

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

① *Zubdat İhtişār Ta'rīh Mulūk Mişr al-Mahrūsa*, and ② the *Paris Fragment*

① Anonymous, 17th century, and ② Anonymous, 18th century

THE CONTENTS

Zubdat ihtişār ta'rīh mulūk Mişr al-mahrūsa and the *Paris Fragment* cover almost exactly the same time period and describe the same historical events. Both works are chronicles in two parts. In the case of *Zubdat*, the first is an introduction including the author's account of the history of mankind from Adam up to the time of Prophet Muḥammad. This brief, and sometimes inaccurate, narrative occupies one folio (1a-b). Beginning with the Umayyads (2a), it also covers the dynasties that had governed Egypt until the capture of Cairo by Selīm I in 923/1517 (3a). The second part of the work focuses on the successive governors of Ottoman Egypt. Though the discussion of historical events is initially very concise, the author elaborates on almost every single important occurrence from fol. 7a onwards, where the arrival of Aḥmed Paşa (d. 931/1524) in Ramadan 1042/April 1633 is mentioned. *Zubdat* is one of the few sources on Ottoman Egypt of the 17th century, the obscurities and weaknesses of which can be clarified by reference to other contemporary sources.

In the case of the *Paris Fragment*, the first part provides a historical account of the Ottoman Empire since its inception up to the year 1123/1711. The first line of the first folio starts with “*wa-rakabu al-madāfi^c al-kibār*” and is perhaps part of the discussion on the conquest of Constantinople by Meḥmed II (848-50/1444-46 and 855-86/1451-81) in 857/1453. The text then describes the activities of subsequent Ottoman sultans until the reign of Aḥmed III (1115-49/1703-36). This brief account of the history of the Ottoman sultans ends on folio 30a where the author describes the Battle of Prut between Russia and the Ottoman State in Zulqada 1123/July 1711. This first part is conceived as an introduction to the history of Ottoman Egypt starting from 30b, where the title is clearly mentioned as “*al-bāb al-rābi^c fī dīkr wulāt Mişr nuwwāb Āl 'Uthmān*”. The detailed historical narrative in this part of the manuscript ends with an event dated Zulqada 1120/February 1709. Considering that the first part of the manuscript ends as late as 1123/1711, it would be expected that the second, more detailed, part would also extend as far as that date. Instead, it ends abruptly.

In order to avoid repetition below, while giving the contents of the manuscripts, only *Zubdat* will be used for references to these events as well as to gubernatorial reigns. The *Paris Fragment*'s references to the same events can be ascertained by referring to the list of governors included at the end of this entry.

Zubdat's author elaborates on various major events, which he witnessed personally, or, in the case of incidents that occurred outside of Cairo, reports on the authority of presumably reliable sources.¹ He also conveys his personal attitude, and perhaps the attitude of most Egyptians, towards their Ottoman masters. Despite the positive contributions of some governors to the economic and religious life in Egypt, *Zub-*

dat focuses mainly on the failures of the rulers to bring peace and harmony to the newly-controlled province, and highlights their misdeeds or unpleasant behaviors, which led to their dismissal from office or, in some cases, to their murder by the Mamlūk army.

The discussion in the chronicle, which focuses on various aspects of the socio-economic situation during the Ottoman occupation in Egypt in general, and in Cairo, in particular, is quite varied. *Zubdat* not only refers generally to significant changes in certain aspects of the everyday life of the people, but also highlights in particular the recurrent revolts, which were mainly incited by various groups, such as the soldiery of the seven regiments (*ocaq*), the notables (*ashraf*) and the Bedouin.

Various individuals or factions in the army struggled for power in Ottoman Egypt. The first recorded revolts against the Ottoman governors took place during the last months of Sinān Paşa's rule (992-94/1584-86) in Cairo when the Mamlūk army killed some of the governor's comrades (4b). °Alī Paşa, the new governor, fled to Istanbul when he failed to definitively put down the rebels (5a-b). Another series of disturbances caused by the military occurred in 1013/1604, when one of the governors by the name of Ibrāhīm was killed.² The succeeding governor, Meḥmed, took revenge by killing a large number of rebels and expelling about three hundred of them to Yemen. Thus Ottoman control of Egypt was restored for several years.

