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**THE ROLE OF ENDOWMENT ARCHITECTURE IN QURMANLI ERA IN
THE PERIOD 1711-1835**

MASTER THESIS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Turks seizure on Libya at the beginning of the second half of the sixteen century, resulted to the entrance of Libya under administrative, political, cultural, architectural and technical effects and entered Libya into new historical frame continued since the arrival of Turks troops until the fall of the administration, power and Ottoman influence in the beginning of twentieth century.

The Ottoman period in Libya which continued 360 years can be classified into three main periods which include:

1. The first Ottoman period: 1551-1711.
2. Alqurmanli Period 1711-1835.
3. The second Ottoman period 1835-1911.

Libya at the first and second Ottoman period was subjected directly to the Turks Ottoman and Ottoman administration judge. So, the Ottoman poverence was sent to Tripoli from Istanbul. While, libya is independent almost completely from the Ottoman state through Qurmanli family period but each Qurmanli Pasha must have the satisfaction and agreement of Ottoman state when he assumed his position. Thus, he must get the royal firman. Despite the independence behavior of Qurmanli rulers but they were eager to establish the bridges of good relations with Ottoman sultans. As well as, the administrative system of Ottoman Turkish had far-reaching effects on the political life in Libya and many of them had negative results. So, the administrative system in the Ottoman empire led by Sultan in Istanbul and Pasha which he sent to the Ottoman state as a representative to the Sultan in all the legal and the operational issues and represents the head of the management in the state. As well as, the political and administrative stability of Ottoman state depends on the character, skill and potential of both Pasha (the head of administration), Alpi (Alainkshary forces commander) and Alday (the head of adults Diwan). Truth to be

told, some Pasha were able to keep the peace, system, security and imposing obedience and commands on the Alainkshary forces in addition to the parish. These rulers who had these characteristics are Drghout, Mohammed, Osman Alsaqzle and Mohammed Imam with greying eye from the first Ottoman period and from the Alqurmanlih period Ahmed, Ali, and Yousef. While, from the second Ottoman period we can mention Ali Ahkur, Mohammad Amin, Ahmed Ezzat, Ali Reza, Ahmed Rasim, Taher Pasha, and Rashid Pasha. However, most of the rest of the rulers were busy by enriched themselves which resulted of an increase the poverty of the country, the country's poor economic conditions, the emergence of restiveness between citizens, the disobedience between Alainkshary members and the revolutions of local tribes. What is important at this study is that the different architectural and political impacts emerged at the country at the second Qurmanli period and especially the technical and architectural production.

It is well known that the only political changes are not considered as a reason in the changes and technical and architectural phenomenon. Nevertheless, the changes depend on many other factors which include the architectural and technical heritage to any society and any region of the geographical regions and the existence or the lack of technical and architectural traditions with local originality and the degree of progress civilization to any group of human and in any country. As for Libya, because of geographical and climatic reasons, it is considered a nonarable place to make the technical and architectural innovations and its society to maintain the technical and architectural heritage. Thus, the Libyan architectural and technical heritage vogue and unclear to a high degree. As we will explain later, the architectural and technical traditions before the coming of Turks and especially before the Qurmanli period was a local reflection of Fatimid, Almoravid, Almohad and Hafsia. In order to give a clear image about that period, Libya at the last four centuries witnessed mix of artistic traditions and effects which come from the Islamic Maghreb countries and Turkey and any study to these topics is necessary to be sorted out in terms of events and facts. The vary in the technical and architectural traditions before and after the coming of Turks to Libya is undefined obvious where the clear differences are in the way of roofing and the planning of mosques. The

previous periods of Turks enter into Turkey, some mosques are characterized by flat wooden roofs and another of them have been roofed by semi curved or intersected semi curved. While, most of the mosques which were established in the Ottoman and Qurmanli periods (dated and can be dated) have been roofed by domes, this used method in the roofing became the feature of Libyan mosques in all the coastal regions and especially in Tripoli and the close cities to it.

Due to the fact that the administrative system in Libya was reflecting the administrative system in Istanbul, the architectural and technical product which in its role reflecting the tradition of Turkish and Ottoman. In other words, the habits of Ottoman Sultans, their family members and their senior officials establish mosques and different regional and architectural institutions. The buildings at that time were rich at the decoration which refer to the development and civilization. It is obvious that the representative of the Sultan and their senior entourage in the administrative system at the Ottoman remote states have walked on the same administrative, social, technical and architectural path. During our study to the architectural elements of the Libyan mosque at this period, it is clear that the mosques and the huge architectural institutions have been established by the governors, Dayat, Aghat, Khojat, and other members of the Diwan. Moreover, most of these regional and civilian buildings have been established in Tripoli and its suburbs. It is the heavy weight of the administrative, financial and political center and the headquarters of both Ottoman Pasha and his aides.

In this study, we faced an important problem. It is the existence of group of mosques and other regional buildings which is not dated and the lack of knowledge to be attributed to specific Ottoman period hinder us on composing a comprehensive classification and then hinders us on understanding the development of the architect of the Libyan mosque in the Ottoman period. Moreover, because of the lackness of documented data which can be depended in terms of the Islamic architect in Libya., we led to a basic problem in addition to that and even to a short period, the artistic and the Islamic architecture have not been studied comprehensively by Libyan or foreign specialized elements. However, some articles have been published about the most famous mosques including Murad Agha mosque, Ahmed Qurmanli and

Mustafa Gurgi mosque. The engineer Gasperi Misana, in turn, have not included too much in writing the Islamic architecture in Libya of mosques and other dated and non-dated regional buildings. Thus, the lack of many of different buildings in his book and analysis to a set of limited information about the architecture of the Libyan mosque make its study highly non-dated. At the same time, the analysis results is not reliable and the omission or negligence of the development of the Libyan mosques without addressed arrive its owner to inaccurate and improperly results. For being a Libyan and Arabic citizen, all of that was a help to me in my study and being able to understand a lot of things about the architecture of the Libyan mosques.

1.1 Hypothesis

Based on the above in the research introduction, this hypothesis has been forward (does the religious architecture role in the cultural, technical, scientific and political recreation?) and the answer on this hypothesis will be clarified during my thesis.

1.2 Research Problem

The necessity of existing technical, art reference about the decorations and glass that overview the development of this profession in the Libyan community at that period.

1.3 Research Goals

1. Collecting the largest amount of information and documents about the mosques and religious schools that work currently and unfortunately there were high number of schools and mosques that removed and became an impact and especially in Tripoli such as Sayala Mosque which has historical importance in Libya at that time. Libya witnessed modern architectural construction in all of the fields and especially in re-designing the villages and cities at that time. Unfortunately, at present time and with beginning of 17 February revolution, the old mosques have been destroyed which constructed in the Ottoman period and destructed by some religious extremists including Ahmed Pasha Mosque which has the greatest importance in my thesis.
2. This study follows how the Libyan mosques and schools developed which characterize the great architectural views.

3. We will follow the origins of these mosques and they have constructed and the decorations modes at these mosques.
4. Highlighting the scientific, cultural, political and technical role of the religious architecture by highlighting Ahmed Pasha mosque.
5. Due to that I am a researcher, I hope that this thesis will be historical reference which benefit the researchers at this field.

1.4 The Importance of Research

We will try to clarify the adequate amount of light on prosperity and progress in the Islamic architecture during the judge of Qurmanli family in Libya.

1.5 Methodology of the Research

We will depend on our study on the narrative, historical and analytical approach.

1.6 Research Difficulties

We think that we will face the difficulty of finding the references and resources that associated with this study at current time which will be the scientific base according to the historical research methods.

1.7 Research Structure

My thesis contains four chapters which will be classified as follow:

Chapter one contains introduction about the judge of the Qurmanli family in Libya through a long period of time and the events accompanied to this judge.

Chapter two discusses the role of Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli and his accomplishments during his judge time. Also, it discusses the leaders who followed him and the events that happened during their judge time.

Chapter three discusses the architectural and urban sides of the mosques and Islamic arts that spread at the Qurmanli era.

Chapter four contains the conclusion of our study.

CHAPTER 2

QURMANLI FAMILY

(1711-1835)

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Libya has passed in radical changes in its political and administrative devices and the Alqurmanliyn from the Kuloghli who is descended from a Turkish father and always from Alainkshary and Arabic mother. The Arabic trips have considered them as citizens¹. The pollution of coastal and Arabic trips inside were more ready to accept the Alqurmanliyn. This corporation ties are increased when Ahmed Pasha composed his military squad of Cav from the local trips (Bergna, pp.258). However, there are revolutions made in the face of Alqurmanliyn and such as these revolutions are always happened when the Pasha is unable to control the Alainkshary forces and when he assumes new taxes or increase the annual taxes on the products and farmers. As well as, sometimes there are revolutions happen against the Alqurmanliyn from national concept against the existence of Turkish forces and Ottoman administration despite the close relationships between the citizens and Alqurmanliyn judges.

The administrative system that prevailed at the first Ottoman period (1551-1711) has continued the same with drastic changes in terms of Diwan, caste and Alainkshary forces². However, there are some new administrative innovations which was made by Yousef Pasha (1795-1832) which include that he appointed two of his closest followers, one of them in the office of chief minister and the other in the position of foreign minister and these two functions became so important and effected in the governance of the state³. According to that, if these are positive steps, there were unsuccessful steps where the appointment of Yousef Pasha into his sons and relatives as heads of the provincials brought to him the problems and caused in

¹ Fayrood, (1967), "*Annales*", pp. 375.

² Ali Omar Ismail, (1960), "*The Collapse of Qurmanli Judgement*", pp. 163.

³ Mahmood Nagy, (1962), "*West Tripoli*", pp. 143-144.

decreasing the taxes and annual income to the government and this is not necessary means that his relatives were not faithful and their existence in the capital in most of the times and their left to their positions and sending their deputies have effected on the efficiency and the safety of collecting the taxes⁴.

Generally, Qurmanli period is considered prosperity and progress and Libya became in better political and economic situation as compared with the first Ottoman period. The achievements which been made by Libya at the Qurmanli period in the field of culture, artistic and architecture have reached into advanced and high level especially in Ahmed Qurmanli (1711-1745) and Ali Pasha (1745-1793) periods and each one of them have encouraged the agriculture and the marine activities. Ali Pasha have encouraged too much the Christian and Jewish traders to settle in Tripoli who were busy in the trade especially with Malta and monopolized the trade completely and controlled it in the period of Yousef Pasha (1795-1832). Political stability and marine profitable activities have continued at the first period of the reign of Yousef Pasha⁵. However, at the last stage of this reign the matters have turn very bad and diseases have rampant including the plague disease with bad financial and economic and the monopoly of trade by foreign traders. Also, the most painful and hurtful thing to the economics of the state is in the last period of Yousef Pasha Qurmanli which is the reducing of the shape activities which were generating profit to the state by the European countries and prevent the trade of slaves which taken by these countries at the conferences that held in this regard in 1819⁶. One of the things which increased the economic collapse in the reign of Yousef Pasha is the problem of reimbursement the debts of France and English that have accumulated on this state⁷. As well as, conflict between Yousef Pasha sons on power was indirect factor to the internal revolts by the citizens and the rebels have succeeded in cutting the trade road and control it between cities, villages and Libyan coastal harbor and

⁴ **Azeez Samih, (1989)**, "The Ottoman Turks in North Africa", pp. 167-177.

⁵ **Ali Omar Ismail, (1960)**, "*The Collapse of Qurmanli Judgement*", pp. 182-191.

⁶ **Bergana, (1669)**, "*Tripoli from 1510-1850*", pp. 300-301.

⁷ **Fayrood, (1967)**, "Annales", pp. 586.

between the desert African countries. This its turn led to a deterioration in the trade between Libya and European countries. At the last period of Yousef Pasha rule, the machine of chaos and economic collapse have reached into the peaked where the currency have decreased eleventh time in the period between 1829 to 1832⁸. The Ottoman empire was closely monitoring the developments at this state and placed planes to restore the control on this state fearing to be seized by one of the European countries and the French occupation on Algeria in 1830 is a justification of these fears. As well as, in a dramatic movement the Ottoman Fleet has been sent under the leadership of (Alcabaudin Pasha) which arrived to Tripoli and with him 6 thousand of Alainkshary forces under the leadership of Najeeb Pasha that arrested Ali Pasha who is the son of Yousef Pasha and his successor at the judge in 28 of Water Month (May) 1835 and put an end to the Qurmanli regime⁹. Najeeb Pasha has appointed as a judge on the state and so Libya comeback again to the direct Ottoman judge that continued until 1911.

In the terms of architecture and artistic, the period of stability and prosperity experienced by Libya has reflected on the construction of many civilian and regional buildings and a group of palaces in the old city and its suburbs. The steady growth in a number of foreign traders has led to the construction of many mosques and architectural buildings in all the country especially in Tripoli and its suburbs and of these mosques are Alaguib, Almaazi, son of a doctor, Mohammed Vlmenk Amora, Alkatib and Albacol Angle which been established by the citizens in the Riyanah town. In addition to these dated buildings and that can be dated, there are another group of buildings and mosques which dating to this period which are Ahmed Qurmanli mosque, his school and tomb. As well as, Mustafa Gurgi mosque and peripherals. These two masterpieces of artistic and Islamic architecture in Libya are contributed in refreshing the Libyan society and gave the impression that Alqurmnliyn were the protectors and patrons of the religion, art and architecture¹⁰.

⁸ **Azeez Samih, (1989), "The Ottoman Turks in North Africa", pp. 123.**

⁹ **Azeez Samih, (1989), "The Ottoman Turks in North Africa", pp. 188-189.**

¹⁰ **Ibn Ghalboun, (1967), "Annales", pp. 193.**

2.1 Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli

At the time which Libya were at the status of flux and turmoil where the people are indignant on their judges and the soldiers controlling on the reins of the country and the local partisans are fighting each other in order to reach the judge and enjoy its pleasures but the east of 28 July 1711 where the people are expressed their will by choosing Ahmed Qurmanli as a ruler on the country.

Ahmed Qurmanli was born in Tripoli city and the origin of his family from Kurmanbek city in the Anatolia. The founder of this family who is Mustafa Qurmanli came to Tripoli and settled and married from one of their women's and give birth to many boys and of them were Mahmood Yousef's father and he has married and got a child named him Ahmed¹¹. Yousef joined the Ottoman army and he could access into the rank of commander of Mansheya region which bringing the star of this family and raised its position in the society. However, his days are not overlooking because he died in the prime of his youth. After his death, his widow has married to haji Yusuf who carrying Bik nickname in the reign of Shayib Aleayn. Ahmed has moved with his family to the house of haji Yousef who has the task of nurturing in the best way. When he grew, Ahmed has joined the Ottoman army and he could in the benefit of his character and ambition to reach the position that occupied by his father and later he puts in charge of the leadership of Mansheya region. The country at this time is passing the most critical periods and the fighting has intensified between the partnerships but Ahmed has not been a party at this fighting and he stood on the sidelines which gave him the love of the people and their trust, they took pin the hopes of ridding the country from the chaos and disorder. In 1711, the ruler of the city was Mahmoud Eboumoas who has occupied Khazandar function at the reign of Mohammed bin gin. Then he managed to kill Mohammed bin gin in 1711 and announce himself as a judge on the country this judger (Wali) feared the influence of Ahmed Qurmanli and monitor all of his steps and finally he decided to get rid of him

¹¹ **Mohamed Khalil Ben Ghalbon**, *"The memorial of the king of Tripoli and its news"*, pp. 190.

in order to rest of his danger. The events of this period as mentioned by son of Ghalboun, he says¹², when Mahmmod Abo Amis killed Ibin Gin and took his place and have been pledged allegiance of grudge, he found at the king of faithful and he wanted him to be killed and he sent him to Garyan in order to be killed by the soldiers who were there. People at the Diwan who are the heads of the soldiers, general soldiers and citizens sending him to come in order to pay allegiance. So, he came on Tuesday in 1123 and entered the market and pay allegiance and there is no one differed in the oath of allegiance of the two towns of Mansheya, coastal, Diwan's people and the city due to their knowledge by his validity of what imitated to him without the other. " Ahmed Qurmanli has received the judgement of the country in critical situations. So, he had to work quickly in order to prove the pillars of his rule and this work speed was requiring firstly and before everything, the recognition of Ottoman sultan as a judge on the country because this recognition is considered the basic condition in the successful of his rule.

2.1.1 The Events That Led Ahmed Pasha to the Judgement of the Country

Mohammed Ibin Gin was Cologlia and his power has been doubled after the victim who had achieved in Tajura. So, he wanted to get rid of Ibrahim Dai by taking the help from the elders of coastal and Mansheya. Thus, he besieged him in the city 16 days and at the feast day (1711), the people have opened the doors of the city and Ibrahim Dai has been banished to Alexandria and Ismail Khoja who he is the head of Kharouba mosque been placed instead of him. Ismail Khoja has been appointed according to a sign came from Mohammed Ibin Gin. It is necessary that he was a weak man without weight and Mohammed Ibin Gin wanted to choose him in order to be a tool in his hand behave as he pleases.

The new Dai worked through the years 1710-1711. It should be seen that the judge of Tripoli has been ended completely to Mohammed Ibin Gin who had the solution, connectivity and appointment as he wants and what his whims dictates. Haj

¹² **Mohamed Khalil Ben Ghalbon**, "*The memorial of the king of Tripoli and its news*", pp. 191

Regeb has stayed few periods in the position of Dai. In June, Ibin Gin took this position and gave the leadership of the army to Almahmod Abe Ames who is one of the Diwan officers. The last one has sought to grab the reins of the judge in 4 of July and killed treacherously Mohammed Ibin Gin and announce himself a ruler on the country. Thus, there are four Dai's have been succeeded on the judge in four months who are Ismail, Regeb, Moahmmmed and Mahmod. It is the time to appear a power hand put the matter in redress and resotre order in Tripoli even if it is a heavy price from the massacres. At this time, the character of Ahmed Qurmanli has appeared on the surface.

2.1.2 His Position from the Ottoman Empire

Ahmed Qurmanli tried to get this decree but Khalil Pasha was faster than him to get it. Khalil Pasha was ruler on Tripoli. In 1710 Ibrahim and his colleague Mohammed made a revolution. So, Khalil Pasha run away to Egypt and from there to succession house and he could convince the sultan that the people of Tripoli are ready to receive him as a liberator and that the revolution which happened against him despite of its successful at the first but it but it faces strong opposition from the local people. Thus, the sultan has responded to his request and issued a decree to return him back to Tripoli state. Ahmed Qurmanli prevented him to enter Tripoli. So, he resorted western to Zawarah and from there take gunning to occupy the city of Tripoli and Ahmed Qurmanli went out to face him and the two armies have met in Misrata city and the battle finished in the victory of Ahmed Qurmanli and Khalil Pasha has been killed in August 1711.

Ahmed Qurmanli saw that it is the time to get the decree of judgment from the sultan. So, he sent a delegation of dignitaries to Constantinople loaded with gifts and asked the delegation to explain the status of the country and the reasons that made Ahmed Qurmanli rules the country and then try to justify the killing of Khalil Pasha which he said about him that he has a victim of to the hatred of the region population to him. As well as, he recommended them to make every effort and making the sultan approve him as a judger on the country.

