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JALILI HOUSEHOLD IN OTTOMAN
MOSUL, 1726-1834

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by
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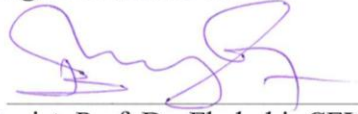
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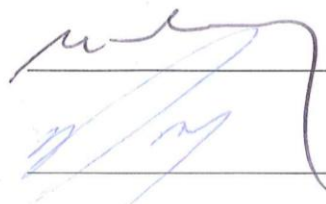
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ABSTRACT

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Jalili Household in Ottoman Mosul, 1726-1834

This study covers the period between 1726 and 1834, and concentrates on the cultural, economic and political activities of the Jalili family, which held the post of governorship at Mosul. With intervals, Jalili family members served as the governors of Mosul for more than a century. They served the Ottoman central administration by provisioning the Ottoman army with food supplies and providing for the needs of the army. Jalili İsmail Pasha gained the governorship of Mosul by taking the *mukataas* around Mosul in 1726. The family came to the fore when Mosul was besieged by Iran and Jalili Hüseyin Pasha defended the city successfully against Nadir Shah in 1743. Thus, a new dynasty loyal to the Ottoman Empire emerged. During their period under the sovereignty of Ottomans, Mosul not only developed culturally, but also returned to the Iraqi-Arab and pre-Mongol period. The Jalili family established pious foundations (*vakıfs*) and contributed to the physical structure of Mosul, by constructing many mosques and *madrasas*. In addition, in this period, many poets and writers had grown up in Mosul. Between the factions of the Jalili family there appeared antagonism for dominance in provincial politics. The Mamluks in Baghdad had stood against the more powerful family of Hüseyin Pasha holding the office of governor in the city, causing conflicts between families. Conflicts between the members of the Jalili household caused the weakening of the family. Furthermore, during the governorship of Yahya Pasha, who was the last Jalili governor, there were rebellions against the governor and disputes emerged between Yahya Pasha and the governor of Baghdad, Davut Pasha. In accordance with the centralization policy of Mahmud II, the administration of the Jalili family in Mosul came to an end in 1834.

Keywords: Jalili family, Mosul, Iraq, Ottoman Empire

KISA ÖZET

Ayşen AY

Ocak 2013

Osmanlı Musul'unda Celili Hanedanı, 1726-1834

Bu çalışmada 1726-1834 yılları arasında Musul'da valilik yapmış Celili ailesinin siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel faaliyetleri anlatılmaktadır. Celili ailesinin mensupları yaklaşık olarak bir asır Musul'da aralıklar ile valilik yapmıştır. Celili ailesi 18. yüzyıldaki Osmanlı-İran savaşlarında Osmanlı ordusunun iâşesini sağlama görevini başarıyla yürütmüştür. 1726 yılında Celili İsmail Paşa'nın Musul ve çevresinin mukataalarını almasıyla valilik makamını da almıştır. Celili ailesi Nadir Şah'ın 1743 yılında Musul'u kuşatması sırasında Hacı Hüseyin Paşa'nın şehri kahramanca savunması ile ön plana çıkmıştır. Böylece Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na bağlı bir hanedan ortaya çıkmıştır. Musul Celili ailesi döneminde Osmanlı ve Moğol öncesi Irak-Arap çizgisine dönmüş ve kültürel anlamda gelişmiştir. Celili ailesi şehirde vakıflar kurmuş, bir çok cami ve medrese yaptırarak Musul'un fiziki yapısını değiştirmiştir. Ayrıca bu dönemde Musullu bir çok şair ve edip yetişmiştir. Celili haneleri arasında Musul'da egemen olmak için hizipleşmeler olmuştur. Aileler arasındaki çatışmalarda Bağdat valileri şehirde valilik makamını elinde bulunduran ve daha güçlü olan Hüseyin Paşa'nın sülalesine karşı diğer Celili ailelerini desteklemiştir. Celili ailesi arasındaki çatışmalar zamanla ailenin gücünün zayıflamasına sebep olmuştur. Ayrıca son Celili valisi olan Yahya Paşa döneminde şehirde valiye karşı ayaklanmalar olmuş, Yahya Paşa ile Bağdat valisi Davut Paşa arasında da anlaşmazlıklar meydana gelmiştir. II. Mahmut'un (1808-1839) merkezîyetçi politikaları çerçevesinde Celili ailesinin Musul'daki yönetimine 1834 yılında son verilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Celili, Musul, Irak, Osmanlı

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.E.T	Ali Emiri Tasnifi
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C.DH.	Cevdet Dahiliye
DİA	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi
EI ²	Encyclopaedia of Islam (New edition)
İA	İslam Ansiklopedisi, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
Ş.D	Şura-yı Devlet
H.H	Hattı Hümayun

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INTRODUCTION

“With its two thousand households, the city was located on the hillside of a mountain which resembles paradise, and was prosperous. Its spring waters stem from the iron mines and because of this their tastes were not good. All of its mosques, public bathrooms, had iron frames.”¹

The Ottoman province of Mosul was described by Evliya Çelebi in this way when he visited the city in the 16th century. Mosul was certainly one of the most important parts of Iraqi geography, namely “*hutta-i Irakiyye*”. The present-day geographic region of Iraq was given two different names until the end of the eleventh century. The north was called “Irak’ul-Acem”, and the south was called “Irak’ul-Arab”. According to old Arabic writers and geographers, Iraq was called, literally, “the land of two rivers”. It consists of two regions, the south region “Iraq” and the north “al-Jazirah”.²

Iraq is known to extend to the region of the border of Northern Iraq, including Tikrit, from the Basra Gulf in the south, from Hulvan in the east, and from Kâdisiye in the west. Iraq consists of four regions which have different topographic features and climate. Al-Jazirah is located in the hills which stretch towards the north-north-

¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmet Zilli IV. Kitap Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 305 numaralı Yazmanın Traskiripsiyonu Dizini*, compiled by Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), p. 203. (*Erdebil hâkimde başka sultanlıktır. Kim bin nökere maliktir. Şehri ikibin haneli bağ-ı irem misâl dâmeni-i kûha vaki olmuş. Kal’asız bir ma’mûr-u râbattır. Amma suyu demir madenlerinden gelmek ile memdûh değildir. Câmileri ve hân-u hamamı ve çâr sû-yı şâhisi vardır. Cemî-i derveze ve revzenleri cümle demirdendir. Zira bu şehrin hayalinde olan kûhda yedi yerdeahen ma’deni olur. Kim Gence diyârında olmazdır. Ve polad-ı Nahşevan’dân latif âheri olur.*)

² Sinan Maruf, *Osmanlı Döneminde Musul ve Şehrizer (Kuzey Irak) Vilayetlerinin Sosyal ve İktisadi Durumu (1831-1914)*, unpublished PhD, (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 1997), p. 4.

east mountainside, the valley of the Euphrates in the west to the border of present-day Saudi Arabia and Jordan. From the deserts, the section between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers consists of the combination of two rivers, Şattül-Arab, which covers the delta and marshlands.³

The Tigris and Euphrates rivers have given life to the region throughout history. These rivers are used for irrigation and transportation in the region. Topographic features in Iraq have crucial importance in terms of distribution of demography and settlements. In particular, the fertile crescent, that is to say the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, is the subject of dense settlement. This area is the richest part agriculturally of Iraq.⁴

Among the geographic features of the region, the climate is quite effective, while the north-northeast mountainous area's cold climate is effective; in al-Jazirah a mild climate is dominant. The summer season is hot and rainless. The spring season is not experienced so much.⁵

Unlike the north section, the central and lowlands are affected by floods. The Tigris and Euphrates are regarded as "twin rivers" because of the big difference in terms of the structure of the water regime and unexpected flooding, unlike the Nile river in Egypt. These floods make irrigation difficult and damage bridges over these rivers and surrounding lands. After the floods, the swamps usually cause epidemics of malaria and cholera.⁶

Why Mosul and the Jalili Household?

This study will focus on the province of Mosul, which was the center of the historic al-Jazirah region. Al-Jazirah takes its name from the fact that it lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Greek geographers had earlier referred to this region as

³ Erdoğan Akkan, "Irak", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (hereafter DİA) Vol.19, p. 83.

⁴ Akkan, "Irak", *DİA*, Vol. 19, p. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 84.

⁶ Ebubekir Ceylan, *The Ottoman Origins of Modern Iraq: Political Reform, Modernization and Development in the Nineteenth-Century Middle East*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), p.23.

“Mesopotamia”.⁷ The term Mosul came from the Arabic “wasala”, which means to reach and arrive, relating to the meeting of the arms of a river to form a single stream.⁸ One of the reasons for the usage of the term was that Mosul was a region of transportation between the Tigris and the Euphrates, linking Iraq and al-Jazirah. The city is also called “*Ummu’r-Rabi ‘ayn*”⁹, a term that emphasized Mosul’s green nature in the spring and autumn.¹⁰ Established on the river bank of the Tigris, the geographical position of Mosul allowed easy defense of the city against aggressors from neighboring cities. On the other hand, Mosul has strategic importance as the transit area between Anatolia, Baghdad, and the southern deserts. In this context, the city has a crucial role in connecting Aleppo, Baghdad and Basra.

The conquest of Mosul and its hinterland by the Ottomans in the early sixteenth century developed the city in terms of physical structure and population.¹¹ Apart from its Muslim and Arab dominated population, the city was also housing members of different ethnicities and believers of different religions, such as Nestorian Christians and Jews.

The scope of this study is Mosul in the Jalili era. The reason why Mosul and the Jalili household is selected as the research topic is that there are many academic studies on Arab provincial capitals such as Cairo, Aleppo, Baghdad, Jerusalem and Damascus. Despite the fact that Mosul is the one of the most important cities in Iraq and the biggest city in Iraq after Baghdad, the number of academic studies on Mosul is quite insufficient. Moreover, a considerable number of studies dwelling on the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries are available, but the history of eighteenth-century Mosul has, to a great extent, been ignored.

It is well known that until recently, scholars working on Ottoman history had a tendency to focus either on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which have been

⁷ Nilüfer Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul Eyaleti*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), p. 1.

⁸ E. Honigmann (C. E. Bosworth) “Al-Mawsil”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (hereafter EI), Vol. VI, p. 899.

⁹ Ummu’r-Rabi‘ayn literally means the mother of autumn and spring.

¹⁰ *Musul Salnamesi*, 1325, Def’a 4, p. 91.

¹¹ Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.23.

regarded as the period of expansion and conquest, or the nineteenth century, which is the connection between late Ottoman history and Republican Turkey. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were usually regarded as a “period of decline”. Therefore, these two centuries have been until recently ignored by academia. In this regard, one can argue that Mosul has its share of academic reluctance to study eighteenth century Ottoman history.

Although Mosul had strategic importance as a transit area between Anatolia and Baghdad, the city’s hinterland was neither far from the imperial center nor close to the Sublime Porte. It was not an important military outpost like Baghdad.

One of the basic concerns of this study is to reveal the history of Mosul under the Jalili family. The Jalili family was the most outstanding provincial notables/*ayan* of Mosul and played a very significant role in the history of the city, especially between 1726 and 1834. However, members of this big household survive until the present day. The term “*ayan*” came originally from the Arabic word meaning “eye”. The term came to be used for provincial elites. These elites might be *sancak begs*, janissary commanders, timariots, *mukataa eminleri*, tax-farmers (*mültezim*), *kadı*, *müftü* and ex-officials like provincial governors.¹² The first usage of the term *ayan* was introduced by Albert Hourani in his paper published in 1966.¹³ On the other hand, we should be aware of the difference between *ayan* and *ayan* household. The *ayan* households were, to a great extent, descendants of seventeenth century ‘vizier and pasha’ households with independent sources of wealth.¹⁴ As they have their own source of wealth, they could not, infrequently, gather soldiers and collect taxes from their region. Many of these *ayan* households acted as provincial governors. In this regard, the Mamluks of Baghdad, the Azm-zade household in Damascus, and the Kazdağlı household in Cairo were the most well-known examples of provincial *ayan*

¹² Yücel Özkaya, “Merkezi Devlet Yapısının Zayıflaması Sonuçları: Ayanlık Sistemi ve Büyük Hanedanlar”, *Osmanlı*, Vol. 6, In Güler Eren (ed.), (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), p.165

¹³ Albert Hourani, “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables”, *Beginings of Modernization in the Middle East, the Nineteenth Century*, In William R. Park and Richard L. Chambers (ed.), (Chicago and London, 1968), p. 45.

¹⁴ Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands Under Ottoman Rule, 1516- 1800*, (London: Pearson Longman, 2008), p. 81.

households.¹⁵ Similarly, the Jalili family in Ottoman Mosul was the most important *ayan* household.

The eighteenth century is usually described as the “age of *ayan*”.¹⁶ This century was a period when the *ayan* structures mushroomed in the provinces. It is for this reason that the eighteenth century has been regarded as the era of decentralization. The weakness of the central administration is also considered an important sign of this decentralization. Hence, there is a general tendency to link the emergence of the provincial *ayan* with decentralist tendencies in the provincial periphery.

Decline Paradigm, Center-Periphery Relations and *Ayan* Household

The emergence of the *ayan* in the Ottoman provinces has until recently been considered to be one of the important signs of “Ottoman decline.” However, historians of the Ottoman Empire have debated the problems of the so-called “Ottoman decline paradigm.” According to traditional historiography, the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566) was regarded as the golden age of the Ottoman Empire, and its institutions were believed to have reached the peak of development. Therefore, the period following Süleyman’s era was regarded as a period of Ottoman decline. On the other hand, the basic problem of the decline paradigm was related to the periodization of the Ottoman history. While Ottoman military expansion went on, it was described as golden age, yet when military expansion had failed, and the Ottoman Empire had financial difficulties, this was seen as decline. And it is not surprising that the territorial losses caused by defeats in the battlefields took place mostly in the long 18th century, namely between 1699 and 1812.¹⁷ However, revisionist historians have in the last two decades criticized this “decline paradigm”

¹⁵ For the Kazdağlı household in Cairo see Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of the Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Kazdağlıs*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2002.

¹⁶ Bruce McGowen has used this term for his contribution in Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 1994.

¹⁷ I borrowed the term “the long 18th century” from Donald Quataert; see Donald Quataert, *Ottoman History, 1700-1922, Second Edition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

severely. They put emphasis on change and transformation of the empire, rather than decline and territorial loss. They prefer to interpret the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire as shifting its state structure from military conquest to bureaucratic state. Similarly, the period following Süleyman's era has been regarded as adaptation to difficulties, and new economic, bureaucratic and technical developments. The Ottoman Empire was faced with new responsibility and changed its administrative dynamics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸ In this context, decentralization becomes shorthand for decline, not least as we assume that decentralization is unconditionally bad, while centralization is unconditionally good. We might reframe the Ottoman Empire's polity and administration, which went through cycles of greater and lesser centralization as a result of rational strategic and economic choices on the part of various segments of Ottoman society.¹⁹

Such a reframing is also related to a reconceptualization concerning the emergence of autonomous provincial notables in the Arab lands. For example, Ali Bey in Egypt, the *Mamluk* governors in Iraq, Ahmet Pasha al-Jazzar in Syria and various governors in Bosnia began to develop Ottoman provincial political cultures. These lines may point to a new conceptualism of provincial notables in the eighteenth century provincial political culture, which was the product of the sixteenth and seventeenth century vizier and pasha households.²⁰ Successful viziers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were taken as examples by the eighteenth and nineteenth century provincial notables.²¹ These notables were different from their predecessors in the sense that they gained provincial roots and recruited clients independently of imperial center.²²

However, many historians drew attention to the close connection between the emergence of *ayan* and the tax-farming system in the Ottoman Empire. It is not clear when the Ottoman Empire began to implement *iltizam*, but it is estimated that it

¹⁸ Jane Hathaway, "Osmanlı Tarihinin Dönemlere Ayrılma Sorunu: 15. ve 18. Yüzyıllar", *Osmanlı Geriledi mi?* compiled by Mustafa Armağan, (İstanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları, 2006), p. 183.

¹⁹ Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1. (June 2004), p. 46.

²⁰ Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth", p. 46.

²¹ Hathaway, "Osmanlı Tarihinin", p. 189.

²² Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth", p. 46.

emerged in the second half of the fifteenth century, because the state needed money and *iltizam* was given a tendering procedure for three or fifteen years. Then, after the second half of the seventeenth century, the traditional tax farm known as *iltizam* converted to *malikane*.²³ Generally *iltizam* were *malikane* taken by military and bureaucratic elites. The life-term revenue of a tax farm (*malikane muqataa*) was a contract on state revenues which gave the tax contractor rights to collect taxes on the basis of established rates from the time of award until the contractor's death.²⁴ By the same token, the role of the life tenure tax farm or *malikane* in providing the economic foundation for these self-sufficient provincial notables can be viewed as a logical progression from amalgamation of the *tumars* and *iltizam* on which earlier notables had based their wealth.²⁵

The life tenure tax farm or *malikane* system provided wealth and capital for the local notables, or *ayan*. In this context, *malikane* were essential to the rise of *ayan* households in Ottoman Arab provincial capitals like Syria, Iraq and Egypt. However, there are other factors that played a very significant role in the rise of a particular *ayan* household. Therefore, the social, economic and religious background of the *ayan* is quite important. For example, Egypt's Kazdağlı household was founded by an Anatolian Janissary officer in Cairo, while in contrast, the Azms of Damascus were an old Arab provincial family who entered Ottoman service. In Aleppo, as in Cairo, garrisoned Janissaries were dominant in the early eighteenth century. However, in later years, the Tahazade Family, reputed descendants of the Prophet Mohammad, played an important role in Aleppo, but Aleppo was not dominated only by one family like other provincial cities such as Damascus, Cairo and Mosul. Mosul was dominated by the Jalili family; meanwhile, Bağhdad's

²³ Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İltizam sistemi Rejimi ve Değişmeleri", Kutadgubilig, No: 1, January, 2002. p. 177.

²⁴ Ariel Salzman, "An Ancien Regime Revised: "Privatization" and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *Politics and Society*, Vol. 21. No. 4, December 1993. p. 401.

²⁵ Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth", p. 46

Mamluks, who originated in the Georgian Mamluks of the Ottoman, were the governors of that province.²⁶

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most important provincial households in Mosul were the Jalili family, the Umaris, the Yasinis, and the Qara Mustafas. Some of these families had a number of villages as well as the right to collect revenues from the city itself. There were also types of household in Mosul. It is well-known that the sources of provincial *ayan* households differed very much. While the members of the Umari family were mostly of *ilmiye* (religious learned class) origin, the members of the Kara Mustafa family came mostly from the administrative class.²⁷ Among the provincial notables of Mosul, the Jalilis were the most noticeable and the most reported family. The Jalili family originated from a Christian merchant from the south Anatolian city of Diyarbakır. This merchant, Abdüljalil (Abd al-Jalil) immigrated to Mosul in the late seventeenth century. In 1726, Ismail ibn Abdüljalil obtained the right to collect Mosul's urban taxes and the governorship of the province. For this period Mosul was important in terms of defense of the Ottoman Empire against the post-Safavid Iran. Ottoman Iraq had a crucial historical background in terms of sepulcher cities such as Necef, Kerbela, Kazımeyn and Samarra which were located in Iraq. These cities were attractive to Shii believers.²⁸ Nadir Şah asked the Ottomans to accept *caferilik* as the fifth *madhhab* Sunni school of Islam. But Ottomans didn't accept his demand. Therefore, Nadir Şah attempted to occupy Iraq in 1743.²⁹ The Siege of Mosul was a very crucial turning point for the Jalili family. The Jalili family enhanced their position in defense of Mosul against Nadir Şah. The defeat of Nadir Şah was the most important factor that enabled the Jalili family to establish their control over the city from the mid-eighteenth century until 1834.

This study is divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 contains the history of the Ottoman Mosul from its conquest until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

²⁶ Hathaway, *The Arab Lands*, p.82

²⁷ Khoury, *State and provincial*, p. 126.

²⁸ Yitzhak Nakash, *Irak'ta Pandora'nın Kutusu Şiiler*, trans: Metin Saltoğlu, (Ankara: Elips Kitap, 2005), p. 15.

²⁹ V. Minorsky, "Nadir Şah" trans: Münir Aktepe, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (hereafter İA) Vol. 9. p. 26.

Chapter 2 begins with the provincial notable of Mosul and evaluation of their administration, and then attempts to examine the *malikane* system which enabled the Jalili family to establish hegemony over Mosul. On the other hand, it explores the siege of Mosul in 1743, a crucial turning point for the Jalili family, and examines Jalili Mosul from cultural, educational and commercial aspects. Chapter 3 starts with the centralization policies of Selim III and Mahmud II. It concentrates on the familial conflict within the Jalili household. Then, it gives form to the decline and fall of the Jalili family and its relations with the Mamluks of Baghdad.

Critique of Sources

This study is mainly based upon the archival documents from the Ottoman Prime Ministry. I used archival documents *Cevdet Dahiliye*, *Ali Emiri tasnifi*, *İbnül Emin Tasnifi*, *Askeriye İbnül Emin Tasnifi*, *Şurayı Devlet Evrakı*, and *Hattı Hümayun* catalogues. These archival documents showed that the Jalili family provided logistical support to the central administration during the time of war, and in return they were appointed to Mosul and other cities. Among these archival documents I found the deed of endowment for the Jalili family's *waqf*.

Apart from the archival documents, I used both primary and secondary sources. Among the primary sources, a provincial chronicle, namely Yasin bin Khayrullah Umari's *Al-athar Al-jaliya fi'l-hawadith Al-ardiya* is very important. Yasin b. Khayrullah Umari was a prominent intellectual coming from the Umari family, members of which were among the provincial notables of Mosul. Yasin was a local chronicler in the Jalili era and his work is, no doubt, an essential source for the study of Jalili Mosul. Although historians are more familiar with the works of official chroniclers in İstanbul, local chronicles have gradually begun to be used only recently. They are of great importance, because they not only enable us to compare official and provincial histories on a particular event, but also to grasp the Arab perception of the Ottomans. There are several copies of Yasin b. Hayrullah Umari's chronicle, one in the British Library and another in Mosul, but for this thesis, I used the copy available at Millet Library in İstanbul. Although Yasin wrote during the Jalili era, only the last parts of his chronicle focus on the Jalili period.

The modern historiography of Iraq begins with Stephen Longrig's multiple volumes on Iraq, "*Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*". This work began from the early sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. He discusses four centuries of the country, and the subject of this book differs in detail only of the Turkish provinces of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra in their final form. Another study of Ottoman Iraq is Hala Fattah's study "*The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq Arabia and Gulf 1745-1900*", which focuses on southern Iraq and the Gulf of Persia. Tom Nieuwenhuis' study "*Politics and Society in Early Modern Iraq: Mamluk Pashas, Tribal Shayks and Local Rule Between 1802 and 1831*" deals with the Mamluk period in Iraq (1750-1831), and more particularly with later Mamluk times (1802-1831).

It is well known that studies on Mosul are quite insufficient. One of the historians working in this area is Percy Kemp. He worked on Mosul in the Jalili era. He completed his Ph.D. which is entitled "*Mosul and Mosuli Historians in Jalili Era (1726-1834)*" in 1979. He also published three articles pertaining to Jalili Mosul, which are quite essential sources for this study. One of them, "*Mosuli Sketches of Ottoman History*", is about Ottoman dynastic history, based on four Mosuli historians of the Jalili era. For this reason, this article presented different perspectives of Mosuli local chroniclers about Ottoman history. Another important article of Kemp is "*History and Historiography in Jalili Mosul*". Here, Kemp examined in detail local chroniclers in Jalili Mosul as well as their lives and works. Among these local chroniclers, I made use of Yasin b. Khayrullah Umari's work. The last article of Kemp on Jalili Mosul is "*Power and Knowledge in Jalili Mosul*". This article dwells upon cultural life in Jalili Mosul as well as the cultural scene and local intellectuals.

As far as Ottoman Mosul is concerned, one of the outstanding scholars is Dina Rizkh Khoury. Her "*State and Provincial society in the Ottoman Empire Mosul*" covers the history of the province between 1540 and 1834. It is probably the most crucial work for the Jalili era in Mosul. It focuses on three centuries of Ottoman administration in Mosul. It reveals the link between the imperial center and the province, and puts emphasis on the role of local elites in Mosul. It also shows that the power of the Jalili family improved in parallel to their hold of tax-farming,

political and economic development of Mosul in this period. Khoury has ably shown that the link between provincial society and central state was stronger in the Jalili period when compared to previous periods under Ottoman sovereignty. On the other hand, the book presents the process of early modernization in Ottoman Mosul. Another historian working on this topic is Robert W. Olson, who completed his PhD entitled “*The Siege of Mosul: War and Revolution in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1743*”. Olson’s work focused on the rebellion of Patrona Halil in 1730 and the siege of Mosul by Nadir Şah in 1743.

Another study on Ottoman Mosul is the work by Nilüfer Bayatlı, who wrote “*XVI. Yüzyılda Musul Eyaleti*”. Bayatlı focuses on the administrative, social and economic history of the sixteenth century Ottoman Mosul. Another study on Mosul is Ahmet Gündüz’s “*Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*”. The study focuses on political, administrative and demographic aspects of Mosul between 1523 and 1639.

For the late history of Mosul, Davut Hut’s study, “*Musul Vilayetinin İdari İktisadi ve Sosyal Yapısı (1864-1909)*”, is important. His work, which is derived from his PhD dissertation, is about the provincial administration, production and expenditure in nineteenth century Mosul. Another important work for the late history of Mosul is Sarah Shields’ “*An Economic History for Nineteenth Century in Mosul*”, which is about the economic history of nineteenth century Mosul.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF MOSUL: FROM CONQUEST TILL THE JALILIS

1.1 Mosul

Mosul is a city on the right bank of Tigris River, in the opposite side of ancient Nineveh at the center of Diyar-ı Rabiya in al-Jazirah. There is no information whether in the ancient times a city called Mosul existed or not.³⁰ The boundary of al-Jazirah starts where Tigris and Euphrates River are closest to each other. It extends towards south-east, and at the north of Baghdad it ends in the point where Tigris and Euphrates River are closer. The land between these two rivers gave to the land a shape of half- island. This region was surrounded by Kurdistan and Iran from east, by Irak-ı Arab from south, by Damascus Desert from west, and by Anatolia and Van from north.³¹ In the north-west direction, it was surrounded by Aleppo and Zor provinces.³² In the terms of geography, Mosul is a mountainous region. While the east of Tigris is a flat area, Sinjar Mountain is the highest point of the region.³³ The temperature in Mosul during summer season is between 35 and 46 degrees. In the winter, it can fall to even below zero.³⁴ It's rivers are Tigris, Huser, Gazer, Hebzal, Pishaber and Zap Rivers. These rivers ensured the fertile soil of the city. According to the salname of 1325, the quarters of the city were Imadiye, Zaho, Sinjar, Dahok, and Acre.³⁵

³⁰ E. Honigmann, "Musul", *İA*, V. II. pp. 238-239

³¹ Nilüfer Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul Eyaleti*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999) p.1.

³² İsmet Binark (ed.), *Musul Ve Kekük ile ilgili Aşiv Belgeleri (1525-1919)*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1993), p. 27.

³³ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 2.

³⁴ Şemseddin Sami, *Kamûsu 'l A 'lâm*, Vol. 6. (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1312), p. 681.

³⁵ *Musul Salnamesi*, p. 77.

Mosul was surrounded by walls in a triangular. The wall was around ten thousand meters. This wall was surrounded by ditches.³⁶ At the period of Atabegs, Mosul had nine gates. The gate at the north-east and near Tigris River was called formerly Bab-al-Imadi and then Imadeddin Zengi. Then, inside the city, the names of the gates in the direction of the counter clockwise are as follows: Bab al-Jassâşin, Bab al Maidân, Bab al-Kinda, Bab Likis, Bab Qaşşabin and Ba-al-Jisr.³⁷ Bab-al-Maashra and Bab es-Siir were made for the purpose of city defense. The gate at north, Bab al-Imadi was closed by Nadir Shah in the siege of the city in 1743.³⁸

For Arab geographers, Mosul resembled a scarf, long, and rectangle. Ibn Havkal who visited the city in 969 described the city as situated in the middle of fertile soils. According to Makdisi the city plan was semicircular in the date of 968-969.³⁹

In 118 (A.H), Ibn Cubeyr who visited Mosul reported that at the highest point of the city, there was the castle (now called as Baş Tabya). It was reported that this place was called as al-Hadba (hump) and again called as al-Dafa which has the same meaning. Al-Kazvini reported that the city walls were surrounded by deep ditches. Mosul's houses were made from stone or mud-brick, and their roofs were in the shape of dome.⁴⁰

J.S. Buckingham who visited the city in 1827 reported that when it was entered from the north-east, the city was surrounded by ditches which were filled by soil now. Buckingham relates that the demolished walls of the city were probably built for the defense of the city. Houses were made from rough-hewn stones and the

³⁶ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 2.

³⁷ Percy Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians in Jalili Era (1826-1834)*, (Phd Dessertation, Oxford Univesity, 1979), pp. 7-9.

³⁸ The gates, Bab al-Jassâşin, and Bab al Maidân were not repaired until the time of Bedreddin Lulu and these gates dissaperared. The gates in the south were repaired and a new one opened. Bab al-Maidân and Bab al-Kinda were renamed, Bab al-Baid was repaired in 1631 and 1802. Bab al-Irak which is known as Bab al- Jadid was built in 1725 by Ali Umari, and it was repaired in 1821. Bab Likis and Bab es-Saray, were built when the palace was moved to inner castle where the southern walls stand. Bab Qaşşabin was repaired completely and renamed as Bab et-Tub in 1750. Bab al- Jisr, Bab al-Kala and Bab eş-Şet were repaired in 1801. From these gates which have been renamed differently by Mosul's inhabitants, only one called, Şattabiyye reached the present.

³⁹ Honigmann, "Musul" *İA*, p. 740.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

gaps between these stones were filled with cement and mud mortar. Therefore wood was expensive wood was not used for the construction of houses. However, most of these houses were established on declivities ramps. In addition to He resembled the narrow and unplanned streets to London's streets, and he complained that in a city so beautiful and so big, there was no place to shop.⁴¹

1.2 The roots of the City's name

There are different narratives about the origin of the city's name. Before the conquest of city by Islamic armies, the city was called as "Hısn Ebraya" which means "the castle with pass".⁴² According to another narration, the city was called Havlan. Since Mosul's Persian Satrap was named as Buz-Ardaşiransah, the city was called as Buz-Ardaşir. According to another account a Persian king named Bar Bahlul gave the name of Bih-Hormez-Kovaz to the city.⁴³ Another view claims that the name of Mosul was given due to the number of branches of river joined to flow together at the bed of the river.⁴⁴ Another reason why the city was called as Mosul was that the city connects Iraq and al-Jazirah to each other and hence it was a joint point between Tigris and Euphrates Rivers.⁴⁵ Accordingly, after the conquest, Muslims called the city as el-Musul (el-Mevsil).⁴⁶

Historians gave Mosul different nicknames too. They are Ummu'r-Rabî'ayn, al-Hazra, al-Fayha' and al-Hadba⁴⁷ because it was covered with greenery appearance in spring and autumn Ummu'r-Rabî'ayn; means mother of autumn and spring. When

⁴¹ J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia Including in Journey from Aleppo to Bağdad by the Route of the Beer, Orfa, Diarbekr, Mardin and Mosul with Researches on the Ruins of the Nineveh Babylon and Other Ancient Cities*, (Henry Colburn New Burlington Street London: 1827), Vol. II, p. 27-28.

⁴² Ahmet Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul (1523-1639)*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Fırat Üniversitesi, 1998), p.1.

⁴³ Honigmann, "Musul", p. 739.

⁴⁴ Honigmann, "Al-Mavsil", p. 899.

⁴⁵ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p.1.

⁴⁷ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 3.

it rains it looks due to flowers like a cloth which decorated with golden and silk it was called as el-Hazra. The nickname of El-Hadba could be given due to irregular flow regime of Tigris River or due to the curve construction of the castle. Again because of the with of place on which the city was established, the nickname of el-Fahya was given to the city.⁴⁸

1.3 Mosul in the Ottoman Period

Stephen H. Longrigg mentioned about 16th century Mosul as follows:

“Very few places of historical places of Mesopotamia have the fame throughout the word, due to the successive dynasties and floodings it lost its importance in the ancient times. While Western world focused on the Renaissance and geographical discoveries, Iraq lost the interest of the Western world in this period. Very few people knew that Babylon, Baghdad, and Ninive were living areas. The narrations of travelers were inadequate and unrealistic. Only seafaring nations of southern Europe were interested in Syria and Egypt because of the trade for silk and spices.⁴⁹

In the beginning of the 16th century, a lot of communities including Turks migrated to westwards Mesopotamia like the Safavids. They established several kingdoms in the region. However, they could not succeed like the ones in the ancient times.⁵⁰ In 16th century Iraq from Mardin to Şattü'l-Arab was in ruin, desolate and turmoil.⁵¹ Iraq's uncertain condition continued until the conquest of the region by Ottomans.

In 1499 Shah Ismail who was the emperor of Safavids took advantage of political confusion in which Akkoyunlu State was, and settled some tribes in Anatolia. These tribes were Şamlu, Rumlu, Musullu, Tekellü, Bayburtlu, Hintli, Çapanlu, Karamanlı, Dulkadirli, Varsak, Avşar, Kacar, and Karaca-Dağlı. In 1500, he conquered Azerbaijan and Irak-ı Arab, and in 1507 Diyarbakir, and put an end to

⁴⁸ *Musul Salnamesi*, p. 91, and Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁹ Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 2.

⁵⁰ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 16.

⁵¹ Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p. 2.

the Akkoyunlu state.⁵² The establishment of political unity by Shah Ismail in Iran, his efforts for spreading Shia belief in Anatolia, and his mistreatment against members of Sunni sect incited Yavuz Sultan Selim and Yavuz decided to fight with Shah Ismail.⁵³ The war resulted with the defeat of Shah Ismail at Çaldıran plain in 1514.

After the victory at Caldıran, the people of Diyarbakir wanted to enter to the sovereignty of Sultan Selim I. Bıyıklı Mehmet Pasha was appointed as Beylerbeyi of Diyarbakir, and Idris-i Bitlisi was appointed to him a consultant in administrative issues.⁵⁴

However consolidation of the rule of Ottoman State, strategic places such as Mardin, Mosul, Hısınkef, Rakka, and some tribes must have been taken under the control. The most fortified castle of the region was the castle of Mardin and it was under the control of Süleyman Bey. Süleyman Bey defended the castle for one year against Ottomans but on April 7, 1517 the castle was conquered by Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha.

The conquest of the castle of Mardin facilitated the conquest of the region. One of the regions whose conquest was facilitated was Mosul. In this period, Mosul was under the control of Ahmed Avşar Bey who was from the beys of Safavids. Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha took Mosul in 1517 from Safavids by the help of Bedirhan Bey who had power over Cizre.⁵⁵

The victory at Çaldıran facilitated the conquest of Iraq and provided the security of Anatolia. The conquest of the northern of Iraq was not realized, and this was done only nominally. The Ottoman State appointed Turkish beys to Mosul, Diyarbekir and Mardin. The soldiers were sent by Ottomans to the region for the defense. However, after Sultan Selim, some Turkish beys broke their allegiance to the Ottomans and joined to the Safavids influence. Shah Ismail appointed his own military authorities to the regions which joined him. He appointed a Han *naib* to Mosul and military authorities to Kirkuk, Hille and Mendeli.⁵⁶

⁵²Tahsin Yazıcı, "Safeviler" *İA*, Vol. 10. p. 54.

