusted with the charge of al-Biqā'.⁷² He was also to have met his father en route from Mecca on the 19th of Ṣafar 999/ 17 December, 1590. Qorqmās, however, was arrested and, on Saturday 16th of Rabī' I the same year, 12th January 1591, was released as suddenly. It would seem that the governor tried to extract money from him and succeeded in obtaining 11,000 Sulṭānīs upon which he was appointed Subāshī of Sidon and Bayrūt. On the dismissal of Sinān Pāshā, the Grand Vizier in Istanbul, who was the patron of the Furaykhs, his son Muḥammad the governor of Damascus was also dismissed. Qānsūh al-Ghazzāwī, the previous amīr of 'Ajlūn, who had been displaced by Mansūr b. Furaykh, wrote to the Sulṭān pleading his own cause; Mansūr's behaviour, he said, had given cause for complaint. Perhaps, because of the complaint on the 25th of Muḥarram 1000/7th December 1591, a hūkūm arrived in Damascus which ordered the arrest of Qorqmās and his father who was returning from Mecca at the head of the pilgrims. About one hundred janissaries were sent to al-Biqā' to arrest Qorqmās, and he was brought in chains to Damascus. On the 27th of Muḥarram/9th December, the governor's stewards (sing. ketkhudā) were sent to Ṣafad to confiscate his property. Orders were issued to arrest Mansūr but it was said that Mansūr escaped by bribery. Contrary to the wishes of the Drūze amīr. Fakhr al-Dīn II, who desired their death, neither Mansūr nor Qorqmās was harmed. Qorqmās was released and his father was allowed to go free.

71. al-Ghazzī, Luff, fol.213a. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.iv, pp.426-7.

72. al-Būrīnī, Tarājim, fols.48a,b.

Fakhr al-Dīn's opportunity came in the year 1001/1592 when the new governor of Damascus, Murād Pāsha, landed in Sidon on his way to Damascus. He was well received by Fakhr al-Dīn, who poisoned his mind against Manṣūr and his son. On the arrival of Murād Pāsha in Damascus he declared an amnesty for Manṣūr. To gain his confidence, Murād Pāsha invited himself to lunch in Manṣūr's house. Later, Murād apologized for circumstances which rendered him unable to attend and asked Manṣūr to bring the food to the government house. Manṣūr acceded to his request and was summarily arrested. Murād wrote to Istanbul asking for instructions and a hukūm was sent to execute him. This was implemented on Tuesday, 13th of Rabī' II 1002/6 January 1594. The governor instructed Fakhr al-Dīn to arrest Qorqmās who was, at that time, in the village of Bawārish in al-Biqā'. Qorqmās with about one hundred musketeers fled to Yūsuf Pāsha Sayfā asking for asylum. This was refused and his followers gradually dispersed. In 1003/1594 Qorqmās fell into the hands of the Shi'ite amīr Mūsā b. Ḥarfūsh who, impelled by Fakhr al-Dīn, killed him.⁷³ With the removal of the Sunnite family of Furaykh, al-Biqā' and its dependencies as well as Sidon and Bayrūt, passed into the hands of Fakhr al-Dīn II. One immediate result was that the governor of Damascus came into direct contact with a Druze amīr who controlled not only the Shūf but the coastal area stretching from Bayrūt to Tyre, a development which led ultimately to the defeat of Fakhr al-Dīn and his execution in Istanbul in 1045/1635.

Sultān Selīm confirmed Ṭarabāy b. Qarāja in the position

73. Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, pp.49-50. Ibn Ayyūb, *Rawḍ*, fols.213b-214a. al-Khālidi, *Tārīkh*, p.135. al-Ghazzi, *Kawākib*, vol.iii, p.202. Lutf, fols.212b-213a. Muhibbī, *Khulāṣat*, vol.iv, pp.426-32.

he had previously held under the Mamlūks as amīr al-darbayn (amīr of the two roads: Damascus-‘Uyūn al-Tujjār-Cairo and Damascus-‘Uyūn al-Tujjār-Jerusalem) of Marj Banū ‘Āmīr. Relations between the victorious Sulṭān and Ṭarabāy were cordial to the extent that the Sulṭān wrote a personal communication, informing him of the victory at Raydāniyya and commanding him to arrest any fugitive Mamlūks and to establish firm control of the territory under his authority. Ṭarabāy reciprocated with congratulations on the Sulṭān's victory and assured him that he was in firm control of all routes. In addition he emphasized his care of the people and his determination to improve the land.⁷⁴ Ṭarabāy was among those who bade Sulṭān Selīm farewell when he left Damascus; in this connection he was described as the nā'ib (governor) of Ṣafad.⁷⁵

According to the preamble of a Tapu Defter dated 945/1538, Ṭarabāy was a tax-farmer of villages in Marj Banū ‘Āmīr, Nāḥiyat Banū Kināna, Banū Jahmah and in Nāḥiyat Qāqūn in the Sanjaq of Nāblus. The area under his jurisdiction comprised 1,232 households, 10 bachelors and an imām. He collected as much as 1,042,608 akches annually.⁷⁶ This amount, undoubtedly, indicates his importance.

74. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.43. Topkapi Saray Arşivi, No:6341 .

75. Ibn Tūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.82. For the general history of this family see von Oppenheim, Max Freiherr, Die Beduinen, Band II (Leipzig, 1943), pp.51-5.

76. For the names of these villages and their revenue and for the census of the population see T.D.192, pp.1-77.

Ṭarabāy survived at least until 957/1550 when he is mentioned in a Māliya Defter as the holder of iqṭā' in 959/1551.⁷⁷ His family, together with Banū Tūba, Banū Ḥasan and Banū Ṣakhr, were in a state of rebellion in 959/1551 but despite this, it appears that they retained control of Lajjūn.⁷⁸ In 966/1559 'Alī b. Ṭarabāy was among those Arab chieftains who received a hūkūm from Sultān Sulaymān commanding the arrest of Prince Bāyezīd who was trying to escape to the Arab lands.⁷⁹ In a hūkūm dated 972/1564 a certain Kamāl is described as the bey of Lajjūn which probably indicates that the Ottomans endeavoured to get rid of the family of Tarabāy.⁸⁰ It would appear that the family was reinstated because in 979/1571 'Assāf b. Tarabāy received a hūkūm from Sultān Selīm II written in Arabic praising him for his care in guarding the roads which passed through Lajjūn between Damascus and Cairo.⁸¹ A few months later, 'Assāf requested the grant of the Sanjaq of Nāblus in return for guarding its roads and the collection of revenues including the arrears of the previous ten years. He also offered to establish law and order in this Sanjaq and promised to build a tower (burj) at Khān Ḥamrā on the highway to Cairo between Qāqūn and Jaljūlya, a resort of brigands.⁸² 'Assāf's request was not granted

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77. For his iqṭā' and revenues see T.D.401, pp.611, 614, 630, 637. M.M. No:15543, pp.48-9. See also T.D.192, p.10, for a watermill he owned and which yielded 2,700 akches to the treasury.
78. K.888, Sultān Ahmet III Library, fols.432a-b. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.95-6. al-'Uthmānī mentions that Lajjūn constituted part of the 'amāl of Marj Banū 'Āmir in the province of Ṣafad. It was inhabited by Yamanī tribes. Tārīkh, p.483. See also Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol. iv, pp.154-5. Yāqūt also describes it, Mu'jam, vol. iv, p.351. See also Le Strange, C., Palestine under The Moslems (London, 1890), pp.39, 41, 492.
79. M.D.iii, No:59, 20 Ramadān 966. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.65-7.
80. M.D.vi, No:240, 9 Rabī' I 972. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.104-5.
81. M.D.xvi, No:281, 14 Rajab 979. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.20; 52.
82. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.109-110.

perhaps because he failed to join the Ottoman campaign against Persia as commanded.⁸³ In 991/1583 he was dismissed from Lajjūn. At that time rebellions were widespread and it was feared that he might have joined them. The new Sanjaqbey of Lajjūn and timar holders were granted military exemption in order to restore law and order.⁸⁴ ‘Assāf was exiled to Rhodes but he appealed to the Sulṭān for pardon and pledged himself to make Lajjūn prosperous if it were given to him. The Sulṭān issued a hūkūm to the governor of Damascus in 997/1589 instructing him to allow ‘Assāf to settle in the town of Lajjūn together with his people. From Qāqūn to Qunaytira would be ‘Assāf's responsibility and the governor was to report his achievement to the Sulṭān. If he were successful ‘Assāf would be given a sanjaq.⁸⁵ ‘Assāf went to Damascus a year later, in the hope of receiving the promised sanjaq but he was arrested and killed there by the governor's order.⁸⁶

‘Assāf was succeeded by his nephew Ṭarabāy the son of ‘Alī; and Ṭarabāy governed in Lajjūn until his death in 1010/1601.⁸⁷ He was followed by his son Aḥmad who retained the government of Lajjūn until his death in 1057/1647.⁸⁸ During his long reign he came into conflict with Fakhr al-Dīn II. In 1021/1612 he gave asylum to the amīr's bitter enemy, the Kurdish Sunnite chieftain Yūsuf Pāsha Sayfā and refused to kill him in accordance with the desire of Fakhr al-Dīn.⁸⁹ In the following year Aḥmad and Yūsuf, together with

83. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.45, 74.

84. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.77-8.

85. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.52-3.

86. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.53, n.6.

87. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, p.221.

88. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, pp.221-2.

89. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, p.6.

the governor of Damascus joined against Fakhr al-Dīn.⁹⁰ Relations improved slightly after Fakhr al-Dīn's return from Tuscany in 1027/1617, when Aḥmad sent a number of horses to him by his Ketkhudā (steward). In the following year Fakhr al-Dīn cultivated a piece of land near the estate of Aḥmad and gave half its produce to Aḥmad.⁹¹ Relations began to deteriorate when in 1032/1622, Fakhr al-Dīn plundered Aḥmad's villages as part of his own expansion. A battle was fought at a point of the River 'Awjā, north of Jaffa. Aḥmad repulsed Fakhr al-Dīn and regained the booty taken from his villages. Again in 1033/1623, Aḥmad defeated the army of Fakhr al-Dīn near the 'Awjā River and peace was concluded between them.⁹²

At his death Aḥmad was succeeded by his eldest son Zayn who ruled until he died in 1071/1660. Zayn's brother Muḥammad was next in succession and ruled until his death in 1082/1671.⁹³ During the next six years, three of Muḥammad's nephews ruled for short periods.⁹⁴ By 1088/1677 the family had virtually ceased to be a ruling power when an Ottoman official Aḥmad Pāsha al-Tarazī was appointed to govern Lajjūn.⁹⁵ The family remained there, as records show that Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulī (d.1143/1731), the great Sufi of Damascus, visited Jinīn on his journey to Jerusalem and met the surviving amīrs of the Ṭarabāy family. Concerning them, he says "They are

90. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.22, 25.

91. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.69, 86.

92. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp.140-1, 186-9, 197-8.

93. al-Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol i, p.222.

94. al-Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, p.222. See also Sharon, M., "The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine in the 16th and 17th centuries", Proceedings of the International Seminar on the History of Palestine and its Jewish Settlement During the Ottoman Period, (Jerusalem 1970), pp.15-8, 23-4.

95. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.i, p.222.

now in eclipse".⁹⁶

Administrative posts were given to members of the Ghazzāwī family in the Sanjaq of 'Ajlūn by the Ottomans. Sources mention the name of Muḥammad b. Sā' id al-Ghazzawī, who rebelled more than once against the Mamlūks and against whom Sulṭān Selīm sent a punitive expedition in 922/1516. The outcome of this expedition appears to have ended with co-operation between him and the Ottomans. In 923/1517 while Sulṭān Selīm was preparing to despatch the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca, Muḥammad informed him that there was chaos on the road to Mecca owing to disagreement among the tribes, and that the pool of al-Ukhayḍir was low during that year. This report compelled the Sulṭān to cancel the caravans to Mecca.⁹⁷ His relations with Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī during his vice-royalty were most likely not cordial, since al-Ghazālī had caused a son and a grandson of Muḥammad to be hanged in Damascus.⁹⁸ It seems therefore improbable that he supported al-Ghazālī in his rebellion.

Available sources do not refer to the status given to Muḥammad by the Ottomans nor do they mention the date of his death. After his death, the head of the family was Qānṣūh b. Masā' dah b. Muslim al-Ghazzāwī. He wrote a letter to the Sulṭān from which he first appears as being in the service of the pilgrims' caravan. His first appointment in 959/1551 was when he was made governor of Karak-Shawbak. The Sulṭān issued two hūkūms commanding the governor of Damascus to help Qānṣūh to reconstruct and revive the land. The governor was also told to co-operate with him and assist him in keeping

96. al-Nābulṣī, 'Abd al-Ghanī, al-Ḥadrah al-unsīyya fī al-riḥlah al-Qudsiyya, MS. 'Ātif Efendi, Istanbul, No:1880, fol.20b.

97. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, pp.36, 38, 71. I'lām, p.225.

98. Ibn Ṭūlūn, Mufākahat, vol.ii, p.121.

in check the Bedouin tribes, especially Hutaym and al-‘Umr as they habitually made hit and run attacks on the inhabitants of the sanjaq, and to retreat to neighbouring sanjaqs such as Jerusalem and Nāblus. Neighbouring officials were warned not to allow the Bedouins to take refuge in their sanjaqs, and, if they did so, they were to be arrested and handed back to be tried in accordance with the Sharī‘a. If necessary, sanjaqbeys were to mobilize their military forces to help Qānṣūh in his work.⁹⁹ Available sources do not record either the success or the failure of Qānṣūh or how long he was a sanjaqboy of Karak-Shawbak. After that he served for four years as the sanjaqbey of ‘Ajlūn. It is probable that he was there between 972/1564 and 976/1568 because in 976/1568 the Sulṭān wrote to the governor of Damascus informing him that he had heard that Qānṣūh was oppressing the people and that he was to arrest Qānṣūh and interrogate him. If guilty, he must be made to give restitution to the people.¹⁰⁰ Qānṣūh was asked to answer for several offences. He was reputed to have appropriated 15,000 gold pieces which had been allocated for the reconstruction and repair of the pool of Qatrāna on the pilgrim route to Mecca. Moreover, while he was sanjaqbey of ‘Ajlūn, he promised the treasury of Damascus 20,000 filori which he did not pay.¹⁰¹ The governor was instructed to arrest Qānṣūh by strategy if necessary. Qānṣūh was offered 1,000 akchas which he was to collect in person, thus exposing himself to easy arrest, where he could be forced to redeem his

99. K.888, fols.196a, b, the third and the sixth of Jumādā, 959.

100. M.D.vii, No:2041, 16 Rabī‘ I, 976, p.745.

101. M.D.vii, No:2317, 28 Rabī‘ II, 976, p.847.

broken promises.¹⁰² He was also accused of inciting rebellion amongst the tribes.¹⁰³ However, every attempt to arrest him¹⁰⁴ either by strategy or force failed.

It appears that the Sulṭān decided to exploit Qānṣūh's influence among the Bedouins by appointing him as amīr al-ḥajj in 977/1569.¹⁰⁵ In this connection, when he informed the Sulṭān that the citadel near the pool of Zīzyā' en route to Mecca was in bad condition, the Sulṭān instructed the governor of Damascus to send builders to repair it.¹⁰⁶ The next year, Qānṣūh was not appointed amīr al-ḥajj because Salāmah b. Nu'aym and Naṣrullah, the two Shaykhs of the Mafārijah tribes, were in conflict with him. The governor of Damascus appointed 'Uqāb, a relative of Salāmah, to the post. Muḥammad Bahrī, amīr al-ḥūr of the pilgrims' caravan, submitted a report to the Sulṭān in 978/1570 about this matter and he pointed out that Qānṣūh belonged to the kizilli (Red = Qaysis) faction. Salāmah belonged to the Akili (White = Yamanīs) and emphasized that there were thirty-five stations en route to Mecca. Moreover, only three of them were kizilli while the rest were Akili. He therefore recommended that it was preferable for the amīr al-ḥajj to be an Akili,¹⁰⁷ but the Sulṭān appointed Radwān, the sanjaqbey of Gaza, as amīr al-ḥajj and reappointed Qānṣūh as sanjaqbey of Karak-Shawbak. Qānṣūh's

102. M.D.vii, No:2047, 18 Rabi' I, 976, p.747.

103. M.D.vii, No:2588, 16 Jumādā I, 976, p.941.

104. M.D.vii, No:2366, 5 Jumādā I, 976, p.863.

105. M.D.ix, No:66, 23 Ramaḍān, 977, p.24.

106. M.D.xiv, No:1078, 15 Ramaḍān, 978, p.748.

107. M.D.xiv, No:973, 4th of Sha' bān, 978, p.675.

duties were to control the Bedouins, maintain law and order and protect the pilgrims. Qānṣūh and his son Muḥammad, the alay bey of 'Ajlun, were commanded, also, to receive the pilgrims on their return journey.¹⁰⁸

Salāmah was given the mashyakha in Hawrān as a compensation; and the Sultān urged the governor of Damascus to reconcile him with Qānṣūh in order to avoid disorder.¹⁰⁹

In a letter to the Sultān, Qānṣūh described the situation in the Sanjaq of Karak-Shawbak. He said that he was given this sanjaq to restore law and order. No crops were to be found as the inhabitants were in a state of rebellion. Some of them had cultivated small patches on top of the mountains. Owing to the lack of provisions and of stable population, no official could remain there. It was difficult for him to subdue the inhabitants as they were a roving population. He also explained the causes of his conflict with Salāmah b. Nu'aym and his relative Naṣrullah. He said that each had asked far too much for the use of the camels they supplied to the pilgrims' caravan. Qānṣūh added that during his service with the pilgrims' caravan for thirty-five years he had been able to gain the confidence of the tribes; and thus could reduce the hiring price from 10-12 to 1-2 filoris. Similarly, money for loads had been reduced from 12 to 5-6 filoris. During his preparation for the caravan in 978/1570, he received news that he had been dismissed. The tribes dispersed immediately and as a result, high prices were again charged, the cost of loads reaching 15 filoris. As for the money he owed while he was sanjaqbey of 'Ajlūn for four years, he claimed that he would pay it to the treasury of Damascus; he had barely saved one hundred to two hundred filoris a year. He promised if the two sanjaqs of 'Ajlūn and Karak-Shawbak were united

108. M.D.xiv, No:973, 4 Sha'abān 978, p. 675; No:1152, 3rd Ramaḍān, 978, p.794; No:1692, 25 Ramaḍān, 978, p.1149.

109. M.D.xii, Nos:358, 361. 7 Dhu'l Hijja, 978, pp.169-70.

under him; and if his son *Muḥammad* were granted a zi'āmet instead of a *timar*, he would not only pay the treasury of Damascus 10,000 gold pieces annually but he would, also, ensure the pilgrims' safe conduct at all the stations. The *Sulṭān* wrote to the governor of Damascus enquiring whether *Qānsūh* had paid the five thousand filori he had promised when he was given the *Sanjaq* of 'Ajlūn. He also enquired if *Qānsūh* had paid any money, as he claimed, to the treasury of Damascus, and if so what amount. The *Sulṭān* also commanded the governor to collect all money due from him.¹¹⁰ The investigation proved that while he was *Sanjaqbey* of 'Ajlūn he paid the treasury of Damascus 5,000 gold pieces from his private purse. In addition, as amīr al-ḥajj, he had paid from his money 9,000 gold pieces for renting 3,000 camels.¹¹¹

Qānsūh's request was partly met when he was reaffirmed in the *Sanjaq* of *Karak-Shawbak* from the 24th *Ramaḍān* 979/9th February 1572. In the same year, he was also appointed amīr al-ḥajj with full authority.¹¹² More than that, when he requested the appointment of his son *Muḥammad* as receiver of the caravan on its return, his request was granted.¹¹³ In order to arrange for the supply of camels, he kept from the revenues of *Karak-Shawbak* 160,000 akches. In the first two years he paid for the camels but in the third year he claimed that there was no revenue from *Karak-Shawbak*; and the *Sulṭān* commanded the treasury of Damascus to pay it for him.¹¹⁴ In 984/1576, upon

110. M.D.xiv, No:1515, 19 *Dhu'l Hijja*, 978, p.1023; M.D.x, No:563, 10th *Muḥarram*, 979, p.347.

111. M.D.xiv, No:25, 24th *Ramaḍān*, p.25.

112. M.D.xvi, No:33, 27 *Ramaḍān*, 979, p.29.

113. M.D.xxiv, No:781, 3 *Safar*, 981, p.288.

114. M.D.xxv, No:1142, 6 *Dhu'l Hijja*, 981, p.103.

Qānṣūh's request, the governor of Damascus and the governors of Ṣafad, Jerusalem and Lajjūn in Palestine were commanded by the Sulṭān to help him to subdue the rebellious Bedouins of al-Maḥārijah and to assist him to ensure the security of the pilgrims.¹¹⁵

Qānṣūh served as amīr al-ḥajj until 994/1585. In this year Ibrāhīm Pāsha, the former viceroy of Egypt, was on his way back to Istanbul. When he arrived in Damascus, Arab chieftains visited him with the exception of Qānṣūh who refused to go to Damascus. When Ibrāhīm Pāsha arrived in Istanbul he roused the Sulṭān's anger against Qānṣūh and the Sulṭān issued a ḥukūm for his arrest. At the time Qānṣūh was in charge of the pilgrims' caravan. When he returned he was arrested and jailed in the citadel. Shortly after, he was sent to Istanbul. When he was brought before the Sulṭān, the latter, touched by his dignity, ordered his release and confirmed him as amīr al-ḥajj. In 996/1587 the governor of Damascus, Sinān Pāsha, a follower of Ibrāhīm Pāsha, sent a certain Abū Sayfayn to the Sanjaq of 'Ajlūn with the instructions to arrest Qānṣūh. Fighting broke out and Abū Sayfayn with about 50 janissaries were killed. Sinān Pāsha himself hastened to avenge Abū Sayfayn. When Qānṣūh learned this he fled with his men into the wilderness. In this year Sinān was made Grand Vizier and his son Muḥammad succeeded him as the governor of Damascus. Until Sinān and his son Muḥammad were dismissed from their respective offices in 999/1590, Qānṣūh was out of favour. On hearing of the dismissal of Sinān, he, together with his son Aḥmad, set out for Istanbul. There he received a gift and was well treated by the Sulṭān. On the 10th Muharram 1000/28th October 1591 Qānṣūh died at Üsküdar (Scutari) and his funeral was attended by many people. The Sulṭān appointed his son Aḥmad as sanjaqboy of 'Ajlūn.

115. M.D.xxviii, Nos:277, 667, 685, 25 Rajab, 984, pp.271, 686.

During his period of office as amīr al-ḥajj, Qānṣūh was described as being kind and helpful and the Bedouins obeyed him. In Damascus he built a mosque and gave money to the Umayyad Mosque. He was married to the daughter of a Damascene merchant, Zayn al-Dīn, who was known as A'waj al-Raqaba. Qānṣūh built himself a residence in Damascus. It is significant that his requests to Istanbul were never refused.¹¹⁶

Aḥmad succeeded his father in the Sanjaqs of 'Ajlūn and Karak-Shawbak. He did not oppress people but, like his father, he was over-careful with money. His death was sudden and there were rumours that he was poisoned by the governor of Damascus; but al-Būrīnī regards this simply as a mere allegation.¹¹⁷ He was succeeded by his son Ḥamdān, who was dismissed from his office by the governor of Damascus, Ḥāfīz Pāsha, in 1021/1612. 'Amr the Shaykh of Maḥārijah, was also dismissed from the mashyakha, which was given to Rashīd, the head of the Sardiyya tribe, a branch of Maḥārijah. Ḥamdān and 'Amr sought refuge with Fayyād al-Ḥayārī in the Sanjaq of Hama. From there he went to Fakhr al-Dīn; and on their way to him they were engaged in a fight with the tribes loyal to Rashīd. In a later engagement the combined forces of Fakhr al-Dīn, Ḥamdān and 'Amr defeated the forces of the governor together with his allies near al-Muzayrib on Friday the first of Rabī' I 1022/21 April 1613. As a result of this victory Ḥamdān reinvested himself with the Sanjaq of 'Ajlūn.¹¹⁸ Ḥāfīz Pāsha mobilized his forces and those loyal to him against Fakhr al-Dīn and his supporters. Fakhr al-Dīn, who realized

116. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fols. 142a, 213b-214a. Nuzhat, fol. 391a, al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol. iii, pp. 201-2.

117. al-Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol. i, pp. 186-7.