It appears that the sultan has not convinced about what this delegation said where in 28 July 1712, Mohammed Pasha who famous of “Janim Khojah” has arrived who assigned by the sultan to investigate about the killing of Khalil Pasha. Ahmed Qurmanli showed him the readiness to collaborate with him in order to perform his task which assigned to him. However, in fact Ahmed Qurmanli has hampered his mission which enforced him to go back to where he came from without getting any result. Ahmed Alnaeib talking us about the fails of Janim Khojah task and he said¹³:

“in Sunday 26th of July 1712, Mohammed Pasha famous of “Janim Khojah” came to investigate about the killing of Khalil Pasha and stand on the truth of the issues. Ahmed Qurmanli received him by more of take care and in veneration and honoring as it should. Mohammed Pasha has clung in the investigations and he could not reach the truths because Ahmed Qurmanli take care of him to prevent people to meet with him and has not gotten true answer”. However, this novel differs from Mikaki where he says¹⁴:

“In 28 July in 1712 Mohammed Pasha famous of “Janim Khojah” arrived into Tripoli and he was the head of captains and he said that he holds a command from the sultan to take over the government and said that a Turkish fleet is ready to soil from Constantinople in its way to Tripoli if he found any opposition. So, Qurmanli said to him that he is subject to the commands of the sultan”.

If we compared between these two texts, we can notice the following observations:

It is reasonable that sultan sending who trust to investigate the facts and stand on the people opinions in their new ruler before the sultan can take the decision to appoint him and the era that Ahmed Alnaeib is lived closer to the era of Ahmed Qurmanli than the era of Mikaki. Finally, it is not reasonable that Mohammed Pasha can come without any strong forces in order to protect him and ask Ahmed Qurmanli to waive the rule at this simplicity at the time that Mohammed Pasha knows that Ahmed Qurmanli has been killed Khalil Pasha and defeated the Ottoman forces in order to stay at the judge.

¹³ Ahmed Alnaeib, in history of Tripoli, pp. 300.

¹⁴ Rodolfo Mikaki, West of Tripoli under the rule of Qurmanli family, pp. 16.

From these observations, we can find that the novel of Ahmed Alnaeib is more accurate than the novel of Mikaki. Mohammed Pasha has been failed of what he has mandated. So, the sultan has found himself in front of the de facto as he was always. So, he recognized him as a ruler and gave him the nickname of “Beklerbeki” which means the prince of princes. Thus, he guaranties the satisfaction of the sultan and arrive to achieve his goals which he has drawn to himself and his relationships has continued quite with Ottoman empire until his death.

2.1.3 The Interior and Foreign Policy of Ahmed Qurmanli

The year of 1711 was the year of storm events for Tripoli and the judge beginning of Qurmanli family. At the beginning of twentieth century, the rulers (Dayat) of west Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria started the open power struggle against the Alinkisharya and head of the piracy boats. So, the rulers (Dayat) who has received the power started to behave in the provinces as they are on independent lands and started the independent holding with the European governments. This is way the European governments called on Tripoli, Algeria and Tunis the names of principedom and kingdoms and called their judgers as Sultans. At the same time, and in front of the risks of the European countries, the rulers (Dayat) have not stopped their relationships completely with the Ottoman state where they try to extract the grape the recognize from the high door and get the nickname of Pasha. From time to time, Istanbul was interfering to solve the local conflicts and impose its representatives on the rulers (Dayat). However, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the rulers of west Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria have come out to obey the rules of the high door completely. In 1705, the family of Ali Hussein has been founded and its rule continued until 1956 and since 1710, the rulers (Dayat) system has been founded in Algeria who they were elected directly through the Diwan and they were note sent by the high door while the access of Qurmanli family to the judge has been created by the following factors:

Over the 200 years of the Turks judge, in the city of Tripoli the class of Alqulughlia who they were configured an important group of people and occupying

an excellence center and looking forward to the judge. Most of these people live in the town of Almanshia in Tripoli and in the coastal region. They differ from the pirates where they are closer to the benefit of local people which they are associated to them by the ties of the visit despite that they are considered at the eyes of the local people as strangers. Alqulughlia were working in the agriculture and trade in addition to that they were perform the military service that it is moved to them by the heredity where they were in place of each military service related with special privileges for example, the exemption to pay the taxes. The second factor that helped the rulers of west Tripoli to the transformation into independent kings is the economic decline of the Ottoman empire. The style of Alinkisharya who played an important role at the Turkish army has changed and its number is decreased and this was an important condition to the defeat of Turkey in its wars at the second half of the seventeenth century with Austria, Venice and Russia. The interior military weakness and the backwardness of the Ottoman empire led to stop the rulers of Africa from recognizing the authority of the sultan accept from the formal sense and stop paying pensions and taxes and stopped to put the fighters under the behave of Istanbul. So, the high door has completely sunk in its interior and foreign problems at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, he recognized the reach of Alqulughlia to the judge in west Tripoli. The third factor is extracted that the assortment of Alinkisharya has weakness itself in type and number because of rivalries and internal conflicts among themselves. All of this made Alqulughlia to looking forward the power where the starting of the judge of Mohammed ibin Gin, there is organized a broad campaign to dislodge the Turkish employees from the power. According to what the modern Ibn Galbon says to Ahmed Qurmanli, the era of Turks judge has been finished in 1710 and the era of Alqulughlia has been started¹⁵. Ahmed the founder of the family was at that period supports Mohammed Ibin Gin who was running the wars against the Turks. The personnel character and social status of Ahmed Pasha played an important role in establishing the Qurmanli family and promote it. The grandfather father of Ahmed Qurmanli who born in Anatolia Turkey

¹⁵ Ibn Ghalboon, (1967), "*Annales*", pp. 102-110.

was serving at the boats of Admiral as a carpenter. After he collected enough fortune according to many trips of piracy he accessed to Tripoli in the number of the first batch of Alinkisharya during the judge of Murad Agha in Tripoli. Then, he married a woman from one family in Tripoli. Whereas, Yousef Ahmed's father who is the optimal representative of Alqulughlia, started his service in at the sectors specialized to the interior security. Also, Ahmed walked on his father steps and entered the army and enrolled at the same troupe which was being headed by his father. The ambitious boy quickly lives up in the runways of success and achieved his dream in occupying the positions that occupied by his father. About the situation of authoritarian self of Alinkisharya, the troupe of Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli which consisted of only Alqulughlia no one else started gaining the calming factor not only in the town but in all Tripoli. Also, that path that Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli walked on which is represented by standing on the neutrality and non-interference in the conflict happening between the different categories of Alqulughlia has helped him and increased his popularity. His logistic operations hiding invisible another face which is waiting until get the suitable opportunity when the conflicting authorities weakness and he can enter the conflict battle on the authority. Mohammed Abwamis concerns have erupted because the growing vitality of Ahmed Qurmanli who was regaining the sympathy of Tripoli population. So, he tricked him in order to kill him and get rid from him and summoned him to go to the ruler of Gharyan in special mission and helping the ruler on subdue rebellious tribes there. Ahmed Qurmanli suspected about it and opened the message immediately when he received it. At that time, Ahmed Qurmanli realized that it is the time to go to work to the attack and by asking the help from his followers of Alqulughlia, feudal landlords, local populations and the enemies of the ruler (Aldai) and chaired uprising of Mansheya populations and coastal where Alqulughlia represented the majority between them. As a result, the Tripoli city has been encirclement and Ahmed Qurmanli at that time had many followers and they opened the gates for him. When Mohammed Abwamis feel the high revenge he hugged himself in the castle. Initially, Ahmed Qurmanli he took the position of chief army and Ahmed Makni has been chosen as a ruler (Dai). In the occasion of permanent exchange to the rulers in Tripoli, Khalil Pasha who took the

judge in 1710 has gotten from the Sultan on a decree to be appointed as the ruler on west Tripoli. He succeeded in persuading the Sultan in backing from the population of the city and that he will be received at the country as a liberator. Later, he organized naval fleet holds 800 fighters and moved to Tripoli. However, at the first days of August 1711 and when the fleet of Khalil Pasha peered to Tripoli was not allowed to down to the coast only to the messenger of the Sultan Ibrahim and the commander of the campaign and the court (Diwan) who held in the presence of the ruler (Dai) and the commander of the army and the heads a decision that refuse the acceptance of Khalil Pasha as a vice of the Sultan. As well as, the royal envoy was briefed on this decision. So, Khalil Pasha could not do anything except to leave Tripoli and the fleet moved along the coast and the armed force dropped near of Zawarah where Khalil Pasha in the benefit of the bribe could guaranty the support of some trips. Soldiers crept from Zawarah walking on the feet toward Tripoli while the navy ships have surrounded the city from the sea after stabled in the city harbor. Ahmed Qurmanli has stopped Khalil Pasha's army by his army which consisting of Alqulughlia and the forced troupes have joined him by the populations of the close cities of Tripoli. The decisive battle took place near of Sabratah in 25 August 1711. As a result, to the long-term clashes, the army of Khalil Pasha has broken and Khalil Pasha has been killed. When Ahmed Pasha has achieved this victory he quick to support its results and for this end he has equipped a delegation to Istanbul consisted from the notables of Tripoli and provided it with gifts to the Sultan. The tasks of the delegation included to the decision that Ahmed will be the deputy of the Sultan in west Tripoli and inform the Sultan to the difficult situations in the country and explain the reasons that prompted Ahmed Pasha to transfer the power to his hands. As well as, the task of the delegation is to justify the killing of Khalil Pasha in the battle as a result to the hatred of the population to him. In addition to the appointed delegation, Ahmed Qurmanli supported his gifts by an official paper from different levels of the country asked him to appoint Ahmed Qurmanli as the official representative in west Tripoli. Ahmed Qurmanli has contrived treacherous and bold plan to eradicate his opponents both among Turks of Alinkisharya or from who doubted of their loyalty. According to this plan he invited 300 of Turks to one of his

houses outside the city at the Mansheya on the occasion of his inauguration as the leader of soldiers. In accordance to the arrival of the guests they were received and killed at the long of the narrow embankment lead to the great hall in the home. At the same time, he started to chase publicly in the city for the Turks Alinkisharya who serving them everywhere. After the fortune of the victim has been collected by Ahmed Qurmanli he provided them as a gift to the Sultan who accepted them at every desire and at this way he paved the way to the judge.

Either, get ride from the head of Alinkisharya who were the owners of the plots and the reason of permanent tyranny and turmoil at the city was a positive fact have been met positively from the population. In 28 of July 1712 and under the pretext of death of Khalil Pasha came to Tripoli Mohammed Pasha who famous of Janim Khojah. While in fact, he sent by the Sultan to investigate the situation at the town and the possibility of appointing Ahmed Pasha as a judger for west Tripoli. (AS we stated before) when the messenger of the Sultan arrived, the gifts have been provided to him and created to him the possibility of communicating with population of the city. In order to explain the reason of killing of Khalil Pasha, Admiral has brought to his ship the representative of different populations of Tripoli including the adverse of the judgment of Ahmed Qurmanli. some of them has been executed when they came back to the coast and the others took out of the city. Extreme brutality with the representative of the opposition has left great impact on the other opponents who they were not dare to stand in his face and they avoid later to communicate with the admiral. As happened more than once through the mutual relationships between the high door and the judgers of west Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria, Sultan must be confirmed the effective authority of Ahmed Qurmanli in Tripoli. However, the formal appointment of Ahmed Qurmanli in the position judger of the Sultan and what subsequent the independences of titles of BaylarBay and Pasha it does not happen until March 1722. After Ahmed Qurmanli has achieved his important victory he started to seek step by step to achieve the separation from the high door and consolidate his absolute power on the state.

After obtaining the title of Pasha from the Sultan, Ahmed Qurmanli departed to promote his power inside the country before everything. Through 34 years of his

judge in the state he had to extinguish more than 20 uprising and conspiracy. As well as, according to many efforts he ended in the reality to establish an independent feudal state which does not recognize only formally to the high power of Turkish Sultan. Also, he divided the country into regions and each one of them has been judged by a leader appoint by him. At the era of the new ruler the army and fleet have been reorganized. So, the results of that Alinkisharya has been lost their importance as a military force. Since then, Alqulughlia were the depends on the Alqulughlia family and the heart of its army. While, the other members of Alqulughlia have been reorganized and their members have been redistributed on different military squad and garrisons. As well as, Ahmed Qurmanli has been organized celebrations band subordinate to his own palace and was famous of its extraordinary appearance.

Ahmed Qurmanli gave a high importance to the religion affairs where he was look after the administrational power all of their habitat according to the basis of law. On the occasion of this he has reopened the religious courts which been cancelled at the Alinkisharya age. In addition, he has opened religious courts in the places free of them. Through his period Mourabitoun has witnessed special reverence and they were highly effecting on the event happening in the country. The tyranny of the Alinkisharya in the previous years has been emptied the save of the government in west Tripoli. So, Ahmed Qurmanli had difficult task which is the development of sources of income in order to spending on the military force that represents the pillar of his system. The convoy trade with Central Africa is the first source of income in the past but it is faded from the urban status because Fazan as in the reality outside the Ottoman empire power because of the judges (Dais) and the chaos prevailed the interior of the country and Ahmed Qurmanli has considered his task which cannot be postponed to guaranty to the safety of convoys roads that extended from the south of the country to its coasts on the Mediterranean Sea. This is what it means to subject the trips of Fazan and the interior regions from west Tripoli. Confirming the system in the ways of convoys led to activate the trade and the revival of crafts in Tripoli. Where the adoption of security inside the country and impose the taxes triggered a series of uprisings and their reasons that Alinkisharya did not accepted to loss their

benefits in the issues of supervising the judder of the country. They were appointed at all of their strength to struggle the inflame on the power. As well as, the urban and nomads' populations stood against adopting the decision of military despotism system associated to strengthen the administrative power and increase the fatigue of the tax system. Where in 1713 Ahmed Qurmanli has to eliminate the moves in Tajorah and Tarhona in Maslata in order to place his power in the surrounding areas to Tripoli. He had not finished from eliminating the insurgents when the revolution ignited in Maslata. The movement has taken significant dimensions and the dangerous of the situation enforced him to get up by himself on the head of his armies to suppress the movement. The revenge was so seriously where the houses of the rebellious have been burned, crops have been destroyed and livestock have been confiscated and this was followed by a number of plots by the local leaders but all of them have been revealed. Ahmed Qurmanli tried to make relations with the free Arabic tribes and keep their privileged conservative status but when they betrayed him he went down by a severe ruthless. In 1715 Ahmed Qurmanli at the revolution of sons and Khalifa and sons of Naser he exterminated the areas located south-east areas of Tripoli. In the trip of sons and Khalifa he killed 600 nomadic and the children, elderly and women have suffered from this events. Rebellion swept a large areas of the country. (Refik A., pp. 126-136). Ali sons of Abed Alnaby claimed as he is prophet and started his activity in Nafosa mountain against Ahmed Qurmanli and Arabic tribes have joined him and his followers were looting and killing who fight them and refuse the to join to the rebellion which still extending until included firstly the kimam valley southeast of Mizdah then Nafosa mountain. The supported of Alnaby went to Green Mountain in Birka where they announced the revolution and collecting army from the representative of different tribes and the populations of the urban regions and the decision made to march to Tripoli and seizing of it. As well as, new persons have started to join them and seized on to big convoy moving from Awjlah to Tripoli carrying levy funds collected in the Burka. Ahmed Qurmanli got up at the head of his dedicated armies and he did not wait his enemy on the outskirts of Tripoli but he came out to meet him outside of the city and the battle started in the region of Sert. The army of Abo Kilh of different colors with inability to stand for

withstand a blow pawns of Ahmed Qurmanli that good of organizing and training. Then, it is not difficult to Ahmed Qurmanli to eliminate the spots of disobedience that distributed in different regions of the country and quickly he came to back to Tripoli to rise the flags of victory. In 1716 he went to Fazan to confirm his absolute power on the leader of that region who declined to pay the levy. During 10 days he reached to Marzoq but he came back when he knew the occurrence of disorders in it. At his way, he followed by the messengers of Fazan's judges and they confirmed to him their loyalty and they promised him to pay the levy imposed upon them. At fall of 1718, there is new campaign has been organized against Fazan because he did not present the enough respecting towards Tripoli and the attempt to occupy Marzoq has been failed and the military campaign started by destroying the population centers and the surrounding tights of the nomads in order to make them obey to the authorities of Tripoli. The most damaged city at this campaign is the city of Al Qatrun which is well known by its agricultural lands. In 1718 and after the death of Mohammed Naser, his son and the inheritor of his thrown implemented all of the obligations to Ahmed Qurmanli. However, the judge if the Sultan has not enough by this. In 1831, the sons of Ahmed Qurmanli Mahmood and Mohammed have presided over the military campaign. Ahmed Naser has afraid from the military operations and he asked the reconciliation committed to pay the levy on a regular basis and the compensation expenses that have been spent on the campaign. In the response to the request of the clemency, Ahmed Qurmanli responded to the involvement of larger troops to Fazan headed by Hasan Alahmar and he entrusted to him by subjecting the region permanently.

Ahmed Naser that defeated with his son have been brought into Tripoli and when they were showcased in front of the Council (Diwan) who was invited to the convening, Ahmed Qurmanli conduct offensive to the Ahmed Naser where he sold him in two metal Dhs to his son Mohammed and asked him to get back him to Fazan and enforce him to judge by his name there. Regeb Ahmed Ibin Mustafa escorted Ahmed Naser on the way back and one of his tasks to destroy the walls of the castle of Marzoq (Basset R.. pp.31).

The unrest prevailed in Burka where the revolution following the other and the clashes never stopping between tribes and the security is not stable in the ways of convoys. In 1719, Ahmed Qurmanli appointed his brother Haji Shaban as a ruler to Burka and supported him by an army under the leadership of Ibrahim Alteryaqi and Ali Ibin Khalil and the tasks of these two Alqulughlia in Banghazi region and Derna is to extent the tranquility and calm there. Then, they declared the disobedience on Haji Shaban and dislodged him from the judge and Ibrahim Alteryaqi became the new ruler to Burka but he did stop by the tyranny in the authority but his aspirations tend to far beyond that. He wanted to be the judger on the whole country attempted by different types of seers who instigated him based on the exceptions of stars. So, decided to move towards Tripoli and with the movement of the army towards the city, different tribes of nomads have joined him. When they approached the Misurata persuaded them of its people and looted government warehouses and got the gunpowder and bullets from the palace of Ahmed. The rebellious have met with Ahmed Qurmanli soldiers near to Tajorah and started pitched battle and many rebellious have been killed in front of Ibrahim Alteryaqi and he fled to Egypt (Hassan Ibrahim, pp. 257-259).

The adventures of Ganim Khojah has configured a great danger on the rule of Ahmed Qurmanli. Since 1712 the representative of the Sultan in the case of investigation in killing of Khalil Pasha he decided to stay in Burka by the risk and then to move from there to Tripoli. However, these plans have not achieved because he quickly summoned to Istanbul. In 1714 he appointed as an Admiral to the Turkish fleet but he sacked from his position after three years because of his adventures and banished to Candia where he could grape five ships and shipped by more than 400 of Muslim adventurers and head them to go to the coasts of west Tripoli. In 1720, he seized Banghazi under the claim that he is the appointed judger from the authority of the Sublime Porte he sacked the population and snatch their money and crops and then he could seize some cities above the Tripoli coastal. The adventures of Ganim Khojah has enforced the Sublime Porte on taking the necessary procedures to isolate him in spite of that he was received a recognition from the leaders of many Green Mountains tribes. While, in Tripoli the sign has been reached from Istanbul by

killing Ganim Khojah and sending his head to the capital. At the same time, the instructions have been come to Tunis that the ruler (Dai) must provide the suppliers to Tripoli when needed to eliminate that adventurer. The forces that been sent by Ahmed Qurmanli to Sert in 1721 enforced Ganim Khojah to hurry up the shipment of his wealth and move with his supporters to Tunis where he tried again at the same year to seize on the west part of west Tripoli to start crawling to Tripoli. When he down his forces in Zawarah he did not find any endorsement from the population who were depended on their help despite any new trying to seize Tripoli¹⁶.

