

#### The problem of succession between ottomans and nobles in the Arab world during the 16th century

إشكالية الخلافة بين آل عثمان والأشراف في العالم العربي خلال القرن السادس عشر ميلادي

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Abstract

ملخص

The study aims at revealing the succession issue as a religious, social and political phenomenon by monitoring and studying the various changes that have taken place in Islamic political thought, and at exhibiting their effects on society and their acceptability of these changes based on doctrinal jurisprudence and political changes in that period. As well, the reasons and solutions of this issue can be taken as a rule in the contemporary period in order to overcome doctrinal problems of a political nature.

Basing on the exploration and analysis of this issue, many other related issues became evident, through which we can identify and confirm that the religious idea has a strong influence on society. Moreover, we can highlight the role of the elite religious scholars, intellectuals, and historians in addressing religious issues of a political nature, demonstrating and confirming the idea of coexistence and accepting the other in solving the political and doctrinal problems between the Arab and Islamic world.

Keywords: Al Osman, caliphate, nobles, Arab world, issue

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف قضية الخلافة كظاهرة دينية واجتماعية وسياسية من خلال رصد ودراسة مختلف التغيرات التي حدثت في الفكر السياسي الإسلامي ومعرفة تأثيراتها على المجتمع ومدى تقبله لهذه التغيرات القائمة على اجتهادات فقهية وكذلك تقلبات سياسية في تلك الفترة،كما يمكن اتخاذ حيثيات وحلول هذه القضية كقاعدة في الوقت المعاصر لتجاوز المشكلات الفقهية ذات الطابع السياسي.

وانطلاقا من عملية الاستكشاف والتحليل لهذه المسألة تتضح الكثير من القضايا الأخرى المرتبطة بها والتي من خلالها نستطيع تحديد وتأكيد أن الفكرة الدينية لها قوة وتأثير كبير على المجتمع ، كما يمكننا إيراز دور النخبة من علماء دين ومفكرين ومؤرخين في معالجة القضايا الدينية ذات الطابع السياسي. إضافة إلى تبيين وتأكيد فكرة التعايش وتقبل الآخر في حل المشاكل السياسية والفقهية بين أبناء العالم العربي والإسلامي.

كلمات مفتاحية: آل عثمان، الخلافة، الأشراف، العالم العربي، قضية.

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# **1. INTRODUCTION**

The question of succession is one of the subjects or issues that have been taken into consideration by anthropologists, historians and clerics, as an ancient and constantly evolving phenomenon, because it is part of the subjective elements of the Arab and Muslim human being and is subject to the factor of time or age, therefore always a central issue.

The question was thus shaped in the modern period in general and in the 16th century, in particular. The question of age for scholars with a number of their terms of reference as the rules of succession changed, and its removal from the proportions of the Qrishis to those of the Ottoman successors who met them after 1517 and united the nation under the name of the Ottoman Islamic Caliphate. In face of these historical and social changes, this question emerged and provoked a wide debate, particularly among the nobles in the Arab world who defended their right of succession, considering it a legitimate right that they monopolized without the rest of the people.

The problem of succession was raised as an international Islamic issue in which Muslim scholars, even non-Muslim orientalises participated in their laws, and jurisprudence, as each party had its motives and objectives based on its rules of self, and one wonders: What are the legitimate rules on which the two Sultans of Ottoman established their right to succession? What was the position of the nobles in the Arab world at that time? How did the Ottoman Caliphate deal with this issue?

This simple study is an attempt to identify the most important legal rules of succession and the position of scholars and scholars, and to explore the ways and means by which the Benny Ottoman Sultans succeeded in overcoming this issue and in including the nobles under their aegis, and in recognizing their authority. Based on the anthropological approach, the issue is described as a social, religious and historical phenomenon, with an emphasis on observation in the development of solutions. These solutions led to the relaxation of this issue, as well as the historical approach to the exploration and organization of events, analyzing them and drawing conclusions from them, as the science of history is a field of anthropology.