During the rule of Ḥalīl Paşa (Rabi° I 1041-Ramadan 1042/September 1631-April 1633), Nāmī, a notable from the Hijaz, wrested control of a part of that region (6b). The ruler of Mecca hastily dispatched a letter to Cairo requesting military assistance, which resulted in the subjugation of the rebels. In 1102/1691, the Meccans once again revolted against the *sharīf* of Mecca (24a). This time, the governor of Jedda, Meḥmed Beg, managed to thwart the rebels.

The Bedouin scattered around Egypt also often caused trouble for the Ottoman regime. Among the first incidents recorded by the sources is the revolt of the Bedouin led by Ibn Ma°an, a Bedouin of Druze origin, on the Syrian border (7a). The army, led by Dilāver Beg, was sent in 1044/1634-5 to oppose these Bedouin insurgents. Many years later, in Rajab 1092/July-August 1681, a clash occurred between °Ömer Beg, who was then the new governor of Ġaza, and the Bedouin. °Ömer was later murdered (19a). A series of bitter clashes between the government soldiers and the Bedouin went on for more than ten years. One started in Zulhijja 1098/October-November 1687 when the Bedouin leader, Ibn Wāfī, stationed in al-Buḥaira, caused trouble to the surrounding area by robbing passers-by and stealing camels (20a-b). When confronted by the governor, he knew that he would be defeated and wisely surrendered. Unrepentant, he started a new campaign three years later, in 1102/1689-90, when the Bedouin of al-Buḥaira revolted against the governorship (*sancaq*) and caused hardship to the people (24b-25a). They marched towards Cairo and entered the mosque of al-Azhar. Although sources do not mention the measures taken by the governor to thwart the Bedouin from al-Buḥaira, apparently the provincial govern-

ment failed to solve the problem completely, since in 1110/1698-99 Ibn Wāfi and his allies are known to have robbed pilgrims.

Another issue mentioned in the chronicle is theft. In 1052/1642, thieves raided shops adjacent to the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. The governor Muṣṭafā's apparent ignorance of the problem prompted the shop owners, mostly Maghribīs, to threaten to bring the case to the sultan. The trouble was brought under control by a new governor, Maqṣūd, who took tough measures against the culprits (8a-b). On another occasion, the army seized money and properties belonging to the people of Cairo when there were inadequate funds for an expedition to Yemen (6a-b). This incident happened during the governorship of Meḥmed Paşa (1037-40/1627-30).

The most significant problem that dominated the history of Ottoman Egypt during the 17th century was the dispute between two factions, the Faqārīya and the Qāsimīya, for power in Egypt and its provinces. The Faqārīya was a group thought to have been founded by Dulfaqār Beg³ whose loyal follower was Riḍwān Beg, who continued the movement and was a constant rival of the Qāsimīya.⁴ In 1061/1651, the sultan himself, presumably fearing the increasing popularity of Riḍwān, ordered him to change positions with °Alī Beg, the provincial governor of Jurja (9a-b). °Alī Beg, in a long speech, commended his governor and refused to follow the decree. The command was abandoned by the new governor, °Abdurrahmān Paşa, in 1062/1652.

The death of Riḍwān Beg in 1066/1656 weakened the smooth running of the Egyptian government (9b). The power of the Faqārīya crumbled, and the Qāsimīya managed to overpower their rivals, although the title of leader of the pilgrimage was still held by the Faqārīya. In 1072/1662, İbrāhīm Paşa the "Devil" (*Şeytān*) murdered Aḥmed Beg the "Bosniak," the leader of the Qāsimīya (15a). As P. Holt suggests, due to the death of their leaders, the two factions lived in reasonable peace and insignificance during the later years of the 11th/17th century.⁵ As indicated by the consistent power struggle within the army in general and between these two factions in particular, initial hopes for prosperity at the time of Selīm's conquest of Egypt proved to be ill-founded.

