ABSTRACT

MOSUL AND MOSULI HISTORIANS OF THE JALĪLĪ ERA (1726-1834)

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This work of regional history deals with the Ottoman town of Mosul in northern Iraq at a time when it was ruled by a local dynasty of walis, the Jalīlīs. The work falls into eight chapters covering: the urban geography of Mosul and the pattern of urban growth under the Jalīlīs (suqs, religious buildings, etc.); urban society (communities, officialdom, armed forces); the nature of the Mosuli economy and the role of the town in an intricate network of trade routes linking Persia to the Mediterranean and Asia Minor to the Gulf; political life in Iraq as it developed along the major arteries of communication encircling Mosul (influence of the walis of Bagdad, power of the Arab, Kurdish and Yazīdī tribes); the urban politics of notables (rise of the Jalīlīs, the "localisation" of political combinations, etc.); cultural life in Mosul (fundamental orientations as determined by the geopolitical situation of the area, the centres of cultural life in Mosul, the main fields of cultural production); a presentation of the Mosuli historians and historical production; and finally, an investigation into Mosuli perceptions of the history of the Ottoman Empire, the political entity of which Jalīlī Mosul was--and felt itself to be--an integral part.

MOSUL AND MOSULI HISTORIANS OF THE JALĪLĪ ERA

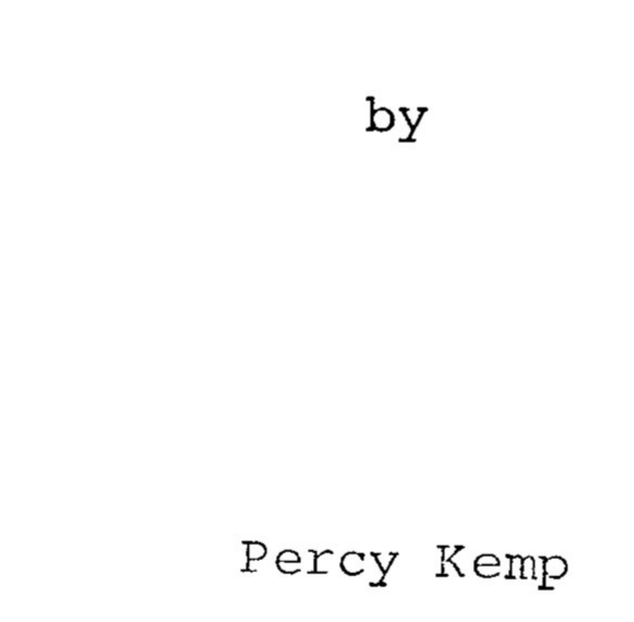
(1726-1834)

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CONTENTS

List of Maps and Tables		v
Transliteration		vi
Abbreviations		vii
Preface		ix
Chapter I	URBAN SPACE	2
	The Walls and the Gates	6
	Official Buildings	10
	The Suqs	12
	Religious Buildings	16
Chapter II	URBAN SOCIETY	26
	Population	26
	Urban Communities	27
	Officialdom	36
	The Armed Forces	38
Chapter III	THE MOSULI SOCIAL FORMATION	41
	The Land and its Produce	41
	Crafts and Industries	48
	Trade	52
	Conclusion	71
Chapter IV	CONTROL OF THE TRADE ROUTES	76
	The Road Linking Mosul to Syria via the Syrian Desert	81
	A Network of Roads Connecting Mosul with Syria via Upper Mesopotamia	81
	The Road Connecting Mosul with the Emirate of Bahdīnān	91
	The Road Linking Mosul to the Bābān Emirate and Persia	93
	The Trade Routes between Mosul and the Persian Gulf	95
	The Road from Baṣra and Bagdad through the Desert to Syria	100
	Conclusion	102

Chapter V	THE POLITICS OF NOTABLES	104
	The Political Scene before the Rise of the Jalīlīs	104
	The First Years of Jalīlī Rule	121
	The Feud of 1754	127
	The Feuds of 1756 and 1758	129
	The Feud of 1760-1761	133
	The Notables of Mosul around 1760	136
	The Feuds of 1768-1771	140
	The Bid for Power of ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. ʿUbaid Jalīlī	143
	The Notables of Mosul at the End of the 18th Century	147
	The Feud of 1806	157
	The Feud of 1809	158
	The Fall of the Jalīlīs	161
	Conclusion	165
Chapter VI	CULTURAL LIFE	168
	The Setting of the Cultural Scene	169
	Cultural Network and Mental Landscape	172
	Cultural Production	178
	The Issues	191
Chapter VII	MOSULI HISTORIANS	195
	ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī	197
	Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdu Jalīlī	202
	Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī	205
	Yāsīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī	216
	ʿAli b. Yāsīn ʿUmarī	256
	Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ	259
	Concluding Remarks	263
Chapter VIII	MOSULI SKETCHES OF OTTOMAN HISTORY	268
	The New Order	269
	Istanbul	278
	The Sultan	282
	Enemies: the Ifranj	290
	Enemies and Rivals: the ʿAjam	295
	Rivals: the Wahhābīs	298
POSTSCRIPT		302

Appendix I	The Governors of Mosul, 1726-1844	303
Appendix II	Mosuli Industries in 1845	305
Appendix III	Mouvement commercial de la ville de Mossoul et des Provinces environnantes pendant 1853	306
Appendix IV	Contrat passé avec le sheick Suliman, pour une escorte d'Arabes qui traversera le grand Désert d'Alep à Bassora	308
Appendix V	The Siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh according to Amīn ʿUmarī	310
Appendix VI	The Copying Industry	318
Appendix VII	Historical Sources in Mosuli Libraries	333
Apppendix VIII	Yaḥyā Jalīlī's SIR	341
Appendix IX	Jesus of Nazareth, as seen in Yāsīn ʿUmarī's AYA	351
Appendix X	Structure of UNW(1) by Yāsīn ʿUmarī	352
BIBLIOGRAPHY (List of Cited Works)		357

LIST OF MAPS AND TABLES

Map 1	Topography	1
Map 2	The main quarters of Mosul	5
Map 3	The gates of Mosul in the 18th Century	8
Map 4	Official buildings	11
Map 5	Economic cartography of Mosul	15
Map 6	Distribution of the main mosques c. 1800	18
Map 7	Distribution of the main shrines and cemeteries	20
Map 8	Distribution of the dhimmī places of worship	24
Map 9	The province of Mosul under the Jalīlīs	42
Map 10	Agricultural land east of the Tigris	46
Map 11	Caravan routes linking Mosul to Aleppo	55
Map 12	Caravan routes linking Mosul to Bagdad	57
Map 13	Mosul in a network of international trade routes	59
Map 14	Distribution of the main families and of the Janissaries within the urban districts	132
Table I	The House of ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī	106
Table II	The House of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī	108
Table III	The House of Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī	109
Table IV	Āl Yāsīn al-Muftī	112
Table V	The Ghulāmī Family	113
Table VI	The House of ʿAbd al-Jalīl	117
Table VII	The Jalīlī Family	120
Table VIII	The House of Ismāʿīl Pasha Jalīlī	128
Table IX	The House of Ibrāhīm Jalīlī	129
Table X	The House of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī	130
Table XI	The House of ʿUbaid Āghā Jalīlī	131
Table XII	Āl Bakr	138
Table XIII	The House of Fattāḥ Pasha Jalīlī	142
Table XIV	The House of Amīn Pasha Jalīlī	144
Table XV	The House of Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī	147
Table XVI	The House of Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī	147
Table XVII	The main Ashrāf mentioned in the sources	152

TRANSLITERATION

ء	'	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	'
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w, ū
ص	ṣ	ى	y, ī

Vowels: a, i, u, ā, ī, ū

Diphthongs: ai, au

Tā' marbūṭa: a or at

For well-known names of countries, towns and human groups, the European spelling has been used (e.g., Mosul, Aleppo, Iraq, Syria, Cairo, Fatimid, Abbasid, Sunni, Shii, Hanafite, etc.)

The commonly accepted transliteration has been used for words such as Pasha, emir, sultan, caliph, shaikh, qadi, mufti, khan, suq, etc.

All Turkish names and terms have been rendered in their Arabic form (e.g., Bīj for Beč).

For reasons of convenience the al of the definite article has been dropped before the most frequently recurring names (e.g., 'Umarī for al-'Umarī, Jalīlī for al-Jalīlī, Fakhrī for al-Fakhrī).

The anglicised plural has been used for terms such as madrasa (madrasas), dār ḥadīth (dār ḥadīths), masjid (masjids), etc.

ABBREVIATIONS

For reasons of convenience, the following abbreviations have been used for the Mosuli historical works:

AKH — ʿAlī ʿUmarī, Rauḍat al-akhbār fī dhikr afrād al-akhyār, MS of the British Library, number Add. 23311

ATH — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Al-āthār al-jalīya fī ʾl-ḥawādith al-arḍīya, MS of the British Library, number Or. 6300

AUL — Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ, Tarjamat al-auliyāʾ fī ʾl-Mauṣil al-ḥadbāʾ, MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 684

AYA — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, ʿUnwān al-aʿyān fī dhikr tawārīkh mulūk az-zamān, MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9484

BAG — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Ghāyat al-marām fī maḥāsin Baghdād dār as-salām, ed. by ʿA. Baṣrī, Bagdad, 1968

DUR(1) — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Ad-durr al-maknūn fī ʾl-maʾāthir al-māḍiya min al-qurūn, MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, number Arabe 4949

DUR(2) — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Ad-durr al-maknūn . . ., MS of the British Library, number Add. 23312

DUR(3) — MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9485, without title, referred to in the catalogue as Taʾrīkh, and attributed to Yāsīn ʿUmarī

GHA — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Gharāʾib al-athar fī ḥawādith rubʿ al-qarn ath-thālith ʿashar, ed. by Ṣ. Jalīlī, Mosul, 1940

HAS — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Qurrat al-ʿainain fī maḥāsin al-Ḥasan wa ʾl-Ḥusain, MS of a private Jalīlī library in Mosul

KHU — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Khulāṣat at-tawārīkh, MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9900

MAN(1) — Amīn ʿUmarī, Manhal al-auliyāʾ wa mashrab al-aṣfiyāʾ min sādāt al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbāʾ, MS of the British Library, number Or. 2429

MAN(2) — Amīn ʿUmarī, Manhal al-auliyāʾ . . ., ed. by S. Dīwahjī, 2 vols., Mosul, 1968

MUN — Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Munyat al-udabāʾ fī tārīkh al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbāʾ, MS of the British Library, number Add. 23323

NAD(1) ʿUthmān ʿUmarī, Ar-rauḍ an-naḍir fī tarājim fuḍalā' al-ʿaṣr, MS of the British Library, number Add. 18531

NAD(2) ʿUthmān ʿUmarī, Ar-rauḍ an-naḍir . . ., ed. by S. Nuʿaimī, 3 vols., Bagdad, 1974

NIS(1) Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Ar-rauḍa 'l-faiḥā' fī tawārīkh an-nisā', MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 1802

NIS(2) Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Ar-rauḍa 'l-faiḥā'. . ., ed. by R. Sāmarrā'ī, Bagdad, 1966

QUD Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Manhaj ath-thiqāt fī tarājim al-quḍāt, MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Khayyāṭ 5/14

SAI Yāsīn ʿUmarī, As-saif al-muhannad fī manāqib man summiya Aḥmad, facsimile reproduction of a MS belonging to the ʿUmarī family, Madrasat Yaḥyā Pasha, Mosul, number 970/ع م س

SIR Yaḥyā Jalīlī, Sirāj al-mulūk wa manhāj as-sulūk, MS of the British Library, number Add. 23306

SUL Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Ghāyat al-bayān fī manāqib Sulaimān, MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9901

UMD Yāsīn ʿUmarī, ʿUmdat al-bayān fī taṣārīf az-zamān, MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 9084

UMM Yāsīn ʿUmarī, fragment of a MS without title, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9486

UNW(1) Yāsīn ʿUmarī, ʿUnwān ash-sharaf, MS of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, number 49780, attributed to Amīn ʿUmarī

UNW(2) Yāsīn ʿUmarī, ʿUnwān ash-sharaf, MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, number Arabe 5792, attributed to Amīn ʿUmarī

UNW(3) Yāsīn ʿUmarī, ʿUnwān ash-sharaf, MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, number Arabe 5138, attributed to Amīn ʿUmarī

ZUB: Yāsīn ʿUmarī, Zubdat al-āthār al-jalīya, a selection made by D. Jalabī from Al-āthār al-jalīya by Yāsīn ʿUmarī, ed. by ʿI. Ra'ūf, Bagdad, 1974

Other abbreviations used

AD	Anno Domini	c	circa
AH	Anno Hegirae	d	died
B	Bāb	FO	Foreign Office
b	ibn	IML	Iraqi Museum Library
BEO	Bulletin des Etudes Orientales	P	Pasha
BL	British Library	SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam	SP	State Papers
AE	Affaires Etrangères	CCC	Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale

PREFACE

"La masse historique n'est pas un puzzle à reconstituer, c'est un corps à étreindre. L'historien n'existe que pour re-connaître une chaleur."

Roland Barthes, Michelet par lui-même

The town of Mosul in northern Iraq had always been a crossroads. Indeed Mosul epitomised the conjunction. Geographical conjunction, for Mosul was the gateway to Iraq and the key to the Mediterranean, "and I have often heard that the three greatest cities in the whole world are Nīsābūr because it is the gateway to the east, Damascus because it is the window on to the west, and Mosul because the eastbound traveller as the westbound one seldom misses it."[1] And etymological conjunction, for is it not said that at the root of Mosul (موصل) is waṣala (وصل)? And what is waṣala if not to link, to connect?

In the eighteenth century Mosul was a geographical, ethnic, religious, linguistic, cultural, economic and military crossroads; and a crossroads that grew and expanded around a local family of rulers, the Jalīlīs. This study seeks to throw light on the emergence of Mosul on the historical scene in the Ottoman period: its growth as a town, the socio-political dynamics of the rise, consolidation and final demise of local rule, the nature of the Mosuli economy, the extent of Mosul's influence along the major arteries of communication, and the cultural profile of the town during this period; to highlight, in other words, the interrelation between a town, Mosul, and a family, the Jalīlīs.

For more than a hundred years (1726-1834) a family which originated in Diyār Bakr and had settled in Mosul in the second half of the sixteenth century practically monopolised the governorship of the Ottoman province of Mosul. In

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[1] Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-buldān, F. Wuestenfeld (ed.), vol. IV (Leipzig, 1869), p. 683.

1743, Ḥusain Pasha, the second Jalīlī to be appointed wali of Mosul, led the town's successful resistance against the battering rams of the armies of Nādir Shāh, and this major event in the history of Ottoman Mosul was instrumental in consecrating the power and prestige of the Jalīlī family, and especially of the house of Ḥusain Pasha himself, whose descendants were to exercise a quasi-monopoly on the office of wali and be the effective rulers of the town, whether in or out of office, until the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Such an autonomist drive and concentration of power within a single local group was certainly not peculiar to Mosul. Even if one were to exclude the bids for power of the a'yān and Derebeys in Anatolia, of the Mamluks in Egypt and the Deys and Beys in Ottoman North Africa, still there were numerous instances, closer to Mosul, of centrifugal forces undermining the structure of Ottoman provincial administration and groping for power with mixed fortunes: the Mamluk Pashas of Bagdad, the Zīdānīya and Jazzār Pasha in southern Syria and Palestine, the 'Aẓms in Damascus, not to mention the multifarious sectarian-based local rules (Shihābs of Mount Lebanon, Bahdīnān Kurds of 'Amādīya, Bābān Kurds of Qara Jūlān), as many limitations to Ottoman rule.[1] Yet if it is true that the phenomenon of local rule was not peculiar to Mosul, it remains that the specific modalities of this rule must be an expression of local realities, the broad lines of which can be briefly outlined by placing Mosul within the geopolitical framework of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century.

The first local reality was the dual--and often conflicting--authorities to which Mosul was subjected. Theoretically, the province of Mosul was ruled by a wali appointed directly by the Porte; yet in the period under study the Mamluk Pashas of Bagdad had a great say in the nomination of Mosuli walis; so much so that during the rule of the most powerful Mamluks (Sulaimān Abū Lailā, Sulaimān the Great, Dā'ūd) it was more important for the Jalīlīs to have contacts at the seraglio in Bagdad than to have agents at the Porte.

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[1] For a general picture of the loss of power by the central government in the Arab provinces of the empire in the 18th century, see P.M. Holt, Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922 (New York, 1966).

At a time when the whole of Iraq, from Baṣra south to Mārdīn north, was under the jurisdiction of the Pashas of Bagdad, the Jalīlīs were able to preserve the autonomy of Mosul by effecting a delicate balancing act between the largely nominal suzerain in Istanbul, and the effective ruler of Iraq in Bagdad. The Jalīlīs may well have been walis and vizirs (three tails), yet their political behaviour was in many ways similar to that of the Kurdish Bābān emirs playing the Pashas of Bagdad off against the shahs of Persia, or the Shihābs of Mount Lebanon manoeuvering between the wali of Damascus and that of Sidon.[1]

In the eighteenth century, centrifugal forces in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire relied on three different power-bases which they sought to strengthen in order to enhance their own position. These three different power-bases were the sectarian one, be it factional, religious or ethnic (Bābān, Bahdīnān, Shihābs); the Mamluk household (Beys of Egypt, Pashas of Bagdad, Jazzār); and family bonds.[2] In this respect, Jalīlī rule in Mosul was closer to ʿAẓm rule in Syria and to that of the Zīdānīya in Galilee than it was to the neighbouring Mamluks of Bagdad or to the Kurds just north and east of Mosul.

As local "dynastic families" the ʿAẓms and the Jalīlīs have other points in common: Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm ʿAẓm was appointed wali of Damascus in 1725, and Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl, the first Jalīlī wali, became governor of Mosul in the following year; the ʿAẓms had been granted the governorship of Damascus for military services rendered in defending Maʿarra against the marauding Beduins, while the Jalīlīs had risen to the highest provincial office for military services rendered against the Persian enemy.[3] But this

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1 On the rule of the Shihābs, see K.S. Tabet, "The Rule of the Shihābs in Mount Lebanon, 1697-1804",unpublished M.Litt thesis, Oxford, 1979.

2 Not that any of these three power-bases actually existed in a pure form,yet one always dominated.In Egypt, for example, the Mamluk household was dominant, although it was pervaded by family blood bonds, as the leader's heir often took precedence over his khushdāshīs: see D. Ayalon, "Studies in al-Jabartī: Notes on the Transformation of Mamluk Society in Egypt under the Ottomans", in Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, III (1960).

3 Cf. infra, p. 121 and A-K. Rafeq, The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783 (Beirut, 1966), pp. 90-92.

is where similarities between the two families end, for whereas the ʿAẓms originated in northern Syria and only became through-and-through Damascenes circa 1750 (i.e., during the rule of the second ʿAẓm wali and a quarter of a century after the first ʿAẓm appointment to Damascus), the Jalīlīs had been established in Mosul for well over half a century before Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl became wali of the province. The Jalīlīs were undoubtedly a Mosuli notable family which used its wealth and position in Mosul and a local power-base in its bid for power; and this is precisely why the Jalīlī wali could not act in the way Ismāʿīl Pasha ʿAẓm acted once he was appointed wali of Damascus, i.e., adopting a monopolistic policy and relying on avanias in order to increase his wealth and power. Throughout the period of ʿAẓm rule in Syria popular revolts broke out against them in protest at their exactions, and Asʿad Pasha ʿAẓm was openly accused of profiteering by the Damascenes.[1] Such extortionist policies and such popular reactions were unheard of in Jalīlī Mosul, and the only popular uprising against a Jalīlī wali occurred at the very end of the period under study and was in fact largely responsible for the downfall of the family. The Jalīlīs' relationship to Mosul was far more intimate than the ʿAẓms' relationship to Damascus ever was. The history of Mosul in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century mingles with that of the Jalīlī family and loses itself in it. There is something called Jalīlī Mosul, there never was a ʿAẓmī Damascus.

Also specific to Mosul is a certain structure of urban politics in the period under study. In Aleppo around the same time, the three major forces in the city were the Janissaries, the Ashrāf, and the passing Turkish administrations, i.e, two basically local--and antagonistic--parties, and a third--alien--party which always sought to benefit from their rivalries.[2] Aleppo's strategic position, lying as it does on the way to Egypt and on the way to Persia,[3] and its proximity to the capital of the empire, made it very difficult

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1 Rafeq, Damascus, pp. 95-96, 107, 177.

2 See H.L. Bodman, Political Factions in Aleppo, 1780-1826 (University of North Carolina Press, 1963).

3 Cf. the role of Aleppo in Salīm I's Persian campaigns and the resulting frictions with the Mamluk Qānṣū al-Ghūrī.

for a local family or faction to exert total and stable power in the province. In Damascus, in the absence of any other major political faction the Janissaries monopolised the scene, yet contrary to the Aleppine Janissaries, the Damascene ones were divided into a local Yerliyya party and an alien Kapi Kulu party. The latter never achieved total symbiosis with the local population since new urṭas of Kapi Kulu were constantly arriving in the city.[1] So that in Damascus as well as in Aleppo the alien element was always an important factor in all political combinations and an active protagonist in all power struggles. Seen in this light, the pattern of urban politics in Jalīlī Mosul was more in line with that of Bagdad and that of Egypt under the Mamluk Pashas and Beys, in that the major actors in all the political struggles relied on essentially local forces which dominated the scene.[2] In Bagdad the Janissaries' power had been curtailed by Ḥasan Pasha and his son Aḥmad Pasha, and following that they played only a secondary role in Mamluk Bagdad, being kept in check by Sulaimān Pasha Abū Lailā and his khushdāshīs and successors: local rulers with a local power-base.[3] In Egypt the seven distinct corps constituting the armed forces in Cairo[4] had all, by the eighteenth century, come to be dominated by the Janissaries. The latter then lost the initiative to the Mamluks whose tools they became.[5] In Bagdad as in Egypt, essentially local armed factions which were well integrated into the indigenous society and economy[6] came to be dominated

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1 See Rafeq, Damascus, pp. 167, 175.

2 Whereas in Damascus, for example, a "local" wali such as As'ad Pasha 'Aẓm could, in 1746, ask for an urṭa of Kapi Kulu to be sent to Damascus, hence relying on the alien factor in his bid to strengthen his position: see Rafeq, Damascus, p.167.

3 See T. Nieuwenhuis, Mamluks and Big Sheikhs: Political Systems at the Starting Point of Modern Iraqi History, 1780-1831, forthcoming book; Stephen Longrigg, Four Centuries of Modern Iraq (Oxford, 1925), chapter 7; infra, p. 39.

4 Janissaries, Mutafarriqa, Shāwīshīya, Jamālīya, Tufinkjīya, Jarākisā and 'Azab.

5 On this process, see Holt, Egypt, chapter 6, and the last two chapters of André Raymond's Artisans et Commerçants au Caire au XVIIIème siècle, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1973-4).