In 1721, a conspiracy has been hatched against Ahmed Qurmanli headed by Ibn Alrais who is one of the nearest people to the ruler and Hji Shaban has joined him but the trying to kill Ahmed Qurmanli has not succeeded. So, Haji Shaban has been killed and Ibn Alrais flee to Mahameed trip. In 1722, this tribe with Ibn Alrais sabotaging the region of Sert. Ibrahsim who is the new leader of the army eliminated him and as a result the herds of armed insurgents have been destroyed and the ruler of the tribes enforced to hand over Ibn Alrais who brought to Tripoli and executed. The successes of Ahmed Qurmanli in eliminating the disorders and conspiracies does not explain only his power but it explains and before everything the need of the country to him which is sank in the conflicts to peace and security.

By strengthen his authority inside the country and securing the safety of convoys movements above of their lands, Ahmed Qurmanli has given more importance to revive the glories of the Tripoli fleet and its greatness. That fleet which was the base of his system, strength and the protector of the country from the sea side. Ahmed Qurmanli was needing to more money to carry the responsibility of spending on the continuous military campaigns towards the entrances of the country and fulfill the increased requirements to army. The piracy was one of the basic income to the country at that period. Ahmed Qurmanli was often summoned the foreigners' specialists to Tripoli in order to helping the local sailors to master the navy art and building the ships. Soon, the number of ships have been increased which were not just able to protect the country waters that close from the coastal and to do a job that bring profits. At the end of the 20's, Ahmed Qurmanli announced

¹⁶ Ismail Kmalli, 1968, pp. 203-210.

himself as the protectors of the pirates where these are paying to him one-third of the spoils in order to guaranty the shelter and provide them the requirements that needed by their ships. The announcement of the pirates' protection was mean from the practical point the announcement of the war on the European ships which committed those the owners of the ships to pay money to the state of Tripoli in order to guaranty the safety of the nave trade at Tripoli coasts and the important role of the national fleet was limited in the protection of Tripoli against any attack from the European piracies. The existence of the national fleet, the protection of the pirates and the resources of the trade through the desert have increased the prestige of Tripoli judger and helped him on supporting his power inside the country and the independent of the country of other countries. During the era of Ahmed Qurmanli, the Arabic language has been announced as the official language in the state and the representative of the Arab Barber population came to ranks of the army despite that the preference in the ranks of the army, fleet and management were for Alqulughlia and he got from the Sublime Porte on the agreement on making the authority in the state of west Tripoli is formal after him. Since that time, the name of Ahmed Qurmanli became mentioning in the official correspondence and in the mosque sermons not just a vice of the Sultan but as an independent judger and Prince of Faithful. As for Ottoman Empire, Ahmed Qurmanli was applying double policy. On one hand, he was considering himself independent and he had representatives in the European countries to hold the agreement without asking the agreement from the Sublime Porte and it happened many times when he was refusing the mediation of the Sublime Porte to hold peace with this country or that in the cases that these operations harm his conciliators. For example, in 23 of October 1723 the representative of the Sultan reached to Tripoli and hold an order to hold a peaceful with the Emperor of Austria and the Republic of Venice and Ahmed Qurmanli looked to the order of the sultan that it is intervene in the interior affairs and refuse to execute it. From another hand, Ahmed Qurmanli was aware that he is without the protection of the Ottoman Empire he will not be able on both terms of internal and external affairs to reach to adoption to the situation in the country and be able to continue as a ruler on Tripoli. So, the support of the Ottoman Empire was helping

him to establish relations with the other European countries and it is the reason that made him always recognize the authority of the Ottoman Empire. The Friday sermons were all the mosques associated to the name of the Sultan who judge in Istanbul and the name of that king is engraved in the currency that spent in Tripoli. The relations of Ahmed Qurmanli with France was complicated where France was the first European country where the empire has provided many gifts since the era of Sultan Suleiman. These privileges laid the foundation to the foreign privileges system in the Ottoman Empire. So, France is given the privileges of the consular right and exempt its nationals from the taxes and place specific customs fees. Later, the foreign privileges systems have turned into obligations gaining treaties dye. These obligations that found their reflective in the peaceful agreement in 1740 which imposed on west Tripoli by France since 1685 where the French consular who directed to Tripoli supervising the strict regulation of the foreign privileges system. However, the peace regulation with France suffered more than once to violation and cassation during the Alinkisharya control. In the beginning of his judge, Ahmed Qurmanli because of his needs to money is looking at some leniency to the pirates works.

As well as, Ahmed Qurmanli was looking to something of likes to France and was seeking from his side in everything that has to establish peace relations with it. However, the work of pirates who they were often went out the discipline and doing raids on the French commercial ships which led many times to breach the peaceful agreements.

2.1.4 His Attitudes From The Interior Revolts

The activities of Ahmed Qurmanli was not limited to get rid of interesting to get the decree from the Sultan but he was working on stabling the pillars of his judge inside the country through cleared the country of a large number of Alinkisharya leader who had doubted their loyalty and they were a reason about what happened to the country from chaos and disorder. He has drawn a bold plan to get rid of these

leader by inviting them to a party hosted in his dacha in the occasion of his appointment as a judge on the country and when all of them have come he gave the agreed sign to the faithful of his soldiers and they attack them and killed all of them. As well as, he could eliminate all of the disobedience and rebel movements that appeared against him both in the cities affiliated to Tripoli, Fazan and Burka. The most dangerous of these movements or revolts which been made by Abdullah bin Abdul Nabi aka "Api Hematoma" (as we stated before) in 1715 and many tribes joined him from the tribes of the West Mountain in Tripoli. The revolutions have widened until included the valleys of Kamkum southwest of Mizdah and his followers moved to the Green Mountain in Burka to spread his invitation there. When he came back from Burka to Tripoli, the army of Ahmed Qurmanli which was led him according to the danger situation of this revolution and the quick of its spread and this meeting was in Sirte and the battle ended in the victory of Ahmed Qurmanli and the flee of Abdullah bin Abdul Nabi leaving his followers meeting their terrible end. The stranger that the people who claimed themselves as the profit, no one of them have the power to turn into devil encroach on trustees and disgraced symptoms in meanness and abjection.

So, Ibni Ghalboon talking us about Abdullah bin Abdul Nabi and says¹⁷:

“The year of 1127 where Abdullah bin Abdul Nabi took off his allegiance of the faithful and joined him all the spoilers in the mountains and Kamkum valleys and who want the corruption from the coast and take the money of the national, looting them, took the sons of Naser, enchant their women and killed about sixteen persons from the sons of Khalifa”. When Ahmed Pasha has eliminated these revolutions, he confirmed the pillars of his rule and to focus his effort on building the glory of his young state. So, he took care of internal and external trade and built many hotels for the convenience of the traders and distribute the security throughout the country. So, the traders reassured on their lives and money and the city of Tripoli and Benghazi became and according to that the forum of the traders from different countries. Also, the growth of the trade led to the flourish of the local industry and the manufacturer

¹⁷ Mohamed Khalil Ben Ghalbon, “*Survey*”, pp. 201.

found the raw materials that necessary to their industry. As well as, they could sell their industry in the internal markets and export them to the foreign markets. Due to that the fleet is the column of his power, he gave it all of his interest and brought the experts in the sailing and ships buildings from some European countries in order to train his sailors on the arts of sailing and ships fixing. When he ensured from the power of his fleet, he able to dictate his will on the European countries which were taken from the Mediterranean a place to their commercial activities and they were hurrying to provide the gifts and pay the annual royalties to gain his satisfaction and achieve the safety of their ships from the attack of the Libyan fleet. Furthermore, he was able to make the country its international character and its own place where it had many of the envoys in the capitals of the European countries and all of his life he was considering himself independent from the Ottoman Empire even in the fact he was following it. On one hand, he was seeking by all the means to get the decree of inauguration from the Sultan to support his judge between his people. In another hand, we find him hold treaties and agreements with the European countries directly without getting the permission of the Sultan and we find him sometimes does not accept his mediation in making peace with these countries if he feels that his interest in the other¹⁸.

Thus, Ahmed Pasha has given his life and everything that he owns even his eyesight in order to building the glory of his state and when he felt that he is unable to manage his state and according to lose his eyesight he conducted the matter of the state to his son Mohammed. Since his character was refusing to be in the place of kindness and compassion from who had imposed upon them the will of this high self he preferred the death on the life and he feared himself from his gun and dead and that was in 4 November 1745¹⁹. After his death, the people have sworn allegiance to his son Muhammad as a ruler of the country, replacing of his father.

¹⁸ Rodrigo Mikalai, (1961), "*west Tripoli under the judge of Qurmanli family*", Cairo, pp. 37.

¹⁹ Toly Ritchard, 1957: 50.

2.1.5 The piracy and the relation between the Christian countries and Constantinople

It was necessary that Ahmed Pasha needs a lot of money to extent the livelihood to his followers and the obligation of the large frequent campaigns. The only mean to provide the fortune at that time was the piracy and Ahmed Pasha left the freedom to the ships chief to behave even against the ships of the big countries which between them there are friendship obligations and commercial exchange. Despite his knowledge to the necessity that he should not provoke the major countries and push them to take actions against him. Thus, the pirates who belong to Tripoli state in 1713 sized on a ship loaded of oils and came to Tripoli in the next year captain Duquesne and got on suitable gratification. This captain was the son of the great Admiral Duquesne and Ahmed Pasha to show his good feelings and intension towards France, he sent a delegation holds gifts to the king of France consisting of horses, ostriches and gazelles²⁰.

In 1720 on the bases of the agreement assigned in 1685 and we should notice the article xxv that which is serving that Christian fathers and who envoys from who sent from the consignment whatever the countries who they belong. The nationals of France king they are included by his protection and not to be harassed in their characters, properties and churches²¹. The good agreed relations have disturbed where in 1720 there is a ship belong to Marseilles has been looted and the negotiations are lingered in order to the settlement of the incident and this stall has pushed France to send a warship in 1725 led by Major De Mons and in July 1728 led by admiral Grandpre and the last one during the days 20-26 July bombed the city and most recent seriously damages. As well as, he travelled before Tripoli decide to accept the agreement. So, there is no peace agreement has been signed and Tripoli has returned back the seized ships and they paid compensation and asked for pardon from the king of France. In 1731, when there is a troupe belonging to the king of

²⁰ Fayrood, (1964), "*The Relationships between France and Triploli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century*", pp. 222-223.

²¹ Rawad Di Card, 255.

France passing from Tripoli, Marquis Danten D. Antin came down in Tripoli and made discussions with Ahmed Pasha about implementing the agreement after the raid on the city. In 1716 England confirmed the provisions of the agreement in 1667 and sent the admiral Cavendish in 1730 to confirm the provision of the previous agreement. As well as, Netherlands is highly interested to preserve good relations with Tripoli in order to protect its marine activity which was practiced in the east. Therefore, it signed a friendship agreement and then renewed it in 1703. In September 1712, arrived to Tripoli three Netherlands ships led by admiral Peterson and renewed the good relations with Tripoli and dedicated hundreds quantal of gunpowder and four bronze cannons. In October 1728, Netherlands hold a new peace agreement with Ahmed Ahmed Qurmanli who sent a delegate to The Hague to confirm the feelings of friendships between Tripoli and Netherlands. Also, the delegate has returned back and hold r thousands Vuorin, two thousand to himself and 500 hundred to his secretary. We should notice that the monetary gifts as well as, the gifts of cannons and ammunition that major countries buy their peace they are used in the reorganization of maritime piracy.

In 1743, there is delegation has been sent from Tripoli to Netherlands and been received well and surrounded by all the appearances of honors. As well as, there are relations have been created with Austria thanks to the meditation of Constantinople Government. In 1726, there are agreements have been held which through the ships of the emperor guaranteed that not to be violated by the pirates. The guaranty has been extended until including the ships of Naples, Sicily and Tusakana. The firs Austrian console arrived to Tripoli in 1729 and he is Guiseppe Mayerand the magistrate held by Charles VI has sparked a sense of grief to the Christian countries because they have to unique their powers²².

In 1742, there are disagreement occurred between Ahmed Pasha and Government of Naples because a piracy ship from Tripoli has been sized at the coasts of Calabria. Ahmed Pasha has revenged to the incident by capturing tow Neapolitan sailors they were anchored in Tripoli port at that time. As well as, he

²² Longo, (1945), "*Sicily and Tripoli*", pp. 63.

arrested the Neapolitan console and the incident has not been resolved until the following year when the Neapolitan government has provided the required satisfaction²³.

There are disagreements happened between Malta and Tripoli and this is normal because the most important goals of Knights of Malta is to arrest the ship of Muslims. In 11 of April 1723, one of the ships in Malta able to arrest one ship which belongs to Tripoli in Licata. After few days, the biggest leader of knights knew that there is a Turkish ship at Bntalria has seized on a boat belongs to Genoa city and other belongs to Sicily were loaded with salt. So, he ordered his ships to get out to the sea and doing chase operations to the Turkish ships and the Frigate San Vincenzo led by the knight De Chambray attached hostile ship which was in the fact the main ship (Batrona) to Tripoli and enforced it to the surrender and led it to Malta after a battle that continued four hours. This ship contained 48 cannons and carrying 400 man. They captivated 267 man including 20 from Tripoli and freed 33 Christian slave and the other have died. Maltese have lost four men from them and wounded 10 of them serious wounds. In October 1737, the pastor Ferdinando d'Elci has seized at the waters of Capo Passero on a ship belong to Tripoli of type Tertana armed with 11 cannon and 12 launchers and 45 Turkish and two of them are religious men one of them Rais Provensali and the other from Luca and four Christian slaves. However, the relations between the state in Tripoli and the Knights of Malta through the eighteenth century was good to some extent and they were exchanging the gifts, courtesies and friendly correspondence and the incidents that happen without inadvertently from time to time between the ships of the two countries were solving in diplomatic ways. In march 1722, Ahmed Pasha got from Constantinople his formal appointment as a judger on Tripoli²⁴ and he got the nick of Pasha²⁵.

²³ **Fayrood, (1964)**, “*The Relationships between France and Triploli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century*”, pp. 241.

²⁴ **Fayrood, (1964)**, “*The Relationships between France and Triploli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century*”, pp. 126.

²⁵ **J. Deny, (1969)**, “*Melanges Rene Basset*”, pp. 62-63.

2.1.6 The personality of Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli

The man who easily slaughter Alinkisharya in Tripoli and stood to many attacks and led by himself his armies in a lot of battles who was owned in most of them has not finished energy lies in the hearts of the founders of sovereign and family judge. Ahmed Pasha has not the educated and cultured personality but his influence and generosity have attracted the educated to him who collected surrounding his court. The relative calm that prevailed at the country after long years of internal disorders helped to revive the religious studies. The eulogies of poet give the prince of Tripoli aura of sovereignty and royalty that seem it did not happen to any of the rulers before who were succeeded in the past to judge the country at that eras which characterized by political spiritual and collapse. One of the fruits of care that have brought by Ahmed Qurmanli that historical study that made by Abdolah Ibni Ghalbon who belongs to big Arabic family in Musratah. He constituted in 1731-1732 his book (The Memory from The King of Tripoli and Who is in It of the Good People) and motivated him to constitute a poem spouted by Ahmed Ibin Abed Alansary in the response of the spelling of unknown person believed that he is from Fazan to Tripoli and people who live in Tripoli. It consists of twenty-five lines including the conclusion of the prominent facts in the history of Tripoli.

2.2 Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli (1745-1754)

The death of Ahmed Pasha has left an atmosphere of mystery between locals but this mystery dissipated when the people and senior of military and fleet men had sworn allegiance to Mohammed Pasha who is the sun of Ahmed Pasha as a judger on the country in 4 of November 1745 and locals later came to announce the allegiance to him in addition, he acknowledged by the Sultan as a ruler on the country. It must be mentioned that Mohammed Pasha was managing the state when his father lost his sight. Thu, the country went on the same of the first policy in the both local and global fields with increasing the interest of army and fleet. As well as, he was able to

eliminate all of the anti-movement to him when he was executing every conspirator and suspect in his loyalty and even his relatives have not saved from the executing. The habit of killing innocent was a rule for most of Qurmanli family's judges.

Then, the interest of Mohammed Pasha in the army and fleet is gradually decreased when he interested in the life of alcohol and became addicted to it²⁶. The European countries has used this opportunity and started to exercise some of pressure on him by reviewing the strength of their fleets in front of the beaches of Tripoli city until England in 20 of September 1751 able to enforce Mohammed Pasha to sign a treaty which one of its articles hark on that the Tripoli city must be neutral in case that if there is a war happened between England and Tunisia or Algeria²⁷. In spite of what this article contains of ill feeling for his people but he accepted it and sign this treaty. Also, he did not stop on this where in May 1752 he signed with France the following agreement:²⁸.

“The adventurers (adventurers are people who work to their own account where there was official naval belong to the government and navel belong to some of the adventures from the locals) from Tripoli who they were not subject to the article which is the ninth article of the agreement of 9 May 1729. Also, who ask from the captains and ships owners' rations, tools and ammunitions or others and who they were obstructing the course of navigation by delay the ships or quarantining without need to that. As well as, who they insult the French flag by anyway will be punished with utmost severity and may reach until the execution in case of mistreatment to the captains or to the wars ships owners or sailors and this article will have its strength and remain in effect even if it is incorporated with treaty dated in 2 of august 1729 which is the date of the signature of this treaty that is imposed as a part of it”. This agreement has a significant impact in the hearts of many adventurers even some of them have a revolution in the evening of 30 July 1729 which is the date of the

²⁶ **Rodrigo Mikalai, (1961),** “*west Tripoli under the judge of Qurmanli family*”, Cairo, pp. 9.

²⁷ **Rodrigo Mikalai, (1961),** “*west Tripoli under the judge of Qurmanli family*”, Cairo, pp. 12-14.

²⁸ **Rodrigo Mikalai, (1961),** “*west Tripoli under the judge of Qurmanli family*”, Cairo, pp. 87.

agreement signature to oust the judge of Mohammed Pasha but they failed to find a respond from the people with them.

There are no doubts that Mohammed Pasha at this agreement and the previous agreement has offended to the dignity of his people. Also, he has helped on installing the first pick on the demolition of destructing this country that his father lost his eyesight in order to work on raising its position where the European countries took looks to more victories but equally willing to hasten his death that he died on 24 July 1754 and his sun Ali succeeded in the judge of the country.

2.2.1 Domestic and foreign policy of Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli

Ahmed Qurmanli at the end of his age has lost his eyesight and he failed to manage the affairs of the state he delivered the leadership into his smallest son who is Mohammed Qurmanli (the biggest sun Mahmud was the judger of Burqa and the middle Yousef was the leader of the army) and in 4 November 1745 and after a period he decided to transfer the power. Also, when he thought that he will remain a subject of pity, he terminated his life by suicide. So, the power has moved completely Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli who were particularly run the affairs of the state since his father life. The members of Diwan and the heads of pirates and the senior leader of the army have introduced the pledge of allegiance to the new ruler. As well as, the Sultan of first Mahmud then be passed Ayalh deputies in Tripoli, and give him the title Alpashoah.

At the first days of his judge, Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli applied the same internal and external policy that applied by his father (as we stated) as it was in the past he gave special attention to support the fleet, army and establishment of shapes and the hugeness of the fleet was to the degree that Tripoli pirates did not dropped off by their audacious raids the terror only to the commercial ships but they made the whole southern coastal from Europe and permanently in the grape pf tension. The impact of actions that taken by British and French, the Tripoli ships absolutely activated against the other countries. In April 1747, Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli sent his officers to the Neapolitan consulate to extract the flag of Naples Queen which

was mean the war. So, the consul left and the pirates are hurried to exploit that to puns the kingdom ships and the purpose of this operations was to enforce Napoli to pay great annual bill in order to sail freely in the Mediterranean. In 1748, the pirates of west Tripoli are breached the peace treaty with Austria and its shapes became exposure to plunder and there is peace treaty has made between the two countries unless in 1749 by the representative efforts of Tuscany.