# 1- The legitimate rules on which the Sultans of Benny Otman based their succession:

After the expansion operations that the Ottoman state underwent in the modern period in Eastern Europe and Persia reaching the Arab countries with the fall of the Mamalek state in Egypt in 1517 by Sultan Salim I, who annexed the region of Hidjaz (the centre of the Islamic sanctuaries). The Islamic states, including the Mamalek were unable to defend the sanctuaries. Then, there was no unified and inclusive Islamic force, that could unite them, and they were powerful in the face of Portuguese and Spanish dangers. In these circumstances, circumstances were very favourable for the Ottomans to carry the mission of succession and to transfer it for the first time from the Qrishi- Sharif raid to Al-Ajam, considering that Al Othman was a Muslim-Ajam. During these events, a conflict or rebellion led by certain nobles in remote areas, particularly the nobles of Yemen and Al-Aqsa Morocco, split the opinions of scholars on the Ottoman succession into two parts : The first part of the Ottoman succession is based on the texts and legal opinions of people like Lotfi Pasha. The second part states that the Abbasid Caliph Al-Motaouakil renounced the title of Caliph to the Ottoman Sultan after the opening of Egypt. Supporters of this opinion were orientalises, including Morad jiadoson who did not mention any source in the transmission of this event. In the face of the position of certain Arab historians such as Ibn Ayas and Muhammad Al-Ichbili, who did not mention the incident of the concession of succession, as they described the Ottoman sultan as the honourable chair of the caliphate (Barakat, 2000, p.25).

The Ottoman scholar Lotfi Pacha talked a lot about this issue on the basis of doctrinal rules on which to explain it because the power to which the Caliph is wanted and in the language is the argument and ability of the king, and in the definitions. It is the Holy "Al-Ouali" no less and no more, this was the Caliph. Lotfi Pasha says that one will be Sultan by two ways: by way of election (Moubaya'a) and the election with them becomes an election of the nobles and men of Shoura" the advisers in Arabic) and by way of execution of his supremacy but if he cannot overcome them, he no longer becomes a Sultan (Lotfi Pasha, 2001, p50). In this sense, we

conclude that power and predominance are the legitimate aspects of the fulfilment of the mission of succession. He based his positions on the sound and honest hadith of the Prophet because the objective according to him is that the sultan in religion means power, strength and predominance. "Obey the Sultan, says the Messenger of God (may Allah bless and give him), "and if he orders you an Abyssinian slave". What is required of the Caliph is order for good and the cessation of evil. If he fulfills the conditions mentioned in a person, i.e. the predominance and establishment of religion in justice and order of the common good, the denial of evil and the general command, he will be a power that is worthy of bearing the title of Imamat. (Succession). The Caliph and EL-Ouali as Muhammad says: "May the prayer and peace of Allah be upon him: "Whoever died and did not know the successor of his time is dead like the dead of the time of jahilliya" (Lotfi Pasha, 2001, p. 47). As for the sociologist's position, Ibn-Khaldun says that governance is only established by predominance and predominance is only established by fanaticism (Ibn Khaldun, 2000m, p. 165). Religious fanaticism is the need to support guardians and relatives who are fallible or oppressed, and the call for advocacy and lobbying for parents and guardians (Deradji, 2003, p. 23). The position of nobles in the Arab world has varied from region to region, considering that not all those who carry the honourable lineage are included in the Sunni sect and 'Aljama'a) group, and for the Al-Zaidiyin nobles in Yemen, their position was clear on this issue, the Imamat (succession) is to choose learned men not by text. They said in the Imamat (succession): "Ali, then his son Al-Hassan, then his brother Al-Hussein, then his son Ali Zine Al-Abidine and then his son Zaid Ibn Ali". The first of the conditions of the Imamatis that the Imam is a charged, free, erudite, Allaoui-Fatimid, just and generous, and a noble (sheriff), and also a condition of the Imamat, namely the sword or power and predominance (Wasfi, 1980, p.20).

The nobles of Extreme Morocco had a position opposed to the legitimate Ottomans. The legal basis on which Moroccan scholars and nobles built in the 16th century was the inadmissibility of the favourite against the best (Maline, 2013, p. 44). The nobles of the countries of Hijaz and Cham (Greater Syria) entered into the obedience of the Ottomans and recognised the Ottoman sultans' right to succession even though they were not

descendants of the Prophet (May the prayer and peace of Allah be upon him).