In addition to these political struggles, natural disasters such as flood and drought swept the country almost every few years. Diseases like the plague were also rampant. In 1052/1642-3, such an epidemic struck the whole country. The destruction caused by what was described as one of the worst epidemics in the history of Egypt was particularly overwhelming because it was preceded by a period of very high price inflation, which left the people destitute and starving, without much chance to withstand diseases (8a). In Safar 1098/December 1686-January 1687, another dreadful plague swept through Egypt for four consecutive months. It was also reported that floods struck Mecca several times, the two worst occurrences taking place in 1039/1629-30 and 1091/1680. In the first incident, water damaged the two corners of the Ka'ba, while in the second, the water level reached the Prophet's place of birth, where presumably Masjid al-Ḥaram was submerged by water completely (6a, 19a).

In the aftermath of the murder of Küçük Muḥammad, an influential leader of the Faḡārīya faction, in 1106/1694-5, inflation again soared throughout the country and this economically difficult time continued for almost a year. It was reported that the governor failed to pay salaries and allowances to his officers.

Zubdat's author was also a witness to the disastrous famine, which struck the whole of Egypt in Muharram 1107/August-September 1695, and describes this event in minute detail at the end of his account (29b-30a). According to *Zubdat*, life was so difficult that some people were reduced to cannibalism. Dead bodies were strewn almost everywhere and twenty purses of money, in addition to the donations from the people, were spent by the treasury to bury the dead.

Zubdat reports two separate incidents regarding the position of the Jews in the administration. The first one is the expulsion of all Jews from office upon the arrival of Aḡmed Paṣa in Cairo in 1086/1675, while the second incident was related to a certain Yāsef, a Jew, who gained the trust of the sultan when he visited Istanbul. Suspecting malpractice, the army demanded that the governor hand over Yāsif, who was then murdered in Ramadan 1108/March-April 1697 in al-Rumaila (18a, 33a-34a-b).

There are a few significant historical issues which are left unmentioned, or mentioned only very briefly, in the *Zubdat*. Some of these issues are related to the religious life of the people of Egypt during Ottoman rule, such as the change of *madhabs* and the presence of Sufi orders. Even though the Ottomans, who were Hanafites, changed the existing Shafi'ite chief judge to one from their own *madhhab*, *Zubdat*'s author, fails to address the consequences of these changes for the whole population of Egypt.

Although *Zubdat* concentrates mainly on Ottoman Egypt, a number of events, which occurred in the Hijaz, particularly in Mecca (such as repeated fighting among leaders in the Hijaz as well as natural disasters) are also mentioned. This is probably due to the fact that following the conquest of Egypt, the Ottomans put the Hijaz under the indirect control of Cairo. Henceforth appointments and reports from Mecca were sent to Istanbul via Cairo. Troops, artisans, and more frequently money to finance the administration of the Holy Cities were sent by governors of Egypt. All pilgrims traveling from northern Arabia stopped outside Cairo for supplies before continuing their journey. Pilgrimage leaders, whose duty was to ensure the safe journey of the pilgrims, were also stationed in Cairo.

Despite the political turmoil and natural disasters that befell Ottoman Egypt, the Ottoman army and officials in the province of Egypt constantly fulfilled the sultan's demands in terms of economic as well as military obligations. According to *Zubdat*, the annual remittance was sent on a regular basis to Istanbul and the special troops demanded by the central government from various parts of the empire called *ghurba* responded regularly and swiftly whenever they were needed to support the sultan's army in expeditions.

As Peter Holt suggests, the *Paris Fragment* “supplements and continues the *Zubdat*, but details and phraseology show it to be an independent source”.⁶ It is, however, unlikely that they are the work of the same author. Both manuscripts discuss various historical events in a similar fashion. Yet, there are differences in the expression of their respective views as well as in the style of the language they employ. Although both show some features of Egyptian dialects, the language used by *Zubdat* is more colloquial than that utilized by the *Paris Fragment*. Another indication that suggests that these two manuscripts were written by two different chroniclers is the conspicuous disparity of dates recorded for the same events in both texts. Nonetheless, it is fair to suggest that the author of the *Paris Fragment* had seen and used *Zubdat*.