6 Raymond's Artisans contains detailed analysis (based on samples of acts of succession registered at the Law Court) of the interaction between military society and civil society.

and used by a leadership "reared" locally in the Mamluk households.[1] Seventeenth century Mosul had three Janissary urṭas previously to the rise of the Jalīlīs and these urṭas (which could not have numbered more than a couple of hundred men) played a secondary role in urban politics which were dominated by a basic dichotomy between local notables and passing Turkish administrations. Then, in the early eighteenth century, and as the Jalīlīs were rising to prominence, two new Janissary urṭas arrived in Mosul, overshadowing the other three and establishing strong links with the notables, the merchants and the artisans. By 1740 all political combinations and power struggles in Mosul involved essentially local forces largely dominated by the Jalīlīs who were thus rulers and notables at the same time. Taking all these factors into consideration, and keeping in mind the strength and length of Jalīlī rule, one must conclude that the structure of political life in Mosul was much closer to that of Bagdad and Egypt under the Pashas and Beys (Mamluk household) than to that of Damascus under the ʿAẓm (family).

Depicted along very broad lines the structure of political life in Mosul in the Jalīlī era can be said to share with the ʿAẓms and the Zīdānīya in that family bonds were paramount;[2] it can be said to share with sectarian-based local rules (Shihābs, Bābān) in that it was dependent on a two-headed overlord (Porte, Bagdad); and finally it can be said to share with the Mamluk households of Bagdad and Egypt in the solidity and length of the rule and in the local character of the political combinations. Finally, one should mention another characteristic of Jalīlī Mosul, namely the scarcity of feuds and the relatively minimal role played by violence in urban politics, a trait which contrasts sharply with what was happening in Aleppo (to take as an example a province where the alien factor was always active), or in Egypt (to take as

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1 On the structure of the Mamluk household, see Ayalon, "Studies in al-Jabartī".

2 In dealing with the governorship, in Damascus, of ʿUthmān Pasha al-Kurjī who was a mamluk of the ʿAẓm family, Gibb and Bowen speak of a "continuation of ʿAẓm rule", hence drawing a parallel with the Bagdadi case of the Mamluk successors of Ḥasan and Aḥmad Pasha. Yet Rafeq's study on Damascus shows conclusively that ʿUthmān Pasha's governorship of Damascus cannot be regarded as a continuation of ʿAẓm rule and that the ʿAẓms actually resented being displaced by a former slave of theirs, hence underlining the paramountcy of family blood bonds (Rafeq, Damascus, pp. 237-238).

an example a province which shared with Mosul in a strong "localisation" of the political forces).[1]

Situating Mosul within the geopolitical framework of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century, as has just been done, does not define the specificity of Jalīlī Mosul. Rather, it draws the broad lines within which this specificity operated, as well as the general orientations which the present study will have to follow in order to grasp this specificity. The picture of Mosul which will finally emerge as a result of this work will owe a great deal to the cultural production of Mosuli udabā' of the Jalīlī era.

* * *

Although only one chronicle of events was written in this period--Gharā'ib al-athar fī ḥawādith rub' al-qarn ath-thālith 'ashar[2] by Yāsīn 'Umarī (1745-c. 1820)--a substantial amount of historical data (mainly political, military and cultural) pertaining to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century can be found in the various Mosuli works of universal history--be they annalistic or dynastic--such as Yāsīn 'Umarī's Al-āthār al-jalīya fī 'l-ḥawādith al-arḍīya,[3] his Ad-durr al-maknūn fī 'l-ma'āthir al-māḍiya min al-qurūn,[4] his 'Umdat al-bayān fī taṣārīf az-zamān,[5] which is a short compilation of annalistic history based on DUR, his 'Unwān al-a'yān fī dhikr tawārīkh mulūk az-zamān,[6] which is a dynastic history, and finally Rauḍat al-akhbār fī dhikr afrād al-akhyār, a dynastic history written by 'Alī 'Umarī (wrote c. 1810).[7]

Of the nine biographical dictionaries compiled in

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1 Ayalon sees in the "incessant bloodshed and fight to the death between the rival factions" a strong characteristic of the Mamluks of Ottoman Egypt ("Studies in al-Jabartī",p. 301).

2 GHA: ed. Ş. Jalīlī (Mosul, 1940).

3 ATH: MS of the British Library, number Or. 6300.

4 DUR(1): MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale,Paris, number Arabe 4949. DUR(2): MS of the British Library, number Add. 23312. DUR(3): MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9485.

5 UMD: MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, Bagdad, number 9084.

6 AYA: MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9484.

7 AKH: MS of the British Library, number Add. 23311.

Mosul at that time and used in this study, only two deal exclusively with the Jalīlī period, and they are Ar-rauḍ an-naḍir fī tarājim fuḍalā' al-ʿaṣr by ʿUthmān ʿUmarī (1721-1770),[1] and Shamāmat al-ʿanbar wa 'z-zahr al-muʿanbar by Muṣṭafā Ghulāmī (d. 1772).[2] The remaining seven biographical dictionaries do not centre on Mosul (they deal with general Islamic history, specific names, or functions), yet the biographies they give of Ottoman, Iraqi and Mosuli men of distinction are invaluable for the study of Jalīlī Mosul. These seven biographical dictionaries are all by Yāsīn ʿUmarī and they are entitled: Qurrat al-ʿainain fī maḥāsin al-Ḥasan wa'l-Ḥusain,[3] Khulāṣat at-tawārīkh,[4] Ar-rauḍa 'l-faiḥā' fī tawārīkh an-nisā',[5] Manhaj ath-thiqāt fī tarājim al-quḍāt,[6] As-saif al-muhannad fī manāqib man summiya Aḥmad,[7] Ghāyat al-bayān fī manāqib Sulaimān,[8] and ʿUnwān ash-sharaf.[9]

The Mosulis also composed works of regional history, and these are essential sources of information (mainly cultural and topographical). First among them is Manhal al-auliyā' wa mashrab al-aṣfiyā' min sādāt al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā' by Amīn ʿUmarī (1738-1788).[10] His brother Yāsīn wrote a work on Bagdad entitled Ghāyat al-marām fī maḥāsin Baghdād dār as-salām,[11] and after that he wrote Munyat al-udabā' fī tārīkh

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1 NAD(1): MS of the British Library, number Add. 18531. NAD(2): ed. S. Nuʿaimī, 3 vols. (Bagdad, 1974).

2 Ed. S. Nuʿaimī (Bagdad, 1977).

3 HAS: MS of a private Jalīlī library in Mosul.

4 KHU: MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9900.

5 NIS(1): MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, Bagdad, number 1802. NIS(2): ed. R. Sāmarrā'ī (Bagdad, 1966).

6 QUD: MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Khayyāṭ 5/14.

7 SAI: Facsimile reproduction of a MS belonging to the ʿUmarī family, Madrasat Yaḥyā Pasha, Mosul, number 970/س.ع.م

8 SUL: MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9901.

9 UNW(1): MS of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, number 49780. UNW(2): MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, number Arabe 5792. UNW(3): MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, number Arabe 5138. All three MSS are attributed to Amīn ʿUmarī.

10 MAN(1): MS of the British Library, number Or. 2429. MAN(2): ed. S. Dīwahjī, 2 vols. (Mosul, 1968).

11 BAG: ed. ʿA. Baṣrī (Bagdad, 1968).

al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā'.[1] And just after the fall of the Jalīlīs Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (1786-1868) wrote Tarjamat al-auliyā' fī 'l-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā',[2] a short compilation on the saints buried in Mosul which gives some interesting information at a cultural and mental level.

Supplementing these chronicles, annals, biographical dictionaries, hagiographies and regional histories, are some marginal and more literary Mosuli works such as an anthology of poems in praise of the Jalīlīs;[3] the dīwān of Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn (d. after 1821);[4] private correspondence exchanged between notables and "littérateurs" in prose as in verse, and pertaining to major historical events;[5] and a Syriac account of the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh.[6] All the above-mentioned authors identify wholeheartedly with the Jalīlī dynasty, with special preference being shown for the house of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī; and all this historical and literary production dates from after the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh in 1743, and reflects a period when the Jalīlīs' power and prestige was at its highest.[7] As a result of this strong identification with the Jalīlī walis, and of identifying and equating Mosul with the Jalīlī dynasty, these "indigenous literary sources"[8] offer but a blurred picture of Mosul and refuse to criticise the Jalīlīs. Which means that in most instances the mechanisms and causes of the feuds which shook Mosul in this period remain mysterious; monopolies, exactions, tax collections and control of the grain supplies

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1 MUN: MS of the British Library, number Add. 23323.

2 AUL: MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 684.

3 MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Jalabī 50/9.

4 MS in the private collection of Maḥmud Bey Jalīlī, Mosul.

5 Muḥammad Āl Yāsīn, Letter to Sayyid 'Abdallāh Fakhrī in Bagdad, MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Jalabī 65/9; Khalīl al-Baṣīrī and Sayyid 'Abdallāh Fakhrī, Poems on the Siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh, MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9802.

6 "Chronique syriaque relative au siège de Mossoul par les Persans en 1743", M.H. Pognon (tr.) in Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé.

7 The only exception is Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ who wrote after the fall of the Jalīlīs. Yet his work relies heavily on works written in the Jalīlī era: see infra, p. 259.

8 Albert Hourani's expression.

are not touched upon; and the actual issues over which the notables competed and fought remain unknown to us in most cases.[1] Nowhere can one find in a Mosuli historical work the kind of information which a Budairī, for example, gives his reader about the ʿAẓms, their monopolistic policies, their avanias, and the popular protests against them. And one has to go into rough drafts and scorned MSS to find some criticism of this or that wali, and some trace of the issues over which the notables fought.[2] And to add to the researcher's difficulties, many MSS have reached us in an "edited" and "doctored" form.[3]

To this Mosuli corpus should be added the many accounts of some fifty travellers, missionaries, merchants, consuls and scholars who visited Iraq between the end of the sixteenth and the end of the nineteenth century. Some of them stopped in Mosul for a few hours on their way to the sea or the Gulf; others remained in Mosul for a few days, eager to relate the Arab town they were experiencing to the Nineveh of which they had heard and read; others still resided in Mosul for years, and among them was Dominico Lanza, a Dominican missionary whose memoirs[4] supply us with an essential chronicle of events more elaborate in places than the accounts of the same events as given by Mosuli historians. Excluding Lanza, who is more of a chronicler than a traveller, one notices that the evolution of the nature of the accounts given by the travellers casts light on the specificity of Jalīlī Mosul. Indeed, until the fall of the Jalīlīs these accounts are sketchy, descriptive in very broad terms, and fully aware of the gap between East and West, native and visitor, Infidel and Believer: Europe is still very much exterior to Mosul. Following the fall of the Jalīlīs, the accounts given by Western visitors change, both quantitatively and qualitatively--a change best epitomised by the various accounts of the Euphrates Expedition. Henceforth Westerners

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1 It is only when rivalry results in violent and deadly feuds that the sources venture to give some explanation.

2 See for example infra, p. 150 note 3.

3 See for example infra, pp.225-225,233-234,237,243,246-8,257.

4 Mosul in the 18th Century According to the Memoirs of Dominico Lanza, R. Bīdāwīd (tr.) (Mosul, 1951).

no longer limit themselves to describing Mosul: they judge it, gauge its potentialities, classify it, categorise it and seek to act upon it; with the result that there emerges an archeological Mosul, an ethnic Mosul, a missionary Mosul, a mercantile Mosul, a political Mosul, a military Mosul, etc., as Western consuls, merchants, missionaries and scholars settle in the town understood as a base for the multidimensional penetration of the mountainous Kurdish hinterland, as of the Arab desert. The vague descriptions of a Tavernier or a Rauwolff now give way to Nicolas Siouffi's scholarly survey of the inscriptions to be found on Mosuli edifices, to Herzfeld's elaborate plates and maps, to Felix Jones' detailed topographies, to Binder's mercantile prognostications: Europe has become an integral part of Mosuli society; a situation which differs drastically from what it had been throughout the Jalīlī era.

To these narrative sources supplied by Mosuli udabā' and foreign visitors, one should add the statistical data supplied by the largely archival material. The first that come to mind are the registers of the Law Court (Sijillāt al-Maḥkama ash-Shar'īya),[1] invaluable sources for any detailed study of the social and economic structure of cities in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire (prices, wages, family structure, architecture, military organisation, corporate frameworks, production, social mobility, administration, etc.).[2]

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[1] See A. Raymond, "Les documents du Maḥkama comme source pour l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Egypte au XVIIIème siècle", in Les Arabes par leurs archives, J. Berque and D. Chevallier (eds.) (Paris, 1976); A-K. Rafeq, "The Law-Court Registers and their importance for a socio-economic and urban study of Ottoman Syria", in L'espace social de la ville arabe, D. Chevallier (ed.) (Paris, 1979).

[2] The first to use these registers for a study of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire was S.J. Shaw (The Financial and Administrative Organisation and Development of Ottoman Egypt (Princeton, 1962)). The most comprehensive and monumental work to date must be Raymond's Artisans which uses the Court registers fully to give the reader a rare insight into the basic mechanisms of Cairo's economy in the 18th century, a quantitative description of the artisans and merchants, and the interrelation between them and the armed forces in Cairo. The work inscribes itself in the Labrousse-Ecole des Annales intellectual framework, especially as regards the periodisation of Cairene social and economic life along curves that use currencies and prices as pointers. A-K. Rafeq has given us more limited studies using the Court registers: see "The Law-Court Registers of Damascus with Special Reference to

As far as Jalīlī Mosul is concerned these registers are unfortunately irretrievably lost. Thrown in the basement of the Maḥkama ash-Shar'īya today are more than 1,000 registers in very poor condition covering the period after 1880. Earlier than that date there seems to be only one register of inheritance documents for the years 1851-1858 and another register containing miscellaneous documents such as waqfīyāt and covering the years 1826-1832. Both registers are in very poor condition.

To compensate the historian for this loss Mosul nowadays offers him two collections of waqf documents. In the Mudīrīyat al-Auqāf in Mosul is a register entitled Sijill waqfīyāt muḥāfaẓat Nīnuwā containing duplicates of some two hundred waqfīyāt relevant to the period under study. And the late Muḥammad Bey Jalīlī had compiled a collection of some fifty copies of waqfīyāt (Majmū'at waqfīyāt) pertaining mainly to the Jalīlī family; this collection is now in the care of Maḥmūd Bey Jalīlī in Mosul. In the absence of more quantitative sources these waqfīyāt provide the historian with essential information regarding the wealth of the notable families, their policies of investment in real estate, and the pattern of urban growth.

As for the Ottoman archives, an ignorance of the Turkish language has unfortunately kept them beyond the reach of this study. Within these Ottoman archives one may include a number of firmans sent from Istanbul to the Jalīlī walis, and now in the care of Maḥmūd Bey Jalīlī in Mosul. Far more important are the registers of the Ottoman State kept at the Bāshwakāla in Istanbul, and the Cadastre registers kept in Ankara.[1] 'I. Ra'ūf has consulted the Bāshwakāla archive while preparing his study on Mosul,[2] and he quotes two registers (number 195 dated 951 and 956 AH, and number 660 undated) dealing with sixteenth century Ottoman regulations

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Craft-Corporations during the First Half of the 18th Century", in Les Arabes par leurs archives; "The Local Forces in Syria in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in War Technology and Society in the Middle East, V. Parry and M. Yapp (eds.) (London, 1975).

1 On the Bāshwakāla registers, see Farouk Mardam-Bey, "Sources historiques et documentation", in L'espace social de la ville arabe.

2 Al-Mauṣil fī'l-'ahd al-'Uthmānī (Najaf, 1975).

and with the system of land tenure. The present study has been unable to draw on these registers, yet it should be noted that the information which Ra'ūf has extracted from them and then synthesised in his study is rather fragmentary, that it does not allow for the emergence of any quantitative trend, and that the picture of the material basis of Mosuli society which Ra'ūf draws (land tenure, guilds, etc.) owes far more to chroniclers, travellers and generalisations based on secondary works dealing with Islamic societies, the Ottoman Empire, etc., than it does to precise statistical data.[1]

As for the European statistical material relevant to Jalīlī Mosul, it is of two kinds. It is interesting to note that in as far as the Jalīlī era is concerned, European statistical material on Mosul comes from the economic terminals and main political centres (Aleppo, Başra, Bagdad); that this material touches on Mosul incidentally and indirectly; and that it is basically economic, concerned with Mosul qua mercantile centre of gathering, distribution and transit. Such are the India Company papers from Başra,[2] the Levant Company dispatches from Aleppo,[3] and John Bowring's Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria.[4] As one can clearly see, this material concerns itself with the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, only touching on Mosul indirectly, and its main topic is trade. Its very distance from Mosul highlights the specific nature of the town throughout the rule of the Jalīlīs. Following the fall of the Jalīlīs, however, a new kind of European statistical material emerges with the arrival, in Mosul itself, of resident European consuls and merchants. This new kind of statistical material deals with Mosul directly at an economic, political, military, cultural and religious level. Most relevant to the present study are the reports of the British vice-consul in Mosul, Christian Rassam,[5] as well as the French consular reports,[6] both

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1 Cf. Raymond's Artisans.

2 India Office Records, Commercial Report, G/29/25.

3 Public Record Office, series S.P. 110.

4 New York, 1973.

5 Public Record Office, series F.O. 195.

6 Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale (Mossoul, vol. I).

supplying information about the period following the fall of the Jalīlīs, and casting retrospective light on Jalīlī Mosul. Mosul now becomes centre and direct object of a systematic European discourse (both descriptive and formative), whereas in the past European discourse was fragmented, sketchy and laconic: a pointer to the minor inroads made by Europe into Mosul previous to the fall of the Jalīlīs and the re-establishment of direct Ottoman control.

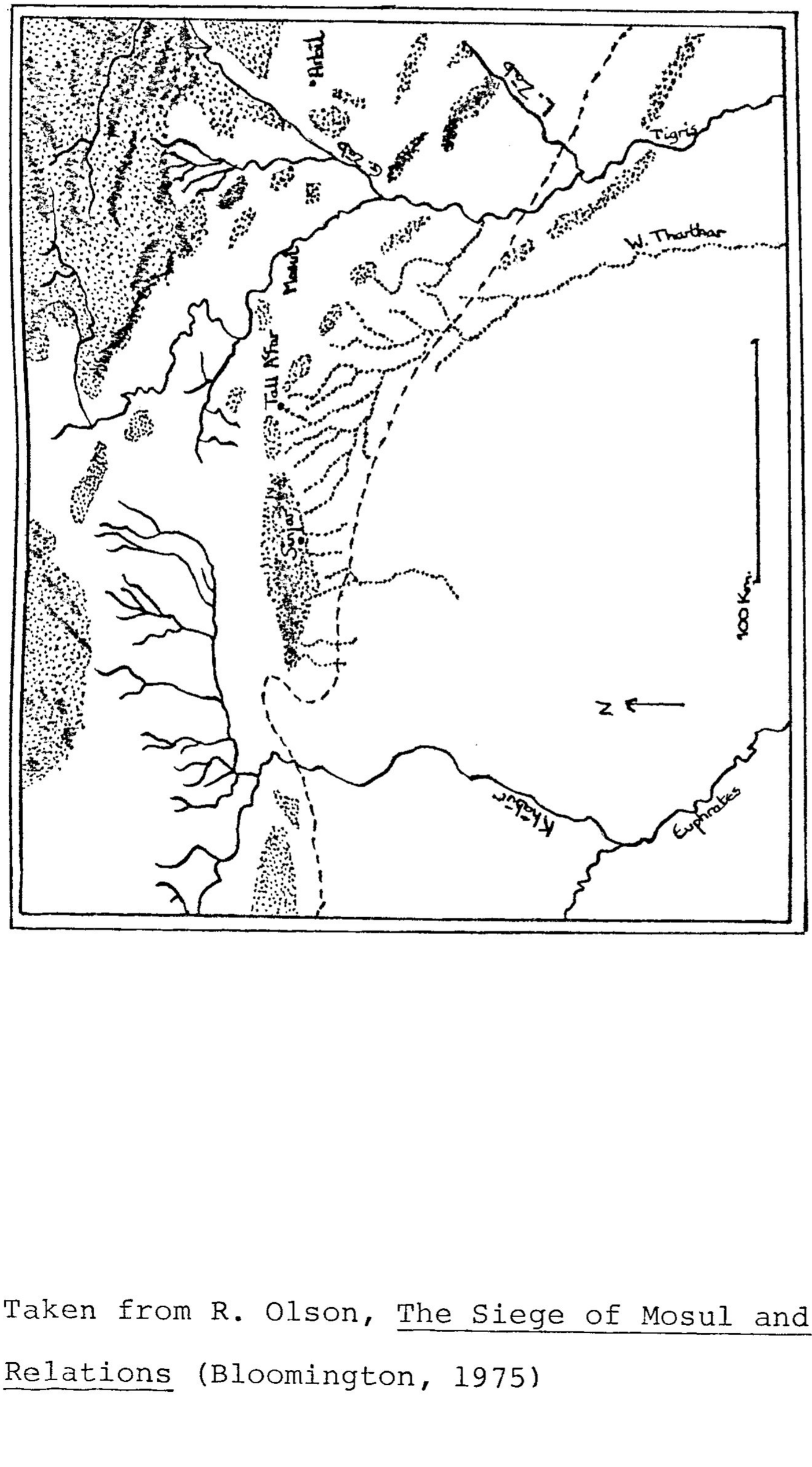
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In all, European archival and statistical material throws indirect and retrospective light on Jalīlī Mosul, and in the absence of sufficient local statistical sources (land registers, Law Court registers, waqfīyāt) the narrative--and often literary--sources will have a determining influence on the structure of this work, as well as on the shaping of the picture of Mosul that will finally emerge as a result of it. Indeed, the particular nature of the bulk of the material which will be examined, and the predominance of a "human" as opposed to a statistical corpus, have a direct bearing on the methodological approach. Faced with both a subjective and an objective impossibility to undertake a detailed quantitative study of Mosul based on sufficient and representative samples,[1] this work has sought to capitalise on the "human" corpus available to it, hoping to compensate for the inability to effect deep probes by increasing the surface of analytical penetration, widening the front, and attacking Mosul from various angles at once. And this is precisely why the work is entitled "Mosul and Mosuli Historians . . .". The inclusion, into the field of analysis, of the historians of the period (works produced, recurring themes, world view, etc.) sets the study on to a particular path which will gradually cause it to turn its attention away from "Mosul observed" and towards "Mosul observing".

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[1] Subjective impossibility because of an ignorance of the Turkish language; and objective impossibility because of a general scarcity of statistical source material.