118. al-Khālīdī, Tārīkh, pp. 7-10.

the futility of fighting the strong army under Ḥāfīz, was forced by circumstances to leave for Tuscany.¹¹⁹ Without his help Ḥamdān was defeated and sought refuge among the al-‘Āyid tribes in Ḡaza. He asked pardon from Ḥāfīz Pāsha which was granted. In 1025/1616 he was reappointed to the Sanjaq of ‘Ajlūn.¹²⁰ When he assumed authority he ordered his brother Sayf, who had co-operated with Rashīd and Ḥāfīz Pāsha against him, to be beheaded.¹²¹ His second brother Bashīr, who was in agreement with Sayf, sought refuge with Shaykh Rashīd in al-Balqa’.¹²² Both of them attacked Ḥamdān during the night and he was accidentally injured by a soldier guarding his tent and died shortly after in 1025/1616.¹²³ He was succeeded by his son Ahmad who was at first backed by Fakhr al-Dīn, who had returned to al-Shūf. In 1032/1622 Fakhr al-Dīn discarded him and managed to acquire a hüküm securing the sanjaq of ‘Ajlūn for his infant son Ḥusayn.¹²⁴

IV Disturbances and Uprisings of the Bedouin Arabs

The Arab tribes in the vicinity of Damascus caused the governors a perpetual irritation. During the transitional period, when the whole province

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119. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.11-2, 26-7.
120. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.26-7, 41.
121. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, p.48.
122. Rashīd the head of the Sardiyya tribe, a branch of Mafārijah, helped in 1018/1609 in receiving the pilgrims. He contended the Mashyakha against ‘Amr b. Jabr, the recognized Shaykh of Mafārijah. In a fight in 1018, ‘Amr was able to defeat Rashīd who sent two of his nephews, Ahmad and Shuwaymī, to Shadīd, amīr of Al Ḥayār in Ḥama, and to Kan‘ān, a senior janissary in Damascus to seek their support. Both nephews died of plague during that year. In the ensuing fight, Rashīd was victorious. He enjoyed the support of Shaykh Nāsir al-Dīn al-Fahīlī Shaykh Al Mirā. Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.224-5. Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.8-11.
123. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.48-9.
124. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, p.118.

was entrusted to Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, he was able to draw them to his side. Some of them assisted him in his rebellion, but when the Ottoman forces advanced they deserted him.¹²⁵ Their aggression against villages in al-Ghawṭa and al-Marj and against caravans were ceaseless. For example, in 931/1524 Āl 'Alī attacked al-Marj. A battle took place between them and the people of the villages. Lutfī Pāsha, the governor of Damascus at that time, hastened to fight Āl 'Alī and he arrested two of their Shaykhs: Shuwaykh and his cousin Abū Ḥamrā and both of them were executed in Damascus.¹²⁶ Three years later, Āl 'Alī attacked an Aleppine caravan near al-Qaṣṭal, about eleven kilometres to the south of Nabk, and twenty men from the caravan were killed. They may have attacked the caravan because in that year there was little rain and the whole country suffered from drought.¹²⁷

Hūkūms issued from Istanbul to the governor of Damascus imply that there was lively trading between the Bedouins in the vicinity of the city and its merchants. In order to curb the activities of the Bedouins in 959/1551 the Sulṭān commanded the governor to enforce an economic boycott against the Bedouins and the deportation of any merchant who had dealings with them. These orders are to be found in a letter sent in reply to a report submitted to the Sulṭān by the governor of Damascus. In this report the governor pointed out that "Very many of the people of the province are in partnership with the Bedouins in regard to wool(?) and sheep... And there are also some fief holders

125. See footnotes nos. 144 and 145, Chapter I.

126. Ibn Tūlūn, Ḥilām, p.243.

127. Ibn Tūlūn quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd, fol.27b. Ibn Jum'ā, Wūlāt, p.10.

whose relations with the Bedouins have never been broken off. Whenever there is a matter [of an action against the Bedouins] planned at Damascus they cause [knowledge of] it to reach the Bedouins. [Thereupon] the Bedouins strike tents and move off [to a place] a four or five days' journey away." ¹²⁸ It appears from this that the policy adopted by the Ottomans to curb the activities of the Bedouins was not entirely successful. In 972/1564 most of the tribes in the vicinity of Damascus were in a state of rebellion. An armed force from Damascus was sent against them. Among the tribes attacked were Banū Nu'aym who lost 60 of their own men. In addition, the property of the tribe was plundered, and some of its members were arrested. The Banū Nu'aym protested their innocence to the Sultān and denied any connection with the rebels. The Sultān issued a hukūm commanding the three judges of Damascus, Tripoli and Ḥama to investigate the case. If they were innocent, prisoners were to be freed and their property was to be returned to them in accordance with the Shari'a. ¹²⁹ Unfortunately, the result of the investigation is not available.

There is little information available concerning the activities of Āl Faḍl. It was reported in 992/1584 that 15 men from the branch of Abū Rīsha of Āl Faḍl together with 12 men from Ba'labakk admitted in court that they had molested travellers, looted Muslims and attacked caravans on their way to Damascus. On one occasion they had robbed 43 loaded camels and 43 loaded mules, and killed some of the men escorting the caravan. ¹³⁰ The Bedouins of Abū Rīsha in 1017/1609 allied themselves with the outlawed Sukbān

128. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.93-4.

129. M.D.vi, No:795, 27 Rajab, 972, p.370.

130. Shar'iyya Court Registers of Ḥama, vol.xxii, case no:1544, year 992, p.471.

who had fled to Syria. Armed with rifles, 400 sukbān and Abū Rīshā people using lances and swords attacked and occupied the two citadels of al-Qaṣṭal and Qūṭayfa. Kūchūk Sinān Pāsha, the governor of Damascus, supported by the Mafārijah tribe under the command of ‘Amr b. Jabr attacked and defeated them near al-Qaṣṭānī. Three hundred of the Sukbān were killed and fifty were captured. They were brought to Damascus carrying poles on which they were impaled on the 6th Dh’ul Hijja of the same year/ 13 March 1609.¹³¹

In the region of Ḥawrān, timars and promotions were awarded to people who showed gallantry in fighting the rebellious Banū Hutaym and Banū Sa‘īd in the years 960/1552 and 961/1553.¹³² A new strategy adopted by the Ottomans was to pretend kindness to Bedouins until they fell into captivity and then punish them as uncivilized (wahshī) people.¹³³ The Ottomans, also, continued to practice a harsh policy against tribes when they rebelled. When Banū Ṣakhr, in 959/1551, rebelled and occupied four villages in the neighbourhood of Jabal (Lajah) and dispersed their inhabitants, the governor was commanded to use any means to bring to an end the activities of these evil-doers (ahl-i faṣād). His task, however, was rendered extremely difficult by the 600 people who guarded the routes, as part of the road patrol (darak) system, as they sympathised with Banū Ṣakhr and condoned their escape to the neighbouring Sanjaqs of Ṣafad, Nāblus and Jerusalem. In addition some of this tribe were allying themselves with the rebellious Ṭarabāys.¹³⁴

131. al-Būrīnī, Ṭarājīm, vol.ii, pp.231-3. al-Muḥibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, p.219.

132. M.M. No:17642, pp.6, 30, 56, 71.

133. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.95-6.

134. K.888, fol.211a, 14th Jumādā I, 959.

When in 967/1556 Bedouin insurrections in 'Ajlūn increased and spread to the neighbouring Sanjaqs of Damascus, Şafad, Nāblus, Jerusalem and Karak-Şawbak, the Sultān gave orders to establish a fortress in 'Ajlūn manned with soldiers to keep rebels in check.¹³⁵ In 975/1567 the governor of Damascus was ordered by the Sultān that all large arrows with "flat, wide, iron heads" together with bows and daggers used by the Bedouins were to be collected from markets and to be distributed among the various citadels on the route to Mecca.¹³⁶ By this means the Bedouins would lose their source of weapon supplies and thus be held in check. The Sultān also commanded the establishment of a fortress in Busrā (Bostra) in Southern Hawrān for the same purpose.¹³⁷

Part of the constructive policy of the Sultān appears to have centred around the safety of caravans and travellers. In order to maintain a regular and fast postal service the Sultān ordered that post-horses should be stationed along the road from Khān Kōy (Sa'sa') to al-'Arīsh. There were ten such stations and forty-five families exempted from the tekālif-i 'ūrfiyya (Sultanic impositions) were to be settled in each station in order to look after the horses.¹³⁸ In 989/1581 in Sa'sa' a village was established at the spot most vulnerable to Bedouin attacks, where two hundred such households were to be

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135. M.D.iii, No:1294, 5th Shawwāl, 967, p.432. In 972 it seems there was a massive tribal rebellion in Southern Hawrān where force was used against them. M.D.vi, No:975, 27 Rajab, 972, p.370. For insurrection of Bedouins against pilgrims in 975 in the Sanjaq of Jerusalem, see Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.87, 88.
136. M.D.vii, No:32, 18th Şafar, 975, p.7. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.94-5.
137. M.D.vii, No:814, 26th Rajab, 975, p.814.
138. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.126-7.

settled there also with ¹³⁹ tax exemption. Markets were also established in Sa'sa' and Khān al-Tujjār with the purpose of improving the economic conditions of the Muslims and to increase the revenues. ¹⁴⁰ It seems that the Sultān with this hope gave his consent to the Grand Vizier Sinān Pashā in 998/1589 to build three caravansarays in Qūṭayfa, Sa'sa' and 'Uyūn al-Tujjar where food could be served free to travellers. The Sultān's enthusiasm was further manifested by the instructions he issued to the defterdār of Damascus to bear the expenses of construction which would be reimbursed by the Grand Vizier in Istanbul. ¹⁴¹

The pilgrims' caravans from Damascus were vulnerable to attacks by the Mafārijah tribe which al-Ghazālī succeeded in subduing. ¹⁴² Moreover, in 926/1519, when Salāmah b. Fawwāz, better known as Jughaymān, their chieftain, met the pilgrims near al-Zarqā' he talked to their commander and no harm was done. ¹⁴³ In the same year, however, Jughaymān with about 10,000 of his followers attacked the Egyptian pilgrim caravan near al-Azlam but the commander, together with his few escorting units, repulsed the attack. From that year on, military squadrons were assigned to accompany the Egyptian caravan. In addition, Jughaymān was assigned one thousand dīnārs a year for life, an amount which his heirs continued to receive. His brother-in-law 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Dā'ūd, amīr of Banū 'Uqba acted as a guarantor to Jughaymān. ¹⁴⁴

139. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.101.

140. Heyd, Ottoman documents, pp.114-5.

141. Waqf Sinān Pashā published by Mudīriyyat Awqāf Dimashq, (Damascus n.d.), p.4. Ibn Ayyūb, Rawd', fol.141a. Muhibbī, Khulāṣat, vol.ii, pp.214-6. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.114.

142. See Chapter I, pp. 24-7.

143. al-Shammā', 'Uyūn, fol.61a.

144. al-Jazīrī, Durar, pp.366-7.

In 931/1524 the commander of the Damascene caravan failed to pay Jughaymān his dues, he attacked the caravan but was repulsed by the commander's guns.¹⁴⁵

After this, the governor of Damascus resumed the plan of a military escort to meet the pilgrims near al-Azlam and al-ʿUlā on route to Damascus.¹⁴⁶

In 937/1530 Mulḥim, one of the heads of Maḥārijah, made a fierce attack on the pilgrims. He intercepted them in Dhāt Ḥajj and when he failed to capture them he withdrew to Tabūk where he filled its pool with cut palm trees thus preventing pilgrims from using the water. From Tabūk he went to al-Ukhayḍir and poured ground colocynth (ḥanzal) into the pool, and to Muʿazzam pool which he choked with the corpses of beasts. Fierce fighting broke out between him and the pilgrims who gained the ascendancy over him but, in spite of their victory, suffered great losses. Many pilgrims had died of thirst and the rest were forced to take the Gaza-Damascus route.¹⁴⁷ A citadel at al-Ukhayḍir was built in the following year by order of Sulṭān Süleymān to counteract the threat. It was manned by twenty janissaries from Damascus. Taxes were collected there on goods and part of it was spent to cover the expenses accrued.¹⁴⁸

The insurgence of the tribes was not felt only by the pilgrims but was also directed against villages. In his hukūm to the governor of Damascus 959/1551 Sulṭān Süleyman described the destruction in the Nāḥiyat of Ṣalt. He wrote that in a letter he had received from the governor of ʿAjlūn and the qādī of Karak, Ṣalt was in a state of ruin. Since Bilāl bey (?) had ceased

145. Ibn Ṭulūn, quoted by Ibn Ayyūb, Rawḍ, fol.31a. The tradition was to give the purse (ṣurra) in Muzayrib; al-Khalīdī, Tārīkh, p.133.