From the colloquial style of the language used in both manuscripts, it can be said that the authors did not have a formal education on Arabic language. The *Zubdat* is a chronicle based on personal observation. The description on the *Paris Fragment* is however more detailed than that of the *Zubdat* and both were meant to document the weaknesses of the Ottoman administration. The authors, who were likely of Mamlūk origin or locals, were intent on informing their readers that their masters had failed to take full control of the government and were unable to settle disputes among the Mamlūks.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

① *Zubdat İhtisār Ta’rīḥ Mulūk Mişr al-Mahrūsa*

The manuscript consists of 41 folios with 23 to 46 lines per page. Neither the date of the composition of the work nor the copy date of the only extant manuscript of *Zubdat ihtisār ta’rīḥ mulūk Mişr al-mahrūsa* is known. The handwriting being sometimes sloppy, the first three folios were obviously written by one scribe whereas a different handwriting continues from fol. 3 until fol. 40b. On fol. 41a, there are a total of eleven lines in Ottoman Turkish. The handwriting that appears at the beginning of the manuscript resumes on the inside of the back-cover. At times the script is so small that it is almost illegible, while ink smudges occasionally make the manuscript totally unreadable.

Marginal notes are to be found on almost every page of the manuscript. There are also several marginal additions, which introduce new points, elaborate on some existing discussion, or highlight important historical facts (e.g. plagues, obituaries, appointments and dismissals of governors).⁷

The names of Ottoman sultans and governors of Egypt are recorded in red ink. With its title mentioned precisely at the top of the very first folio and concluding with the statement “*intahā wa-Allāhu a‘lam bi’-şawāb*,” the manuscript appears to be complete (41b). Although the name of a certain ‘Alī b. Riḍwān appears on the title page of the manuscript along with some quotations, there is no evidence to suggest that he is the author of the work. It is safer to assume that he was one of the two copyists. The author of this work, therefore, remains unknown.

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

On folio 3a, when discussing the war between the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, the author explicitly mentions *Ta'rīh Ibn Zunbūl* as one of his sources (3a). Although he does not mention any other sources, there is clear evidence to suggest that he quotes Ibn Abissurūr's, *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira fī aḥbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*.⁸

② *Paris Fragment*

The manuscript consists of 78 folios with 23 lines on each page. The manuscript was presumably arranged and paginated in Roman script at the time of binding. The Bibliothèque Nationale, the sole keeper of the extant manuscript, acquired it on 22 January 1877. Parts of the early folios are torn. The manuscript is written in nesih script. There are scores of scribal errors in the composition, though some of these seem to have been amended by the copyist later.⁹ There are also numerous marginal additions, possibly made by the same copyist. The names of the Ottoman sultans and the governors of Egypt are written in red ink. Also the name of each governor is written on a separate line.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Edition: Kamaruzaman Yusoff. *The History of Ottoman Egypt in the 17th Century: Some Unpublished Sources*. PhD Dissertation (Edinburgh University, 1995). Full Arabic text edited.

② *Paris Fragment*

Manuscript: (1) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris MS Arabe 1855, 78 fol, 23 lines, nesih.

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HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

248. Ibidem. “Al-Jabartī’s Introduction to the History of Ottoman Egypt.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 25 (1962), 38-51. Ibidem. “The Career of Küçük Muḥammad.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 26/2 (1963), 269-287. Ibidem. “Dhu’l Faḳāriya.” *EI*² (1965), 233. Ibidem. *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922* (London, 1966). Ibidem. *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt* (Oxford, 1968). Ibidem. “Qāsimiyya.” *EI*² (1979), 722-723. Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī. *al-Damurdāshī’s chronicle of Egypt*. Translated and annotated by D. Creelius and Abd al-Wahhāb Bakr (Leiden, 1991). M. Winter. *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule 1517-1798* (London, 1992).