As there is a legitimate rule in which honourable people participate according to their doctrines is the origin of Quraysh. It is a precondition for who takes the succession, and this condition exists in the noble prophetic Sunna. The Prophet (May Allah bless him and grant him salvation) says: "Imams of Quraysh", a statement agreed upon by the Sunnis and Al-jma'a

The first is the fact that both countries have participated in the development of the Islamic state, which is the main reason why the Islamic regime is a member of the Islamic regime. This hadith, according to the interpretation of the scholar Lotfi Pasha in his reply to the nobles and their scholars, takes place in the early days of Islam and not in this period, and this means the period of the Ottomans. If the Imams must be from Quraysh and not others because the Imamat of the time of the succession of Abu-bakr Al-Seddik, at the end of the Abbasid Caliphate; after that it is a problem, as Saadeddine Al-Tefterani said (Lotfi Pasha, 2001, p. 43). It is a problem because they are not a successor because the Caliphs Al-Rashidineare the ones who continue the prophecy. Nor is he an Imam because the Imamatis from Quraysh, but in the case of the sultans it is through supremacy and oppression, not aptitude and right. Then, the name of Imam and successor cannot be granted to the sultans. This is not true and false, according to Lotfi Pasha, and it is outside Sunni and Jama'a, but it is in accordance with the opinion of the Imams of Raouafidhs, 'the opponents' who gave the right to the succession of Ali and the succession of twelve Imams (Lotfi Pasha, 2001,p43).

Thus, the Ottoman sultan became the legitimate and just ruler of the Islamic state, 'It is true that there were Sunni rulers (nobles) in distant places like MERRAKECH, across the river, and in India, but they are so far away that they cannot influence the great events of the world' (Louis, 1982, p. 69). There is nothing more to be said about succession or Imamat for those who do not recognise the name of the Imam and the Caliph to the Sultan who is the son of Sultan Soleiman Khan son of Sultan Salim Khann.... must give a religious justification and not a mental interpretation (Lotfi Pasha, 2001, p. 68). Thus, the fifth flag was established on the path of succession in the Ottoman state, it was a long red flag. Words about this

country, its magnitude and deed, Islamic greatness and honour, cannot be said in books and do not make the pens except at least about it (Al-Kanssousi, DT, p61).

### 1- The position of the Arab nobles on the succession of Al Otman:

# **2.1-** The relationship between the nobles of Hidjaz and Al-Sham and the Ottoman Caliphate :

The Ottomans entrusted the Islamic Caliphate to subdue all those under their rule and unify the word of the nation under the banner of Islam with their different intellectual and religious doctrines, including those who are the offspring of the Prophet (May Allah bless him and grant him salvation), just as Al-Sherif (the noble) is the free man who comes from the ancestors who originated. The thing that makes him desire for social and political status in society and the word of Sheriff (the noble in French culture) linguistically means the sublime and the high (Aknouch, D, T, p. 102).

Faced with this reality, the Ottoman successors tried to take care of this social class of Sheriffs (the nobles) and grant them privileges and make them only a social status, since the Ottoman world order in general has never aimed at denying any nation or community whatsoever, nor has it acted or thought of eliminating it. On the contrary, the system that has made these nationalities and communities effective and involved in Ottoman politics and civilization (Ozotouna, 1988, p13). The political system adopted by the Islamic Caliphate in this framework is the Mustasmaeyaletler system, which is used in other states outside the public administrative systems or fiscal costs, including the special status of Yemen. The reason for what the Ottomans follow this regime is that the owners of these provinces or states are different religions and doctrines such as the Sheriffs (nobles) of Yemen, or are nomads (Saban, 2000,p645)

The system of Sheriffs (nobles) adopted by the Ottoman Empire in the Hidjaz and Sham is the system of Al-charafa (Shared Governance), i.e. the Ottoman governor, who governs the Hidjaz, is assisted by the representative of the nobles and is responsible for the country (Wasfi,

1980, p. 24). The Ottoman Empire cannot make any political or social decisions without consulting a captain or a representative of the nobles, which is a social and political advantage for these honourable people (Indjalik, 2002: 169).