Map 1: Topography *



* Taken from R. Olson, The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations (Bloomington, 1975)

Chapter I

URBAN SPACE

"By ruse and treachery, the Mongols captured Mosul, massacred its inhabitants and went on plundering and looting for nine days. They then razed the town to the ground and the survivors fled."[1] The fall of Mosul to the nomadic Mongol hordes marks the end of the urban growth which the town had witnessed under the Atabegs. For three long, dark centuries, political insecurity, the interruption of trade and the loss of its hinterland to marauding bands, caused Mosul to shrink within its old walls. And whereas Atabeg Mosul had previously spread north and south along the west bank of the Tigris, Mongol and Turcoman Mosul remained confined within a limited area immediately surrounding the seraglio at the centre of the town and the fortress to its south-east.[2] The conquest of Mosul by the Ottomans at the beginning of the sixteenth century was finally to provide a sound basis for renewed urban development. The town's strategic position as one of the two main gateways from Persia to Anatolia and Syria, as well as its being the rallying point for the defence of Iraq, led the authorities to strengthen its fortifications. All the same,a century later, Mosul was still a mere qal'a,[3] and it was only with the Ottoman conquest of Bagdad and the setting up of the liwā' of Mosul as an independent province in 1639, that Mosul could start hoping to regain past glories. The integration of the town into a wide and unified political

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1 MUN, f. 32v.

2 C. Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie et en d'autres pays circonvoisins (Amsterdam-Utrecht, 1780), vol. II, p. 292; S. Dīwahjī, Jawāmi' al-Mauṣil fī mukhtalaf al-'uṣūr (Bagdad, 1963), p. 235 and "Mosul Citadel in Various Periods", in Sumer, X, 1 (1954), pp. 105-107.

3 See 'I. Ra'ūf, Al-Mauṣil fī 'l-'ahd al-'Uthmānī (Najaf, 1975), p. 429.

entity, and the relative stabilisation of Perso-Ottoman borders in Iraq, were necessary conditions for a vastly accelerated urban growth under the Jalīlīs.

As a town, Mosul has been depicted in conflicting ways by the many European travellers who visited it. Broadly speaking, those who approached it from the south or from the east were impressed by its fine buildings and bazars, while those who came from Turkey and Syria were disappointed. Its houses were low and had no windows on to the street; most were built of burnt mud-brick, while door frames and columns were made of gypsum and of alabaster.[1] The dwellings had subterranean apartments (sirdāb) where people would escape from the scorching heat of summer days, and terraces where they could enjoy the freshness of summer nights.[2] The houses of the notables--great complexes the shape of a big khan surrounded by high walls giving them the appearance of small fortresses--had underground granaries whose walls were covered with bitumen and which could contain up to four hundred sacks of grain.[3] The streets of Mosul, narrow and unpaved, were dusty in summer, muddy in winter, and formed a veritable labyrinth.[4]

The distribution of the quarters underlines a peculiar trend of urban growth. The quarters to the north and north-west were few in numbers, vast, sparsely inhabited, and had few religious buildings.[5] Those to the south were

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1 G.A. Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse (Paris, 1804), vol. IV, p. 268; F. Jones, "Topography of Nineveh", in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XV (1855), p. 366; Sestini, Voyage de Constantinople à Bassora (Paris, 1794), p. 148; T. Howel, A Journal of the Passage from India, by a route partly unfrequented, through Armenia, and Natolia, or Asia Minor (London, n.d.), p. 75.

2 H. Southgate, Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia (London, 1840), vol. II, p. 239; Sestini, p. 144. These subterranean apartments were used as shelters during the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh: cf. "Chronique Syriaque relative au siège de Mossoul par les Persans en 1743", M.H. Pognon (tr.), in Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé, p. 500.

3 D. Lanza, Mosul in the 18th Century according to the Memoir of . . ., R. Bīdāwīd (tr.) (Mosul, 1951), p. 7.

4 Sestini, p. 148; Jones, p. 366; J.S. Buckingham, Travels in Mesopotamia (Farnborough, 1971), p. 286.

5 Maḥallat al-Maidān al-Akhḍar, for example, which covered an area equal to 1/10th of the total surface area of the town, was almost totally deserted and used as land for orchards.

numerous, small, and overcrowded with official buildings, economic premises and religious edifices. This seems to indicate that under the Jalīlīs, Mosul grew in two directions: to the south-east, ignoring the gates and spreading outside the walls within a safe enclave along the Tigris; and to the south-west, around Bāb al-ʿIrāq and Bāb al-Baiḍ.

Writing to the British embassy in Istanbul, Christian Rassam, vice-consul in Mosul, put the number of quarters in 1845 at forty-six,[1] while Herzfeld enumerated forty quarters at the end of the nineteenth century.[2] It is practically impossible to determine the exact number of quarters in Jalīlī Mosul, and this is due to various reasons: the great confusion in the use of the terms ḥāra, maḥalla and ḥayy; the frequent visitations of plagues of all sorts which could drastically alter the pattern of urban geography from one day to the next;[3] these quarters, named after tribes, gates, monuments or trades, often changed names and were sometimes referred to by various appellations;[4] all the streets of Mosul had two exits and the quarters were not cut off from the outside by their own gates;[5] quarters appear to have been fluid entities not constituting units of taxation, and nowhere in the sources is there mention of any shaikh al-ḥāra;[6] finally, with economic expansion and urban growth some quarters encroached on neighbouring ones, sometimes absorbing them completely.[7]

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1 FO 195/228, Mosul, 27 May 1845.

2 E. Herzfeld, Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet, vol. II (Berlin, 1920), plate 4.

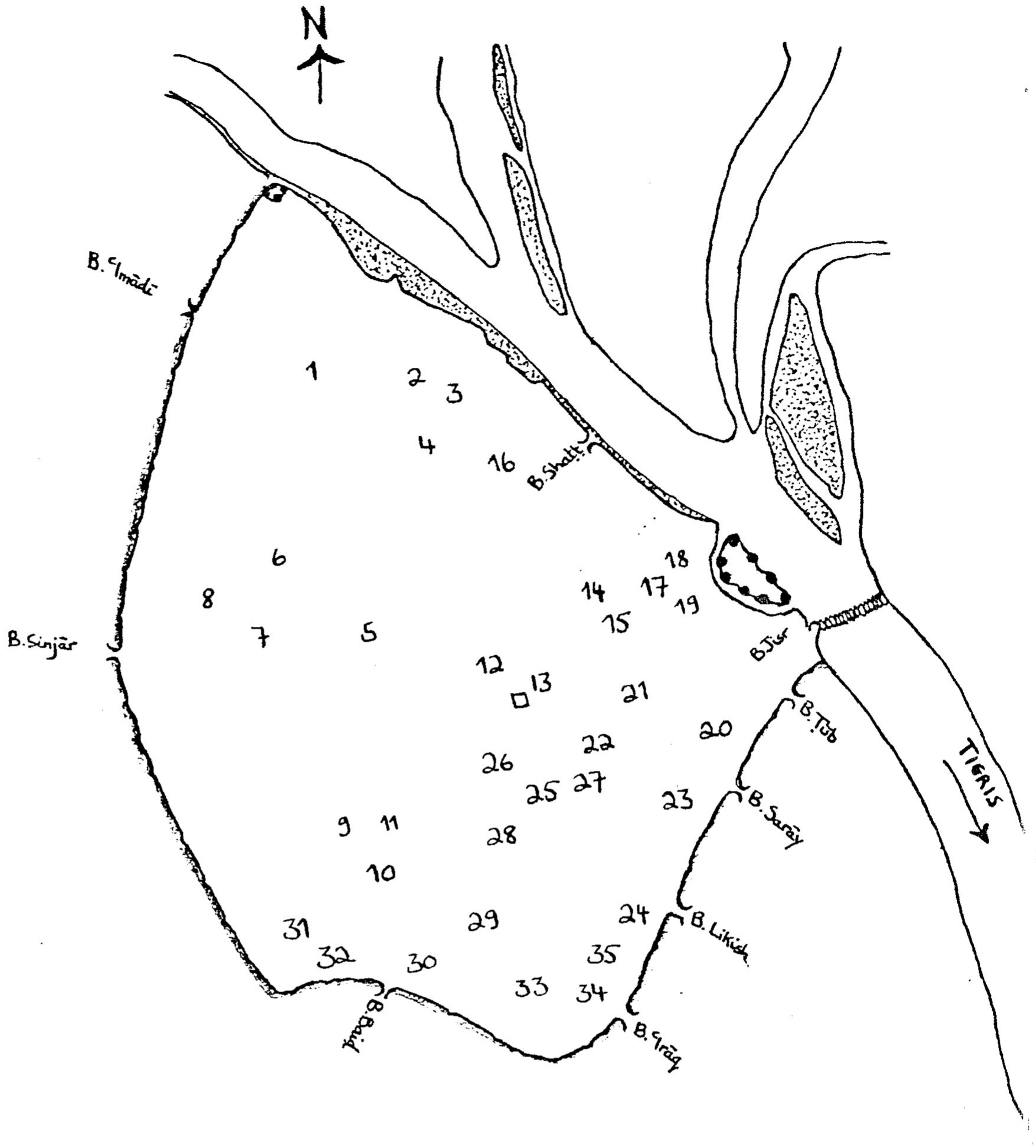
3 The quarter of Mashāhida, near Bāb Sinjār, was totally wiped out by a plague in 1800: see N. Siouffi, Majmūʿ al-kitābāt al-muḥarrara fī abniyat al-Mauṣil, S. Dīwahjī (ed.) (Bagdad, 1956), pp. 87-88.

4 Maḥallat Shaikh Muḥammad, for example, was also called Manṣūrīya, while parts of it were also known as Burujīya, and it is not certain whether it lies in the wider maḥalla (lieu-dit?)of Bāb al-Baiḍ or that of Bāb al-ʿIrāq.

5 Niebuhr, II, 290.

6 In Aleppo, Janissary leaders acted as shaikh al-ḥāra (Bodman, p. 32).

7 See Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 132, 157.



Map 2: The main quarters of Mosul

1. Maidān al-Akhḍar
2. Naṣārā
3. ᶜAbdu Khūb
4. Mikkāwī
5. Khātūnīya
6. Yahūd
7. Bāb al-Masjid
8. Shaikh Fatḥī
9. Mashāhida
10. Khazraj
11. Ḥammām al-Manqūsha
12. Jamshīd
13. Jāmiᶜ al-Kabīr
14. Imām Ibrāhīm
15. Bāb an-Nabī
16. Ra's al-Kūr
17. Naᶜlaband
18. Maidān
19. Ḥaush al-Khān
20. Bāb as-Sarāy
21. ᶜAmmū Baqqāl
22. Sirājkhāna
23. Khuzām
24. Bāb Likish
25. Imām ᶜAun ad-Dīn
26. Rābiᶜīya
27. Jūlākh
28. Shahrasūq
29. Manṣūrīya
30. Bāb al-Baiḍ
31. Mayyāsa
32. Maḥmūdain
33. Qanṭara
34. Bāb al-ᶜIrāq
35. Shaikh Muḥammad

I. The Walls and the Gates

The Atabeg walls, within which Mosul was to grow, had been neglected until the seventeenth century. Rauwolff, who visited the town in the sixteenth century, described the dilapidated state of its ramparts and moat.[1] In the seventeenth century, the Ottomans erected new fortifications, improved the condition of the moat and built a new citadel known as Ij Qal'a (Inner Citadel) in the southern part of the town, along the Tigris.[2]

The Ottoman walls surrounded Mosul completely and they were about ten metres high and three metres thick. Apart from the Īj Qal'a, there were at least twelve towers.[3] Throughout the modern period, the condition of these walls underwent considerable changes, and European visitors present conflicting reports as to their state. This was mainly due to the fact that the building materials used--gypsum and burnt mud-brick--were not weather-resistant, and consequently the walls had to be repaired at regular intervals. Leaving Mosul in June 1743, just before the arrival of the armies of Nādir Shāh, Otter saw many workers engaged in rebuilding the town's fortifications, and work on the walls continued after the siege, and was finally interrupted by the removal from office of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī. In 1776, Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī completed work on about three hundred yards and rebuilt one of the towers, but work was again interrupted when he was removed from office. In 1801 the ramparts were repaired following orders from the Porte, but fifteen years later, when Buckingham arrived in Mosul, he found both the walls and the moat in poor condition and the Citadel in ruins. Finally, in 1821, Aḥmad Pasha Jalīlī undertook further repairs on the walls and rebuilt the southern Īj Qal'a and the northern Bāsh Ṭābya citadel. And when Aucher-Eloy visited Mosul in 1835, he wrote that the fortifications were in a

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1 L. Rauwolff, "Itinerary into the Eastern Countries", N. Staphorst (tr.), in A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages, J. Ray (ed.) (London, 1693), p. 204.

2 MAN(2), I, 62; S. Dīwahjī, Citadel, p. 107.

3 MAN(2), I, 154; Ra'ūf, p. 430; A. Ṣūfī, Khiṭat al-Mauṣil (Mosul, 1953), vol. I, p. 22.

good state of repair.[1]

However poor these town walls may have appeared to European travellers, they were strong enough to resist heavy bombardments and repeated assaults inflicted upon them by the armies of Nādir Shāh in 1743. Even with the ramparts in bad condition, the moat filled with rubbish and the towers in ruins, the walls continued to fulfil one of their main functions throughout the Jalīlī period: keeping the marauding nomads and other bandits out, keeping the town-dwellers in, and enabling the authorities to control the inflow and outflow of persons and of goods.

Movement of persons and of goods in and out of Mosul took place through the various gates which were open from dawn to dusk.[2] During the Atabeg period, the town appears to have had nine gates: to the north-east, close to the Tigris, was Bāb al-ʿImādī, named after ʿImād ad-Dīn Zankī; then, working inland and anti-clockwise, Bāb al-Jaṣṣāṣīn, Bāb al-Maidān, Bāb Kinda, Bāb Likish and Bāb al-Qaṣṣābīn; and finally, on the river, Bāb al-Jisr, Bāb al-Mashraʿa and the "secret" Bār as-Sirr which served military purposes.[3] The fate of these old gates in the Jalīlī period illustrates the pattern of urban growth. Of the northerly gates, Bāb al-ʿImādī, blocked during the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh,[4] is never mentioned by the chronicles of the period, nor is Bāb al-Jaṣṣāṣīn. As for Bāb al-Maidān, it appears to have remained unrepaired since the time of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu'.[5] While these northern gates were allowed to decay and become defunct, the southern ones were constantly being repaired and improved, and new ones opened. Working

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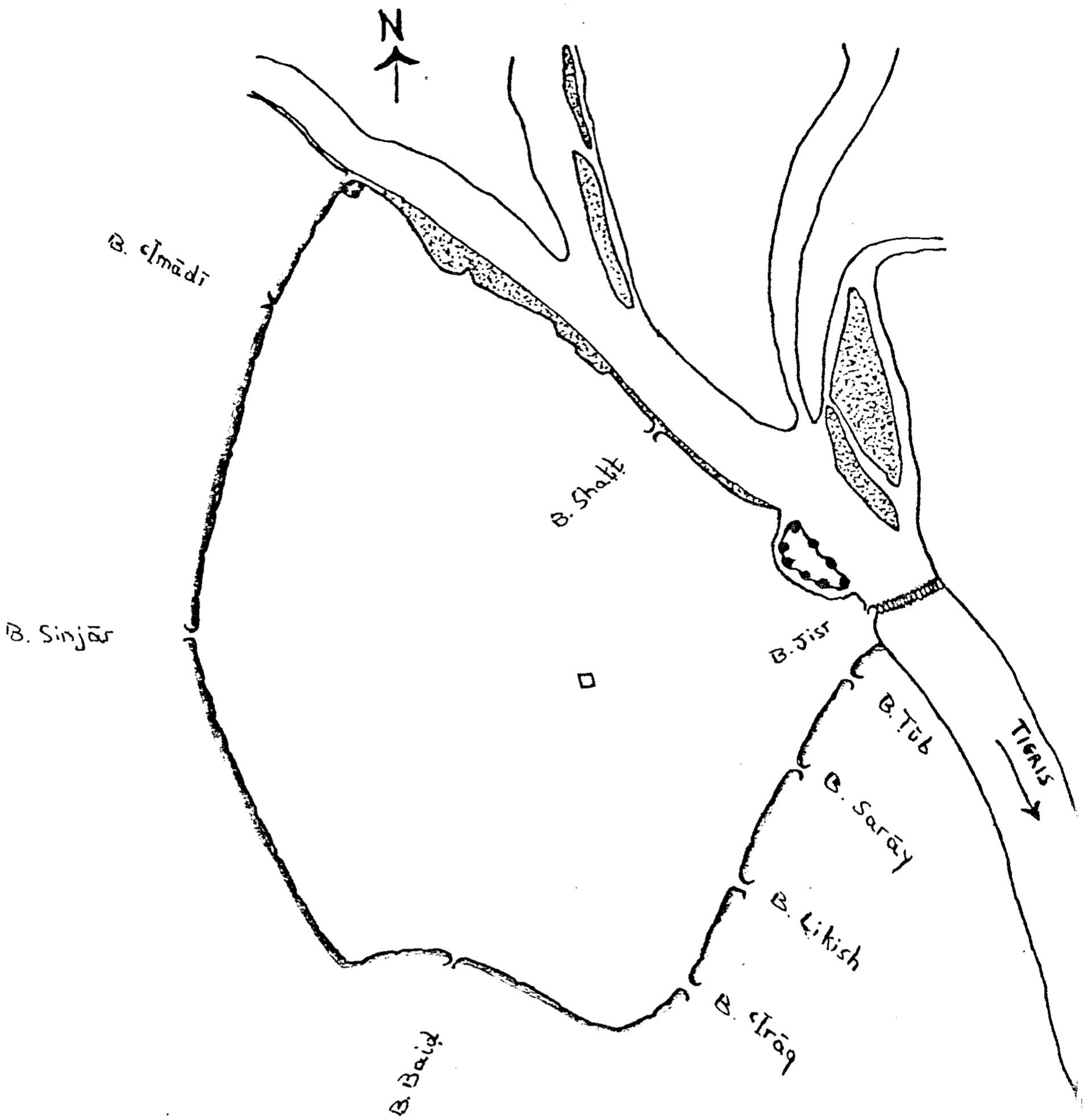
1 MAN(2), I, 62-63; ZUB, p. 106, GHA, p. 60, Lanza, p. 8; Siouffi, pp. 136-139, 144; Buckingham, pp. 286, 291; J. Otter, Voyage en Turquie et en Perse (Paris, 1748), vol. II, p. 257; Olivier, IV, 266; J-B. Rousseau, Description du Pachalik de Bagdad, Silvestre de Sacy (ed.) (Paris, 1808), p. 88; Aucher-Eloy, Relations de Voyages en Orient (Paris, 1843), p. 198; S. Dīwahjī, "The City-Wall of Mosul", in Sumer, III, 1 (Jan. 1947), pp.117-122.

2 Sestini, pp. 142-143.

3 Ṣūfī, I, 11-19.

4 Niebuhr, II, 291.

5 MAN(2), II, 116; Dīwahjī, City-Wall, p. 125. It was only repaired in 1821 at the end of the Jalīlī period.



Map 3: The gates of Mosul in the 18th century

anti-clockwise, south of Bāb al-Maidān[1] was Bāb Kinda, renamed Bāb al-Baiḍ and repaired in 1631 and in 1802, Bāb al-ʿIrāq (also named Bāb al-Jadīd) which was opened by ʿAlī ʿUmarī in 1725 and repaired in 1821, Bāb Likish,[2] Bāb as-Sarāy, most probably opened at the time when the seraglio was moved from the Inner Citadel to the southern walls, Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb, "the gate of the canon", which was probably the old Bāb al-Qaṣṣābīn, completely rebuilt in 1750, Bāb al-Jisr, Bāb al-Qalʿa and Bāb ash-Shaṭṭ, repaired in 1801.[3]

Under the Atabegs, the northern districts of Mosul flourished, and the northern gates led to the citadel, to the palaces and to the places of worship on the bank of the Tigris. When the Mongols captured the town, the north was abandoned and fell into ruins, and Bāb al-Maidān, leading to the seat of government in the centre of the town, became the northern-most gate of Mosul. But by the time the Jalīlīs had established themselves as the effective rulers of Mosul, the area separating Bāb al-Maidān (Bāb Sinjār) from the centre of the town was also in ruins, and consequently the gate itself was seldom used. The fate of the three northern gates is a clear pointer to the particular trend of urban development. Jalīlī Mosul grew to the south-east and to the south-west, broadly speaking south of a line linking Bāb ash-Shaṭṭ to the east to Bāb al-Baiḍ to the west; and whereas the north was in ruins, the south was so overcrowded that the southern ramparts served as walls for the houses being built.[4]

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1 Renamed Bāb Sinjār.

2 According to Ḥasan al-Ḥabbār, a renowned Mosuli learned man of the 19th century, Bāb Likish stands for Bāb al-Jahash (jahash: weeping, lamentation), and the gate was so named because of its proximity to the cemeteries. Other explanations give us: Bāb al-Qashsh (straw), Bāb al-Jaish (army), Bāb Lakash (leading to the ancient town of the same name).

3 Niebuhr, II, 291; Ṣūfī, I, 23-26; Dīwahjī, City-Wall, pp. 120-127; S. Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 232 and "The Schools of Mosul during the Ottoman Time", in Sumer, XVIII, 2 (1962), pp. 49-50; S. Ṣā'igh, Tārīkh al-Mauṣil (Cairo, 1923), vol. I, p. 272; A. Dupré, Voyage en Perse (Paris, 1819), vol. I, pp. 116-117; DUR(2), f. 323r.

4 MAN(2), II, 79; Niebuhr, II, 290; Olivier, IV, 265; F. Walpole, The Ansayrii, and the Assassins (London, 1851), vol. I, pp. 390-391; W.F. Ainsworth, Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia (London, 1842), vol. II, p. 130, and A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition (London, 1888), vol. II, p. 317.