⁵³*Ibid.* p. 54.

⁵⁴Şinasi Altundağ, "Selim I", *İA*. Vol. 10. pp. 427-428.

⁵⁵Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p. 27.

⁵⁶Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 21.

The second expedition for Iraq took place in the reign of Sultan Süleyman. The relationship between the Ottomans and Iran after the victory at Çaldıran was not improved, because of the provocations of Shah Ismail in Anatolia an agreement was not signed and was not prestige to the tricks of Shah.⁵⁷ After the agreement with Austria, Sultan Süleyman turned his attention towards the east. He considered the war as a duty especially with the Shiite Safavids which were considered as *Rafizi*. He did not see any need to congratulate the new Safvid ruler, Shah Tahmasb, who was the son of Shah Ismail, and he sent a threat letter to Shah Tahmasb.⁵⁸

There were some events which were effective on Sultan Süleyman's decision to organize military expedition to the east. The first of these events was Şeref Bey's decision to break his alligiance to the Ottoman State. He was from the Kurdish umeras, and he descended from Şeref Hanlar dynasty. He had recognized the sovereignty of Ottomans in the time of Sultan Selim. The other reason was that ruler of Baghdad Zulfikar sent the keys of the city to Sultan Süleyman and recognized the sovereignty of Ottoman state.⁵⁹ However his loyalty to Ottoman State continued only for six years. The Safevid rulers sieged Baghdad in order to get Iraq and Luristan back. In this siege, Zulfikar died. As a result, Baghdad was under the control of Safevids until 1529.

Another important event was that the ruler of Azerbaycan, Ulamah Han, came out of from the domination of Shah and recognized the sovereignty of Sultan Süleyman. Ulamah was appointed to Hasankeyf as beylerbeyi. He organized expeditions against Şeref Bey who came out form the sovereignty of Ottoman state. But he could not be successful in this attempt. The humiliation of Ottoman army, the establishment of Shiite administration over Baghdad, Shiites mistreatment against Sunni people triggered the events and a fatwa was taken for the military expedition against Iran. In the autumn of 1533 İbrahim Pasha began the expedition. Before the arrival of İbrahim Pasha, Bitlis' ruler Şeref Bey was killed. Then Ulamah was appointed to Bitlis as governor. İbrahim pahsa returned to Aleppo in April 1534, and

⁵⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzun Çarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. II. p. 348.

⁵⁸ Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Süleyman I", *İA*, Vol. 11. p. 116.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 116.

he then reached Diyarbekir. A lot of Kurd *beys* reported their loyalty to Ottomans.⁶⁰ Ibrahim Pasha entered Tabriz on July 13, 1534 without military confrontation. Sultan Süleyman left Istanbul for Tabriz in June 1534 and he reached Tabriz in September 1534. However, since the season for an expedition was over, the expedition was cancelled to the spring months. The army moved from Tabriz to Baghdad. Baghdad's guardian Tekeli Han left Baghdad before the arrival of the Ottoman army. (December 1534).⁶¹

Mosul and its surroundings had been shaken by a long political instability before the Ottoman rule, but started to develop again in terms of agriculture and trade after the Ottoman conquest. However, the peace was being deteriorated by the rebellions of local governors and tribes. Ottoman rulers preferred to solve the problems without violent cautions and for this purpose they used some influential leading persons to control the region. This policy of Ottoman state restored the situation. In order to erase destructive influence of Iran great statesmen and scholars were sent to Mosul.⁶²

Shah of Iran conquered Mosul in 1623, due to betrayal of Baghdad *subaşı*, and then Shah sent an army to conquer the surrounding areas under the command of Karakaçay Han. Mosul and Kirkuk was seized without any resistance and a governor named Kasım Han was appointed as governor to Mosul. Iran's control over Mosul did not continue a long. In 1625, when Kasım Han saw the leading forces under the command of Küçük Ahmet in Mosul, he left the city. These leading forces were a part of the army whose commander was Hafız Ahmed Pasha, and he started his expedition from Diyarbekir. On the other hand, Hafız Ahmed Pasha ended the siege because of the good response of Shah Abbas. Thus, Mosul and its surrounding areas were exposed again to the danger of Safavids.

When Hüsrev Pasha went for the siege of Baghdad, he was forced to wait for forty days because of the flooding Tigris River.⁶³ In 1630, the weather was suitable for expedition, and Ottoman armies headed towards Baghdad. Baghdad was

⁶⁰ Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p. 22.

⁶¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 352.

⁶² Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p. 28.

⁶³ Besim Darkot, "Musul" *İA*, Vol. 8, p. 742.

besieged, but this attempt became unsuccessful, and Hüsrev Pasha returned to Mosul. There, he was engaged in repair of the fortress of Mosul. Hafız Pasha was appointed to his office because Hüsrev Pasha could not achieve the conquest of Baghdad.⁶⁴

On May 8, 1638, Murad IV marched for Baghdad from Istanbul. He reached Mosul on June 28, 1638. He accepted the idea of Yahya Efendi about the passage of the troops via river and the benefit of this idea was proved. On September 17, 1638, Murad IV sent a letter to Shah by Iran's envoy when he came to Mosul after the conquest of Baghdad. He said that he would accept the peace terms if the region is given to the Ottoman Empire again.⁶⁵ After the expedition of Murad IV for Baghdad, Treaty of Kasr-ı Şirin was signed and this provided stability and peace again.

When we look at the status of Mosul at the beginning of 18th century, we can see that Baghdad's influence over Mosul decreased, and Mosul's influence over Diyarbakir increased.

In 1722 Afghan Mahmud Han declared war on Ottoman Empire, after he conquered Iran. The governor of Baghdad, Hasan Pasha responded with a military attack. When Hasan Pasha died in 1724, his son Ahmed Pasha continued the war. Ottoman troops, which took the western part of Iran, were defeated before they reached Isfahan. The war ended in 1727. A few years later, Nadir reestablished the power of Safavids and started a new conflict with Ottomans in Iraq (1730). He took first the city that way captured by Ottomans. Thereafter, he attacked Iraq and conquered Baghdad, but Ottomans defended the city against Nadir Shah successfully. The borders were fixed again with an agreement which was made with Nadir Shah, and the borders were drawn according to the agreement of 1639.⁶⁶

1.4 Administrative Divisions of Iraq and Mosul

Ottoman Empire was administered under the units called vilayets and *eyalets*. *Eyalets* were divided into *sancak* or *livas*. *Livas* and *sancaks* were further divided

⁶⁴ M. Cavid Baysun, "IV. Murad", *İA*, Vol. 8, p. 627.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 634-635.

⁶⁶ André Raymond, "Arap Eyaletleri (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)", in Robert Mantran (ed.), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi Osmanlı Devletinin Doğuşundan XVIII. Yüzyıl Sonuna*, trans: Server Tanilli, (İstanbul: Adam yayınları, 1992), pp. 472-473

into sub-divisions such as *kaza*, *nahiye*, *köy*. In the early stages of the Ottoman State, the terms of “*Beylerbeyilik*” and “*vilayet*” were used. The term of *vilayet* was used for small or large administrative units; the term of *Beylerbeyilik* was used as an administrative term of a special usage. At the end of 16th century, the term of *eyalet* started to be used. *Beylerbeyilik* was used to refer the office of *beylerbeyi*.⁶⁷

For the person in this post, Turkish, Persian or Arabic title was being used: (in Turkish *Beylerbeyi*, in Persian *Mir-i Mirani* and Emir Arabic).⁶⁸

The upper unit of Ottoman administrative structure was composed of vilayets and sancaks. Sancaks were accepted as the basic unit of Ottoman administrative structure. Furthermore, the tax revenues were being determined and based on the records of sancaks. The decisions taken in imperial council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*) about administration of empire were written in a manner that they addressed generally to sancak beys. All of them indicate that sancak was the basic unit of Ottoman administrative structure.⁶⁹

Both *beylerbeyi* and *sancakbeyi* were considered as civil administrator of sancaks and provinces. At the same time, they were performing the duty of commander at the head of *tiimarli sipahis* in case of war. *Sancakbeys* were being grouped as the head of their own troops under the command of *beylerbeyi*. Their appointments were made by *Divan-ı humayun*.

Iraq was divided as Basra, Mosul, Baghdad and Zor vilayets its administrative center was Baghdad. The authority of governor of Baghdad extended over all Iraqi territories. The governor of Iraq had the title of vizier. It had the authority to appoint the governor to regions which is under his authority. He had wide authorities in provincial administration. When the governor of Baghdad was not in the city due to a war or for another reason, the tasks concerning security in the city was under the responsibility of Mosul’s bey.⁷⁰ The governor of Mosul was appointed by Istanbul. But this appointment took place usually after the approval of Baghdad’s pasha.

⁶⁷ Halil İnalçık, “Eyalet” *DİA*, Vol. 11. p. 548.

⁶⁸ Halil sahillioğlu, “Osmanlı Döneminde Irak’ın İdari Taksimatı” trans: Mustafa Öztürk, *Belleten*, LIV/21(1991), p.1233

⁶⁹ Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p. 35.

⁷⁰ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 34.

Mosul was considered the second most important province of Iraq in the period of Sultan Süleyman. Except for the important decisions, the governor did not have to consult for Ottoman sultan his decision.⁷¹ After Mosul conquered by Ottoman Empire which was placed under the influence of Diyarbakir in 1522. It was connected to Baghdad when Baghdad was conquered in 1534. It preserved its position until 1563. Between 1563 and 1566 it was connected to Şehrizer. It was again connected to Baghdad in 1566. But again in 1570, Mosul was connected to Şehrizer.⁷²

It is evident that during 16th century Mosul was under the dominance of Diyarbakir, Baghdad and Şehrizer. In 1586 Mosul became a separate province and Canbuladoğlu Hüseyin was appointed as its governor. Mosul province consisted of eight *sancaks* including Mosul *Pasha sancağı*. These *sancaks* were: Erbil, Nusaybin, Sincar, Ağca Kal'a, Bacvan and Zaho. In 1592, Tikrit was connected to Mosul. Before this date Tikrit was under the dominance of Baghdad province.⁷³

According to Ayn-î Ali Efendi's *risale* (1609) and Sofyavi Ali Çavuş's *risale* (1653); Diyarbekir province was divided into Mosul, Baghdad, Şehrizer provinces. Mosul province was composed of Bacvan, Tikrit, Horon, Bane and Old Mosul *sancaks*.⁷⁴

The administrative division of Baghdad was in the following; Bağdat, Şehrizer, Musul, Basra. El-Ahsa was also provinces connected to Iraq. In the boundaries of Mosul, there were three *sancaks* Old Mosul, Kerşan and Herven. İmadiye, Zaho, Tikrit, Bacvan *sancaks* were connected to Baghdad, the *sancak* of Erbil was connected to Şehrizer.⁷⁵

As we have seen that the administrative division of the area changed constantly. The reason for this continuous change was the unstable atmosphere stemmed from Ottoman Iranian wars.

⁷¹ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 34.

⁷² Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p. 37.

⁷³ Cengiz Eroğlu, Murat Babuçoğlu and Orhan Özdil, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde Musul*, (Ankara: Özdoğan Matbaası, 2005), p.16.

⁷⁴ Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı Döneminde Irak'ın", p. 1247.

⁷⁵ Eroğlu, et. al., *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 16.

In the Ottoman Empire, some areas or their tax revenues was being given to soldiers and officers. It's for a restricted time to meet their livelihood in return for their service with some additional responsibilities. These areas or their tax revenues were called as *timar*.⁷⁶

In the *tahrir* dated 1523 there were ninety *sipahis* and six *cebelüs* in Mosul. In 1540, there were 67 *sipahis* and 3 *cebelüs*. In 1557 there were 76 *sipahis* and 3 *cebelüs* in Mosul. The amount of the income given to *sipahis* was 408.531 *akça*. In 1575 there were 106 *timar bey* in Mosul. The amount of money allocated them was 592.923 *akça*, and this represents 15 % of total revenue.⁷⁷

1.5 The Demographic Structure of Mosul

Although most of the population consisted of Arab, Chaldean and Assyrian people there were a considerable Turkis and Kurd population in Mosul.⁷⁸ Kurds and Turks were living in Mosul for a long time. The regions where Christians have dense population were the hilly part and the villages of the city. Yezidis were mainly in Cebel Sincar and the hilly northern part of the city. They frequently rebelled almost in every change of governorship. Turkoman migrated in early dates. They were living mostly in the villages which were on the main road between Great Zab, Tel Afar and Dali Abbas. They settled also in Kirkuk. Kurds were mainly living in the hills of northern Iraq.⁷⁹

In 1523, there were 81 Muslim villages, 10 non-Muslim villages, in addition in 5 villages in where different ethnic and religious people were living. In 1575, there were 83 Muslim villages, 12 non-Muslim villages, and 7 villages where different ethnic and religious people were living.⁸⁰ According to 1525 -26's records, there were 17 Muslim quarter, 1138 households, 138 mücerred, 3 Christian and Armenian quarter, 553 households, and 85 mücerred in Mosul. According to 1757 records,

⁷⁶ Ömer Lütfü Barkan, "Timar", *İA*, Vol. 12/1, p. 286.

⁷⁷ Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, pp. 352-354.

⁷⁸ Eroğlu, *et all*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 48.

⁷⁹ Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p. 8.

⁸⁰ Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p. 256.

there were 8824 Muslim and 3437 Christian were living in the city.⁸¹ The adult male populations of Christian and Jewish were 1.538. This number rose to 2.307 in 1729 to 2.307 and in 1834 to 3.822, in 1845 their number in 1834 reached to 6.000. The total population of Mosul in this date was 43.000.⁸² According to records of 1540 and 1557, non-Muslim population was dominant in Karamlis and Karakuş villages. In Ayn-safna, Nasiri, Ba'şika, Bağdere and Başbeyti villages, Muslim population was dominant.⁸³

The factors affecting the population of Mosul were wars, natural disasters, and migrations. A lot of people died, due to the earthquake and famine, This who remained behind were migrating to other regions to meet their necessities. The population of Mosul in 1775 was not less than 300.000⁸⁴ Buckingham related that in the date of 1827, the resident population in Mosul was 1.100. In a lot of sources it was pointed out that the populaion of Muslim Turks, Arab and Kurds' number was almost equal.⁸⁵

Two-thirds of Mosul's populations were Muslims. They were Türkmen, Arabs, and Kurds.⁸⁶ Türkmens were live in Tel 'Afer which was on the northern part of Mosul and in the surrounding villages. This line was streched to Erbil, Altunköprü, Kerkük, Dukuk, Tuzhurmatı, Kifri, Hanekin, and Mendil.⁸⁷ Some of the Kurd tribes were live in cities and villages, the reamaining part of the population were experiencing a nomadic lifestyle.⁸⁸ During the Jalili's period, a lot of Kurds came and settled in Mosul. They called themselves as "kurdi kurdü'-asl". There were semi-nomadic Arab tribes around Mosul. Some of them were living in deserts and others in the places around Mosul's walls.⁸⁹ Tribes like Taglib, Ayad and Nemir

⁸¹ Binark, *Musul Ve Kerkük*, p. 80.

⁸² Bruce Masters, *Christian an Jewish in the Ottoman Arab World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 57.

⁸³ Gündüz, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Musul*, p. 256.

⁸⁴ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*, p. 26.

⁸⁵ Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, p. 34.

⁸⁶ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*. p. 28.

⁸⁷ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 146.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.148.

⁸⁹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*. p. 28.

participated to the conquest of Mosul by Arabs these tribes settled between Mosul and Tikrit.⁹⁰

The majority of Mosul population was consisted of Arabs, Arabized Turks. The sect of majority was Hanefi. Shafii sect members were in the minority.⁹¹ Non-Muslims in Mosul were living in three quarters in 1523. Between 1540 and 1575, the number of quarter was four. Christians and Jews were living together. In 1523 Christians in both quarters have 521 households and 61 mücerreds. In 1540, this number was 698. In 1557-1575, the number reached to 818.⁹² In 1760, there were nearly 6.000 Christians with 1.200 households. Jakobites's population was 800, and the remaining were Chaldeans and Nestorians. The people who came from Europe for missionary purposes affected the changes in population of non-Muslims. Capuchins who came to Mosul in 1636 made efforts to convert Nestorians and Chaldeans to Catholic. When he left the city leave behind there were nearly 1.000 Catholic. This number was about one-fifth of Christian population in the city.⁹³ At the same time, four Christian villages in Mosul, Merki, Ba'shiqa, Bartilla and Karakuş was under the influence of patriarch of Diyarbakir. Patriarch of Diyarbakir sent his complaints to Jalili Muhammed Pasha due to the conversion of Bartilla and Ba'shiqa villages to Catholic, The priest called Bishara converted the half of the population in Ba's hiqa to Catholic. Upon the request of Patriarch, Muhammed Pasha expelled the priest from Mosul.⁹⁴

According to numbers given by Buckingham, it seems that the population of Christian was less than previous years. We do not know exactly what the reason is. Buckingham given the number of 300 Jews family and had synagogue at the same time, the number of Christian families was the same number of Jewish families. The number of Syria was similar. The number of Catholic families was recorded that

⁹⁰ Bayatlı, *XVI. Yüzyılda Musul*, p. 149.

⁹¹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*. p. 28.

⁹² Gündüz, *Osmanlı idaresinde Musul*, p. 251.

⁹³ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*. p. 29

⁹⁴ Dina Rizk Khoury, "The Introduction of Commerical Agriculture in the Province of Mosul and its Effects on the Peasantry, 1750-1850", in Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (eds.) *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, (New York: Suny Press, 1991), p. 169.

their number was 1.000. 500 of these families were living in Syria and the existence of nearly 300 Jacobites families.⁹⁵ Yezidis were living in Sinjar Mountains. Yezidis were under the protection of both Shammar tribe and Baghdad, including Mosul. They were very strong in the mountains. Even though Shammar tribe protects them, they had not got any influence over Yezidis.⁹⁶

Non-Muslim population was living the villages and towns. In Baghdad and Mosul, as two cities of Iraq, they did not experience drastic changes in their Christian the population. However the Arab Christians immigrated from Armenia, Iran, northern Iraq and Syria were preferred to settle in Mosul instead of southern or middle regions.⁹⁷ The Christian villages whose population was consisting of 35 percent of population were not giving taxes. Instead, they were obliged to pay cizye. Also, they were giving a tax called “*ispençe*”.⁹⁸

It is seen that during the Jalili’s period, there was no problem between the different ethnic groups and their member; they were showing respect to other communities. Buckingham who visited the region in 1827 reported that there was no any distress between the people from different believer. It can be inferred from this that the sons were following the father’s steps. He also emphasized that every neighbors were trying to satisfy his neighbor who is a member of a different believer, and there was no any attempt to disturb his neighbor because of having different belief.⁹⁹ For example, in the siege of Mosul by Nadir Shah, Christians and Muslims defended the city together. The Christian identity of AbdülJalilzades played a crucial role in the participation of Christians to the defense of the city. Also, their Christian identity had been effective in their tolerant attitude towards Christian population. On the other hand, Jalilis had the villages whose population was

⁹⁵ Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, p. 34.

⁹⁶ Tom Nieuwnhuis, *Politics and Society in Modern Iraq: Memluks Pashas, Tribal Shayks and Local Rule Between 1802 and 1831*, (The Hague/Boston/London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982), p. 128.

⁹⁷ Bruce Masters, *Christian and Jewish in the Ottoman Arab World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 48.

⁹⁸ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 88.

⁹⁹ Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, p. 34

Christian, such as Karakuş and Karamlis.¹⁰⁰ Karamlis village was given to Hacı Hüseyin Pasha for his successful defense of Mosul against Nadir Shah in 1743. He donated Karakuş village as an endowment in 1750. Because of this new development, the people of village thought that they will lose their lands, and they applied to Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha relieved them by given a document in which he gave the right of usage of lands to villagers.¹⁰¹ Another important Christian village was Telkayf village in Mosul. This village was distinguished from two aspects. Firstly, it was famous for its clergymen. Secondly it has the mosque of Nebi Circis which endowed by Sultan. The income of the village was given to the mosque. Therefore, it was not the property of leading families. At the same time, there was no any impact of local notables over the village, and this was the source of relief for its population.¹⁰²

Non-Muslims were not under threat during the Mamluk and Jalili's periods. However, they were on the position second-class citizen. When a comparison made, Christians were receiving more respect than Jewish in Baghdad and Mosul. At the same time when the region was compared with other regions in Ottoman Empire, non-Muslims have received more freedom than other regions offered to non-Muslims. Baghdad was stricter than Mosul in the sense of rules applied to Christians. It can be seen that Mosul was the city in which Christian minority have had the best opportunity in the sense of freedom. Their some religious symbols were forbidden by Mamluk administration in Baghdad. They could not be appointed to high rank positions. They were not allowed to ride a horse while they are in military and police service.¹⁰³ On the other, hand there were Christian bankers who have the connection with Jalilizade Hüseyin Pasha. When Hacı Hüseyin Pasha went to Aleppo in 1757, he was accompanied by two Christian brothers whose names were İlyas and Yusuf al-Hallabi. They returned back to Mosul with Hüseyin Pasha, and İlyas became the banker of Hüseyin Paşa. Christians had become integrated into society. For example, they were celebrating Elijah Knight festivals with Muslims. In return and gesture

¹⁰⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*, p. 119.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 221.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, pp. 222-23.

¹⁰³ Nieuwnhuis, *Politics and Society*, p. 128.

Muslims were organizing outing parties according to Christian traditions.¹⁰⁴ The traditional autonomy of Christian population in Mosul, after the Jalili's period, has been deteriorated because of anti-Christian attitude, which increased as the side effects of increased trade with Europe.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁵ Nieuwnhuis, *Politics and Society*, pp. 74-75.

CHAPTER 2

JALILI HOUSEHOLD

2.1 The Political Forces in the Ottoman Arab Provinces

Arab provinces of Ottoman Empire, which stretched from Algeria to Basra, Aleppo and Sana constituted approximately the half of the Ottoman territory. Despite the fact that the people on this geography use the same language, they were having different political experiences. When we look at the integration of Arab provinces to Ottoman province system, it can be seen that Syria and northern Iraq were more close to Anatolia than other provinces had been integrate with Anatolia which was the centre of Ottoman Empire. They were subject to Ottoman provincial system. The state was able to declare its power to the places which army and administrative elite can reach easily than the mountainous areas of Cebel-i Lübnan, Southeastern Anatolia and Yemen. The more remote provinces like Syria and Iraq were being ruled by governors sent by Ottoman Empire. These governors were choosing their cadres from local notables. In the remote regions of empire, Ottoman governor were rare. In other words, local elements-notables were ruling these areas.¹⁰⁶

After the conquest of these areas, Ottoman Empire had to make alliances with local elites to take the control of these areas. In the conquered areas, there were not only settled communities, but also different type communities such as nomadic, settled villagers, tribes and the communities which were different from each other were living. For the control of this heterogeneous structured society, the state had to use the local controlling system for its own benefit. In Bosnia, Damascus, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Baghdad, Mosul were the centers which state was using these centers to protect the frontiers against foreign powers and rural nomads, state followed a policy which oscillates between the crushing or supporting the local

¹⁰⁶ Bruce Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde Yarı Özerk Güçler", *Türkiye Tarihi 1603-1833 Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), trans: Fethi Aytuna, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011), p. 229.

elites. But still, at the end of 18th century most of these rural centers, local elites were threatening the central authority.¹⁰⁷

There were three groups performing the role of leadership for people in Arab provinces. The first one was *Ulama* whose influence stems from religion. They were the people who give legitimacy to what government does. *Ulama* had an official position in Istanbul. While they are taken into consideration in Istanbul because of their official status, in provinces they are being treated as a local group. Except “*Kadis*” judges, *müftis*, *naips*, and *nakips* were coming from local families. Secondly, there were the commanders of local garrisons. Because of having arms, they were important for the state. Janissary Aghas were not subject to local forces, and they were protecting the castles by taking orders directly from Istanbul. They took root in some cities over time. Therefore, they had performed not only military role, but also political role. The last group can be described as secular notables (*ayan*, *agha*, *emir*). Their powers stem from being political figure, having military authority or from being wealthy, or controlling the endowments. They also control the agricultural production system.¹⁰⁸ In this context, when we examine the political forces of some Arab provinces, we see that province of Aleppo was very close to the center of Ottoman Empire. It was very important from the point of both military and commercially because, it was on a spot where closes to both Asian and African provinces. Aleppo was ruled until 19th century by governors sent from Istanbul. State on a close range and it could response immediately in the state of emergency. Therefore, the state was capable to continue its authority again the local power groups.¹⁰⁹ Tahazades family was most notable in Aleppo. They had established good relationship with İstanbul, and they have had military duties. The members of the family were performing duty of *nakib*, and they have had land in rural areas. They were involved in textile and food production. This family was effective on religious

¹⁰⁷ Dina Rizkh Khoury, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Merkez ile Taşradaki Güç Sahipleri Arasındaki İlişkiler: Bir Tarih Yazımı Çözümlemesi”, *Türkiye Tarihi 1603-1833 Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), trans: Fethi Aytuna, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2011), p. 173.

¹⁰⁸ Albert Hourani, “Ottoman Reform and”, p. 49

¹⁰⁹ Raymond, “Arap Eyaletleri”, p. 454.

duties and was powerful economically.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, notables of Aleppo, towards the end of 17th century, thanks to *malikane* system, started to take a significant portion of land and its revenues. Especially three families of Aleppo (Tahazades, Şehbenderzades, Hankarzades) have had the ownership of 65 per cent of the *malikanes*. The reason why these families did not have a bright future like Azmzades in Damascus and Jalilis in Mosul was that Ottoman Empire was controlling so significant province directly.¹¹¹

In the last decade of 18th century, Janissaries and şerifs played a crucial role in Aleppo. Janissaries were doing jobs like “*debbaglık*” and butchery. Because of their militaristic features, they have some privileges. Şerifs were coming from the lineage of Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, they have had privileges and immunities. In Aleppo, şerifs were benefiting from a social status which higher than Janissaries’ status.¹¹²

In Aleppo, only one *Ayan* did not dominate in the politics, but rather Muslim elites remained in a divided manner. The notables of Mosul and Aleppo were divided. Mosul was under threat of Iran, and the bedouins of Anizah were threatening Damascus. The notables in these two cities could not prevent the rise of Azms in Damascus and of Jalilis in Mosul.¹¹³ Although the origin of Sunni Arab Azms is not known, it is a fact that they settled in Ma’ara region. In 1725 firstly, Ismail became the governor of Damascus from Azms. The family had the authority in Damascus between 1725 and 1783.¹¹⁴ Azms like their contemporaries Jalilis, since the beginning of 18th century have increased their wealth and powers by acquiring *malikanes*. They a lot of mansions constructed including commercial and religious buildings. They have people around them like *ulama*, janissary *aghas*, merchants, bedouin and Turk tribe sheiks. They have had their own armed groups which were not subject to janissary *aghas*.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Hathaway, “The Arap Lands”, p. 92.

¹¹¹ Raymond, “Arap Eyaletleri”, p. 455.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 458.

¹¹³ Masters, “Arap Vilayetlerinde”, p. 235.

¹¹⁴ Raymond, “Arap Eyaletleri”, p. 468.

¹¹⁵ Hathaway, “The Arap Lands”, p. 88.

The wealth of Damascus and Aleppo was stemming from their control over the pilgrimage, and trade routes. The travel of pilgrimage was taking for months; it had to be maintained safely. Also, pilgrimage was the opportunity to Ottomans to show their authority over the Holy Lands. Due to attacks to pilgrimage caravans, the protection of these caravans was very important for Ottomans. From time to time Bedouins were attacking to caravans. In this sense, a pilgrimage caravan was attacked very badly in 1757.¹¹⁶ In this context, in 1757 Ottoman Sultan sent a *ferman* to the governor of Aleppo, Hüseyin Pasha about protection of pilgrimage caravan and providing their needs.¹¹⁷ Azms, like Kazdağlıs, increased both their wealth and strength by protecting pilgrimage caravans. There were two main pilgrimage caravans. One of them was coming from Egypt, and this one was under the command of Kazdağlıs after 1750. The other was coming from Damascus, and it was under the control of Azms. Azmzades have established good relationship with *ulama* and military commanders because of that the protection of pilgrimage routes were under their responsibility.¹¹⁸

While Azmzades were reigning in Damascus in 18th century, Kazdağlıs were reigning in Egypt. In contrast to Azmzades, Kazdağlıs have had a Mamluk origin. Mustafa Kazdağlı who founder of Kazdağlı family was immigrant from western Anatolia in 17th century. When Kazdağlı family appeared, it was one of the military households in Cairo.¹¹⁹ After the death of Mustafa Kazdağlı, İbrahim Kazdağlı dominated the political life of Egypt in the period between 1748 and 1754. He took the title of *Şeyhü'l-beled*. After the death of İbrahim Bey, Bulut Kapan Ali Bey from Mamluks was appointed to the office of *Şeyhü'l-beled* two times.¹²⁰ Ali Bey rebelled against Ottomans in 1771, and his name was read on Friday prayer.¹²¹ By

¹¹⁶ Şeyh Ahmet El-Bedirî El-Hallâk, *Berber Bedirî'nin Günlüğü 1741-1762 Osmanlı Taşra Hayatına İlişkin Olaylar*, trans: Hasan Yüksel, (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1995), p. 157.

¹¹⁷ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, (afterhere BOA), Ali Emiri Tasnifi III. Mustafa, (Afterhere A.E.T.), No: 4382.

¹¹⁸ Hathaway, "The Arap Lands", p. 88.

¹¹⁹ Jane Hathaway, *Osmanlı Mısırında Hane Politikaları Kazdağlıların Yükselişi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), p.16.

¹²⁰ Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde", p. 241.

¹²¹ Hathaway, "The Arap Lands", p. 85.

cooperating with Zahir al-Omer, he ordered the invasion of Syria. In this rebellion, he took the support of Russia. Ebü'z-Zahap who was the close men of Ali *Bey* captured Damascus. He get rid Ali *Bey* off, and he became *Şeyhü'l-beled*.

The success of this household seized the control of both *alay* and *beylik* hierarchy. They controlled office of Janissary *agha*, and governorship.¹²² Kazdağlıs' main source of income was the coffee coming from Yemen, and its trade done via Red Sea. At the same time they were trading with west coasts of India. Their monopoly over coffee trade merged with their controls over Janissary troops. This provided family to be more powerful. In addition, they were selling coffee to convoys came to Mecca for pilgrimage. They became powerful by taking the *iltizams* of *Evkafü'l-Haremeyn* which produces the grain taken by barter with coffee throughout pilgrimage.¹²³ Also, Azmzades has superiority over Kazdağlıs because of that they were protecting the pilgrimage caravans. Most of the activities concerning pilgrimage were being financed from Egyptian and Syrian sources.¹²⁴ For this reason, governor of Damascus and Egypt was responsible for equipping pilgrimage caravans. Egypt caravan was carrying the grain and money for the poor people of Mecca and a cover for Ka'ba and symbolic mahvil.¹²⁵ Kazdağlıs rule continued until the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798.

In 18th century, a Mamluk rule appeared in Baghdad. However, there was no Mamluk household tradition in Baghdad like Egypt. Only by the help of invasion of the region by Iran, the distress caused by Bedouins allowed the governors who remained in their post for a long time to play a crucial role in the city politics. Hasan Pasha was such a governor. When he established his dominance over Bedouins and Kurds, he became the favorite of Sultan. He remained in the governorship of Baghdad from 1704 to 1722. His son Ahmed took his position, and he remained in this post from 1723 to 1747.¹²⁶ Hasan and Hüseyin Pashas expanded their influence

¹²² Hathaway, *Osmanlı Mısırında Hane*, p.55.

¹²³ Hathaway, *Osmanlı Mısırında Hane*, p.155.

¹²⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Hacılar ve Sultanlar (1517-1638)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 9.

¹²⁵ Hathaway, *Osmanlı Mısırında Hane*, p.5.

¹²⁶ Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde", p. 242.

over Mardin, Süleymaniye, Diyarbekir, and Köy Sancak. They controlled the northern trade routes including the trade of Gulf and India. At the same time, they have gained some of the rich regions in agriculture. Also, Basra was being ruled by Mamluk household in Baghdad. In this period, Mosul different from Basra, Süleymaniye and Kerkük were impressed of Jalili family independent from Baghdad.¹²⁷ Ahmed Pasha's son-in-law Abu laila become governor of Baghdad (1750-1762). Then Ali Agha became governor (1762-1764). Umar Pasha's governorship lasted nine years between 1764 and 1775. In the period of Süleyman, The Great (1780-1782) this dynasty reached the peak of their power.¹²⁸ Although the Mamluk household in Baghdad resembles Mamluk household from the formation and function point of view, it did not attempt to separate itself from the empire in contrast to its equivalent in Cairo. It remained loyal to Ottomans. Mamluks in Baghdad protected the city against Bedouins, Kurds and Iran whose aim was to take the city. Another important difference between the households in Cairo and Baghdad was that there was only one household, and this household was the governor, in Baghdad. Therefore, because of that there was no any conflict between households; governors of Baghdad could focus on the charitable works. Without the worry dismissed from their office.¹²⁹

Ottoman Empire had to cooperate with local elites to take control its own hands. But at the same time, it had to reach to an agreement with these elites in case of their rebellion. Like Arab provinces mentioned above, Mosul has had strong elites, too. Although this thesis focuses on Jalili family in 18th century, for better understanding the Ottoman Mosul, it will be useful to take a brief glance to powerful families of the city.

2.2 Ottoman *Malikane* System and the Rise of *Ayans*

Ottoman Empire had used different methods for collecting taxes and different ways for extracting these revenues. The one of these financial methods was *timar*

¹²⁷ Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and society*, p. 24.

¹²⁸ Raymand, "Arap Eyaletleri", p. 480.

¹²⁹ Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde", p. 243.

system.¹³⁰ This system various governmental services were being done. Owner of *timars* as long as they live, they had to protect and improve their tax revenue sources. He had to take care of his *reayas* because his own benefit was depending on this. Because of that there was no any used agent; this tax collecting process could be done easily and without any cost.¹³¹ Thus, the collection of taxes and provision of public services was being provided.

On the other hand, over time Ottoman Empire's financial organization took its shape according to the necessities of the army and because of the changes in the state structure and warfare organization, the system experienced the changes. In the Ottoman revenue, office central treasury revenues were being gathered in three ways: *Emanet*, *iltizam*, and *malikane*. *Emanet* means the tax revenues belonging to the treasury are collected by the staff of officer. The officer collect the tax revenue according to *emanet* system was called as *Emin*. *Emin* was performing this task in return by salary or by taking a *dirlik*. *İltizam* system means that to collect the tax revenues by means of entrepreneurs.¹³² Although it is not known exactly when it started to be practiced, its first examples took place in the second half of 15th century. In *iltizam* system, tax revenue sources close to each other were being united and in terms of finance they were *mukataas* with income in cash.¹³³ Acquiring an *iltizam* was open to competition. They were being sold by auction for one year. A certain amount of money was being paid.¹³⁴ The profit and loss belong to leaseholders. These *iltizams* were being transferred to *mültezim* with a guarantor, and these *mukataas* were being given for three years. The person who wants to take *iltizam* had to have the financial capacity to operate, to demonstrate a guarantor, and to pay the highest price.¹³⁵ *Mültezims* could be civil sector, *reaya*, foreign, or from military class. Contracts were being signed generally for three years, but this period could be

¹³⁰ Ömer Lütfü Barkan, "Timar", *DİA*, Vol. 12/1, p. 286-87.