In return, the positions of the Hidjaz nobles were in the honourable direction with the Ottomans in the 16th century, when they were held and defended against Ottoman domination, regardless of their legitimate disagreement on the one hand, and the power of the Ottoman state on the other. The Ottoman Empire was the best way to defend Islamic shrines against the crusader invasion that threatened them. The Portuguese leader Albuquerque had a plan to destroy the Holy Kaaba and to violate its sanctuaries (Zine Al-Abidine, 2009, p56), so the position of the Hijaz nobles was not arbitrary. Islam and the interests of the nation demand the collapse of the Ottoman caliphs, who are powerful and dominant.

In the region of Cham (Greater Syria), it was the same with the nobles, where masters and nobles were granted the reign of the provinces in which they were self-administered, as if they were heirs and rulers for life outside the classical Ottoman way of governing the other provinces (kondez Oustok, 2008, p226). The nobles of Cham (Greater Syria) benefited politically and socially from this aspect and this is borne out by the testimony of Western historians such as the historian Robert Mantéran, who says that the Ottoman Empire granted them the concerns, privileges and immunities, which provoked such envy that many Muslims sought to integrate into their ranks (Mantéran, 1993, p. 571).

The Ottoman Caliphate thus found a reliable solution to integrate the nobles into its regime and peacefully resolve their opposition to Bilad Elcham (Greater Syria) and the Hidjaz without choosing the solution of power it had taken against the nobles of Yemen and the nobles of the extreme Maghreb in certain historical periods of the 16th century.

#### 2.2- Al-Khilafa (the Ottoman succession) and the Yemeni nobles :

Ottoman policy towards nobles differed from state to state or region to region, depending on the nature of the interaction and the response it received from the nobles, whether the nobles of Al-Hidjaz and Al-Sham accepted Ottoman authority as a legitimate succession. The Yemeni nobles rejected it, followed by a doctrinal war. A decade that lasted until the 16th century, when the Al-Zaidiin nobles of Shiite faith waged a fierce doctrinal war against the Ottoman successors, However, the Tahiri nobles were less opposed, because of their adherence to Sunni doctrine and to Jama'a (the group of the Prophet Muhammed may Allah's blessing and salvation be uponhim).

The Zaidi have led several revolutions and rebellions against Ottoman domination, and have considered them to be rapists of the Imamat and the succession and that they have the most right to do so. Most of their revolutions were based on the rule of Imamat rule, and one of the most famous was Imam Qassem's revolution and appeal in 1006-1597, in which he fought the Ottomans and their Sufi followers (Al-Amri, 2015, p308). His appeal is that the Ahl Al- Bait (the offspring of the Prophet Mohammed) have the right to rule and favour them over the rest of the people. Imam Al-Qasem insisted much on this point, and said that it should not be negotiated, saying: "I swear by Allah to wage war on you and to defy you and fight you to the end" (Al-Amri, 2015, p399). All studies show that the causes of the troubles in Yemen during the 1600s werethe

Yemeni attachment to the idea of the Imamat (Ali Wasfi 1981, p11), hence, the Ottomans suffered greatly during this period 1538-1547. During this period, some 80,000 soldiers were sent to the force, and Ahmad Djalbi Daftar Dar, said: 'We did not see a real Yemen for our entire population, and we made an army out of it and only the few individuals returned' (Saleh Aziz, 2015, p43).

To overcome this, the Ottomans tried to win their good hands by offering them a bilateral judgment, as the Ottomans, according to researcher Abdel Hakim Ahmed Al-Hidjri, did not enter the Zaidi areas of Qassem governance and implicitly recognised his son Mohammad Al-Moayyad Allah, who succeeded him after his death in the Ottoman

message to Yemen Mohammad Pasha (Ahmed Al-Hidjri). 2015, p23), before that, the Ottomans, in 1547, granted the title of Bilk to Imam Sharafeddin, recognising him as the governor of Omran and its environs and what is known is that Imam Sharafeddin was Zidi sheriff of noble offspring (Saleh al-Aziz, 2015, p43).

It should be noted here that the Ottoman state has also pursued a policy of division and domination by creating sectarian conflicts, whether between Zaïdis and Tahrians or between Zaïdis themselves, and has often recognised the Zaïdi rebel of the great imam, with the aim of weakening them politically and militarily.