146. Shammāʿ, ʿUyūn, fols.10a,b-11a,b, 124b.

147. Ibn Jumʿa, Wulāṭ, pp.11-2. See also Buhl, F.R., "Tabūk", E.I.¹, vol.iv, pp.593-4.

148. Ibn Jumʿa, Wulāṭ, p.12. Nahrawālī, Fawāʾid, pp.195-6. al-Khayārī, Tuḥfat, pp.50-4. Ibn Kibrīt, Muḥammad, Riḥlat al-shitāʾ wa al-ṣayf, p.133.

to govern, no one now listened to officials coming from Karak. Tribes attacked fields and plundered wheat and barley from the villages. In 'Ajlūn itself there was no control and even the amount of 150,000 akches registered in the Khāqān-i Deftēr and due for collection could not be entirely collected because some villages were in a state of rebellion. The governor of 'Ajlūn and the qāḍī of Karak asked for the permanent stationing of 300 janissaries in order to bring the situation under control. The Sulṭān authorized the governor of Damascus to take whatever measures were necessary, even to put offenders to death if he could not maintain order otherwise. He consulted the governor as to whether he could offer a solution and enquired how many janissaries he could afford to send there. He commanded him to send immediately those he was able to spare and enlist the help of all neighbouring Sanjaqbeys for the officials in 'Ajlūn. The Sulṭān also asked the governor if it would be more useful to unite the Sanjaqs of 'Ajlūn and Karak-Shawbak under one governor and to suggest a place of residence for him.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the recommendations of the governor are not available but the Sultan deemed it necessary to appoint Qānṣūh al-Ghazzāwī in Karak-Shawbak. The governor of Damascus was commanded to help Qānṣūh in his mission to curb the activities of the Bedouins and to rejuvenate that Sanjaq. In the opinion of the Sultan people in Karak-Shawbak were oppressed and for this reason they had dispersed. Qānṣūh was instructed to protect the Sanjaq and not to violate the Sharī'a. The Sulṭān also required him to send a list of names of all offenders.¹⁵⁰

In spite of all precautions, Bedouins continued to raid. In 963/1555 'Amr the Shaykh of Banū 'Aḥṣiya rebelled and attacked pilgrims

149. K.888, fol.82a, 4th Rabī' I, 959, fol.109a, 16 Rabī' I, 959. For Ṣalt see Le Strange, G., Palestine under the Moslems, pp.529-30.

150. K.888, fol.176a, 6 Jumādā I, 959, fol.223a. No date is fixed but it was either 19th Jumādā or 20th Jumādā, 959.

because he was not paid his dues by the Ottomans.¹⁵¹ Two years later Nu'aym b. Salāmah b. Fawwāz, the Shaykh of Ma'ārijah, also rebelled. Many attempts were made to arrest him and he not only escaped but killed many Ottoman soldiers sent from Damascus. During that year he blocked narrow passes beyond al-Ukhaydir on the way to Damascus. Amīr al-ḥajj tried to clear the road of stones but was unable to do so because pilgrims feared a sudden attack by Nu'aym. In 967/1559 Sulṭān Süleymān built citadels in 'Ajlun, Qaṭrānah, Ma'ān, Dhāt Ḥajj and in Ṭabūk,¹⁵³ in a further attempt to control these tribes. During that year, timars and promotions (sing. taraqqī) were granted to soldiers who distinguished themselves by fighting the Bedouins,¹⁵⁴ but no measures could stop them. In 972/1564 they attacked Ḥasan the sanjaqbey of Karak-Shawbak and killed him and his friends and plundered their money and property. The Sulṭān could only issue orders to arrest the chieftains and endeavour to extract the money and punish them,¹⁵⁵ and it is not known whether he succeeded or not. In any case the whole sanjaq continued in turmoil until 978/1570 when Qānṣūh al-Ghazzāwī was appointed as its governor.¹⁵⁶ The gravity of the situation is reflected in a letter from Qānṣūh to the Sulṭān,¹⁵⁷ as has already been dealt with in this chapter. Probably the situation became more grave after Qānṣūh was dismissed in 996/1584 and became a rebel, together with his followers.

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151. Nahrawālī, Fawā'id, pp.273-4. M.D.ii, No:171, 20 Rabi' I, 963, p.20. According to this hukūm a timar was granted to a janissary of Damascus for gallantry against Bedouins who attacked pilgrims.
152. Nahrawālī, Fawā'id, pp.195-6.
153. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.iii, p.157. al-Qaramānī, Akhbār, p.440.
154. M.D.iv, No:109, 16 Rabi' I, 967, No:1172, 19 Dhu'l Qa'da, 967, No:1939, 29 Jumādā II, 967, pp.13, 115, 188.
155. M.D.vi, No:1433, 21 Dhu'l Hijja, 972, p.651.
156. M.D.xiv, No:1152, 3 Ramadān, 978, p.794.
157. M.D.xiv, No:1515, 19 Dhu'l Hijja, 978, p.1023.

The Egyptian caravan of pilgrims travelling to Mecca via Gaza and the southern park of Karak-Shawbak was frequently exposed to the attacks of tribesmen living there. In 932/1525 Banū 'Aṭīyya attacked pilgrims' camels which were carrying water near Thaghrat Ḥāmid. Since then the amīr al-ḥajj of Egypt started to employ horsemen to guard that rocky part of the road.¹⁵⁸ Pilgrims would suffer a surprise attack from this tribe near 'Aqaba. Armed with swords, they would swim in the Bay of 'Aqaba and attack the unsuspecting caravans. The amīr al-ḥajj Muṣṭafā b. 'Abdullah al-Rūmī took reprisals by following them and using a saw to kill those who fell into his hands.¹⁵⁹ When in 941/1534 a camel was missing in Dhāt Nakhl, Yūsuf al-Ḥamzāwī, amīr al-ḥajj, sent a small force against Banū 'Aṭīyya. Nineteen of its members were killed and the camel was restored.¹⁶⁰ Five years later Banū 'Aṭīyya attacked the pilgrims and robbed them. Jānim b. Qānṣūh (d.954/1547), amīr al-ḥajj in that year, summoned their chiefs and offered them amnesty and an annual payment of 2,000 pieces of niṣf fiḍḍah, in addition to twenty pieces of jūkhah (cloth) for their assistance. This arrangement lasted until 952/1545 when the remuneration was reduced to half. In the following year, they attacked some of the pilgrims. Ḥusayn Abāza, amīr al-ḥajj, surprised them, burnt their tents and even some children in their cradles. Three of their chiefs were beheaded and about seventy women and children were jailed in 'Aqaba.¹⁶¹

It was the custom of Banū 'Aṭīyya to attack camels rented by other

158. al-Jazīrī, Durar, pp.487-8.

159. al-Jazīrī, Durar, pp.374-5. For brief history of 'Aqaba see Musil, A., "Aila", E.I.1, vol.i, pp.210-1. Glidden, H.W., "Ayla", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.703-4, idem, "al-'Aqaba", E.I.2, vol.i, pp.314-5.

160. al-Jazīrī, Durar, pp.378-9.

161. al-Jazīrī, Durar, p.498-9.

tribes to the pilgrims. For this reason, particularly as Banū 'Aṭīyya and Banū 'Aṭā' were in rebellion in 959/1551, camels from other tribes were not available.¹⁶² Nahrwālī (d.990/1582) mentions that in 963/1555 they were also in rebellion because the Ottomans were paying their money to Banū Lām al-Mafārijah.¹⁶³ Banū 'Aṭā' rebelled in 959/1551 and 967/1559 and timars were granted to all courageous fighters against them.¹⁶⁴ To check the activities of those tribes, the Sulṭān ordered a fortress to be built at al-'Arīsh, "an uninhabited place in the wilderness, where Bedouins constantly attack pilgrim and merchant caravans on their way from Aleppo, Damascus, and Gaza". The Sulṭān also commanded that some people were to be settled there and explore its agricultural possibilities.¹⁶⁵ Banū 'Aṭā' and Banū 'Aṭīyya continued to be in permanent rebellion as late as 1001/1592. They sold whatever they robbed from pilgrims to buyers in Hebron.¹⁶⁶

The historian al-Jazīrī (d.976/1560 ?) remarked that Bedouins generally attacked returning pilgrims for the merchandise they had brought from Mecca.¹⁶⁷ He noticed also that tribal attacks occurred when 'awā' id (allowances) had not been paid.¹⁶⁸ The route was portioned according to tribal vicinity and each tribe was paid an allowance to protect pilgrims in that area.

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162. al-Jazīrī, Durar, p.418.
 163. Nahrwālī, Fuwā' id, pp.273-4.
 164. K.888, fol.61a, 20 Ṣafar, 959; M.D.iv, No:975, 982, 12th Shawwal, 967, p.96.
 165. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.103. Concerning al-'Arīsh, see Buhl, F., "al-'Arīsh", E.I.I, vol.i, p.432, idem, E.I.2, vol.i, p.630. Le Strange, G., Palestine under the Moslems, p.397.
 166. Heyd, Ottoman documents, p.85.
 167. Jazīrī, Durar, p.90.
 168. Jazīrī, Durar, pp.106-7.

Some tribes would refrain from attack until the caravan had passed through their vicinity and would plunder it away from their particular area.¹⁶⁹

He pointed out, also, that some poorer Bedouins would follow the pilgrim caravan not for looting or robbery but to take left over camels even the dead ones to use their flesh as immediate food or dried and salted meat (qadīd).¹⁷⁰

V. Turkoman Tribes in the Province¹⁷¹

During the sixteenth century there were about 25 Turkoman tribes living in the region of Ḥawrān. During the reign of Sulṭān Sulaymān there were 1,410 households and 36 bachelors in addition to 29 imāms. In 977/1569 the number rose to 1,651 households and 133 bachelors but no mention of imāms is made.¹⁷² The total amount of money that these tribes paid annually was as follows:

Year	<u>alches</u>
936/1529	194,964 ¹⁷³
Ca. 952/1545	225,000 ¹⁷⁴
977/1569	250,000 ¹⁷⁵

The Sanjaq of Ḥama was densely populated by Turkoman tribes.

Eight tribes in that Sanjaq had branches in the province of Damascus. They comprised 240 households and 46 bachelors. The dwelling-places of these

169. Jazīrī, Durar, p.90.

170. Jazīrī, Durar, p.106.

171. For names and locations of Turkoman tribes, some recognizing the Mamlūk Sulṭānate while others were corresponded with, see Calqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.v, p.468, vol.vii, pp.190, 282. al-Zāhirī, Zubdat, p.105, Popper, Egypt and Syria, vol.ii, pp.8-11. See also Barthold, W, "Turkomans", E.I.I, vol.iv, pp.506-8.

172. For Turkoman imāmat and census see T.D.401, pp.700-8. T.D.491, pp.4-34.

173. T.D.169, p.2.

174. T.D.423, p.96. This includes goat fees and bād-i havā.

175. T.D.491, p.34.

branches were not defined, but most likely they lived in the northern part of the province. Their annual payment was 22,411 akches.¹⁷⁶

Other Turkoman tribes lived at the coast near 'Athlīth. Their 32 households and four bachelors were cultivators and contributed an annual sum of 23,080 akches. They had a watermill for which they paid 1,600 akches annually.¹⁷⁷ A Turkoman tribe by the name of Jamāsīn lived near Acre. Its households numbered 39 and paid a total of 5,890 akches.¹⁷⁸

The region of Ḥawrān was not fully inhabited. Names of 66 villages were listed in one of the Tapu Defters, but neither the number of the population nor the amount of revenues were given.¹⁷⁹ This indicates that they were very scantily populated. Between 956/1549-959/1551 about 101 timars were granted to the members of the newly created Turkoman Sipāhī regiment. Each of them was allotted 2,000 akches per annum. Each timar holder was required to co-operate with Turkomans there to cultivate and reclaim land granted to him. The number of mazra'ās (farms) granted as mentioned in available sources was about 260 mazra'ās and one village. Their total annual revenue was 267,000 akches. After the timar-holders had been paid, 65,000 akches remained for the Sulṭānī Khāṣṣ.¹⁸⁰ It appears that, in addition to reclamation, part of

176. For names of these branches and amounts of tax paid see T.D.1052, pp.273, 276, 279, 281, 285, 289-91, 293, 295.

177. T.D.192, pp.7-8. The total amount given was 22,720 akches but upon checking the supplied figures the total amount showed 23,080, in addition to watermill fees. Under the Mamlūks, 'Athlīth constituted an 'amal in the province of Safad. It was reputed for its fertility and famed for its fruit. See al-'Uthmānī, Tārīkh, p.483. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.152. Hartmann, R., "'Athlīth", E.I.2, vol.i, p.737.

178. 5,500 of it was buffalo fees, 390 was bād-i havā. T.D.192, p.8. A branch of this group by the name of Ḥusayn was as mentioned in 963 as comprising 18 households who paid 400 akches as buffalo and goat fees. T.D.300, p.176.

179. T.D.401, pp.688-9, 697.

180. M.M.15543, pp.25-43, 69-85. M.M.3752, , pp.2-14.

the timar-holders' duty was to guard the routes.¹⁸¹

According to the qānūnnāme of Damascus of 977/1569 Turkomans who lived in the province of Damascus for a length of time were considered as part of the ra' iyya (Sultan's subjects). Their bād-i havā was to be collected together with other taxes. They were categorized as settlers and not as nomads and the amīns (official tax-collectors) were to behave accordingly.¹⁹² It is not known whether the Turkomans employed in cultivation were from the 25 tribes previously mentioned or whether they were brought from other regions.