II. Official Buildings

Whether one was coming to Mosul from Bagdad or from the mountains of the north, from Persia or from the Syrian coast to the west, the safest approach to the town was the road which followed the Tigris on the east bank, and travellers wishing to enter Mosul then had to cross the river on a bridge of sixteen stone arches to which was attached another bridge of twenty boats chained together and covered with wooden planks. When the current was too strong, the boats were unchained for safety, and people had to resort to a ferry. Once on the other side, travellers entered the town through Bāb al-Jisr and immediately plunged into its busy heart.[1]

As they entered the town, to their right stood the Inner Citadel, Īj Qal'a, separated from the rest of the town by a moat. This Citadel was erected around 1625/1035 by Bakr Pasha, the first Mosuli to be appointed governor of the town, to serve as residence for the ruler and as the seat of government.[2] But it was later neglected, and by the second half of the eighteenth century was being used as an armoury and residence for a Janissary urṭa, probably the urṭa "10". Under the Jalīlīs, the seat of government was the new seraglio, built on the southern walls, near Bāb as-Sarāy. Adjoining it was the station of the Tatar (the Imperial Courrier), and the Law Court was also in the vicinity.[3] As for the custom-house, it was situated near Bāb al-Jisr.[4]

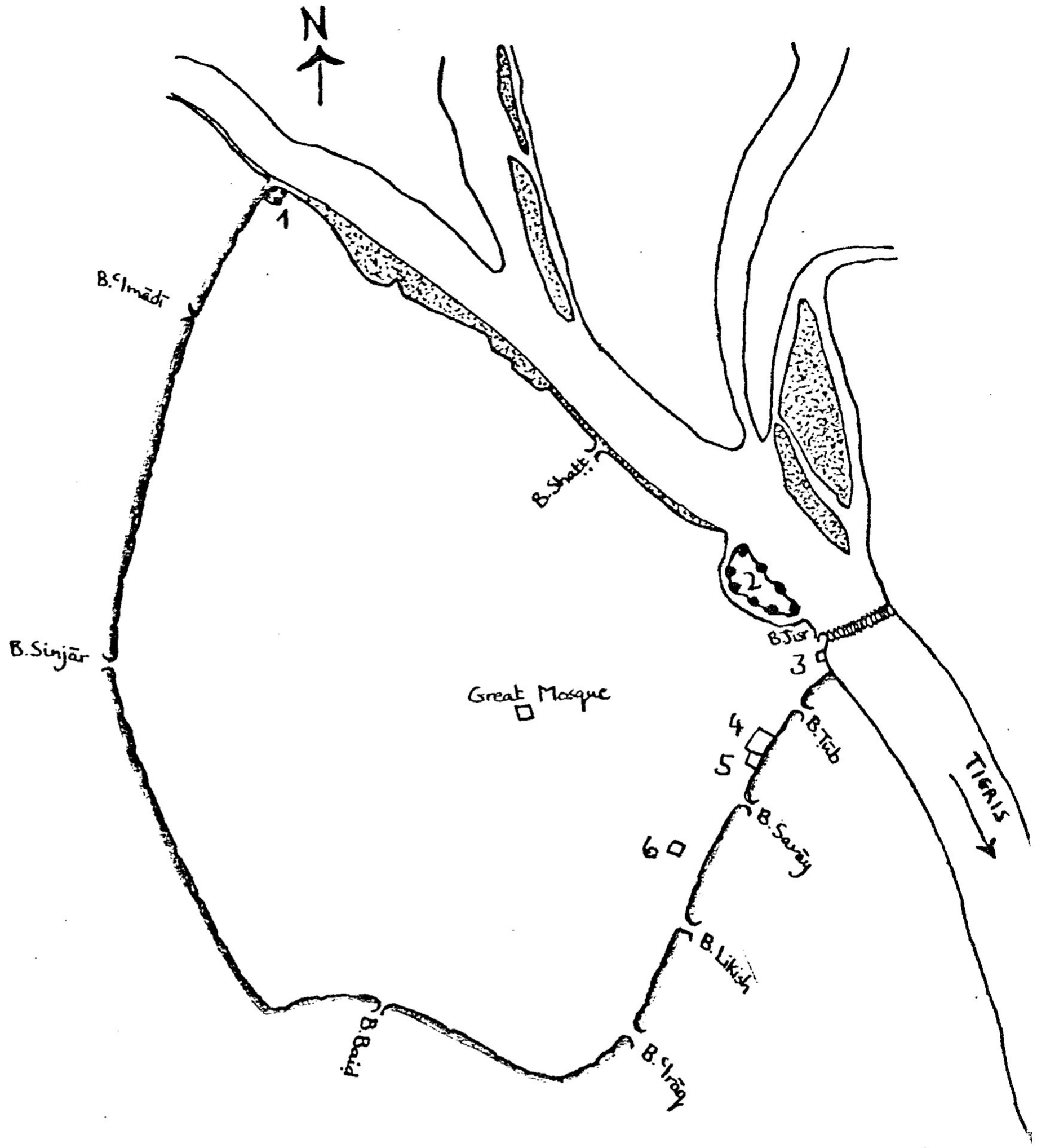
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1 MAN(2), I, 62; Southgate, II, 219; Dupré, I, 114; Rauwolff, p. 204; Otter, I, 146; Jones, p. 363; C.J. Rich, Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan (London, 1836), vol. II, p. 47; J. Jackson, Journey from India (London, 1799), p. 130; G. Badger, The Nestorians and their Rituals (London, 1852), vol. I, p. 70; Munshi' al-Baghdādī, Itinerary of . . ., 'A. 'Azzāwī (tr.) (Bagdad, 1948), p. 79; W. Heude, A Voyage up the Persian Gulf, and a Journey Overland from India to England (London, 1819), p. 217; A.H. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains (London, 1849), vol. II, p. 76.

2 Despite his title, this Bakr Pasha could not, as the sources put it, have been wali, since Mosul was at that time a liwā' of the province of Diyār Bakr.

3 It was situated a few paces away from the Khuzām Mosque. It seems that Mosul had one Court only, since all references are to the Court (al-maḥkama), without further details.

4 On all these official buildings, see Ṣūfī, I, 23, 28; Sestini, p. 247; Buckingham, p. 281; Ra'ūf, p. 256; Jackson, p. 133; Sijill waqfīyāt muḥāfaẓat Nīnuwā, Mudīrīyat al-Auqāf in Mosul, pp. 129, 154; F. Jones, Ichnographic Sketch of the Remains of Ancient Nineveh, with the Enceinte of Modern Mosul, from a Survey by . . . (1855).



Map 4: Official buildings

1. The Bāsh Ṭābya citadel defended by Ḥusain Pasha against the artillery of Nādir Shāh
2. Īj Qalʿa (the Inner Citadel) built c. 1625
3. The custom-house
4. The seraglio
5. The station of the Imperial Courrier (Tatar)
6. The Law Court

After the fall of the Jalīlīs, a new seraglio and modern barracks were built outside the walls, on the west bank of the Tigris,[1] but under the Jalīlīs the whole of officialdom was concentrated inside the walls, in the south-eastern district.

III. The Suqs

Seat of officialdom, the south-east was also the economic heart of Mosul, a heart which grew around the old medieval markets.[2] In this district were situated the Umayyad suqs: Sūq ash-Shaʿʿārīn where goat wool was treated and sold, Sūq al-Arbiʿā' which was a weekly market probably for the produce of neighbouring villages, Sūq al-Ḥashīsh (hay), Sūq al-Qaṭṭābīn (camel-gear), Sūq al-Bazzāzīn (cloth), Sūq as-Sarrājīn (saddles), Sūq aṭ-Ṭaʿām (foodstuffs), Sūq ad-Dawāb (mounts), etc.[3] Under the Atabegs, the market area grew considerably and spread north as well as south: Qaiṣarīyat an-Nūrī, near the Great (Nūrī) Mosque built by Nūr ad-Dīn, had 299 shops according to Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī.[4] The markets also spread outside the southern walls--on a permanent basis, it seems, since mosques were also erected there.[5] In all, according to eighteenth century sources, there were no less than thirty-six suqs under the Atabegs.[6] After the fall of Mosul to the Mongols, and throughout the Mongol and Turcoman eras, economic activity was greatly reduced and the market area shrank to a small enclave immediately surrounding the fortress (ḥiṣn), just south of the Great Mosque.[7]

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1 Jones' map, and Southgate, II, 256.

2 According to Ibn al-Athīr, the oldest suqs were near Bāb al-Jisr (quoted by Ṣūfī, I, 30-31).

3 S. Dīwahjī, "The Topography of Mosul during the Umayyad Period", in Sumer, VII, 2 (1951), pp. 227-229.

4 Quoted by S. Dīwahjī, "The Crafts and Trade of Mosul in the Medieval Period", in Sumer, VII, 1 (1951), p. 91, and Jawāmiʿ p. 21.

5 According to Ibn Jubair (quoted by Ṣūfī, I, 39) baths and masjids were also erected there. The famous Red Mosque, built at that time outside the walls on the bank of the Tigris, still stands today.

6 MAN(2), I, pp. 60-62. See also Dīwahjī, Crafts and Trade, p. 91.

7 Dīwahjī, Citadel, pp. 105-107.

When Tavernier visited Mosul in 1644, he pitched his tent on the Maidān square in front of the Citadel.[1] But by the second half of the eighteenth century, no one could have pitched a tent on the Maidān, as the square was overrun by khans and bazars (qaiṣarīya), an operation facilitated by the transference of the seat of government from the Citadel to the new seraglio to the south.[2] North of the Maidān, in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, were the potters, and south of the Maidān, inside Bāb al-Jisr and Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb were Sūq al-Qaṣṣābīn (butchers), Sūq aṣ-Ṣaffārīn (coppersmiths) and Sūq al-ʿUlwa (grain). Bypassing the gates, exchanges also spread south, on the site of the old Atabeg market: Sūq al-Mallāḥīn, where the tribes came to sell the salt they brought from the desert and where they bought various kinds of ropes and hides prepared in Mosul; Sūq al-Khail; and Sūq Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb, where shops were being constantly built.[3] But the most important market at the time of the Jalīlīs was certainly Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy, whose limits are difficult to pin down on the map --as all booming areas usually are since they seem to "feed" on neighbouring areas which thus lose their identity. In it were Sūq aṣ-Ṣāgha (goldsmiths), Sūq al-Yamanjīya (shoe-makers), Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn (spices, drugs and perfumes), Sūq as-Sarrājīn (saddlers), Sūq al-Ḥashīsh (hay), Sūq al-Quṭn also known as Khān al-Ghazl (cotton spinning), Sūq aṣ-Ṣabbāghīn (dyers) and Sūq al-Barzaʿjīya (pack-saddles for mules).[4] In Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy were the most important khans and bazars: Khān al-Muftī (built c. 1708/1120), Qaiṣarīyat ʿAlī Effendi, Qaiṣarīyat al-ʿAbdalīya, Qaiṣarīyat Ayyūb Bey (1814),

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1 J-B. Tavernier, Les Six Voyages de . . . (Utrecht, 1712), vol. I, p. 192.

2 Hence, in the waqfīya of the Pasha Mosque (1755/1169), there is a mention of a coffee-house in the Maidān: Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 321. In the waqfīya of the Rābiʿīya Mosque (1767/1181) there is a mention of a shop located in Maidān al-Qalʿa and of a coffee-house called Qahwat al-Qalʿa: Majmūʿat waqfīyāt, private collection of Muḥammad Bey Jalīlī in Mosul. See also Dīwahjī, Citadel, p. 108 and Jawāmiʿ, p.245.

3 Siouffi, pp. 56, 125-126, 131; Dīwahjī, Schools, II, 56 and Jawāmiʿ, p. 232; Ṣūfī, I, 17 and II, 66; Jones, p. 365; Ra'ūf, p. 537.

4 Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy was also known as Sūq al-Kabīr. On this suq, see MUN, f. 31v; MAN(2), I, 223; Siouffi, pp. 124-128; Ṣūfī, I, 32; Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 91 and Jawāmiʿ, p. 226.

Qaiṣarīyat al-Kunjīya,[1] Qaiṣarīyat Maʿāsh al-ʿAskar (1814), Qaiṣarīyat (or Khān) at-Tamgha al-Kabīra (1814), Qaiṣarīyat ash-Shāljīya and Qaiṣarīyat al-Qazzāzīn.[2] North of Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy, the mosque of Nabī Allāh Jirjīs and the Nūrī Mosque also attracted mercantile activity, and Sūq ash-Shaʿʿārīn was expanding very rapidly. Finally, there was a tannery (Dabbāgh Khāna) outside the walls, on the west bank of the river, half way between Bāb al-Jisr and the Red Mosque.[3]

Jalīlī Mosul also expanded to the south-west, around Bāb al-ʿIrāq and Bāb al-Baiḍ. However, despite firm evidence pointing to an increase in the population as well as to an extension of the inhabited area,[4] there are few mentions of economic premises being built there. And apart from the odd bath and coffee-house, only two suqs are mentioned: Shahrasūq, south of the Great Mosque and just west of Maḥallat Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn; and Sūq Bāb al-Baiḍ, situated outside its gate: a relatively late development, as indicated by the very late date of erection of the only mosque mentioned in connection with the area,[5] and it seems that before the nineteenth century Sūq Bāb al-Baiḍ was a temporary market as no mosques or masjids were erected there. Whereas the enclave situated outside the southern walls and

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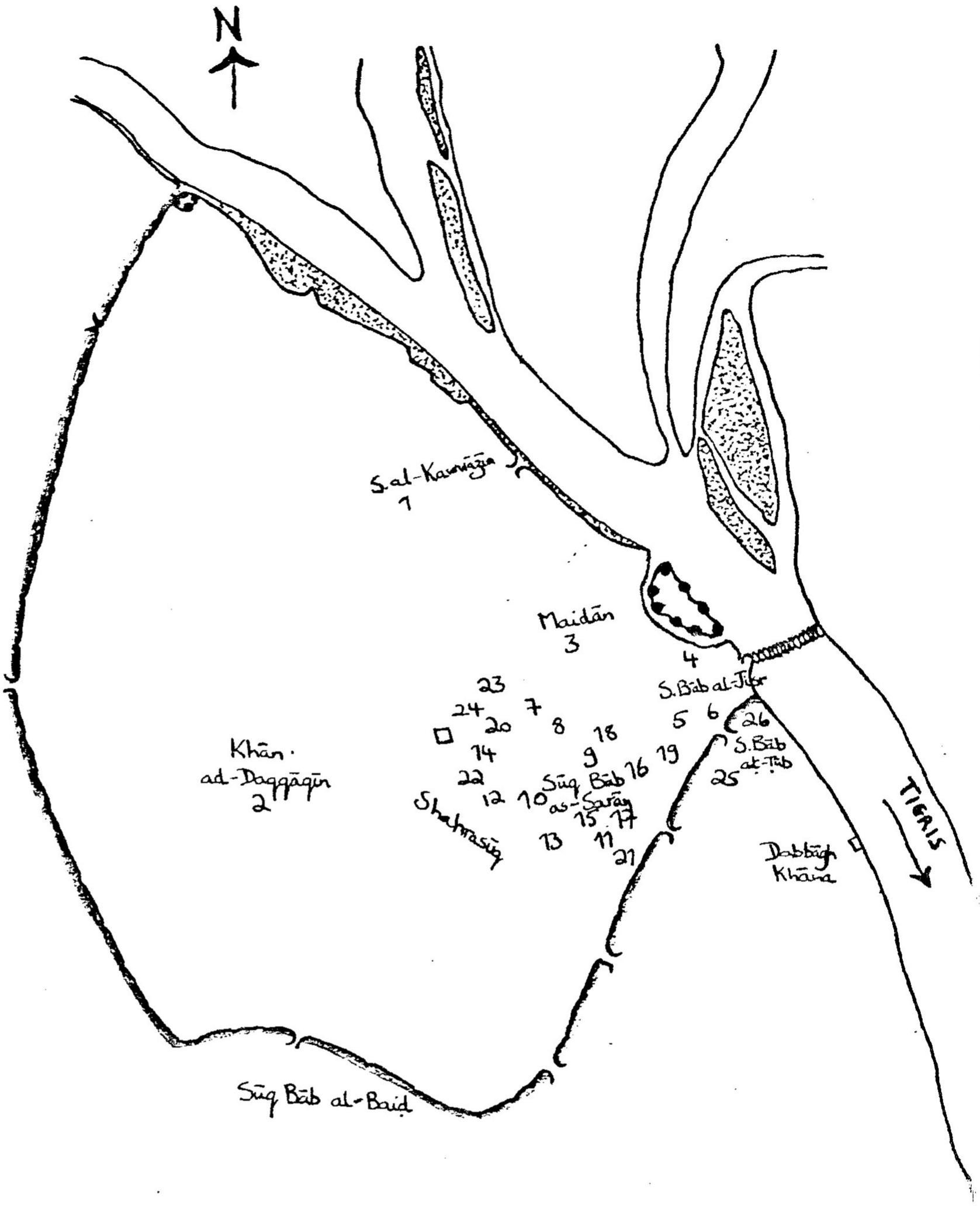
1 Contemporary Mosulis place this bazar in Sūq Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb, which seems to indicate that Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy, because of its importance and rapid growth, became a lieu-dit whose contours were hard to trace.

2 On these khans and bazars, see MAN(2), I, 223; Dupré, I, 120; Siouffi, pp.123-128; Ṣūfī, I, 30; Raʾūf, p. 541; BAG, p. 340.

3 GHA, p. 46. GHA does not give its exact location, contenting itself with telling us that it lies on the bank of the Tigris. But all the Mosulis to whom I have mentioned the tannery agree that it was half way between the Red Mosque and Bāb al-Jisr. Nowadays, the tannery of Mosul is situated further south, propelled, as it has been, farther and farther away from the centre of the town by the extension of the inhabited area. On the displacement of tanneries as a pointer for the trends of urban expansion, see A. Raymond, "Le déplacement des tanneries à Alep, au Caire et à Tunis à l'époque ottomane: un 'indicateur' de croissance urbaine", in Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine, 7-8 (January 1977).

4 See Siouffi, pp. 82-87; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 132.

5 ʿUmar b. Muṣṭafā al-Makhyūl (uncertain reading) built a mosque there in 1805/1220: Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 233. Sūq Bāb al-Baiḍ thus appears to be one of those "antennas" that a city ventures tentatively beyond its walls: R. Le Tourneau, Les villes musulmanes de l'Afrique du Nord (Alger, 1957), p. 21.



Map 5: Economic cartography of Mosul

1. Potters
2. Cleaning of cotton cloth
3. New markets invaded square
4. Sūq aṣ-Ṣaffārīn
5. Sūq al-Qaṣṣābīn
6. Sūq al-ʿUlwa
7. Sūq aṣ-Ṣāgha
8. Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn
9. Sūq al-Yamanjīya
10. Sūq as-Sarrājīn
11. Sūq al-Ḥashīsh
12. Sūq al-Quṭn
13. Sūq aṣ-Ṣabbāghīn
14. Sūq al-Barzaʿjīya
15. Khān al-Muftī
16. Qaiṣarīyat ʿAlī Effendi
17. Qaiṣarīyat Ayyūb Bey
18. Qaiṣarīyat al-ʿAbdalīya
19. Qaiṣarīyat al-Kunjīya
20. Qaiṣarīyat Maʿāsh al-ʿAskar
21. Qaiṣarīyat at-Tamgha al-Kabīra
22. Qaiṣarīyat ash-Shāljīya
23. Qaiṣarīyat al-Qazzāzīn
24. Sūq ash-Shaʿʿārīn
25. Sūq al-Khail
26. Sūq al-Mallāḥīn

along the western bank of the Tigris was relatively safe, the area outside the south-western walls appears to have been under threat, and urban growth was therefore hindered for a long time although the areawas most probably the meeting point of all the Syrian caravans. And whereas the south-east was the domain of crafts and of local trade, the south-west appears to have been a residential area.

As for the markets and workshops disseminated throughout the rest of the town, they remain an unknown quantity and there is only one reference to a Khān ad-Daqqāqīn (cleaning of cotton cloth), located west of the Great Mosque, in Maḥallat al-Ḥammām al-Manqūsha.[1]

When Tavernier visited Mosul in the seventeenth century, he only found poor bazars and two mediocre caravanserails.[2] A century later, the picture drawn by European travellers had drastically changed, as Olivier and Heude tell us of fifteen or sixteen caravanserails, ten of which, at least, were in very good condition; Buckingham found numerous coffee-houses and thirty baths; and an eighteenth century Mosuli historian counted twenty-five khans, ten bazars, one hundred and thirteen coffee-houses,[3] twenty public baths and eight private ones.[4] It is clear that under the Jalīlīs there was a considerable urban growth, particularly in the building of economic premises.

IV. Religious Buildings

The tremendous increase in the numbers of khans, bazars, baths and coffee-houses was accompanied by a similar increase in the number of religious institutions such as

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1 S.Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā' al-Mawāṣilā (Mosul, 1970), p. 43.

2 Tavernier, I, 192-193.

3 For a good description of a coffee-house in the towns of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, see A. Raymond, Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII^{e} siècle (Damascus,1973-4), vol. I, pp. 316-317. The coffee-houses of Mosul were very uneven in size, quality and capital invested. Some occupied the first floors of khans, while others, more modest, stretched a few yards along the wall of a mosque: a small shop with a fire, a dozen or so cups and a few benches.

4 Olivier, IV, 267; Heude, pp. 218-219; Buckingham, pp. 287-288; Sestini, p. 148; Southgate, II, 274; Jackson, pp. 131-132; MAN(2), I, 62. In 1845 the French vice-consul counted 21 khans, including 7 for wholesalers, 5 for Jews and for retailers, 2 tanneries, 1 for the Tatar, 2 for the cloth merchants, 1 for charcoal, 1 for mats, 1 for cotton thread, and 1 for cloth printing): CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), Botha to Guizot, Mosul, 31 Jan. 1845.

mosques, masjids and schools.[1] Indeed, the two trends appear to be correlated, since the ystem of religious endowment (waqf) offered guarantees against expropriation as well as against the rapid dissipation of family wealth within two or three generations. This correlation between suq and mosque was greatly helped by the fact that for more than a century the Pashas of Mosul were being drawn from a local family, while most, if not all, government officials and religious dignitaries were Mosulis as well.

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Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Amīn ʿUmarī counted eighteen mosques and about three hundred masjids. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Badger found nineteen mosques and two hundred and fifty masjids, Dupré twenty mosques, Southgate forty and Buckingham fifty.[2] The common confusion between mosque (jāmiʿ) and masjid, and between masjid and maqām (shrine),[3] as well as the rapid growth in the building of religious institutions, and the fact that many masjids were being transformed into mosques, all make it difficult to put forward precise figures.
It seems that around 1820 Mosul had some twenty-five mosques--where the Friday prayer was held--most of which had been erected under the Jalīlīs, either from scratch or on the site of an old masjid.[4] And as with the suqs, most of these mosques were concentrated in the south. But contrary to the pattern of urban growth of economic premises, the building of mosques did not remain confined to the south-eastern district, and the south-west witnessed an equally impressive boom, as the notables who resided there invested in the vicinity of their houses. Outside the southern walls, especially towards the east, old masjids and shrines were also transformed into mosques under the Jalīlīs. But to the

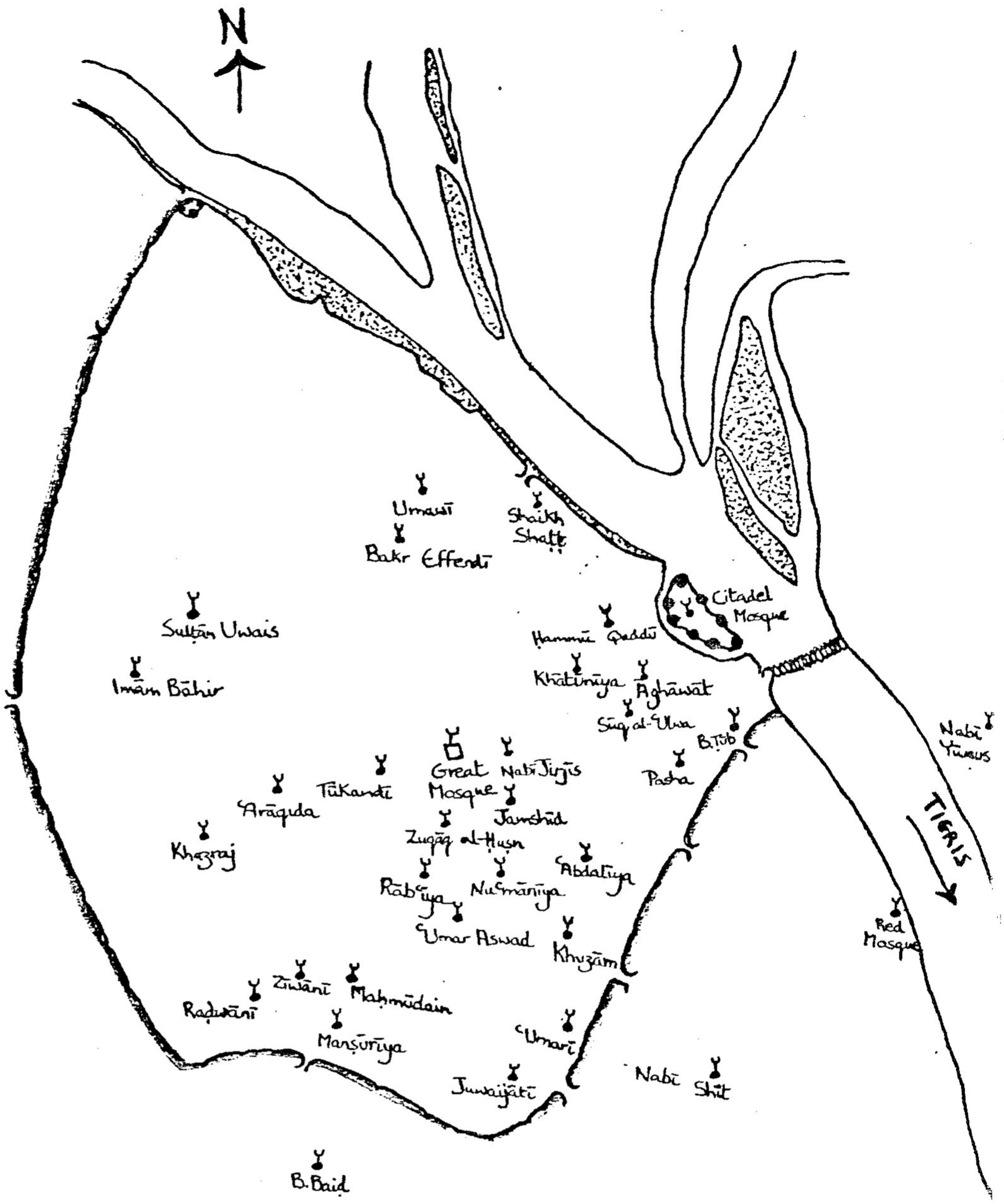
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1 The term mosque will be used to refer to a jāmiʿ (congregational mosque).