As for the nobles of Tahri, which was based on Sunni doctrine and the Jama'a (the group), they also strongly opposed Ottoman domination, where their concentration was in Aden. Yemen was at the beginning of the Ottoman presence an administrative unit called Sandjak, whose reign was by Matterediine and after his death, his sons succeeded him in Sandjak (Yemen) (Sabban, 2015). Subsequently, rebellions began against Ottoman rule, the Yemeni leader Motahereddine was in the Ottoman party. In a decree issued by Ottoman Sultan Murad III to Minister Hassan Pasha on 11 December 1587, he declared that El- Mottaher had been sincere and truthful withour governance ,Istanbul ,and was therefore granted the sadjaque and his sonsreceived thesanjaque and when their father died, corruption and

rebellion moved in their blood (Saban 2015. P345).

Despite these rebellions, the Ottoman state managed to suppress them. But what is observed in the Yemeni revolutions or revolutionary overtures is that they differed between the two Zaidi and the Tahrians, because they were less intense for the Sunnis and the Jama'at. We therefore conclude that religious fanaticism played a major role in the Yemeni Ottoman conflict.

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# **2.3-** Position of the nobles of Extreme Morocco towards the Ottoman Caliphate :

The remote Maghreb region is considered the second cradle of the Ahl-Albait people (offspring of the Prophet Mohammed) in their opposition to the political systems in the East and in Morocco since the time of the Abbasid Caliphate. Morocco saw the emergence of the state of Addarissa, the nobles who opposed Abbasid rule in the east. Throughout Islamic history, the region experienced waves of migration of nobles from Ahl Albait in the east, escaping the subsequent murders in their homeland, because Morocco is geographically far from the east, the seat of the Abbasid caliphs. The second reason is the nature of Moroccan society, which sanctified the noble descendants. Throughout history, the nature of appeals to states was religious, based on the noble lineage. In the 16th century, when the creation of the state of the Sa'adian nobles was known, the nature of their call was religious.

The historian El-Yevrni says: "It is enough to testify to the validity of their noble ancestry (the one who commanded God) or that they gave him the great imamat, whose holiness is pronounced only by the honourable lineage, the original Qurashi" (El-Yevrni, 1998, p12). The Moroccan people are so preoccupied and attached to the nobles at the bridge that they kiss them in the head and in the hands. They guide their daughters to the nobles, letting them marry without the obligatory fees (Al Ziyani, 2008, p13). The most eminent personalities of this period are the scholar Mohammad Ibn Soleimane Al- Jazouli, attributed to JaafarIbn Abdellah Al-KamelIbn Al-Hassan Al-Motabani, Ibn Al-Hassan Al-Sabet, Ibn Fatma, daughter of Mohamed peace be upon him, and the nobles of the Al-Ziyadines, the offspring of Al-Qasim, 2008, p 48-49).

From this point of view, we conclude that the honourable lineage played a great role in establishing the call of Sa'adien and the establishment of the state of the nobles with the support of Moroccan society, and that their position was difficult towards the successors of Beni Othman, and that it was difficult for them to include Extreme Morocco. "The Saadians hardly contributed to any part of Morocco's political life until they found

help, and they found most of the nation belonging to Zaouaouias...; They were strong and enthusiastic, confident in their faith, fighting the Spaniards and Portugal" (Benbrahim, 1936, p 36). The Ottoman relationship with the Sa'adian nobles thus entered a phase of tension, especially after those who refused to succeed the Ottomans, considering it a violation of their legitimate rights of succession and Imamat. "The theory of

sovereignty in Morocco, although it is in principle part of the theory of succession, has remained independent of the house of succession, affected by its general system of Atlantic traditions, not open to the great oriental fluctuations (Al-Hijawi, 2003, p25). Most of the leaders of the Sa'adian noble state opposed the Ottoman presence and rejected it politically and legitimately. The current founder of the Sa'adian state, Mohamed El-Sheikh Al-Saadi, was a caliph opposed to the Ottomans, and this is reflected in his description of the Ottoman successor, Suleiman, Al-kanoni by 'Sultan of the ships', challenging him for the region of Egypt (unknown, 1994, p. 31).