Little information is available about the activities of the Turkoman tribes in the province during the sixteenth century. Towards the end of the century in 991/1583 a tribe by the name of Āk Bayrakli was mentioned to have attacked the Ḥarfush family in both Ba' labakk and al-Jurd. The governor of Damascus was commanded to prevent, by every possible means, any recurrence of this.¹⁸³ The Sallūriyya Turkomans were twice, however, plundered by Fakhr al-Dīn.¹⁸⁴ Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulī refers to Turkomans living in Karāf al-Sūq to the west of Damascus and in Zawq al-Ba' liyya, and said they treated him well. He was also courteously treated by Turkomans after he left Sa'sa' on his way to Jerusalem.¹⁸⁵

181. M.D.iv, No:2095, 15 Rajab, 968, p.200.

182. T.D.474, p.21.

183. Ahmet Refik, Anadoluda Turk Aşiretleri (966-1200), (Istanbul, 1930), p.49. In Ba' labakk there were Turkomans known as the Turkomans of Ba' labakk, al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, p.146.

184. al-Khālidi, Tārīkh, pp.157, 159.

185. al-Nābulī, Mullat al-dhahab al-ibriz fī rihlat Ba' labakk wa al-Biqā' al-'Aziz, MS. BM. Or:3622, fols.6a, 36a, al-Ḥaḍrat al-unsīyya, MS. Atif Efendi No:1880, fol.15a.

VI. The Kurdish Tribes in the Province

In addition to the Arabs and Turkomans, there was a Kurdish population in the region of Ḥawrān. The seven kurdish jama'āt clustered in Baṭīḥa.¹⁸⁶ About the middle of the 10th/16th century they comprised 117 households and by 977/1569 the number had risen to 129 households, in addition to one bachelor. They paid an annual sum of 1,200 akches as 'ādat.¹⁸⁷

186. al-'Uthmānī mentions Baṭīḥa which lies to the east of the Lake Tiberiās as part of Tiberiās wilayaṭ which was part of the province of Ṣafad. al-'Uthmānī, Tārīkh, p.458; the editor of the text read it Baṭṭīkha. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.iv, p.151.

187. For names and census of the Kurdish tribes see T.D.423, p.99; T.D.491, pp.50-52. For a general survey of the history of the kurdish people see al-'Umārī, Ta'rif, pp.37-40, 111-12. Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, vol.vii, pp.190, 283-90. al-Bidlīsī, Sharafkhān, Sharafnāme, Minorsky, M., "Kurds", E.I.¹, vol.ii, pp.1132-55.

CONCLUSION

When Sultan Selīm conquered the Mamlūk Sultanate he made no initial attempt to replace the structure of Mamlūk rule. Some Mamlūks realised the permanent nature of the conquest and these, headed by Khayirbāy of Egypt, gave allegiance to the Ottomans. Others, headed by al-Ghazālī in Damascus, deemed it temporary and planned its overthrow. Although al-Ghazālī had gained the support and confidence of a large part of the population, the death of the middle-aged Sultan Selīm was premature for his plans. However, he seized the opportunity and proclaimed himself Sultan of the two holy places, Mecca and Medina. Ottoman reaction was violent and a formidable expedition was launched to suppress the rebellion, which resulted in complete annihilation of the faction. It suppressed also the shabāb of the city of Damascus and its environs who had supported al-Ghazālī and liquidated the Mamlūk regime to a far greater extent than in Egypt.

With the introduction of direct Ottoman rule a survey of the land was made and taxes were carefully registered. Ottoman taxation was meticulous in detail. Until, however, Syrian Mamlūk historical sources have been thoroughly examined it is difficult to state precisely to what extent the system had been inherited by the Ottomans. During the first half of the sixteenth century revenues more than doubled and the population increased in almost all parts of the country. However, in the second half of the century, the registers indicate an almost equally pervasive decline in the population. An understanding of the nature of the administrative structure and its relation to the local people offers a tentative explanation of this phenomenon.

The Ottoman presence in Syria was predominantly military; this even applies to the offices of the defterdār and to some aspects of that of the chief judge. The province was dotted with many fortresses manned by regular soldiers. This is further shown by the division of part of the land among military personnel who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order. In addition, they supplied military escort for the despatch of the pilgrimage caravan and mobilised auxiliaries to augment the Sultan's army when required. They also assisted in tax collection. Some local chieftains and notables were integrated into the timar system for similar purposes, but merely in marginal areas.

Appointments in any school, mosque, convent, hospital or for the supervision of the awqāf needed Ottoman sanction. Because of the foundation of many additional charities, 'ulamā' and ordinary men of religion became more and more absorbed into and dependant upon this structure.

Equally, a survey of the economic life of the province shows that it was built around the military structure. A considerable portion of the revenues was allocated to military personnel, which may explain why they were able to penetrate every stratum of the society. They are recorded as money-lenders, land-owners, traders and usurers. Many led luxurious lives and lived in sumptuous dwellings and enjoyed also the eulogies of poets. They were authorised to control the expenditure for the pilgrims' caravan which, no doubt, added to their power and prestige.

Factions inevitably sprang up when military discipline became lax. Neither the places of origin nor the background of their leaders are known and it is, therefore, difficult to state the bases of this factional formation. The leaders vied with each other for support among the local people who were

traditionally divided into two factions, Qaysī and Yamani. This division ran across all tribal and sectarian loyalties and asserted itself dramatically whenever central administration weakened. This was the case at the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century and each faction tried to utilise the division in the military forces. Furthermore, local chieftains began to build military units from outlawed sukban, thereby becoming self-supporting, though with no intention of rebellion against the Sultan.

The struggle was apparently for supremacy in the province. The ensuing fighting was destructive to the three provinces of Aleppo, Tripoli and Damascus. This encouraged Bedouin raids on villages and even on the pilgrimage caravan. Such is the probable explanation of the noticeable decrease of population during the second part of the century, and the impoverishment of those remaining, by the increase of taxes.

By 1606 the Sultan had signed a peace treaty with Austria. This enabled him to concentrate on restoring law and order and to eliminate the many local despots who had emerged as a result of the weakness of internal military administration. By 1635 all factions in the province of Damascus had disappeared and only 'ulamā' who had remained peaceful survived, and Ottoman authority was again asserted.

Appendix I

During the preparation of this thesis it was found necessary to compile the complete available demographical data for the Liwā' of Damascus during the first three-quarters of the 16th century. Places and names of the majority of villages have also been identified and located. Due to lack of space the findings cannot be included here. Examples have, however, been appended for four nāḥiyās, as below:-

<u>Names of villages</u>	<u>Nāḥiyat Ghawṭa</u>		
	<u>T.D.401</u> (pp.52-83)	<u>T.D.263</u> (pp.181-218) (pp.479-91)	<u>T.D.474</u> (pp.494-518)
1. Mizza	H. 150 B. 35 I. 1	262 - 3	- - -
2. Kafar Baṭnā	H. 77 B. 6 I. 1 <u>Sh.3</u>	90 - 3	76 8 1
3. Qābūn Fawqānī wa Taḥṭānī	H. 140 B. - I. - T.20	114 25 4 T.15 B.T.2	84 53 2
4. Jarmānā	H. 79 B. 5 I. -	97 4 2	79 18 1
5. Ifirīs	H. 14 B. - I. -	16 - -	9 1 -
6. Kafar Sūsiyya	H. 156 B. 7 I. 4	79 21 2	64 10 5

		<u>T.D.401</u>	<u>T.D.263</u>	<u>T.D.474</u>
7. 'Irbīl	H.	81	74	67
	B.	2	23	24
	I.	1	2	1
8. Bayt Rānis	H.	29	29	28
	B.	5	6	4
	I.	1	2	1
9. 'Aqrabā	H.	32	40	35
	B.	6	6	5
	I.	-	1	1
10. Jisrayn	H.	21	30	20
	B.	9	7	5
	I.	-	-	-
11. Ḥammūriyya	H.	55	53	37
	B.	3	3	9
	I.	1	1	1
12. Qabr al-Sitt	H.	20	17	14
	B.	1	-	3
	I.	-	1	1
13. Tilthāya(?)	H.	16	18	10
	B.	1	-	2
	I.	1	1	1
14. Rabbāniyya(?)	H.	-	8	9
	B.	-	-	-
	I.	-	-	-
15. Saqba	H.	100	89	78
	B.	6	35	12
	I.	1	-	2
16. Bayt Sawā	H.	7	21	19
	B.	1	5	7
	I.	-	-	-
17. Bābīlā (Babīlā)	H.	35	40	38
	B.	1	11	1
	I.	1	-	-
18. Kafar Mudīra	H.	13	15	7
	B.	3	-	3
	I.	-	1	1
19. Ḥazza	H.	12	13	8
	B.	6	1	2
	I.	-	1	-

		<u>T.D.401</u>	<u>T.D.263</u>	<u>T.D.474</u>
20. <u>Hadīthat</u> <u>al-Jarsh</u>	H.	13	15	9
	B.	1	2	3
	I.	-	-	1
21. <u>Manihā</u>	H.	57	63	42
	B.	7	-	10
	I.	-	1	1
22. <u>Zamalkā</u>	H.	44	66	41
	B.	2	13	7
	I.	-	-	2
23. <u>Zabdayn</u>	H.	37	33	29
	B.	6	14	7
	I.	-	1	2
24. <u>Yaldā</u>	H.	46	58	46
	B.	11	8	6
	I.	1	2	2
25. <u>Bilāt</u>	H.	10	10	7
	B.	-	-	3
	I.	-	-	-
26. <u>Barza</u>	H.	38	53	76
	B.	4	14	10
	I.	1	1	1
27. <u>Masjid</u> <u>al-Qadam</u>	H.	50	69	70
	B.	3	1	5
	I.	1	1	-
28. <u>Jawbar</u>	H.	58	82	45
	B.	2	16	8
	I.	- J.59 B.J.7	1	- J.48
29. <u>Muḥammadiyya</u>	H.	9	14	5
	B.	-	3	4
	I.	-	-	-
30. <u>‘Ayn Tharmā</u>	H.	76	81	41
	B.	6	10	34
	I.	1	2	2
31. <u>Harasiā</u> <u>al-Zaytūn</u>	H.	93	167	149
	B.	10	29	20
	I.	2	1	2

	<u>T.D.401</u>	<u>T.D.263</u>	<u>T.D.474</u>
Total:	H. 1,568	1,816	1,242
	B. 149	257	226
	I. 18	35	31
	T. 20	15 B.T.2	-
	Sh. 3	-	-
	J. 59 B.J.7	-	48

Nāhiyat Kisrawān

	<u>T.D.430</u> (pp.226-44)	<u>T.D.383</u> (pp.353b-88)	<u>T.D.401</u> (pp.385-401)
1. Ifqī'	H. 20	38	25
	B. 6	5	15
	I. -	-	-
2. Fayṭarūn	H. 23	42	43
	B. 2	8	8
	I. 1	-	-
3. 'Ajalṭūn	X. 23	X. 19	X. 19
	B.X. 3	B.X. 1	B.X. 5
4. Bikarkiyya (bikarkī)	X. 15	X. 20	X. 12
	B.X. 5		B.X. 4
5. Dalbatā	H. -	-	14
	B. -	-	- X.26
	I. -	-	-
6. 'Aramūn	H. 4	8	4
	B. - X.6	2 X.9	- X.12
	I. - B.X.2	- B.X.1	- B.X.4
7. Ḥarājīl	H. 62	40	49
	B. 2	13	8
	I. -	-	-
8. Iqbāl	H. 7	-	-
	B. -	-	-
	I. -	-	-
9. 'Alamān al- Tahtā wa al-Fawqā	H. 6	13	14
	B. 1 X.29	2 X.36	- X.44
	I. - B.X.6	-	- B.X.7

<u>Names of villages</u>		<u>T.D.430</u>	<u>T.D.383</u>	<u>T.D.401</u>
10. 'Ayn Jamāl	H.	5	13	14
	B.	2 X.8	2 X.36	- X.44
	I.	- B.X.2	-	- B.X.7
11. Ighzīr (G̣hazīr)	H.	3	14	4
	B.	- X.16	- X.21	- X.20
	I.	-	- B.X.3	- B.X.2
12. Majdal Banī Hābis	H.	34	30	21
	B.	1	23	5
	I.	1	-	-
13. Baq'ātā	H.	38	27	47
	B.	4	14	5
	I.	1	-	-
14. Dar'ūn	H.	-	16	-
	B.	- X.7	-	- X.10
	I.	- B.X.3	1	- B.X.3
15. Baiḥā	H.	-	3	-
	B.	- X.4	-	- X.3
	I.	-	-	- B.X.2
16. Ghūstā	H.	-	-	-
	B.	- X.11	- X.12	- X.15
	I.	-	- B.X.1	- B.X.1
17. Mi'rāb	H.	15	16	17
	B.	-	-	-
	I.	3	-	-
18. Abū al-Ḥamrā	H.	9	15	12
	B.	-	-	3
	I.	-	-	-
19. 'Ashqūt	H.	-	-	-
	B.	- X.43	- X.43	- X.30
	I.	-	- B.X.7	- B.X.14
20. Banābil	H.	17	12	19
	B.	-	9	-
	I.	-	-	-
21. Dayr al-Bāshā(?)	H.	8	3	-
	B.	-	-	-
	I.	-	-	-
22. Abū Kuffiyya	H.	-	-	-
	B.	- X.28	- X.41	- X.37
	I.	-	-	- B.X.4