2 MAN(2), I, 62; Badger, I, 81; Dupré, I, 120; Southgate, II, 252; Buckingham, p. 288.

3 Some tombs and shrines visited by the Ashrāf had a miḥrāb, and they were used for prayer.

4 In 1845, Botha counted 22 mosques (jāmiʿ): CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), Botha to Guizot, Mosul, 31 Jan. 1845.



Map 6: Distribution of the main mosques c. 1800

north nothing happened, and one has to wait until the nineteenth century to see old mosques and masjids repaired and expanded.

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To these mosques and masjids should be added scores of holy shrines scattered all over the town as well as in the surrounding countryside. Every era of history left the names of a few holy men whose memory would continue to be cherished for generations to come. Sometimes a dome was erected above a tomb; often the erection of a dome in a given place would, ipso facto, establish the existence of a tomb and of a holy body underneath it; at other times a shrine would be erected independently of the body of the holy man it referred to. Some of these shrines (maqām, mazār, mashhad, qabr), older than Islam, were situated inside churches; others were in mosques and masjids; others still, stood on their own.

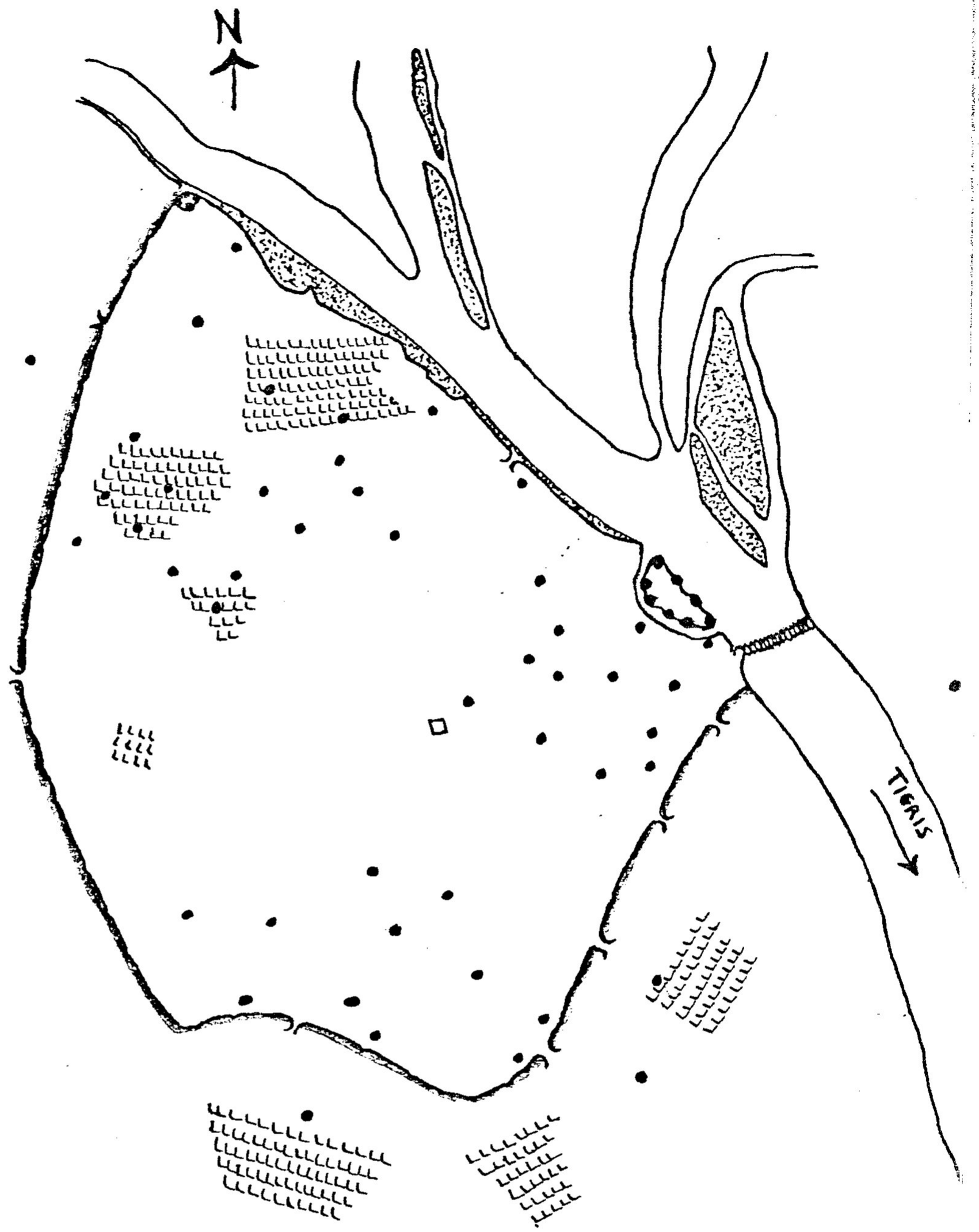
In the south-east of Mosul, there were no less than fifteen such shrines, ten of which had been transformed into mosques and masjids, while the remaining five still stood in their own grounds. The interesting thing here is that all the shrines incorporated into mosques and masjids were very popular in the eighteenth century and were frequently visited, whereas only one of the five which stood on their own was still being frequented at the same period.[1] Of the eleven shrines situated in the south-westerly district, eight were in mosques, one was in a church, and two stood in their own grounds. There is evidence that all, except the one in the church, were visited in the Jalīlī era.[2] North of the town were eighteen shrines, at least thirteen of which were still regularly visited and sought by the people of Mosul in the eighteenth century. However, despite this popularity of the northern shrines, most were in a very bad condition and only two were incorporated into mosques.[3] Outside the

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1 MUN, ff. 29-35; MAN(2), II, 45, 68, 76, 83-84, 114-115, 132, 156.

2 GHA, p. 98; MUN, ff. 31-34; MAN(2) II, 131-132, 153-157; 143; 179-180; Ṣūfī, I, 45 67.

3 MUN ff. 32-35, 40v; MAN(2), II, 79-81; 55, 96, 133, 171-172; R. Pagliero, "Conservation of Two Islamic Monuments in Mosul", in Sumer, XXI, 1 and 2 (1965), p. 48.



Map 7: Distribution of the main shrines and of the cemeteries

• shrine

cemetery

walls, in and around the cemeteries, there were eleven visited shrines, four of which, with the growth of Mosul outside its southern walls, were build up as mosques or as masjids.[1]

As one can see, the shrines were equally distributed throughout the town, but preference was given, in the policy of investment, to those in the south, while the northern ones and the ones situated beyond the walls were neglected although they were frequented by the people. The reason for this is clear: despite their popularity the northern and the extra-mural shrines were far away from the agora and they thus remained outside the civitas. Earlier, reference was made to a definite correlation between the building of religious edifices and that of economic premises, and a correlation which points to the fact that a mosque fulfils economic as well as religious purposes. The study of the pattern of investment in the shrines of Mosul now shows that in addition to its obvious economic function a mosque also serves political purposes and constitutes a strong instrument of power: as a meeting place, as a congregation (jāmiʿ), as a pulpit, as a strong medium of communication. And this is precisely why the shrines located in the populated areas were constantly being repaired and expanded, whereas those of the non-populated districts of the north and those lying outside the walls were shunned by the notables who deprived them of their investment: they might well have had worshippers, but they could have no congregation, being, as they were, distant from the populated political heart of Mosul.

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Under the Atabegs, Mosul had been a lively cultural centre with no less than twenty-eight schools and eighteen dār ḥadīths.[2] But throughout the troubled centuries when Iraq was ruled by Mongols and Turcomans, cultural activities faded away and the schools went to ruin. In the modern period, the Ottoman masters favoured the establishment of schools as

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1 MUN, ff. 26-28, 33-34; MAN(2), II, 141, 175, 181-182. To all these shrines should be added five located in surrounding villages as well as five others which I have, unfortunately, been unable to situate: see MUN, ff. 30-34, 38r; MAN(2), II, 182.

2 Dīwahjī, Crafts and Trade, p. 91; Ṣūfī, II, 17.

a means of spreading official Hanafism, and with the advent, in the eighteenth century, of local rule in the province, the number of schools in Mosul began to increase at a tremendous rate. Following the example set by the Jalīlīs, Mosuli notables erected their own schools in mosques or independently of mosques, usually in the vicinity of their own residence, if not attached to it and part of it.[1] The pattern of investment was similar to that of mosques and shrines in that the north was neglected and the old prestigious schools of the Atabeg period remained derelict--Nūrīya, ʻIzzīya, Badrīya, Mujāhid ad-Dīn. Building was concentrated in the south-east and the south-west, while outside the walls, the prestigious shrines of Nabī Yūnus and Nabī Shīt were also given schools. The northernmost school in use under the Jalīlīs was the old Kamālīya, situated in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, neglected for a very long time and finally rebuilt as late as 1804/1219 by a family whose recently acquired wealth and power had greatly benefited Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr.[2]

Unlike the shrines--which were directly subordinated to a more comprehensive religious establishment such as a mosque or a masjid, and were not favoured by the notables as justifying an investment on their own--the schools of Mosul grew quite independently of the mosques because they served certain purposes which made them attractive to financial capital eager to transform itself into political capital. As a simple place of worship, as an individual place of worship, the shrine is politically "dead" and only becomes interesting when expanded and transformed into a place of congregation where the word, discourse, is public and reaps power. In contrast with the shrine, the school, as a place of learning, is, as much as the mosque, a political tool. And this could explain why, contrary to the shrine, the school has had the freedom to develop on its own.[3]

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1 Southgate, II, 252-253.

2 MAN(2), II, 78; D. Jalabī, Kitāb makhṭūṭāt al-Mauṣil (Bagdad, 1927), p. 22; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʻ p. 230. On this notable family, known as Āl Bakr, see infra, p. 156.

3 For further information on the schools, see infra, pp. 173-175.

In contrast with Muslim religious edifices, Christian ones escaped this peculiar trend of urban growth in that they were scattered all over the town.[1] The main reason for this was that the building of new churches was almost an impossibility, and even the repair of existing ones was subject to very stringent rules, and permission to do so was seldom granted. Consequently, Christian churches, most of them dating from the 11th-13th centuries, offer a continuity which bypasses and runs somehow parallel to the different and successive phases of urban development as shown in the building of mosques and suqs. In many ways, churches resemble shrines.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, there were about eight churches in Mosul. In 1743, to reward the Christians for their gallant behaviour during the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī allowed them to repair their churches and to build two new ones.[2] As a result, the Nestorians and the Jacobites each built a church close to the northern walls, near the Bāsh Ṭābya citadel, in Maḥallat al-Maidān al-Akhḍar.[3] European visitors in the first half of the nineteenth century counted between eight and fourteen churches in the town.[4] Intra-Christian sectarian feuds and schisms, the fact that churches often changed hands--passing, for example, from the Jacobites to the Syrian-Catholics then back to the Jacobites--and the confusion which must have arisen in the minds of European travellers, all make it difficult to put forward an exact figure. But it seems that there were at least four churches in the northern district: two in Maidān al-Akhḍar and two others in Maḥallat an-Naṣārā, just south of it. Three other churches were situated in the suqs of the south-east and five in the south-west.

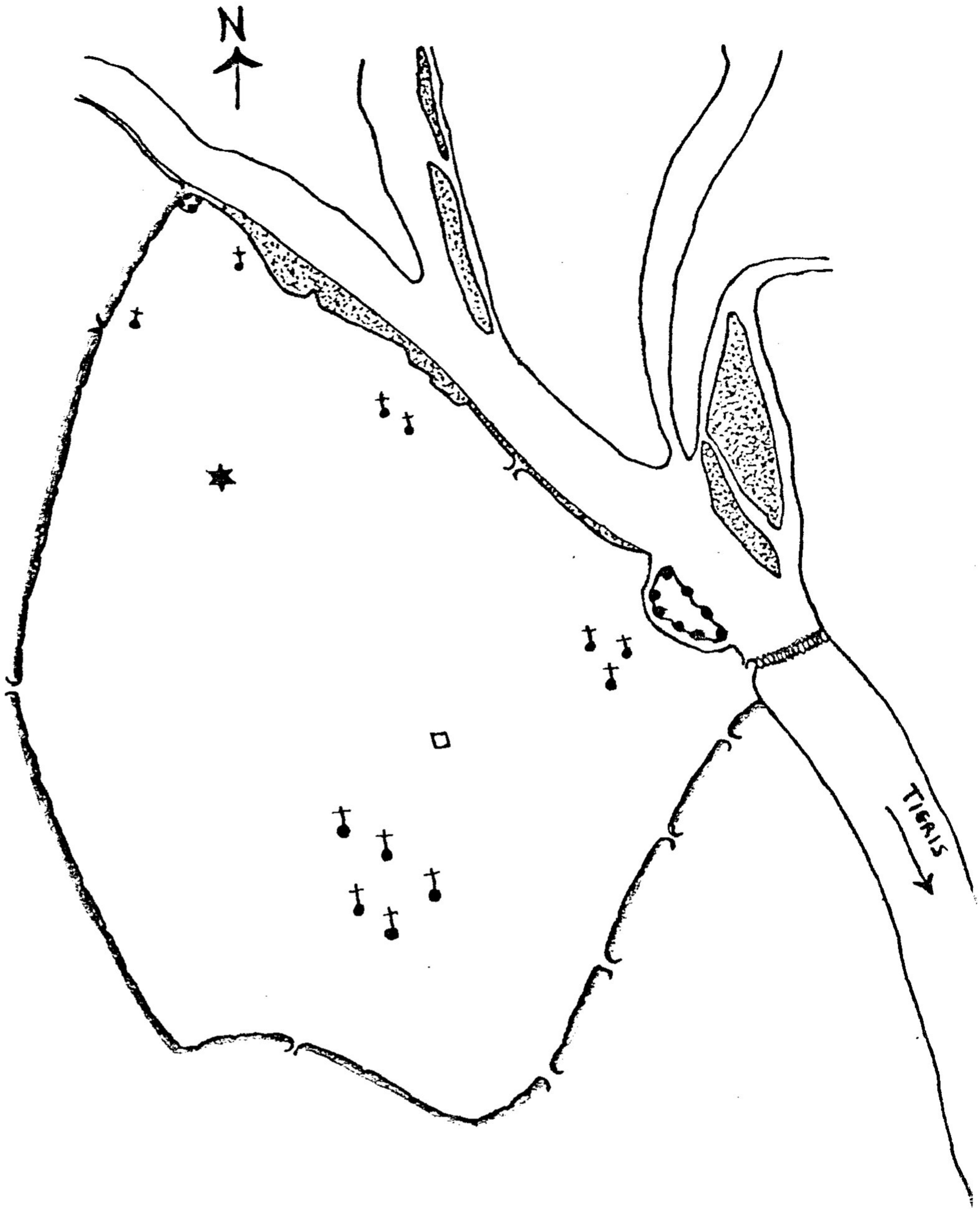
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1 The Jews had only one synagogue, in their quarter, north-west of Mosul.

2 "Chronique Syriaque", p. 503.

3 Niebuhr, II, 293. One of the churches, known as Ṭāhirat al-Kaldān (hence ex-Nestorian) is apparently situated on the ancient Dair al-Aʿlā mentioned by Yāqūt.

4 Ainsworth, Travels, II, 130; Southgate, II, 250-251; Walpole, I, 391; Buckingham, p. 289; Badger, I, 82; W. Heude, p. 218.



Map 8: Distribution of the dhimmī places of worship

In contrast with mosques, the pattern of church building was directly subordinated to the whim of the ruler and Christians could not choose the site of a new church, even when permission was granted. For this very reason, and because church building was an official political decision, it actually escaped urban politics. Under the Jalīlīs, churches, like the Christians, were a-political in that they lay outside the official and factual processes of decision-making. It is only in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the increasing importance of the European consuls and the extension of the system of protection, that Christian religious institutions entered the arena of local politics.

Chapter II

URBAN SOCIETY

I. Population

Throughout the Ottoman period, the population of Mosul was in a constant state of flux, and consequently it is rather difficult to put forward exact figures. Factors which led to a sudden increase in the population were Ottoman campaigns against the Persians, when Mosul acted as a rallying point and welcomed considerable armies;[1] mass immigration from neighbouring towns and villages--triggered by natural or social calamities; the arrival, early in the eighteenth century, of two Janissary urṭas exiled by the Pasha of Bagdad; and the flight of villagers before the invading Persian armies.[2] Factors which led to a dramatic decrease in the population were the many visitations of plagues as well as the famines which forced the people to flee to other, less devastated provinces, in search of livelihood.[3]

Dominico Lanza put the population of Mosul around 1775 at no less than 300,000 souls, telling us that "although it is not possible to undertake a strict census . . . suffice it to say that 100,000 people died in the plague which hit the town in 1771. This is what the Padres have written to me after I left Mosul for Rome, adding that the town was still very populated."[4] Lanza is the only European to put

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1 1638, 1726, 1727, 1733, 1734.

2 Lanza, pp. 9-10; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 146; BAG, p. 180; R.W. Olson, The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718-1743 (Bloomington, 1975), p. 53.

3 Lanza, pp. 10-11.

4 Ibid.

forward such a high figure. Some twenty years later, Sestini put the population of Mosul at 50,000 and Olivier at 63,000 to 66,000 for the town and 200,000 for the whole province.[1] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dupré gave the figure of 50,000, Heude 40,000 to 45,000 and Buckingham less than 50,000.[2] In the late 1830s the population of Mosul was 19,000 according to Ainsworth, 30,000 according to Grant and Aucher-Eloy, and 20,000 families according to Chesney.[3] Finally, in 1845, the French representative put the population at 43,280, "some 75,000 less than 15 years ago."[4] It seems safe to assume that after the great plague of 1771, the population of Mosul averaged 50,000 souls.[5]

II. Urban Communities

Mosul's mercantile role as a collecting and distributing centre, and its strategic position as a link between

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1 Sestini, p. 149; Olivier, IV, 268-269.

2 Dupré, I, 120; Heude, p. 218; Buckingham, p. 290.

3 Ainsworth, Travels, II, 128; Aucher-Eloy, p. 198; F.R. Chesney, The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris (London, 1850), vol. I, p. 21; A. Grant, The Nestorians (London, 1841), p. 28.

4 CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), Botha to Guizot, Mosul, 31 Jan. 1845.

5 Using baths as a pointer for an evaluation of urban populations in the Ottoman Empire, A. Raymond ("Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane", in BEO, XXVII (1975)) has calculated that there was, on average, a bath for each 4,000 to 5,000 people. The only two figures for baths which we have for Jalīlī Mosul give us 20 for the end of the 18th century and 30 for the beginning of the 19th. Taking 25 as an average, one must accept that at least a third of these baths must have been situated in very sparsely populated areas, since half the town was called kharāb (ruins). This would leave us with 12 to 15 "fully used" baths and a probable population figure fluctuating between 48,000 and 75,000. M.S. Hasan puts the population of northern Iraq in 1867 at 265,000, with 55,000 (21%) for the urban population: see M.S. Hasan, "Growth and Structure of Iraq's Population, 1867-1947", in The Economic History of the Middle East, Ch. Issawi (ed.) (Chicago, 1966), p. 157. This figure of 55,000 for the urban population of northern Iraq is realistic taking into account that Mosul was the only important urban centre (Diyār Bakr is excluded). According to Cuinet, the population of Mosul was 61,000 at the end of the 19th century: see Vital Cuinet, La Turquie d'Asie, vol. II (Paris, 1892), p. 820.

various parts of the Middle East, point to the great ethnic diversity of its population: from the descendants of the Arab conquerors, to the Kurds of northern Iraq, to the later influx of Turcoman and Turkish tribes in the Middle Ages. Parallel to this ethnic diversity runs a religious one which contributes to turn the whole of northern Iraq into a mosaic of peoples, cultures and signs.

A. The Muslims

At least two thirds of the population of Mosul were Muslim, drawn from three ethnic groups: Arabs, Kurds and Turks (Turcomans). The Turcomans were peasants dwelling in villages along the east bank of the Tigris, as they still do nowadays, and there do not seem to have been any in the town itself. The Kurds lived in the mountains to the north as well as in the province of Shahrazūr to the south-east. During the Jalīlī era many came to Mosul and settled there, and the chronicles, when mentioning them, refer to them by their ethnic identity (kurdī, kurdī 'l-aṣl), or else by their town of origin (Arbīlī, ʿAqrāwī, etc.). Around Mosul, especially on the west bank of the river, some villages were inhabited by semi-nomadic Arabs. Other nomads settled at the foot of the town walls as well as in the deserted and ruined (kharāb) parts of Mosul.[1]

The bulk of the population consisted of Arabs and arabised Turks, all of whom were Sunni. There were no Shiis in the town itself, but many villages were inhabited by Yazīdīs and by Shabaks.[2] The great majority of the Sunnis were Hanafite, and there was a Shafiite minority. Nowhere in the sources is there any sign of friction between the two

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1 ATH, p. 236; GHA, p. 54; MUN, ff. 35-46; Rich, II, 349. Even today, Arab nomads flock to Mosul to settle there, and I was able to see a family who had set up house in a cemetery.