¹³¹ Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı Maliye Sisteminde Malikâne", *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Seminerleri Metinler/Tartışmalar 8-10 Haziran 1973*, in Osman Okyar (ed.), (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975), p. 232.

¹³² Erol Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003), p. 2.

¹³³ Genç, "Osmanlı Maliye Sisteminde Malikâne", p. 233.

¹³⁴ Genç, "Osmanlı İltizam Rejimi", p. 177.

¹³⁵ Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde*, p. 3.

extended to 9, 12, or 15 years. An important element of *iltizam* system was the guarantee. At the beginning, every *mültezim* relied on bail of the *mukataa* small capital owners who lives in the boundaries of the region where was. In 15th and 16th centuries, moneylenders in İstanbul were the guarantor of the *iltizam* nominee. These moneylenders became institutionalized. The guarantors were taking share from the income overtly or covertly.¹³⁶ Military members were in the *iltizam* system from the beginning but, when they inclined to ensure their salary, their number multiplied in 16th century. Since the beginning of 17th century, the sector started to be totally taken by military class. These processes were completed in 1650. The decrease in the number of non-Muslim *mültezim* whose numbers were higher in previous time was the result of this process.¹³⁷

The system implemented in the *iltizam* system during the period between the end of 17th century and 19th century was *malikane* system.¹³⁸ After the second half of 17th century, Ottoman Empire experienced a serious budget deficit due to its wars against other powers. The need of state for the money increased after the defeat of Vienna in 1683. In addition, the bad conditions and rebellions in rural areas, Arab provinces and the situation in the Balkans had introduced a crisis to the state.¹³⁹ Implementation of *malikane* system, which gives to the holder of this privilege the right to use the lands of the state for the life time, was started to relieve the financial crisis due to the pressure of financial deficit on the shoulders of the state.¹⁴⁰ State started to give the right for the lifetime in 1695. For the state elites and leading persons, auctions were managed. *Mukataas* were given to the persons who offered the highest prices and can give the cash money called *muaccele*.¹⁴¹ The auctions concerning *malikanas* were open to everyone including the high state officials, the leading persons of the provinces. In the auctions for the *malikanas* in the provinces,

¹³⁶ Mehmet Genç, “İltizam”, *DİA*, Vol, 22, p. 155.

¹³⁷ Genç, “*Osmanlı İltizam Rejimi*”, p. 180

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 181.

¹³⁹ Ariel Salzmänn, “An Ancient Regime Revisited: “Privatization” and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire”, *Politics and Society*, Vol. 21, No. 4, December 1993. p. 401.

¹⁴⁰ Avdo Suceska, “Malikâne”, trans: M. Özyüksel, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası Ord. Prof. Ömer Lütfi Barkan’a Armağan*, Vol. 41, No: 1-4, p. 278.

¹⁴¹ Salzmänn, “An Ancient Regime Revisited”, p. 401.

especially in the first decade, high-ranking state officials, provincial administrators and janissaries were consisting of the majority who had gained these rights. *Malikane* system facilitated the privatization of the tax revenue incomes of the state. State officials as being the owner of *malikane* in cities like Aleppo and its equivalent cities which were important in the sense of trade were benefiting from the privileges by collecting the tax revenues of commercial products, such as coffee and tobacco.¹⁴²

One of the leading families strengthening by *malikane* system was Abdüljalilzade family in Mosul. Abdüljalili was a Merchant who migrated to Mosul towards the end of 17th century. He used the family prosperity to buy the positions in the state. In a short time, he became the commander in chief of janissaries. He carried out the post of collecting the tax revenues and providing the logistic supplement of the army.¹⁴³ In a similar manner, Mustafa Kazdağlı served as kethuda in janissary troops in Egypt. In course of time, the janissary troops came under the influence of Kazdağlı family. Jalili family had the influence over the janissary troops in Mosul. The janissary troops in Mosul were being called by the number of ‘27’, ‘31’, ‘58’, and ‘10’. Jalili family has the close relationship with janissary troop called “27”. Umeris with ‘31’ and Yasinis with ‘58’ had a close relationship.¹⁴⁴ The close relationship of families with these troops was because of that these janissary troops had the control over the areas in where those families were living. For example in the district of Bab-al Iraq, Umaris settled. Also, Fettah Pasha from Jalili family were living in this quarter and the conflict between Fettah Pasha and Hüseyin Pasha’s descendants, some of these janissaries were supporting Fettah Pasha and the other were on the side of Hüseyin Pasha. For example, the janissaries in Meydan quarter were on the side of Hüseyin Pasha while the others in the district of Bab-al Iraq were supporting Fettah Pasha.

On the conquest of Iran by Afghan Mahmud Khan, Ottoman Empire declared war on Iran in 1723. An army under the command of Hasan Pasha attacked. Upon the death of Hasan Pasha in 1724, his son Ahmet Pasha took the command of the

¹⁴² Salzmann, “An Ancient Regime Revisited, p. 403-404.

¹⁴³ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁴ Kemp, *History and Historians*, p. 134.

army. This war ended with the defeat of Ottoman army at Isfahan in 1727. According to a document dated in 1726, in the order sent to Jalili İsmail Pasha, it was dictated that Mosul and its surroundings were given to himself in return with a *muaccele* whose amount was 15 thousand *kurus*.¹⁴⁵ The edict was sent to send the money, but instead of it was ordered to use this money for the necessities of soldiers fought under the command of Ahmet Pasha. We infer from this document that the *mukataas* of Mosul and its surroundings were taken by Abdüljalilzades in 1726. Because of that these *mukataas* were under the control of the governor of Mosul, theoretically, Ismail Pasha became the purchaser of governorship of Mosul.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the need for the cash money to cover the cost of wars of Ottoman Empire was met. In this way, Ottoman Empire could manage the war costs. During the Ottoman-Iran wars between 1734-35, state sent orders to governors, *mütesellims*, *kadıns* and leading persons of Antakya, Adana, Diyarbakır, Rakka, Nusaybin, Mardin, Aleppo, and Mosul to provide the necessities of the army and to send troops. These cities were on the route of army. Also, Hüseyin Pasha took orders to send grain to Baghdad and to provide the security of these convoys against bandit attacks.¹⁴⁷ In this way, Ottoman Empire provided the supplies and troops for army. *Ayan*, who had an important position in the sense of provincial administration, also obtained an elevated position from the military significance. Since 1726, they were appointed to important posts such as *Beylerbeyi* and *Sancak Bey*, and thus they were included into military class.¹⁴⁸

Thanks to AbdülJalilizade Hüseyin Pasha's success in the defense of Mosul against Nadir Shah in 1743, the family came into prominence. Nadir Şah attacked to Iraq because of that Ottoman Empire did not recognize the sect of Caferiyye as the fifth sect. Karakuş village was one of the villages destroyed before the siege of Mosul by Nadir Shah in 1743. He destroyed almost all houses of the villages and five churches in this village. Hüseyin Pasha called the villagers to participate to the

¹⁴⁵BOA, İbnülemin Tasnifi Maliye, No: 11515.

¹⁴⁶ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁷ Kemal Erkan, *1734-1735 Osmanlı-İran Savaşı Mühimme Defteri*, (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2011), pp. 9-16.

¹⁴⁸ Özcan Mert, "Osmanlı Devleti Tarihinde Ayanlık Dönemi," in Güler Eren (ed.) *Osmanlılar*, Vol. 6, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları,1999), p. 176.

defense of Mosul, and he recommended to them to leave the village. Villagers in Karakuş helped to the defense of the city. After the siege, Hüseyin Pasha asked for permission to repair their churches.¹⁴⁹ In 1743, Karakuş village was given as a reward to AbdülJalilizade Hüseyin Pasha because of that he defended Mosul with his troops against Nadir Shah. Karakuş village was on the route of Erbil, and it was twenty kilometers from Mosul. It was the largest village of Mosul. This village was a Christian village. Because of that this village had leaded Christian clergy; the village had a privileged position. Its privilege was that this village was one of the main garrisons of Ottoman army. In previous times, these garrisons were used for the communication, and then they started to the duty of ensuring the security of supplies of armies during their expeditions and transport of commercial goods. In these garrisons, the messengers could change their horses without charge.¹⁵⁰ The yearly income of this garrison which was given previously to governor of Şehrizer¹⁵¹ on condition that seven hundred and twenty-five *kurus* will be kept to meet the expenses of the garrison was given to AbdülJalilizade Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. Karakuş village became the largest property of Jalili family. Percy Kemp's answer to the question of why Karakuş village was given to him despite the fact that it belongs to Şehrizer was that Hüseyin Pasha especially requested Karakuş village from the Sultan. Because of the village was the property of family over three generations. The usage of words (*eba 'an ced*) by Hüseyin Pasha points out that his ancestors were the owner of the village. Another important issue was that whereas Balavat village was the property of Ahmet Pasha bin Süleyman Pasha bin Emin Pasha bin Hüseyin Pasha Jalili, Karamlis village was the property of other family's important branch, Ubeyd Pasha b. Salih b. AbdülJalili. Balavat, Karamlis and Karakuş villages were neighbouring villages for each other. Apparently, those three villages were allowed among Abdüceli, Hüseyin Pasha and Ubeyd. This shows that Jalili family had the *malikane* in Mosul since 17th century.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 221.

¹⁵⁰ Hüseyin Çınar, "Osmanlı Ulak-Menzilhanesi Sistemi ve XIII. Yüzyılın ilk Yarısında Antep Menzilleri", in Güler Eren (ed.) *Osmanlılar*, Vol. 3, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), p. 623.

¹⁵¹ BOA, A.E.T, No: 15196.

¹⁵² Kemp, *Mosul and Mosul Historians*, pp. 118-119.

The decision making authority concerning the garrison at Karakuş village was under the control of governor of Mosul. Since Abdülcelizades were the governor, the incomes of these *mukataa* were passing through their hands. They were responsible for their own garrisons. They could extort additional money from the villager by force under the pretext of payment of garrison. In fact, these kinds of payments were abolished, and the incomes of *mukataas* in the city centers were assigned for these kinds of payments. Some villagers complained this situation to central government. It was stated that the supply of garrisons were under the responsibility of governors.¹⁵³

In 1750, AbdülJalilizade Hüseyin Pasha endowed Karakuş village, which was given, to him by a “*mülkname-i hümayun*”. According to charter of waqf, he endowed all lands of village, vineyards, orchards, pasture, their incomes, and tax revenue incomes. His sons Emin Pasha, Selim Bey, and his grandson Abdullah Bey were appointed as the authority over the endowment on equal terms. He laid down some conditions. He ordered the repairmen of the two bridges on over the swamp between Gökçeli village and Lek village when their repair is needed, and the allocation of two hundreds *kurus* yearly for the service of tombs of Prophet Jonah and Prophet Nebiyallah Circis from the incomes of endowment. He ordered to spend a portion of revenues of endowment for the poor in Medina. Another provision of Hüseyin Pasha was that if his a son die without any male descendants, his right must pass to others, and this right concerning endowment must be followed by male descendants. He did not give any rights to his female children. He appointed his son Mehmet Emin Pasha as the trustee of the endowment.¹⁵⁴

We have no document which shows the income of the endowment from an earlier date. However, in a document dated 1875 and written by the ministry of endowment, it was being questioned the incomes of Karakuş village and who was the owner of the endowment. The incomes of the endowment and tax revenues were being asked.¹⁵⁵ In this mentioned document, it was stated that the accounting of

¹⁵³ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁴ BOA, Şurayı Devlet Evrakı, Gömlek: 2149, (hereafter Ş. D.) No: 33. See for endowment's text appendix-3, p. 123.

¹⁵⁵ BOA, Ş.D. Gömlek: 2149, No: 33.

endowment was being done since 1843, and after Tanzimat, it was stated that officers were appointed to identify these kinds of endowments. Also, a copy of endowment charter was asked by the ministry. The tax revenues of Karakuş village between 1848 and 1873 were sent from Mosul to Istanbul. It was stated that the endowment belongs to AbdülJalilizade Hüseyin Pasha. This village was given to him, and he endowed Karakuş village in 1750. All of them were written in the charter of endowment.

2.2.1 Income of Karakus Village

The following table lists the incomes of Karakuş vilage and the tax revenues extracted from dying house under the title of *hasılat-ı öşriyye* between 1848 and 1873.

income of dyeshop for treasure			income	
Year				
(12) 64			5292	20
(12) 65			4510	20
(12) 66			1781	20
			11684	20
(12) 67			02250	
(12) 68	82		02169	00
(12) 69	78	5	02250	00
00	161	5	18252	20
(12) 70			05000	00
(12) 71	078		02000	00
(12) 72				
00	229	05	22852	20
(12) 73	078	10	045000	00
(12) 74	078	10	4500	00
(12) 75	078	10		
00	472	25	27856	
(12) 76	078	05	22120	00
(12) 77	078	05	20000	00
(12) 78	078	05		
00	708	10	108956	60
(12) 79	78	05	017000	00
(12) 80	078	05	154460	30
(12) 81	078	05	009507	00
00	916	25	154460	
(12) 82	078	05	010447	10
(12) 83	078	05	012209	10

(12) 84	078	05	010229	20
00	117	00	188456	
(12) 85	078	05	007428	30
(12) 86	078	05		
(12) 87	078	05	000814	10
00	1411	15	199700	
(12) 88	0078	05	002438	20
(12) 89	0078	05	003173	00
(12) 90	0078	05	002739	30
00	1245	30	205051	

Table 2.1 - Income of Karakus Village

The following table lists the incomes of Karakuş village, the tax revenues extracted from dying house under the title of hasılat-ı öşriyye between 1848 and 1873 by showing the years, and the incomes belong to these years. The income was recorded as 206.697 *kuruş*. But there is no any record concerning the incomes from dying house as *mürettabat* treasure in 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1853, and 1857.

2.2.2 The Complete Properties of Karakuş Village

Year	Catte Tax		Regularity		Poll Tax	Tax
(12) 64	2850		0000		04080	014550
(12) 65	2850		0000		04080	015200
(12) 66	2850		0000		04080	014500
(12) 67	02850		0000		04080	014700
Total	11400		0000		16220	059350
(12) 68	2850		0000		04080	014000
(12) 69	2850		0000		04080	014000
(12) 70	2850		0000		04080	015050
(12) 71	2850		0000		04080	013700
Total	22800		0000		32640	116100
(12) 72	02850		0000		09350	013700
(12) 73	02850		0000		09350	013700
(12) 74	02850		0000		09350	012800
(12) 75	02850		0000		09350	012800
Total	44200		0000		70040	169100
(12) 76	02850		0000		09350	012800
(12) 77	02850		0000		09350	012800
(12) 78	02850		0000		09350	014100
(12) 79	02850		0000		09350	014100
Total	55400		0000		107440	222900
(12) 80	12850		0000		009350	014100
(12) 81	12850		01750		009350	014100
(12) 82	12850		0000		009350	014100
(12) 83	12850		03000		009350	014100
Total	66800		4750		144840	279300
(12) 84	02850		03100		009350	014100
(12) 85	03110		00332		009350	014100
(12) 86	02714		00320		009350	014100
(12) 87	04891	20	00291	30	009350	014100
Total	8026520	20	09093	30	182140	335700
(12) 88	03397	20	01750	00	009350	009900
(12) 89	04500		2000	00	009350	014100
Total	88123		12843	30	200840	359700
General Total	661546					

Table 2.2: Properties of Karakuş Village

In table, the incomes of Karakuş village under the title of *agnam* tax, *ihtisap* tax, military service (taken from non-Muslims), and the record of tax revenues between 1848 and 1872 have been shown. Because of the agreement made between non-Muslim and the state they subdued, non-Muslims have the equal rights with Muslims except some political rights and some applications about religious belief. However, in return for the exception from the military service, every Christian male who can make military service had to give military service fee under the title of “*bedel-i askeri*”¹⁵⁶ Karakuş village was a Christian village and because of this we can see incomes extracted military service in the table. *Agnam* tax was tax revenue. This tax was taken according to the number of ovine animals. *İhtisab* tax was taken from the bureaucratic activities under the title such as *damga*, *mizan*, *evzan*, *ekyal* and *bacıbazar*.¹⁵⁷

Tax records, as shown in the above, mentioned as 359.700 *kuruş*. The incomes from military service were total 4.080 *kuruş* between 1848 and 1854 (H.1264-1217). From 1854 to 1872 (H. 1271-1289), for every year 9.350 *kuruş* was given as military service fee. It can be seen that *ihtisab* tax was not given in 1864 (H. 1281) Total extracted money for *ihtisab* tax between 1864 and 1872 was 12843 *kuruş*. *Agnam* tax was accounted between 1848 and 1867, it was totally 2. 850. In this period *agnam* tax was under the responsibility of *multezim*. Because of that the *agnam* tax was not known exactly between 1867 and 1872 (H.1284-1289) it was accounted as 40 *para* for every year, and this was equal to 2.850 *kuruş* for every year. In total *agnam* tax was 88.163 *kuruş*. The total income of Karakuş village was 661.546 *kuruş*.¹⁵⁸

2.3 Leading Families of Mosul

In the Arab provinces of Ottoman state, leading families were controlling the daily life significantly. In this sense, Mosul was not different from other Arab

¹⁵⁶ Ufuk Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayri Müslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni*, (İstanbul: Simurg Yayınları, 2000), p. 13.

¹⁵⁷ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Vol. 2. (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basım Evi, 1983), p. 43

¹⁵⁸ BOA, Ş. D. Gömlek: 2149, No: 33

provinces. In Mosul which was under Ottoman control it can be seen at first glance, some leading families, and their importance. Umaris, Yasins, Kara Mustafas, Abdals, Gulamis ve Jalilis were the most important of these leading families.

2.3.1 Umaris

When Ottoman Empire acquired Mosul in 1516, the predominant sect was Shafii. However, the years following the Ottoman conquest it started to be seen that well-established families belonging to Hanafi. Over time, these families have begun to play a more active in the city's political and cultural history. Umaris was the most prominent family among these families. Kasım who ancestor of this family his name was recorded the first time in the sources in 1506. During the same period, Abd-al Muhsin who was the ancestor of Yasinis came from Samarra to Mosul, and he settled in there. Both these two families were as the representative of religious hierarchy of Ottoman in Mosul. With the emergence of new Hanafi families in Mosul, new cultural activities were emerged and from these activities both Hanafi and Shafii families benefitted. Until the beginning of 17th and 18th centuries, local leading families were very active in Mosul, and their active position especially Umeris were being supported by Ottomans.¹⁵⁹ For example between Kasım who was considered as the ancestor of Umaris and Mosul's leading families quarrel ocured over dyeing shop. The reason of the dispute was that leading families of Mosul were trying to create a monopoly over dyeing industry. By the help of governor, Kasım could overcome the leading families. By the permission of Grand vizier in 1574 a dyeing house was build under the protection of armed officers. Although the dyeing house were destroyed by leading families, Kasım who supported by Ottoman administrators could build it again. In previous years, Kasım donated the mosque and dyeing house which was built by him.¹⁶⁰

Kasım had a son named Ali. Ali died before a year than his father. Ali had three sons, called Osman, Musa and Muhammed. Osman's descendant was continued by his son, called Murad. Murad was a teacher and preacher at the madrasa called

¹⁵⁹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 202.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.105.

Nebi yallah Yunus. His other son, Abdullah completed his education first in Mosul and then in Anatolia. He also became müderris at Nebiyullah Madrasa and had the task of the judge in a lot of towns. Murad's other son Ali Ebu Fedail, was a teacher like his father and elder brother and became Ra'sü'l-ulema. He had the task of the judge of Mosul, as well as being the *müfti* of Mosul.¹⁶¹

Umaris were performing the duty of the judge and *müfti*. For example, the reputation of Ali Efendi al-Umari who was the *müfti* of Mosul was so high that this can bother of the governor.¹⁶² The main reason for these positions were given them was their elevated reputation in Ottoman palace. They were performing the duty in the sense of both material and spiritual/cultural spontaneously representation by depending on their own. The events took place in Mosul in the year of 1725 and the rebellion broke out were important for the history of Mosul. This rebellion was covering the feelings of all class of people from the *müfti* to ordinary folk. The reason of this rebellion was sentimental because of that the rebellion broke out due to the development of different interpretations of Quran. When Ali ibn Murad Umari tried to interpret the Quran in a way that was not acceptable for many Muslims this caused a dispute. Despite the many debates, the *mufti* did not change his way. Different interpretation of Quran gave it a politic notion, and the events occurred had caused six months fighting in the city. Most of the city was devastated by long fights. Meanwile, the natural disasters occurred due to the death from naturel disasters were added to the numbers of dead the person, increases. Some historians noted this as "great rebellion".¹⁶³

When Umaris activity in politics increased their wealth also increased. In the beginning of 18th century, they controlled a lot of villages under the *malikane* syatem and by this way they secured their existence. In the beginning of 18th century, the leading member of family, Umarizade Ali Ebu Feda'il became the first teacher at Nebi Yunus *madrassa* and later became the *mufti* of Mosul.¹⁶⁴ Umarizade Ali Ebu

¹⁶¹Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*,b 105.

¹⁶² Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p. 158.

¹⁶³ Robert W. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman- Persian Relations 1718-1743*, (Bloomington: Indiana Univesity, 1975), p. 167.

¹⁶⁴ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 142.

Fedail had had the influence in the sense of religion in Mosul. When his wealth increased he became also influential regarding political sense. He had his own village including mosque, dyeing house and coffeehouse. The South of Mosul (Bab al-Iraq) was under the Influence of him. He opposed to the collection of privileges in a single hand of Umaris. This also led to the divisions among households of Umaris. Umarzade Ali Ebu Feda'il was the only person who created a political center and sustained it.¹⁶⁵

Umaris other branch descended by Musa b. Ali b. Kasım. Fethullah who was the son of Musa became a teacher, and he performed the duty of the judge. His cousin, Ali Ebu Fedail and Fethullah had had a dispute over the dominance on Umari mosque. Later by the interference of Grand vizier they worked together. When Fethullah died in 1695, Ali Ebu Fedail was responsible for the mosque.¹⁶⁶ Umaris family's political power was reduced due to the strengthening of Jalili family. But still, they were the most productive and respected of Mosul's leading families in the intellectual and cultural sense. The family had split into two branches. One of them sustained its dominance in literature. Other branch was involved in trade and other activities. Especially, the works of people who come descended from Musa b. Ali. B. Kasım's line was important for the researchers whose main subject is 18th century's Mosul. Especially the works of Yasin b. Hayrullah Umari (1745-1820), his chronicles and biographies were very important sources for Jalilis period. He was the final chronicle of Jalilis period and some of his works were presented to Jalilis governors.¹⁶⁷ Another chronicle from this family was Osman *Defterdar*. (1721-1770). He was the son of Umari Ali Ebu Fedail. Osman entered the service of Jalili Hüseyin Pasha. When Nadir Shah besieges Mosul in 1743 he was with Hacı Hüseyin Pasha, and he fought with the people of Mosul against Nadir Shah. When Nadir Shah was retreat from Mosul, Hacı Hüseyin Pasha sent his son Emin Pasha to Istanbul with a letter for the news to Ottoman sultan.

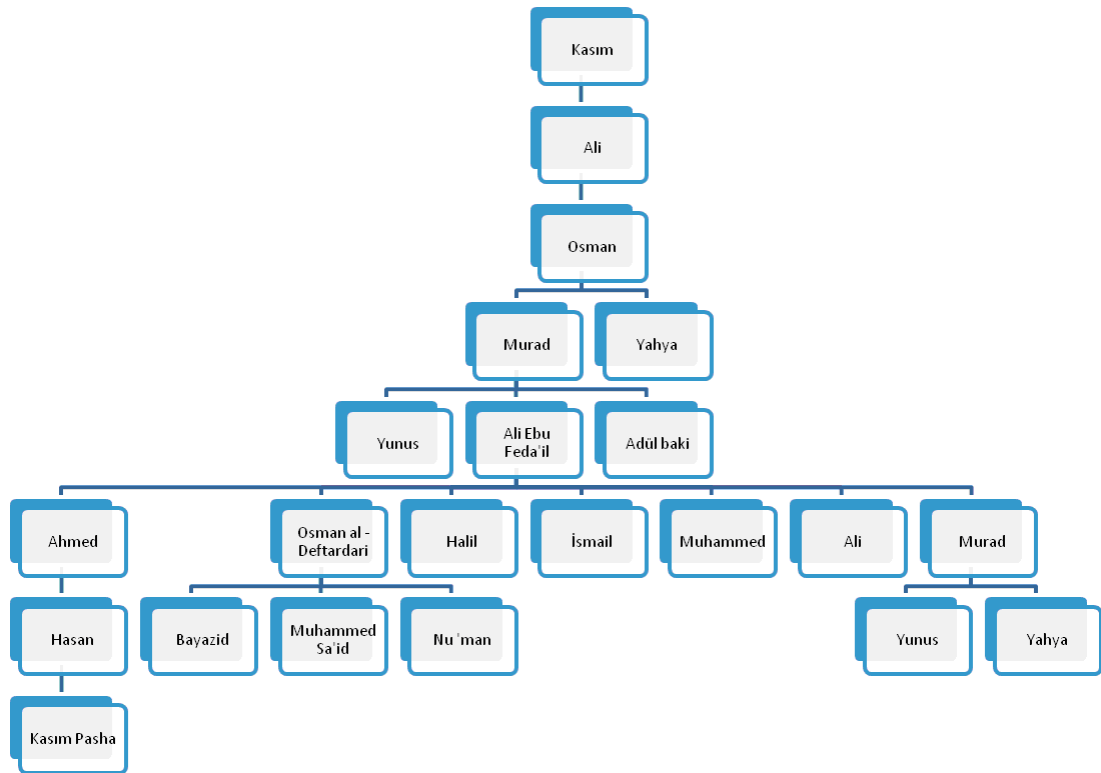
¹⁶⁵ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 143.

¹⁶⁶ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 107.

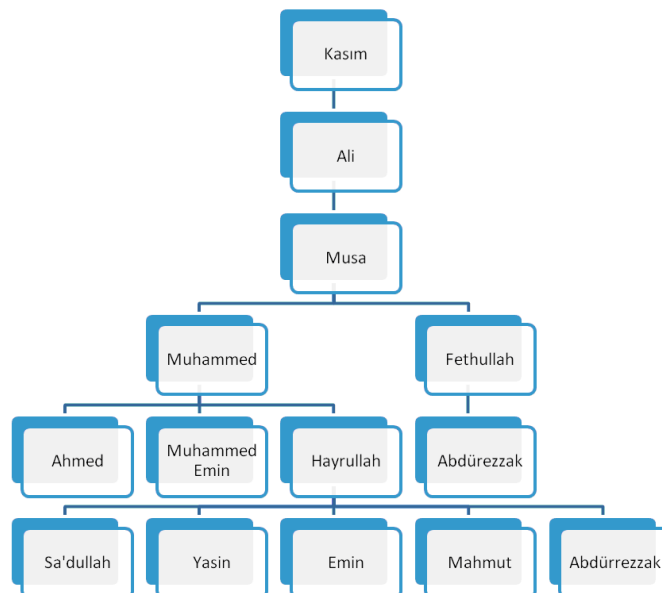
¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 356-357.

Two major houses of the Umari family were as follows:

I.) The houses of Uthman Umari



II.) The Houses of Musa bin Ali Qasim Umari



Sources: The genealogies of the Umari Families and Jalili Family are based on Percy Kemp's PhD Dissertation. See his *Mosul and Mosuli Historians in Jalili Era (1726-1834)*, Phd. Dissertation, Oxford University, 1979, pp.106-110.

Also Osman Umari, in 1750, went to Anatolia with Jalili Hacı Hüseyin Pasha and there he served in the governorship of Kars and Kütahya under the command of Hüseyin Pasha. Four years later he returned and became *kethüda* to Emin Pasha. He presented his work, *Raud an-Nadir fi Tajamat Udaba'al-'Asr*, in 1756 to in Emin Pasha. Osman Umari was not a historian in the classical sense. Rather, he recorded political events, war, and famine.¹⁶⁸

Another famous and intellectual figure of Umaris family was Emin bin Hayrullah Umari (b.1738) he was one of the most successful writers in his era. He gave a lot of books including encyclopedia, religion, language, arithmetic. His work "*Manhal al-Avliya' waMashrab al-Asfiya' min Sadat al-Hadba*" was an important work which describes the Jalilis period.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, when Jalilis gained a strong position in Mosul Umaris lost their power and especially the members of the family who were interested in education entered to the Jalili's patronage.

2.3.2 Yasinis

Another leading family in Mosul was Yasinis. Their father Abd-al Muhsin came from Samarra in 1543 and settled in Mosul. His eldest son Mahmud (d.1671) was the *mufti* of Mosul. After his death, his son Yasin took the control of the family, and the family started to be known as Yasinis. The family lived in the South part of the city, Bab-1 Sincar.¹⁷⁰ When Yasin went to Istanbul and proved his efficiency in the religious matters he took the privileges such as *timar* and *zeamet*. A part of the family has had the relationship with Janissaries. In 18th century, the family was holding the west part of the city under their control. Also, when the men of the family participated to the war preparations, they were gathering men to bear arms in the war from their villages. A part of the family joined to the rank of military, other members preferred to be the leading figure in the scientific areas, and they carried the task of naib and judge.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Kemp, "Power and knowledge," p. 347.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 350-52.

¹⁷⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 111.

¹⁷¹ Khoury, *Osmanli imparatorluğunda*, p. 145.

2.3.3 Kara Mustafas

Kara Mustafas were the local *mültezims* who served at the provincial court.¹⁷² Their grandfather was from the tribe of Mavali and he settled in Mosul, after taking an *ikta* from Murad IV. The name of his son, Kara Mustafa was emphasized in the record about the siege of Mosul by Nadir Shah.¹⁷³ In the beginning of 18th century, it was seen that they gained the reputation as tax collector. But as the time passed the ownership of their lands passed to Jalilis. They became soldier under the command of Jalili's governors. Kara Mustafas was wealthy family in the service of state even though they were not a leading family in Mosul. In the beginning of 18th century, they were known as Alaybeyi family.¹⁷⁴

2.3.4 Gulamis

Gulamis were Shafii sect, and they were not known because of their wealth. They were known as mostly a family of scholars. Although it is not known exactly in which part of Mosul they settled, it is a fact that they occupied Hatuniyye quarter towards the end of 19th century. Mustafa b. Ali took his education in Nebiyullah Madrasa in 18th century and then he became the Shafii *müfti* of Mosul. He died in 1717.¹⁷⁵

2.3.5 Abdals

Mosul's another Shafii family was Abdals. They settled in the quarter of Mosul known as Bab as-Saray. The ancestor of the family *Şeyh* Abdal and he were a merchant and writer as well, he had a mosque, and madrasa constructed and then donated them. Later family had endowments, khans, dyeing houses, coffeehouses,

¹⁷² Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda*, p. 145.

¹⁷³ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 113.

¹⁷⁴ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda*, p.145.

¹⁷⁵ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 113.

shops and mosques constructed. They were wealthier than Gulami family.¹⁷⁶ The wealth of Abdals whose roots goes back to the ancient times continued its growth during 18th century. They had the share in the ownership of 16 shops in Mosul, at the time in 1728. They increased the number of their shops, especially the number of shops around Abdaliye Mosque. In 1794, they had Huzzam Mosque constructed and a lot of property was endowed by them to this mosque. Due to their relationship with important Umaris family via marriages they could obtain the ownership of properties in rural areas.¹⁷⁷

2.3.6 Jalili Family

The first emphasize of Jalili name on the record took place upon the death of the ancestor of the family, Abdüljalili. The name of Abdüljalili (D.1681) was recorded as the name of one who was a merchant at Diyarbakir and migrated to Mosul. Although the chronicler of the period Süleyman Saig did not emphasize his name, Stephen H. Longrigg pointed out that Abdüljalili was a Christian and in the records it was written that his tomb was shown in a church.¹⁷⁸ Percy Kemp evaluates this situation in the following: The tomb in Sham'ûn eş-şafa Church was known as (*Paşa Kabri*) and it is not known who was in the tomb. The question who was in the tomb have different opinions a. A Carmelite European missionary who came to Mosul in the beginning of 18th century died, and upon this İsmail Pasha reluctantly had the body buried in the Nasturi Church, Sham'un aş-Şafa. It was related that in later years, again a Catholic missionary died, and his body this time had been buried to the same church by Emin Pasha, the son of Hüseyin Pasha. Again according to another opinion most of the people who converted from Christianity to Islam were taking the name of like Ahmed, Mahmud, Abdullah. The name of Abdüljalili's father was Abdülmalik. Both names Abdüljalili and Abdülmelik are like Christian names. For this reason, it is not known whether they are Muslim or Christian¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 114.

¹⁷⁷ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda*, p. 162.

¹⁷⁸ Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p. 158.

¹⁷⁹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 117.

Abdüljalili have had seven sons. Their names were Halil İbrahim, Yunus, Salih, Zübeyr, İsmail and Abdurrahman. Probably Jalili family were rich and powerful before their immigration to Mosul.¹⁸⁰ While Umaris took the quarter of the city called Bab al-Iraq, Abdüljalili settled in the quarter called Avn ed-din. Over time they spread towards the southeast of the city called *Meydan*. They had madrasa and mosques constructed.¹⁸¹

Abdüljalili's sons, Hacı İbrahim and Hacı Halil's names were recorded in the record of Ottoman documents first time in 1700 as the merchants who undertook the duty of transportation of grain to Baghdad.¹⁸² Jalili family grouped around a few households from each of the sons of the family. In the middle of 18th century, there were fifteen Jalili households. Two of Jalili households were prominent. One of them was the household came from the lineage of Salih Agha which called later with the name of Ubeyd Agha. The other, and the more important, was the household, which came from the lineage of Hüseyin, who was the son of İsmail Pasha. İsmail Pasha was the first Jalili governor of Mosul.¹⁸³ The other, third household took place around the lineage of Fettah who was the son of İsmail Pasha which was the brother of Hüseyin Pasha. Fettah Pasha household and Ubeyd Agha household, in the second half of 18th century, clashed for the dominance over Mosul with Hüseyin Pasha household.¹⁸⁴

Before Jalili family became effective in Mosul, Umaris family had been one of the leading families of the city. In 1725, Ottoman tried to settle the peace in Mosul after the rebellion broke out because of *mufti* Ali bin Murat Umari from Umaris family. Mosul had a strategic importance in the wars between Mosul and Iran. The importance of the city increased due to the wars with Iran. Hasan Pasha was the commander at the Baghdad in the war with Iran. When Hasan Pasha died, his son Ahmet Pasha took his place and obtained the power of his father. The aim of Ottoman state was the existence of a powerful governor in Mosul, in order to control

¹⁸⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 119.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 122.

¹⁸² Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 65.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p.137.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 137

the influence of Ahmet Pasha. There was a need for a powerful governor in Mosul in order to ensure the balance of power against both Umaris family and Ahmed Pasha in Baghdad. Towards the end of 18th century, Ottomans has chosen jalili family strengthening for this purpose. Another important reason of this preference was that Jalili family was providing the need of the army in the wars in 1722 between Ottoman and Iran. The success in providing the army's needs helped to the relationship between Ottomans and Jalili family.¹⁸⁵

The real gain of Jalili family was that İsmail Agha took the *mukataas* of Mosul as *malikane* due to that he provided Ottoman army in the wars with Iran.¹⁸⁶ These *mukataas* were being hold in the hands of Mosul's governor. Therefore, İsmail Agha bought the post of governorship Thus, he was doing the transportation of foods of the garrison on the route of Iran, such as Mosul, Mardin, Diyarbakir, and he was monitoring the task of collecting and preserving the supplies.¹⁸⁷

Jalili family's political and economic role in the Ottoman-Iran wars strengthened the position of the family. In places, such Mosul which is close to Iran frontier, Ottoman state needed local families for the defense of the soil and the continuity of the peace in provinces. Throughout 18th century and in the first quarter of 19th century, Jalili family gave this support to Ottoman administration.