In the forties of the eighteen century and according to the information that provided by Zorza Travagnella, who was the captain of commercial ship belong to Venice has fall in the capturing of the pirates who spent about year in Tripoli. In Tripoli at that period there were about 17 thousands population and half of them were Jewish and the fleet of Ahmed Qurmanli was consisting of 8 ships of different types. In addition, there was another fleet for piracy which own by the individuals and settle in the port of Tripoli. Usually, the ships of Pasha out for the invasion once in a year and the period of departure is not less than 40 days. While the piracy above the owned ships for individuals, they were out on their own responsibility and in the case of nail they have to give-up one-third of the spoils to the Pasha²⁹.

If Tripoli enforced many of states to accept its conditions for the peace according to the payments and the amount of tribute, the major states competing with each other in Europe have implemented its role by the strength to impose the treaties on Tripoli time after time. So, in September 1751, England signed with Mohammed Pasha treaty peace and according to this treaty that included 28-item that guaranty to England the freedom of trade in all the ports of Tripoli and to satisfy in the goods customs duties within the limits of 3% while the weapons, gunpowder, timber ships, groves and many other products, they were not subject into customs duties. The agreement gave England a number of concessions where according to the item-6, it was allowed to the England console that his assistances and translators can visit all ports in the country in land and sea, and the item-5 gave the England console an advantage on the foreigners consuls that to be the first one to greet the deputy of Sultan and congratulate him in all the governmental and religious feasts. The British national are subject to the item-18 of the English legislation that if the other party in

²⁹ Leblick, 1910, pp. 240.

the conflict is non-Muslim. Also, in case of the death of the citizen, the console will have the right to dispose of his wealth.

This treaty is launched clearly from the England trend that drafted in the post in the policy of “divide and rule” where the item-20 stipulated that Tripoli must committed neutral position in case of a war between England and Tunisia or Algeria and does not provide the help for these two countries (as we stated before) (19, pp. 378). As well as, the following item has committed the judge of Tripoli to refrain to buy the goods and England property and British nationals who fall in the capturing of pirates of Tunisia or Algeria. Furthermore, the item-2 of the agreement stated that in case of meeting between the England ships and Tripoli ships at the sea, the last one has the right to check the documents of the first one and if it is sure that the ship belongs to England, the Tripoli ship and according to the item 28 must show appearances of graciousness allow it to continue its way. Whereas if they meet in neutral ports, it has to exchange the greeting and its captains must provide the celebrations in order to strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries. Thus, the agreement has determined the relations between the ships in the sea as determined in the national ports and the ports of the other countries. In addition, the items of the agreement applies to the national of Majorca Island and the ships of Gibraltar which England has expanded its protection according to the reconciliation of Outreach in 1713.

In exchange with the concessions made by Mohammed Pasha at this agreement, England has committed to send cannons and other guns in addition to the necessary ammos to west Tripoli. These successful that achieved by England in securing their privileges in terms of maritime traffic in the ports of Tripoli and the safety of maritime movement in the Mediterranean and the rights of England consul in Tripoli that motivates the French to get access to new concessions from Mohammed Pasha by extending the agreement that previously signed in 1709 and promote it with appendixes. It was not difficult to the French consul to achieve that thanks to the favorable situation for France which was formed in Tripoli.

At the end of the reign of Mohammed Pasha who has not bothered himself much in running the affairs of the state which led to decrease his strength on the

pirates which exploited by the pirates. So, according to the agreement of 1729 they were able to visit to make friendly visits for the commercial ships and some of the captains of pirates started to exploit these visits for shabby purposes where they practiced extortion and vandalism. Under this pretext the French authorities in 1752 asked Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli to append to the agreement that signed in 1729 the following item: “the adventurers in Tripoli who they are not subject to the article, which is the article ninth of June 1729 who they demand from the captains and the French ships owners rations, tools, ammos or others and who they impede the progress of navigation by delay the ships or impose the quarantined in case of mistreatment to those captains or the owners of the French ships or their sailors”³⁰.

The concessions made by Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli led to foreign countries to organize conspiracy against him led by Mohammed Pasha who is the vice admiral fleet of pirates in the evening of 11 June in 1752, the Albanians who work on Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli ships to piracy with disobedience. So, the testimony of Danish consul Smith that they were swooped down on the leaders of the city when they left the mosque and killed them. As well as, the leader of Bad was between the dead and the Albanian sailors removed the guard from the weapons of the castle, seized them and started took beating the center of the city and the chaos in the city started. However, the armed forces from the residents living in the outskirts of Tripoli heard gunfire and gathered at the gate of the castle and became hailing in the life of Mohammed Pasha and asked to open the gates in order to gather to the population of the city. When the Albanians saw that the populations do not support them and who was in the beginning beside them have scattered, they tried to rush to the sea and board the ships. The rush have not achieved until the gate lead to the sea unless 200 of them and seized the ship of the England consul and carried over the cannons who they are extracted them from the towers of the castle and warn the foreign consuls that they will attack any ship that will close from their ship and hampers exit. In the next day through different regions of the city, they found bodies belong to 15 of the Albanian sailors cut off heads³¹. Therefore, this turmoil has not

³⁰ Tawly Richard, 1957, pp. 82.

³¹ Aitory, pp. 140-144.

found a successful because it was express on the interests of limit circle of people who enriched in the life of piracy and come back to them in the first in the top tier of sailors new to Islam.

The new agreement with the French lead and entered new article in the treaty of 1729 with the French to grow the role of England and French consuls in the affairs of Tripoli to exacerbate the rivalry between those two states on the impact on the judge of Tripoli. At the same time, this means narrowing the activity of the piracy and natural lead to decrease the income of the maritime robbery which left negative impact on the army and fleet which represent the prop military tyranny of Qurmanli family. In his assessment of the documents signed by Mohammed Pasha, Omar Bin Ismail up to say “there is no doubts that the Pasha when he accepts this agreement had offended to the dignity of his people in addition he helped to install the first pick to the demolition of building of this country that his father has lost his eyesight in order to raise its effective position. As well as, the European countries took look forward more victories”³².

In 1753 there is a revolution caught against the rule of the older brother of Mohammed Pasha Qurmanli (Mahmud) who became during the life of his father Ahmed Pasha the absolute owner in the western part of west Tripoli. Despite the various and repetitive attempts to rhythm between the brothers in the conflict on the authority, the ruler of Tripoli abled to eliminate them all by come down harsher penalties to who tries to tear the uniqueness between the brothers in the Qurmanli family and with the help of forces that addressed by Mohammed Pasha, the uprising in Burqa has put down.

2.2.2 Recent years of the reign of Mohammed Pasha and his death

The consul Smith signed in May 1753 an agreement with Tripoli and wrote to the council of Denmark providing this image with the general situation in Tripoli: (the judge until now is not considered is genetically but it is moves from one family

³² Urgima 1934, pp. 47.

to another and the current family in power of nearly forty years. According to what appears, the family can preserve the judge in the future if God has extended another years in the age of Pasha and he is still young but his health diseased. In any way he has son and his name is Ali who is 20 years old and gained enough experience to stand against expected enemies. The Arabs are inclined according to their nature to the fortune and they hope behind changing the judge to receive less violent treatment).

The last Pasha who dead in 1745 has extinguished more than 20 revolutions through thirty two years of his age. He was succeeded by his second son instead of the first son who enabled to judge only the province that encrusted by his father and it locates in the east and its capital is Benghazi. He goes on and points that there is small brother for Mohammed Pasha who judged Durna. Also, Pasha had younger other brothers. While the insider is judged by leaders and sometimes from the Arab and another times from the new to Islam who got protection expenses of Arabs. The completely house of Pasha was not at their hands only but they owned the higher positions in the state. At the endo of the message he pointed to the harmony that existed between the members of Qurmanli family at that time³³.

In the spring of 1754 there is a revolution exploded in Durna against Bey and it is extinguished immediately by the help of Mohammed Pasha³⁴.

The illness has terminated Mohhamed Pasha and dead on 24 June in 1754 and he was 45 years old and people swore allegiance his son Ali who was come back from Gharian³⁵.

2.3 Ali Pasha Qurmanli (1793-1754)

Ali Pasha ascended to the power when he was a young and he caught for a power for a period about forty years. It is a rare status in the country from the North African countries that a ruler can stay in the judge at the same length of this period.

³³ English consulate in Tripoli archives, 1753.

³⁴ English consulate in Tripoli archives, 1754.

³⁵ English consulate in Tripoli archives, 1754.

At the beginning he found himself included in the love of people which soon found himself threatened by some plots from a number of leaders who demanding the position of the leadership in the army according to the young age of the Pasha. One of the guard officers have greed at this important position that his occupant may become a dangerous on the Pasha himself³⁶.

So, Ali Pasha has delayed the appointment of the Bey and in the end of 1754 came to Tripoli Khalil who is Ali Pasha's uncle and his cousin. It said that this position has assigned to him but he is found a dead by hanging in 18 September (a message in the archive of England consulate dated in 25/10/1754 directed from the Danish consul and Fayrood says that Khalil who is the cousin of the Pasha and he has terminated by the hatred of his opponents who killed him because of his opposition to piracy activity) in the castle in mysterious circumstances. The judge of Derna has been appointed to Mahmud Bey in addition to the judge of Benghazi³⁷. It is not lived up to some of people with ambition the continuing of Qurmanli family in the judge. Ali pasha has knowledge about these conspiracies being hatched against him. Thus, in the beginning of 1756 he has suffocated the Khazan and exiled the head of the marine³⁸. One of the most dangerous of these conspiracies that organized in 1758 by Mustafa Abu Shakir who is one the relatives of Qurmanli family and family of Al-Mekni. Conspirators tried to stir up the population of Mensheye and coast during the evening but they were taken in the exact time and Mustafaf has been killed while Ibrahim Mekni has been arrested in the castle³⁹.

2.3.1 The piracy and campaign of Venice against Tripoli in 1766

The job of Tripoli piracy that restricted by the trade treaties and the agreements with the greatest countries became against the small countries that did

³⁶ The archives of the England consul in Tripoli, a message from the Danish consul dated in 16/8/1754.

³⁷ The archives of the England consul in Tripoli, a message from the Danish consul dated in 26/3/1754.

³⁸ The archives of the England consul in Tripoli, a message from the Danish consul dated in 26/3/1754.

³⁹ Fayrood, (1964), "*The Relationships between France and Tripoli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century*", pp. 250.

not signed agreements with Tripoli until that time. However, the nationals of contracting states have exposing many time to attacks in the middle of the sea from the Tripoli pirates. England in the age of its consul (White) in October 1754 then in January 1761 has adjusted its agreement and the Lord Cleveland came in 1762 with marine squad to Tripoli wishing to resign this treaty.

All of that and in spite of the lack of information, it seems that the breach of these agreements was constantly being dominant. Also, the consul (Frasier) who succeeded the consul (White) complain in his postal from the arrogance of the pasha and his piracies⁴⁰.

There is a small office established in Tripoli and from more than one century before Qurmanli era that interesting in the relationships with the other countries in order to smooth the souls and alleviate the anger and avoid the dangerous. The habit of sending allegation and exchange the gifts, messengers and promises to Europe has been cemented. In 1756 Mahmud Agha wen as ambassador from Tripoli to Sweden⁴¹.

In 1765 Ahmed Agha travelled to London to provide gifts to the King of England. England government has kept him out after two years of his residence at its own expenses. At the end of 1773 Ibrahim Agha travelled to London and the England government took his travelling expenses. The relationships between Tripoli and Malta good and friendly to some extent. However, it is showed that in 8 august 1765 the ship (Santa Ursula) entered to Malta in the leadership of captain (Petro Jalali) carrying some sailors and 16 Arab people were captured above Tripoli ship in the leadership of captain (Veli Dobrac). Mohammed Agha travelled to Malta in 1776 to provide some respect to the Great Leader (De Rohan).

The relationship between Tripoli and Venice has been recovered in the Qurmanli era and became more effective and vital. The judge of Tripoli sent Haj Abdul Rahman Agha to Venice in 1764 and negotiated at that city with the Commissioner of the Republic (Prospero Valmarana). Also, in 11 September 1764, there was a preliminary agreement ratified in April 1765 with organized final

⁴⁰ The archives of the England consul in Tripoli, a message from the Danish consul dated in 23/3/1754.

⁴¹ The archives of the England consul in Tripoli, a message from the England consul dated in 17/6/1765.

agreement. This agreement recognizes to the England consul with rights and powers equals to the rights and powers of other consuls and guaranty the respecting of republic ships and their nationals. As well as, it gives privileges of navigation in Zawarah to Venice alone and prevent the Tripoli ships to enter the Gulf of Venice which is the Adriatic sea and do not exceed to the south the head of (Santa Maria) from one hand and (Cimara) from other hand.

Captain Marcantuo Bubeck received the Tripoli delegate and consul (Giuseppe Ballovic) in a warm welcome. The Captain returned back to Venice and released 54 prisoners and he hold with him important documents associated with what he collected of information about the military force and other information that will benefit them later in their campaign on Tripoli⁴².

Tripoli did not late too much of breaking the agreements where in 1765 that pirates in a command from the Pasha in looting the ships of Venice and there was a ship of type Glaoth leading by the captain Ahmed Rais surprised when it is attacked by a ship belong to Bolya province and taken to Zara and Ahmed himself killed while trying to escape. Haj Abdul Rahman Agha has returned back again to Venice who could with slyly and wits to extort money from the Republic of Venice and returned back to Tripoli and instead of working on settle the dispute he has increased its complexity.

When the attacks on the Venetian Ships, sailors and flags have increase, the Senate sent in the summer of 1766 captain (Jakmonana) with four frigates and directed them to Tripoli. These ships are appeared in Tripoli waters as highly motivated and ready for battle which terrified the Pasha who accept immediately to re-prisoners, ships and products and provide the greeting to maritime squad and punish the responsible leaders. In august 1766, a new agreement held and confirmed the earlier texts.

A month earlier, France sent to Tripoli port two ships of type Vaschelli under the leadership of prince (Stno Listenios) to show the respecting for French ships. So, Ali Qurmanli confirmed the agreement of 1728 with the addition of supplement in five other materials (Roirducard, p. 234) and sent offensive apologize message that

⁴² Nani Moshenico, pp.82.

translated by Fayrood to the French government pledging to the new commitments. Thus, the magistrate renewed in 1774 and at this event Abdul Rahman Agha and Ahmed Bey who is the son of the judge brought gifts to the king of France consist of horses, camels, ostrich, deer and hawks⁴³.

2.3.2 Piracy and plague 1786-1784

Tripoli in 1767 swept in a horribly famine and in summer of 1784 the famine spread newly and it is noticed in dairy of Laydi Warthly for the month of august that the city in its current situations passing in horrible situation of famine even passing during its streets on feet or above the horses is scary situation because of hungry people who die every day on the roads⁴⁴.

As usually happiness, the famine was dragging behind the plague and the injuries occurred in the spring of 1785 and illiterate acceptance by the fait thought without much caution and deserve and the lack of doctors (only one doctor in the service of the Pasha) has enabled this epidemic to reap a lot of lives⁴⁵.

Out of the total population of 14,000 (it is the number that memorized by the writer of the city population) the plague spent on the quarter of the population and this number has its importance and many of what enable to transport the dead to the cemetery. The soldiers belong to Alqulolah roaming the city and transport the bodies. Epidemic has interrupted in 1786 and the plague that swept the city in 1785 was one reason of the collapse that occurred in Tripoli because of what happened to it of bad damages. As well as, this situation has been mentioned by one French officer that stated that this situation has effected heavily on the economic and social situation in the country⁴⁶.

⁴³ **Fayrood, (1964)**, *“The Relationships between France and Tripoli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century”*, pp. 263.

⁴⁴ Dairy of Laydi Warthly, pp. 67.

⁴⁵ Dairy of Laydi Warthly, pp. 67.

⁴⁶ Froment De Champ, pp. 29.

2.3.3 Relationships with Christian countries

On 10 of September 1784 there is friendship and trade agreement held between Tripoli and Spain and included the material 18 that determine the port fee based on 27 piasters for each ship docked in the port of Tripoli. Also, the ships which are docked in other ports belong to the kingdom are exempted for paying fees and the captain is not committed to hand over the steering wheel and sail. Also, it is decided to appoint the first consul for Spain in Tripoli⁴⁷. As well as, the privileges of Venice in Tripoli has been concentrated in exploiting the navigation of Zawarah. On 15 November 1783 arrived to Tripoli a maritime squad came from Venice under the leadership of Andrea Kwerena and it is in charge of the embassies at the judges of Tunisia, Algeria and Tripoli. The head of the mission has been received warmly from the judge of Tripoli and continued his trip to Zawarah when he solved the problem caused by the delayed of the Pasha to pay the dues of workers who took charge of salt. When he arrived to Zawarah, it was anchored six ships from Venice and two ships from Denmark to charge the salt.

Later, the republic of Venice ceded from its privileges to Milano and despite the peaceful relationships with Venice, Ali Pasha Qurmanli helped Hamoda Pasha the judge of Tunisia and stand beside him in the cruel that happened between Venice and Tunisia in 1784-1792 and sent to him the cannons and guns⁴⁸.

Netherlands that its commercial interests in the Mediterranean and Far East increasing held agreements with Tripoli in 1703, 1711 and 1728. In 1749 a delegate from the Qurmanli traveled to Hague and submitted to the National Assembly and granted a bonus amounted of forty, fifty and sixty Vuorino a day.

In 1780 Ali Pasha Qurmanli sent to (Guillaume V) a message of congratulations in his return back to Hague by sending one of his ministers and some gifts⁴⁹. In 1785 arrived to Tripoli port the leader of the Netherlands ship captain

⁴⁷ Fayrood, (1964), "*The Relationships between France and Tripoli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century*", pp. 270-272.

⁴⁸ Carlo Alfonso Nallino, pp. 346.

⁴⁹ A. Blessich, pp. 777.

(Keensprzin) who gave the Pasha 60 thousand Vuorino and the Pasha did not satisfied in this amount of money and wanted to send his son to Netherlands on the same Netherlands ship but its leader refused arguing that his country is not wants anymore to receive ambassadors. Then, Ali Pasha expelled the Dutchman consul from Tripoli and this consul return back after a period of time holding to the Pasha a gift amounted in two thousand Dokatu⁵⁰. The consul of France (Valier) noticed near 1786 that the trade of Tripoli is in status of complete stagnation because of the famine and plague which enveloped the country in the last years and the little and limited trade exchanges were done with Marseille and Livorno by some Jewish traders and also with Venice and the leader Mustafa was the head of customs and he has good trade relations with Sicily.

The Italians prisoners at that time are few and do not increase on hundred⁵¹ and treated well. Also, the relations that established between the kingdom of two Sicilia's in 1726 in the era of Istria Dynasty has resumed directly between Naples and Tripoli by Venice in 1741. On July 1741, there are two Napolitano ships attacked a Tripoli piracy ship in Ionian Sea and carrying eight cannons and eighty two men. There are available information that the agreements have been confirmed between Tripoli and Napoli in 1785-1787⁵².

2.3.4 The status inside Tripoli

In Mansheya, Tajora, Musrata, Zawiya and Zuwarah, the leaders were broadcast to people the feel of government power. Also, Gharyan was under the judge of this government whereas in the remote areas, nomads had free life and without any restrictions. In the Middle East the son of Sulayman control north region of Surt and the roads of Fazan. Also, they killed Ramazan Agha who is the leader of

⁵⁰ Fayrood, (1964), *"The Relationships between France and Triploli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century"*, pp. 270-272.

⁵¹ Fayrood, (1964), *"The Relationships between France and Triploli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century"*, pp. 270-272.

⁵² Blessich, pp. 871-877.

Musrata in 1728. The reconciliation between Pasha and sons of Sulayman happened by one leader of the region⁵³.