Egyptian Governors According to Both Manuscripts

	<i>Zubdat</i>	<i>Paris Fragment</i>
Ḥayr Bey	922-928/ 1516-1522 fol.3b	fol.30b
Muṣṭafā Paşa	928-929/ 1522-1523 fol. 3b	13 Zulhijja 928-4 Shawwal 929/ 3 November 1522-16 August 1523 fol.30b
Aḥmed Paşa	930-931/ 1524-1525 fol.3b	28 Shawwal 930-n.d./ 29 August 1524-n.d. fol.31a
Qāsım Paşa	931-932/ 1525-1526 fol.3b	Jumada II 931-n.d./ March 1525-n.d. fol.31a
İbrāhım Paşa	932-933/ 1526-1527 fol.3b	fol.31a
Süleymān Paşa first reign	933-943/ 1527-1536 fol.3b	931-941/ 1525-1535 fol.31b
Ḥusrev Paşa	943-945/ 1536-1539 fol.3b	11 Shaban 941-6 Jumada II 943/ 15 February 1535-20 November 1536 fol.31b
Süleymān Paşa second reign	945-946/ 1536-1537-38 fol.3b	11 Rajab 943-11 Muharram 945/ 24 December 1536-9 June 1538 fol.32a
Dāvūd Paşa	946-957/ 1539-1549 fol.3b	17 Muharram 945-n.d./ 15 June 1538-n.d. fol.32a

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

°Ali Paşa el-Vezîr	957-962/ 1549-1554 fol.3b	5 Şaban 956-Muharram 961/ 29 August 1549-December 1553 fol.32b
Mehmed Paşa	962-964/ 1554-1556 fol.4a	Safar 961-11 Rabi° II 963/ January 1554-23 February 1556 fol.32b
İskender Paşa	964-967/ 1556-1559 fol.4a	15 Rabi° II 963-Rajab 966/ 27 February 1554-April 1559 fol.32b
°Ali Paşa el-Ḥādım	967-968/ 1560-1561 fol.4a	Safar 966-3 Zülhijja 967/ November 1558-25 August 1560 fol.32b
Muştafâ Paşa Şâhin	968-971/ 1561-1564 fol.4a	Rabi° I 968-n.d./ November 1560-n.d. fol.33a
°Ali Paşa el-Şûfî	971-973/ 1564-1566 fol.4a	Rajab 971-Ramadan 973/ February 1564-March 1566 fol.33a
Maḥmūd Paşa	973-974/ 1566-1567 fol.4a	Şawwal 973-20 Jumada II 974/ April 1566-2 January 1567 fol.33b
Sinân Paşa first reign	975-976/ 1568-1568 fol.4a	24 Şaban 975-4 Jumada I 976/ 23 February 1568-25 October 1568 fol.34a
Çerkes İskender Paşa	976-979/ 1568-1571 fol.4a	14 Jumada II 976-n.d./ 4 December 1568-n.d. fol.34a
Sinân Paşa second reign	979-981/ 1571-1573 fol.4a	10 Safar 979-Zülhijja 980/ 4 July 1571-April 1573 fol.34b
Ḥüseyn Paşa	981-982/ 1573-1574 fol.4a	Muharram 981-n.d./ May 1573-n.d. fol.34b
Mesîḥ Paşa el- Tavaşî	982-988/ 1574-1580 fol.4a	982-15 Jumada I 988/ 1574-28 June 1580 fol.34b
Ḥasan Paşa el- Ḥādım	988-991/ 1580-1583 fol.4a	10 Jumada II 988-20 Rabi° II 990/ 23 July 1580-14 May 1582 fol.35a
İbrâhım Paşa	991-992/ 1583-1584	18 Rabi° II 991-10 Şawwal 992/ 11 May 1583-15 October 1584