2 The Shabaks are related to the Yazīdīs, and are of Kurdish origin. They are particularly devoted to ʿAlī, and sources sometimes refer to them as ʿAlī-Ilāhīs. On the Shabaks, see V. Minorsky in EI (1), IV, 238-239. Cuinet put the number of Shabak villages east of Mosul at 37 and the eastern Yazīdī villages at 24 for the end of the 19th century: see Cuinet, II, 815.

schools, nor, indeed, any sign of a strong feeling of belonging to any one of them. As a matter of fact many mosques had two muṣallās, one for the Hanafites and the other for the Shafiites, and both "communities" mingled in the madrasas where it was not unusual for a Shafiite ṭālib to learn Shafiite fiqh from his Hanafite shaikh. It seems that there was no physical (quarter), political or cultural segregation against the Shafiite minority, and notable Shafiite families were a constitutive part of the local élite.[1]

B. The Christians

Around 1760, there were about 6,000 Christians in Mosul, and many more in the surrounding villages.[2] Indeed, the most important villages in the province were inhabited by Christians. Niebuhr counted 1,200 Christian houses in the town, of which 800 were Jacobites and the rest Nestorians and Chaldeans.[3] The rapid increase in the numbers of Chaldeans and Syrian-Catholics was a direct consequence of the establishment of European missions in Mosul. In 1636, the Capucins had settled in the town and they succeeded in creating a Catholic nucleus by converting Jacobites and Nestorians to Rome. Since then, Nestorian Uniates became known as Chaldeans and Jacobite Uniates as Syrians. In 1724, the Capucins were compelled to close their mission, but they left behind some 1,000 Catholics, a fifth of the Christians of the town.[4] Twenty years after the closure of the Capucin mission, the Italian Dominicans moved into Mosul to continue the task, although the Capucins appear to have tried everything in their power to prevent them from taking over "their territory".

The numbers of Mosuli Christians could only increase naturally and through immigration from the villages, since proselytism was out of the question. Missionary activities were therefore directed towards the Oriental Churches and

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1 See infra, pp. 113, 114, 126, 170.

2 Lanza, pp. 11-12; E. Ives, A Journey from Persia to England (London, 1773), p. 324.

3 Niebuhr, II, 294.

4 Ives, p. 324.

took the form of a bitter struggle for control of souls as well as of religious endowments and monasteries. Throughout the Jalīlī period, the numbers of Christians appear to have remained the same, and in 1845 Christian Rassam counted 2,566 Christian adult males,[1] 924 Christian houses,[2] and fourteen Christian quarters.[3]

The general picture of Christian-Muslim relations under the Jalīlīs is one of mutual respect and tolerance. Visiting Mosul in the late 1830s, Southgate wrote that good relations between the two communities were due to the role which the Christians played in defending the town against Nādir Shāh, to the Christian ancestor (ʿAbd al-Jalīl) of the ruling family, to Christian control over the "useful professions" and to the awareness by Mosuli Muslims that they were descendants of Christians.[4] Whatever the truth behind such statements, it is a fact that the local character of Jalīlī rule did favour a close cooperation between notables of the two religious communities, if not between the communities as a whole. Niebuhr tells us that the Christians of Mosul dressed like the Muslims and entered government service,[5] and there is ample other evidence of the local "city-state" character of Mosul superseding religious considerations. Around 1750, a Catholic, ʿAbd al-Aḥad Ṣalyūwā, was chief of the wali's cooks; when, in 1757, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī was moved from Mosul to Aleppo, two Catholic brothers, Ilyās and Yūsuf al-Ḥalabī, went with him, and when Ḥusain Pasha was returned to Mosul, Ilyās became his banker; another Christian, Zakarīyā aṣ-Ṣā'igh, also held the appointment of banker to Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī. Around the same time, a Christian played an active role in the urban feuds as a member of the party of Asʿad Āghā Jalīlī, one of the main notables, and he was in fact killed

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1 18% of his total.

2 15% of his total.

3 30% of his total. See FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 27 May 1845.

4 Southgate, II, 253-254. On the origins of the Jalīlī family, see infra, pp. 116-118.

5 Niebuhr, II, 294. Although he does not specify the nature of the governmental appointments.

in battle; and as late as 1830, Groves, residing in Bagdad, could write that "many of those immediately connected with the Pasha [of Mosul] are Christians."[1] At a popular level, Muslims and Christians seem to have shared a similar cultural profile--a Mosuli one which transcended religious identities. Hence both communities shared the feast of Khiḍr Ilyās, when Muslims and Christians visited each other and exchanged gifts of food. On the second day of Lent, as also on the last Friday of Lent, the Muslims used to organise outings, following in that the Christian custom. And on the Feast of the Cross both communities celebrated. The Muslims also organised three-day long condolences in the masjids--a custom which is typical of Oriental Christians. Finally, Muslims and Christians often worshipped at the same shrines and tombs of saints and shared the same belief in the intercessory powers of the auliyā'.[2] These innovations were condemned by the religious establishment which, sharing none the less with the people a deep respect and love for the saints, found it hard to draw the line between what was permissible and what was not.[3]

It thus seems that the Christians of Mosul were well integrated into the civitas and benefited from the period of local rule.[4] It should be stressed, however, that such integration was individual rather than communal, and that it could not yield political power. The Christians served the rulers as officials and as bankers;[5] from this service they reaped financial benefits and personal prestige

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[1] Lanza, p. 59; Ṣā'igh, II, 289; Ra'ūf, p. 321; A.N. Groves, Journal of a Residence in Bagdad (London, 1832), p. 53. In 1758, "the chief Christian of the city . . . [was] Haram Bashi, chief officer of the haram," Ives, p. 324. This is the only reference to a Christian of Mosul holding such a position. Niebuhr (II, 294) tells us of a Christian "premier Intendant de la cuisine de l'Epouse du Pascha."

[2] Even today the shrine of Our Lady in the monastery of the Dominicans in Mosul is visited by Muslim and Christian women alike.

[3] See MAN(2), II, 72-73. On religious practices common to both Christians and Muslims, see F.W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1929).

[4] The Sasām (Rassam) family, who were Chaldeans, had married into the Ḥalabī family, the Christian bankers of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī: see Ra'ūf, p. 332 and cf. infra, p. 33.

[5] Whereas in Damascus the Jews were entrusted with fiscal matters (Rafeq, Damascus, p. 19), and in Aleppo the ṣarrāf was usually a Jew or an Armenian (Bodman, p. 32).

within their community; but they could not use such benefits and such prestige to establish themselves as a political force on the Mosuli scene. The Christians of Mosul did not --as family, ḥāra, community--demonstrate, riot, establish pressure groups, except in matters concerning the Christians, nor did they become members of the dīwān of the Pasha. It was only through forgetting that they were Christians that they could, as individuals, hope to benefit from the system. Their position was well illustrated by Niebuhr when he wrote that the Christians were not permitted to enrol in the ranks of the Janissaries but, by paying a contribution, they could become servants to the Janissary leaders: protection without political power.[1] And it seems that the Jalīlīs favoured the introduction of Christians into the administration and the entourage of the Pasha, in the same way as they favoured obscure Muslim individuals and granted them office with the probable aim of curtailing the power of the main notable families by employing individuals--such as Christians or commoners--who were politically "dead" and consequently harmless.

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During the Jalīlī period, Europe was represented in Mosul by Catholic missionaries. Sometimes, their proselytism triggered inter-Christian feuds and disturbed the peace of the town, and in 1758 Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī was compelled to warn Dominico Lanza "in a friendly fashion", asking him to dampen his missionary zeal.[2] This friendly warning gives an indication of the cordial relations existing between the Jalīlīs and the European missionaries. Indeed, these missionaries, Dominicans or Carmelites, were placed by the indigenes on a "Hippocratian pedestal" and, surrounded by an aura of magic belonging to another world, they were supposed to be able to cure every known, and even unknown, disease. From Mosul, to ʿAmādīya, to Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, to Qara Jūlān, ailing Pashas and emirs sent for these "doctors" who, more often than not, lived up to their expectations. Sometimes

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1 Niebuhr, II, 297.

2 Ives, p. 329.

they failed and were soon sent by a suspicious family to join the patient they had lost.[1] The medical dimension of the missionaries greatly helped to increase their prestige in the area. As a result, the Pashas and emirs facilitated their missionary task, and soon Nestorian and Jacobite Patriarchs saw their flocks dwindle while the Catholics enjoyed increasing power.

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Relations between the Muslim majority and the Christian minority--in its multifarious fragmentation--were to change in the post-Jalīlī era with the end of local rule, the arrival of an alien Turkish administration and the growing importance of Europe. These factors were inter-related, as the Turkish administration was striving to drive the local notables into second place, while European merchants were settling in Mosul and competing with the local merchant capital, and European consuls--French and British--were acquiring great political power and influence with the Pashas through their contacts in Istanbul. Through the extention of the system of protection, the local Christians became increasingly identified with Europe, to the further alienation of the Muslim population already deprived of its traditional local rule and protection.

The growing political power of European consuls in the period immediately following the fall of the Jalīlīs is a tangible phenomenon. The British vice-consul, Christian Rassam, was a Chaldean, a member of the Euphrates Expedition, educated in Cairo.[2] His uncle held a responsible position under the Pasha in 1837,[3] and the links between the Turkish administration and the consuls--as between the consuls and the local Christians--must have weighed heavily on the local notables who could see the centre of power shift from their hands to those of the Turks and the Europeans. At an economic

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1 Ives, pp. 321-322; Olivier, IV, 267; Dupré, I, 115; Sestini, pp. 147-148. For an interesting account of the medical function of the missionaries, see B-M. Goormachtigh, Histoire de la Mission Dominicaine en Mésopotamie et en Kurdistan (Rome, 1896).

2 Ainsworth, Travels, I, 2.

3 Ainsworth, Narrative, II, 313.

level, the consuls, and other European merchants,[1] were able to compete with the Mosuli merchant capital and even moved in to play an important role as bankers for the administration: in 1845, Rassam wrote to his superiors in Istanbul that "Osman Effendy, who was charged by the Porte with the settlement of the late Muhammad Pasha's affairs, on leaving Mousul, made over to me the Bonds of all the debts he had not recovered."[2] And at a political level, the power of the consuls grew in two distinct ways. First, with the authorities, among whom "the Consul of France had much influence"[3] and in 1845, Rassam wrote to Cunningham informing him that Muḥammad Pasha had shown his accounts to the French consul, Rouet, asking him to intercede for him in Istanbul.[4] Secondly, the influence of the consuls grew among the minorities: by helping and protecting the Jews, the Yazīdīs and the Nestorians at a time when they were being systematically persecuted and even massacred, the consuls secured their loyalty, gratitude and services.[5]

Faced with this real threat to their beliefs as well as to their power, the notables of Mosul started conspiring against the Turkish administration and provoking anti-European and anti-Christian riots. In 1844, as the Dominicans were repairing their mission house, the people of Mosul erupted in a frenzied fury, demolished the building being erected, burnt the Dominican church, stabbed a priest and threw stones at the French consul and the Turkish wali.[6] In the following year, Rassam bought a khan which he needed for his rapidly expanding mercantile interests. But as the said khan was somehow tied to a waqf, the qadi incited the

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1 Layard (I, 22) writes that in 1844 there was a British merchant, Mr. Ross, residing in Mosul.

2 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 4 Dec. 1845.

3 I.J. Benjamin, Eight Years in Asia and Africa (Hanover, 1863), p. 116.

4 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 4 Dec. 1845.

5 FO 195/228, Rassam to Ponsonby, Mosul, 10 Aug. 1841; FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 3 July 1843, 13 Aug. 1843, and 5 Nov. 1843; Badger, I, 71; Chesney, I, 112; Layard, I, 272.

6 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 30 June 1844; P. de Vaucelles, La vie en Irak il y a un siècle vue par nos consuls (Paris, 1963), p. 58,

mob to riot.[1] In his reports to the British Embassy in Istanbul Rassam points out that all the rioting and the ill-feeling was not directed against the local Christians, but that the latter were being used as a pretext by some notables and Janissary leaders whose aim it was to undermine the authority of the Turkish administration.

C. The Jews

It is said that European travellers who visited Mosul in the Abbasid period found some 7,000 Jews and many synagogues.[2] At the time of the Ottoman conquest of Mosul, there was still a Jewish quarter north-west of the town but the number of Jews had dropped to less than a thousand. According to Lanza there were no more than 400 Jews in Mosul around 1760, and Niebuhr put their numbers at 150 houses for the same period.[3] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Buckingham found about "300 Jewish families who have a synagogue for their worship"[4] and some twenty-five years later there were 1,000 Jews according to Southgate and 450 families according to Benjamin who adds that they had a large synagogue as well as a school.[5]

Throughout the Jalīlī period, the Jews of Mosul are conspicuous by their absence from the historical sources. Contrary to their coreligionists in Bagdad they did not act as bankers to the Pashas, and Lanza could write that the Jews of Mosul were indeed very poor.[6] They kept a low profile and did not attract the attention of the Muslim majority, while on the other hand their relations with the Christians were, it seems, rather bad.[7] As a whole, the Jews of Mosul appear to have been quite well integrated into society: they wore the same dress as Muslims and, like their coreligionists

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1 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 17 Nov. 1845.

2 J.M. Fiey, "Mossoul d'avant 1915, vue par les voyageurs étrangers", in Sumer, II, 2 (July 1946), pp. 32-34.

3 Lanza, p. 11; Niebuhr, II, 295.

4 Buckingham, p. 290.

5 Southgate, II, 238; Benjamin, pp. 114-115.

6 Lanza, p. 11.

7 Niebuhr, II, 295.

in Urfa and Diyār Bakr, they probably knew very little Hebrew.[1]

In the post-Jalīlī period, the number of Jews in the province of Mosul reached 8,000, as the pashalik expanded so as to include the Kurdish mountains to the north where many Jews lived. Persecuted and harassed by Kurdish chieftains, the Jews of the mountains sought the protection of the British vice-consul, and as a result European merchant capital forged stronger links with the gall-nut and wool producing country.[2]

III. Officialdom

Dealing with Ottoman provincial government in Mosul under the Jalīlīs is a delicate matter as, more often than not, the gap between theory and practice was very wide. The theoretical rights and privileges of office seldom acquired real meaning if they were not backed by a local power-base. What a wali was entitled to do thus becomes an academic question, and a question which should make way for a study of the various ways in which notables and officials in a position of power were able to rule Mosul, while being in or out of office.[3]

The province of Mosul was headed by a wali appointed directly by the Porte, and for more than a century most walis came to be drawn from the Jalīlī family.[4] Regardless of the identity of the wali--Jalīlī or not, Mosuli or not--one can safely say that the town was actually ruled by the family, even when they were not in office. Around 1760, Dominico Lanza wrote that the Jalīlī family "controlled the Janissaries and the people and ruled as it wished without opposition."[5] Obviously, the powerful Mamluk Pashas of Bagdad were in a position to put great pressure on the Jalīlīs, but

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1 Benjamin, pp. 73, 79, 88, 116.

2 FO 195/228, Rassam to Ponsonby, Mosul, 10 Aug. 1841.

3 For a full presentation of the historical events constituting the urban politics of Mosul beyond all theoretical structures and conceptions of provincial government, see infra, Chapter V.

4 See Appendix I.

5 Lanza, p. 16.

all attempts at nominating a non-Jalīlī wali met with the notables' and the Janissaries' opposition, triggered feuds, and in the end the Jalīlīs were again officially in power. In 1754, Amīm Pasha Jalīlī was removed from office, "but he stayed in town and remained its effective ruler."[1] In 1758, a Turkish wali arrived in Mosul. He was a Pasha of two tails, but the people "showed him less respect than to the humblest āghā of the town."[2] All alien walis who were appointed to Mosul sought to rule by relying on a leading Jalīlī house to counter the power of other Jalīlī houses, and throughout the period under study effective rule proved impossible without the backing of the notables. In 1759 the Turkish wali, Nuʿmān Pasha, killed a notable, and as a result the suqs closed and the wali was removed from office.[3] As late as 1809, an attempt by Sulaimān Pasha the Little of Bagdad to bypass the Jalīlīs and appoint another Mosuli as wali met with the opposition of the town and failed miserably.[4] The Jalīlīs' wide local power-base enabled them to intervene in economic matters, ordering the notables to open their granaries in times of shortage, setting up new bakeries when needed, replacing debased currencies.[5]

To assist him in his functions, the Pasha had a katkhudā who was usually his son or his brother. The notable families of Mosul and the rival Jalīlī households were usually denied this office by the Jalīlī Pasha who preferred to appoint a member of his own household, or else a commoner with no power-base, drawn from outside the circle of notables. At the death or removal of the wali, the notables, meeting as a dīwān, elected a mutasallim who was always a representative of the most powerful Jalīlī household of the time. Throughout this period, the financial offices of ṣarrāf and khaznadār are hardly ever mentioned in the sources, and they are certainly never mentioned as active protagonists in the political struggle: they appear to have been

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1 MAN(2), I, 167.

2 Lanza, p. 41.

3 DUR(1), p. 606.

4 See infra, pp. 158-159.

5 GHA, p. 15.

Christians, or else Muslims lacking political muscle. One of the most important administrative positions was that of ra'īs dīwān al-inshā', whose holder was in charge of the correspondence of the province. Here again, the ra'īs was usually an adīb recruited from outside the circle of notables. All the important positions in the administration were the chasse gardée of the house of the Jalīlī wali to the exclusion of the other notables, thus reducing the risks of enabling the latter to make a bid for power.

As with the position of wali and all those gravitating around it--katkhudā, ṣarrāf, ra'īs dīwān al-inshā'--the principal religious offices also acquired a hereditary--and cyclic--character, albeit outside the Jalīlī family: Āl Yāsīn, ʿUmarīs, Fakhrīs, Ghulāmīs.[1]

IV. The Armed Forces

According to Niebuhr, the wali of Mosul had under his command 100 private troops, 150 Sipāhīs, 8 Bairaqs, 15 Lāwands and 100 Tufinkjīs.[2] Some twenty years later, Olivier wrote that the wali could count on 600 men under the command of 7 Sanjaq Beys and 274 Timariots, as well as on 200 Sipāhīs and 200 private bodyguards.[3] According to Niebuhr, there were some Christians in the ranks of the Lāwands and the Tufinkjīs.[4] The Lāwands were cavalrymen, while the Tufinkjīs appear to have fulfilled the function of police. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Buckingham wrote that "the military force maintained for the defence of the town and its neighbourhood does not exceed 1,000 men, and these are chiefly cavalry. There are frequently half that number in attendance at the palace . . ."[5]

The picture is, to say the least, confused, all the more so since European travellers are the only observers of the period to attempt to distinguish between the various

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1 On all these governmental and religious offices, see infra, pp. 123-126, 137-139, 149-153, 156-157.

2 Niebuhr, II, 296.

3 Olivier, IV, 269.

4 Niebuhr, II, 297.

5 Buckingham, p. 290.

military corps. Local chronicles hardly ever mention such classifications, and there is only a reference to a Tufinkjī Bāshī, whose family was very closely associated with the Janissaries.[1] In fact, the Janissaries monopolise the whole narrative. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were three urṭas in Mosul: "10" appears to have been established in the Īj Qal'a, south-east of Mosul; "52" was in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, north of the Īj Qal'a; and "58" in the area of Bāb Sinjār, west of Mosul. In 1729/1142, Aḥmad Pasha of Bagdad exiled the urṭa "31" which came to Mosul and settled in Bāb al-'Irāq, south-west of the town; and six years later, Aḥmad Pasha exiled the urṭa "27" which came to live in the Maidān district, south-east of Mosul.[2] As in other Ottoman towns, the urṭas attracted the urban population, "and almost all of them were affiliated to one of the urṭas which supported them in times of need."[3] Affiliation into the urṭas came from all sections of society, and criteria of selection appear to have been geographical, pertaining to the repartition of the urṭas in the various urban districts. The Janissaries appear to have been "the town in arms", being, as they were, the military arm of the various notable families and the main protagonists in every power struggle and feud which shook Mosul. The two main forces were "27", based in Maidān, and "31", based in Bāb al-'Irāq, and most feuds which occurred during this period saw these two urṭas confronting each other, while the rest gravitated around them, shifting alliances according to circumstances. The Jalīlīs used the Janissaries to cripple all alien walis, and through their control over the urṭas and the street, were able to present themselves as "the party of order".[4]

The role of the Janissaries was not limited to the town, and on more than one occasion they were dispatched by the wali to assist the Pasha of Bagdad in his campaigns against the Wahhābīs and against the tribes of Baṣra.[5] They

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1 SUL, f. 66r.

2 BAG, pp. 180-181. These measures were certainly related to the formation of the Mamluk households.

3 Lanza, p. 11; BAG, pp. 180-181.

4 See Lanza, pp. 38-39.

5 See infra, p. 79.

also participated in the expeditions mounted against Jabal Sinjār.[1] In many ways, they were private armies and clientèles controlled by the notables, and chiefly by the house of the Jalīlī wali.[2]

After the fall of the Jalīlīs, the urṭas continued to play a major role in politics, although they were officially dissolved and had no juridical existence. As late as 1845, the Turkish walis were still busy curtailing their power and influence,[3] and they were "largely responsible for the rising of 1854."[4]

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1 UNW(1), f. 177r; DUR(1), p. 646; ZUB, p. 173.

2 When a Jalīlī wali was appointed by the Porte as governor in a town other than Mosul, "his" Janissary leaders went with him: see infra, p.140.

3 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 15 Mar., 22 Mar., and 19 May 1845.

4 A.H.Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables", in Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East, W. Polk and R. Chambers (eds.) (Chicago, 1968), p. 61.