The Nawail in the west region on the borders of Tunisia, they were usually lieutenants with the revolution such as Warshfatah in the west coastal region. Also, the Mahamid in the mountain (the south and west of Tripoli) they are loyal to Qurmanli family in recognition of good treatment that they have received from Ahmed Qurmanli in the past. Hasan Bey who was the older son to the Pasha go out from a time to time to the regions to collect the taxes and punish the rebels. In 1789 he led a campaign on Saif Al-nassir and the trip of sons of Sulayman and it was not possible to inform the direct power to triploid government. However, it seems that this region is quite and studiously to pay abscess while Benghazi and Durna were judged by representatives from Tripoli government.

2.3.5 Killing of Hasan Bey Qurmanli by his brother Yousef

The hatred felt by Yousef towards his brother Hasan Bey has led him to kill him. According to the large number of assistances who surrounded Hasan Bey has not given a chance for his brother to kill him accept by treachery. On Friday, 20 July 1790, he went to the castle and entered on his mother and told here on his surest wish in reconciling with his brother. So, the mother called her son Hasan in order to present the reconciliation in front of her. The two brother have exchanged the talking sometime in front of the mother. Then, they swore on Koran that they live in harmony in future. Later, Yousef appointed servants and they gave him a gun and he shot suddenly on his brother who was sitting beside his mother. The mother raised her hand to protect her son and she is injured and Hasan Bey tried to get up on his face and beat him by his sword but his brother beat him with another shot in his heart.

The people have suffered for the death of Hasan Bey and mourns of his mother and his widow was so large and Hasan Bey has buried in Qurmanli Mosque besides his grandfather Ahmed Qurmanli.

⁵³ Fayrood, (1964), *"The Relationships between France and Tripoli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century"*, pp. 268-269.

Ahmed the second son is called from Zawiya and appointed the position of Bey too. In 1790 the two went in a campaign of Musratah and the sons of Sulayman stand with Musratah and support it and the leader of Mahamid was standing with Qurmanli family and at this battle the son of Saif Al-Nassir has been killed. However, Yousef returned in 1790 to set the dispute motivated by the backing Arab of suburbs and incite of one of the tutors (Sheikh Futaisi) and besieged at the summer of that year the Tripoli city. He stayed all of the year and a part of the next year out of his father power and made several raids on the city walls. Ali Pasha abled to get the support of Mahamid, Saif Al-Nassir, the sons of Sulayman and Naoail while the Arab of Tarhona and Gharyan were supporting and standing beside him.

2.3.6 Ali Burghul seizes the judge in Tripoli (1793-1795)

While Qurmanli family crumble and disintegrate due to its internal disputes, Ali Burghul is the agent of the exterior in Algeria (the specialist in the maritime affairs) and has been expelled from the city in February 1793 because of what he did of atrocities and moved to Istana and bargained the government and get the royal decree to appoint him as a judger on Tripoli. He arrived through Moreh and Bonio Islands and gathered hundreds of adventurers' mercenaries and at the noon of 20 June he arrived in his fleet to Tripoli and closed from Tripoli port and told the locals the will of sultan⁵⁴.

Ali Pasha at that time was an old and weak man and he is horrified from the emergence of the fleet and scared from the possibility of arrival of new supplies from Constantinople who was expecting from a period of time to surprise him at this situation. So, he went out immediately from the castle followed by 30 of soldiers with his brother Ali Bey the judger of Benghazi who arrived a little before that to support him. All of them are escaped to Tunisia at the time when Ali Burghul was entering the city in 30 July. Ahmed Bey and Yousef have left their old hatred a side

⁵⁴ Ahmed Cawdet Pasha, pp. 343.

and they armed the population of the city in an attempt to recover the city and this followed by a long siege full of fictional events⁵⁵.

Ahmed Pasha's wife has not followed her husband when he escaped and stayed in one of the houses and dead in 1793 and she was painful because of the separated and ruptured family. The Jewish exposed to persecution more than the other populations. The efforts of Yousef Pasha did not succeed against this soldier who had strong walls, brave soldiers, ammos and cannons. The conditions of the besieged was worsened and became danger because of the lack of food and brutality of the adventurer and his greed and tyranny. On one days of August 1794, Ali Bulghur went out from the city and defeated Yousef Qurmanli who escaped from the city to Tunisia.

In Tunisia he was preparing to recover the power again from this adventurer and Ali Burghul asked from Hamoda Pasha during the siege of the city to supply him with ammos and he refused and Ali Burghul announced the war against him and occupied Jarba Island. The looting issued that took over in at that island or the threats to the Tunisian region made the judger of Tunisia insisting to prepare an army to recover Tripoli⁵⁶.

On the evening of 16 January 1795, the Vanguards of Tunisian Army appeared at the western sea plateau under the leadership of Mustafa Khoja and in the morning of 17 of January and above the same plateau the hostile force appeared varied between knights and infantry and they were so huge extending from the plateau until Mensheye city.

Ali Burghul made the last looting operations and traveled on 8 of February giving up from the city that entered by the princes of Qurmanli's and army. The populations have paid a large amount of money to the Tunisian army and announced their loyalty to Ahmed Pasha and Ali Pasha stayed in Tunisia and later he came to Tripoli above Algerian ship on February.

He dead in 23 of July 1796 and at his soul the heartbreak of dislikes that befell him and the family separation that weakened his family.

⁵⁵ The archive of the England consulate, pp. 240.

⁵⁶ Roy B., pp.283- 291.

2.4 Second Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli 1795

Second Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli took the judgement few months. Then, he surrendered as expected and inevitable to the personnel strength and power of his brother Yousef. It is important to describe this judgement that scored by the England consul (Simon Lucas) who said about Second Ahmed Pasha he almost up to the judge until he drift to the amusement and neglected the affairs of government. Also, he added (his brother was in contrast to him in terms of the character where he was not smoking or drink alcohol and he experienced for several years in the pain experiment and graduated from its school and he experienced the art of the judgment and gain sympathy of the parish who they were loved him to the point of worship). He tried by the deal with leaders of people to save the country from the full destruction and snatched from his brother the filaments of the governance and put himself in his brother place⁵⁷.

On 11 of Jun, Ahmed Pasha went out over the city on his horse with big parade for recreation. Yousef by dealing with his followers has closed the city behind him and in less than half an hour he declared himself on the judgement and unanimously pledged allegiance by the parish. When Ahmed Pasha heard the castle defenders shots which announce inauguration of the new ruler, he took the initiative of refuge to the Mansheya. Then, he moved to the insiders and Yousef Pasha offered him the judgment of Benghazi and Derna and he accepted. He boarded a ship which must take him to Burka but a violent storm ended him to Malta after facing huge dangerous. Instead of following his new workplace, Ahmed Pasha preferred to go to Tunisia from Malta where he accommodate there without abandon from his attention to return and refund the judgment⁵⁸.

2.5 Yousef Pasha 1795-1832

The English author wrote on here dairy that from 1793 during the busy of Yousef Pasha Qurmanli in the liberation of the city from the usurper intruder Ali

⁵⁷ Archives of the England consular: 6-26.

⁵⁸ Archives of the England consular: 304-306.

Burghul and she said (that his conduct in facing the angry Turks has enforced everybody to recognize him by the excellence and on all the Qurmanli family members and acknowledging the wisdom and savvy despite what distinguishes him from the rigors of his heart⁵⁹.

The historian of consignment Frenhsalah in 1795 determined the character of Yousef Pasha (the he is not a harsh man but he is stubborn, disdainful and arrogant and he does not respect the consuls and not the Italian and European states)⁶⁰. The character of Yousef Pasha Qurmanli was strong, authoritarian, the love of wealth as a mean of control and the love of popular support. It is a mix between brutality and generous. The English archeological explorer (Smith) wrote about him later and said (Yousef Pasha represents a mix of virtues and vices when he is a social man, smart and compassionate father and loyal friend. He looks that the nature wants him to be honorable person but the trials and tribulations he encountered has contributed in his unbridled tyranny and his thought that free of culture)⁶¹.

Yousef Pasha immediately interested in enhancing the defensive situations in the city where the brotherly conflicts that happened in the city in 1791-1793 and the siege of the years between 1793-1795 and the long neglect of previous rulers have weakened the strength of the fortifications in the city and wreaked havoc in the suburbs. In September 1795 he started the restoration of the city walls starting from the door that locates near the Christian cemetery, the door of Falfool near the Spanish fort⁶². In 1796 the aggregate of his force was amount about seventy cannon distributed in many defensive points. Also, the naval force consists of eight ships and the biggest one of them equipped with fourteen cannon. The leadership of the ships was in the responsibility of who called (Biter Liyzly) who born in Perth and he was a sailor above the ship of the England consul. He converted to Islam and called Murad Rais (the archive of the England consulate in Tripoli, a message dated in 27/6/1796). He was a close friend to the Pasha whose wife is one of the Pasha daughters⁶³.

⁵⁹ Lady Rthlee Diary, pp. 340.

⁶⁰ The old book the manuscript of consignment Frenhsalah, pp. 289.

⁶¹ This text has been translated from the colonial archive, pp. 164.

⁶² The old book for consignment Frenhsaneh, pp. 289.

⁶³ Aurigemma, 1926, pp. 292-398.

2.5.1 The relationships with great states

The maritime disputes have increased in the age of Yousef Pasha and became more severe and it cannot be said that the Christian states have provided well image about themselves in facing the situation. These Christian states have not been able to prevent the piracy of North African and put them at their place only after ten years after the liberation of problem emerged from the French revolution that habit based on respecting the consuls by giving. Denmark in 1796 and in 1797 has been enforced to send ships to Tripoli in order to take into account the agreements and tertiaries and respect them. In 16 June 1797 the Danish captain (Bill) taught a hard lesson to the Tripoli ships and then agreed to sign a new peace agreement.

When the French- English conflicts mounted in order to control the Mediterranean, England which is the friend to Sublime Porte proceeded to effect on the Ottoman government to make it order the North African stated to refrain of any relationship with the French ships. Then, Turkey entered the war with France after a campaign against Egypt. Istana sent a royal messenger to Yousef Pasha holds the command of crawling against France in Egypt (Fayrood, pp. 308-309) and arrest the French who residents in the state as hostages and chase the French cruising ships from Tolono and interception the postal correspondence between France and their forces in Egypt. However, Yousef Pasha made no secret of his sympathy with France under the influence of consul and letters of praise he received from Napoleon⁶⁴. Also, when Napoleon occupied Malta and with political movement than humanitarian, he released the two thousand Muslim prisoners who they were in the island and he got to the agreement with the rulers of Tripoli, Algeria and Tunisia to release the French prisoners⁶⁵.

The French consul (Bossier) maintained a good relationships with Yousef Pasha despite the opposition from the England consul and he enabled to send food supplies to General Fambuaz in Malta. In May 1799 the England consul (Locas) return back to Tripoli after he left it in march of the same year accompanied by

⁶⁴ Fayrood, (1964), "*The Relationships between France and Triploli in the First Half of the Eighteen Century*", pp. 611.

⁶⁵ Scicluna H., pp. 145-156.

Portuguese ship led by Commodore England (Dr. Campbell.) and asked to receive him immediately all the French citizens who are in Tripoli. Yousef Pasha hesitated in the beginning but he could not find a way under the threat of bombing if he did not give the French consul his citizens. The French consul (Bossier) has been transported above the Portuguese with other nationals including the Maltese (Saverio Naudi) vice-consul and translator. He told his government about what happened immediately when he arrived to Genoa⁶⁶. At that occasion, the Pasha has signed the first peace treaty with Portuguese in the same conditions that England has gotten who was protecting Portuguese at that time⁶⁷. The exclusion of Bossier consul a defeat to be reckoned with France. After the victory of (Nilson), the postal communication in France by the sea would be onerous. The occupation of Tripoli that followed by the coast of Burqa gave the hope in the possibility of getting news through this way if there were not the equipment and support⁶⁸.

2.5.2 Family, tiles and the government during the reign of Yusuf Pasha Qurmanli

Blaquier who was in Tripoli near 1812 convays to us that Yousef Pasha at that time has three wives one of them is white and known as Big Lady and two of them are black. He begotten from the first one five kids three of them are boys and two girls (Mohammed Bey 23 years old and he married one of his uncle daughters and begotten from here three boys), Ahmed Bey 17 years old and Ali Bey 16 years old. Khdugha who Saleem's wife and Fatima who is the fiancée of Mustafa Kurchi who is the Marine President and begotten from the two black wives three boys and girls⁶⁹.

Yousef Pasha was not lucky is his sons at least in the character of his old son Mohammed Bey who is described by the Italian traveler (Dalla Sheila) that he is the worst monsters in Africa and he was a man of blade spirit and he was violent. He

⁶⁶ Fayrood, pp. 313-314.

⁶⁷ Basset R., pp. 31.

⁶⁸ Blacker, pp. 9.

⁶⁹ Blaquier E., pp. 9.

finds a pleasure in preparing poisons and drink them to the servant and then watching them and enjoy in the sight of dying⁷⁰.

2.5.3 The revolution of grandson and the waiver of Yousef Pasha Qurmanli in 1832

The internal procedures and legislations of the government are weak and administration was weak too and the resources were not enough which were highly depended by the piracy. As well as, the internal situation was shaky and discontent was exist in most parts of the country coupled with hatred on the government that seemed as a blackmailer for taxes. In Burqa where the judger was Khalil Qurmanli, the revolution took dangerous and threatened form and the first minister Mohammed Shalabi directed to it in 1831 in order to restore the order and bring peace and left the government to Ibrahim Abi Amis and at the same time Abduljallel revolted who is the leader of Sulayman's children in the region of Warflah and occupied Fazan. Mohammed bin Abdulallah Circassian who was judged Fazan in the name of Yousef Pasha withdrew to Marzuq castle and then he dead shortly thereafter succeeded by his son who stood for resistance waiting the support from Tripoli. Actually, two forces leaded by the sons of the Pasha Ali Bey and Ibrahim Bey in October 1831 traveled and joined the forces some loyal soldiers who were recruited from the Qulolah of the coast and Mensheye and supported by armed force from Musratah. They were defeated the forces of Abduljallel at the location that is known as the castle of Alhatabah near Beni Waleed and they engaged in a bloody battle at the location that is known as Sudanese Dinrh and the conflict was resolved by the intervention of Abi Said sons and the war stopped but later did not lead to restore calm to the country. Yousef Pasha is insisted to continue the war because of his lack of trust by the peace offers that provided by the revolutionaries. Qurmanli was not organized and separated on itself where the Qulolah of Mensheye and coast hate Ali Bey because of his bad treatment to them. At this situation Yousef has withdrew the

⁷⁰ Dalla Sheila, pp. 10.

occupants to Zalten then to Tripoli and sent Mohammed Almakni with new forces in order to work to recovery of Fazan.

The intervention of the England consul at these accurate situations have precipitated the pursuing of events that led to the extreme chaotic situations and disorder. Warnngton has insisted to get the debts owed by the Pasha and summoned England naval squad from Malta and the ships appeared in front of Tripoli in 20 June and he was above one of these ships and put the Pasha in a very critical situation and he did not know the way to save himself. So, he resorted new taxing on the nationals. Also, the Diwan which participate in its membership (the leader of the country) Ibn Lateef decided to determine additional tax on the population of Mensheye.

This procedure made the Pasha hated by the population of Mensheye and most of the interior population who revolted against the Pasha in 20 June 1832 and acknowledged his grandson (Abo Abdullah) Mohammed Bey. They surrounded the city in 27 June and the forces loyal to Yousef Pasha came from the castle in attack movement on the revolutionaries but responded to losing its wake (Bahij Alddin, pp. 115). When Yousef Pasha saw that he is fought from his warriors and felt by the pressures of England, France and Sardinia consuls and their demanding by the debts of their nationals, Yousef Pasha saw that it is necessary to take the advice calling for the abandonment of the judge and his abdication to his son Ali. So, he gathered in the meeting room in the castle the judge Abi Abbas Ahmed Tughar, the leader Hasan Bin Abdullah, his sons, the minister and the writers and announced that he was no longer able to shoulder the burdens of government and wants to assign the matter to the best of his sons (Ali). When everybody agreed to the wish of Pasha, Yousef Pasha announced the following statement (I bear witness at your presence that I relinquish from the judge and put in my place my son Ali as a judger on you and his brother Ibrahim as a leader on the army). They agreed and some of them are cried and they swore in the Koran that they will respect the will of the Pasha (12 August 1832)⁷¹.

Yousef Pasha by himself announced his abdication from power to the favor of his son to Khalil Pasha the leader of the Ottoman fleet and asked him to get the royal

⁷¹ Ismail Kmali in his published article, pp. 178-188.

decree for the adoption of his son in the new position. When the leader of the revolutionaries knew that, he announced himself as new Pasha on the country and appointed his brother (Abi Abbas Ahmed) as a leader on the army⁷².

2.6 Ali Pasha Qurmanli (Second) 1832-1835

Ali Pasha announced his ascension to the judge in a statement that promised to apply the justice and amnesty and invited the dissidents to peace and reconciliation⁷³. He appointed his brother Ibrahim as a leader to the army. Also, he pledged alliance by the scientists and dignitaries. Majeed has occupied the prime minister position who instead of Mohammed Abi Amis. The England consul Warngtun who return back from Malta in 22 august 1832 has established as soon the revolution started in a house belong to him in Mansheya instead of his stay in the consolidate. Also, he announced his support for repels and maybe England at that time thought to restore the Ottoman judge to Tripoli and it has benefit in keeping the unrest, sedition and obstructing the settlement between judger and repels.

The French consul (Scopil) supports publicly Ali Pasha and Qurmanli family and there were French officers' managing the defending of Tripoli against the boeing that carried out by repels. In the interior of the country, the Arabs have exploited the opportunity to break free from the obligation towards the central government and take watching the conflict between the coastal Qulughli and the heir of Qurmanli family and Abuljaleel stand in the neutral position and he was judged the eastern region from west Tripoli to Fezzan who expelled from it by (Makni) (Ismail Kmalli, pp. 190) according to the commands of Pasha. The Gomh, Mahameed, Maridh and population of Terhana have declared their loyalty to Ali Basha and despite that they did not in any movement to support him. Mohammed Shalabi with the house of money in Burqa and no sooner knew the revolution in Tripoli he decided to stand in neutral position and non-alignment to each of the two teams. Despite that he was odds with Ali Pasha but he was seeing that there is no possibility to take over the

⁷² Bahij Alddin, pp. 116-118.

⁷³ Fayrood, pp. 353.

judge by the Qulughli from Tripoli and when Ali Pasha knew, he decided to appoint his brother Osman Bey as a judger on Burqa and left Derna to Malta.

The mysterious situations have encouraged Mohammed Pasha the judger of Tunisia to look forward to seize Tripoli and to think about that and make his brother Mustafa as a judger on it. He made negotiations with Sublime Porte and he was preparing the necessary militaries equipment's and make the weapons and ammos to get ready for the campaign⁷⁴.

The Sublime Porte has received petitions from the population of Tripoli city and from the rebels pressed him to intervene to resolve the matter.

Tahir Pasha who was managing the affairs of the African north states has sent his writer Shakir Effendi to see the situation. He reached to Tripoli in 18 august 1833 and made discussions with Yousef Pasha, Ali Pasha and the commander of the rebels and tried to reconcile them and unify their word to recognize Ali Pasha and when he failed in the persuasion task he rode the sea in September 1833 and went to Istana and presented a report about the situation.

Meanwhile, Tripoli was under siege and was bombing from time to time by the cannons established in Mansheya. Mohammed Pasha was in Malta and he was the house of the money and financing secretly the revolutionaries from coastal Qulughli by war ammos and practice in the black market the lucrative trade in the cannons, weapons and ammos and Ali Pasha insisted him without benefit to join him. The leaders of the interior were known him and known his knowledge and political experience and preserve with him in correspondent relationships and the revolutionaries invited him to join them⁷⁵.