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

	fol.4b	fol.35a
Sinān Paşa el-Defterdār	992-994/ 1584-1586 fol.4b	13 Shawwal 992-17 Rabi ^c II 994/ 18 October 1584-7 April 1586 fol.35b
Uveys Paşa	994-999/ 1586-1591 fol.4b	12 Jumada II 994-Rajab 999/ 31 May 1586-April 1591 fol.35b
Hāfız Aḥmed Paşa	999-1003/ 1591-1595 fol.4b	16 Ramadan 999-Ramadan 1003/ 8 July 1591-May 1595 fol.36a
Qavurt Paşa	1003-1004/ 1595-1596 Fol.4b	2 Ramadan 1003-Rajab 1004/ 11 May 1595-February 1596 fol.36a
Meḥmed Paşa eş-Şerif	1004-13 Zulhijja 1006/ 1596-17 July 1598 fol.4b	2 Shawwal 1004-Zulhijja 1006/ 30 May 1596-July 1598 fol.37a
Ḥayr Paşa el-Vezir	1006-1010/ 1598-1601 fol.4b	17 Zulhijja 1006-12 Muharram 1010/ 21 July 1598-13 July 1601 fol.37b
°Alī Paşa el-Silāhdār	1010-1012/ 1601-1603 fol.4b	10 Safar 1010-6 Rabi ^c II 1012/ 10 August 1601-13 September 1603 fol.38a
İbrāhīm Paşa	14 Zulhijja 1012-1013/ 14 May 1604-1604 fol.4b	14 Zulhijja 1012-13 Rabi ^c II 1013/ 14 May 1604-8 September 1604 fol.38a
Meḥmed Paşa el-Gürçī	Rajab 1013-1014/ November 1604-1605 fol.5a	Rajab 1013-Safar 1014/ November 1604-June 1605 fol.38b
Ḥasan Paşa	Rabi ^c I 1014-1016/ August 1605-1607 fol.5a	Rabi ^c I 1014-Muharram 1016/ August 1605-April 1607 fol.38b
Meḥmed Paşa	7 Safar 1016-1020/ 3 June 1607-1611 fol.5a	7 Safar 1016-Jumada I 1020/ 3 June 1607-July 1611 fol.39b
Meḥmed Paşa eş-Şūfi	22 Shaban 1020-8 Rabi ^c I 1024/ 30 October 1611-7 April 1615 fol.5a	fol.40b
Aḥmed Paşa	6 Rabi ^c II 1024-12 Safar 1027/ 5 May 1615-8 February 1618	

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

	fol.5a	fol.41a
Muṣṭafā Paṣa	Jumada I 1027-3 Muharram 1028/ April 1618-21 December 1618 fol.5b	n.d.-13 Muharram 1028/ n.d.-31 December 1618 fol.41b
Ca'fer Paṣa	9 Rabi' I 1028-13 Shaban 1028/ 24 February 1619-26 July 1619 fol.5b	n.d.-14 Shaban 1028/ n.d.-27 July 1619 fol.41b
Muṣṭafā Paṣa	1028-1029/ 1619-1620 fol.5b	27 Ramadan 1028-1029/ 7 September 1619-1620 fol.42a
Hüseyin Paṣa	27 Ramadan 1029-19 Rabi' I 1031/ 26 August 1620-1 February 1622 fol.5b	20 Ramadan 1029-19 Rabi' I 1031/ 19 August 1620-1 February 1622 fol.42a
Meḥmed Paṣa el-Büstāncı	14 Jumada II 1031-Ramadan 1031/ 26 April 1622-July 1622 fol.5b	14 Jumada II 1031-Ramadan 1031/ 26 April 1622-July 1622 fol.42b
İbrāhīm Paṣa	7 Ramadan 1031-7 Ramadan 1032/ 16 July 1622-5 July 1623 fol.5b	fol.42b
Muṣṭafā Paṣa	22 Ramadan 1032-18 Shaban 1035/ 20 July 1623-15 May 1626 fol.6a	fol.42b
Bayram Paṣa	19 Shaban 1035-9 Muharram 1037/ 16 May 1626-20 September 1627 fol.5b	fol.43b
Meḥmed Paṣa	9 Muharram 1037-1040/ 20 September 1627-1630 fol.5b	4 Safar 1038-30 Rabi' I 1040/ 3 October 1628-6 November 1630 fol.43b
Mūsā Paṣa	3 Jumada II 1040-16 Safar 1041/ 7 January 1631-13 September 1631 fol.5b	n.d.-Zulhijja 1041/ n.d.-July 1632 fol.44a
Ḥalil Paṣa el-Büstāncı	4 Rabi' I 1041-22 Ramadan 1042/ 30 September 1631-2 April 1633 fol.6a	7 Rabi' I 1041-n.d./ 3 October 1631-n.d. fol.44b
Aḥmed Paṣa el-Gürçü	12 Ramadan 1042-25 Jumada I 1045/ 23 March 1633-6 November 1635 fol.7a	1042-15 Jumada I 1045/ 1633-27 October 1635 fol.45b
Hüseyin Paṣa el-Mecnün	Not mentioned	15 Rajab 1045-15 Jumada II 1047/ 25 December 1635-4 November 1637