Chapter III

THE MOSULI SOCIAL FORMATION

I. The Land and its Produce

The province of Mosul was not extensive. As a matter of fact it did not, under the Jalīlīs, extend beyond the limits of the old liwā' of Mosul constituted in the sixteenth century. Throughout the Jalīlī period the town grew considerably, and in many ways its hinterland was out of proportion, so that Mosul could be described as "almost a city-state".[1] The province was limited to the north and north-east by the approaches to the mountains of Kurdistan, to the east by the river Khāzir, to the south-east by the Zāb which debouched into the Tigris, and to the west by the town of Tall A'far. Mosul itself was the centre of an imperfect circle not exceeding a radius of 25 miles. Within this circle, Niebuhr found 85 villages south-east of the Tigris, 128 north-east of it and 27 west of it. And at the end of the eighteenth century, Amīn 'Umarī counted 200 eastern villages and 15 western ones.[2]

A. Agricultural Produce

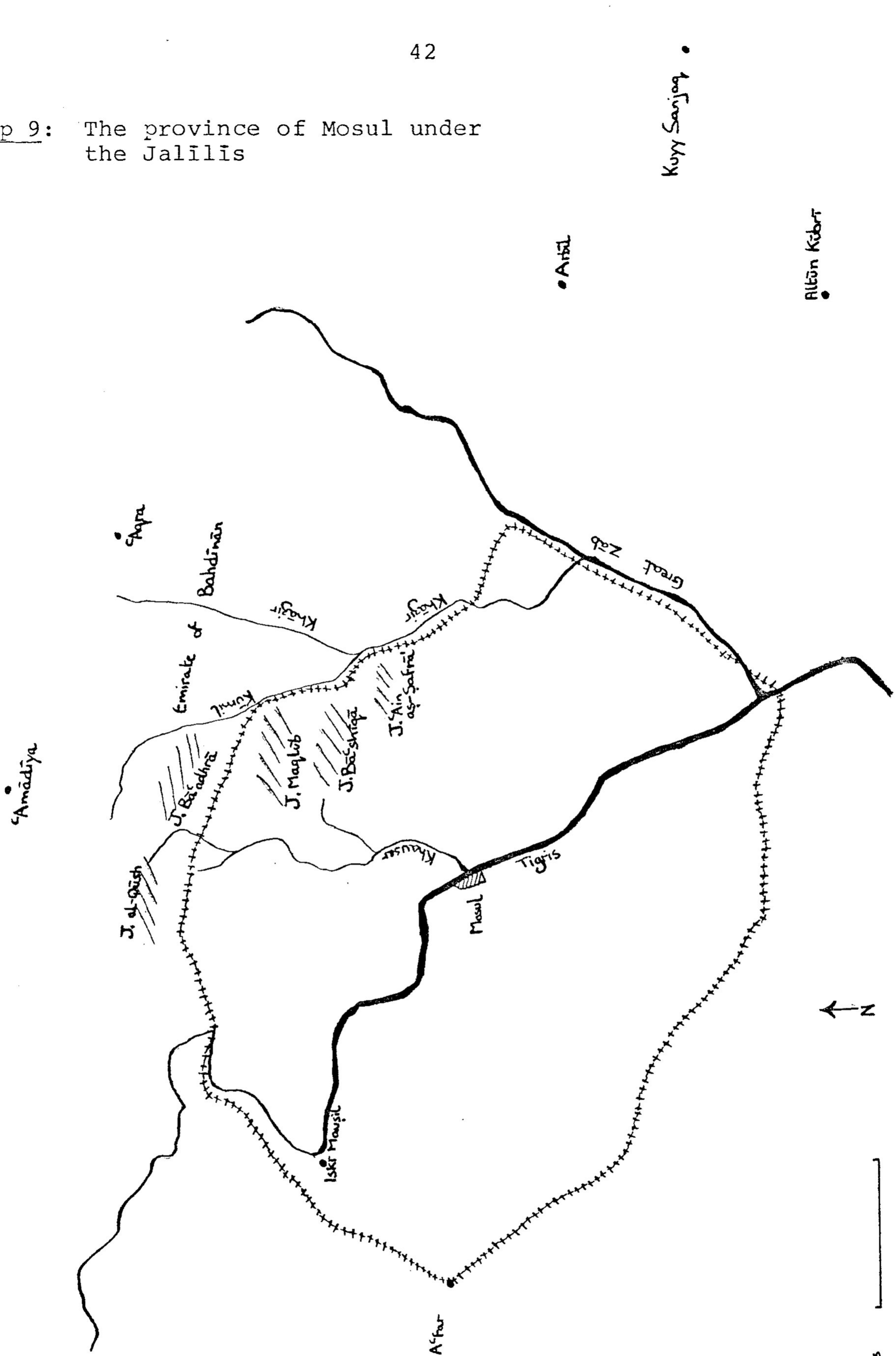
The agricultural land around Mosul was renowned for its great fertility, and all the European travellers visiting the province were impressed by the fields spreading between the east bank of the Tigris, the Kūmil river to the north and the Zāb to the south. On the other hand,

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1 Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables", p. 52.

2 Niebuhr, II, 298-300; MAN(2), I, 62. This does not mean that all these villages paid a tribute to the wali of Mosul.

Map 9: The province of Mosul under the Jalīlīs



cultivation west of the Tigris was confined to the bank of the river, as illustrated by the small number of villages on the west: less than 7% of the total. For, throughout the Jalīlī period, the extension of cultivation was not only linked to the nature of the soil, but also depended on the relationships between town and nomads.[1]

Just outside the town walls were no less than 60 orchards yielding a great variety of fruits such as grapes, pomegranates, apricots, figs, mulberries, peaches, plums, lemons and sweet lemons, as well as almonds and pistachio. Along the banks of the Tigris, and on small islands in the river, several gardens and vegetable plots provided the town with melons, water-melons, fennels, pumpkins, cucumbers, marrows, aubergines, beans, onions, turnips, carrots, beetroots, lentils, peas and sesame.[2]

By far the most important crops were wheat and barley, grown mainly east of the Tigris, but also west of it within a limited band stretching some 10 miles upstream. In times of tribal unrest, this band of cultivated land west of the river shrank to some 4 miles from the town.[3] Corn land in the province of Mosul lay fallow every other year; no artificial irrigation was needed; and each seed produced an average of 15 grains.[4] Ploughing and sowing usually took place at the end of November, and the harvest was done in June,[5] which would leave the crops at the mercy of all kinds of predators--animal or human--seven months out of twelve.

Another important Mosuli crop was cotton, planted along the east bank of the Tigris, as far north as Iskī Mauṣil and as far south as the Zāb. The alluvial grounds of the river Khauṣar were also used to promote cotton plantations.[6] Unlike corn, cotton relied heavily on artificial irrigation:

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1 See Jones, p. 368.

2 MAN(2), I, 62; Olivier, IV,275; Sestini, pp. 141, 149; Ainsworth, Travels, II, 133, 135, 148; Badger, I, 81; Niebuhr, II, 295; Lanza, p. 13; Ṣūfī, II, 104.

3 Jackson, pp. 129, 136; Ainsworth, Travels, II, 149; Niebuhr, II, 283; Badger, I, 80; Lanza, p. 12; Ives, p. 330.

4 In exceptionally good years, seeds could yield 30 or 40 grains: see Rich II, 63; Olivier, IV, 380.

5 Buckingham, p. 236; Sestini, p. 140; Rich, II, 67.

6 Dupré, I, 112-113; Rich, II, 56, 62.

an intricate system of canals as well as constant attention were needed. It was therefore essential for the authorities to ensure that the land east of the Tigris enjoyed maximum security. Also east of the Tigris, around the hill-side villages dominated by Jabal Maqlūb, Jabal Bā'shīqā and Jabal 'Ain aṣ-Ṣafrā, there were numerous olive groves whose oil was entirely consumed by the Mosuli industries.[1]

While cultivation depended on a precarious balance between town and nomads, pastoral activities were based on an understanding between both parties, and Mosuli notables often entrusted friendly tribes with their herds--sheep, bovines, equines--the produce being shared between owner and shepherd.[2]

Bordering the province of Mosul to the west, the mountain of Sinjār was rich in dates, apricots, peaches and a special sort of small fig "acknowledged to be the most delicious in Iraq Arabi."[3] To the north, the mountains of 'Amādīya produced honey, gall-nuts, yellow berries, manna, flax, silk, cotton, tobacco, hemp,pulse and rice.[4]

In theory at least, Mosul grew enough foodstuffs for its own needs, as well as for export to other provinces. In fact, however, Mosul under the Jalīlīs suffered repeated natural calamities which limited drastically its agricultural produce. In his chronicle of events in Mosul, the historian Yāsīn 'Umarī reported the following catastrophes:

1749/1163:	snow destroyed all vegetables and fruits
1750/1164:	crops failed and famine ensued
1753/1167:	part of the crops destroyed by hail
1756/1170:	invasion of locusts sent prices rocketing
1757/1171:	hard frost led to high prices of foodstuffs
1758/1172:	invasion of locusts caused a great famine and many died
1769/1183:	severe drought

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1 ZUB, p. 139; Munshi', p. 84; Grant, p. 30; Aucher-Eloy, pp. 200-204; Rich, II, 67-68, 79.

2 GHA, p. 80; Layard, I, 86. At the same period, Damascene notables engaged in similar associations with the tribes: see Mīkhā'īl Dimashqī, Ḥawādith ash-Shām wa-Lubnān, L. Ma'lūf s.j. (ed.) (Beirut, 1912), p. 7.

3 H.M. Kinneir, Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan (London, 1818),p. 434. See also Heude, p. 227; Otter, II, 254; Southgate, II, 263.

4 BAG, p. 94; Niebuhr, II, 269; Benjamin, p. 104; Chesney, I, 123.

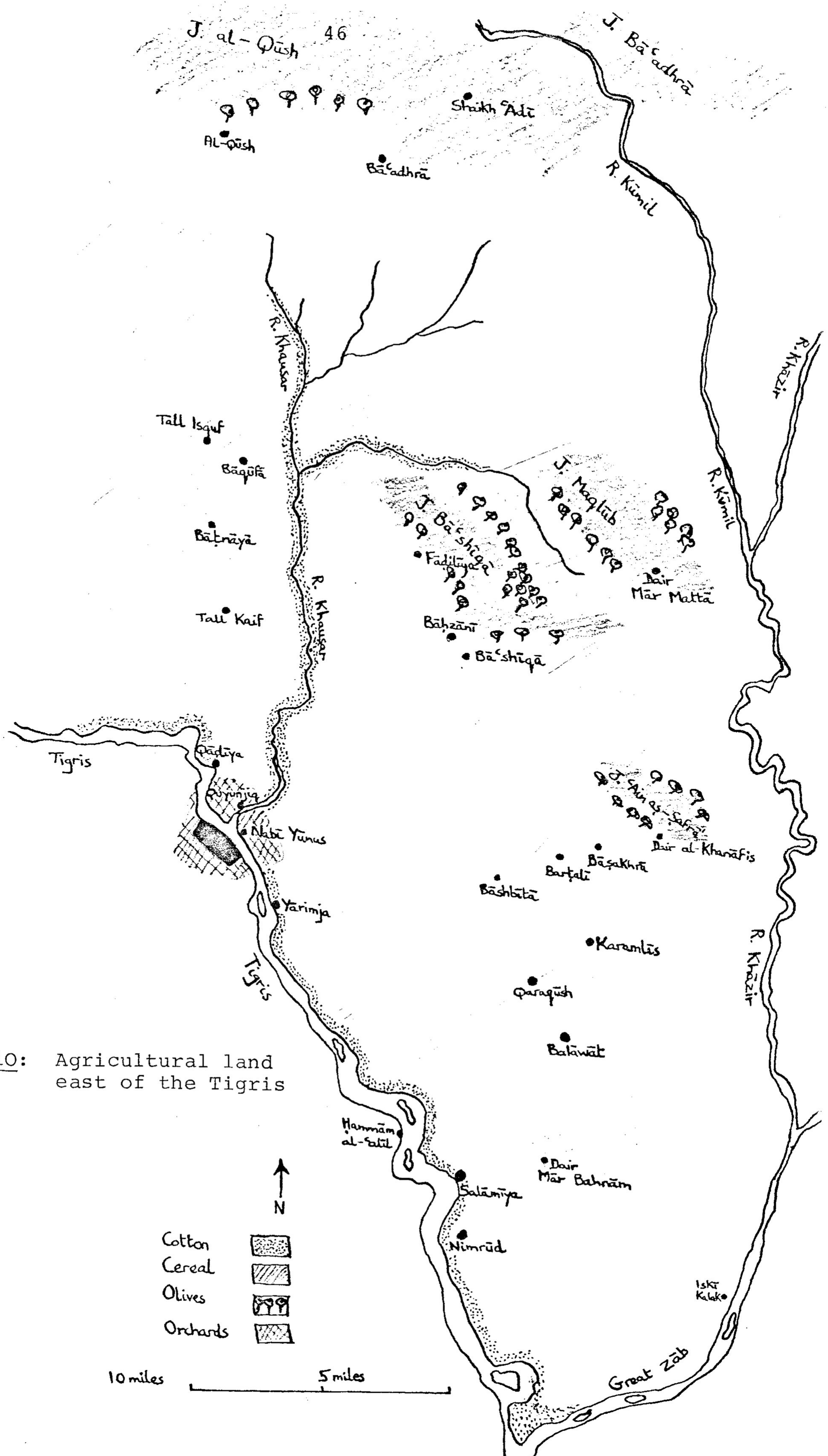
1771/1185: plague depopulated the countryside
1774/1188: violent winds destroyed the pistachio and olive trees, and hail destroyed some crops
1778/1192: high prices of foodstuffs (no reason given)
1779/1193: severe winter--snow remained on the ground 40 days
1782/1197: flood, followed by a drought which destroyed the crops
1785/1200: drought led to famine
1786/1201: drought and famine
1789/1204: drought
1791/1206: severe drought destroyed all the wheat crop and half of the barley,and this was followed by severe summer rains
1794/1209: two invasions of locusts ruined a third of the crop; fire destroyed those of some south-eastern villages; hail in others
1795/1210: locusts ate wheat and barley and attacked the cotton twice.
1796/1211: hail destroyed the crops of 70 villages
1797/1212: the river Khauṣar flooded the cotton plantations and snow came to add to the disaster and prices soared
1799/1214: plague
1800/1215: plague increased in intensity
1801/1216: hail destroyed the crops of 5 villages
1802/1217: torrential rains and floods for 6 months
1804/1219: prices of foodstuffs very high (no reason given)

Yāsīn ʿUmārī was born in 1745 and his chronicle stops around 1810. During this period--a man's lifetime--the crops failed 25 times, sending the prices of foodstuffs soaring, often causing severe hardship on the population, sometimes causing disastrous famines and, naturally enough, interrupting the export trade of foodstuffs. At least once every three years during the Jalīlī period the land failed to deliver the goods which were expected of it, and this deficiency affected the whole society through high prices and famines. But, more directly, it hit the crafts (olive oil, cotton), trade (export of foodstuffs) and even transport since the lack of fodder often led to a three-fold increase in the price of beasts of burden, so that all kinds of exchanges were affected.[1] Add to these natural calamities the effects of the nomads' depredations as well as the exactions by the powerful Pashas of Bagdad, and it will become clear that the picture was not always as rosy as it may have seemed.

The exiguity of the area of cultivation and the effects

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[1] Ives, p. 324.



Map 10: Agricultural land east of the Tigris

of natural catastrophes must have increased the dependence of the cultivator on the merchant who was in a position to lend money and wait, if necessary, for better times.

B. Control of the Land

Although there is no evidence pointing to a change in the juridical status of the land since the Ottoman conquest and reorganisation, accounts given by local chroniclers and by travellers seem to indicate that by the time the Jalīlīs were in power, local notables had become important landowners. This process appears to have started when the liwā' of Mosul was set up as an independent province and separated from the pashalik of Diyār Bakr in 1639. This must have given the urban notables more direct control over land traditionally granted to absentee Sipāhīs gravitating around the old capital of the province, some 100 miles away. This gradual take-over must have had the blessings of a Porte for whom the loyalty of provincial urban notables had become more essential than the increasingly scarce services rendered by a military aristocracy.[1] The dichotomy between rural aristocracy and urban notability should not, however, be overstressed, and one ought to talk more in terms of a symbiosis, as urban notables pervaded the iqṭā' while, concurrently, the military aristocracy was integrating urban society: the whole operation being most certainly undertaken under the auspices of the merchant capital.

It is a fact that throughout the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century, the military landowners had come under increasing pressure, and a pressure which manifested itself in two different ways. First of all, the Porte did not hesitate to grant their domains to Mosuli notables. Secondly, pressure was being exerted not so much on the Sipāhīs' right of property, but rather on the actual exploitation of the said property: merchant capital took over, and

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1 In the second half of the 17th century two local notables at least were given land by the sultan: ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī and Yāsīn al-Muftī (Āl Yāsīn): see infra, pp. 107, 111.

the previous distinction between notable and landowner lost its significance. Certainly, under the Jalīlīs, one finds no evidence of a separate political entity representing the landowners in opposition to the merchants or the urban notables.

This trend towards a unification of the possessing classes was finally crowned with the rise to power of a local family. The Jalīlīs became the Pashas of Mosul and, as a result of this monopoly of office, the large khāṣṣ domains usually reserved for the wali became part of the Jalīlīs' patrimony. Increasingly, local notables used the system of religious endowments to secure their landed assets against expropriation and fragmentation,with the result that the whole hinterland of Mosul was acquiring a coherence unknown before, as rulers, notables, merchants and landowners were becoming one and the same thing.

II. Crafts and Industries

Crafts and industries had suffered immensely during the centuries of political unrest which had followed the capture of Mosul by the Mongols at the death of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu'. Following the Ottoman conquest, the integration of the town into a wide and relatively unified political and economic entity favoured a renewed development of the crafts. And from the eighteenth century onwards, the growth of the market area of the south-eastern district is a pointer to a substantial economic development.

Under the Atabegs, the manufacture of cotton cloth appears to have been the most important industrial activity in Mosul, and Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī is said to have counted 75,000 looms.[1] Although in the Jalīlī period this specific branch of industry never reached its past glories, it was none the less important enough to require imports of raw cotton, the produce of the province being insufficient for its needs.[2]

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[1] Ṣūfī, II, 65; Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', p. 36. The figure is not realistic and should be taken less as historical evidence regarding the cotton industry than as a "mental pointer" to the strong association which the author made between Mosul and the cotton industry.

[2] See infra, p. 64.

Cotton was spun and woven in Mosul as well as in the countryside by "the lower classes" working in their own homes and, sometimes, in workshops.[1] But, be it in town or in country, the spinning and weaving of cotton seems to have been a cottage industry rather than a manufacture, and there is only one mention of a Sūq al-Quṭn (also called Khān al-Ghazl) where cotton appears to have been sold rather than worked on. That the spinning and the weaving of cotton were undertaken in the villages as much as in the town itself, and that the unit of production was the home rather than the workshop, points to the fact that the three essential stages of the cotton industry--cultivation,spinning and weaving--escaped corporate frameworks and were most certainly controlled by the merchant capital through a direct relationship merchant/cultivator, merchant/spinner and merchant/weaver. The woven cotton was then taken to the daqqāq for cleaning and refining, and later to the qaṣṣār who bleached it and washed it in the sulphuric spring of ʿAin al-Kibrīt, just outside the northern walls, near the Bāsh Ṭābya citadel.[2]

An old Mosuli craft associated with the cotton industry was dyeing. The waters of the Tigris were adapted to the purposes of this industry, and east of Mosul was a spring from which silt was extracted and used for a blue dye.[3] Around 1760, Mosul was importing 1,000,000 piastres worth of dyes yearly for consumption in the local industries[4] and increasingly throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the dyeing industry came under the control of the merchant capital and developed quite independently of the manufacture of cotton cloth. In the second half of the sixteenth century, a notable family, the ʿUmarīs, overcame

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1 Sestini, p. 140; Lanza, p. 13; Buckingham, p. 287; Layard, I, 178.

2 Dīwahjī, Aʿlām aṣ-ṣunnāʿ, p. 43. The qaṣṣārīn were located in the vicinity of the spring they used, and this could explain why the daqqāqīn, closely associated with them, had their khan in the north-west of Mosul, while most other crafts seem to have been situated in the south-east.

3 Jackson,p. 162; Otter, I, 140. French: limon.

4 Lanza, p. 14; Dīwahjī, Aʿlām aṣ-ṣunnāʿ, p. 38.

the opposition of the Ashrāf of Mosul who appear to have had a monopoly on the industry and built their own dye-shop (maṣbagha),[1] and in the nineteenth century the industry was still flourishing quite independently of the decline of the manufacture of cotton cloth, as it relied increasingly on British and Indian imports.[2] As with the planting, spinning and weaving of cotton, dyeing too was controlled by the merchant capital.

Another craft connected with cotton was printing, undertaken by the naqqāsh (or baṣmajī) using wooden printing blocks.[3] Irrespective of increased imports of cotton cloth, it appears that in the second half of the eighteenth century cotton employed a substantial part of the population of the province--cultivation, spinning, weaving, cleaning, bleaching, dyeing and printing.[4] The main cotton products were coarse broadcloth, clothes, underwear, blankets, turbans, prayer mats, quilts, bed-linen, curtains, handkerchiefs, napkins, towels, belts and socks.[5]

Besides cotton, the villages also produced coarse linen cloth,[6] and silk was used in the town, mainly for embroidery. Also on a cottage industry basis was the weaving of wool in the town and in the country,[7] and at the end of the eighteenth century, with the growth of the market area in Mosul, the sha'ārīn (manufacturers and merchants of goat wool products) invaded the grounds of the Great Mosque.[8] Such a "savage" boom in the building of workshops and shops illustrates the lack of rigidity of corporate frameworks--if any. The main wool products were clothes, blankets, shawls, under-saddles for horses, camel-saddles, pack-saddles

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1 See infra, pp. 104-105.

2 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 26 July 1844. On the growth of the dyeing industry see Sestini, p. 149; Niebuhr, II, 296; Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 88. See Appendices II,III.

3 Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', p. 42.

4 Lanza, p. 13.

5 Benjamin, p. 115; Buckingham, p. 291; Southgate, II, 238-239; Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', pp. 40-45.

6 Ives, p. 318.

7 Benjamin, pp. 129-130; Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', p. 50.

8 Dīwahjī, Jawāmi', p. 25.

for mules, bags and socks.[1]

Mosul also had an important soap industry which relied on the olive oil from the neighbouring villages, and on alkali brought from the desert to Mosul by the nomads.[2] Production of soap was not, however, sufficient for the town's needs, and soap had to be imported, mainly from Aleppo.[3] The town was renowned for the good quality of its yellow leather,[4] out of which shoes, saddles and boxes were made.[5] From the mountains beyond Diyār Bakr came iron and copper ores, sent all the way down to Mosul on the Tigris. Iron was chiefly used in the manufacture of cutlery, nails and various sorts of tools. Mosuli artisans were reputed for their skills in working copper. Unloaded at Bāb al-Jisr, near Sūq aṣ-Ṣaffārīn, the ore was moulded by the ṣaffār so as to make brass and give it a shape; the naqqāsh then drew the design; the ḥaffār engraved it; and finally, the muṭa'ʿim filled the engraving with gold or with silver.[6]

The numerous quarries of gypsum and alabaster situated north of the town supplied the masons with all the materials needed in the building industry. The stones were broken at the quarries by two workers (shaqqāqīn) armed with a saw; the stones were then transported to the site of the building where the naqqār polished them and cut the angles; the naqqāsh drew the required designs; the ḥaffār engraved them; the muṭa'ʿim filled the engravings with limestone of a different colour; and the murakkib finally put all the stones together.[7]

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1 Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', pp. 48-50.

2 GHA, p. 71; Rich, II, 68. Arabic: ishnān (see Idrīsī, p.37).

3 J. Bowring, Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria (New York, 1973), p. 83; J-B. Rousseau, "Description du Pachalik de Haleb", in Fundgruben des Orients, vol. IV (Vienna, 1814), p. 97.