¹⁸⁵ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, pp.168-169.

¹⁸⁶ BOA, İbnül Emin Tasnifi Maliye, N0:11515.

¹⁸⁷ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 65.

2.4 The Siege Of Mosul in 1743 and its Role in the Rise of Jalili Family

Mosul has been subject to attacks of Iran from time to time. Jalili family played a crucial role in the defense of the city against these attacks. Especially the heroism of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha came to the defense of Mosul against Iran's assaults. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha became the governor of Mosul before the death of his father İsmail Pasha (d.1733). Jalili family has two positions in the hierarchy of Mosul. They were the owner of a lot commercial real estate and mansions in the city, and the governor of the city as well. The tax revenues of the city were passing through their hands to the destination in the capital. This strong position and influence could be seen in the personal of Jalili Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. He the existence of this influential existence could be felt in the city street and the city administration¹⁸⁸.

Hacı Hüseyin Pasha, in 1730, was the governor of Mosul and then he became the governor of Amasya in 1731. After a short time, he became the *Beylerbeyi* of Mosul again.¹⁸⁹ Hüseyin Pasha fought in battle against İran two times. His first battle was against Nergis who was the vizier of Tahmasb that conquered Baghdad. Eight thousand soldiers were sent to Mosul under the command of Nergis. When Hacı Hüseyin Pasha had learned the existence of approaching troops of Shah fro Mosul, he resisted attack with the soldiers which his relative were among. Upon the death of Nergis Han Iranian troops were forced to retreat. The sons of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha, Murad, Mehmed Emin and his brother Abdülfettah returned to Mosul. The walls around the city were strengthened.¹⁹⁰ In the Ottoman-Persian wars, Hacı Hüseyin Pasha emerged as a leader with military capability. He promoted and became vizier in 1734. Because of the success about providing the soldiers with food and securing to get the necessary transportation vehicles for them,¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 122.

¹⁸⁹ Mehmet Süreyya, *Sici-İli Osmanî, Seyyit Ali Kahraman*, , Vol, III. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınlar, 1996), p. 117.

¹⁹⁰ Eroğlu *et al*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 105.

¹⁹¹ BOA, Tahvil defteri, No. 4. p. 13-14.

There were several ways to become vizier in Ottoman state. The office of vizier was given to first to the *hünkâr silahdars* who were among the leading persons in the imperial palace, such as *mirahor* and *bostancıbaşı*, second to the chief dignitaries in the state officials, such as vizier *kethüdas*, *defterdar*, and *reisü'l-küttab* and sometimes Janissary aghas and, finally notables in provinces such as Azmzades and Abdüljalilizades who belong to dignitary class. In addition, the title of vizier could be given to the person who shows heroism and usefulness in the wartime.¹⁹²

Between the years of 1734-1740, Hüseyin Pasha with the rank of vizier was appointed to some key posts. He was sent to Amasya, Erzurum, Baghdad, Basra and Mosul by Ottoman state. Istanbul's intention about using Hüseyin Pasha was to balance the power of Ahmed Pasha in Baghdad. When Ahmed Pasha was dismissed from the office of governor in Baghdad, Hüseyin Pasha was appointed as governor to Baghdad. Ahmed Pasha had been appointed to Baghdad as governor again in 1736. In 1740, Hüseyin Pasha was appointed as governor of Basra, the tension between Baghdad and Hüseyin Pasha reached its pinnacle. Because of the governors of Basra was previously under the influence of Baghdad. This tension led to the siege of Mosul in 1743.¹⁹³

The numbers of the sources which make emphasis on the siege of Mosul by Nadir Shah were not so much. When we consider the local sources and chronicles the work of Emin Omer, "*Manhal al-aulya' wa mashrab al-asfiya'min sadat al-Mausil al-hadba'*" relates the siege in a detailed manner. In one another source, "*Suphî Tarihi Sâmî ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile Birlikte 1730-1744*", which was written by Suphi Mehmet Efendi who was the local chronicler, the siege was not related in a detailed manner like in the work of Emin Umari. Also the yearbook belongs to the year of 1325 of Mosul is another source which describes the siege four times Another work dealing with the siege is the work of Robert W. Olson, "The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations 1718-1743". This work describes in detail the siege of Mosul.

¹⁹² Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-vukuat Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. III-V, trans: Prof. Dr. Neşet Çağatay, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980), p. 112.

¹⁹³ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p. 169.

If we look at the pre-siege developments, Nadir Shah has requested from Ottoman State the recognition of Caferism as the fifth sect in addition to four main sects in Islam and allocation of a place for this sect around Ka'be. However, when this request was refused, Nadir Shah attacked to Iraq in 1743. Upon Nadir Shah attacked to the soil of Ottoman Empire and to siege of Baghdad, (Ottoman Empire suppose to Nadir Sah would attack Baghdad therefore military build-up in Mosul.¹⁹⁴ Vizier Ahmed Pasha, the governor of Baghdad sent the message to Nadir Shah about that if he takes the Mosul without fight; they would deliver Baghdad and obey him. Upon this Nadir Shah directed three hundred thousand soldiers towards Mosul.¹⁹⁵ Nadir Shah's the act of directing his soldiers towards Mosul was considered by Mosul inhabitants as his trick. Mosul's defense walls were not strong enough to withstand attack. Hence the city's people were worried about how long the city would endure against siege. When Hacı Hüseyin Pasha learned that Ahmet Pasha was directed towards Mosul by Nadir Shah, he started immediately to strengthen the walls of the city. Large trenches were excavated. In this activity from every social level of the city were participated. Even the governor of the city himself participated in the work of strengthening the walls of the city. These works took place between July and August of 1743.¹⁹⁶ Hacı Hüseyin Pasha for defending Mosul against the enemy sent the message to the people living in the mountains and on the hills around the city ¹⁹⁷ Nadir Shah's army destroyed the Muslim, Yezidi and Christian village on the route of army from Erbil to Mosul. The second siege of the city was more destructive than the first siege. Nadir Shah's troops destroyed the countryside and village of Mosul.¹⁹⁸ Karamlis, Bartalla, Karakuş, Ba 'şiga, Tel Kayf, Batnaya, Tell İskif, ve Al Kosh were among these destroyed villages. Nadir Shah's troops killed many Christians and destroyed monasteries. Moreover, all monks of Dayr Mar Awraham Church in Batanaya were killed. Therefore, people in a rural area left their

¹⁹⁴ İlker Külbilge, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı-İran Siyasi İlişkileri 1703-1747*, unpublished PhD, (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, 2010), p. 252.

¹⁹⁵ Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p. 149.

¹⁹⁶ Yasin bin Hayrullah Umari, *Al-Athar Al-Jaliya fi'l-Hawadith Al-Ardiya 1209 AH (1794-95)*, p. 184b

¹⁹⁷ *Musul Salnamesi*, p. 96.

¹⁹⁸ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, pp.74-75.

homes and were encouraged to defend the city. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha consoled villagers and gave them a kind reception. He said them that they had to be courage's and by this way they could stand the assault of Nadir Shah.¹⁹⁹

Nadir Shah sieged Kirkuk before arriving Mosul. Kirkuk was under the command of Emir Hüseyin Pasha known as Ibn Hamal, and his commander Ahmed Pasha al-Hallabi. On the other hand, when Emir Hüseyin Pasha learned that Nadir Shah's intention to sieged the city, he fled not to face with Nadir Shah. Kirkuk was besieged for two days by Nadir Shah. He forced the men in the city to join his army, and headed towards Mosul. The Erbil castle was taken in a few hours without a resistance.²⁰⁰ Following the conquest Nadir Shah sent a letter under the signature of Shah of Iran, Ali Ekber, to Seyyid Yahya Efendi, *mufti* of Mosul, and Vizier Hüseyin Pasha, and people of Mosul about the request of taking the city without shedding blood of innocent people. Upon arrival of letter, the governor ordered city's person of prominence to be gathered in the place of Red Mosque Ahmer known as the *Makam-ı Hızır* on the edge of Tigris, and the letter was read in here. After the reading of the letter, the governor received the following response when he asked their opinions about the circumstance; "*You are the representative of Sultan over the city and the defense of the city is under your responsibility. There is nobody who rejects to your order in this condition. Apply what your decision is*".²⁰¹ Upon this, the following reply was sent to Nadir Shah who asked the delivery of the city. "*We are the servants of Almighty Ottoman Empire. We do not have any intention but to continue to our service under the banner of our Sultan who was the shadow of God on the earth and the lord of two seas with loyalty*".²⁰²

Nadir Shah's army reached to Yarımca village where were in the east of Tigris River and about in a distance of an hour to Mosul. Meanwhile, Hacı Hüseyin Pasha ordered the governor of Aleppo Hüseyin Pasha to prepare his troops. He also sent a message to Koç Pasha the same order as well,²⁰³ when the enemy began to

¹⁹⁹ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p. 170.

²⁰⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 310.

²⁰¹ Eroğlu *et al*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p.105-106.

²⁰² Raymond, "Arap Eyaletleri", p. 475.

²⁰³ Eroğlu *et al*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 106.

spread in a wide area, Hacı Hüseyin Pasha dispatched a division under the command of his brother Abdülfettah *Bey* who was 24-year-old. Abdülfettah *Bey* across the river and attacked the enemy. But around twenty-five thousand enemy soldiers cut the way of fall back and blockaded his troops.²⁰⁴ In this conflict one of Nadir shah commander, Jelul Han, was killed, and he was buried in a village near Mosul.²⁰⁵ During the siege, soldiers continued to fight bravely. Both sides gave casualties. When the opportunity of cutting the enemy line for retreat appeared, the line was cut, and they could manage to across the river and close the castle's doors.²⁰⁶ The next day Nadir Shah whose troops' number were around 300.000 and with nearly 15.000 servants and prisoner of war sent an envoy again to Hüseyin Pasha. He said by envoy that they do not need to shed blood, and because of their stubbornness they and a lot of people will lose their lives. As a reply they said that they will continue to defend the city and they are ready to become a martyr for his cause.²⁰⁷ Hacı Hüseyin Pasha an experienced person aware that this was a trick of Nadir Shah. He said that these messages were the indication of his fear and weakness.²⁰⁸

Nadir Shah ordered to make necessary preparations for o campaign all his army after he stayed Yarımca village for five days. He instructed to build a bridge over the Tigris River to be able to dispatch his troops to the city on 21 September; army took the position in front of the city walls and in the adjoining areas, such as Red Mosque.²⁰⁹ Nadir Shah investigates the city walls and pointed out where trenches must be dug. He made twelve replacements constructed against the castle of the city and started trenches to be dug on September 23; he removed his army and their weapons to the west of the city. The city was bombed from the twelve replacements which were built on 28 September, and nearly seventy thousand shells were fired.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ Yasin bin Hayrullah Umari. *Al-athar Al-jaliya*, p. 185a.

²⁰⁵ Olson, *The Siege Of Mosul*, p.172.

²⁰⁶ Eroğlu *et al*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 106.

²⁰⁷ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 312.

²⁰⁸ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p.173.

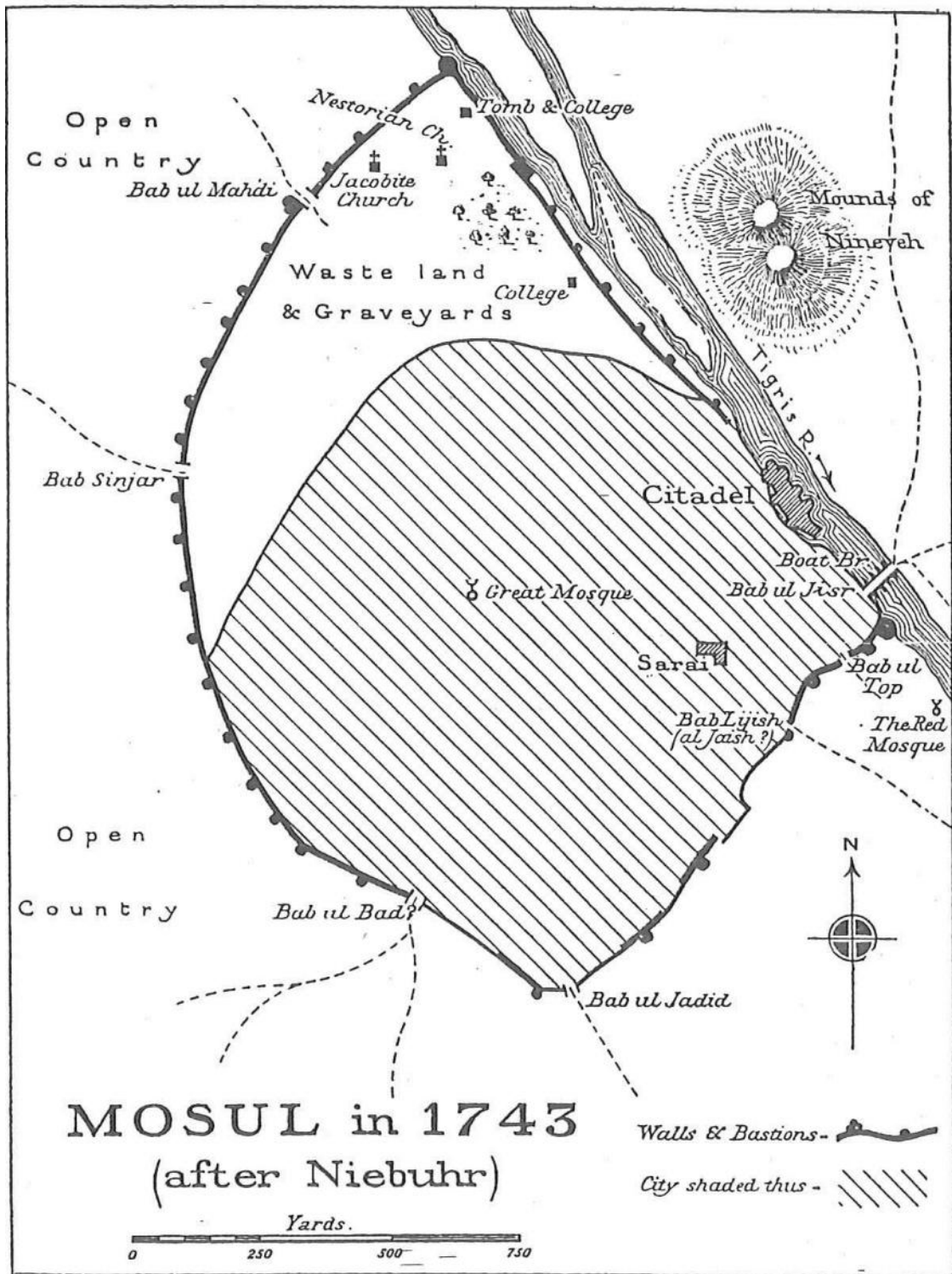
²⁰⁹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 312.

²¹⁰ Subhî Mehmet Efendi, *Subhî Tarihi Sâmî ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile birlikte 1730-1744 (incelemeli karşılaştırmalı metin)*, trans: Mesut Aydıner, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), p. 829.

The people of Mosul repaired immediately the part of the defense line damaged during the bombardment. When it was seen that Mosul could stand despite of the first barrage fire, Shah directed his attack direction to Baştabya Tower which is near Al-Mahdi gate in the north-west of Mosul. The commander in this tower abandoned his position because of the density of attacks. Upon this Hacı Hüseyin Pasha took command of the tower.²¹¹ Hacı Hüseyin Pasha with his sons Murat and Emin Pashas spent efforts to encourage people to continue to defend the city. He rewarded with gifts and gold. After the dawn, Nadir Shah understood that Baştabya was the center of Mosul's defense when he saw that Hacı Hüseyin Pasha was commanding the troops in there. He brought his army from Yarımca to the east of Mosul, Kadıkent village. He ordered to target and shoot Baştabya directly from here. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha immediately gave orders the masons to repair the destroyed walls. Under the rain of falling shells Hacı Hüseyin Pasha encouraged his soldiers by his words. *"This day is a day of victory, this is not a war, but jihad this day is the time that the Gates of Paradise are opened, and sherbet of martyrdom is served. Today a lot of people who die will be prevent the killing of their families. His name will be remembered forever"*.²¹² His encouraging words during the intense bombardment made it possible to continue of the defense of the city. Reparations were completed of towers in a few hours. Despite the intense bombardment the tower did not collapse, and because of this enemy began to dig three tunnels under the walls. For the demolition of walls, gun powder was put in the tunnels, and it set off. In the plan of enemy head quarter, they thought that defenders would be split after the demolition of walls, and they could use the ladder for entering to the castle. However, Hüseyin Pasha as an experienced person predicted this possibility and he gave the order to dig trenches with five intervals between each other to prevent these attacks.

²¹¹ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p.173.

²¹² Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 312.



Map 2 - Mosul in 1743

Source: Stephen Hemsley Longrigg. *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 151.

When they set fire the gun powder, the effect was at the minimum level. Although these attacks caused some damages, but still did not succeed.²¹³

Nadir Shah took a break for a few days for his attacks. But he attacked to vulnerable and unprotected villages around Mosul. What he did in these villages was not winning the glory, but destruction of villages and massacres. After a few days, he started to attack again. In this time, Nadir Shah made thousands of ladders pass through the ditches and trenches dug by Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. These ladders were used to climb on the walls by throwing them on the ditches. No matter how cavalries acted swiftly, they could not climb, and they were driven back by defenders. Nadir Shah sent a message to Hüseyin Pasha. But in his message, he did not state that he will not attack again. Hüseyin Pasha sent a reply in the following: “*We are ready to defend our city, if your dream is not true you must go back to your country.*”²¹⁴

Nadir Shah questioned the Messenger about the condition of the city after such an intense bombardment. The Messenger stated: “*When we entered to the city we did not assume that we did not encounter with a single house which was not destroyed. But there is no any sign about being destroyed by bombardment. The moral condition of people in Mosul was high.*” Upon this that Nadir Shah was very surprised and then this information was supported by intelligence. He wrote a letter to Hüseyin Pasha. He asked to send two leading persons from the city to his tent to discuss. Upon this request Hüseyin Pasha sent Şafii müfti Ali Gulami and Kara Mustafa Bey from the city notables to Nadir Shah’s tent in the Kadıkent village. Nadir Shah welcomed them with a warm and friendly reception. He praised them for their dedication in the defense of the city. He declared them that he does not have any grudge against the inhabitants of Mosul, his faith was correct, and his willingness to show that both Sunnis and Shi’is were correct. He presented them the peace proposal.²¹⁵ “*Please report my intention about the restoration of peace and the ending of rumors, if they have an intention to continue to fight, that submit one of*

²¹³ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 312.

²¹⁴ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p.174.

²¹⁵ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 316. *Musul Salnamesi*, p. 97.

*the pursue towards Ottoman state with my all regards say it to my two viziers”.*²¹⁶ He sent them to the tent of Ali Ekber who was the Shia Şeyhü'l-İslam. Like Nadir Shah, Ali Ekber welcomed them warmly. After praising the courage the brave of people and soldiers in the city, he stated that Shah learned that emissaries had beautiful horses, and if they can present some of them, Shah will be grateful to them. After they had returned to the city, Hacı Hüseyin Pasha ordered to send eight good quality horses via his nephew Kasım Agha to Nadir Shah.²¹⁷ Nadir Shah gave gold to Kasım Agha as a gift. Once again Nadir Shah emphasized that both Shi'ism and Sunnism were the right path of Islam and the horses sent to him was the gesture of the peace. Upon that Nadir Shah and Hüseyin Pasha releasing the prison of war, Nadir Shah drew his soldiers from Mosul in 23 October 1743.²¹⁸ It was written in the chronicles that the siege continued for forty-eight days.²¹⁹

In the siege of Mosul in 1743, the Christian villagers around Mosul helped also to the defense of the city. Especially the pillage which Nadir Shah's troops engaged was crucial factor in this participation. After the demolition of the church of Karakuş Village, which was the largest Christian village, Christians became volunteers for the defense of Mosul.²²⁰ The people of Yarımca village participated to the defense upon the request of the governor. The rumor that the depiction of Virgin Mary had been seen on the roof of the town church has added the holiness to the participation. After the siege Hüseyin Pasha had funds money for the construction of eight churches.²²¹

The news about to get rid of enemy from the Mosul was received with enthusiasm in Istanbul. Sultan sent seven thousand five hundred *kuruş*, two robes as a gift with an edict. Hacı Emin Pasha, the son of Hüseyin Pasha, was given the rank

²¹⁶ Eroğlu *et al*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p.107

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p.175

²¹⁹ Şem'dani-zade Findıklı Süleyman, *Tarih-i Mür'it-Tevarih*, Vol. 1, Translated by: Münir Aktepe, (İstanbul: İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi, Yayınları No: 2088, 1976), p. 138.

²²⁰ Masters, *Christian and Jews*, p. 127.

²²¹ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, pp.74-75.

of *mirimianlık*.²²² Because of Hüseyin Pasha's successful defense against Nadir Shah, Ottoman Empire gave him Karakuş village as a reward.²²³

Hüseyin Pasha's defense of all the eastern frontier of Ottoman Empire and Mosul against Nadir Shah led the emergence of a political dynasty loyal to Ottomans.²²⁴ During the Ottoman-Persian Wars, Jalili family played a crucial role. Both the defense of Mosul and the recruitment of soldiers, and also their capabilities to provide logistic necessities led Jalili family to play a leading role.

In 1747, Hüseyin Pasha was sent to another place as governor. His successor, Tiryaki Mahmud, was fired by Süleyman Pasha, governor of Baghdad. Then Tiryaki Muhammed was appointed to Baghdad. In 1749, Hüseyin Pasha was appointed again, and this was the seventh time. During this period, he had the collaborated with Süleyman Pasha in the expedition against Kurds. After three years in the expedition against Yezidis at Cebel Sicar, thanks to the military skills of Mehmet Emin Pasha and with the collaboration of Abu Laila Mosul troops, a success was gained. Mehmet Emin Pasha was appointed first to Mosul, and then to Kirkuk.²²⁵

2.5 The Governors of Jalili Family

Jalili family obtained first time the governorship of Mosul in 1726 when Abdüljalili Pasha's son İsmail Pasha became the governor of the city. Between 1726 and 1834, sixteen family members, executed the governorship of Mosul. Especially Jalili Hacı Hüseyin Pasha came to the for by his successful defense of Mosul against Nadir Shah in 1743. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha executed governorship eight times. His son Mehmet Emin Pasha was appointed to this post seven times. His grandson Süleyman Pasha came to the post four times. The only member of the family who executed the governorship without interval during the years between 1789 and 1806 was Jalili Mehmet Pasha. Also, his reign was a period in which peace and tranquility was experienced. The last member of the family who executed the governorship was

²²² *Subhi Tarihi*, p. 830. and *Musul Salnamesi*. p. 97.

²²³ A.E.T, Gömlek No: 15196.

²²⁴ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda*, p. 104.

²²⁵ Longrig, *Four Centuries*, p. 176.

Yahya Pasha, and this period witnessed the rebellion against the family. The post of governorship was handled mostly by the descendants of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. Even though some other branches of family rebelled against this branch, they could not achieve to take the governorship from the hands of this family. For example, the brother of Hüseyin Pasha, Jalili Fettah Pasha clashed with his nephew Mehmet Emin Pasha in armed conflicts. Nevertheless, Fettah Pasha could not break the dominance of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha's descendants. However, Fettah Pasha experienced the governorship of Mosul between 1770 and 1771. Again Jalili Ubeyd Agha's son, Abdalbaki Pasha executed the governorship of Mosul by the help of the governor of Baghdad between 1785 and 1786. Except these two people, all Jalili governors were the descendants of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. Names of the members of Jalili family had given by their periods in a chronological order. Jalili family not only governor of Mosul but also lieutenant governor (*kathuda*) was from Jalili family. These were usually brother or son of the governor. On the other hand, when the governor of Mosul failing *mutasallim* chosen from Jalili family.²²⁶ Furthermore, Jalili family members had whole crucial administrative function. In this way, Jalili family established their hegemony over Mosul.

2.5.1 İsmail Pasha

He was the son of Abdüljalil and he was the first governor of Mosul. He obtained the right of *mukataas* around Mosul, and because of that these *mukataas* were being in the hands of governor, he became the governor.²²⁷ He died in 1733.

2.5.2 Hüseyin Pasha

He is the son of İsmail Pasha. He became the governor of Mosul first time in 1730. He was appointed to the governorship of Amasya in 1731.²²⁸ He came to for by his heroism in the wars between Ottoman and Iran. His first battle with Iran took

²²⁶ Raymond, "Arap Eyaletleri", p. 476.

²²⁷ BOA, İbnülemin Maliye, N0:11515

²²⁸ Süreyya, *Sici-İlli Osmanî*, Vol. III. 177.

place in 1733 against the Nergis Khan, the vizier of Shah Tahmasb. In this battle, he defended Mosul against Nergis Khan thanks to his activities for providing the necessities of Ottoman army during the wars between Ottoman and Iran, he became vizier.²²⁹ His greatest success was the defence of Mosul against Nadir Shah in 1743. He successfully managed the defense and showed heroism. He appointed same year Basra and Adana in 1751.²³⁰ He also executed the governorship of Amasya, Basra, Aleppo, Anatolia, Trabzon, Adana, Kütahya, and Kars.²³¹ Hacı Hüseyin Pasha who was known for courage and heroism died in 1758. His sons, grandsons, and nephews executed the governorship of Mosul and other provinces. In this way, Jalili family established their dominant position in Mosul.²³²

2.5.3 Mehmet Emin Pasha

He was the son of AbdülJalilizade Hüseyin Pasha. He was appointed to the post first time in 1753.²³³ Mehmet Emin Pasha was appointed as governor of Mosul seven times. He also executed the governorship of Diyarbakir and Şehrizor.²³⁴ He was clashed with his uncle over the governorship from time to time. In these clashes most of time he was superior to his uncle.

Mehmet Emin Pasha upon the order of Sultan participated with his two hundred men to the war against Russia in 1768-74.²³⁵ He was captured in the war. The task to bring money and clothes to Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, İşbozlu Abdullah Pasha and Vizier AbdülJalilizade Mehmet Emin Pasha was given to Chronicler Ahmet Vasıf *Efendi*.²³⁶ He was kept as prison of war by Russian for five years. After the peace treaty, he came to Istanbul and received blessing compliments of

²²⁹ BOA, Tahrir Defteri,

²³⁰ Tarihu devhati'l-vüzera zeyli Gülşen-i hulefa, Kerküklü Resül Havi Efendi, (Bağdat: Darü't- Tıbaa 1246/1830), pp. 59-60.

²³¹ BOA, C.DH. No: 86 Gömlek 4275.

²³² Mehmet İpşirli, "Celîlî", *DİA*, Vol. 7. p. 269.

²³³ *Musul salnamesi*, p. 86.

²³⁴ BOA, A.E.T, No: 116, Gömlek: 8910.

²³⁵ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, p. 138.

²³⁶ Vâsıf Efendi, *Mehâsinül Âsar*, p.25.

Abdulhamid I.²³⁷ After the war, he was appointed again as the governor of Mosul in 1774.²³⁸

2.5. 4. Abdulfattah Pasha

Abdulfattah Pasha was the brother of Abdüljalilzade Hacı Hüseyin Pasha.²³⁹ Fettah Pasha was the head of the group which struggles with other branch of the family. The head of the opposite party was Hüseyin Pasha's son, Emin Pasha. First time, the two groups clashed in 1754, and these clashes repeated in 1756, 1758, and 1760. When Emin Pasha participated with his men to the war against Russia, a person called Hüseyin Pasha was appointed to the governorship of Mosul. Ubeyd Ağa's son Esad Pasha and Emin Pasha's son, Süleyman Paşa was trying to preserve the balance against the janissary troops which called as "31", "52", and "27". However, in the absence of Mehmed Emin Pasha, the janissary troops "27", "10", "52" combined their forces and attacked to house of Esad Pasha and Süleyman Pasha who was the supporter of Mehmed Emin Pasha. 31st and 52nd Janissary troops attacked to 27th Janissary troop. They provided Esad Pasha and Süleyman Pasha to enter to the house of Yasinis. In the meantime, some janissary troops started to plunder the quarter. Seventy janissaries went in 1761 to Baghdad in where Fettah Pasha was. Meanwhile, a rumor started to circulate. According to this rumor Fettah Pasha will return to Mosul as governor. In continuing clashes, 27th Janissary troop come the dominant to 52nd Janissary troop. The clashes which continued four days ended with the intervention of *Mufti* and Süleyman Pasha.²⁴⁰ Fettah Pasha became the governor of Mosul in 1770.²⁴¹ Immediately after, he entered to the city; he seized the properties of his old enemy, Esad Pasha. Upon the request of Baghdad and Kara Yılan, he allowed the return of Esad Pasha and his brothers to Mosul.²⁴² On 6 October 1771 Fettah Pasha took the title of vizier, and he obtained leader of Cerde

²³⁷ Eroğlu *et al.* *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 109.

²³⁸ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 2, p.101.

²³⁹ Eroğlu, *et al.*, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p.107.

²⁴⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, pp. 140.141

²⁴¹ Tahvil defteri, No: 53. p. 23.

²⁴² Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, pp. 140.

and including Mosul.²⁴³ When Abdülfettah Pasha went to Damascus to meet the needs of pilgrims, he appointed his relative, Ahmed Agha as his representative. The people rebelled against him and attempted to kill. After this incident, people split into two different parties, and clashes took place. As a result, a lot of people died. The events ended a lot of people died because of the plague. Abdülfettah Pasha died in Damascus and his body was transferred to Mosul.²⁴⁴ After Abdülfettah Pasha, Süleyman Pasha was appointed to Mosul as governor.

2.5.5 Süleyman Pasha

Süleyman Pasha was the son of Mehmed Emin Pasha.²⁴⁵ He was appointed as governor to Mosul in 1772.²⁴⁶ Then he was appointed more than four times until 1785. After that, he was appointed as governor to Mosul. In 1777, his second governorship was interrupted. This was caused by the appointment of Hasan Pasha as governor to Mosul. Hasan Pasha appointed Ahmed b. Mustafa b. İbrahim Jalili as his *mütesellim*, but before Ahmet Pasha had served as *mütesellim* to Fattah Pasha. He stood by Fattah Pasha at the quarrel between Mehmet Emin Pasha and Fattah Pasha. Hasan Pasha was forced to fire Ahmed Pasha from his office. When the other assigned *mütesellim* was not wanted by janissary, Hasan Pasha went to Baghdad as governor. Then Süleyman Pasha became the governor of Mosul. For five, years until 1783, peace continued in Mosul. When Mustafa Yazıcı Pasha was appointed to Mosul as governor, Süleyman Pasha was sent to Diyarbakir as governor.²⁴⁷ Süleyman Pasha again became the governor of Mosul in 1786. The governorship of Süleyman Pasha between 1786 and 1789 was the period of peace and tranquility in Mosul.²⁴⁸

²⁴³ Tahvil Defteri, No: 16, p. 174- 175

²⁴⁴ Eroğlu, et al, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 109.

²⁴⁵ Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, Vol. V. p. 1546.

²⁴⁶ *Musul Salnamesi*, p. 86.

²⁴⁷ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, pp. 145-146.

²⁴⁸ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 16, p. 2008.

2.5.6 Abdülbaki Pasha

Abdülbaki Pasha was from Ubeyd Agha branch of Jalili family which had the command of Janissary.²⁴⁹ After the going of Süleyman Pasha to Urfa, there was a quarrel between Abdülbaki and Meydan. Babel-Iraq had backed Abdülbaki Pasha. Abdülbaki Pasha had to go to his village Karamlis. Mustafa Yazıcı Pasha left Mosul and Timur Pasha was appointed as governor. During this period, a dispute between two groups took place. This quarrel occurred due to two neighbor villages, Karamlis and Karakuş. The first owner of these villages was Jalili Abdülbaki. But then, they were given to Hüseyin Jalili Pasha. Due to the fact that the dispute was that the rights over the villages passed to competitors and about the Christian people living there.²⁵⁰

Governor of Baghdad who has had a good relationship with Abdülbaki Pasha wanted to appoint him as governor to Mosul. For this reason, he complained Abduljalilzades to Istanbul. And for recommending the governorship of Abdülbaki Pasha he wrote letters to Istanbul. Due to pressure of the governor of Baghdad Abdülbaki Pasha was appointed as governor to Mosul. But when Pasha became governor of Mosul, persecution increased, the property of people had been usurped and people of Imadiye rebelled because of that their property were seized, and they demanded the return of their goods. But when Abdülbaki Pasha refused their demands, he was killed in a conflict. Upon this situation, Istanbul appointed Süleyman Pasha from Abdüljalilzades family as the governor of Mosul.²⁵¹

2.5.7 Muhammad Pasha

He was the son of Mehmed Emin Pasha. He became governor of Mosul first time in 1789.²⁵² His governorship continued until 1806.²⁵³ He was the one from

²⁴⁹ Khoury. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 82.

²⁵⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p.145.

²⁵¹ Ahmet Vâsıf Efendi, *Mehâsinül Âsar ve Hakâkaikül- Ahbâr (1197-1201/1783-1787)*, trans: Dr.Mücteba İlgürel, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları No. 2242, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1978), p. 334.

²⁵² BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 16, p.2008.

²⁵³ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 53, p. 23.

Abdüljalilzades who served for the longest period among his relatives. His long governorship in Mosul was remembered as a period of peace and tranquility. However, the next twenty years witnessed the efforts to overthrow the Jalili from the office.²⁵⁴

2.5.8 Nu'man Pasha

Süleyman Pasha was the son of Nu'man Pasha and he was appointed the first time as governor of Mosul in 1759.²⁵⁵ Then again he was assigned to the office in 1807, and he remained in this office until 1809.²⁵⁶

2.5.9 Mahmud Pasha

He was the son of Jalili Mehmed Pasha. He was the governor of Mosul between 1809 and 1810.²⁵⁷

2.5.10 Sadullah Pasha

Jalili Sadullah Pasha was the governor of Mosul in the period between 1811 and 1812.²⁵⁸ He has obtained this office by bribing vizier Sadullah Pasha.²⁵⁹

2.5.11 Ahmad Pasha

Abdüljalilizade Süleyman Pasha's son, Ahmad Pasha was appointed as governor of Mosul in October 30, 1812.²⁶⁰ The vizier ship of Ahmad Pasha who

²⁵⁴ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 165.

²⁵⁵ BOA, Tahvil Defter, No: 16, p. 208

²⁵⁶ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 53, p. 23.

²⁵⁷ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 53. p. 23.

²⁵⁸ BOA, Tahvil defteri, No: 53. p. 23.

²⁵⁹ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 127-128.

²⁶⁰ BOA, Tahvil defteri, No: 53, p.23.

served as governor of Mosul until 1817 was taken from him, and it was decided to remain him in Baghdad. Later, on September 11, 1817 he was appointed as vizier and after that he was appointed as governor of Mosul. His governorship in Mosul continued until 1821.²⁶¹

2.5.12 Hasan Pasha

He was the son of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha. He was appointed as governor of Mosul with the rank of vizier in 1818. Since Mosul province were composed of Kurd tribes, for the increasing the loyalty of public, sable fur was sent to him.²⁶²

2.5.13 Abdurrahman Pasha

Abdurrahman Paşa was the son of Murad Pasha.²⁶³ In April 21, 1822 he was appointed as governor of Mosul, but he died in the same year.