He ended up to respond to their invitation and the invitation of the England consul Warngtun. So, he traveled from Malta accompanied by three armed ships under the leadership of (Matey). These ships are docked in the seventh of December 1833 to the east of Tripoli and was able to transfer the weapons and missiles to the revolutionaries and the boats of the Pasha gave arrested one of them. While the other

⁷⁴ Calligaris, it is a report sent by colonel Qalyakaris in 1834 from Tunisia to Toronto and published by Monkikort in the magazine of the history of French colonies in 1928, pp. 540-541.

⁷⁵ Ismail Kmalli, pp. 191.

two ships are tried to besiege the ports but they adjusted their path and take another way to the east.

The siege around the city of Tripoli are longed and the city has suffered from it too much and the city has not damaged from the bombing caused by the revolutionaries but it has damaged because of the lack of trust and the stopping of each commercial activity. The revolutionaries decided to carry a decisive attack on the city in the spring and told the consuls of their attention in order to take the necessary measures and protect their citizens⁷⁶.

In 28 April 1834 the consuls Di Martino, Reich and Cerruti told Mohammed Qurmanli (Pasha of Mansheya) that they have chosen their resort in a location that it must be a hospital outside the city⁷⁷.

The booming that happened later have not left high effects and have not achieved at all the times the proposed results. This was representing in its fact the comic aria in the tragedy of the collapse of Qurmanli family. What is really laughable that we find between the mails of Sardinia consul (Biyanko) the message that sent in early May 1834 to the leader of the revolutionaries to ask him stop the bombing in 11 May because he will conduct at that day the traditional visits to different consolidate because of starting his work.

Shakir Effendi returned back to Tripoli in 18 September 1834 holding the Furman of the Sultan Second Maho to approve that Ali Qurmanli on the head of the Tripoli government with nickname of Pasha and Mermeran degree⁷⁸. He told the revolutionaries who refused to recognize the appointment of the Sultan and refused the acceptance of the invitation to attend the recitation Furman outside of the city. The consuls of the foreign countries recognized the new Pasha except the England consul who stayed supporting the revolutionaries⁷⁹.

2.6.1 The intervention of Sublime Porte and Re-Ottoman Power to Tripoli

⁷⁶ The message in the Ottoman archive in Tripoli with a set of messages of Mohammed Qurmanli to the consul of Sardinia.

⁷⁷ The archive of Sardinia consulate, the general mail messages dated in 20/04/1834.

⁷⁸ Fayrood, pp. 360-361.

⁷⁹ Ismail Kmalli, pp. 203-210.

Tripoli is not in the judge of Ali Pasha and not in the judge of his competencies Mohammed Bey Qurmanli because the occupation of Algeria in 1830 have drew the attention of European countries and Turkey towards Tunisia and Tripoli. The England and French jealousy and the rivalry between the two countries precipitated to the developments of events and the initiative of Istana to take its decision about this regard. The French politics at that time to support Qurmanli family that based on the judge in Tripoli as the situation in Tunisia and it was not at its interest to make a rule in Tripoli. England from anther hand was working to block the expansion of French influence in the North African and looks in the satisfaction eye to the return of the Ottoman sovereignty over Tripoli.

This talk was not too late, in 20 May there is a ships reached from Istana carrying on its back Shakir Effendi who came to Tripoli in the last autumn. It is announced the imminent arrival of Ottoman fleet that is appeared really in front of Tripoli as was made of 22 ships from different known types at that age. The ships are docked in 26 May in Tripoli port. Ali Pasha went personally to the leadership ship to greet Mustafa Pasha the campaign leader and then visited the ship that carrying the vice admiral and received both of them in a standing ovation and welcoming and exchange the greet between the artillery of ships and artillery of fort.

In 27 May has landing three thousand and five hundred armed and artillery squad and a number of flamethrowers and in 28 May Ali Pasha has invited to the lead ship and he rode one of the boats and when he almost reached to the ship told his arrest and Mustafa Najeeb has read the decree that appoint him as a judger on Tripoli. The leader of the city and Mansheya announced their loyalty in 30 May⁸⁰. Mohammed (thee house of money) fled above English ship of type crow. Then he moved in the early of June to the Turkish judger who received him well. While Mohammed Qurmanli is dropped by the despair and ended credo in the countryside and then committed suicide. While Ibrahim and Amora who are the sons of Yousef Qurmanli, they accepted the submission and obedience of the new masters. Yousef Qurmanli disbar in his house in the street of four Arsat in Tripoli whereas, his sun Osman stayed as a judger on Burqa to another period. While the ship rode by Ali

⁸⁰ The archives of Sardinia consulate (the mails with the Ministry of War and Navy) a message dated in 2/6/1835.

Pasha, his minister, his son Mohammed Daghees, the other son Saleem Kahiya, his biggest son Sulayman Bey and some servants, it is left Tripoli in 2 June in its way to Istana.

Thus, the judge of Qurmanli family has finished and even if the judge of this family is not a long extension to the pirates judge that continued three centuries on the coastal of North African but the length of judging period (125 year) and the institution of Ahmed Pasha, the strength of his character, works, adapt with the surrounding environment and the continuous evolution in gaining the national character of this family, all of this period left memories and impacts which kept impacts and respecting. It is not strange that the Turkish ruler Hasan Pasha has ordered some of his servants and scientists to attend the funeral ceremony of Yousef Pasha in his death day (4 August 1838) in his house in the Four Arasat and burial him in the soil of Ahmed Pasha in all the manifestations of appreciation. The Wali has attended at himself followed by all the officers and courtiers and waited there until the arrival of the funeral procession and gave the permission for the criers to rise minaret at the noon to recite the Koran and sing religious songs. As well as, he gave the freedom to some servants and release some prisoners⁸¹.

The foreign consulates has turn over their national flags which encountered considerable satisfactions from the citizens⁸².The consulate of Sardinia added that Yousef Pasha has dead and he is poor and has been buried on the government expense and the cost of burial amount thousand pieces.

2.6.2 The trade and economic situation in west Tripoli near of 1830

About a year of 1830 and before close period of the unrest that closed the roads of interiors, the trade in Tripoli has specific importance in the field of exchanging with middle Africa. Marzoq was the center of collecting trade with the interior of Africa and as grouped the products of Wadaï, Borno, Cascina, Skatu, Hausa, Tombouctou, and products coming from Tripoli, Benghazi, Egypt and

⁸¹ Hassan, pp. 102.

⁸² The archives of Sardinia consulate- the general mail dated in 4/8/1838.

Awjila. Then the European and Tripolitan products such as the writing papers (type of three moons that made in Genoa and Livorno), coral and garnet and cotton fabrics, silk, rugs, firearms, cutting weapons and cups ... etc⁸³.



⁸³ Rossi ,Una Rassenga Africanistica ecc, pp:259-257

CHAPTER 3

EVALUATION AND ANALYZING TO THE EVOLUTION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SIDES IN THE CITY MOSQUES

The evaluation of this development that mentioned previously for different groups of mosques must be started from the requirements and policies of the mosque that determines its form and gain it the Islamic architectural sides and these elements determined through:

The direction towards the Kibla of prayer, the house of prayer, the place of Imam (Mihrab), tribune and the courtyard of the mosque. It must be mentioned that many of the effects that contributed in configuring the architect of the mosque by some Islamic doctrines and especially at that doctrines that existed in the city of Tripoli in terms of their philosophy and approach of the mosque architecture and the development of this architecture in the highlight of these doctrines and the extent of the influence in the art of Tripoli mosques. As well as, the influence of different Islamic architecture in configuring the architecture of the mosques and their appearance and accompanied with evolution in most parts of the mosque including the decorative sides. In addition to the influence of architectural schools and doctrines in the architectural forms of Tripoli mosque, the effect by the type of available materials and the background of technical skills that participated in the construction where it is known that the lack of the region to suitable construction materials.

Despite the effects of the schools and doctrines in the architectural form of Tripoli mosque, it is effected by the type of local materials that available and the background of skills that participated in the construction where it is known that the lack of the region to suitable and good construction materials. The good stone that configured the opening of the doors and windows were importing from Malta and known as Maltese Marble and the good marble was importing from Italia. As well as, all types of woods were importing from abroad. Many of the construction materials importing from Tunisia such as the ceramic tile in addition to the importing of iron

and glass from abroad. It must be mentioned that the background of the rehabilitation and training of workforce and professionals were mostly Tunisian who trained in Tunisia or came from there or Morocco and Andalusian. The workforce was accommodating all the fields and steps of constructing starting from the imagining, planning and passing through the construction and finishing by the formation and decoration. So, the profession was comprehensive as known today from engineer, ovary, debate, sculptor and other craftsmen and technicians.

This system continued until the middle of this century and found many of have these skills and backgrounds which resulted that the architectural system and architectural school in Tripoli city similar to the Tunisian school in many faces. The Islamic doctrines that found in Tripoli city can be summarized as follow:

Through the first periods of the Islamic Conquest, the Maliki doctrine was the prevailing to the settled of Arab inside and outside of the city. While during that century the Ibadi doctrine has been spread between the Libyan populations of Barber in the regions where they lived. The schools of this doctrine and its jurists emerged in the west mountain and especially in Jado region. Also, Shiism imposed on the population of the city during the emergence of Fatimid state in Al-Mahdiya at the beginning of the fourth century. The emergence of this doctrine ended in the middle of fifth century AH where the Maliki doctrine returned back that is the prevalent doctrine to the population of the city. It was the only doctrine until the beginning of First Ottoman Era with the middle of fifteenth century. Hanafi doctrine came with the men of Ottoman doctrine of judger, soldiers and settlers that came from different regions of the Ottoman state where the Hanafi doctrine prevailed. Thus, this doctrine has been spread in small region and especially in Tripoli city both in inheritance or the bias to this doctrine. One of the results of the spread of this limited doctrine of the Hanafi doctrine that the emergence of a set of mosques during the first ottoman and Qurmanli era that characterized by special suit of ornamentation, inscriptions and sculpture which were not followed in the old city mosques due to the exclude of the two doctrines of Maliki and Ibadi the decorations and configurations in the mosques and the best comparison to the effect of these two doctrines on the mosques and their architectural system in Tripoli city is the comparison of the simplicity of

Naka mosque with the richness of Ahmed Pasha mosque where each one of them introducing the philosophy that followed in constructing the mosques for each doctrine. We find the absolute simplicity in the architecture of Naka mosque that free of decorations and sculpture while we find the technical richness and decorations and the beauty of pillars and crowns. As well as, in the prayer house and the tribune of Ahmed Pasha mosque and it is competed Gurgi mosque that is the second mosque of Tripoli in terms of technical richness and it is the only mosque that its minaret contained two balconies.

It must be mentioned that the Fatimid architect of mosques that emerged in Egypt contained on many of decorations and inscriptions. As well as, in the follow period it can be watched the movement of Fatimid Khalif from Mahdiya to Cairo. Thus, the Fatimid school to the mosque architect that established based on the eastern architecture has not affected on the mosques and buildings of Tripoli as in the Islamic buildings especially in Egypt and Cairo. Also, the Fatimid architect that emerged in Cairo and developed and funded based on the eastern architect which means based on the schools of eastern architect was the prominent elements in the domes whether they are differed in their figures and types. Thus, the Fatimid architect school was not Moroccan in its emergence with the emergence of Fatimid period but we find it have inherited its foundations from different eastern architectural schools and especially the Persian architecture in addition to its effect in other schools and configured the Fatimid Islamic architecture.

Thus, we find most of the Islamic eastern architecture from Egypt and east is comprehensive and cover most of Asian Arabic countries. In addition, the Islamic northern countries locate in the soviet republics which means to the regions of Samarkand. The architectural school of these regions return to the origin with their effect with the surrounding countries architecture such as the old architecture of India, China and Russia while we find the architectural school in Andalusia and Morocco and North Africa in addition to the ottoman architecture are effected in the Romanian and Byzantine school where most of their domes take the circle form or a part of it. Then, the two schools are developed (Andalusian and Ottoman) and each one of them configured their own curriculum where the Andalusian and Moroccan

architecture is characterized by semi-circular shape with tapered mild domes and the combination of engineering in the interior surfaces of the walls, ceilings and domes and participated with the Turkish architecture by using faience. While the ottoman mosques architecture are moved in comparison with the architecture of Byzantine churches in terms of the hugeness and the size of the main domes for the mosque, the use of the semi-domes and use the colored glass. Also, the Turkish school produced Islamic special architecture which has its own character as the case in the Andalusian and Moroccan architecture.

The ottoman school is effected in the mosques of the new schools of Tripoli mosques that constructed during the Ottoman and Qurmanli periods. As well as, in renew many of the old valuable mosques in the city. We notice besides the artistic richness in the decoration and stay away from the minarets and Moroccan silos and the use of minaret systems with eight surfaces or cylindrical forms. Despite that many of these architectural elements contains the ottoman architectural system but it may return in its origin to the valuable mosques before the fifteen century. As well as, it is noticed on the soils and some parts of the mosque of Salim and the mosque of Darog and the replacement of Ahmed Pasha mosque in place of Amor Bin Al-as mosque, all of that as a result of what happened at these mosques of modifications, addition and replacement.

Also, we would mention to the effeteness of the mosque architecture in the Andalusian and Moroccan decoration and engraving that transported by who came of the professional manufacturers as a technicians who came to construct the last mosques of ottoman and Qurmanli periods or by the immigrants who came from Andalusia in groups and especially the last groups that left Andalusia with the beginning of seventeenth century as a result of enforcing to Christianizing and lived the North African from the Atlantic Ocean until the city of Durna. Thus, we find the architecture of Tripoli city and especially the architecture of its mosques have effected in the school of ottoman architecture with covering of Moroccan ornamentation and the use of porcelain and a decoration element except some mosques that were possible to import the building materials from abroad which we find the effects of the local building materials have characterized by special mood in

terms of ceiling with equal sizes domes in most of the times that differ from the ceiling un the ottoman mosques. The ottoman mosques are characterized by the existing of main dome.

All of these backgrounds, we find that that architecture of ottoman mosques have characterized inside by the perfect simplicity which as Malki mosques. As well as, many of these mosques are characterized by the existing of rich suit of finishes and pillars and beautiful crowns. The set of mosques that constructed or renewed during the ottoman or Qurmanli period are characterized by the domes from outside and some of them have Moroccan minarets and most of them have cylindrical minarets.

While we find the minarets of the neighborhoods mosques are simple in their figure and do not raise from the surfaces of the surrounding settlements surfaces and most of them with minarets in one corner of the mosque. Perhaps not raise in minarets of the mosques belong to the privacy considerate in the settlement and non-disclosing inside the houses by these minarets. Therefore, the house has its own inviolability and non-disclosing on it is one of the most important elements of the city.

We conclude from studying the minarets system in the city that it contains four type of minarets that introduce on development or relationship with the residential areas. So, we find some of these mosques have square Moroccan minarets and that represented in Al-Naka mosque and Atiya mosque. In addition, two mosques in outskirts of Tripoli which are the mosques of Mohammed and Kitani. As well as, we find the cylindrical minarets to a set of mosques have been constructed or renewed during the first ottoman period and they are existed in Drghout, Khazin Dar and Kharouba mosques and the minaret of Salim mosque. While the minaret with eight surfaces has not appeared accept in Shaiyb al-Ain mosque that been constructed in 1698-1699 followed by the two minarets of Ahmed Pasha mosque and Gurgi mosque while most of the minarets in the residential areas have simple minarets in one corner and not raise from the surfaces of the surrounding places and not reveal on the surrounding areas.

3.1 Ahmed Qurmanli Mosque and School

This mosque has been constructed by the founder of Qurmanli state Ahmed Pasha and established during the period 1737-1738 according to the found dates on the door of the mosque and the place of the prayer. The mosque locates in the main entrance of the city which it follows the door of Mensheye. It is created to face the castle where Ahmed Pasha and his family were living. As well as, this mosques locates in the middle of the main markets of the city and within the place of the Quarter Market.

This mosque is placed in the location of Amr Bin Alas mosque or adjacent to it and the sayings stat that the West Mihrab represents the Mihrab of Amr Bin Alas and this is utilized that Ahmed Pasha mosque included Amr Bin Alas mosque within its west area which means the area of most ancient place in the city. The construction of this mosque with this capacity (the total space for the land of the mosque is 2550 square meter) and the organizing represents the status of the main mosque of the city or the great mosque where the area of the mosque exceeded the area of any other mosque. As well as, the mosque included a school and associated with the city and its markets. Thus, this mosque is accomplished in its location the requirements of the city center that include courtyard, the main mosque and the city markets. Furthermore, it conforms to the Islamic European cities with the focus and specializing in the two main parts of the city the management and markets and everything that necessary by a mosque. Also, it is characterized by the movement, calm, purity and stillness in the motion.

The mosque has been constructed on semi-square with an area of 50*50 and includes the prayer house and schools with its accommodation places. Moreover, it contains on cemetery and silo (with eight ribs) and has three entrances. The main entrance that face the castle and associated with Mushera road and Mushera market, the second door opens on the Quarter Market or Arab Market and the third door opens on Asherah Market or Women Market. All of these doors are organized. Therefore, it opens on the main directions of the city markets and its central administration and the house of prayer take the form of square with area of 23m*23m divided into five courtyards parallel to the Qibla wall and five rows in

perpendicular direction and covered by 25 domes. As well as, it contains six domes on three ribs of the prayer house which are prominent on the courtyard which are norther, eastern and western ribs.

The mosque is rich in its beautiful marble topped by the pillows patterned. Also, its walls that covered by faience and carved in their upper part. In addition, many of the decorations and writings. Many references have described in details to all of these elements and many of the immigrants praised the mosque who pass through. Ahmed Pasha mosque represents the top of the architecture in the mosques of Tripoli city and a peak in the colors, decorations, etching and consistency in colors and ratios.

The nodes of the entrances to Ahmed Pasha mosque have covered in the colored marbles of faience. As well as, we watch on the entrances of the mosque the marble and stones to some of the carved decorations and especially on the entrances of north, west and east house of prayer that leads to the water cycle area⁸⁴.

Also, we watch the crescent decoration on the main entrance that lead to the shrine locate in the eastern courtyard and the key of the node highlights from the level of node space and in the entrance of the shrine and the two entrances following the main entrance locates on the northern part of the house prayer. All of these entrances are of the marble and the highlights of the node key gives the symmetry with the highlights of the two pillows of the node space. This new architectural design remains us in the entrances that existed Italian architecture. The bar of all of these entrances in this mosque by width of 3 cm from the back which differ in the color from one entrance to another. In addition, the pillows of the nodes for these entrances are decorated with colored ceramic that determined with the same mode that we mentioned at the entrances. The entrances are determined from three sides with colored fiancé tiles that take the form of star. The middle entrance that locates in the Mihrab entrance has the form of horseshoe. As well as, the entrance is determined with colored marble of fiancé. This decorative arrangement which is the use of marble or stone for the entrances and windows and place colored decorative panels between the entrances and windows, we found it reflected or repetitive on the

⁸⁴ Salvatore Aurigemma, pp. 118-119.

walls of the prayer house from inside and outside and we watch like this arrangement on the walls of the prayer house in Mustafa Gurgi mosque from inside and outside.

As usually followed in the big mosques, we see the interior and exterior arrangement are reflected on the Mihrab region. The Mihrab of Ahmed Pasha mosque has close relationship with the decorations in the architecture of the Tunisian mosques in addition to the religious architecture in general. The study conducted by Mustafa Zabis about the Mihrabs in the Islamic architecture in Morocco included many of the Tunisian Mihrabs which has the same decoration and design that similar to the Mihrab of Ahmed Pasha⁸⁵.