<u>Names of villages</u>		<u>T.D.430</u>	<u>T.D.383</u>	<u>T.D.401</u>
23. Muḥaydiḥa	H.	3	-	-
	B.	-	- X.11	- X.11
	I.	-	-	-
24. Bayt Shabāb	H.	27	-	-
	B.	-	- X.32	- X.28
	I.	-	-	- B.X.2
25. 'Ammariyya(?)	H.	22	-	-
	B.	-	-	-
	I.	-	-	-
26. Fārayya	H.	45	29	43
	B.	17	9	16
	I.	1	-	-
27. Jadīda	H.	5	8	9
	B.	- X.8	3	- X.11
	I.	-	-	- B.X.2
28. Darmaīyya al-Taḥtā wa al-Fawqā	H.	38	-	-
	B.	2	-	- X.42
	I.	-	-	- B.X.2
29. Baḥr Ṣāf	H.	-	10	- X.8
	B.	-	-	- X.8
	I.	-	-	-
30. Ashnān Na'īr	H.	-	7	6
	B.	-	-	2
	I.	-	-	-
31. Ḥamlāya	H.	-	9	12
	B.	-	-	3
	I.	-	-	-
32. Miṣbāḥā	H.	-	9	12
	B.	-	3	-
	I.	-	1	-
33. Majdalītā	H.	-	-	3
	B.	-	-	-
	I.	-	-	-
34. Zar'ūn	H.	-	16	9
	B.	-	6	-
	I.	-	-	-

<u>Name of villages</u>		<u>T.D.430</u>	<u>T.D.383</u>	<u>T.D.401</u>
35. Zawq <u>Ghurbiyya(?)</u>	H.	-	17	-
	B.	-	4	-
	I.	-	-	-
37. Ḥarīsā (Ḥarīsā)	H.	-	9	-
	B.	- X.17	- X.17	-
	I.	-	- B.X.3	-
Totals:	H.	391	404	377
	B.	37	103	65
	I.	7	3	-
	X.	198	297	372
	B.X.	21	5	34

Nāḥiyat Jizzīn

		<u>T.D.430</u> (pp.383-6)	<u>T.D.383</u> (pp.447-58)	<u>T.D.401</u> (pp.523-7)
1. Jizzīn	H.	55	114	151
	B.	3	34	33
	I.	1	4	2
2. Rūm	H.	29	40	27
	B.	-	7	3
	I.	-	-	1
3. Bittdīn	H.	14	6	-
	B.	1	-	-
	I.	-	-	-
4. Jadīda	H.	6	2	5
	B.	-	1	1
	I.	-	1	1
5. Busra	H.	15	15	-
	B.	3	4	-
	I.	-	-	-
6. Mashmūsha	H.	20	29	23
	B.	1	10	3
	I.	-	1	1
7. A'riba(?)	H.	10	5	6
	B.	1	2	1
	I.	-	1	1

<u>Names of villages</u>		<u>T.D.430</u>	<u>T.D.383</u>	<u>T.D.401</u>
8. <u>Maymas</u>	H.	15	-	-
	B.	1	-	-
	I.	-	-	-
9. <u>Bah̄nīn</u>	H.	-	19	-
	B.	-	6	-
	I.	-	1	-
	H.	164	230	212
	B.	10	64	41
	I.	2	8	6

Nāḥiyat Banū Mālik al-Ashraf

		<u>T.D.430</u> (pp.543-5)	<u>T.D.401</u> (pp.684-88)
1. <u>Nāmir</u>	H.	16	43
	B.	1	-
	I.	-	1
2. <u>Khīrbat Banī Rabbāh</u>	H.	15	37
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1
3. <u>al-Ḥarāk</u>	H.	11	41
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1
4. <u>Dhunayba</u>	H.	6	9
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1
5. <u>Qarfa</u>	H.	6	14
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1
6. <u>Dā' il</u>	H.	5	22
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1
7. <u>Mazra'at al-Ḥarāk al-Gharbī</u>	H.	-	7
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	-
8. <u>Samakīn</u>	H.	-	10
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1 <u>Sh.5</u>

<u>Names of villages</u>		<u>T.D .430</u>	<u>T.D .401</u>
9. Katb Nāmir	H.	-	8
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	-
10. 'Almā	H.	-	13
	B.	-	-
	I.	-	1
<hr/>			
Totals:	H	59	204
	B.	1	-
	I.	-	8
	<u>Sh.</u>	-	5

Appendix 2

A. Taxes levied in Damascus¹ and some in its liwā' (represented in akches)

Types of muqāṭa' a	T.D.169 (pp.1-2)	T.D.401 (pp.52-3)	T.D.423 (pp.5-6)	T.D.263 (p.175)	T.D.474 pp.202, 206
1. Qabbān wa Dār al-Khudar wa Dār al-Baṭṭikh wa 'inab al-'aṣīr	70,850 plus 6,000	360,000	262,787	262,787	280,000
2. Bazār asab wa dawāb	14,160	82,000	58,000	58,000	60,000
3. Khammāra	100,000	360,000	306,666	306,666	40,000
4. Bazār ghanam	70,800	98,000	213,312	213,312	220,000
5. Iḥtisāb		600,000	600,000	600,000	600,000
6. Rusūm tadhkirahā-i fīmārīhā der Shām	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	32,000
7. Bazār asārā	16,000	13,500	27,624	27,624	30,000
8. Bāshkhāna	18,000	37,000	38,666	38,666	40,000
9. Gūmrūk	300,000	300,000	222,222	222,222	230,000
10. Dilāliyya barrāniyya	10,000	26,000	20,000	20,000	24,000
11. Dilāliyya juwāniyya	50,000	83,000	50,000	50,000	55,000
12. Bazār ghalla	18,000	15,000	34,000	34,000	40,000
13. Khan al-Thalī	50,000	60,000	63,332	63,332	--

1. For similar taxes levied in Cairo in the year 1005-6/1596-7, see Shaw, Stanford, The Budget of Ottoman Egypt, 1005-1006/1596-1597 (The Hague, 1968), pp.30-2, 98-104.

Types of <u>muqāta'at</u>	T.D.169	T.D.401	T.D.423	T.D.263	T.D.474
14. Mashadiyyat al-anhār	12,000	18,000	68,000	68,000	68,000
15. Bayt al-hashīsh wa al-qimār	36,000	15,000	35,333	35,333	36,000
16. Mīzān al-harīr	36,000	40,000	118,000	118,000	120,000
17. Dukkān al-Ṭayr	3,600	3,600	7,333	7,333	8,000
18. Ihtisāb al- Ṣālihiyya	7,000	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,00
19. Dār al-ḍarb	600,000	260,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
20. Bayt al-māl wa māl ghā'ib	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
21. Masbak	25,000	12,000	-	-	-
22. Basā'īn Khandaq wa aḥkār buyūt	750	2,522	2,522	2,522	2,600
23. Boya Khāna	20,000	12,500	15,400	15,400	200,000
24. Hammām al- Ghazālī	750	3,600	7,800	7,800	8,000
25. Bast al-damān taḥt al-Qal'a	7,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200
26. Dukkān jubuḥ maghī	3,200	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400
27. Dawālīb harīr	500	800	840	840	2,400
28. Shaykh al- ḥammāmīn	3,600	24,000	24,000	24,000	24,000

Types of <u>muqāfa'a</u>	T.D.169	T.D.401	T.D.423	T.D.263	T.D.474
30. <u>Ashnān wa qalī</u>	142,000	143,000	666,666	666,666	680,000
31. <u>Bāj ghafāra</u>	131,600	-	-	-	-
32. <u>Jizyat Naṣārā wa Yahūd wa Sumarā'</u>	232,659	-	-	-	-
33. ' <u>Ādat rusūm Turkoman</u>	171,964	-	-	-	-
34. ' <u>Ādat qawd amīr 'Arab Shām</u>	240,000	240,000	240,000	240,000	-
35. <u>Rusūm aghnām wa ma'za der Liwā Shām</u>	302,152				
36. <u>Maḥsūl ghurbattān</u>	-	10,000	25,000	25,000	30,000
37. <u>Sirāj Khāna</u>	-	2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200
38. <u>Haddādīn</u>	-	4,000	4,000	4,000	6,000
39. <u>Bāj qāfilat hajj Sharīf</u>	-	60,000	450,000	450,000	600,000
40. <u>Maḥsūl 'assiyā-i Shām wa Ṣālihiyya</u>	-	50,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
41. <u>Bād-i hava wa jurm wa jināyat wa 'arusānā-i nafs-i Shām</u>	-	150,000	120,000	120,000	130,000
42. <u>Bād-i havā-i nawāhī Shām</u>	-	230,000	190,000	190,000	195,000
43. <u>Maḥsūl Suwayjāfiyya</u>	6,000	1,600	1,600	1,600	1,600
44. <u>Maḥsūl ma'āsīr</u>	-	-	1,200	1,200	1,500

Types of <u>muqāta'a</u>	T.D.169	T.D.401	T.D.423	T.D.263	T.D.474
45. Maḥṣūl ṭawāḥīn	-	-	8,040	9,660	6,000
46. Maḥṣūl barawāt	-	-	30,000	30,000	15,000
47. Maḥṣūl āqṣamāwiyya	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400	2,400
48. Nahīrat al-Yahūd	8,400	500	7,200	7,200	8,000

B. Taxes levied in Ba' labakk and some of its surroundings (akches)

Types of <u>muqāta'a</u>	T.D.430 (pp.35-6)	T.D.383 (pp.35-6)	T.D.401 (p.178)	T.D.423 (pp.35-6)
1. Ihtisāb	2,500	21,760	19,400	21,760
2. Bazār asab	200	210	-	-
3. Maykhāna	3,600	3,730	3,600	3,730
4. Nahīrat qaṣṣābān	3,000	7,000	6,000	7,000
5. ½ Maḥṣūl Maslakh	400	400	400	400
6. Bazār ḡhalla	1,500	2,720	1,440	2,720
7. Dibāḡh khāna	1,600	6,000	5,000	6,000
8. Boya khāna	600	6,744	1,440	6,744
9. Sūq Laban	1,000	2,520	1,500	2,520
10. Rasm qabbān	600	3,100	600	3,100
11. Sūq al-quṭn	1,000	2,500	1,000	2,500
12. Rasm Dār al-Wakāla	2,400	10,000	4,000	10,000

Types of muqāta'a	T.D.430	T.D.383	T.D.401	T.D.423
13. Kharāj al-Kurūm wa basā'īn	1,700	25,000	10,000	25,000
14. Bazār dībs	500	3,000	500	3,000
15. 'Ādat aghnām wa mā' iz	-	1,000	1,000	1,000
16. Bazār dawāb	-	210	200	210
17. Sūq al-ghanam	-	5,000	1,000	5,000
18. Rasm dilāliyyat Sūq al-julūd	-	360	300	360
19. Rasm 'assiyyān	-	2,000	500	2,000
20. Rasm wattārīn	-	720	200	720
21. Maḥṣūl ṭabbākḥīn	-	480	480	480
22. Dār al-ḥaṣḥīsh	-	200	200	200
23. Ma'āsīr dībs	-	240	-	240
24. Maṭāhīn	-	2,520	2,820	2,520
25. Dulāb ḥarīr	-	1,200	-	1,200
26. Dilāliyyat Sūq al-gimāsh	-	6,102	5,880	6,102
27. Jizyat Naṣārā	16,400	16,400	13,200	-
28. Jizyat Yahūd	2,320	2,320	2,880	-
29. Rasm Naḥṭ	-	500	-	500
30. Bād-i hāvā wa ḥurm wa jīnāyat wa mā' ghā' ib wa māl mafqūd	4,000	10,105	10,000	10,105