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

		fol. 45b
Mehmed Paşa	28 Rajab 1047-11 Jumada I 1050/ 16 December 1637-29 August 1640	8 Rajab 1047-12 Jumada II 1050/ 26 November 1637-29 September 1640
	fol.7a	fol.46b
Muştafâ Paşa el- Büstâncı	10 Jumada II 1050-17 Rajab 1052/ 27 September 1640-11 October 1642	
	fol.7b	fol.47b
Maqşūd Paşa	8 Şaban 1052-14 Safar 1053/ 1 November 1642-4 May 1643	n.d.-11 Safar 1053/ n.d.-1 May 1643
	fol.8a	fol.48a
Eyyüb Paşa	Rabi° I 1054-Rabi° I 1056/ May 1644-May 1646	18 Rabi° I 1054-n.d./ 25 May 1644-n.d.
	fol.8b	fol.48b
Mehmed Paşa Haydarzâde	6 Jumada I 1056-Zulqada 1057/ 20 June 1646-November 1647	
	fol.8b	fol.49a
eş-Şerif Mehmed Paşa	Safar 1058/ February 1648	Safar 1058-17 Safar 1059/ February 1648-2 March 1649
	fol.8b	fol.49b
Ahmed Paşa Arnavut	1059-1061/ 1649-1651	Rabi° II 1059-6 Safar 1061/ April 1649-29 January 1651
	fol.9a	fol.49b
°Abdurrahmân Paşa	n.d.-1062/ n.d.-1652	12 Rabi° I 1061-5 Shawwal 1062/ 5 March 1651-9 September 1652
	fol.9b	fol.50a
Mehmed Paşa Ebünnür	15 Şaban 1063-1066/ 11 July 1653-1656	1063-8 Şaban 1066/ 1653-1 June 1656
	fol.9b	fol.50b
Qara Muştafâ Paşa	15 Shawwal 1066-14 Shawwal 1067/ 6 August 1656-26 July 1657	n.d.-18 Ramadan 1067/ n.d.-30 June 1657
	fol.10a	fol.51a
Mehmed Paşa Şahsüvâr	20 Zulqada 1067-n.d./ 30 August 1657-n.d.	Zulqada 1067-Shawwal 1070/ August 1657-June 1660
	fol.10b	fol.51b
Muştafâ Paşa	1 Zulqada 1069-1071/ 21 July 1659-1661	Shawwal 1070-Shawwal 1071/ June 1660-June 1661
	fol.11b	fol.51b
Şeytân İbrâhîm Paşa	6 Shawwal 1071-11 Shawwal 1074/ 4 June 1661-7 May 1664	