This study did not include the Mihrabs in the Libyan mosques. In addition, the existing of the Mihrab in Ahmed Pasha mosque that is unique in its general design in the Libyan architectural design that make us more faithful and convenience that this mosque has been established by architectural engineers and Tunisian decorative and many decorative elements. The mosque is established in 1738 which points to many important directions in terms of the decoration mode in the Libyan mosques architecture includes the directions toward the establishment of big mosques with memorial character in terms of the hugeness and the decoration richness by using the many decorative and architectural elements. Also, this refers to the progress and economic prosperity that Qurmanli state lived at that period. Furthermore, it points on the economic and political stability at this period. Qurmanli state at this period configured strong political, social and commercial links with Tunisia and some European countries. Therefore, since the end of the seventeen century and especially in Qurmanli period we recognize the effects of art and European architecture and especially the decorative subjects in the art and architecture in Libya. For example, what we watch in Qurmanli mosque on the entrances and nodes that assigned the stair of the pulpit and the pulpit itself of decoration on the form of acanthus with the decoration represented by many architectural elements that configuring the architecture of Ahmed Pasha mosque.

The site of the pulpit is topped by small dome with four papers directing to the lower with the edges of the nodes holding this dome and ends with the crowns of

⁸⁵ Suleiman Mustafa Zbas, pp. 553-562

the small pillars that holding the nodes and the dome. The pillars that holding the prayer house are decorated with white marble and from one piece of type of induced⁸⁶.

The decoration that existed in Ahmed Pasha mosque are unique and prominent in their bases and their crowns are decorative with one ornament decorations and the walls of prayer house is covered with decorative marble some of them are with nature, origin, taste of European flavor. The memorial panels at the entrance of the mosque that overlooking on Musheer Street two decorative elements on the form of paper spiral bent (Tuscan Anthony Blunf, Sicillian Baroque, pp. 106-107). The wooden ceiling of the courtyards that surrounding the prayer house in addition to the ceilings of the balconies on the first floor level have been decorated with plant decorations and the vase element which include decorative glasses one of them occupy by the egg element, tongue and spear.

Such this decorative program in Qurmanli mosque which infrared in most of its sides from the European art we will find it in another mosque which is Mustafa Gurgi mosque that been established in 1834 which is a small image of Ahmed Pasha mosque in terms of the design and finishes in the Libyan architecture which has not been repeated in any decorative program in another Libyan mosque. Different view of Ahmed Pasha Mosque and school are showed in Figure 1-7.

3.1.1 Spiritual Radiation

Perhaps the only thing that characterizes this tutor is the pillars that contained and includes more than one hundred pillar with different sizes and forms and draw the visitor attention when access to the courtyard of the mosque the printed decorations on the marble ceramics that covering the exterior walls to the prayer base and the door that produced accurately surrounding the place and the mosque may be drawn its beauty that we find it from its huge details and acceding all the marble ceramic, columns, carved wood and their existing adjacent to each other according to the accurate arrangement comes from the Islamic vision.

⁸⁶ Tuscan Anthony Blunf, Sicillian Baroque, pp. 106-107.

This exactly in addition to the calm that surrounding the place and the spiritual radiation that attracting the visitors who care on visiting the mosque and roaming inside its courtyards in addition to the prayer house and taking memorial images where their visit to Tripoli do not complete without visiting this mosque because of this muse.

The prayer house can be entered from five doors distributed. Two doors in the north wall and the two other doors in the west and the last door from the eastern side and in all of the cases and from all of the doors the visitor asked to go up to access the courtyard because of its height as compared with the adjacent areas. As well as, the mosque contains many windows that placed for the purposes of the ventilation and lighting and even the wall of Qibla does not excepted where the soil locates behind it. The shrines can be seen from inside of the prayer house through these windows that made by colored glass.

The water cycles locate in one side of the exterior courtyard and a place for doing wudoo is a tank in circular form locates at the edge of the prepared place to the sitting of Almtodian this before adding another row of taps close to the tank. While the minaret which sparated from the prayer house that took a place far at the side overlooking the Musheer Market which consist of eight ribs and has been established on concrete base take the form of square and slightly high and the radius of the minaret is three meters while its length is eighteen meters and ends with circle balcony which enable the muezzin to turn to reach his voice to all the parts. In order to reach the minaret door that topped by decoration with Koran verses from Juma Surat to bring people to leave the jobs and directing to the Salat because the mosque locates in a place with infested by markets and people. Moreover, school and mosque of Ahmed Pasha is considered one of the famous and oldest religious mosques in the Tripoli and consists of two floors to the prayer house and including on the courtyards and classrooms that used by the students in addition to another smaller spaces to set up the prayer. This mosque has been built one the same engineering styles that has been the construction of Shayeb Alain that locates inside the market of Tarak near to Marcus Aoroljus Arch in the northern tip of the ancient city.

3.1.2 Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli religious school

— Location

Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli school locates within the campus mosque of Ahmed Pasha as a separate block and the main entrance opens on the out yard of the mosque that its façade overlooking on Musheer market. The school represents one of the famous religious schools in the oldest Tripoli city like Osman Pasha School that locates in Zenka, Drghout mosque school and Mustafa Katib School that locates in Zenka.

— The foundation

The foundation of Ahmed Pasha School belongs to the period of establishing the mosque by Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli that ended from its establishment in 1737 to add in the mosque and the supplement school many of residential and commercial real estate inside and outside the oldest city. In addition to a number of lands to be expended on the maintenance of the mosque and its supplements also on people who work in that mosque who include muezzins, supervisors, the schools teachers and students. So, we found that the amount of money that specialized according to endowment of the mosque that belonging to 1740 to the wedges of the teachers was (60) Ottoman for the teacher every day and each student (20) Ottoman every day and they are wedges which are changed with the succeeding of the historical periods. Also, they are considered as a daily expenses for the student in addition to his study as the curriculums Koran Schools at that time. The education in the schools included teaching Koran and memorize it in addition to study all the disciplines of the jurisprudential sciences and the house of the prayer for Ahmed Pasha mosque was a place where the students lessons are given while the rooms of the schools which are thirty three rooms are used as a dormitory for the students who are the students who come from outside of Tripoli and some of them are specialized to a number of teachers to live with the existing of two teacher during the day as supervisors for the students.

The building of the schools contained the special accommodations of students (kitchen- water cycles) and one of the big floor rooms is specialized to its similarities

of rooms to do the prayer and this is showed in the Mihrab that existed and opposite to the entrances of the rooms.

During the Italian occupation, many scientists and jurists are met to study the endowments of Alkatib, Ottoman Pasha and Ahmed Pasha schools to merge them in one endowment to get benefit from their money to teach the students the science of Koran, jurist and Arabic language to face the Italian colonial policy that established a set of schools to teach the Italian language. It took into consideration that the teaching type and curriculums must be similar to al-Azhar mosque in Cairo and Zitouna Mosque in Tunis with the colleges of jurist, Arabic language and tenets of the religion. Also, they decided that the study in Ahmed Pasha school according to the curriculum of Arabic Islamic studies and exploit the rooms of the three schools as a dormitory for the students and supervisors and the lessons were given for the students during two periods. The morning period from eight o'clock until the noon prayers while the evening period start after the Asr prayers until the evening prayer and the teaching were done in the house of the prayer in the mosque and during the congestion, it is done in the upper courtyard of it during rings for teaching. Each teacher sit beside one of the pillars that existed in the prayer house with his colleagues of teachers and each ring is pointed by (the ring of that teacher name) and the student sit adjacent to him in the form of ring with numbers between 20 and 30 students to receive the science. Usually each teacher or jurist have good background about Sharia and language sciences in addition to other sciences. Also, each teacher has specific science where some of them teaching Hadeeth Science, Interpretation of Koran, Unification, Fiqh, grammar and rhetoric and there is no specific age category to the acceptance of the students. Thus, the age of the students are ranged between 7 and 40 years old. Through their education period in the schools, they are subject into oral and written exams by their teachers of the jurists and which through they are moving from one educational period to another. As well as, during their study they are not allowed to take vacations except in the occasions and feasts to visit their families. These occasions where the students taking to visit their teacher for congratulations of gratitude and respect for them. Also, they were baptizing to kiss the teacher hand when the lesson finishes and if he was blind they were led him to

the lesson place. In addition, the students in the religious occasions revive rings to mention God while during Ramadan they were recite Koran and to ensure the attendance the prayer whole of the month.

— **The School Library**

The school included a big library where Ahmed Pasha keenness since its creation on providing many of the references and resources and bought different manuscripts with their traded subjects in the sciences of medicine, biography, faiths, arts, grammar and interpretation and other sciences. As well as, the judgers after him keenness on the interest at this school were the judger Hasan Pasha in 1838 appointed a manager on the library under the supervision the judger Ahmed Lateef to limit the books that contained by the libraries of Ahmed Pasha and Osman Pasha schools and because of his isolation from Tripoli state, the registration has not happened until 1858 in the Sharia court records to enter within the news and endowment the school and mosque. The endowment school established in 1898 and included all the manuscripts that existed in Ahmed Pasha mosque and Osman Pasha Mosque and the two libraries of Ahmed Ansary and the library emerged with the Libyan Center for archives and historical studies that represented in about two thousand manuscripts and number of printed books.

During the Second World War the mosque exposure to the bombing which led to destroy a big part of it especially the exterior walls the overlooking on Musheer market and some exterior arches of the mosque and this bombing has stricken a part of the supplemented school which led to transport the students of the dormitory to the building of the sharia court (the judger house) in the street of Durog street to be used as housing for them. So, the employee have been transported of the first floor to the ground floor. As well as, some students have been transported to the rooms existed in Mustafa Katib school and Osman Pasha School. However, this transportation process have been made for temporarily period which about one year and there is an attempt has been conducted to repair what has been destroyed hostilities for Ahmed Pasha mosque and the student returned to their building in the fiftieth and particularly between 1957-1958.

— **The evolution of Ahmed Pasha School**

Ahmed Pasha School has been developed to become a college known as Ahmed Pasha College as a part of the White Islamic University parts by the name Ahmed Pasha School still called on the building that stayed until now in the memory of people and headed by Abdulrahman Kulhod as a deans to the College the study has been organized according to the modern study methods where the Abdulrahman keenness to change the place of give the lessons from the prayer house in the mosque to adjacent building which overlooking on Musheer mosque which is an upper building that was a commercial shop occupied by an Italian photographer that the ministry of religious took the shop from him and established wat is known as new Ahmed Pasha School instead of the old school. As well as, they brought sits for the study and used blackboard and chokes for teaching with the Sharia and linguistic sciences that were taught. Also, they entered a number of modern sciences including history, geography, mathematics, physics and chemistry and these lesson where taught by many teachers including Nouredine Shalli, Tahir Shakshoky, Hussein Tarosha and others.

This was followed by changing in the school system and when the teacher was teaching in the primary school four years followed by five years for the secondary school and who want to complete his study, he can join the two universities of Al-Azhar and Zaytona and the education system was on the following way, three years for the primary school and then following the high religious sciences inside and outside the country. The study has limited in the morning while the evening study has been exploited as a civil modern school for the primary and secondary stages until the sixties of the twenty century when the school moved in its two phases the educational and interior to the outside of the city to the region of Dhahra and the building of Ahmed Pasha school which is supplemented to the mosque has been left until the current time which is known from the civilizational dilapidated status of the building. While the building of Ahmed Pasha School in the market of Musheer, it is used as a center to teach the languages and added to it the education of computer and its programming and specialized lessons to the students joined and then closed.

— **The teachers of Ahmed Pasha School**

The teachers who taught in Ahmed Pasha School have an important role in installing the foundations of religious education and known in their profusely science who include:

1. Mohamed Abulas'ad El-Alem.
2. Mahmoud Abu Rakhis.
3. Abdulrahman Busayri.
4. Ahmed Bakbak.
5. Mahdi Bouchaalh.
6. Mohammed Misrati.
7. Ali Ghariani.
8. Abubakar Balateef.
9. Abdul Hamid Nasrat.
10. Omar El-Messallati.
11. Khalil Almzoga.
12. Ali bin Musa.
13. Ahmed Al-Khulaifi.
14. Abdulrahman Kulhod.
15. Ali Kadhi
16. Taher Bakir.
17. Ali al-Najjar.
18. Ibrahim Bakir.
19. Osman Alqagigi.
20. Hamida Hami
21. Nouredine Shalli.

3.2 Mustafa Gurgi Mosque

The mosque of Mustafa Gurgi established at the door of the sea through the years of 1833 and 1834 which means with the end of Qurmanli judgment. Mustafa

Gurji was one of the family relatives and one of the rich people in the country and shared the family in managing the country and this mosque has been built tracking the mosque system of Ahmed Pasha from many parts including the house of prayer which takes the square shape and the existing of school and richness in the high marble pillars, decoration and sculpture. The establishment of this mosque comes after centuries of establishing Ahmed Pasha Mosque which gave this mosque the ability to exceed Ahmed Pasha Mosque in many of the accurate works such as ornaments, engraving, sculpture, vaccination and this work is characterized by the mosque. The prayer house takes the form of square with sizes of 18m× 18m and contains four corridors parallel to the Qibla wall and four vertical rows and covered like the Libyan mosques by domes and their number is 16 dome with the same size. The mosque is famous as one of the elegant Hanafi mosques in the city and witness the trip of the architectural development for the city mosques.

Qurmanli era extended from 1711 until 1835 which about 124 years and the most important of schools and mosques which established at this period representing in two mosques and one school. Also, during this period many mosques have been constructed but the mosques of Ahmed Pasha and Mustafa Gurji represent a fundamental shift in the model of Libyan mosques in terms of general organizing and the contains and the shift towards richness of the mosques with decoration, engraving and the use of faience and both of the mosques contain on school. In addition, the School of Writer has been built to be a school. We conclude from this trend at this period is the trend toward education and take care of schools and provide with manuscripts and the only previous school to this group is the School of Othman Pasha which was an alternative or compensation to Mustansiriya school.

These four schools which found in the city through the period which is with the end seventeen century and especially in the field of religious sciences, Arabic language and in terms of literature, poetry and timing science. In addition, some basics of mathematics. These schools had their own curriculums in the education for the religious subjects such as religious education and modern jurisprudence and language subjects and depend on specific subjects at these fields. There are many jurists who have been graduated from these schools. These schools represented on

the local level and similar to the famous mosques in the east and west of the country such as Zaytona Mosques and Al-Azhar mosque in terms of their possibilities and the existing of accommodation means and jurist for teaching.

Marble decorations that existed in this mosque represents a return to the tradition architect and decoration in the seventeenth century and we watch like this marble decoration that carved on the two entrances overlooking Al-Akwash street and on the entrance of the shrine and all of them are rings of type the horseshoe. For the first time we watch here the rings of the three entrances consisting of three pieces including the two frames of the ring and the key of the ring that represents the third piece and each frame of the ring contains an element that carved well and the key of the ring. As well as, similar rosette but smaller and the crescent element on the form of cloud⁸⁷.

As the same design of these rosettes we find it at the base of each temple of the two temples of the entrance ring. Furthermore, each entrance is surrounded by two parallel ornament and the confined space between them is covered by colored faience tiles. In Mustafa Gurgi mosque we can watch new forms and decorative of the three entrances in addition to the forms of windows to the place of prayer decorated with plants forms and flowers carved with marble. The decorative consists of the vase element that leaving from warped securitization with flowers and leaves in the method of carving with colored marble. That organize reflected on the ring of the Mihrab while the frame of the windows consisting of marble with many colors which is laurel wreath that consist of three decorative bars twisted and accompanied with flowers and leaves with black, red and brown colors.

The tribune of Mustafa Gurgi mosque similar to Ahmed Pasha mosque is considered wonderful masterpiece covering these sectors by plants decorations and flowers carved by marble and holding in their details the European effects. As well as, we can watch western forms about the art and Islamic architect in Libya that represented by the pillars that holding the Mihrab with vertical channels and dome above the seat of the tribune at this mosque. The marble pillars in the place of prayer and in the attachment school and that holding outstanding balconies that surrounding

⁸⁷ Dalu Jones, pp. 12-22.

the place of prayer of the fashioned styles replete with roundels outstanding take the type of neutrophil and counterattack wave⁸⁸. This ensures the presence of the technical effects and the European architect on the art and Islamic architecture in Libya. As well as, each cushion in the crown of the pillar in its four dimensions in the element of crescent that decorated lightly. Some decorative tiles that carved the walls of prayer place from inside and outside in addition to the shrine is European industry. The bench of the mosque is decorated with different decorations and especially its base which look like dome with two decorative rings that been designed on the form of teeth of saw. Also, they are the effects of the European art and decoration and this richness decoration by all the types of materials reflect the European style prevailing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

These decorations elements that imported represent only a part of the decoration program that placed to Mustafa Gurgi and mosque of Ahmed Pasha. In addition to these elements, there are another decorations that represented in the writings, marbles and decorative paintings that colored in the pillars of the mosque and the wood ceilings. We can watch these decorations in some houses in the old city of Tripoli that constructed in both Libya and Tunisia in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century⁸⁹.

The images of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque are shown in Figure 8-14.

3.3 The Mosques of First Ottoman Era and Qurmanli Era

At this period that extending from the middle of the nineteenth century until the end of Qurmanli judgment in 1835 which was rich in the construction and building business and it is characterized by some periods of activity and creativity and another periods by inactivity, but it was the result of the evolution and renewing most of their mosques and the creation of many new mosques that characterized by the beauty and entering many of ornamentation, decorative, ornaments, porcelain, sculpture and vaccination in the cladding walls and columns and most of the elements of the

⁸⁸ Salvatore Aurigemma, pp. 262.

⁸⁹ Salvatore Aurigemma, pp. 26.

mosque such as the pulpit and the mihrab. As well as, the embankment has been entered to the mosques and the minarets have been evaluated to the Ottoman model and especially in the eight minarets and the result of this period is the creation of a set of the following mosques that will be listed according to the sequence of the construction and we mentioned some parts that we see that they are important in terms of addition in some other references or give an opinion of this study that contradicts to other references.

1. Castle mosque

The mosque was originally one of the castle galleries that transformed into church during the judgment of the Spaniards and the knights of Malta and the church transformed to mosque after the return of Tripoli. This is done as a result of returning Tripoli by the king.

2. Drghout Pasha Mosque

Drghout Pasha created this mosque during the period of his judge and this is happened in 1561 and this mosque is considered the first mosque in the city that established during the ottoman period. It locates in Drghout Street, overlooking on the sea and it was looking on the east wall of the city. The engineer Masana refers that the middle corridor of the mosque was a church during the knights of Malta period which transformed by Drghout into mosque by changing its ceiling and adding two wings to the mosque. The system of middle corridor was consisting of three rows and took the longitudinal form and has been modified into four rows during this century. The mosque in its current situation consisting of middle corridor and two wings. Without argument is what forwarded by the engineer Masana of opinion that the placement of the two wings cannot be accepted that they are later additions to the middle corridor but it refers that oldest period as a part of old mosque that taking the form of old mosques that consisting of three corridors parallel to the dome wall and the mosque is covered by domes similar to the domes existing in the Libyan model and his pillars are high and beautiful. In addition, it contains cylindrical minaret and courtyard.

3. Makeel mosque or Ibn Musa mosque

Makeel mosque or Ibn Musa mosque locates in Al-Safar and it is called Ibn Musa due to the existence of Mohammed Ibn Makeel shrine (Ali Masood, pp. 148-149). Also, it is called Ibn Musa mosque because of Ibn Musa was his Imam and it is mentioned in the Islamic archeological cyclopedia in Libya that the mosque was led by Mohammed Ibn Makeel who was a scientist and jurists of Tripoli and lived during the period 1644-1698 and it is possible that the mosque returns to the second half of the seventeenth century in the neighborhood at Koshat Al-Safar Street and it is a simple mosque and one of Friday mosques.