2.5.14 Yahya Pasha

Yahya Bey who was the son of Numan Pasha was appointed to Mosul with the rank of vizier on September 19, 1822.²⁶⁴ He was the governor of Mosul until 1827. He received the governorship of Mosul second time on October 26 1832, and he remained in this office until 1834. He was the last governor from Jalili family.

2.5.15 Abdurrahman Pasha

He was appointed as governor of Mosul on March 21, 1882. He continued to become governor until 1829.²⁶⁵ He was killed by a group of people in 1829 because of his cruelty against the people. His brother and kethüda were killed with him.

²⁶¹ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 39, p. 81.

²⁶² BOA, Hattihümayun, (Afterhere H.H) Dosya, 679, Gömlek, 33087.

²⁶³ Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, Vol. I. p.96.

²⁶⁴ BOA, Tahvil defteri, No: 39. p. 81.

²⁶⁵ BOA, Tahvil Defteri. No: 39, p. 81.

Süleyman Paşazade's son Mehmed Emin Pasha from Abdüljelizade family was appointed to his place as governor.²⁶⁶

2.5.16 Mahmed Emin Pasha

Mehmed Emin Pasha was appointed as governor to Mosul on May 25, in 1829.²⁶⁷ His governorship continued only one year.

2.6 Mosul Society and Popular Culture

Until 1638 Mosul was under the influence of Diyarbakir. After being conquered by Ottoman Empire, Mosul got out of the influence of Diyarbakir in which mostly Kurds and Turks were living, and came under the influence of Aleppo and Baghdad in where the dominant part of the population were Arabs. During this period, the status of Mosul was elevated, and its governors were appointed directly from Istanbul.²⁶⁸

Before the conquest by Ottomans, Mosul's dominant sect was Shafii. But after the conquest, the area's widespread sect became Hanafism. Umaris and Yasinis families had emerged as belonging to this sect. But the influence of Umaris family has increased in the seventeenth century. During this period, it was seen that there was a cultural revival and witnessed the construction of new mosques in where Hanafis were living. But the spread of Hanafism was not a source of distress for Şafii people. Because of both sects were the branches of Sunni.

In the seventeenth century, there was an issue of the convention between notables and Umaris in Mosul. Ottoman government supported Umaris due to in this period, Iraq had not stability. It was under the influence of Iran. For this reason, Ottoman Empire supported Umaris against the Mosul notables.²⁶⁹ On the other hand,

²⁶⁶ BOA, H.H, Dosya, 726, Gömlek, 34612-B

²⁶⁷ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 53. p. 23.

²⁶⁸ Kemp, "Power and knowledge", p. 202.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 202.

Umaris' good relationship with Ottoman capital helped them to get the prominent positions such as *mufti* and *kadi*.²⁷⁰

While Baghdad's administration was under the control of Mamluk dynasty members in 18th century, Mosul's administration was under the control of Jalilis. This period has been referred as the process of decentralization of power by Percy Kemp. Mosul developed along the lines of Iraq-ı Arab. In the period which governor was sent from the center by Ottoman Empire, Turkish language was being used in the state bureaucracy. However, Turkish was not the lingua franca throughout the province.²⁷¹ Azms who took the governorship of the Damascus from 1725 to 1783 with various intervals took place and Jalili family who governed Mosul between 1726 and 1834 secured to get the well-being of the people against the corrupt rule of the governor who virtually were not interested in the welfare of the people. The new public buildings which they pioneered helped the increase in the awareness of identity.²⁷² In the period of Jalilis, Mosul returned to the Arab culture of pre-Mongol and Ottomans. In the Mosul under the hegemony of Jalilis, new schools and mosques were built. Mosul's increasing influence also affected the surrounding cities, such as Dahok, Acre, Erbil and Diyarbekir.²⁷³

There were twenty *madrasas* in the period of Jalilis. Among these, Aminiya (Paşa Mosque) Aghawat, Umariye, Ziوانيya, Mulla Zakar, Abdaliye, Al-Yasin, Jirjisiya, Hatuniyye, Yahya Pasha, Hasan Pasha, Rabi'iyā and Bekir Efendi were the most important. Professors were being appointed to these *madrasas*. In these schools, a wide education was given, including astronomy and arithmetic. Kurd and Arab students were coming to Mosul from the surrounding cities and villages. These madrasa had reputation and respect that plenty of students from Damascus, Aleppo and Baghdad were coming to take education.²⁷⁴ In this sense, Mosul was a Sunni education center, and around the schools and mosques some prestigious families

²⁷⁰ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, p.141

²⁷¹ Kemp, "Power and knowledge", p. 203.

²⁷² Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde", p. 248.

²⁷³ Kemp, "Power and knowledge", p.203.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 204.

emerged.²⁷⁵ The intellectual figures of this period usually were emerging from the leading families such as Umaris, Abdalis, Fakhris, Yasinis and Gulamis. These scholars were going to Istanbul, Baghdad and Syria and taking from their diplomas and then returning to Mosul.²⁷⁶

During the Jalilis period at al-Avkaf school, a lot of books whose contents were about topics such as history, victory were written by nearly fifty scholars of Mosul, between 1734-1807. Jalilis supported and financed these productive activities of local Arab elite. Most of this poetry was written for the leading persons of Mosul and Iraq. For example, the Muwassah Jalili was written by Osman Biktaş for Muhammad Pasha. Also, another complementary work was written for Jalili Ahmed Pasha by Muhammad b. Hasan Gulami who was a Şafii. The eulogy work written for Ali Ebu Fedail was also the product of Muhammad b. Mustafa Gulami.²⁷⁷

During the period of Jalilis dynasty, nearly twenty books were written. Their contents were local history, biography, hagiography, and genealogy.²⁷⁸ The most important ones were Emin b. Hayrullah Umari Yasin Umari, Osman Umari, Ahmad b. Al-Khayyat, Yahya Jalili ve Ali Umari.²⁷⁹ Emin b. Hayrullah Ömer who was the one of the most prolific member of prose masters wrote the works in following: *Al-Feride 's- Saniya fi-'l-hikem al-'Arabîyya, Nawâdir al-ninh fi Aqsâm al-Malahâ wa'l-milh, Al-Fusûl ez-zarîfa wa'nnukat al-latifa, Al-hikam al mutriba wa 'l kalimât al-mu'jiba Qissat 'Antara*. The works of Yasin al-Umari who was the brother of Emin b. Hayrullah Umari were *Raudat al-mushtâq wa nuzhat al-'ushshâg, Raud al-adab ve 'uyûn 'l adab. Al-athar al-Jaliya fi 'l-hawadith al-ardiya*. Osman Defterdar Umari's works were *Al-makamâ 'du-jailîya wa'lmaqâla 'l Umarîya*. Ali Umari's work was *Tuhfat aşşafâ bi murâsalat ahl al-mahabba wa 'ş-şafâ*. Yahya Jalili's work was *Siraj al-muluk wa manhaj as-suluk*. Ahmad b. al- Khayyat's work was *Tarjamat al-avlia ' fi 'l-Mausil al hadba*.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Hourani, "Ottoman Reform", p. 52.

²⁷⁶ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 174.

²⁷⁷ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 180.

²⁷⁸ Kemp, "Power and knowledge", p. 208.

²⁷⁹ Kemp, "History and Histrography in Jalili Mosul", p. 346.

²⁸⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 182.

The works of these writers shed light on the cultural and literary life of the period. Writing of histories which places the family in the center of narrative history shows that this tradition was seen an unusual practice. However it is a discussion topic whether this written chronicles were written because of that this family was proud of what they did or of that they liberated themselves from a foreign power or of that these written chronicles were the reflection of nationalistic feelings.²⁸¹

2.7 Gentry Families and Their Contribution to City Architecture

The gentry (*eşraf*) families did not only help to the establishment of hegemony of manor system concerning land administration but also have the income of a lot of commercial commodities in Mosul. They changed the physical feature of the city by sponsoring the building of mosques and *madrasa*. In 1786, Jalili families owned five of ten Kayseriyyes and also have a sizable share income of the other two Kayseriyyes.²⁸² Aghawat mosque and Nebi Circis mosque was under the control of Hüseyin Pasha's son, Emin Pasha. They were also paying the salaries of scholars.²⁸³ Many mosques and schools were being built and paid their expenses including the salaries of employees. For example, a portion of revenues of Karakuş village, which was endowed in 1750, was given to Nebi Circis and Nebi Yunus mosques.²⁸⁴ Another example was the Hasaniye Mosque's endowment which was founded by Hasan Pasha. The salaries of scholars who teach science, the expenses of students in there, and the salaries of janitors were being paid by the *madrasa's* endowment.²⁸⁵ Many *madrastas* and mosques were built by Jalilis. Mehmet Emin Pasha in 1755 built a mosque and endowed it.²⁸⁶ Daughter of Fattah Pasha, who was from Abdülcelizades, Adile *Hanım* and Fethiye *Hanım*, sponsored the building of a *madrasa* whose name was Hacciyat at al-Kantara quarter. In addition, Fethiye Hanım

²⁸¹ Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde Yarı Özerk Güçler", p. 248.

²⁸² Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, p. 160.

²⁸³ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 136.

²⁸⁴ See Hüseyin Paşa's endowment Appendix-3. p.123.

²⁸⁵ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*. p. 136.

²⁸⁶ Yasin Umari, *Al-Athar Al-Jaliya fi'l*, p. 191a.

supported the construction of a *madrassa* which was known as Araqida and a mosque at the quarter of al-Hammam al-Mankusa. In 1779, Süleyman Pasha's mother Halime and Hamra Hatun sponsored the construction of Zivan mosque. Furthermore, Mehmet Emin Pasha's wife was built Ukba mosque and Yahya Pasha's daughter Firdevs Hatun and her husband Jalili Hasan Pasha were built *madrassa*.²⁸⁷ In addition, the katarhane, which was the state land, (*miri arazi*), Ottoman state gave this land to Yahya Pasha as property, and allowed to build a Darülhadis in there by Yahya Pasha in 1825,²⁸⁸ However, there is no any information whether this Darülhadis has been built or not. On the other hand in the Ottoman archival documents, we can see that construction of a Darülhadis in Mosul was permitted.

It was reported by Buckingham who visited Mosul in 1827 that in the city, there were nearly fifty mosques and twenty of them can be described as bigger than the rest.²⁸⁹ Public buildings, schools, mosques, *madrassa* and other private mansions helped to increase the sense of identity in the city. By these buildings, the people found the opportunity to take a breath against the indifferent governors who did not care about the welfare of the people.²⁹⁰

Nomalar and Abdallar were the other leading families. They were wealthy and involved in trade. They constructed mosques, schools and commercial buildings. Especially Abdallar constructed many mosques and schools. Between 1670-72 Abdaliye Mosque and in 1794 Huzam mosque were built and a lot of property were endowed to mosque endowment.²⁹¹ The other notable family was Kara Mustafa family this family also have had a lot of endowment. One member of this family, Mahmud Bey constructed a sebilhane in 1797. His son, Ömer founded endowment which including some shops and wells. In 1823 Ömer Bey donated a well to

²⁸⁷ İmad Abdüsselam Rauf, *el-Mevsil fi ahdi'l-Osmani: fetretü'l-hükümü'l-mahalli* (A.H) 1139-1249,) 1726-1834, (Necef : Matbaatü'l-Âdâb, 1975), p. 359.

²⁸⁸ BOA, H.H, No:1568, Gömlek: 20.

²⁸⁹ Buckingham, *Travels in Mezopotamia*, Vol. II, p.31.

²⁹⁰ Masters, "Arap Vilayetlerinde Yarı Özerk Güçler", p. 248.

²⁹¹ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*. p. 162.

sebilhane, an arable land, and mosque. Two years later he endowed his wells and mosque at Karagugli village, his arable lands and his wells at Fadiliya village.²⁹²

The people in Mosul were using the participation to the circle of educated elite persons to gain notable and elevate their status. Al-Bekir family was a good example for this situation Hasan b. Şaban from Bekir family was one selling paper. His son, Yunus entered the service of Emin Pasha in the Ottoman-Russian War in 1768. After returning to Mosul, he became the clerk of Emin Pasha. In the year of 1780, he was rich and had the capacity of sponsoring the construction of a mosque at Ra's-el Kur Quarter under the name of Bekir *Efendi* Mosque. In 1788, he had a sebil constructed, and he donated a lot of shops, coffeehouses and fruit gardens. These donations were the indication that the family joined to the elites of Mosul.²⁹³

For the distinguished families of Mosul, the sponsorship for the construction of mosques, *madrassa*, and endowments were an essential element in order to had notable office and continue their elevated positions for centuries. They had *madrassas* constructed and met their costs. One of the functions of these *madrassas* was that they were soothing the various part of the population by promoting them with employment and promotion possibilities. Due to these institutions, intellectual part of the people and economically useful segment of the society could find their ways to arise. This segment was the most powerful one between *ayan* and people. This was the factor which provides Jalilis with power and by this structure Ottoman state could obtain its continuity.²⁹⁴

2.8 Agriculture and Trade in Mosul

2.8.1 Agriculture

After the conquest of Mosul and its hinterland, this region had been considered as an administrative section because of its intense and variable population

²⁹² Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 154.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 138.

²⁹⁴ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, p. 170.

mobility.²⁹⁵ Mosul had a small hinterland. The rural economy effects were could only reach the point of the valleys and plains around the city, and the passage to these areas were difficult. Beyond these areas, there were mountainous areas where Bedouins and Kurds live and their emirates. Because of this structure, Mosul is being described by Albert Hourani as a city state.²⁹⁶ Even though, Mosul could be considered as the biggest city in comparison with its surroundings.²⁹⁷ Beginning in the sixteenth century, during the period of Jalilis family, Mosul continued its development a large extent.²⁹⁸

Mosul was famous for the productivity of its agricultural areas. There was no need to irrigation for the areas between Tigris and Euphrates. The irrigation was being done by water channels. Kumi River at the north of the city and Zab River at the South of Mosul were increasing the productivity. In addition, the suitable climate was providing the comfortable conditions for the agricultural products. Out of the city walls, there were nearly city fruit gardens. The most beneficial products grown were wheat and barley.²⁹⁹ Barley was being harvested at the beginning of May. Wheat harvest was being harvested approximately fort days after barley's. Niebuhr who was travelling the adjacent of the city in 1766 had reported that the conditions of planting were very good. Thanks to this condition the land the plow was being used and in the parts which plow can not reach was hoed.³⁰⁰ Another important product was cotton. Throughout the east of Tigris River and at the South of Zab River cotton was being cultivated. The east of Tigris River and the villages at the hills were surrounded by mountainous areas. At the mountains such as Cebel Maqlub Cebel Ba'shiqa ve Cebel 'Ayn aş-Şafra olive were being grown, and this was necessary for Mosul industry.³⁰¹ On the other hand, cereal was being cultivated in areas such as

²⁹⁵ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, p. 27.

²⁹⁶ Hourani, "Ottoman Reform", p. 52

²⁹⁷ Khoury, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda*, p. 27.

²⁹⁸ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 41.

²⁹⁹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 43.

³⁰⁰ M. Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels Through Arabia an Other Countries in the East*, Translated into English by Robert Heron, Vol. II. (London,: Edinburg, 1792), p. 294. 299.

³⁰¹ *Musul Salnamesi*, p. 102.

Sinjar, Duhok, Erbil and Acre. At the same time, viticulture was a developed section of agriculture.³⁰²

Most of the exported products were processed cotton, wool and corn. Other products were used for regional trade. The problem was that transportation of the agricultural products was disrupting the sale of the products. Also, political events and natural disasters prevented the productivity. Especially in the beginning of 1771 and 1780 and again in 1802 and 1824, there were decline in the productivity.³⁰³

One of the factors affecting the efficiency of agricultural productivity in Mosul was natural disasters. The work of Yasin bin Hayrullah Umari *Al-Athar Al-Jaliya fi'l-Hawadith Al-Ardiya* gives important information about disasters, such as extreme cold, locust invasion. For example, in 1736, plague outbreak and lasted for four months and as a result thousands of people have died in this plague. In 1750, the snowfall which lasted for twenty-six day caused a serious damage on agriculture. For years later, a similar severe cold was seen, and this cold damaged crops. Another factor affecting agricultural products and productivity was locust invasion. In 1756, there was a famine in Mosul because of that locusts have eaten all the crops. The following year, a new locust invasion, took place, and they have damaged all crops. Due to this crops failure, a lot of people died. Similarly, in 1758 due to locust invasion and their damage on the crops a famine broke out and plenty of people died.³⁰⁴

2.8.2 Trade

However, exactly when the status of Mosul territory changed after its conquest by Ottomans is not known, it is a fact that it was separated from Diyarbakir in 1638 and became an independent *liva*, and its control was taken by local notables.³⁰⁵ There were three main causes accelerating the development of trade in agricultural productivity in Mosul. They were the following; first was the system of *malikane*.

³⁰² Eroğlu et al, *Osmanlı Vilayet Salnamelerinde*, p. 126.

³⁰³ Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and Society*, p.111.

³⁰⁴ Yasin Umari, *Al-Athar Al-Jaliyal*, pp. 184a-189b-190a-191a-191b-192a-192b.

³⁰⁵ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 47



Photo 1: Perspective of a vaulted bazaar at Mosul Source: J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia Including in Journey from Aleppo to Baghdad by the Route of the Beer, Orfa, Diarbekr, Mardin and Mosul with Researches on the Ruins of the Nineveh Babylon and Other Ancient Cities* , Vol. II, (Henry Colburn New Burlington Street London: 1827), p. 25.

Second was the particular role of local families in the politics of Mosul. The third was that the continuity of the administration of Jalili between 1726 and 1834, and the development of regional trade around Mosul.³⁰⁶ Having the ownership of the villages around Mosul was giving the opportunity the notables the right to use these villages according to their wishes without taking permission from the state. In addition, the local notables were preventing the confiscation of their properties by founding endowments. Jalili family had the most productive villages around Mosul. The fact that Jalilis have had the ownership of a wide area gave them a dominant position in trade and due to this dominance they could interest in the good surplus in rural areas directly.³⁰⁷

Mosul was a city that caravans were coming, and it was commercial center for Northern Iraq and Kurds. Also, it was a center regarding the distribution of food and textile for different region around it. Mosul has had an integrated population by trade which contains different ethnic groups such as Christian, Muslim, Kurd and Yezidis.³⁰⁸ And as the city on the caravan routes, the caravans coming and going have had different destinations such as India, Basra, Baghdad, Diyarbakir, and Istanbul. There was a garrison at Karakuş village in Mosul. This garrison was one of the main garrisons of Ottoman army, and this was increasing the importance of Karakuş village and Mosul.³⁰⁹

One of the commercial products of Mosul was cotton and yarn-woven fabric. Mostly it was woven in the house of people who have had low-income. Dyeing was the oldest branch of Mosul industry concerning cotton textile and the sand extracted from the east of Mosul was using in painting the cotton in blue.³¹⁰ According to the report of Buckingham, rough cotton clothes in blue were the clothes of the low-

³⁰⁶ Dina Rizk Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial" p. 156.

³⁰⁷ Dina Rizk Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial" p. 157.

³⁰⁸ Dina Rizk Khoury, "Merchants and Trade in Early Modern Iraq", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Fall 1991, pp. 68-69.

³⁰⁹ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 219.

³¹⁰ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 49.

income people.³¹¹ But in the first half of the eighteenth century, weaving industry were providing the half of the population with the opportunity to work. Also, the production of soap from olive oil was essential in the sense of Mosul industry. But it was not produced to extent to meet the needs of the city. Often it was exported from Aleppo.³¹² Ba'shiga and Bahzani villages were two village which produce olive, olive oil and soap.³¹³

It was seen that in eighteenth century, the leading families of the city started to obtain water mill. This was not a usual kind of investment during 17th and 18th centuries. In these dates, to obtain a mill around farms were a new investment. Most of the water mill was being established around the villages. Jalilis' fields in Ba'shiga and Bahzani villages were being watered by Kevser River, and there were a lot of water mills owned by Jalilis. On these villages, Jalilis have had large investments because the production of olive oil was done there. This provided them to control of the soap production.³¹⁴ In the beginning of 18th century, Jalilis constructed some shops and a mosque at the east of Mosul which was around Bab al-Cisr next to Aghawat Mosque and they donated these buildings. Again between this place and *Kayseriyyetü'l Yüzbakiyye* which belongs to Jalilis were the shops in that tools for agricultural purpose were made and carpenter shops In these shops the required tools for the agriculture were being rent with other needed equipments. Thus, craftsmen were being a partner with the owner of tools.³¹⁵

On the other hand, some village to be located on the route of trade arteries was providing them to sell their production directly. For example Karakuş, Bartilla, Karamlis, Tall 'Uskuf, ve Tall Kayf, village by selling their surplus to neighboring villages and caravans could save money.³¹⁶ Especially Karakuş village in 18th century was an important stopover for traders which travel between Baghdad and Kurd emirates.

³¹¹ Buckingham, *Travels in Mezopotamia*, Vol. II. p. 37.

³¹² Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 50-51.

³¹³ Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial", p. 160.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 161.

³¹⁵ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 156.

³¹⁶ Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial", p. 166.

During the period of Jalilis Mosul trade improved. In textile industry, Mosul during the 18th century made huge benefits, but it experienced a decrease in trade in 1830. Mosul was also a market for the surrounding area. Leather, sheep, milk, cheese and other kind foods and clothes were sold. From the Kurd emirates and their tribes, tobacco was bought in Exchange with cotton weaving and acorns. In the time that Mosul could not yield products, acorn and rice were being bought from Süleymaniye, Revanduz, Köysancak, Syria, and Diyarbekir. In return, printing fabric clothes, shoes and cotton clothes were sold.³¹⁷

The trade between Mosul and Iran started after the conquest of the region by Ottomans and with the struggle between Iran and Ottomans over the control of the Silk Road for silk trade. The control of Silk Road was taken by Ottomans. The aim of Selim I was to prevent the trade of silk and by this way to decrease the income of Shah. The route between Aleppo and Iskenderun was modified a little bit as a strategy. Over the route between Diyarbekir-Mosul, the route of Baghdad-Basra-Mosul route was used. Until 18th century route of Aleppo was used as the main route for Tabriz and Erzurum.³¹⁸ In the first half of 18th century because of the wars between Russia and Iran and Ottoman Iran the silk trade's intensity decreased. While Iran was exporting silk via Russia to North, Europe increased its silk export to the Levant. In the second half of 18th century, despite the normalization of relationship between Ottoman and Iran, Mosul could not benefit from the silk trade. In addition, Baghdad *Memluk Paşalığı* directed the directed of the silk trade form Mosul to Syria and Asia Minor towards the center.³¹⁹

Another city which Mosul had trade connection was Baghdad. Baghdad could not produce itself enough food to meet its population needs. It was importing dried fruit, acorns, and food products from Mosul. In the second half of 18th century, Baghdad was the main clients of Mosul's agricultural products. In particular, Mosul was providing the needs of grain of Baghdad.³²⁰ Traders of Mosul were trading with the Gulf countries. Especially with the appointment of Hüseyin Pasha as governor to

³¹⁷ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 63-64.

³¹⁸ Olson, *The Siege of Mosul*, p. 15.

³¹⁹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 65.

³²⁰ Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial", p. 158.

Basra in 1748 revived the trade with Gulf. Previously appointed governors by Baghdad had prevented the trade between Mosul and southern countries. Artisans which used coffee, sugar, spice and dye were sent from Basra to Mosul. Acorns, iron, copper were exported from Mosul to Basra.³²¹

Aleppo, in 18th century was used as a warehouse for Europeans to send products to Syria and Iraq. At the same time, it was an important trade center for Ottomans to send their products. The decline in Mediterranean trade due to the wars between England and France, despite the growing importance of Beirut and Damascus, Aleppo was an important point for Mosul concerning its trade with Europe.³²² Mosul was sending wool and acorns via Aleppo, and in Exchange it was taken European products.³²³ Mosul glass, paper, cloth, linen fabric, indigo, mineral commodities and also soap which was in need taken from Aleppo.³²⁴

However, the trade during the period of Jalilis was to Exchange the products with its neighbors and to import the commodities which could not be provided in the region. Jalilis were providing the sales of rural area products by building a lot of kayserriyyes. The investments of leading families on agricultural products made villagers dependent on them. Due to the unstable agricultural land owners, agriculture was not developed very well in Mosul. Elites were interested in mostly in politics and social issues rather than improving the methods concerning with the development of trade and agriculture.³²⁵ On the other hand, because of that Mosul exported raw materials to Europe, local industry were deteriorated. For this reason, Mosul's wide regional trade economy and its trade network changed.³²⁶

³²¹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 68-69.

³²² *Ibid*, p.70.

³²³ Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial", p. 157.

³²⁴ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 71.

³²⁵ Khoury, "The Introduction of Commercial", p.171.

³²⁶ Sarah D.Shields, "Regional Trade and 19th-Century Mosul: Revising the Role of Europe in the Middle East Economy", *International Journal Middle East Studies*, Vol. 23. (Feb-1991), p. 19.

CHAPTER 3

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE JALILI HOUSEHOLD

3.1 Centralization Policy in the Period of Selim III and Mahmud II

At the end of 18th century, the Ottoman Empire has experienced wars ending with the defeat of the empire. Ottoman Empire which spread over a wide geography was affected from the revolution taking place in Europe and America. One of the events which opened a new page on for Ottoman Empire was the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca signed between Ottoman and Russia after the war in 1774. The wars against Austria and Russia extended until 1792. In this period, Ottoman Empire lost its influence over Crimea, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Another important event was the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon. Crises of 1768 and 1798 paved the way for the reforms needed by Ottoman Empire for a long time and the reform era of Ottoman Empire started (1789-1807).³²⁷

The period of both Selim III and Mahmud II was a period that empire turned its direction from decentralization to re-centralization which lasted for two centuries. In this context, the reforms of Selim III called as Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order) was aiming to increase the power of the empire against external enemies (especially Russia) and internal enemies (semi-independent *ayans*). But his solution the problems were not new. Rather the aim of these reforms was to improve the institutions. Selim III tried to strengthen the tax collection system, military, and traditional structure of the empire by fighting with the corruption.³²⁸ Although the reforms of Selim were bearing traditional features, he was imbued with to use the

³²⁷ Carter V. Findley, *Modern Türkiye Tarihi, İslam Milliyetçilik ve Modernlik*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2011), p. 23.

³²⁸ See for Selim III. Reform's, Stanford Sahaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Selim III.1789-1807*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971)

ways of Europe in his own reform attempts. He was providing the communication between European and Ottoman elites.³²⁹ All of the reforms he intended could not be realized. After his dethronement, very few of his reform continued. But the first time the idea of reforming everything from the beginning was evaluated extensively.³³⁰ It is also essential that they were the beginning of everything which will take place in the future. The misfortune of Selim III was that he could not take any support from anywhere. France which considered as the close ally of Ottoman in Europe was shaken by the revolution. Invasion of Egypt by France in 1798 led to changes in the relationship between France and Ottoman Empire. Interest groups in the Ottoman Empire opposed to the reforms made in the center and in provinces. One of these interest groups was “*ayan*”, feudal lords. Since an important portion of public lands would be used to the expenses of the new army. In previous times, as how the revenues of *timars* were used to meet the expenses of *timarlı sipahis*, in the new system the revenues of these lands would be used for Nizam-ı Cedid Army the reform “*İrad-ı Cedit*” was a financial reform.³³¹ This would break the power of *ayans* who control the tax revenues. Hence the reforms of Selim III called as Nizam-ı Cedit could not find any support from the internal and external interest groups. .

Mustafa IV became the sultan after Selim III abolished Nizam-Cedit. Alemdar Mustafa Pasha who was an *ayan* at Rusçuk attempted to throne Selim III again in 1808. But before arrival of Alemdar Mustafa Pasha, Selim III was killed. Mustafa Pasha dethroned Mustafa IV and made the necessary arrangement for ascending Mahmud II.³³² The year of 1808 was a turning point in the history of Ottoman Empire. Mahmud II could be sultan by the help of an *ayan*. Alemdar Mustafa Pasha became Grand vizier and he invited leading *ayans* to İstanbul for making an agreement between *ayans* and central government. But some of the *ayans* (Yanyalı Ali Pasha, Mehmet Ali Pasha) did not come to Istanbul. The first time in the history

³²⁹ Eric Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, 27. Edision, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), p. 44.

³³⁰ Findley, *Modern Türkiye Tarihi*, p. 34.

³³¹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, 15. Edision, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), p. 108.

³³² Hirmiss Aboona, *Assyrians Kurds and Ottomans*, (Newyork: Cambria Press. 2008), p. 117.

of Ottoman Empire leading families considered that they have a place in the political structure like *ayans*, *aghas*, *derebeys*, and state officials would discuss the matters together. For determination of rights between these two sides, and the punishments for the one who breaks the agreement, a conference was prepared.³³³ Those attending to the meeting agreed the Sened-i İttifak and signed the document.³³⁴ The intention of Grand vizier Alemdar Mustafa Pasha was to reconcile the state and *ayan*, and by making the *ayan* assistance of sultanate and by this way had *ayan* participated to the decision circle of the state. In a sense, *ayan* were becoming the guarantor of Ottoman Empire. Sened-i İttifak is considered by historians as the Magna Carta of Ottoman Empire. Bayraktar's experience of Grand vizier continued only for five months. His reforms led to the Janissary rebellion. At the end of the rebellion, Bayraktar was killed. Mahmud II's life was saved by the fact that the future of the Ottoman Empire depends on his well-being. Mahmud II had to be cautious. For being successful he had to be powerful against the external enemies of the empire. He had to reduce the influence of *ayans* of which he became sultan help. These *ayan* had the power of acting independently.³³⁵ When he faced with the probability of being invaded by Napoleon, he signed a treaty with Russia. The war with Russia was continuing from the beginning of 1806. When the threat of Russia and Napoleon was eliminated he paid his attention to internal matters. He eliminated some *ayans* in Balkans, Anatolia and Syria (1812-1820) he expanded his power to everywhere in the empire. But the establishment of central authority in Iraq was only possible by military expedition (1831-1834).³³⁶

After providing the peace with external factors, (1812) he started to fight against *ayans* to provide centralized control. Some of the *ayans* were executed. Some of them died in natural ways. Instead of the deceased *ayans*, Istanbul sent governors and *sancakbeyi*. The heirs of deceased *ayans* could be appointed as a governor of somewhere on the condition that it is where outside of their own provinces³³⁷ On

³³³ Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, p. 138.

³³⁴ See Halil İncalcık "sened-i İttifak ve Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu", *Belleten*, 28 (112), pp. 603-622.

³³⁵ Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, p. 55.

³³⁶ Findley, *Modern Türkiye Tarihi*, p. 36.

³³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 36.

the other hand, if the son of deceased *ayans* must be appointed, the nominee of governorship had to accept the restrictions. The state was doing these appointments like that they were not *ayans* but an ordinary officer. Cebbarzade Celaledin and Karamanoğlu Yakup Bey were good examples for this appointment. Mahmud II sent his order to governors of provinces to suppress the *ayans* in their regions.³³⁸ For example, some powerful *ayans*, such as Tekelioğlu İbrahim and Dağdeviren oğlu Mehmet were killed.³³⁹ State changed the residential place of *ayan* in Anatolia and Balkans. For instance Tekelioğlu family living in Antalya and Teke region was sent to Salonica.³⁴⁰ Hurşit Ahmet Pasha took the *ayans* in Anatolia under the pressure. The governor of Trabzon suppressed the influence of *ayans* on the Black Sea coast in 1812-13. By the death of Çapanoğlu Süleyman who eastern and North-east Anatolia was under infused him (1814). After him death the control was taken by the state in two years by evaluating the split between local administrators and leading families. In the same way, by the death of Karaosmanoğlu Hüseyin in 1816, Saruhan and Aydın entered to the control of state. But in this region struggles were bloodier. Thus, in 1817, almost everywhere in Anatolia was under the control of the centralized state.³⁴¹

Providing the control in Arab provinces was more difficult and less successful than the attempts in Anatolia. Mehmet Ali Pasha who became the governor of Egypt in 1805 was the most powerful *ayan* and a successful reformist. The Wahhabi Rebellion only could be suppressed by his assistance. When we look at the situation in Syria the governor of Aleppo who took the place of rebellious Janissaries organized a lot of the expedition on *ayans* of Northern Syria and Elbistan. The only response was coming from Beşir II. Whose influence covers Lebanon and some part of Syria. This situation ended in 1831 when Egyptians came to the region.³⁴² When

³³⁸ M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History Of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New Jersey: Princeton of University Press, 2008), pp. 60-61.

³³⁹ Şânî-zâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah Efendi, *Şânî-zâde Târîhi (Osmanlı Tarihi (1223-1237/ 1808-1821)*, trans: Ziya Yılmaz, Vol. 1. (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınları, 2008), pp.670-671. 801-804.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 670-671.

³⁴¹ Stanford J. Shaw, *History Of The Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (1808-1975)*, Vol. II. (New York: Chambridge University Press, 1977), p. 15.

³⁴² Shaw, *History Of The Ottoman Empire*, p.15

we look at the reason why the administration of *Mamluk Paşalıđı* in Baghdad, it can be seen that they did not attempt seriously to suppress the threat of Wahhabi. Ottoman state wanted Süleyman Pasha to crash the Wahhabis. But he did not gain any achievement, and as a result, Wahhabis gained strength. Later Halet *Efendi* was sent in the period of Davud Pasha. But Davud pasha was not seen being convinced without a military expedition. Because Davud Pasha was send less amount of revenue than requested from Istanbul. In the meantime, the murder of Defterdar Sadık Efendi by Davud Pasha increased the tension. Their reckless behavior paved the way of their elimination. An expedition under the command of Ali Rıza Pasha was made against Mamluks in Baghdad. And thus, in 1831 the central authority was established in Baghdad.³⁴³ Another autonomous part in Iraq geography was Kurdish emirates. They were mostly in Northern Iraq. The most important Kurdish emirates were Botan, Ravanduz and Bahdinan Emirates. These emirates entered under the control of central authority in 1850. But they are out of the period which our thesis focuses, because of this they are not be evaluated.

Jalilis family's dominance in Mosul ended in 1834. Dina Rizk Khoury emphasizes that Ottoman Empire ended the dominance of Jalili family because of the fear that the last Jalili governor probably had alliance with Mehmet Ali Pasha. In addition, Mahmud II started to struggle again *ayan* to break their power and sent Ottoman Army to crash Mehmet Ali Pasha to prevent him to take the region under his influence.³⁴⁴ Ali Rıza Pasha put an end to the administration of Mamluk in Baghdad. By this way, the period of Jalilis in Mosul ended in 1834. We will relate the details of this process in the following.

3.2 Conflicts Between Jalilis Family

At the beginning of 18th century, there was a competition between the Jalilis and the leading families of Mosul. But the competition at the beginning of the century left its place to internal conflicts of Jalilis family. The family, after obtaining the post of governorship in 1726, they increased the number of their *malikane* in the

³⁴³ Ceylan, *Ottoman Origins*, pp. 44-45.