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

	fol.15a	fol.52a
°Ömer Paşa	15 Zulhijja 1074-1077/ 9 July 1664-1667 fol.15a	5 Zulhijja 1074-15 Ramadan 1077/ 29 June 1664-11 March 1667 fol.52b
İbrāhīm Paşa	20 Shawwal 1077-17 Jumada I 1079/ 15 April 1667-23 October 1668 fol.16a	fol.53b
°Alī Paşa	23 Zulqada 1079-1081/ 24 April 1669-1670 fol.16b	13 Zulqada 1079-n.d./ 14 April 1669-n.d. fol.53b
İbrāhīm Paşa Ketḥudā el-Vezīr	23 Muharram 1081-1084/ 12 June 1670-1673 fol.17b	13 Muharram-17 Rajab 1084/ 2 June 1670-28 October 1673 fol.55b
Ḥüseyin Paşa	20 Shawwal 1084-2 Rajab 1086/ 28 January 1674-22 September 1675 fol.17b	fol.57b
Aḥmed Paşa el- Defterdār	6 Shawwal 1086-1087/ 24 December 1675-1676 fol.18a	fol.58b
°Abdurrahmān Paşa	6 Jumada I 1087-10 Shaban 1091/ 17 July 1676-5 September 1680 fol.18b	6 Jumada II 1087-n.d./ 16 August 1676-n.d. fol.58b
°Osmān Paşa	2 Ramadan 1091-1094/ 26 September 1680-1683 fol.19a	fol.59a
Ḥamza Paşa	9 Shawwal 1094-1099/ 1 October 1683-1688 fol.19b	fol.59b
Ḥasan Paşa	17 Safar 1099-15 Zulhijja 1100/ 23 December 1687-30 September 1689 fol.21b	fol.60b
Aḥmed Paşa	16 Muharram 1101-12 Jumada I 1102/ 30 October 1689-11 February 1691 fol.23a	fol.62a
°Alī Paşa	22 Ramadan 1102/ 19 June 1691 fol.24b	22 Ramadan 1102-18 Muharram 1107/ 19 June 1691-29 August 1695 fol.63a
İsmā'īl Paşa	27 Safar 1107/ 7 October 1695	17 Safar 1107-1109/ 27 September 1695-1698

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

	fol.28b	fol.66b
Ḥüseyin Paşa	25 Rajab 1109-1111/ 6 February 1698-1699 fol.36b	fol.69a
Mehmed Paşa	14 Rabi ^c II 1111/ 9 October 1699 fol.41a	n.d.-Rajab 1116/ n.d.-October 1704 fol.71b

Zubdat ends in the year 1111/1699. Information below is from the *Paris Fragment*.

Süleymān Paşa		very short time, probably in name only fol.73b
Mehmed Paşa		6 Shaban 1116-1118/ 4 December 1704-1706 fol.73b
^c Alī Paşa		12 Shaban 1118/ 19 November 1706 fol.74b
Ḥasan Paşa		13 Shaban 1119–1120/ 9 November 1707-1709 fol.76a
Muḥsinzāde		19 Shawwal 1120/ 1 January 1709 fol.76a

¹ *Zubdat*, 30a.

² *Zubdat*, 5a.

³ According to al-Damurdashī, his name was Zain al-Faqqār a leader of the pilgrimage (Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī, *al-Durra al-muṣāna fī akhbār al-kināna*, London, British Museum Or. 1073-74, 5b; Peter Holt, “Dhu’l Faḡārīya,” *EI*² (1965), 233; Peter Holt, “The Exalted Lineage of Ridwān Bey: Some Observations on a Seventeenth-Century Mamluk Genealogy,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 22 (1959), 222-230; Ibidem, “Al-Jabartī’s Introduction to the History of Ottoman Egypt,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 25 (1962), 38-51.

⁴ This group was founded by Qāsīm Beg, a treasurer of the Ottoman government of Egypt in the early sixteenth century. See al-Damurdashī, *al-Durra*, 5b; Peter Holt, “Qāsimiyya,” *EI*² (1979), 722-723.

⁵ Peter Holt, “The Beylicate in Ottoman Egypt During the Seventeenth Century,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 24/2 (1961), 219.

⁶ Peter Holt, *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt* (Oxford, 1968), 8.

⁷ See, for instance, 3b, 9a, 10a-b.

HISTORIANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

C. Kafadar H. Karateke C. Fleischer

⁸ Compare *Zubdat*, 3a to *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira fī aḥbār Mişr wa-l-Qāhira* (MS British Museum Add. 9973), 15a; *Zubdat*, 4b to *al-Kāwakib*, 22b; *Zubdat*, 5a to *al-Kāwakib*, 30b. *Zubdat* follows the very same expressions used by *al-Kāwakib*. Compare *Zubdat*, 3a to *al-Kāwakib*, 15a on the booty taken by Selīm I in Cairo. For the exact same phrases both authors use regarding the governorships of Meḥmed Paşa (1004-06/1595-98) and Maqşūd Paşa (1052-53/1642-44), compare *Zubdat*, 4b, 8a to *al-Kāwakib*, 22b, 59b.

⁹ See *Paris Fragment*, 43a, 52a, 56b, 65a.

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