4. Ottoman Pasha School

Ottoman Pasha School is one of the famous schools in Tripoli city and locates in Drghout Street. It is established by Ottoman Pasha in 1653 and he judged Tripoli through the period 1644-1662 and his judgement period was enriched by important institutions that accomplished in the city such as markets and hotels. The model of this school refers to the schools of that period that include house for the students' accommodation. As well as, rooms for teaching and a house for prayers. It is characterized by its prominent domes on the street and they differ from the domes of the small Libyan mosque⁹⁰.

5. Khazin Dar mosque

The mosque of Mahmud Khazin Dar in the Door of Sea and locates in Mahmud Mosque Street. Also, its southern facade overlooking on Mahmud Zareeq Street. The mosque is established by Mahmud Khazin Dar that best known as Khazin Dar who lived during the period 1608-1681 and hold the position of general secretary of the treasury and established a mosque in Misrata. Ibn Ghalboon refers that Mahmud Khazin Dar established five mosques and spend all of his fortune on works on kindness and goodness and religious institutions⁹¹.

6. Shayib Aleayn mosque

Shayib Aleayn mosque is established by Mohammed Imam Pasha in 1699 and he judged Tripoli from 1687 until 1701 and became famous by Shayib Aleayn. The mosque locates in the Silk Market and it opens on these two markets from the north and south. As well as, it contains third door on the Najara Market. The

⁹⁰ Gasperi Misana, pp. 81.

⁹¹ Mahmud Ibn Khalil, pp. 181.

mosque consists of prayer house with dimensions of (16 m× 19m) and contains 19 organized pillars and it is noticed that the eastern-northern part is old construction or it is a part of old mosque or added to the mosque in its old situation because it is noticed the difference in the construction system, the thickness of the walls, the type of pillars and ceiling system. This mosques includes all the facilities and the engineer Masana asking about the base of the mosque and whether it is established with the construction of the mosque or added later with the expansion of the mosque. Also, it is noticed on the general situation of the mosque and the form of prayer house that the west wall of the mosque which contains the general entrance of the mosque is original in terms of construction, decoration and organizing and represents the original entrance for the prayer house and homogenous with the prayer house. This entrance is followed by lobby shallow that used to take off shoes before entering to the prayer house. Also, it is noticed that at the upper part of lobby there is a corridor with decorative ceiling. There is no doubt that the depth of this corridor is not too large. While the two east and north corridors that represent an old building which may added to the mosque with the construction of the mosque in later time.

We conclude that the west corridor of the mosque is original accomplished with the construction of the mosque and especially that the stairs lead to it is a part of the mosque while the rest of the north and east corridor constructed with it at the same time or in later time.

The minaret of Shayib Aleayn mosque is the first minaret with eight faces that differs from the previous minaret as the Moroccan towers. So, it is noticed that the minaret of Kharoba, Mishat, Drghout and Mahmud Khazin Dar are all cylindrical minarets and they precedent of this mosque.

These groups of mosques established by the rulers, general secretaries of treasuries and the rich people of the country through the period between 1551 until 1700. As well as, through this period some of these mosques have been renewed or expanded such as Salim mosque and Kharoba. As well as, it is possible that during this period Abed Wahab mosque has been established during the judgement of Sufar Day in 1610. Furthermore, it is noticed on the groups of

these mosques and especially the big mosques such as Drghout mosques and Shayib Aleayin that all of them take the organizing of the mosque form and especially the house of prayer and take the square form more than the mosque that extended with the Kibla wall. Moreover, the long pillars appeared at these mosques that ends of Islamic crowns. Also, most of the markets mosques included the other facilities of toilets and some of them were contained on small schools and some of them had cylindrical minarets. As well as, the corridors are appeared at these mosques and biggest one was the corridor of Shayib Aleayin mosque.

It is noticed on these mosques the existing of supplements and it is difficult to determine their implementation date and some of them found with the mosque while the extension of Khroba mosque to the north is clear that it is implemented in later date to the construction of the mosque.

These groups of mosques represented the first evolution period for the city mosques and followed by another period included two mosques which are Ahmed Pasha mosque and Mustafa Gurgi mosque and this period included the construction of Al-Katib School. Different images of this mosque are shown in Figure 15-19.

7. Al-Katib School

The school locates in Zanket Al-Raih in the eastern part of the city at the end of the markets. It is established by Mustafa Al-Katib in 1769 and it is on the schools of the old system such as the system of Ahmed Pasha and Ottoman Pasha School and contains on rooms for the accommodation of students. As well as, it includes a mosque for prayer and teaching.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Most of the currently existing religious old building have been constructed during the Ottoman era and especially during the Qurmanli family and they locate in West Tripoli region, surrounding and close areas. Also, it is well known that and depending on the historical and literature resources, the old city in Tripoli where a huge set of the buildings are concentrated there has been destroyed in different periods. The city was almost completely destroyed when Turkish armies entered it in 1551.

Murat Agha and Darghout Agha started the reconstruction of the religious and civilian buildings as we know in the old city in Tripoli. Thus, we can confirm that even those undated buildings have been constructed or reconstructed during that period. Our current study clarified the comparison between those mosques and civilian buildings and especially those that constructed during the Qurmanli period. As well as, our study made a comprehensive survey about the Qurmanli kings who judged through that period and we described their life comprehensively depending on many historical resources. The architecture of the Libyan mosques have been passed by radical changes in terms of the decorative details and the new materials that entered in the decorative program of the Libyan mosques in addition to the architectural sides and surfacing.

The mosques with the flat-roofed ceiling and domes are properties of most mosques that been constructed at that period. According to the diversity of the mosques and especially the mosques with domes in terms of the beauty and

architectural sides and their decorative deviations and horizontal projections, we classified them according to their projections and shapes. So, the small roofed mosques and with one, four, six and nine domes are simple mosques and most of them are times mosques. Despite their small size and the humility of their bodies and simplicity, some of them are still associate with old traditions of the mosque architect in terms of being made up of roofed prayer and open corridor surrounded by low walls with one or more than one gallery that occupy the sides of the surface and used for the ablution facilities and if they the corridors multiplied, some of them are usually used for prayer.

This architectural order is characterizing the architect of the Libyan mosque in all periods whether that constructed before or after the Ottoman conquest to Libya. The transition area is focused in the dome or domes in the prayer house usually on the constructional structure that consist of the nodes and spherical triangles that hold the dome. It is noticed that some domes at these mosques are mounted on necks look octagonal ribs inside and square from outside. The prayer niches at these small and simple design mosques have semi-circle or with type of horse-drawn and the niche in the mosques with four sub-units creates architectural problem associate with the function and the location of the niche which is the use of one column in the middle of the prayer house where the four pillars distribute and received by ductile supports. While the natural location of the niche is in the middle of the dome wall, this place this occupied by the supporting pillars that depended by the pillars distributed from the column. The architects solved this problem by constructing huge and prominent frame surrounding the niche. Most of the mosques with recombinant unity supplied by tribunes as they are times mosques. In terms of supplying the prayer house by corridor between it with street, the space or the available area of the building is that determine whether the building will be supplied by yard or small open corridor.

The architects used two types of domes at this category of mosques whether square or the dome type. This architectural style has characterized many mosques that belong to the period before the Ottoman period. It is noticed that the simplest types of domes is the Silm domes by its three types which is the architectural style that dominated in the architecture of the Libyan mosque and in Burqa, Fazan and

other areas of Libya. The distribution of huge groups of small mosques in Tripoli city and its surrounding areas refer to that a number of families which their members professionalized this architecture tradition and inherited it with its constructional and decorative characteristics from generation to generation at the Qurmanli family period and later. Whereas in terms of large mosques that used as collective mosques, the internal space is dispersion and fraction because the prayer house consists of many space units roofed by many domes that depended by the columns and pillars that hold the ceilings. The problem of space dispersion in the prayer house caused problems for the Libyan architects. However, it is clear that these architects have the desire in solving the space fraction in the prayer house in the Libyan mosques.

This desire has encouraged the Libyan engineers and architects at the eighteenth and nineteenth century on conducting architectural experiments to challenge the praises of mosques with central planning and unique internal space. In order to know the origin of the Libyan mosque with multiple roofed space unity and many domes, the Italian researcher Gaspari Misana pointed that the shrines with domes are considered the resource that inspired the architects of Libyan mosques to make many domes and Misana denies any effect for Egypt and Tunisia. Nevertheless, our analysis and deep study with more comprehensive dimension refer that the popularity of the mosques with dome or domes in Libya was the result of the Turkish architecture where the buildings with domes are common thing in the Turkish architecture and especially in the architecture of the mosques. Also, the mosques with the domes became the dominant in the architecture of the Libyan mosques in the period between the second half of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century which is the period of the Ottoman state control on Libyan with its political and military influence on this country. When the architects got the adequate experience and efficiency and the constructional and historical heritage accumulated at them at the Qurmanli and Ottoman era, they did not hesitate in using different modes and types in the construction of the Libyan including getting on unique internal space in the prayer house.

In short, the architecture of the Libyan mosque passed in three evolution periods where in the previous periods of the Ottoman era the construction of the

mosques such as the planning of the prayer house was including rectangular units in roofed ceiling or domes. While during the first Ottoman period (1551-1711) and Qurmanli period (1711-1835), the prayer house was consisting whether from one space unit roofed by dome or many units roofed by domes. At this period, there is a new type of mosques planning called the mosques with central planning where the prayer house consists of asymmetric space units and roofed by one dome and other small dome and asymmetric too. Libya witnessed many examples of mosques where the prayer house consists of one roofed space units with huge dome such as Amoura Mosque in Tripoli. The largest domes is the dome of Sidi El Marghany Mosque in Tripoli (diameter 8.5 m) and the largest domes at all is the dome of Pasha mosque in Khums city (diameter 11.75 m) and in Libya there are two mosques have been constructed with central planning which are Atiq mosque and Othman mosque in Benghazi city. Also, the emergence of different planning of mosques in the Ottoman era refer clearly to the popularity decline of mosques with repeated symmetric space units and roofed with symmetric domes too.

It is must be noticed that that constructional tradition of the Libyan architectural mosque with roofed surface that characterized the mosques of Fazan and Burqa have been continued without interruption and without mentioned change at all of the periods before and during the Ottoman and Qurmanli periods. The unique difference is restricted by using the cylindrical and octagonal domes only in the architecture of the Libyan mosques in the Qurmanli period.

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses the Qurmanli family in Libya that family which judged Tripoli that currently called Libya about One hundred and fourteen years. The study of this historical period is on a very important side because it provides to us a clear image about the monuments in the Libyan history at that far period. It started in 1711 which is the year that Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli started the judgement and its end in 1835 which is the year where the judge of this family ended. Also, this historical periods is full of important events whether these events are internal or external. The most important internal events are represented by the family conflict between the Qurmanli family in order to reach the judgment, in addition to the internal revolutions that swept the country at the end of Yousuf Pasha Judgment and intensified at the age of his son Ali Pasha in order to get rid of this judgment which exhausted the energy of the people because of the high tax that imposed in addition to its acquisition on the country productive resources. So, this conflict and these internal revolutions are the most important factors which quickly broke the judgment of this family.

While the most important external events represented at that conflict which was among the judges of this family and between the European and non-European countries that took from the Mediterranean Sea a place to practice their marine activity and a rout taken by their commercial ships. This conflict was because of the attempt of this family to impose their will on these countries and enforce them on paying the annual royalties and consul gifts in exchange of their ships safety from the attack of the Tripoli fleet. The matter if this conflict has exacerbated at the age of Yousuf Pasha because of the attempts that made by some countries in order to free themselves from this control. The first country which tried its luck is the USA where in 1805 it was able to achieve its desires in free and get rid of the Qurmanli control. The American challenge to Yousuf Pasha was one of the most important factors that encouraged the other countries to try their luck. The results of these attempts with what issued by the European countries of decisions in the two conferences of Vienna on 1815 which is the deterioration of the Qurmanli fleet in a degree which almost finishes its existing where it has no longer that importance which was available

before. The stopping of the fleet of work and conducting its activity lead to fall of Yousuf Pasha in financial problems where its rings harder day after day because the marine activity at that time represented one of the most important of general resources for Qurmanli family.

As a result of losing this resource by Yousuf Pasha, we found him directed to search about another resources and he resorted to monopoly some types of trade and then he moved to borrow from the foreigners and that open the door in front of the foreign influence to intervene in the internal country affairs. Then, he resorted to sale the products of the country in advance and to many years to fulfill his debts which made the country living in heavy economical problem. When Yousuf Pasha was unable to solve this financial problem, he resorted to burden of people by exceptional taxes which led to many internal revolutions and continued until the Ottoman State abled to exploit these circumstances to re-impose its authority on the country in 1835 and finished the Qurmanli family age.

As well as, we focused at this study on eh historical period which start in the judgment of Yousuf Pasha and ends with the last Judger and what followed of problems and different prosperity periods following by weakness periods which took a lot until the fall of the Qurmanli judgement by the fall of Ai Pasha on 1835. While the other part of this study is representing by the urban features that been established through this period of mosques with different decorations and sizes to fit the urban features that existed in each period where we described these urban features accurately.

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ÖZET

Bu çalışma günümüzde Libya olarak bilinen Trablusgarp bölgesine yüz on dört yıl boyunca hükmeden Libya'daki Qurmanlı (Karamanlı) hanedanını konu almaktadır. Bu tarihsel dönemin incelenmesi oldukça önemli bir faktördür; çünkü çalışma bize Libya tarihinde o devirdeki anıtlar hakkında net bir görüş sağlamaktadır. Bu dönem Karamanlı Ahmet Paşa'nın hükmetmeye başladığı yıl olan 1711'de başlamış ve hanedanlığının hüküm sürmesinin bitiş yılı olan 1835 'de sona ermektedir. Ayrıca bu tarihi dönem hem içte hem de dışta olmak üzere önemli olaylara sahne olmuştur. Bu dönemde yaşanan en önemli iç olaylar Karamanlı hanedanlığı arasında yönetimi ele geçirmek amacıyla çıkan çekişmelerin yanı sıra Yusuf Paşa döneminin sonlarında başlayan ve oğlu Ali Paşa döneminde yoğunlaşan ülkenin verimli kaynaklarının elde edilmesiyle alınan yüksek ve ağır vergiler nedeniyle yönetime son vermek isteyen insanların başlattığı, bütün ülkeye hızla yayılan ve halkın enerjisini tüketen iç isyanlardır. Dolayısıyla, yaşanan bu iç çekişmeler ve isyanlar bu hanedanlığın çöküşünde rol oynayan faktörlerdir.

Bu dönemde yaşanan en önemli dış olaylar ise denizcilik faaliyetlerini uygulamak ve ticari gemileri için rota bulma amacıyla Akdeniz'de yer alan Avrupa ve Avrupa dışındaki ülkeler ile hanedanlığın üyeleri arasında yaşanmıştır. Bu çatışmalar hanedanlık üyelerinin bu ülkelere isteklerini dayatma girişiminde bulunması ve gemilerin Trablus filosunun saldırısından korunması ve güvenliğinin sağlanması karşılığında yıllık işletme payı ödenmesi ve konsül hediyelerinin verilmesi noktasında bu ülkelere baskı yapmasından kaynaklanıyordu. Bu mesele bazı ülkelerin kendilerini bu kontrolden kurtarmak için yapmış olduğu girişimlerden ötürü Yusuf Paşa döneminde iyice kızışmıştır. Bu konuda şansını deneyen ilk ülke 1805 yılında Karamanlı kontrolünden kurtulan ve özgürleşme arzularını başaran ABD olmuştur. Amerika'nın Yusuf Paşa 'ya meydan okuması diğer ülkeleri de şanslarını denemek için teşvik eden en önemli faktörlerden birisi olmuştur. Bu girişimlerin sonuçları, 1815'de Viyana da toplanan iki konferansta Avrupa ülkelerinin almış olduğu kararlarla Karamanlı filosunun neredeyse var olamayacak dereceye kadar güçsüzleştirilmesi ve daha önce mevcut olan önemini kaybetmesi

olmuştur. Filo çalışmalarının ve faaliyetlerinin durdurulması Yusuf Paşa'nın ekonomik zorluklar içine düşmesine ve günden güne daha da kötüye gitmesine yol açtı, çünkü o tarihte denizcilik faaliyetleri Karamanlı hanedanlığının en önemli genel kaynaklarından birisini oluşturmaktaydı.

Yusuf Paşa bu kaynağı kaybetmesinin sonucu olarak farklı kaynaklar aramaya yönelmiş ve bazı ticaret türleri tekeline başvurarak yabancılardan ödünç para almış bunun sonucunda da yabancı nüfuzunun ülkenin iç işlerine müdahale etmesine yol açan kapıyı aralamıştır. Daha sonra, borçlarının üstesinden gelebilmek için ülkede üretilen ürünleri önceden satmaya başvurmuş uzun yıllar boyunca ülkeyi ağır ekonomik problemler içinde yaşamak zorunda bırakmıştır. Yusuf Paşa bu mali problemleri çözmekte başarısız olunca, birçok iç isyana neden olan olağanüstü vergileri halkın sırtına yüklemiş ve bu karışıklıklar 1835'de Osmanlı Devletinin bu durumdan faydalanarak ülkedeki otoritesini yeniden sağlaması ve Karamanlı hanedanlığına son vermesine kadar devam etmiştir.

Bu çalışmada Yusuf Paşa'nın hükmettiği dönem ile başlayan ve Ali Paşa'nın ve Karamanlı Hanedanlığı'nın 1835 'te düşmesine kadar devam eden ve oldukça uzun süren tarihsel sürece odaklanılmasının yanı sıra, farklı refah dönemleri ve takip eden zayıflık dönemleri ve bu dönemlerde yaşanan problemler ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmanın diğer bir boyutu bu dönemde farklı süslemeler ve boyutlarda kurulmuş olan camiler üzerinden incelenen her döneme ait kentsel özelliklerin tasvir edilmesini içermektedir.

ARSIV KAYIT BILERI

Tezin Adı : 1711-1835 Dönemi Kuranlıyet Döneminde Bağış Mimarisinin Rolü

Tezin Yazarı : Amal Farrsi S.Tarhuni

Tezin Danismanı: Prof. Dr.Murat AĞARI

Tezin Konumu : Yüksek Lisans

Tezin Tarihi :14 ..08..2017

Tezin Alanı : KBÜ/SBE

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ahmed Paşa, Karamanlı Ailesi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Osmanlı mimarisi

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I am Amal Faris, I was born in 1975, Tripoli- Libya. I completed my primary and secondary school education in Tripoli, I got my bachelor degree from Al - Fateh University, College of Arts, Department of Ceramic and Glass in 1999 with Good grade. In 2000, I got a job as assistance at the same department until 2003 and then I got a job at the technical research center.

In 2013 I got a scholarship from the Libyan government and I decided to study in Karabuk University in order to complete my master degree at the history department.

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APPENDICES A



Figure 1: The Landmarks of Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli Mosque



Figure 2: Another Landmarks of Ahmed Pasha Qurmanli Mosque



Figure 3:Ahmed Pasha Mosque from the second floor



Figure 4: Ahmed Pasha Mosque from the First Floor



Figure 5: The external interface of Ahmed Pasha Mosque



Figure 6: The Niche of Ahmed Pasha Mosque



Figure 7: The courtyard of Ahmed Pasha Mosque



Figure 8: The Niche of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 9: The courtyard of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 10: The main gate of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 11: The first floor of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 12: The tribune of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 13: The domes of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 14: The decorations of Mustafa Gurgi Mosque



Figure 15: The main gate of Shayib Aleayn Mosque



Figure 16: The Tribune of Shayib Aleayn Mosque



Figure 17: The first floor of Shayib Aleayn Mosque



Figure 18: The Niche of Shayib Aleayn Mosque



Figure 19: The Courtyard Of Shayib Aleayn Mosque