Sultan Abdellah Al-Mouhasib succeeded him because he had to approach the succession of the Ottomans and considered them as occupiers, who challenged them on several occasions, when he defeated them in 965 hegira/1557 hegira, in the battle of Ouadi Al-Laban . He attacked Telemcen, which had been under Ottoman rule for more than once, was attacked for taking it in 967 hegira/1573 (Harakat, 2000, p. 254)

His successor, Mohammed Al-Motawakkil, continued the same approach, butit did not take long for his uncle, Sultan Abdel Malek Al-Mo'atasem, to succeed him in 1576, with the support of the Ottomans. The Ottomans found support to extend their domination and establish it in the distant Maghreb, in an attempt to refine the scenario of the Yemeni nobles and the Hidjaz through bilateral reign. Sultan Abdel Malik worked to imitate the Ottoman regimes in politics, society and economy, thus exposing a new reality in the history of relations between the nobles and the successors of Benni Othman (Saadi, 1981, p207).

In view of this positive attitude of Sultan Al-Saadi towards the Ottomans, he treated him especially if we know that he played the role of mediator in

the reconciliation between him and his brother Sultan Abdallah. In a letter from the Ottoman Caliph of Sharif Abdallah, he mentioned the noble lineage that distinguishes them from others, "In our previous speech in Humayun, we expressed our desire to bring about reconciliation and reform among you, especially since you are Muslim sultans in addition to being a noble" (Algerian National Archives, 1570, judgment no. 6:625). In another message, aspects of Ottoman care are shown towards Abdel Malek. We say to your honourable side that they have been characterised, in comparison with their peers, other princes and parties, by affiliation to our high noble origin of the sultans . In another letter to the Emir of Algeria, he ordered that he should not be subject to the king or any other, or interfere in the affairs of Morocco, and that heshould cooperate

with whatever he asked (Algerian National Archives, 1577, judgement no. 421). Thus, Ottoman policy towards the nobles of Morocco is clear: it wants to repeat the experience of the Hidjaz and Cham in Morocco, granting them their own political privilege, and in accordance with the spiritual and political nature of their pro-honourable society.

This policy did not last long after the death of Sultan Abdel Malik in the battle of Ouadi Al-Mazin 1577. His successor was Sultan Ahmad Al-Mansour, whose hostility towards the Ottomans appeared a few years after his reign. Heworked to revive the ambition of the caliphate and appointed himself prince of the believers based on his honors and sent to the surrounding regions to ask for allegiance, including his message to the governor of Burno Idris Alouma (Al-Quastilani, D.T, p114). This ambition is most evident in his message to the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, who speaks in his preamble of the noble origin and the need to circumvent it:

"The people of the holy offspring are not the only ones who follow the example of the Prophet, and the people who are the most satisfied with Allah, with their time, to grant him in the presence of his holy place the wonderful gardens". In the light of this, the new Moroccan rejection of the Ottoman Caliphate, which in turn considered this oversight, is obvious and avoids confronting them directly in order to avoid great losses because

they do not face a political system, but rather a society well known for a religious idea that is difficult to invent or modify.

### 4. CONCLUSION

Succession is a subject that has been studied in religious terms but not so politically and socially, and through this simple research we have explored some points through which to build any political system compatible with any society, as well as some solutions that manage social and political crises. These include :

Religious fanaticism was and still is the mould of the social unity of any nation. Thanks to this fanaticism, a powerful state can be built, and any factor or circumstance that disrupts the existence of the nation can be challenged. This neuron also contributed to the nature of the Ottoman state's policy towards the nobles during this period.

The doctrinal conglomerate is a factor in the disintegration of nations because the Yemeni experience through hostility between the Zaidin and Tahirin nobles allowed the Ottomans to establish their rule in Yemen, and should therefore be avoided to avoid violations.

Rebellion is the common factor between Yemen and the nobles of Extreme Morocco, with the exception of the nobles of Al-Hidjaz and Al-Sham, and the geographical factor played a role in this respect, Yemen and Extreme Morocco being far from the centre of the Ottoman Caliphate in Istanbul.

The main factors that unite nations and lead to political and social stability and prosperity are the exclusion and marginalisation of the Ottoman state, which is the leadership of the Hidjaz and Cham nobles through their participation in the government and granting them a special status that has contributed to stability and increased economic activity.

The honourable offspring of the Prophet is of great importance in the intellectual perception of Arab societies, and is part of the religious faith

that is observed in their attachment to the nobles and fighting with them in the name of jihad, despite difficult conditions and circumstances.

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