³⁴⁴ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 229.

city. But over time, the more Jalilis households increased, the more conflicts erupted among them. In 1760, it is known that there were fifty Jalilis households.³⁴⁵ Especially severe fights occurred between Hüseyin Pasha's lineage and his half-brother Fettah Paşa's lineage. In these conflicts between families, Fettah Bey was supported by the settlers of Bab-el-Iraq quarter. Hüseyin Pasha was supported by the settlers of *Meydan* quarter. Also, the Janissaries in the city were a side of to these conflicts. The *Mamluk Paşalığı* in Baghdad played a crucial role in these conflicts. Baghdad stood on the side of Hüseyin Pasha against the Fettah Pasha's lineage.

The first fight among Jalili family broke out in 1752 between the son of Hüseyin Pasha, Mehmet Emin Pasha, and Fettah Pasha. In this fight the uncle of Emin Pasha besieged the house of Fettah Pasha and as a result, Fettah Pasha had to go to Baghdad. But the interference of the older members of Jalili family, Fettah Pasha returned to Mosul.³⁴⁶ The second fight between Emin Pasha and Fettah Pasha took place in 1756-1758. When Azmzade Mustafa Pasha became governor of Mosul instead of Mehmet Emin Pasha, Fettah Pasha tried to gain the favor of the new governor. His aim was to force Mehmet Emin Pasha to leave the city. In this period, Hüseyin Pasha was at Kütahya, and he wanted Esad Pasha, son of Jalili Ubeyd Agha, to take care of his family. As soon as Mehmed Emin Pasha left Mosul, the Janissaries in Meydan quarter and in the castle rebelled against Azmzade Mustafa Pasha. Azmzade Mustafa Pasha had to take refuge in Fettah Pasha's house. A few months later he was forced to leave the city.³⁴⁷ Esat Pasha who supported Mehmed Emin Pasha was appointed as the governor instead of Azmzade Mustafa Pasha who was forced to leave the city. So Fettah Pasha lost again. Mehmed Emin Pasha and his family became stronger than before. A few months later, with the new Turk governor Recep Pasha's appointment to Mosul, Fettah Pasha again provoked the governor against to his nephew. Fettah Pasha and the new governor wanted Baghdad to protect them from the Janissaries at the Castle. But Janissaries did not pay attention to warnings from Baghdad. They announced that they would support Mehmet Emin

³⁴⁵ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 127.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 128.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 130.

Pasha who was the son of Hüseyin Pasha. The events continued for forty days.³⁴⁸ While the violence was being experienced in Mosul, Hüseyin Pasha appointed on May 15 in 1758 was an experienced administrator overcame the problems. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha died a few months later.³⁴⁹

Jalili family was not acquiring the governorship of Mosul in a manner of rambling. The governor was being appointed by Istanbul. But Istanbul was not effective in a manner desired by Baghdad. The balance of power in northern Iraq between governors of Baghdad and Jalilis in Mosul was changing constantly. Jalilis family was on the peak of their power, and they rival to Baghdad.³⁵⁰ *Bagdad Paşalığı* had had a central position in Hittai-i Iraq. While Baghdad was effective on Mardin, Urfa, Diyarbekir, Süleymaniye, Köysancak and Basra, Mosul was not under the influence of Baghdad.³⁵¹ From time to time, governor of Baghdad was putting pressure on İstanbul for the appointment of the desired person as governor of Mosul. Mosul was still more independent than other provinces. Ottoman state was supporting Jalili family to balance the influence of Mamluk Paşalığı in Baghdad.

In 1760, in the period of Şahsuvar Mustafa Pasha the violence broke out again in Mosul.³⁵² In this conflict between Fettah Pasha and his nephew Mehmed Emin Pasha, the arms were used sometimes mutually.³⁵³ The Janissary troops at Meydan quarter whose number were 27 and 10 supported in previous conflict. In the last conflict, they supported the new governor Şahsuvar Mustafa Pasha. Şahsuvar Mustafa Pasha was on the side of Fettah Pasha When Percy Kemp explains this situation; he says that before strengthening Jalili family, Turk governors at Meydan were powerful. The coming of a Turk governor again means that the janissaries supported the new governor.³⁵⁴ In the meantime, the governor of Şehrizer, Mehmed

³⁴⁸ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. pp. 129-32.

³⁴⁹ Longrigg, *Four Centuries*, p.176.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 177.

³⁵¹ Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and Society*, p. 24.

³⁵² We have reached a document the fight between Mehmet Emin Pasha and his uncle Fettah Pasha occurred in 1762. However, Percy Kemp give this fight in 1760-61 on the other hand Stephen Hemsley Longrigg give as in 1760.

³⁵³ Yasin Umari, *Al-Athar Al-Jaliya*, p. 193a.

³⁵⁴ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, pp. 134-35.

Emin Pasha opposed to the appointment of a foreign governor to Mosul. As previously, he wanted to have the post of governorship. During these fights, Mehmet Emin Pasha with Tüfenkçibaşı Ömer and his men, Ebu'l Akves Mahmut, Kara Ulus Aga bin Beni Nasır attacked to the palace of the new governor.³⁵⁵ In the meantime, many of bandits attacked to the property of people during intensified fighting. Previously, despite the fact that Mehmed Emin Pasha was reported to governor of Baghdad, Süleyman Pasha, there was no any effective result of these reports because of the close relationship of Mehmed Emin Pasha with the governor. In addition, in these complaints it can be seen that there was some doubts about the possibility of that Mehmed Emin Pasha can embezzle the public and endowment property. Because of this, they requested the appointment of a clerk to determine that the property. Also, there was other complaints about that he caused the public distress because of that he accumulated agricultural products. Another subject of complaint about that the incomes extracted from *ilam mazhar* and *tahrirat* was being plundered by bandit groups between Mosul and Nusaybin. These groups were blocking the transportation. Also, three hundred *kuruş* was taken by bandits. Some people of Mosul had to leave the city because of the convenience from Mehmed Emin Pasha. In a report, the judge of Mosul Seyyit Yahya Efendi and many people from notables and scholars stated that they were not satisfied with the administration of him, but they had not got any problem with governor Şehsuvar Mustafa Pasha. However, Emin Pasha attacked to the palace of the governor with Tüfenkçibaşı Ömer, Odabaşı Hacı Ali and Ebu'l- Akkus. They stated that at this time, they helped to governor. Another crucial issue was that the people were complaint of the evils of Janissaries. It pointed out that if the distress caused by Janissaries continues, they would consider that the position of Janissaries in Mosul is invalid.³⁵⁶ Percy Kemp and Dina Rizk Khoury emphasize that it is not known what Janissaries means in the region and what impact of Janissaries affected the region. The trade connections between notables and trade of the region were not known exactly. They did not have any different feature than ordinary people. They were being involved in trade, manufacturing.

³⁵⁵ BOA, C.DH, No:104, Gömlek: 5195.

³⁵⁶ BOA, C.DH, No: 104, Gömlek: 5195.

There were no any coherent associations between them. Most of the people were linked to one of the five Janissary troops in the city.³⁵⁷ It can be seen in Ottoman archives that many of leading figures of the city, such as judge of Mosul Seyyit Yahya Efendi was complaining about the distress caused by Janissaries. The armed conflict broke out between Mehmed Emin Pasha, and Fettah Pasha continued for forty days. It resulted the dismissed of Şehsuvar Mustafa Pasha from the governorship and the appointment of Mehmed Emin Pasha instead of him as governor. At the same time, Fettah Pasha had to leave the city.³⁵⁸

3.3 The Period of Yahya Pasha and the End Jalili Family

After Jalili Süleyman Pasha, Jalili Mehmet Pasha became the governor of Mosul in 1789.³⁵⁹ Mosul experienced a conflict less and peaceful period during the governorship of Mehmet Pasha who was in duty for eighteen years until 1806. Mehmet Pasha gained the affection of Mosul's inhabitants. During his period, he met with Europeans and his administration was appreciated by them.³⁶⁰ On the other hand, after the death of Mehmet Pasha, confusion ensued in Mosul. According to Dina Rizk Khoury, the next period was a time in which serious efforts were made to end the Jalili administration. By the request of the local gentry and the approval of Baghdad, Mehmet Pasha's son, Mahmut Pasha was considered as a nominee to the governorship. Yet his uncle, Esad Pasha opposed to his probable governorship. Previously there were some conflicts between the households of Fettah Pasha and Hacı Hüseyin Pasha, but the first time a conflict broke out among the member of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha's family. As it was previously, in these conflicts janissary troops took sides one of the fractions according to their benefits. Many shops were looted in the city.³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ Khoury, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, p. 148 and Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 133.

³⁵⁸ Yasin Umari, *Al-Athar Al-Jaliya fi'l*, p. 193.

³⁵⁹ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 16. p. 208.

³⁶⁰ Mehdi Jawad Habib al- Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen Hâkimiyetinin Te'sisi ve Kaldırılması ile Ali Rıza Paşa'nın Vâliliği (1749- 1842)*, unpublished Phd, İstanbul, 1979, p. 221.

³⁶¹ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, pp. 157-158.

Baghdad could be effective in the appointment of governors of Mosul and other near cities because of it was the center of Hıttı-i İrakıyye. *Kölemen* administration in Baghdad appointed Jalili Numan b. Süleyman Pasha as governor of Mosul (1809).³⁶² Numan Pasha besieged the house of Esad Bey. However, with the intervention of family elders, Numan Pasha allowed Esad Bey to leave Mosul and go to Erbil. However, after a short time Numan Pasha fell ill (1809), resigned his office, and his son Yahya became the governor (1810). In the meantime, by the help of *Küçük Süleyman Agha*, governor of Baghdad, Ahmed b. Bekir who was the chief steward (*kethüda*) of Jalili family became the governor. However, the groups clashing with each other united against the governorship of another person out of their family. Among them, there were Fettah Pasha's son Hasan Bey Abdülbaki Pasha's son Salim and Esad Bey who was forced to leave the city because of conflict among the family. The new governor was afraid of coming to Mosul alone, and he was accompanied by a group of soldier. Esat Pasha besieged the house of Ahmet Pasha by the help of janissary troops. Only 52th janissary troop took the side of Ahmet Pasha. At the end, by the help of janissary troops Esad Pasha came out victorious to Ahmet Pasha. Ahmet Pasha had to get out of Mosul. Meanwhile, the leaders of the group from Jalili family following him captured Ahmet Pasha at the edge of Tigris River and killed him (1810).³⁶³ After the killing of Ahmet Pasha Istanbul wanted to investigate this issue (5 January 1810). A bailiff was sent to detect his property in Mosul and the reason of killing of Ahmet Pasha who *Küçük Süleyman Pasha*, governor of Baghdad, became his guarantor. Another attractive point is that although Baghdad was opposing to the governorship of a Jalili family member, Istanbul emphasized the fact that the most appropriate option for Mosul was the governorship of a person from Jalili family. In fact, people were insisting on the governorship of Esad Pasha. But Istanbul was thinking that Esad Pasha was greedy for property and, Hasan Pasha was weak physically. Because of this Mahmut bin Mehmet was appointed as the governor of Mosul.³⁶⁴ Previously Esad Pasha opposed

³⁶² BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No:53, p. 23.

³⁶³ Kemp, *Mosul and Musuli Historians*, pp. 158-160

³⁶⁴ *Şanizade Tarihi*, Vol. 1. pp. 354-355.

to the governorship of him, but later he agreed. A few weeks later, Esad Pasha died.³⁶⁵ In addition, the governor of Baghdad applied to Istanbul for the punishment of those who joined with Abdülcelilzades and attacked to the palace of Ahmed Pasha.³⁶⁶ Jalilis had to pay 200 “*para*” to the governor of Baghdad for Ahmed Pasha who was under the protection of the governor of Baghdad.³⁶⁷

Mahmut Pasha executed the governorship until 1810. After him, Sadullah Pasha became the governor of Mosul (1811-1812). After Sadullah Pasha, Ahmet Pasha became the governor in 1812.³⁶⁸ In 1817, Davut Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, complained about Ahmet Pasha because of that Ahmed Pasha protected Şavizade Kasım Bey and therefore this caused the deterioration of peace in Iraq.³⁶⁹ Upon this Ahmed Pasha was dismissed from the post and an edict was sent to him to live in Aleppo. After him, again Jalili Hüseyin *Paşazade Hasan Bey* was appointed as governor. However, despite the fact that he left Mosul, he did not go to Aleppo. Instead, he went to Baghdad and preferred to be under the protection of the governor of Baghdad. Ahmed Pasha, the governor of Baghdad placed him in a mansion. Central government dictated that the decision about whether Ahmed Pasha will be in Baghdad or not was up to the governor of Baghdad.³⁷⁰ Hasan Pasha was appointed as the governor of Mosul with the title of vizier. Because of that Kurdish tribes were being settled around Mosul, Istanbul sent sable fur to Hasan Pasha to increase his honor and the loyalty of these tribes towards him.³⁷¹ Hasan Pasha increased his influence and took the supports of these Kurdish tribes. But when Jalili Hasan Pasha died in 1818, Jalili Ahmed Pasha was appointed again as governor and the title of vizier was given to him again. The governorship of Ahmed Pasha continued until 1822.³⁷² After him, Abdurrahman Pasha from Jalili family was appointed to the

³⁶⁵ Kemp, *Mosul and Musuli Histoians*, pp. 158-160

³⁶⁶ BOA, H.H, 670, No: 670, Gömlek: 32736.

³⁶⁷ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, p. 160.

³⁶⁸ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 53. p. 23.

³⁶⁹ Al- Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 221.

³⁷⁰ *Şavizade Tarihi*, . Vol. I. pp. 847-848.

³⁷¹ BOA, H.H, No: 679, Gömlek: 33087.

³⁷² BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 39, p. 81.

governorship of Mosul.³⁷³ The striking point is that in 18th century, while Ottoman central government preferred other persons than Mosul's own leading person for governorship, at the beginning of 19th century, we see that the members of Jalili family became the governor of Mosul. At the same time when Ahmet b. Bekir who was the member of another family became the governor by the help of Baghdad, all the members of Jalili family united against him. This indicates how Jalilis were powerful in Mosul. The relationship between the governors of Baghdad and Mosul was not very well. Baghdad was the center of *Hitta-i Irakiye*. The governor of Baghdad was trying to get the governors of other provinces under his influence. When a conflict took place among Jalili family, governors of Baghdad were taking the side of the opposite party of Hüseyin Pasha household, which was powerful in Mosul; Baghdad was trying to increase the number of people in Mosul by involving in the matter of Mosul.

Jalili Yahya Pasha pleads to Davud Pasha for becoming the governor of Mosul. He was the district governor of Mosul.³⁷⁴ There upon, Jalili Yahya Pasha became the governor of Mosul in 1822 by the recommendation of Baghdad.³⁷⁵ There was confusion in the time of Yahya Pasha. In 1825, locus damaged the crops in Mosul. Therefore, a famine took place. The people of Mosul were angry with Jalili Yahya Pasha because of that he and his family members storage crops to sell at a higher price. In 1826 Mahmud II, abolished janissary troops. The janissary troops in the city attacked to government buildings and stole the money from the buildings. Yahya Pasha connived to these plundering. On the other hand; the ignorance of Yahya Pasha about what janissary troops did attracted the anger of people in Mosul. Under the leadership of Umarizade Kasım, people of Mosul sent complainant letters to Istanbul about Jalili family, governor, and janissaries. The corrupted manner of Jalili family caused an uprising in the city against governor. The leadership of this uprising was under the command of Umaris. Yahya Pasha informed the governor of Baghdad he would come to Baghdad because of misconduct of people against him.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ BOA, Tahvil Defteri, No: 39. p. 81.

³⁷⁴ BOA, H.H, No: 651, 31819.

³⁷⁵ Al- Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 222.

³⁷⁶ BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47937-C.

At the same time Süleyman Pasha, one of Mosul *beyzades*, informed Baghdad by a letter. He related the attack of people on the house of Yahya Pasha, and recommended that the governor must leave the city.³⁷⁷ In addition, the city notables and a group of scholar wrote a petition to Baghdad to complain the governor. It was related that the governor was acting against the law.³⁷⁸ Despite all this, Naib of Mosul, Süleyman *Efendi*, wrote a public announcement to support Yahya Pasha. In this announcement, it was pointed that the people was satisfied with the governor.³⁷⁹

The governor of Baghdad wanted to Sadullah Paşazade Ahmet Bey who appointed *kaimakam* of Mosul to determine the plundered properties of Jalili Yahya Pasha and the appointment of a bailiff for this purpose.³⁸⁰ Meanwhile, *Mufti* and notables of Mosul confirmed that Ahmet Bey and his colleague usurped 1600 kilos grain and 1204 kilo wheat of Yahya Pasha. They reported that those usurped properties should be given.³⁸¹ But Sadullah Paşazade Ahmet Bey, Süleyman Paşazade Hacı Osman Bey and his son, Mehmet Emin Bey and Mehmet Bey fled to Baghdad. Because of this the usurped properties could not be taken from them.³⁸²

Jalili Yahya Pasha by the help of military troops sent by Davut Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, defeated the rebellions and entered to Mosul. But in the process of events, a conflict took place between Davut Pasha and Yahya Pasha. They complained each other to Istanbul.³⁸³ The governor of Baghdad, Davut Pasha, related that Yahya Pasha became the governor of Mosul by his help, but after he became the governor he started to conduct a tyrannous administration and due to these misconducts the some notables of the city left the city.³⁸⁴ On September 19, 1827 Yahya Pasha wrote a complaint to Istanbul, that many people in Mosul under the influence of Umari Kasım did not want him to see as governor. They claim that

³⁷⁷ BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47937-D.

³⁷⁸ BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47937-F.

³⁷⁹ BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47937-H.

³⁸⁰ BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47937-I.

³⁸¹ BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47936-K.

³⁸² BOA, H.H, No: 1229, Gömlek: 47936-I.

³⁸³ Al-Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 223.

³⁸⁴ BOA, H.H, No: 773, Gömlek: 36220.

Sadullah Paşazade Ahmet Bey was appointed as governor. Also Davud Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, supported the rebellions and these groups plundered the city and caused the distress in the city.³⁸⁵ On January 5, 1828 Yahya Pasha appointed Jalili Abdurrahman Pasha as his representative, and he was forced to leave the city and went to Diyarbekir.³⁸⁶ But the confusion in the public sphere did not end in Mosul. They killed Abdurrahman Pasha and his brother on April 24 1829. Abdülcelilzade Mehmet Pasha became the governor instead of him.³⁸⁷ Thus, another member of Jalili family became the governor instead of Abdurrahman Pasha. The new governor exiled some of the rebellions to Tal Afar village. But a month after a new revolt broke out in the city again. Janissaries were the involving party of this revolt as it was before. During this turmoil the father of Mehmet Pasha, Osman Bey, was killed. Mehmet Pasha was unsuccessful to stop the revolt, and he had to resign and leave Mosul.³⁸⁸

3.3.1 Umari Kasım Pasha

The head of the rebellion, Umerizade Kasım, became the governor of Mosul on November 1830. The governor of Baghdad Davud Pasha, ask for Istanbul to appoint his son as governor of Mosul instead of Umarizade Kasım. On the other hand, Istanbul had different plans for Mosul and all Iraq therefore this demand was not accepted.³⁸⁹ Mosul had a position independent from Baghdad by the protection of Istanbul. Istanbul supported Jalili family for preventing northern Iraq to enter the influence of *Mamluk* administration in Baghdad. But in the beginning of 19th century, Ottoman state's policy had changed due to the policy of centralization. Also, Mahmut II took some measures to prevent the spread of Mehmet Ali Pasha's influence. The administration of provinces, such as Baghdad, Basra, Şehrizer, was given to Ali Rıza Pasha, the governor of Aleppo. It was aimed to end the

³⁸⁵ BOA, H.H, No:771 Gömlek: 36181.

³⁸⁶ BOA, H.H, No: 849 Gömlek: 38081.

³⁸⁷ BOA, H.H, No: 726 Gömlek: 34612.

³⁸⁸ Kemp, *Mosul and Mosuli Historians*, pp. 162-163.

³⁸⁹ Al-Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 223.

administration of Mamluk in Baghdad. Ali Rıza Pasha recommended to Istanbul the appointment of Umarizade Kasım as “*mütesellim*” to Mosul. This recommendation was accepted and Kasım Pasha was appointed. The people of Mosul were satisfied by this appointment.³⁹⁰ An order was sent from Istanbul to all tribes in Iraq to obey to his orders.³⁹¹ Especially the sheikh of Shammar Jarba, which was a powerful tribe in the region, Safukü'l-Faris, took the side of state by this attempt. Also, Sheikh Safuk informed that he would support the governor of Aleppo, Ali Rıza Pasha. This was crucial especially for the creating an alliance against the governor Baghdad, Davud Pasha.³⁹² These tribes were powerful in the region. Hence, the possibility of an offensive action to against Davut Pasha was not possible without taking their supports. The powerful tribes in the period were Anizah, Shammar, Bani Lam, Khaza'il, Müntefik, Ubayd, Zubayd, Duiaym and Tay tribes. Shammar ve Anizah tribes were involving in farming in the deserts of Syria and Jazirah. The other tribes were in a position integrated into the local economy. Anizah tribe migrated to the east of Syrian deserts between 1800 and 1808 due to the pressure of Vahhabis. At the same way, Shammar tribe, which was at the Necd in this date, migrated to Iraq in 1805.³⁹³ Shammar tribe established good relations with Baghdad. Hence, the acquiring the supports of tribes in the region by Kasım Pasha was very important in this respect. Also, Ali Rıza Pasha took the support of Kurdish *Bey*s and Arab sheiks in Baghdad against Davud Pasha. During this time, (on May 15 in 1831) Kasım Pasha was sent to Baghdad. Kasım Pasha came to Kazımiye town and sent a message to the judge of Baghdad and confirmed that he will attack the city. Tahir Efendi met with the elders of the city. They confirmed that they will not oppose to Ali Rıza Pasha. In addition, they stated that they were calling him after they had arrested of Davud Pasha. The notables of the city called Kasım Pasha after having neutralized Davud Pasha. The aim of Kasım Pasha who came to Baghdad was to eliminate Ali Rıza Pasha and administration of Baghdad *Mamluk Paşalığı*. For this reason first he requested the arrest of Davud Pasha. But the people and the elders of the city had

³⁹⁰ Binark, *Musul-Kerkük ile ilgili Arşiv Belgeleri*, p. 126.

³⁹¹ Al-Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 224.

³⁹² *Ibid*, p. 108.

³⁹³ Nieuwenhuis, *Politics and Society*, pp. 126-127.

doubts about Kasım Pasha and his colleagues, Sheik Safuk and Süleyman Gannam, they did not accept the request of Kasım Pasha. Kasım Pasha captured by people and the men of Davud Pasha and he was killed.³⁹⁴ After this event, Ali Rıza Pasha came to Baghdad but because of experience with Kasım Pasha and the following incidents they did not want to surrender the city. People united with Davud Pasha prevented Ali Rıza Pasha and his army from entering the city. Ali Rıza Pasha besieged Baghdad for seventy days and conquered the city on 15 September, in 1831.

3.3.2 Yahya Pasha's Attempt to Attain the Governorship of Mosul

The new governor of Baghdad, Ali Rıza Pasha, after providing the reconciliation in Baghdad, and he appointed Mehmet Sait as governor of Mosul instead of Kasım Pasha. In this period, Irak was experiencing turmoil. Ali Rıza Pasha was busy with the revolts of tribes in Iraq, but the new governor of Mosul was still struggling for peace. The former governor of Mosul, Jalili Yahya Pasha benefited from this situation and he attacked and captured the city. In particular, Mehmet Ali Pasha's son, Ibrahim Pasha was among the persons who advised Yahya Pasha to attack to Mosul. The aim of Ibrahim Pasha was to capture Baghdad, and because of this he wanted to break the power of Ali Rıza Pasha (June in 1832). Ali Rıza Pasha had to accept the governorship of Yahya Pasha because of that he engaged in conflicts in Iraq.³⁹⁵ Yahya Pasha tried to unite a front against Ali Rıza Pasha. The members of this coalition were Sheikh Safuk and his tribe, Shammar, al-Ubayd tribe Kölemen Inayetullah Agha under the command of *Kölemen*. Ali Rıza Pasha was aware of the conspiracy against him, and he had to eliminate the Sheikh Safuk first who was the leader of the movement. Shammar tribe had the position on crucial point between Mosul and Baghdad. The tribe had a strong structure. Ali Rıza Pasha tried to spoil their relationship, and he succeeded in his plan. He provoked Shammar tribe against Anizah tribe. Shammar tribe marching on Baghdad realized that they had to fight with Anizah tribe and they abandoned the idea of besieging Baghdad.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ Al-Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, pp.124-128.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 124.

³⁹⁶ Al-Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 225.

At the same time, Ali Rıza Pasha appointed an Ottoman commander to Şehrızor province, and he wanted him to capture Mosul. This commander was Mehmet Pasha known as “*İnce Bayraktar*”. Meanwhile, despite the fact that Yahya Pasha was dismissed from his office and the order in this matter, he continued to stay at his office. He declared that the edicts about his dismissal were fake. In the meantime, the new governor of Mosul, Mehmet Said Pasha was on the route of Mosul. When he came to Erbil, the supporters of Yahya Pasha had the intention to rebellion and get the new governor out from the city. Also, they were planning to take the supports of other tribes. But they could not find the supports they expected. Upon this, Yahya Pasha fled Mosul. The new governor Mehmet Sait Pasha arrived at Mosul in December 1833 at a time when the people were happy about Jalili Yahya Pasha leaving, and Mehmet Sait Pasha replacing him, for Yahya Pasha had been supporting Sheikh Safuk by providing him ammunition.³⁹⁷ Yahya Pasha first took refuge in the Cübur clan.³⁹⁸ He then fled to Sheikh Safuk. Tay tribe which was on the main transit ways and they were controlling the letters and giving them to Sheikh Safuk. Yahya Pasha took advantage of this information channel and planned a revolution. For this reason, he sent some of his men to Mosul. When Ali Rıza Pasha learned that Jalili Yahya Pasha was in the preparation of revolt, he sent military aid to Mosul. On January 14, in 1834, Jalili Yahya Pasha organized a coup against Mehmet Sait Pasha, but his attempt was not successful. Yahya Pasha took refuge in Eyup Bey who was “*Millu iskan başısı*”. Sheikh Safuk fled to Sinjar, and he pleaded his forgiveness. But Ali Rıza Pasha ordered the expulsion of Sheikh Safuk from the Sinjar region. He had given orders to ensure the security of the region between Mosul and Mardin. In the meantime the governor of Sivas, Agah *Efendi*, and Abdullah Aziz *Efendi*, Anatolian account requested the forgiveness of Yahya Pasha because of that he was a capable person, and he participated to the rebel under the pressure of tribes.³⁹⁹ Then Istanbul exiled him to Tekirdağ with a salary. Jalili Yahya Pasha had gone to Mosul in 1829 by the help of a rebellion under the command of Umer Kasım. Again in

³⁹⁷ BOA, H.H, No: 390, Gömlek 20709. J.

³⁹⁸ BOA, H.H, No: 390, Gömlek: 20709. F.

³⁹⁹ Al-Bustani, *Bağdad'daki Kölemen*, p. 225-228.

September 1832, he managed to capture the office and executed the duty until 1834. The existence of opposition against the family in Mosul and the turmoil which Iraq experienced were effective on Jalili family's end. Also Mahmut II took measures to break the dominance of local powers and to protect the provinces of Asia against the danger of Mehmet Ali Pasha. Because of this he appointed Ali Rıza Pasha, governor of Aleppo, to end the Mamluk administration in Baghdad. Ali Rıza Pasha put an end to Mamluk administration in Baghdad in 1831. Jalili Yahya Pasha benefited from the confusions and took the governorship of Mosul, but his governorship did not take a long period. Thus, Jalili dynasty, which was the governor of Mosu, since 1726 ended.

CONCLUSION

Mosul, which was placed on the right bank of the Tigris, opposite the ancient Ninive, was the passage between Anatolia, Baghdad, and the Southern deserts. Because of that, it has a strategic importance. After the Ottoman victory at Çaldıran, the region was conquered in 1516 and from this date it was under the control of the Ottomans. After entering under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire it was connected to Diyarbakir in 1522, and since 1638, it became an independent province. After this date Mosul began to develop.

Mosul was a cosmopolitan city where many different peoples and races, such as Turks, Kurds, Chaldeans and Christians lived together. Before the conquest of the Ottomans, the dominant sect was Shafii in the city. However, after the conquest, a lot of Hanafi families came to the city and they multiplied the number of Hanafi people. After the Ottoman conquest, one of the families coming to Mosul was the Umaris. The Umaris family was active and powerful in the sense of both scholarly activity and politics, and because of that they had *malikanes*. Their dominant position lasted until the time when the Jalili family became the most powerful and dominant leading family in Mosul. Jalili Ismail Pasha had gained *mukataas* around Mosul during the wars between Ottoman and Iran. Usually these *mukataas* were under the control of governors. Thus the family gained the post of governorship, and controlled this position during the period 1726-1834, with intervals. Approximately 16 persons from this family served as governor over a century. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha became governor of Mosul eight times, his son Mehmed Emin Pasha seven times, and Süleyman Pasha four times.

The reason why the Ottoman Empire supported Jalili's family was that the family provided the Ottoman army's logistic necessities during the war against Iran, and was able to balance the power of the Umeris family, and to prevent the hegemony of the Mamluks in Iraq. For this reason there must be an able governor in

Mosul. The successful defense of Hacı Hüseyin Pasha against Nadir Shah in the siege of the city by Iran had led the Jalili family to the fore. Thus a dynasty loyal to the Ottoman Empire emerged. Like their contemporaries, the Azmzade family, they became rich by having *malikanes*. The Ottoman state gave Hacı Hüseyin Pasha Karakuş village as a gift and property because of his successful defense of Mosul. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha endowed this village in 1750. As a village whose inhabitants were Christians, this village was important, and therefore it was a garrison for the Ottoman army.

The replacement of a governor assigned from Istanbul with one from local leading families caused changes, so that Mosul could revert to Arab culture. The city has experienced changes in the line of Irak-ı Arabs. In this period many poets and writers from Mosul gained fame. At the same time the Jalili family and other families of the city had *madrasas*, mosques and *kayseriyyes* constructed, and they led to the building of many endowments. As a result, the shape of the city changed dramatically. These families also founded these institutions.

On the other hand, Mosul has fertile ground because it was placed on the bank of the Tigris River. In these soils, different kinds of agricultural products could be grown. The surplus of these products was exported to surrounding cities. The Jalili family had the most productive villages in this sense. The advantage of having wide agricultural areas helped them to be involved in trade and to play a dominant role in trade. Mosul was on the route of caravans. Because of that it was a trade center for the northern Iraq and Kurdish regions. In particular, it was seen that Christian, Kurd and Yezidi people could cooperate in trade.

Over time, the number of Jalili households multiplied, and struggles for power started. Hacı Hüseyin Pasha's household and the household of Fettah Pasha struggled over dominance, and sometimes in these struggles arms were used. In these struggles, janissaries chose one of the sides. In later years, Ubeyd Agha's son, Abdülbaki Pasha, rose against Hüseyin Pasha's household and their dominance in Mosul. Despite the support of Baghdad, the power of Hüseyin Pasha's household could not be broken.

During the period which covers the governorship of Jalili Süleyman Pasha (1786-1789) and the governorship of Jalili Mehmed Pasha (1789-1806) was a period

when there was no struggle between families and peace was established. We see that from 1834 until the end of their dominance, this period witnessed opposition against the Jalili family. In 1829, under the leadership of Omerzade Kasım from Mosul notables, a rebellion took place against Jalili Yahya Pasha. Umarzade Kasım was the governor of Mosul between 1829 and 1832. When he was killed in 1832 in Baghdad, Yahya Pasha, with the support of the Şhammar tribe of the Syrian Desert, and Egyptian forces succeeded in gaining the governorship of Mosul. But with the request of Ali Rıza Pasha, governor of Baghdad, Yahya Pasha was dismissed from his post and Mehmed Sait Pasha was appointed instead of him. Thus their dominance of nearly a century came to an end. The only reason for this ending was not the rebellion of notables in Mosul. Additionally the policy of Mahmud II for the centralization of power was effective. In this framework, Mahmud II broke the power lineage of families. Mahmud II did this to attempt to prevent the unification of Jalili forces and Mehmed Ali Pasha's Syrian forces. As a result of this attempt the dominance of the Jalili family came to an end.