C. Taxes levied in Bayrūt and some in its surroundings (akches)

Types of <u>muqāt'a</u>	T.D.169 (pp.25-6)	T.D.430 (pp.251-2)	T.D.383 (pp.269-70)	T.D.401 (P.408)	T.D.423 (pp.51-2)
1. Iskele	250,000	250,000	130,000	283,333	130,000
2. Ihtisāb	7,000	7,000	24,000	11,500	24,000
3. Qabbān	7,000	7,000	16,667	22,000	16,667
4. Mīzān al-ḥarīr	10,000	10,000	6,719	25,000	6,719
5. Khabbāzīn	7,200	7,200	6,000	4,466	6,000
6. Qaṣṣābān	7,200	7,200	9,360	7,000	9,360
7. Rasm dulāb ḥarīr	210	200	1,200	720	1,200
8. Maḥṣūl basāṭīn Khandaq	400	400	250	200	250
9. Rasm mā'ṣara	300	300	200	150	200
10. Rasm maṣbana	300	300	1,500	1,500	1,500
11. 'Ushr Samak	300	200	1,500	500	1,500
12. Bāj Kafara hujjāi-i Naṣarā'	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
13. Maḥṣūl Khammāra	1,100	1,100	9,000	14,416	9,000
14. Rasm dakākin	150	200	13,500	-	13,500
15. Ujrat Khān	1,710	2,280	10,000	8,270	-
16. Hammām al- Mīnā	1,800	2,400	5,200	7,200	3,900
17. Bāj Tujjār al- Kuffār (those who stay in Bayrūt)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
18. Rasm mā' iz wa nahl	-	-	300	-	300
19. Rasm jawamīs	-	-	300	1,596	300

Types of <u>muqāṭa'ā</u>	T.D.169	T.D.430	T.D.383	T.D.401	T.D.423
20. Faydā-i milḥ	-	-	300,000	231,333	300,000
21. Simsāriyya	-	-	15,000	21,000	15,000
22. Maḥsūl diṣṭibānī qāḍā' i	-	-	3,000	-	3,000
23. 'Assiyya nafsi Bayrūt	-	-	4,000	-	4,000
24. Maḥsūl boya Khāna	-	-	500	-	500
25. Jizyat al- Naṣārā	-	-	19,000	-	-
26. Jizyat al- Yahūd	-	-	3,000	-	-
27. Bayt al-māl wa māl mafqūd der nafsi Bayrūt wa nāhiyat matn wa Jurd wa Gharb	-	-	-	-	8,000

D. Taxes levied in Sidon and some in its surroundings (akches)

Types of <u>muqāṭa'ā</u>	T.D.169 (p.7)	T.D.430 (pp.334-5)	T.D.383 (pp.401-2)	T.D.401 (p.478)	T.D.423 (p.69)
1. Iskele	2,000	2,000	16,000	8,000	16,000
2. Dukkān qasṣābān	1,000	1,000	1,800	1,500	1,800
3. Masbagha	450	450	265	200	265
4. Kiyālliyya wa maslakh	600	600	20,000	15,000	20,000
5. Qabbān wa iḥtisāb	2,500	2,500	-	-	-
6. Kishlak	1,000	1,000	6,000	4,000	6,000

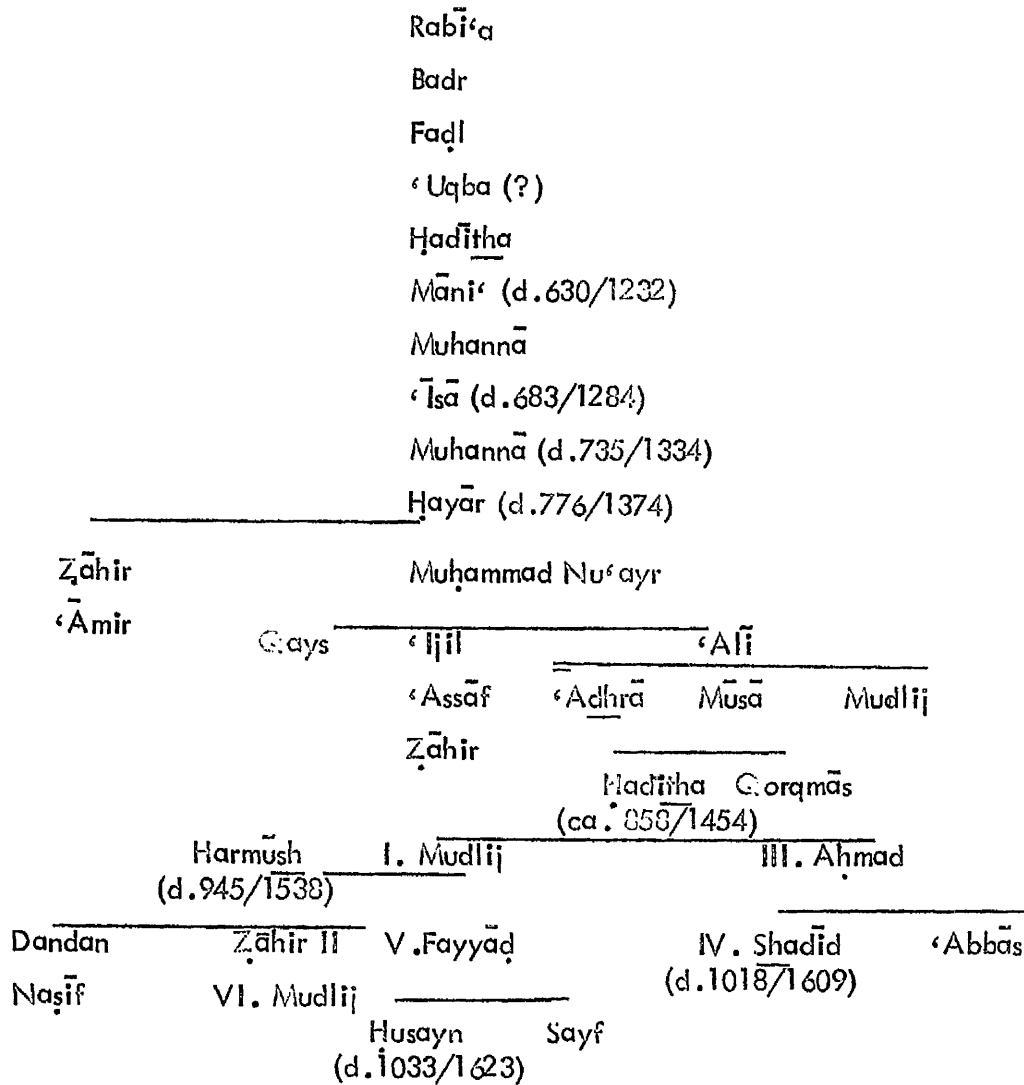
Types of <u>muqāṭa'a</u>	T.D.169	T.D.430	T.D.383	T.D.401	T.D.423
7. 'Ādat Kafara (who come to visit Jerusalem)	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
8. Tamghā dībs	200	210	250	200	250
9. Bād-i havā wa jurm wa jināyat	2,000	2,000	3,750	2,000	3,750
10. Bazār asab wa dawāb	400	400	300	400	300
11. Maykhāna	-	-	6,000	2,000	6,000
12. Dukkān maṣbana	-	-	1,050	200	1,050
13. Ma'ādiyya	-	-	2,000	1,000	2,000
14. Simsāriyya	-	-	400	-	400
15. Ma'āṣir zayt	-	-	1,080	-	1,080
16. Rasm dulāb ḥarīr	-	-	240	-	240
17. 'Assiya	-	-	12,000	-	12,000
18. Mamlāḥa	-	-	1,000	200	1,000
19. Jawāmīs	-	-	-	-	150
20. Jizyat Yahūd	-	-	-	2,000	-
21. Bayt al-māl wa māl ghā'ib	-	-	2,000	-	2,000
22. Ṭawāhīn	-	-	150	-	-
23. Kharāj arāḍī wa basāṭīn	1,310	-	-	-	2,880

Appendix No.3Names of Bāj Octrois and amount of money farmed yearly

<u>Name of stations</u>	<u>T.D.430</u>	<u>T.D.383</u>	<u>T.D.401</u>	<u>T.D.423</u>	<u>T.D.263</u>	<u>T.D.474</u>
Nahr al-Kalb			10,000 (p.401)	10,000 (p.243)		
<u>Khilda</u>	6,500 (p.255)		6,500 (p.411)	8,000 (p.51)		
al-Hiṣn	9,000 (p.255)		9,000 (p.411)			
al-Mazār	7,000 (p.255)		7,000 (p.411)			
Wādī Rumaylī	9,500 (p.401)		2,400 (p.478)	9,500 (p.69)		
Wādī <u>Khālī</u>	9,500 (p.401)		2,400 (p.478)	9,500 (p.69)		
Muqlid	1,400 (p.36)					
Labwa	1,000 (p.36)		1,000 (p.178)			
Ṣaḥṣaḥ	1,000 (p.36)	41,000 (p.36)	1,000 (p.178)	41,444 (p.36)		
al-Ba'īd	1,000 (p.36)					
Bawārīsh		9,000 (p.193)	9,000 (p.250)	9,000 (p.47)		9,000 (p.311)
Mazra'at <u>Maghīthā</u>	9,000 (p.143)	10,000 (p.194)	10,000 (p.178)	10,000 (p.47)		10,000 (p.312)
Dayr Zaynūn	1,000 (p.91)	1,100 (p.143)		1,100 (p.44)		
Bānyās	5,000 (p.405)		5,000 (p.452)	6,000 (p.28)	6,000 (p.417)	6,400 (p.433)
Yābūs	5,600 (p.163)	6,000 (p.248)	5,600 (p.303)	6,000 (p.49)		6,500 (p.361)
<u>Khān</u> Maysalūn	5,600 (p.439)					

	<u>T.D.430</u>	<u>T.D.383</u>	<u>T.D.401</u>	<u>T.D.423</u>	<u>T.D.263</u>	<u>T.D.474</u>
Mazra'at Maysalūn	5,600 (p.439)		5,600 (p.330)			
Mazra'at al-'Arrād				5,600 (p.442)		
Wādī al-'Arrād	5,600 (p.440)			10,000 (p.17)	10,000 (p.284)	12,000 (p.479)
'Ayn Fajjūr		3,000 (p.220)		3,000 (p.50)		4,000 (p.346)
Wādī Baradā			5,600 (p.318)	6,000 (p.19)	6,000 (p.304)	
Husayniyya			1,400 (p.316)		2,000 (p.302)	1,200 (p.288)
Qūṣayr al-'Umri			5,800 (p.93)		8,000 (p.234)	10,000 (p.244)
<u>Khān</u> Lajūn				6,500 (p.14)	6,500 (p.247)	8,000 (p.255)
Qāra	1,800 (p.11)		1,800 (p.158)	5,500 (p.24)	5,500 (p.387)	
<u>Khān</u> Burayj				5,500 (p.24)		
Qaṣṭal			5,400 (p.124)	5,500 (p.24)	5,500 (p.374)	
Qūṭayfa	6,400 (p.1)		7,000	7,000 (p.23)	7,000 (p.355)	7,000 (p.261)
Kiswa	5,500 (p.489)		5,500 (p.343)	10,000 (p.16)	10,000 (p.278)	12,000 (p.491)
Sa'sa'	8,300 (p.496)		8,300 (p.349)	9,000 (p.16)	9,000 (p.278)	12,000 (p.491)
'Uthmāniyya	4,400 (p.482)		5,000 (p.344)	6,000 (p.17)	6,000 (p.300)	8,000 (p.492)
<u>Shaqhab</u>	4,400 (p.498)		5,000 (p.348)	6,000 (p.16)	6,000 (p.277)	8,000 (p.489)
Qunaytra	5,500 (p.417)		5,500 (p.541)	7,000 (p.26)	7,000 (p.403)	8,000 (p.440)
Dīmās					10,000 (p.284)	12,000 (p.479)

Appendix 4
The Genealogy of Āl Ḥayār



Ibn Taghrī Birdī, Ḥawādith, MS. BM. Add. 23, 294, fols.117b-118a. al-Sakhāwī, Daw’, vol.viii, p.146, vol.x, p.150. R. Ḥanbalī, Durr, MS. Nūrosmāniyya, fols.212b-213a. al-‘Urādī, Ma‘ādīn, fols.79a,b-80a. al-Būrīnī, Tarājim, vol.ii, pp.229-30. al-Ghazzī, Kawākib, vol.ii, p.250. al-Khalīdī, Tārīkh, pp.81, 88, 102. Tritton, A.S., "The Tribes of Syria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries", B SOAS, vol.xii (1948), p.573. Ḥayārī, al-Imarah al-Ṭā’iyya, pp.186-9.

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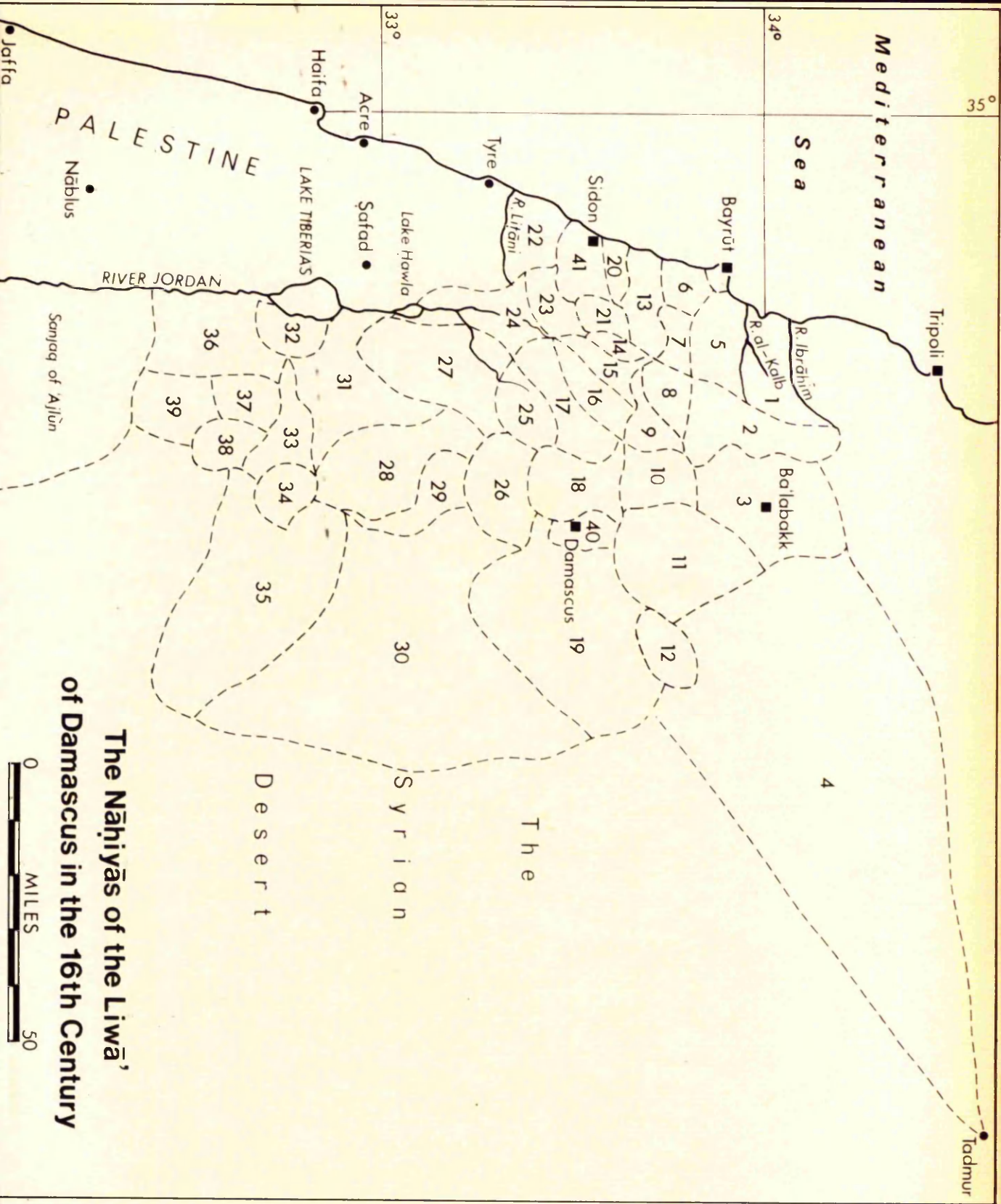
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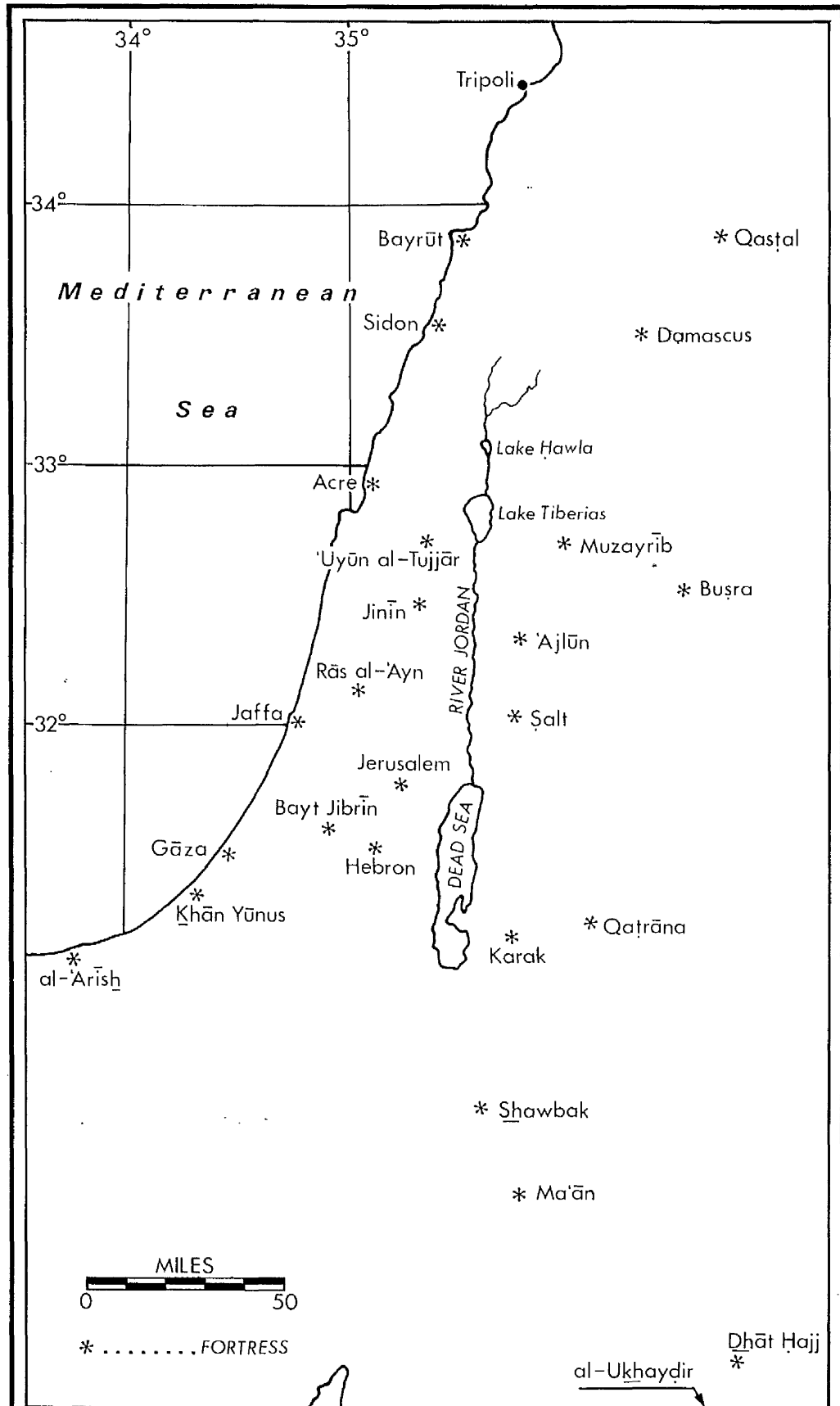
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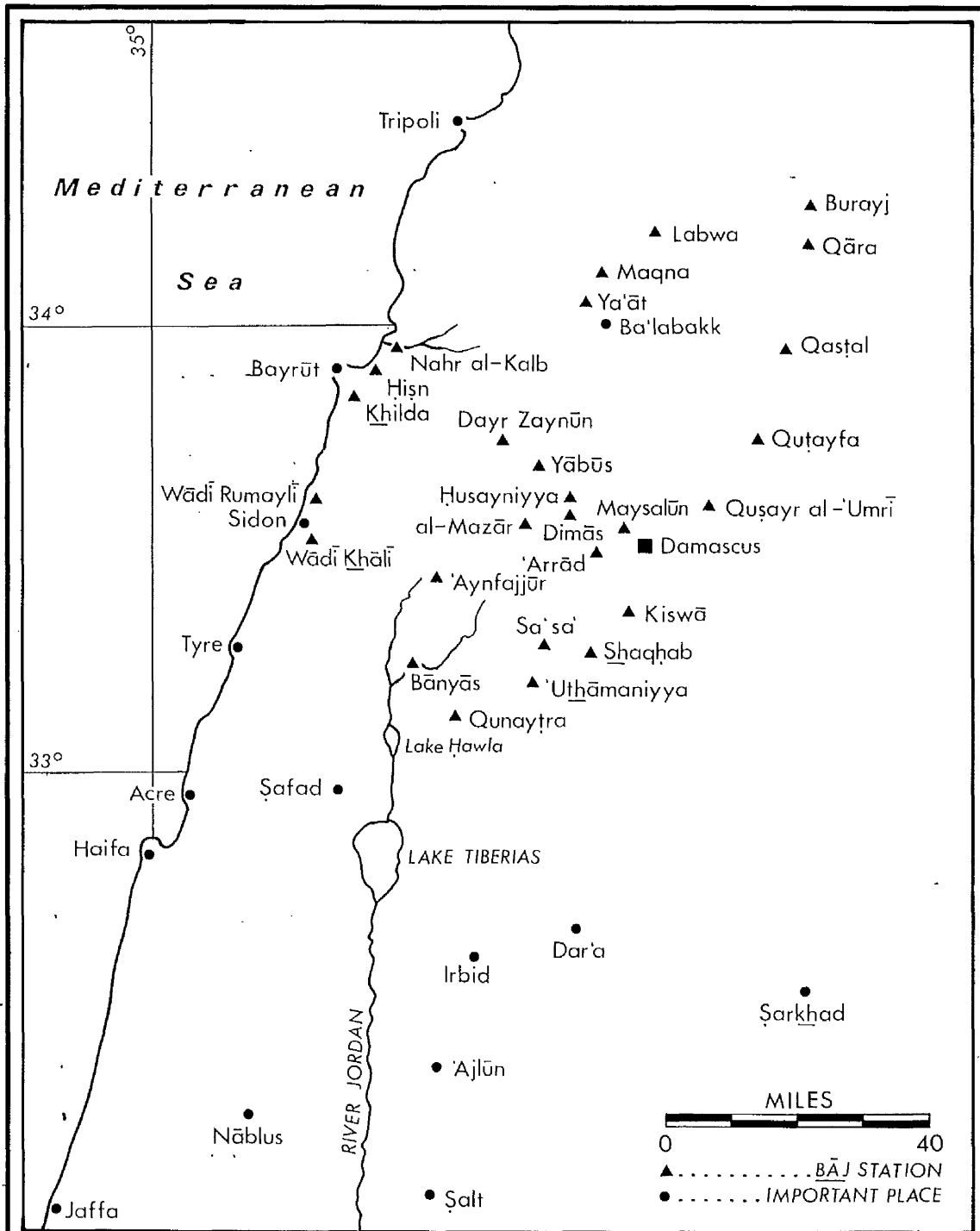
The Nāhiyās of the Liwā' of Damascus in the 16th Century

LEGEND

- Boundary (Approximate)
- Small Town
- Main City
- 1 Kistrawān
- 2 Karak Nūh
- 3 N. Ba'labakk
- 4 Nāhiyat Qāra
- 5 Ma'n
- 6 Gharb
- 7 Jurd
- 8 Qūna
- 9 Hammāra
- 10 Zabādāni
- 11 Jubbat al-'Assāl
- 12 Qalamūn
- 13 Shūf Ibn Ma'n wa al-Shwayrāmī
- 14 Shūf Bayūd
- 15 Iqlīm al-'Arqūb
- 16 Wādī al-'Toym
- 17 Iqlīm al-Billān
- 18 Wādī Baradā
- 19 al-'Marj
- 20 Iqlīm Khar'nūb
- 21 Jizzin
- 22 Iqlīm al-Shūmor
- 23 Shūf al-Harā'īn
- 24 al-Hawla
- 25 Iqlīm zabi'b
- 26 Wādī al-'Ajam
- 27 al-Sha'ra
- 28 Joydūr
- 29 Banū Kilatāb
- 30 Banū Mālik al-Sadīr
- 31 Banū Hilāl
- 32 Banū 'Aitka
- 33 al-Jawlān
- 34 Banū Mālik al-'Ashrāf
- 35 Banū Muqāfid
- 36 Banū Kināna
- 37 Banū Jahmo
- 38 Banū 'Abdullāh
- 39 Banū al-'Asar
- 40 al-Ghawā'ra
- 41 Iqlīm al-'Izzāb



**Distribution of Fortresses
in the Province of Damascus in the 16th Century**



The Distribution of Bāj Stations in the Liwā' of Damascus in the 16th Century