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APPENDICES

Appendix-1 List of governors of Jalili Family in the 18th Century According to Mosul Yearbook of 1325

1. (1139 A.H.) 1727 : Jalili Ismail Pasha
2. (1140 A.H.) 1728 : Darendeli Hüseyin Pasha
3. (1141 A.H.) 1729 : Rişvanzade Mehmet Pasha
4. (1143 A.H.) 1731 : Jalili Hacı Hüseyin Pasha
5. (1143 A.H.) 1731 : Ali Pasha
6. (1144 A.H.) 1732 : Second times Jalili Haj Hüseyin Pasha
7. (1146 A.H.) 1734 : Memiş Pasha
8. (1146 A.H.) 1734 : Third times Hacı Hüseyin Pasha
9. (1148 A.H.) 1736 : Again Memiş Pasha
10. (1149 A.H.) 1737 : Mustafa Pasha
11. (1151 A.H.) 1739 : Fourth times Hacı Hüseyin Pasha
12. (1153 A.H.) 1741 : Muhassıl Ahmet Pasha
13. (1154 A.H.) 1742 : Osman Pasha
14. (1154 A.H.) 1742 : Fifth times Hacı Hüseyin Pasha
15. (1159 A.H.) 1746 : Previous governor of Sivas Selim Pasha
16. (1160 A.H.) 1747 : Sixth times Hacı Hüseyin Pasha
17. (1161 A.H.) 1748 : Mehmet Pasha
18. (1161 A.H.) 1748 : The Warden of Baghdad İbrahim Pasha
19. (1162 A.H.) 1749 : The governor of Maraş Mehmet Pasha
20. (1163 A.H.) 1750 : Seventh times Hacı Hüseyin Pasha
21. (1164 A.H.) 1751 : Şehsuvarzade Mustafa Pasha
22. (1165 A.H.) 1752 : Recep Pasha
23. (1166 A.H.) 1753 : The son of Jalili Hacı Hüseyin Pasha Gazi Mehmet Emin Pasha
24. (1169 A.H.) 1755 : Again Mustafa Paşa
25. (1169 A.H.) 1756 : Second times Jalili Mehmet Emin Pasha
26. (1170 A.H.) 1757 : Mustafa Pasha
27. (1171 A.H.) 1758 : Recep Pasha
28. (1171 A.H.) 1758 : Eight times Hacı Hüseyin Paşa
29. (1172 A.H.) 1759 : Third times Jalili Mehmet Emin Pasha
30. (1172 A.H.) 1759 : Jalili Numan Pasha
31. (1173 A.H.) 1760 : Fourth times Jalili Mehmet Emin pasha
32. (1173 A.H.) 1760 : Fifth times Jalili Mehmet Emin pasha
33. (1174 A.H.) 1761 : Şehsuvarzade Mustafa Pasha
34. (1175 A.H.) 1762 : Sixth times Jalili Mehmet Emin pasha
35. (1182 A.H.) 1769 : Hüseyin Pasha who the son-in-law of Sadri Pasha
36. (1183 A.H.) 1770 : Jalili Abdulfattah Pasha
37. (1185 A.H.) 1772 : Jalili Süleyman Pasha
38. (1189 A.H.) 1776 : Seventh times Jalili Mehmet Emin Pasha

39. (1191 A.H.) 1777 : Hüseyin Pasha governor of Baghdad, Mosul and Kerkük
40. (1191 A.H.) 1778 : Third times Jalili Süleyman Pasha
41. (1197 A.H.) 1784 : Yazıcızade Mustafa pasha
42. (1198 A.H.) 1785 : Vanlı Nemayiş Temyur pasha
43. (1199 A.H.) 1785 : Jalili Hacı Abdülbaki pasha
44. (1199 A.H.) 1785 : Fourth times Jalili Süleyman pasha
45. (1204 A.H.) 1790 : Mehmet Pasha who the son of Jalili Mehmet Emin Pasha
46. (1222 A.H.) 1808 : Jalili Numan Pasha
47. (1224 A.H.) 1810 : Ahmet Pasha who Numan pasha's kethüda and the son of Bekir
48. (1224 A.H.) 1810 : Jalili Mahmut Pasha
49. (1225 A.H.) 1811 : Jalili Sadullah Pasha
50. (1227 A.H.) 1813 : Jalili Ahmat Pasha
51. (1231 A.H.) 1817 : Jalili Hasan Pasha
52. (1233 A.H.) 1819 : Jalili Ahmat Pasha
53. (1237 A.H.) 1822 : Jalili Abdurrahman Pasha
54. (1238 A.H.) 1823 : Jalili Yahya pasha
55. (1242 A.H.) 1827 : Jalili Abdurrahman Pasha the son of Mahmut pasha
56. (1244 A.H.) 1829 : Jalili Mehmet Amin Pasha
57. (1245 A.H.) 1830 : Mosuli Umarzade Kasım Pasha
58. (1248 A.H.) 1833 : Mosuli Mehmet Sait Pasha
59. (1249 A.H.) 1834 : Again Jalili Yahya pasha
60. (1251 A.H.) 1836 : Again Mehmet Sait Pasha
61. (1251 A.H.) 1836 : Bayrakdar zade Mehmet Pasha

سنة وفاته جانباً شفاذ عازم و نهضى اولوب وقف عفا - اعم اعظم و هم اقوم لهم به نابت كوفى عليه رحمة الملك الوفي حفتر بل قدس
 غير مقرر ولازم الهمم وقف مذکور دهر رجوع ابرم بن بطانيم و سيد ديوانى طلب ابرم دبرك منوا موصى كنه محمد صه بيت
 حواء صلاه نفدي اولوب جويانك ابرم و م شرجين المقدر حطيه اعم اعظم قرع عفا و نفى غير فاسحه في صدر كنه اعم تاني ابرم صفا يقرب
 الصديقي ايد اعم تالته محمد به صه الشيبان عليهما رحمة الملك الرباني قدس لادمه ديور دنده اقع ايع و بل حاكم صهم موقع صدر كنه بت
 حضوره متافعه نه و نفى و هم طلب نه اولد فرزند اولد دهن على قول مهرباه صحت و زودنه عاني باخداي حاكم و نفى و شفيعه و امضا ان يخطه
 وقف صبي موبه و صبي صريح قلده اولوب فخر به بعد اسم فائنا انتم على الكديه به لونه انه اعم سيم علمهم و اجر الوافق على الحجي الخوار الكريم
 حري ذلك و هر في شهر ذي القعدة سنة ثلثة و ستمه و ما به الف ميه هجرت مده لافروك شرف

فوق العلم و المصنفه صفة انه اتقى عرف العلم السبعين اندي المفتي حاله بولس في العلم الكرام على اندي مفتي كنه نفعه عرف الاله الكرام
 اسيه علم انصب حاله بولس قران رتا اسيه حجي انفا انصب سابه في العلم محمد تقي علامي زاده في المديريه سيم قدس الاصفه عرف الاجازات
 الخبير فاسم اف عبد الجليل زاده قدس الاقر عبد الجليل به افي عبد الجليل زاده في الاقرله الخبير سيمه افي حري
 عبد الجليل زاده يوسف افي و فرزندش بولس افي عبد الجليل زاده جديف فرزندش محمد افي في الاقرله الخبير سيمه افي كنه سابه الخبير مصطفى افي
 كنه زاده بوايه في الاقرله بولس افي كتاب كريلانه في المديريه عني نه اقدى لوى في الاجازات هره تقي لوى محمد افي به المصوم بسبه افي
 اسيه حجي جليل الحسبه في الاقران حسبه افي في بيليفرله به مصطفى ابرم افي شريف حجي الطولون عني نه افي قات الموق ابو بكر افي الخليل
 والاوقف با افي علم افي بسبه الكاتب سواد حربه حجاب المصطفى سواد علم السخسي الاوم سواد نسيم به سواد فيل الاوم محمد حيس ابرم سلام نه الخبير
 نسيم جليل سلام عبد الزاد الموق تسي

او وقف قلنده سفيه صوت و نقيه به مطالبه
 اده امانه



Handwritten notes and signatures in Ottoman Turkish script, including a date and names.



Appendix-3 Transcript of Endowment

Şura-yı Devlet Evrakı No: 2149 Gömlek: 33 Document of endowment

Mâfihi min ve şurût cerâ 'indi 'alâ vechi'l mebsût 'âlimen bi'l-hilâf

Beyne'l-eimme ve'l eslâf kad sahat kavlü'l imâmeyn ve hakemtû lüzûmehu

Fi havasihi ve 'umûmihi ve ene'l-fakîr ileyhi 'azze şa'nuhû

Muhammed Müftîzâde elkâdî bi-medinet-i Musul

el- Mahrûseti gufira lehumâ

Metâli'ul-ihsân el-mumzî el-mahtum harrerehû el-fakîr ileyhi 'azze şânuhû Ömer bin Salih el-Mevla li-hilâfeti bi-mahkemet-i Mahmûd Paşa bi-Medinet-i Kostantiniyye el mahmiyye gufira lehûmâ

Hamd-i mevfûr ve şükr-i nâ-mahsûr ol vâkıf-ı umûr-ı cumhûr cenab-ı Hudâyı bi-zevâl celle 'anil-şebîh vel misâl hazretlerinin dergah-ı akdes ve bârgâh-ı mukaddeslerine maksûr olmak lâyük ve sezâ ve elyak Ve ahrâdır ki mirât-ı kulûb-ı müminin envâr-ı tevfik ile müzeyyen ve muhallâ ve 'uyûn-ı basâir-i müslimîn kühl-i hidayet ile mukahhal ve mücellâ eyledi ve cevâhir-i manzum salavât-ı bî-bahâya ve zevâhir-i menşûr Teslimat-ı tahhiyyât-ı bî-gâyet ol sultan-ı kâtıbet-i enbiya ve ser-i sâlârı kâfile-i asfiyâ Muhammed-il Mustafa aleyh-i mine't-tahiyât mâ hüve el-evfâ hazretlerinin ruh-ı mutahhar ve ravza-i münevver ve mu'attarlarına olsun ki Nizâm-ı âlem ve intizâm-ı ahvâl-i ben-i adem ânın şeri'atıyla sabit ve dâimdir. Ve dahi âl ve etba'ları ve ashâb üzerlerine olsun ki her biri tarîk-i hakka hâdi ve sebîl-i tevfika münâdidir. Rıdvân-ullâhi te'âla aleyhim ecma'in pes andan sonra iş bu kitab-ı sıhhat-nisâbın tahrir ve imlâsına bâis ve bâdi ve bu hitâb-ı müstetâbın tastîr ve tenmîkine sebep ve dâ'î oldur ki halen Musul valisi olup vezir-i ruşen-zamir celadet semîr asaf-ı nizam Aristo tedbir şecaat-dilîr isabet-intizam müdebbir-i umur'l-cumhur bi'r-re'y-i rezîn muslihu mesâlihi'l en'am Bi'l-fikri'l-rasîn sâhibü'l-'izzü'l-menba'-i ş-şâmih ve'l-kadrü'r-refî'u'l-bâzih a'nî bihî el-vezirü'l mükkerrem ve düstur-u mufahhem Abdüljalili-zade inayetlü mürevvetlü refetlü el-hac Hüseyin Paşa Etâllâhu bi'l-izzî ve'n-nasri bekâhu ve emedallahu bi'l-ikbâli ve'l-iclâli tûle hayâtihî ve ebkâhu hazretlerinin medine-i Musul'da vilayete mahsûs olan saray-ı ma'delet-cây-ı âlişân ve divân-ı me'âlî-üvvân asifânelerinde ma'kûd meclis-i şer'-i

şerif-i nebevî ve mahfili dîn-i münîf-i mustafîde vakf-ı âtiyü'l-beyân li-ecli't-tescîl ve'l-itmâm el-emr-u ve't-tekmîl mütevellî nasb u ta'yîn eylediği vezir-i müşârun ileyh hazretlerinin necl-i necîb-i âlî-necâd muhteremleri olan emirü'l-ümerâi'l-kirâm kebîrü'l küberâi'l-fehâm zü'l-küdrete ve'l-ihtirâm sahibü'l izzî ve'l-ihtişâm saadetlü mekremetlü Mehmed Emin Paşa hazretlerinin huzûrunda ittifâk-ı zâhir ve bâtın ve inşirâh-ı sadr u safâ-yı hatır ile bi't-tav' ikrâr ve i'tirâf-ı tâme takrîr ve ta'bîr ani'l-merâm edip bundan akdem dâimî istîlâ ile Musul kalesine eyyâm-ı vâfire muhâsara eden İran Şahı Nâdir Şah-ı bî-intibâhın bi-tevfikihî sübhânehû ve te'âlâ ol esnâda bu fakir-i bî-vucûd Musul'da bulunduğum hasebiyle 'avn-i Hakk ve inâyet-i Kâdir-i kahrî ile mutlak ile şâh-ı âkîbet-tebâhın kibr-i nefreti ve kale-i padişahînin hıfz ve hirâseti ve düşmen-i bed-betârın niyet-i fâside ve azimet-i kâsidesi ba'de'l-leytâ velleti bilahare Musul'dan ye's ü hirman ile mahzûlen ve makrûhan rube kâfa avdet ve ric'at ve hezimetî muvaffak olmağın bi-mennihî subhanehu te'âlâ uğur-ı dinî mübin ve devlet-i 'aliyye ebed-karînde ber-muktezâ-yı rızâ-yı hümâyun-ı şerîf meymenet-redîf hazret-i zillüllâhi Üzre muvaffak olduğum tekmil-i hademat-ı aliyyeyi mebrure mukabelesinde kadimden eba 'an ced ba berât-ı âlişân malikane tarîkı ile mutasarrîf olageldiğim Musul sancağında vâki 'Mirimiran-ı Şehrîzor hâsından olup sekiz yüz kuruş mal-ı senevîsi Şehrîzor Valilerine verilegelen Karakuş karyesinin fî-mâ-ba'd ol miktar mal-ı senevîsi karye-i merkumede olan mirî menzîlinin mesârifatına ocaklık ve menzîl-i mezkûrun mukaddemâ Musul mukataası mâlından ocaklık olan yediyüz yirmibeş kuruş sa'yen li'l-mîrî hazine-mande olmak şartıyla taraf-ı hümâyûndan karye-i mezkure bu hakire temlik olunması istida' ve iltimas olunmağın bu fakir hakkında bahr-ı zehâr-ı bî-kâr u kenâr merhamet ve inâyet Asâr-ı Hüsrevân-î mütelâtum'l-embâc olup şeref-bahş sudûr olan hatt-ı hümâyûn mevhîbet-makrûn mucibince avâtîf-ı aliyye-i şâhâne ve avârif-i seniyye-yi Seniyye-i padişâhân ile tarafî hümâyûndan sâlifü'z-zikr Karakuş karyesi bu hakire hibe ve temlik ve 'itâ olunup ve karye-i mezkure menzîlinin senevî yedi yüz yirmi beş kuruş bârgîr bahâsı Musul mukâtaâsından ref' ve yerine sâlifü'l beyan karye-i mezkurenin Şehrîzor valilerine muayyen olan senevî sekiz yüz kuruş mal ocaklık tayîn olunup ba'de ezîn Şehrîzor valileri tarafından mal-u kalemiyye namıyla bir akçe ve bir habbe talep ve karye-i mezkurdan bir türlü dahl ve ta'arruz olunmamak ve ilâ maşâallah-u te'âlâ kendim ve ba'dehu evladım ve a'kâbimâ ber-vech-i

mülkiyet zapt u tasarruf eylemek şartıyla karye-i merkume mirimiran-ı Şehrizor hâssından ifrâz ve tefkik ve malikane ve mukataa kaydı dahi ref' ve terkîn ve taraf-ı hümâyûn-ı ma'delet-makrûndan bana hibe ve temlik ve mahalli tevki'î kalemiyye mekteb-i tashîh ve sebt-i defter olunup sûret-i icmâl verildiğine binâen yedime inayet ve ihsan buyrulan mülknâme-i Hümâyûn-ı inayet –makrûn ve menşûr-ı fâyizü'n-nur mevhabet-meşhûnda zikr ve tasrîh olduğu vech üzere mezkûr Karakuş Karyesi ve hudûdu dâhilinde olan arâzî ve mezâri' ve mezâfi' ve menâfi' ve cibâl u tilâl, ve âbâr u enhâr ve yaylak ve kıslak ve çayır ve bağ ve bağçe resm-i bennak ve resm-i ispençe ve resm-i çift ve resm-i kevvare ve resm-i esbab, ve resm-i giyâh, ve ? ve para ve mâl-ı garîb, ve mâl-ı mefkûd ve beytülmâl-ı âmme ve hâssa ve bil-cümle âmme-i hukûk-ı şer'iyeye ve kâffe-i rusûm-ı örfiyyesi ile bi-cümleti't-tevâbi ' ve'l-levâhik ve kâffeti'l- menâfi' ve'l- merâfik Makrûnu'l-kalem ve maktû'u'l- kadem min külli'l- vucûh serbestiyet üzere dilersem satarım istersem bağışlarım murâd edersen vakfederim ve bu neslen ba'de neslin ve fer'an ba'de aslın İlâ en yerisa'llâhu el- erda ve men aleyhâ ve hüve hayrû'l- vârisîn envâ'-ı vucûh-ı mülkiyet üzere taraf-ı hümâyûndan hibe ve temlik ile mâlik olduğum ecilden mülk-i sahîh-i mahzım ve hakk-ı sarîh-i sırfım olmakla benâberîn ber-muktezâ-yı hadîs-i şerif-i nebevî izâ mâte ibn-u âdem inkata'a amelühû illâ an selâsin ilmün yüntefe'u bihi ev veledin sâdıgın yed'u leh ev sadakatin câriyetin ledeyhi fehvâ-yı münîfi üzere sâlifü'z-zikr ve'l-beyan silk-i mülkümde münselik olan Karakuş karyesi zikr ü tebeyyün kılınan mülknâme-i hümâyûnunun şurût-ı münîf-i müfidesi üzere hasbeten lillâh el-Melik es-Samed vakf-ı sahîh-i müebbed ve habs-i sarîh-i muhalled ile vakf u habs eyledim ki mûmâileyh oğlum Mehmed Emin Paşa ve karındaşı Selim Bey ve müteveffâ oğlum merhum Murad Paşa'nın oğlu Abdullah Bey üzerlerine ale's-seviye vakf u te'bîd eyledim ve böyle şart eyledim ki Musul toprağında vaki' Bağdad ve Basra ve Kerkük câniblerinden Musul'a gelen cadde-i kebîr ve tarîk-ı meslûk müstâkimde vâki' Hazreti Yunus en-Nebî alâ nebiyyinâ ve aleyhi efdalü's-salâti ve't-teslimin evkâfında karye-i Lek ve karye-i Gögüçlü (Gökçeli) akârlarında olan iki aded kebîr Su ve bataak dereleri üzerlerine memerr-i ibâdullâh ve ebnâ-i sebîl için hasbeten lillahite'âlâ kendi sâlih malından müceddeden bina ve ihdâs eylediğim iki 'aded köprülerinin ilâ mâşâ'allah

hedm ü güzerân (.....) vehn-i târî oldukça binâ ve ta'mîr termimleri için zikrolunana vakf eylediğim karye-i mezkure ri'inden olmak üzere mütevellî-i mûmâileyh yedi ile ta'mîr ve mesârifleri sarf oluna ve dahi belde-i mezkurede vâki' yine müşârun ileyh Hazreti Nebiyellâh Yunus ve Hazreti Nebiyallâh Cercis 'aleyhimâ ve 'alâ nebiyyinâ afdalussalât-i ve teslim hazretlerinin her birleri 'alâ hide merkad-i şerif ve türbe-i latiflerine senede iki yüz akçe ta'yin ve tahsîs ve yine mütevellî-yi mûmâileyh yedi ile karye-i mezkure rub'undan (veya ri'inden) cânib-i vakfa edâ ve teslim olunmak şart ve vakf eyledim ba'dehu böyle şart eyledim ki mevkûfun 'aleyhim olan mûmâ ileyhimden birisi bilâ veled-i zükûr vefat eder ise hissesini kalan sahiplerine rüçû' ola ba'dehû mûmâ ileyhimin evlâd-ı zükûrlarına batnen ba'de batnın ve fer'an ba'de aslin mâ tenâselü evlâd-ı zükûrları hâsseten düne'l-inâs mutasarrıf olalar fe izâ inkaraza evlâdü'l -zükûr ve'l-'iyazü billâ'h min te'âlâ min zâlik berât-ı 'aliyenin evlâd-ı zükûrları mutasarrıf ola fe izâ inkarazû zükûr-ül-benat el-asliyye eyzan te'alâ zükûri-l-benâtı el-fer'iyye el akreb fe'l- akreb batnen ba'de batnin mâ tenâselü ve izâ inkarazû fe'alâ benâti'l- usûl ve evlâdihî sümme izâ inkarazû 'alâ benât'il-fürû' ve alâ evlâdihî mâ tenâselü al-akrab neseben el- eb'ad minhum batnen ba'de batnin ve fer'an ba'de 'alin şurût-ı mezkûre üzere ila en yerisellâhû el erda ve men 'aleyhâ ve huve hayr'l- ârisin mutasarrıf olalar ve ba'de'l-inkırâz ne'üzü billâh-i te'âlâ min kahri'l- feyyâz karye-i merkume-i mezkureden 'âid olan mahsûlât-ı şer'iyye ve rüsûmat-ı örfiyyesinin Medine-i mutahhare-i münevverede olan fukarâ ve mesâkin sarf u hayrât oluna ve mütevellî-yi mûmâ ileyh oğlum Mehmed Emin Paşa hazretlerine ve evlâd u evlâd-ı zükûruna mâ tenâselü eslah vârislerine tevliyetini meşrûta eyledim karye-i mezkure-yi mütevellî mûmâ ileyh oğlum Mehmed Emin Paşaya zapt u raptı tefvîz u teslîm ve mûmâ ileyh kabz-ı tâm ve tasarruf eyledikten sonra vâkıf-ı müşârunileyh esbakgallâhû ni'amahû ve iclâlehû 'aleyhi hazretleri semt-i vifâkdan cânib-i şikâka? âzim ve mütesaddî olup vakf-ı akar İmam-ı Azam ve hümâm-ı akdem Numan bin Sabit Kufî aleyhi rahmet-i melikül vâfi hazretlerinin katında gayr-i muteber ve lazım olmağla vakf-ı mezburdan rucû' eyledim yine bana teslim olmasıyla deyu istirdâdı talep ederim dedikde mütevellî-i mûmâ ileyh Mehmet Emin Paşa cevâb-ı savâba mütesaddî olup cevabında eğerçi imam-ı müşâr Jaliliül mikdâr hazret-i İmam-ı Azam katında akar vakfi gayr-i lazımdır lakin imam-ı sâni Ebu Yusuf Yakup es-Samedânî ile İmam-ı

sâlis Muhammed bin Hasan eş-Şeybânî aleyhimâ rahmet-i Melikü'r-Rabbânî katlarında lazımdır deyu reddinden imtina' edecek hâkim-i hâsım mevki'-i sadr-i kitâbet huzurunda müterâfi'an ve fasl u hasma tâlibân olduklarında ol dahi ala kavli men yerâhu sıhhat ve lüzumuna âlimen bi-ahlâfi hükm ve kazâ ve tenfiz ve imzâ etmekle vakf-ı sahîh-i müebbed ve habs-i sarîh-i muhalled olup femen beddelehu ba'de mâ semiahu fe-innemâ ismuhu alellezîne yübeddilûnehu innallahe semiun alîm ve ecrül vâkıf alel hayyil cevâdil kerîm cerâ zâlik ve hurrîre fî şehri Zilkade senetü selâse ve sittîn ve mietü ve elf min hicreti men lehul ferdul şeref Şuhudül Hal kıdvetül ulemâ vel müdekkikîn Sıbgatullah Efendi umdetul Ulema es-seyyid Yahya Efendi el-müfti hala bi-Musul efharul ulemail kirâm Ali efendi müftî-i şâfiyye umdetu's-sâdâti'l-kirâm es-seyyid Ali en-nakîb hala bi-Musul fahru's-sâdât es-seyyid Yahya Efendi en-nakîb es-sâbık fahrul ulema Muhammed Efendi Allâmi-zade, fahru'l-müderresîn Selim Efendi el-vâiz, umdetul ayân el-Hacı Kasım Ağa AbdülJalili-zade, kıdvetül akrân Abdullah Ağa AbdülJalili-zade, umdetu'l-eşbâh Fettah Bey AbdülJalili-zade, fahrul akrân (El-Hacı Süleyman Ağa) Yahya Ağa AbdülJalili-zade Yusuf Ağa ve karındaşı Yunus Ağa Abdülcelizade Abid Ağa karındaşı Mehmed Ağa, fahru'l- arkan el-Hacı Süleyman Ağa kethüda-i sabık el-Hacı Mustafa Ağa kethüda-i bevâbîn, fahrul akrân Yunus Efendi kâtibu'd-divan, fahrul müderresîn Osman Efendi el-Ömerî, fahrul ayan Ahmed Efendi el-Umari, Mehmed Bey bin? el-merhûm Efendi es-seyyid Ali Çelebi el-Hüseyn, fahrul akrân Hüseyin Ağa bin Mustafa Ahmed Bey şerîf Yahya et-tavîl Osman Efendi katibül musarrıf Ebubekir efendi el-hatîb ve'l-vâiz bân? Ali Ağa beytü'l? Kâtib monla? Hamid? bin Abdullah el-Musul, Monla Ali Es-Sustî? El-imam, Monla Kasım bin Monla Halil el-İmam, Mehmed Çelebi ibn Selam ibn? El-Hacı Kasım Çelebi Selam Abdurrezzak el-musarrıf temmet?

Evkaf kaleminde mukayyed suret-i vakfiyeye mutabıktır

Fi 15 Mayıs (12)91

Appendix-4 Document of endowment's report

Şura-yı Devlet Evrakı Dosya No: 2149, Gömlek: 33

Musul valisi esbak Abdülcalili-zade Hüseyin Paşaya ba-malikane-i hümayun temlik ve ihsan buyrulmuş olan Karakuş karyesi müstesna evkaftan bulunduğu halde hasılatından 64 senesinden beri hilaf-ı usul-i mahalli evkaf ...veleri mürettebat ve canib-i miri için vergi ve rusumat ahz eylemekte bulduklarından bahisle müdahale-i dafi'anın meniyile alınmış olan rusumat-ı sairenin taraflarına reddi hakkında mütevaffa-yı müşarun ileyhın ahfadı canibinden vukubulan istid'a ol babda evkaf-ı hümayun nezareti celilesiyle olunan muhabere üzerine sebk eden iş'ar-ı samiye cevaben Bağdat vilayetinden varid olan tahrirat ve melfufatı fi 18 Şaban 92 tarihinde Şura-yı Devlete havale buyrulmağla ledel kiraat meallerine nazaran karye-i merkume müşarun ileyh buyrulduktan sonra vakf edilmiş olup aşar ve vergi rusumat-ı sairesi canib-i miriden idare ve 59 tarihinden beri muhasebesi ruyet edilmekte bulunduğu anlaşılmiş ve bil-muhabere nezaret-i müşarun ileyhadan alınan cevapta müstesna olan eizze-i kiram ve guzat evkafı haziney-i evkaf-ı hümayunca malum olarak vakf-ı mezkur onların idadında? dahil bulunmadığı ve 64 tarihine kadar muhasebesinin ruyet olunmadığı iddiası istisnasına delalet etmeyip çünkü taşralara evkaf memurları tanzimattan sonra tayin ve izam kılındıkları cihetle memurin-i muma ileyhim bu misisllu vakıfları refte refte araştırarak bulduklarının muhasebelerini ruyet etmekte bulduklarından ve işbu vakıf dahi o kabilden olarak buun ber vech-i muharrer 59 tarihinden beri muhasebesinin görülmekte olduğu mahallinden bildirildiğinden vakf-ı mezkur hakkında muamele-i istisnaiye icrası lazım gelmeyeceği dermiyan kılınmış ve maliye nezaret-i Jaliliesiyle olunan muhaberenin cevabında dahi karye-i mezkur hasılatından mahalli evkaf memurlarının aldıkları mürettebat ve nizam-ı umumisine muvafık olduğu misillü hazine-i Jalilie için istihsal kılınan rusumat ve saire dahi karye-i mezkurenin mülkiyetini mutazammın olarak müşarun ileyhe verişmiş olan ferman-ı ali tarihinden sonra mevzu' idüğü beyanıyla is'af-ı istid'a kabil olamayacağı gösterilmiş olduğundan müsted'i-i muma ileyhe cevap itasıyla beraber karye-i mezbura hakkında usul ve nizamına tevfikân muamele olunmasının vilayet-i mezkure valiliğine

emr u işar ve nezareteyn-i müşarun ileyhimaya beyan-ı hal buyrulması tezekkür olunmuş ise de ol babda.

Appendix-5 Document of appointment of Mehmet Emin Paşa to Diyarbekir

Ali Emiri tasnifi - III. Mustafa No: 116 Gömlek: 8910

Devletlu, inayetlu, merhametlu hazretleri sağ olsun,

Kapukethüdası olduğum sabıka Musul valisi vezir-i mükerrer Mehmet Emin Paşa hazretlerine bu defa avatıf-ı aliye hazret-i cihandariden Diyarbekir eyaleti tevcih ve ihsan olunmağla müşarun ileyh Diyarbekir'e gelince eyalet-i mezburanın zabt u rabta ve vaki olan aidat ve varidatını ahz u kabza taraflarından birisinin mütesellim nasb olunması? olduğuna binaen hala Diyarbekir voyvodasının oğlu Ebubekir ağa kulları müşarun ileyh gelinceye değın eyalet-i mezburaya mütesellim nasb ve tayin olunmak için ber-mutad kaydı mütesellimlik? emr-i şerifi ita ve ihsan buyrulmak babında emr u ferman devletlu inayetlu merhametlu sultan hazretlerindir. (1)182

Mehmet Tahir, kethüda-yı ...?

Appendix-6 Document of appointment of Hacı Hüseyin Paşa to Kars

Cevdet Dahiliye, No: 86 Gömlek 4275

Mucibince müsâade-i mülûkânem uzatılmıştır

Padişahım,

Arz-ı bende-i bi-mikdar oldur ki, şevketlu, kerametlu, mehabetlu, kudretlu veli-nimetim efendim, Cenab-ı tertib-saz-ı umur-ı alem celle en'âmehü ve amme hazretleri nesg-i ârâ-yı levazım ebbehettü ve tâcidâri nizam-ı ezfâ-yı merâsim-i saltanat ve şehriyari olan vücûd-ı serûşi vufûd-ı cihân bâri ve zât-ı kerûbi simât hüsvânilerin ile ebed tanzim-i ahvâl-i vülâtu umur ve tevcih ve ibkâ-yı ashâb-ı eyâlât ve suğûr ile rabita-bend-i saltanat ve kâmurâni ve revnak de ivân ve divân-ı Süleymani eyleye amin bin-nebiyyül emin.

şevketlu, kerametlu, mehabetlu, kudretlu veli-nimetim efendim, avn ve inayet-i bâri ve yümn-i himmet-i şehriyarileri ile İran hususlarına dair tertib ve tanzim olunan hâlâtda Bağdat valisi Ahmed Paşa bendeleri fil-cümle hizmetgüzâr ve hâlâ ikmâl ve tetmîm olmasına dahi dâmen ve dermeyân ibtidâr olmaktan nâşî lutf-i mülk-i allâm ile işler tamâm pezîrâ-yı hüsn-i hitâm oluncaya dek müşarun ileyhın olhavâlîde kalması ve demîdem iltifat ve inayet cihandârîlerine mazhariyet zımnında nevâziş buyrulması mekârim-i bî-mezâhim-i şâhânelerine şâyân olan ma'na olup ve Musul Valisi AbdülJalili-zade Hüseyin Paşa kulları dahi mukaddema Musul muhasarasında ve ol vakit düşmen mukabelesinde ibrâz-ı gayret ve hamiyet ve istihsâl-i merâzi padişahîlerinde bezl-i miknet eylediğine binâen ânın hakkında dahi mevâhib-i hüsvâneleri zahir ve hüveyd olmağla el-hâletü hâzihi Ahmed Paşa kullarına bâis-i nevâziş ve Hüseyin Paşa çâkerlerine dahi sebeb-i asâyiş olmak üzere Musul eyaleti sabıka Sivas valisi olan Selim Paşa çâkerlerine ve Kars eyâleti dahi Musul'dan munfasıl olacak müşarun ileyh Hüseyin Paşa bendelerine ve Amasya sancağı dahi bundan akdemce kendüye Kars eyaleti ihsan-ı hümayunları buyrulan Murteza Paşa memluklarına ita ve inayet buyrulmak hususları mübarek rikâb-ı kâm-ı-yâb-ı mülukânelerine arz ve istîzân olunduğuna binâen eyâlât ve sancağı merkûm ber-vech-i muharrer müşâr ve mûmâ ileyhim kullarına ihsân ve tevcih ve her birine iktizâ eyleyen evâmir-i cihân-muta'ları ba'de't-tahrîr mahallerine irsal ve tesyîr kılınmağla müsâade-i bâ-suâde-i tâcidarîleri erzânî ve câri buyrulur ise emr u fermân şevketlu, kerametlu, mehabetlu, kudretlu veli-nimetim efendim padişahım hazretlerinizdir.

Mühür

Appendix-7 Mukataas of Mosul and its sorroundings were taken by Ismail Pasha

İbnül Emin Maliye No: 121 Gömlek: 11515

Musul Beylerbeyisi elhac İsmail paşaya hükümki Musul eyaleti ve tevabii mukataasının 1139 senesinde 15 bin kuruş muaccele ile bervechi malikane sana tevcih olunmuş meblağ mezbur umuru Mühimmeye havale olunmak için beratı alışan verildiği hazinei amirem defterlerinde kayd olup ve senki mirimiranı mumaileyhsin halen İsfahan canibi seraskeri vezirim Ahmet Paşa'nın maiyetine memur tevaif askeriye için Musul eyaletinden marifetinle mübaya ve nakli fermanım olan zehir bahası için şimdiye değin ? irsal olunan akçeden maada Bir miktar akçe irsal iktiza almaktan naşi Musul Eyaleti muaccele akçesi olan 15 bin kuruş halen senin zimmetinde olup zimmetine verilen beratı alışanında tabi oltarafta vaki mesarife

Havale olmak için ?halen mübayasına memur olduğun zehir bahası ve nakliye ücreti için meblağı mezbur bu defa havale tahrir hükmü tarıkı için ? olmağın idi iş bu emri şerifi âlişân vusulunda memuriyeti mezburenin zimmetinde olan ol miktar muaccele akçeyi havale olunduğu için mübayasına memur olduğun zehir bahası ve nakliye ücreti için harc-u sarf etmek babında ferman-ı alışanım sadır olmağın mucibince emri şerifim tahriren

Fi 14 ramazan 1139

Appendix-8 Hüseyin Pasha's protection of pilgrimage caravans

Ali Emiri Tasnifi.III Mustafa No: 60 Gömlek: 4382

Sabıka Halep Valisi olup bu defa Musul eyaleti muceddeden kendüye tevcih olunan Abdülcelizade Vezir Hüseyin Paşa'ya hüküm ki Avatf-ı Seniyye-i Hüsvânemden Şeref bahş-ı sudûr olan Hatt-ı Hümayun mücibince eyaleti Musul 1171 senesi Şevvalinden eğerçe sana tevcîh ve ihsan olup ancak diğer emri şerifimde sana tenbih-i Şâhânem olduğu vech üzere karîben varacak sürr-i Hümayunumu ve saka başları ve sâir hüccac-ı müslimini Kethüdâ ki kûr u furuğundan? İstikbal ve hudûd-ı Halep'te âminen ve sâlimen imrârları hizmetlerini eda ve ikmal ettiğinden sonra târihî-i tevcîhen hulûlunda muktazâ-yı memiriyetin üzre Halep'ten hareket ve mansıbına azîmet eylemek için işbu emr-i şerifim isdar ve ile irsal olunmuştur. Mermerin olan mahallerin ahâlîlerin şiddet-i kaht u galâdan naşî ahâlî ve fukaranın tedârik-i erzak-ı yevmiyelerinde müptela oldukları zaruret ve mihnet re'yü'l-'ayn ma'lûmun oldukta kasabât ve Kurâya uğradıkça fukarâya rahm ü şevkat ve bu vakti uhrâya kıyas etmeyip etbâ' u levendâtum bir hoşça zapt ve sana iktizâ eden arpa ve saman ve olduğu vesair me'külâtım akçesyle alarak ve ve ashâbım irza (razı) ederek doğru yoldan seri'an ve 'acilen mansıbına varıp zapt u rapt-ı memlekete kıyam ve hıfz ü hirâset-i ahâlî ve ra'ıyyete tanzîm ve tersiye-i umur ve ruyete ihtimam ile fukârâ ve zu'afâ üzerlerine bast-ı cenâh-ı a'dl ü şevkat ve ref'i surûr-ı erbâb-ı şekâvet hususlarına mezid ihtimâm ve dikkat-i birle Te'min ve terfih-i ahâlî ve ra'ıyyete sarf u makdiret vesâ'ir evâmîr-i şerifemle 'uhde-i ihtimâmına ihâle kılınan umûr ve husûsların muktezâ-yı şer'e vukuf üzre tesviye ve temşiyetlerine mübâderet ve her halde me'âsir-i Hamîde ve mesâ'ibergüzin izhârına bezl-i cühd u meknet edip bir halde zulm ü te'addi eylemekten ve harâb-ı memlekete bâdî olur vaz' u etvârdan gâyete'l-gâye ittika ve ihtizâr eylemek bâbındafermân-ı 'Alîşân sâdır olmuştur.

Evasıt-ı Şaban 1171

Appendix-9 Document about conflicts between Jalili family

Cevdet Dahiliye. No: 104 Gömlek: 5195

[1. Belge]

[1] Benim sa'âdetlü mekremetlü mürüvvetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü karındaş-ı e'azz ve ekremim sultanım ağa-yı celîlü's-şân hazretleri

Abdülcelîl-zâdelerden sâbıkan Musul ve hâlâ Şehr-i zor Beylerbeyisi Emin Paşa nâm şahıs mansıb-ı Musul'u zihn-i sakîminde temellük ve katı vâfir azm-zâdeler misillü mal-ı müddehar cem' edüp ibâdullah ne mertebe mübtelâ-yı zulm ü gadri oldukları alimallahu Te'âlâ müstağnin ani't-ta'rîf bir hâlet-i garîbedir ve ahâlî-i Musul'da olan ulemâ ve sulehâ ve sâdât-ı kirâm ve sair vücûh-ı ehl-i ırz zelîl ve makhûr olup revâc-ı zulm ü ta'addî ve tehdîdini ikâ' için erâzil ve haşerât makûlesinin dahi esfeh ve eşirrelerinden bir cemm-i gafîr istishâb ve mansıbı Musul'a hîn-i nasbında haşerât-ı mezkûr ile ibâdullahı inzâr ve tahvîf ve azli hâlinde dahi vülât-ı sairenin hükûmetini ibtâl ve gûnâ-gûn hareket-i nâ-hem-vâr peydâ edüp hatta resîde-i sem-'i veliyyü'n-ni'amî oldukda belde-i Musulu vülât-ı âhar zaif olup âcizdir deyü ne kendüye verilmesine bâ'is olan bu hâlet paşa-yı merkûma mevrûs olup ve zulm ve hiyel âdet-i müstemirreleri olduğu cemî-'i ahvâl-i âleme âşinâ bâ'is-i nizâm ve asâyiş-i âlemiyân olan inâyetlü merhametlü kemâl-i âtîfet ve re'fetlü veliyyü'n-ni'am vefîrül-kerem efendimiz hazretlerinin muhât-ı ilm-i âlem-ârâ-yı veliyyü'n-ni'amâneleri olmakla Hak Te'âlâ celle şânühû ve amme nevâlühû hazretleri serîr-i sadr-ı âlîlerinde nice müddet daim ve kâ'im edüp vücûd-ı âlîleri kâffe-i ekdâr-ı suverî ve ma'nevîden masûn ve me'mûn eylemesiyle şehzâde-i nizâm-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'yi mü'eyyed ve müstahkem eylesün. Ahâlî-i fukarâyı himâyet ve sıyânet kasdıyla belde-i Musul'a zamân-ı devletlerinde bir kaç defa vâli-i âhar nasb ve tayin buyurup eğerçi kudret ve kuvveti mertebe her yerleri hakkında yine mezkûr tabî'at-ı asliyesi olan tekdîrden hâlî olmadığı müstağnin ani't-tahrîr bir emr-i bâhirül-burhândır. Bi-takdîri'llâhi Te'âlâ senâ-kârlarına tevcîh ve inâyet ve belde-i Musul'a mashûben bi's-selâme vüsûl ve cümle ulemâ ve sulehâ ve hânedân ve a'yân ve sair vücûh-ı ehl-i ırz sükkân-ı belde ile hüsn-i mu'âşeret ve fukarâ ve ibâdullâh haklarında bast-ı cenâh-ı himâyet olunup bi-hamdihî Te'âlâ envâ'-ı zehâir dahi vefret ve kesret üzere olup cemî-'i ahâlî-i fukarâ ve kibâr u sığâr müreffehül-bâl

âsûde-hâl kâr ü kisblerine iştigâl üzere oldukları paşa-yı merkûmun kurâ ve civarda vâki' belde-i Kerkük'de mesmû' ve ma'lûmu oldukda mansıb-ı Musul'u bu sûretde fî-mâ ba'd yedimden ihrâc olunur deyü halecân ve ıztırâb edüp müstashibi olan haşerâtı mütevâliyen tahrîk ve ifsâd ve Piyâde Tüfenkçibaşısı Ömer ile havass-ı etbâ'ından Ebu'l-Akves Mahmud ve Kara Ulus Ağa bin Benî Nâsır nâmına şekâvet-pîşeleri re's-i re'is-i eşkiyâ tayin ve ifrâz ilm-i şekâvete sevk ve kâ'ime-i veliyyü'n-ni'amîde zikr ve tafsîl olunduğu üzere el-fitnetü nâ'imetün le'ane'llâhu men-eykazahâ medlûlünce emvâl-i ibâdullahı gasb ve nehbe hâhişker olan haşerât dahi tâife-i eşkiyâya mülhak ve munzam olup âteş-i fitne alev-gîr ve iştidâd bulup ibâdullah pâ-zede ve perişân-hâl olacakları zâhir ve âşikâr oldukda tevfik-i Cenâb-ı Bârî'ye teveccühât-ı aliyye-i veliyyü'n-ni'amî berekâtıyla def'-i şer ve şurûrları zımında üzerlerine varılıp vech-i şer'î üzere cezâ-yı mâ-yelikleri tertîb ve semere-i enzâr-ı veliyyü'n-ni'amî ile bir müddetden beri bast ve tahrîr olunduğu üzere paşa-yı merkûmun tahrîk ve iğrâ ve istishâbı ile belde-i Musul'da ahâli-i fukarâya îsâl-i hasâret âdet-i müstemirreleri olan tâife-i haşerât ve eşkiyânın çirk-âb-ı vücûd-ı habâset-âlûdlarından zamân-ı devlet-i veliyyü'n-ni'amîde tathîr ve tanzîf olunup verilen nizâm-ı müstahsene hüccet-i şer'iyeye rabt ve sicill-i mahfûza ba'de'l-kayd ve bir sûreti dahi merfû'-ı pîş-gâh-ı veliyyü'n-ni'amî kılınıp hâin-i veliyyü'n-ni'met olan paşa-yı merkûmu te'dîb ve bu havâliden bir müddet tard ve teb'îd ve ashâb-ı hukûkun sâbit ve zâhir olan kıyâsdan efzûn hukûkları bu tarafda vekili ile ba'de'l-murâfa'a ve s-sübût cânib-i mîrîye teberru'an tahsîl ve sair zimmetinden zâhir ve müstakarr olan mâl-ı mîrî ve emvâl-i vakıf dahi cânib-i mîrî için tahsîl ve mal-ı müddehari ve cem' eylediği zehâ'ir-i mütenevvi'a ve emvâl-ı sâiresi ma'lûm-ı veliyyü'n-ni'amî olup sıdk-ı müdde'âmız ve merkûmun bî-had ve bî-kıyâs zulm ü ta'addîsi bâhir ve âşikâr olup malı aslına ircâ' ve saire ibret zımında mu'temed ve mü'temen ve kâr-ı âzmûde mücerrebü'l-etvâr bir kulları mübâşir tayin ve irsâl ve tahsîs ve tesyîr buyurulmak niyâzı kâ'ime-i ubûdiyyet-i dâime ile niyâz veistirhâm olunmağın ecir ve mûcib-i sa'âdet kasdı ile husûle mezîd-i himmetleri erzânî buyurulmak niyâzı kâ'ime-i hulûs-dâime terkîmine bâdî olmuştur. Bi-mennihî Te'âlâ lede's-şerefi'l-vüsûl bi'l-cümle tahrîrât-ı senâ-kârî sıdk-makâl olup paşa-yı merkûmun ahvâl ve keyfiyetinin ıyş ü işreti dahi ketb ve tahrîr olunmadığı Bağdad'a memur Sersilahşor-ı hazret-i şehriyârî sa'âdetlü Mahmud Bey senâ-kârlarının ve

belde-i Musul'a dahi işâret-i emr-i âlî-şânîyi tebliğ e memur Hüseyin Efendi kullarının meşhûd ve ma'lûmları olmakla takrîr ve tahrîrlerinden dahi hakikat-i hâl ve sıdk-ı müte'âl muhât-ı ilm-i veliyyü'n-ni'amî [2] olup ma'lûm-ı sa'âdetleri buyuruldukda ve bundan çend rûz mukaddem tatarımız kulları ve cânib-i beldeden terfîk olunan bendeleri vesâatları ile gönderilen i'lâm ve mahzar ve tahrirât-ı senâ-kârîde Musul ile Nusaybin beyninde darb-ı hıyâm edüp geşt ü güzâr eden haşerât-ı urbâna ahz etdirüp el-yevm adamlarımız ve üç bin guruşdan mütecâviz gönderilen akçe urbân yedinde olup merkûmun bu gûnâ hâlâta cesâreti dahi ma'lûm-ı sa'âdetleri buyuruldukda eyyâm-ı veliyyü'n-ni'amânede ahâlî-i Musul derd-mendâni zâlim-i mezbûrun pençe-i zulmünden rehâ-yâb olup bilâd-ı sâire ahâlileri misillü âsûde ve müsterîh olmalarıyla duâ-yı hayrları isticlâb ve iğtinâm buyurulup sıhhatte olan fukârâ-yı ahâliyi değil belde-i mezkûrede olan ervâh-ı hazerât-ı enbiyâ ve evliyâ kuddise esrâruhum ve nefe'ane'llâhu bi-şefâ'atihim hazerâtı dahi memnûn olacakları meczûm-ı ilm-i âlîleri buyurulup bu bâbda himmet-i aliyyeleri masrûf buyurulmak e'azz-i âmâl-i hâlisânemdir. Mürüvvet-kâr Sultanım hazretleri şevketlü kerâmetlü veliyyü'n-ni'am-i âlem efendimiz hazretlerinin ser-i sa'âdetleri hakkı ve inâyetlü merhametlü bâ'is-i nizâm ve râbita-i intizâm-ı âlemiyân olan veliyyü'n-ni'am vefîrû'l-kerem efendimiz hazretlerinin vücûd-ı âlîleri hürmeti için işâret-i emr-i âlî-şânını tebliğine memur Hüseyin Efendi kullarını huzûr-ı devletlerine ihzâr ve tastîr olunan keyfiyeti ve re'yü'l-ayn meşhûdu olan hâlâtı gereği gibi istifsâr ve Musul ahâlisi zu'afâsının zâlim-i mezkûrun pençe-i zulmüne ne mertebe giriftâr oldukları ve ma'âzallahi Te'âlâ bir defa dahi Musul'a destres olmak lâzım gelir ise evliyâ-yı ni'am efendimiz mazhar-ı inkisâr olacaklarından gayrı bir kaç bin nüfus zarûri hayflarından terk-i diyâr edüp atebe-i ulyâyâ rah-sûde-i ubûdiyyet ve ref'-i ref'a edecekleri takrîrinden dahi ma'lûm-ı devletleri buyuruldukda sultanım hazretlerini hayır-hâh-ı veliyyü'n-ni'amî ve sâdık-ı Devlet-i Aliyye ve sâhib-i hakkâniyet-i zât-ı şerîf-i nâdirü'l-vücûd olan zevât-ı kirâmdan addeylediğim dahi muhât-ı ilm-i âlîleri buyuruldukda bu husûsa tevcih-i sâmi'a buyurup hâin-i merkûmu te'dîb ile cümlelerin da'avât-ı hayriyyelerine iğtinâm ve mal-ı mevcûd ve müddeharı Hazîne-i Hümayûn'a vâsıl olmasına ecr-i cezîl olmak üzere sarf-ı himmet ve saire mûcib-i ibret eylemeleri bâbında ihsân ve mürüvvet sultanım hazretlerindir.

[2. Belge]

[1] Devletlü inâyetlü mürüvvetlü merhametlü âtîfetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü veliyyü'n-ni'am vefîrül-kerem âlî-yi himem efendim sultanım hazretleri devlet ü ikbâl ve inâyet ü iclâl ile sağ olsun. Arzuhâl-i kulları oldur ki bu def'a avâtıf-ı aliyye-i cenâb-ı cihân-dârîden inâyet ve ihsân buyurulan belde-i Musul'a mahsûben bi's-selâme vusûl-i kulları müteyessir olup bi'l-cümle ulemâ ve sulehâ ve hânedân ve a'yân ve sükkân-ı beldeden vücûh-ı ehl-i ırz bendeleri ile hüsn-i mu'âşeretimiz ve vedî'a-i cenâb-ı Sübhânî olan fukarâ-i ra'ıyyeti himâyet ve sıyânet ve kâffe-i zehâir dahi li'l-lahi'l-hamd ve'l-minne ve kesret üzere olup abd-i dîrîneleri ve bi'l-cümle sükkân-ı belde kulları devâm-ı ömr-i devlet-i hazret-i Padişâhî ve imtidâd-ı devlet ve ikbâl-i cenâb-ı veliyyü'n-na'imâneleri da'avâtı edâsına emâkin-i mübârekelerde an-samîmi'l-kalb iştiğâl üzere olup cemî'-i ibâdullah âsûde-hâl iken sâbıkan Musul ve hâlâ Şehr-i Zor Beylerbeyisi olan AbdülJalili-zâde Emin Paşa bir müddetden beri mansıb-ı Musul'a mutasarrıf olmağın hîn-i nasbında envâ'-ı mezâlim ihdâs ve hükûmete hod-re'yi ile aldığı emvâlin hırs ve tama'ı cây-gîr-i tabiatı olup nasbı hâlinde mezâlim ve iddihârına âlet ve hîn-i azlinde dahi vülât-ı sairenin ibtâl-i nüfûz ve hükûmetleri için istishâb eylediği haşerât ve süfehâyı tahrîk ve ifsâd ve Piyâde Tüfenkçibaşısı Ömer ile havâss-ı a'yândan Kara Ulus Ağası Nasır ve Ebu'l-Akus Mahmûd nâm habâset-i beliyyeleri re's-i reis-i eşkıya tayin ve sair tüfenkçi makûlesi erâzil ve haşerât hevâdârlarını terfîk ve tahsîs ve ifrâz-ı azm-i şekâvet etdirüp esvâk ve pazarda âlât-ı ceriha ile geşt ü güzâr ve dest-res oldukları hâne ve dükkânı nehb ü gârete ibtidâr ve kullarını dahi paşa-yı merkûmun irâde ve tavsiye ve tenbihi üzere ihâfe ve tebriye-i mansıba vesîle olur mülâhazası ile saray-ı bendegîye dahi hücum ve darb-ı dâne-i tüfenk ile tazyîk-i mer olduklarında eğerçi avn-i Hak'la tard ve teb'îd olduklarından sonra bi'd-defe'ât bu gûnâ habâset ve şekâvetten fâriğ olup bâğî silkine münselik olmaları bâbında gâh tahvîf ve îzâr ve gâh nush u pend oldukda bir dürlü kârlar olmadığı münfehim olmağın mücerred ser-i devletlerini tasdî'den ictinâb fikir ve mülâhazası ile keyfiyet ve ahvâlleri Vâli-i Bağdâd olan Vezîr-i mükerrerem sa'âdetlü Süleyman Paşa hazretlerine kurb ve civârda oldukları hasebiyle taraf-ı şer'den ve cânib-i bendegîden tahrîr ve ifâde oldukda muşârun-ileyh bendeleri taraflarından dahi bir kulları vesâtatı ile şekâvetten ferâgat eylemelerini

*hâvî bir kıt'a mufassal ve meşrûh buyruldukları vürûd ve mazmûnu tefhim oldukda mukayyed olmayıp sair gasb-ı emvâl-i ibâdullaha hâhişker olan haşerât dahi kendülere mülhak ve munzam olup paşa-yı merkûma dahi kurb ve civarda olmak hasebiyle tahrîk ve tergîbde gereği gibi mekîn ve musır olmağın âteş-i fitne alev-gîr ve şekâvette isrâr ve nice müddetden beri kâffe-i ibâdullahın kemâl-i intizâr ile muntazır oldukları şehzâde-i civân-baht, devlet ü ikbâl ile âlem-i mülkü teşerrüf buyrudukları beşâret-i uzmâsı bâbında sâdır olan emr-i âlî-şân ve emirnâme-i inâyet-nişân-ı uluvvü's-şânîyi tebliğe memur Hüseyin Efendi kulları vürûd eylediği rûz-ı hamîsde vâcibe-i zimmet-i abdiyyetim olduğu vecih üzere tevkîr-i vâlâ ile istikbâl olunup cümle ibâdullah dahi vürûduna müterakkıb ve intizâren esvâk ve pazarda alay temâşâsına meşguller iken taife-i haşerât cây-gîr-i zamîrleri olan emvâl-i ibâdullahı yağma ve gâret eylemek vakit ve fırsattır deyü taraf taraf yağmaya şurû' **[sol sütün]** eylediklerinde ve men' u def' kaydında olanların bazılarını mecrûh ve bir kaç nefer ümmet-i Muhammedi katl etmeleriyle kırâ'et-i emr-i âlî-şân için tertîb olunan divân-ı Musul'da mecrûhu'l-fuâd olan ibâdullah feryâd u figân ve tazallum ve istirhâm ederek ifâde-i hâl eylediklerinde hâlâ Musul kadısı ve müftüsü efendiler dâ'ileri ve sair hâzır bi'l-meclis olan ulemâ efendiler bendelerinden bu makûle nehb-i emvâl-i ibâd ve yağma edip sâ'î bi'l-fesâd olup ifrâz-ı ilm-i şekâvet eden bugât haklarında vech-i şer'îsi istintâk ve istiiftâ oldukda demleri heder olup ref'leri muktezî olduğunu nâtik sened-i şer'î ve fetevâ-yı şerîfe verilmeğın kethüdâmız kulları ve Musul a'yânından Abdülfettah Bey bendeleri kapumuz halkı ve tavâ'if-i askeriyeden kadr-i nân ve ni'met-i hazret-i cihân-dârîye murâ'ât eden ecnâd üzerlerine başbuğ nasb ve tayin ve şehzâde-i civân-baht efendimiz hazretlerinin kudûm-ı behcet-lüzûmların mukaddime-i tevfiik ve netice-i nusret add edüp müsta'inen-billah-i Te'âlâ tâife-i bugât üzerlerine hüçûm olundukda li'l-lahi'l-hamd ve'l-minne nesîm-i nusret-vezân ve kuvve-i nefsi-i hümayûn-ı mevhibet-makrûna tâb-âver olmayıp tavâ'if-i eşkiyâ makhûr ve münhezim olmalarıyla esnâ-yı muhârebede vâsıl-ı cezâ-yı sezâ olanlardan mâ'adâ ahz olunan şekâvet-pîşelerin dahi der-sâat cezâ-yı mâ-yelikleri tertîb ve bakiyyetü's-süiyûf olanlar dahi münhezimen firâr ve gaybet ve mezbûr Tüfenkçibaşı Ömer ve Ebu'l-Akus Mahmud ve Kara Ulus Ağa'yı paşa-yı merkûmun Musul'da hânesinde ikâmet üzere olan oğlu Süleyman Bey nâm haclenin hanesinde iki gün mikdârı ihtifâ ve ba'dehû mîr-i merkûm i'ânetiyle*

veliyü'n-ni'amîleri olan paşaya ilcâ ve i'ânet ve iltimâsı ile Badiye aşâiri urbânından ihtifâ etmeleriyle fî-mâ ba'd eğer zâhir olurlar ise der-sâat ahz ve haklarında lâzım gelen icrâ olunması ve onlardan mâ'adâ dahi bu makûle şekâvete cesaret eden olur ise ahz ve te'dîbi vülât tarafından idâre olundukda kimesne tesâhub ve mûmâna'at etmeyip cümleleri taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'den nasb ve tayin olunan vülâta itâat ve inkiyâd üzere olmaları hüccet-i şer'iyeye rabt ve sicill-i mahfûzaya ba'de'l-kayd hüccetin bir nüshası dahi irsâl-i hâk-pây-ı veliyü'n-ni'amâneleri kılınıp keyfiyet kibel-i şer'-i enverden dahi i'lâm birle ifâdeye mübâderet ve bir müddeden beri belde-i Musul'da ibâdullahı ızrâr eden taife-i haşerât semere-i enzâr-ı inâyet-âsâr-ı kerîmâneleri ile ahsen-i vech ve eshel-i tarîk ile def' u ref' ve zamân-ı devletlerinde çirk-âb-ı vücûd-ı habâset-âlûddan belde-i mezkûr tathîr ve tanzîf olundukdan sonra emr u ferman buyurulduđu üzere yedi gün ve yedi gece sûr-ı surûra kemâl-i inbisât ve şâd-mânî ile şurû' ve bilâ-kıyl ü kâl ferâğ-ı bâl ile icrâ-yı merâsim-i sûr olunup sûrî ve manevî hâsıl olan sürûr rütbe-i gencâşîden had merhale dûr olup ahâlî-i fukara bilâ-havf ü endîşe kâr ü kisblerine iştigâl ve devam-ı ömr-i devlet-i hazret-i Padişahî ile kıyâm-ı ferr ve haşmet-i veliyü'n-ni'amânelerine müdâvim ve muvâzabat ve müdâvim oldukları i'lâmı ve esas-ı fitne ve fesâd olup mezâlim ta'addîsi kıyas ve tarifden bîrûn olan paşa-yı merkûmun kemâl-i inâyetleri ile zamân-ı adâlet-unvânlarında bir müddet belde-i Musul'dan tard ve teb'îd olunup lâyıkı üzere te'dîb olunması istirhamı hâssaten kâ'ime-i ubûdiyyet-i daime terkimine vesîle-i ihtiyârım olup [isim yazılmamış] kulları rû-mâlî-i ma'âlî-devletlerine ba's ve tesyîr olunmuşdur. Bi-mennihî Te'âlâ paşa-yı merkûm nân ve ni'met-i padişahî ile muğtenim olup ve eyyâm-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'de nükûd ve eşya ve emlâk ve akarı kıyâsdan efzûn ve servet ü yesârı hadden bîrûn iken ni'met-i Devlet-i Aliyye'ye adem-i mürâ'ât ve ibâdullahı envâ'-ı mezâlim ve ta'addîye cesarete ve taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'den nasb olunan vülât kullarının her birlerini birer gûne tezlîl ve tedkîr ve **muktezih** etmek âdet-i müstemirresi olduğundan gayrı bu def'a cesaret edip tahrîk eylediği fitne ve fesaddan ibadullâh kemâl-i mertebe **âzürde** ve **????** ve rencîde ve müteessir olduklarından mâ'adâ ma'âzallahi Te'âlâ bir defa dahi Musul'a dest-res olur ise sizler def'-i fitneye sa'y ü ikdâm eylersiniz deyü bir kaç bin nüfus iyâl ve oğlan ve **????** ve etfâlleriyle büyük otak edecekleri ve bu gûne hakikat-i hâli ifâdeye cesaretim inâyetlü veliyü'n-ni'am efendim hazretleri

*hakkâniyet sahibi kân-ı merhamet olduğuna binâ'en paşa-yı merkûma Devlet-i Aliyye'de sâhib olan şahısdan inâyetlerine i'timâden havf ve haşyet ber-taraf olduğuna binâ'en ictisâr olunup kâffe-i umûr ale'l-husûs bu havâlinin hâl ve keyfiyeti yegân-yegân alâ vechi's-sihha ma'lûm-ı devletleri [2] olduğu mazbut ve meczûm-ı bendegî olduğundan nâşî ibtidâr olunduğu muhât-ı ilm-i âlem-ârâ-yı veliyyü'n-ni 'amâneleri buyurulup ümidvâr-ı kerem ve inâyetleri olduğum karîn-i ilm-i **mûş-gâf ve âfet-ittisâfları** buyuruldukda bu bâbda inâyet-i aliyyeleri bî-dirîğ buyurulup abd-i direm-i harîdelerinin ve bi'l-cümle Musul ahâlisi zu'afâsı derd-mendânı kullarının da'avât-ı hayriyye-i acizânelerimiz isticlâb ve gönderilen nizâm hücceti mahalline kayd ve bakiye-i suyûf olup firar eden tâife-i bugât zuhûr eylediklerinde ahz ve ma'rifet-i şer'le cezâ-yı mâ-yelikleri tertîb ve nizâm-ı mezkûr düstûru'l-amel olması bâbında emr-i âlî-şân inâyet ve ihsân ve bu fezâhate cesâret eden paşa-yı merkûm bu havâliden teb'îd ve bundan akdem merfû'-ı pîş-gâh-ı veliyyü'n-ni 'amâneleri kılındığı üzere ashâb-ı hukûk ile vekili murâfa'a ve zimmetinde zuhûr eden hukûk-ı emvâl-i vakıf ve mal-ı mîrîden zimmetinde zuhûr eden mebâliğ-i vâfire bu tarafda mevcûd olan nükûd ve müddehar zehâir-i vâfire ve mal ve eşyasından tahsil ve kabz ile memura teslîm olunmak üzere ber-mukaddem ve kâr-ı azmûde kulları mübâşir tayin ve tesyîr olunup kapu kethudamız kullarının hakkımda niyâz-mend olduğu umûr-ı âcizâneme müsâ'ade-i aliyyeleri mebzûl buyurulup bende-i devâm-cûy-ı hâlisü'l-hayâlimizi hâkden ref' ve Musul ahâlisi derd-mendânı kulları müceddeden ihyâ buyurulup paşa-yı merkûmun mal ve eşya ve nükûd ve zehairinden katı vâfir mebâliğ hâsıl olacağı ilme'l-yakîn ma'lûm-ı âlileri buyuruldukda ol-bâbda emr u ferman devletlü inâyetlü merhametlü âtîfetlü mürüvvetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü veliyyü'n-ni 'am vefîrû'l-kerem âlî himem amîmü'n-nevâl efendim sultanım hazretlerindedir.*

[Üçüncü Belge]

Şeri'at-şi'âr hâlâ Musul Kadısı fazîletlü efendi ve belde-i mezkûrede me'zûn bi'l-iftâ fahrü'l-müderrişîn umdetü'l-ulemâi'l-muhakkikîn Seyyid Yahya Efendi zîde fazluhümâ ve sair ulemâ ve eşrâf ve a'yân-ı vilâyet ve hutebâ ve sulehâ ve alaybeyi ve zü'amâ ve erbâb-ı tımar ve ocak ağaları ve ağayân-ı sergerdengeçtiyân ve yeniçeri ihtiyarları ve zâbitân ve alemdârân ve sair iş erleri inhâ olunur ki; hâlâ Musul valisi olan vezîr-i âlî-şân hazretleri melikiyyü'l-hisâl marziyyü'l-ef'âl ve

mahmûdü'l-ahvâl bir vezîr-i celîlü's-şân olup ve belde-i mezkûreye sâye-endâz-ı teşrîf-i iclâl buyurdıkları günden bu âna gelince ahâleden ferd-i vâhîde hilâf-ı şer-'i şerîf ve muğâyir-i kanûn vaz' ve hâletleri ve bir dürlü zulm ve ta'addîleri olmayup ferd-i aferîde kendilerden ve etbâ' ve ta'allukâtlarından rencîde ve âzürde olmamağla min-küllî'l-vücûh itâ'at ve inkıyâdları cümleye lâzım ve mütehattim iken bu esnâda tahrîk ve iğvâ ile bazı erâzil ve süfehâ ve esâfil meslûb-ı inhâ tarîk-i bağı ve isyâna sülûk ve kendilere bir miktar eşkıya ve sefilleyi uydurup cem'iyet ve bilâ-mûcib saray-ı sa'âdetlerine âlât-ı harb ile hücûm ve bu makûle fezâhât ve şekâvete tecâsür ettikleri tarafımıza inhâ olunmakla keyfiyyet-i merkûmeden istiğrâb olunmuştur erâzil-i mezkûrenin bu gûne hareketleri hurûc-ale's-Sultan kabîlinden olup heder-i demâlarına mûcib bir hâlet olmakla ahz u katl ve te'dîb ve tenkilleri umûr-ı şer'iyeden olduğundan kat'-ı nazar vezîr-i muşârun-ileyh hazretleriyle kemâl-i muhâlasat ve ittihâdımız hasebiyle i'ânet ve müzâharetleri lâzıme-i zimmetimiz olup gerek piyâde ve süvari asker ile gerek âhar vücûh ile i'ânetine tarafımızdan kıyâm ve ihtimâm olunmak vâcibe-i uhde-i sadâkatimiz olmak hasebiyle bu defa i'ânetleri için tarafımızdan asker irsâli tashîh olunup lâkin sizler öteden beri tarafımıza müte'allık olduğunuz ecilden haknen li'd-dimâ' şimdilik de husûs-ı mezkûr te'hîr ve fitne-i mezkûrede ser-i cem'iyet ve re's ve reis-i fesâd olan hâlâ Şehr-i Zor Mutasarrıfı olan Emin Paşa'nın Tüfenkçibaşısı Ömer ve Odabaşı Hacı Ali ve Ebu'l-Akkûs nâm eşhâs mîr-i mîrân-ı mûmâ-ileyh tarafına celb olunmak üzere mûmâ-ileyhe bu defa tarafımızdan mü'ekked tahrîr ve tenbîh olunmakla imdi fî-mâ ba'd bu misillü fezâhât ve şekâvetten keff-i yed olunup vezîr-i muşârun-ileyh hazretlerinin itâ'at ve inkıyâdı husûsuna dikkat ve o makûle cem'iyet ve şekâvet ve fezâhatten ferâgat ve mücânebet olunur ise fehüve'l-matlûb ve illâ vezîr-i muşârun-ileyh hazretlerinin i'ânet ve müzâhereti için asker gönderilip ehl-i fesâd ve erbâb-ı şekâvet birer birer aranıp haklarından gelinip cezâları tertîb olunmak meczûm ve pek iktizâ eder ise bi'n-nefs kendimiz dahi belde-i mezkûreyi erbâb-ı şekâvetten tathîr için bi-avnihi Te'âlâ ol tarafa gelip o makûle müfsidleri hazy ve nekâl ile ibreten-li'l-gayr tenkîl ve tedmîr edeceğimiz emr-i mütehattim ve bundan başka şekâvet-i mezkûreye cesaret eden süfehâ yeniçerilik iddiâsında olmalarıyla o makûle fezâhat ve fesâd ve cem'iyetleri tarafımızdan cânib-i Devlet-i Aliyye'ye tahrîr ve i'lâm olunup bi'l-cümle nân paraları ref' ve bi'l-küllîye Musul'da yeniçerilik itibârı ibtâl olunacağı

cümlesinin alâ-vechi't-tahkîk ma'lûmları olup ana göre ırzlarıyla hareket edip mûcib-i nedâmet olur fesâd ve şekâvetten keff-i yed ve ferâğat eylemeleri bâbında men enzara fekad a'zara ve kad ensafe men hazzera siyâkında buyuruldu tahrîr ve ısdâr ve Enderûn ağamızdan Ahmed Ağa ile irsâl olunmuşdur. Vüsûlünde ma'lûmunuz oldukda vezîr-i müşârun-ileyh hazretleri tekdîr ve tasdî'den be-gâyet ihtirâz ve mücânebet eyleyip her vechile tahsîl-i rızâ-yı müşîrânelerine mezîd-i dikkat ve ihtimâm ve mûcib-i buyuruldu amel ve hareket ve hilâfından tevakkî ve hazer eylesin deyü buyuruldu.

Fi 15 Receb sene 1175 [9 Şubat 1762].

[4. Belge]

Devletlü mürüvvetlü atûfetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü cezîlü'l-himem efendim Sultanım hazretleri melcâ-yı hâcet-mendân olan hâk-pây-ı âlîlerine mezîd-i ta'zîm ve tekrîm ve nihâyet-i tebcîl ve tefhîm birle rû-yı ubûdiyyet sûde kılınıp lâzime-i uhde-i bendegânem olan istidâne-i eyyâm-ı ömr-i devletleri da'avâtı an-samîmi'l-bâl edâ ve ikmâl kılındığı siyâkında ma'rûz-ı devam-cûy-ı hâlisü'l-cinân-ı müstedîmleri oldur ki:

Devletlü mürüvvetlü saadetlü atûfetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü cezîlü'l-himem efendim sultanım hazretleri bâ-emr-i âlî-şân memur olduğum Bağdad-ı behîşt-âbâda müteveccih ve rûy-ı râh-ı azîmet edüp bi-hamdihî Sübhânehû ve Te'âlâ mashûben bi's-selâme belde-i Musul'a vusûl müyesser olup bi'l-cümle ulemâ ve sulehâ ve sâdât-ı kirâm ve vücûh-ı ehl-i ırz ahâlî-i belde dâ'îlerinin iltimâs ve ve istid'âlarıyla hasbe'l-iktizâ çend rûz meks ve ikâmet ve mevâki'a vâki' olan nusret ve sürûrun akîbine tesâdüf edip eyyâm-ı devlet-i hazret-i veliyyü'n-ni'amda belde-i mezkûre bir müddeden beri dest-i tetâvül-i haşerât ve tagallüb-i eşkıyânın vücûd-ı habâset-âlûdları bazen izâle ve bazen firâr ve her ne sûretle belde-i mezkûr çirk-âb-ı eşkıyâdan tathîr ve tanzîf ve müceddeden nizâm-ı mergûbeye bâ-hüccet-i şer'iyye rabt olunmağın ahâlîsi dâ'îleri umûmen devâm-ı ömr-i devlet-i veliyyü'n-ni'amî da'avâtı edâsıyla sâniha-güzâr oldukları inhâsı ve atebe-i aliyyeye gönderilen i'lâm ve mahzar-ı hakikat-me'âl-i mâ-sadak hâlleri olmağın mes'ullerine müsâ'ade-i veliyyü'n-ni'amî masrûf buyurulmak mûcib-i ecr-i cezîl olduğu ifâdesi cümlelerin ale'l-

ittifâk istid'â ve istirhâmlarına binâ'en tahrîr ve tastîre vesîle-i ihtirâm olmuştur. İnşâallahu Te'âlâ i'lâm ve mahzar mezâmîni karîn-i ilm-i veliyyü'n-ni'amî buyuruldukda muharriki dahi hakkında irâde-i aliyye ne vechile sünûh eder ise ol vechile icrâya mübâderet cümleinin da'avât-ı hayriyyeleri isticlâbına bâ'is ve bâdî olacağı dahi karîn-i ilm-i müşkâf-ı mürüvvet-ittisâfları buyurulup inâyet ve keremlerine ittikâ'en li-vechi'llâh hakikat-i hâl ifâdesine ictirâ ve sadâkatim ibrâz olduğu dahi ma'lûm-ı devletleri buyuruldukda ol bâbda emr u fermân devletlü mürüvvetlü atûfetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü cezîlü'l-himem efendim sultanım hazretlerindir.

bende

el-Hâc Mahmûd

Ser-silâhşor-i Hâssa

[Belgenin arkası]

Bi-mennihi Te'âlâ hâlâ kethudâ-yı âlî-şân-ı hazret-i sadrazamî devletlü inâyetlü mürüvvetlü atûfetlü mezîd-i re'fetlü cezîlü'l-himem efendim sultanım hazretlerinin hâk-pây-ı âlilerine.

Appendix-10 Document of endowment's report
Şura-yı Devlet Evrakı Dosya No: 2149, Gömlek : 33

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineleridir ki,

Dahiliye dairesinin ifadesi üzerine şeref-tastîr ve tesyîr buyrulan 4 numaralı ve fi 7 S (1)292 tarihli emir-name-i samicenab-ı sadaret-penâhîlerinde Musul valisi esbak AbdülJalili-zade müteveffa Hüseyin Paşaya ba-malikane-i hümayun temlîk ve ihsan buyrularak müşarun ileyh tarafından vakf edilmiş olan Karakuş karyesi hasılatı ne makule şeyler olup mikdarı neden ibaret bulunduğunun ve ber-muceb-i vakfiye kimlere aid olduğunun bi't-tahkîk inhası ve vakfiye suret-i musaddakasının irsali emr ve işar buyrulmuş ve keyfiyet Musul mutasarrıflığından ledel isti'lâm bu kere cevaben varid olan mazbata izahât-ı matlubeyi cami' olmağla melfufu olan mazbata ve vakıfname suretleriyle beraber pîş-gâh-ı feyz iktinâh-ı cenab-ı sadaret-penâhîlerine luzüm-ı takdimi meclis-i idare-i vilayetten bâ-i'lâm ifade ve mezkur mazbata mârul-beyân melfufatıyla beraber leffen takdim ve itâre? olunmuş olmağla ol babda emr u ferman hazret-i men lehul emrindir. 7 Receb 1292

Reis-i ordu ve Vekil-i Vali-i vilayet

Appendix-11 The Genealogies of Jalili Family