4 As opposed to Tokat's blue, Bagdad's red and Urfa's black.

5 Tavernier, I, 13; Olivier, IV, 273; Ṣūfī, II, 67.

6 MUN, f. 46r; Dupré, I, 60-62; Olivier, IV,374; Jackson, pp. 132, 171; Ṣūfī, II, 66-67; Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', p. 73; Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, The Travels of . . ., Ch. Stewart (tr.) (London, 1810), vol. II, p. 271. Silver was brought from the mountains of 'Amādīya: see Heude, p. 219 and Howel, pp. 92-94.

7 Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 87; Olivier, IV, 268; Southgate, II, 237; Dīwahjī, A'lām aṣ-ṣunnā', p. 125.

As for the juridical and corporative organisation of the crafts, practically nothing is said about it by chroniclers or travellers. It seems that each craft--however defined--had at its head a shaikh, as Amīn ʿUmarī tells us of arbāb aṣ-ṣanā'iʿ and of arbāb al-ḥiraf.[1] And there is also a mention of a shaikh al-aṣnāf as-sabʿa, but it is not clear what each term--aṣnāf, ḥiraf, ṣanā'iʿ--stood for.[2] It appears that such organisation as there might have been served taxation purposes, and that corporate links, duties and rights, if any, were extremely loose--flexible enough at least to allow the merchant capital to dominate the crafts. Indeed, in all the accounts of the feuds which shook Mosul in the Jalīlī period there is no mention of one or more "corporation" acting as a coherent group: family, clientèle, Janissary urṭa, urban district, were the groups of affiliation.

To take the cotton industry as an example, cultivation, spinning and weaving undertaken in homes, must have escaped corporate rules. And in the nineteenth century, there is strong evidence that indigo dyeing was being undertaken in the villages, and this must have rendered corporate action practically impossible.[3] Even in the more traditional crafts located in the old suqs and based on the workshop, the grip of the merchant capital must have made itself felt in more than one way: the raw materials often came from distant places, hence underlining the special position of the intermediary; and merchant families were usually in charge of collecting taxes from the crafts.[4] It is certain that as early as the seventeenth century the pressure of merchant capital had led to an expansion of local crafts and industries outside corporate frameworks.

III. Trade

The foregoing pages show that the dominant form of

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1 MAN(2), I, 142. See also DUR(1), p. 663.

2 There is a mention of a shaikh al-aṭibbā', without further detail: see KHU, f. 62v.

3 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 27 May 1845.

4 See infra, p. 119.

internal surplus generation was the draining of agricultural produce--in kind or in specie--by the town represented by its landowners, merchants and government officials. In turn, this agricultural mode of production fed a second which involved the various crafts. It seems, however, that the exiguity of the rural hinterland, the level of agricultural techniques and the frequent natural calamities which befell the province, prevented a substantial growth of agricultural produce accumulation which would have been essential for the sustenance of a high level of urban life. Concurrently, the locally oriented crafts do not seem to have been ambitious enough to account for a noticeable growth of urban life. One might therefore safely assume that the Mosuli modes of production were, at best, able to sustain Mosul within a semi-autarcic and self-sufficient economy, but could in no way provide the material basis necessary for urban and cultural expansion.

Having said which, one still has to acknowledge the fact that during the Jalīlī period Mosul witnessed an important urban growth as well as a tremendous increase in the level of cultural activities. Hence the question: where did the necessary surplus originate? Connected with this question is the fact that crafts and agriculture had come to be dominated by the merchant capital. And so it seems that the development of the Mosuli social formation depended primarily on a mode of connection rather than on any one mode of production. In other words, it relied on Mosul's ability to attract a surplus generated in other social formations, rather than on a surplus generated within itself.[1]

Mosul's privileged geographical position as a centre of transition between the mountains of Kurdistan and the plains of Iraq leading to the Persian Gulf as well as to the Mesopotamian "breach" running to the Syrian coast, enabled it to play a major mercantile role throughout its history. Yāqūt described it as "the gateway to ʿIrāq and the key to Khurasān and Adharbaijān"[2] and, closer to us, Lanza wrote that Mosul "benefits from its middle position; it is sought by the nomads of the deserts and the Kurds of

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1 See S. Amin, Le développement inégal (Paris, 1973), pp. 12-17.

2 Muʿjam al-buldān, vol. IV, p. 683.

the mountains; a mere mountain separates it from Persia; Bagdad is within easy reach and from there the road is open to Baṣra and India; and all the goods coming from the mountains in the north pass through Mosul on their way to the south."[1]

A. Trade Routes

The political instability brought about by the Mongol invasion of Iraq, and the acute division of the region into small and rival states which followed this invasion, hindered a trade which relied on open and safe routes of communication. The Ottoman conquest of Iraq finally gave Mosul a golden opportunity by integrating it into a vast economic entity spreading from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. With the stabilisation of Persio-Ottoman borders in the eighteenth century, Mosul regained its place as an important link in an intricate network of trade routes.

1. Mosul-Syria via ʿĀna and the desert:

"ʿĀna is seven days from Mosul and as many from Aleppo, Damascus, Bagdad, Mecca and Medina."[2] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Mosulis used this road frequently,[3] but by the nineteenth century the insecurity in the desert was such that "this has not been done within the memory of man."[4]

2. Mosul-Syria via Mesopotomia:

i. a land route from Aleppo to Bīr on the Euphrates, then Urfa, Mārdīn and Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, and from Jazīra, either on the Tigris or along it, to Mosul. For the traveller seeking to reach Mosul quickly, the road through Jazīra constituted a detour only made necessary when the desert route from Mārdīn to Naṣībīn was unsafe.[5] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Bey of Jazīra complained to Kinneir "that caravans seldom or never came near his town" and asked

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1 Lanza, p. 14.

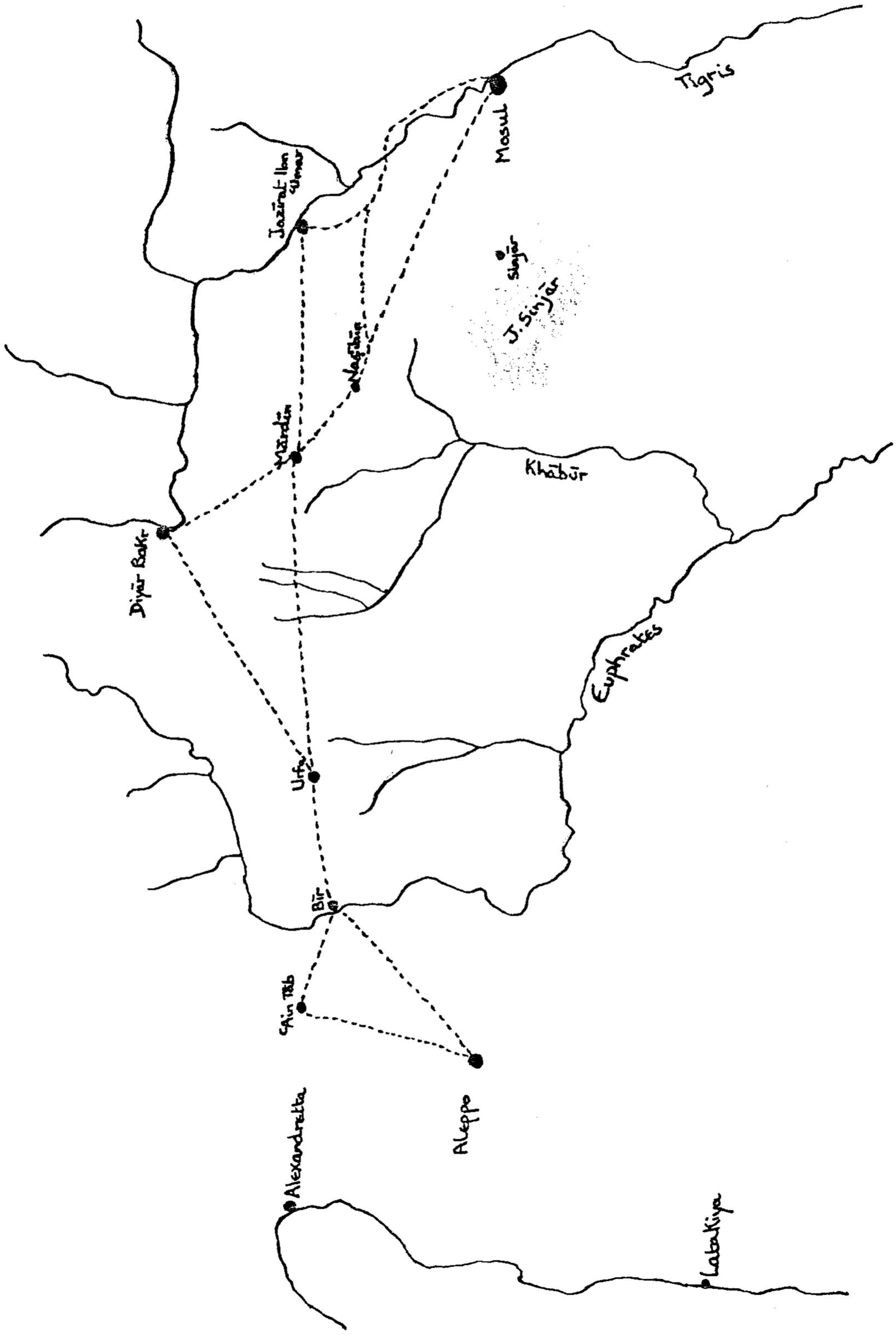
2 BAG, p. 75.

3 P. Teixeira, The Travels of . . ., W.F. Sinclair (tr. and ed.) (London, 1902), p. 86.

4 Rich, II, 109.

5 Otter, II, 253; Aucher-Eloy, p. 190; Niebuhr, II, 300.

Map 11: Caravan routes linking Mosul to Aleppo



him to "represent to the pashas of Bagdad and Mosul that the road was in excellent order and endeavour to persuade them to induce all the merchants to pass through Jazira in the future."[1] Niebuhr wrote that the road through Jazīra was the longest and the most difficult, but that it went through populated areas.[2]

ii. a land route from Aleppo to Bīr (Bīrijik) and Urfa directly to Mārdīn, Naṣībīn and Mosul. This was the usual caravan route, much frequented by the caravans and by far the quickest when safety was guaranteed.[3]

iii. a route from Aleppo to Bīr, Urfa and Diyār Bakr, and then a river route on the Tigris down to Mosul, the river being navigable downstream when the waters were high enough.[4]

3. Mosul-Asia Minor via Diyār Bakr.[5]

4. Mosul-ʿAmādīya via Al-Qūsh and Duhūk, and thence to Julamik and Urmīya.[6]

5. Mosul-Sulaimānīya via Arbīl, and thence to Hamadhān and to Iṣfahān. This was one of the five main routes linking Aleppo to Persia.[7]

6. Mosul-Persian Gulf:

i. Mosul to Bagdad via Tikrīt on the west bank of the Tigris. This road was faster than the eastern one through Kirkūk, but seldom used since it was much more dangerous.[8]

ii. Mosul to Bagdad through Arbīl and Kirkūk, east of the Tigris, normally used by the caravans, especially on the way from Bagdad to Mosul.[9]

iii. Mosul to Bagdad on the Tigris. The journey was made on rafts which were taken apart at Bagdad, the journey

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1 Kinneir, p. 452.

2 Niebuhr, II, 300.

3 GHA, p. 31; Ives, pp. 326, 329; Sestini, pp. iii-iv; D. Campbell, A Journey over Land to India (London, 1796), p. 94; W. Beawes, A Journey from Aleppo to Basra in 1745 by . . ., D. Carruthers (ed.) (London, 1929), pp. 5-7.

4 Sestini, p. 108; Raʾūf, p. 40.

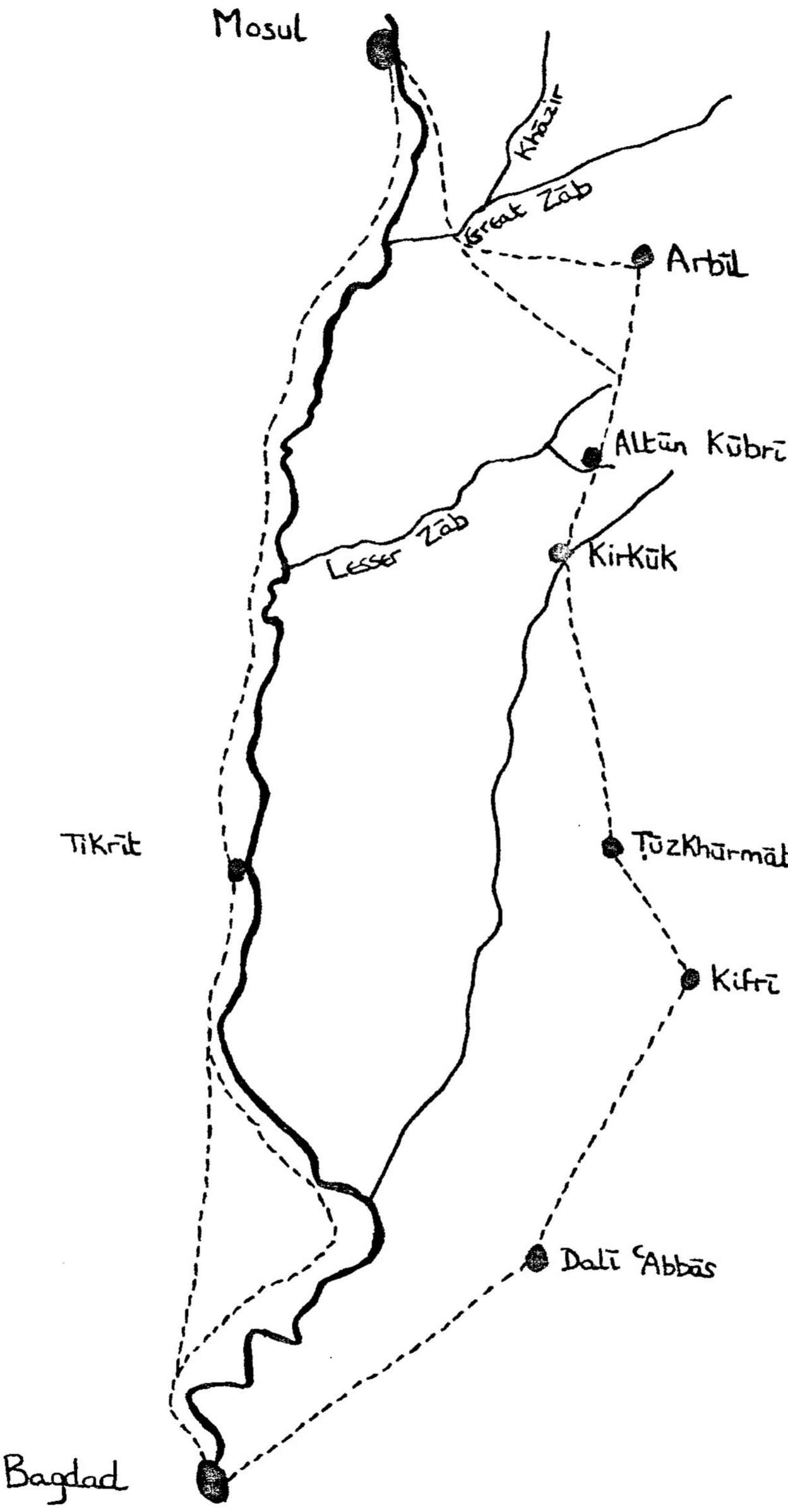
5 See Southgate, II, 291-292.

6 Grant, p. 40; Rich, II, 111.

7 Munshi', p. 75; Tavernier, I, 157, 195-197.

8 Niebuhr, II, 288; Munshi', pp. 86-87.

9 Niebuhr, II, 271; Munshi', pp. 86-87; Benjamin, p. 116; Lanza, p. 14.



Map 12: Caravan routes linking Mosul to Bagdad

upstream being hard, slow and dangerous.[1]
iv. Bagdad-Başra by the Tigris, the Euphrates or the land route, depending on the state of security.

As one can clearly perceive, Mosul lay at the centre of a complex system of trade routes linking the Gulf and Bagdad to the Mediterranean coast and Asia Minor, and connecting Syria with Persia. There were, of course, alternative routes from which Mosul did not benefit: from Persia to Constantinople via Erzerum and from Persia to Syria via Bagdad and the desert;[2] and the direct route connecting the Gulf to the Mediterranean through the desert, by far the fastest, but subject to city/nomad and nomad/nomad relations.[3] In times of insecurity, the road Başra-Bagdad-Kirkūk-Arbīl-Mosul-Urfa-Syria was preferred to the direct desert route. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the growing importance of Damascus in southern Syria rendered the desert route even more attractive to trade.[4] Of course, theoretically speaking, there was nothing preventing Mosul from benefiting from this new trade orientation by sending goods through ʿĀna. It seems, however, that the great tribal movements of the second half of the eighteenth century,[5] which had reached some kind of balance in southern and central Iraq, were still affecting the north well into the nineteenth century, and this must have hindered Mosul's chances by rendering the road from Mosul to Hatra and ʿĀna unsafe. Thus, Persian and Iraqi trade with Damascus continued to escape Mosul and was undertaken via Bagdad.

In contrast to Başra and Aleppo, Mosul was not a necessary place of passage for trade, that is to say Mosul

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1 Niebuhr, II, 287-288; Badger, I, 80-81; Southgate, II, 239; Layard, II, 97.

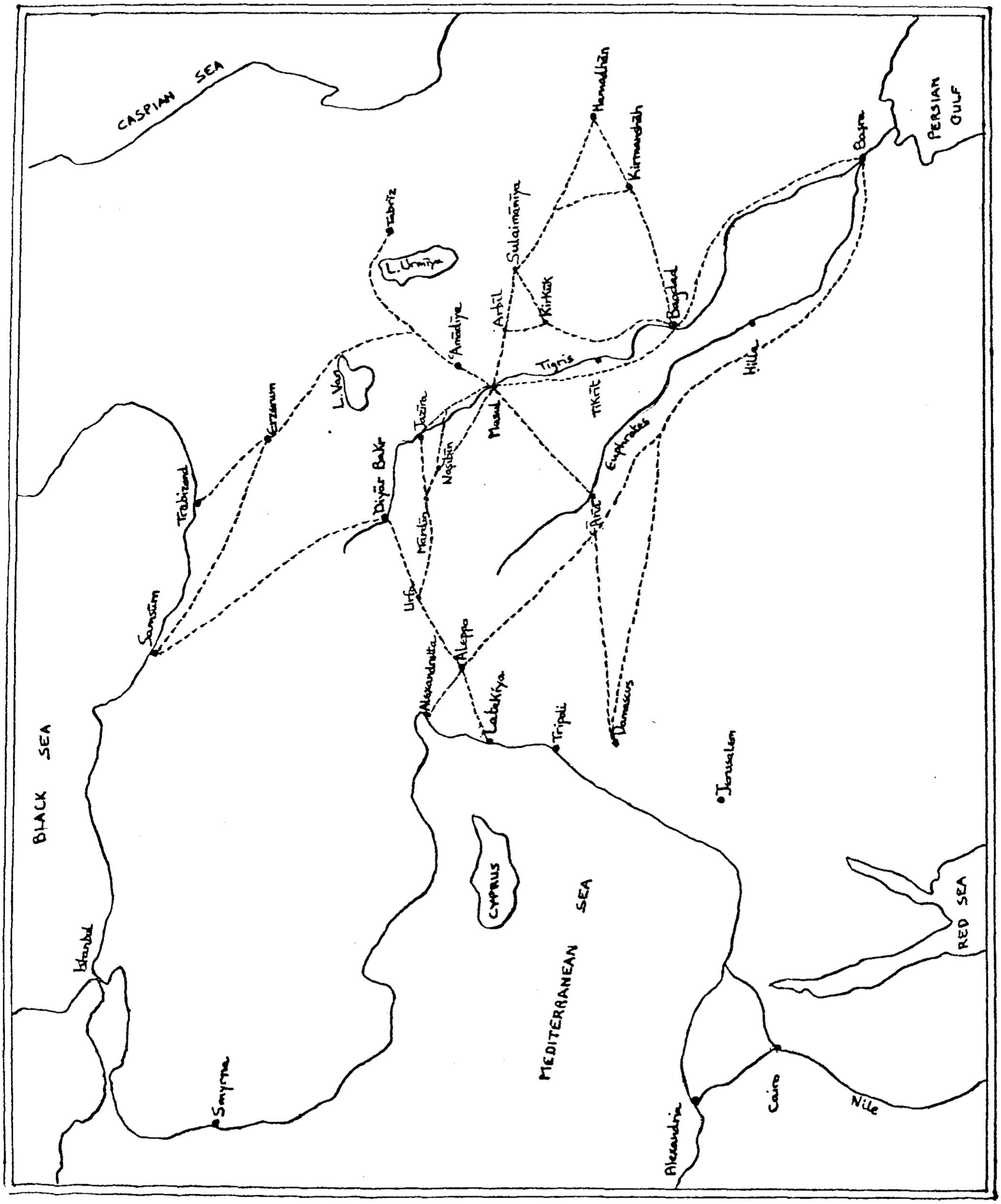
2 Southgate, II, 187; Munshi', p. 49; Olson, p. 8.

3 Groves, pp. 49, 51; Sestini, pp. 239, 270; Teixeira, p. 72; Niebuhr, II, 193-194, 271; Tavernier, I, 153; J-B. Rousseau, "Notice sur la secte des Wehabis", in Fundgruben des Orients, vol. I (Vienna, 1809), p. 191; A. Parsons, Travels in Asia and Africa (London, 1808), pp. 97, 109; S. Longrigg, Four Centuries of Modern Iraq (Oxford, 1925), p.252.

4 Groves, pp. 81-82; Southgate, II, 185-186.

5 See A. Hourani, "The Changing Face of the Fertile Crescent in the 18th Century", in Studia Islamica, VIII (1958), pp. 95-97; Longrigg, p. 202.

Map 13: Mosul in a network of international trade routes



did not lie on any one vital artery of communication, and caravans often avoided entering the pashalik and paying custom-duties. But for the same reason, and in contrast to Başra or Aleppo, Mosul lay at the very heart of an intricate network of trade routes, from all of which it could hope to benefit, however marginally. Mosul's very strength was in its flexibility. Başra and Aleppo could flourish and reach heights which Mosul would never dream of reaching, but Başra and Aleppo were highly dependent upon one main trade route and their fortunes followed those of this one trade route. Mosul, on the other hand, as a link rather than a terminal, benefited from many routes and could not be drastically affected by the closure of a particular one.[1] Even when the caravans avoided Mosul, the Jalīlīs and their stabilising effect were essential to ensure that security prevailed along the many roads which encircled the province.

B. Means of Communication and Transport

Since the early stages of history, and up to the nineteenth century, transport techniques had remained practically unchanged in the area under study. On the Aleppo-Urfa-Mosul road, caravans comprised camels, mules and horses. From Aleppo to Urfa through the desert the average speed of a caravan was 10 miles a day, but this average dropped considerably when the terrain became too rocky and too mountainous for the camel's taste. A camel which could usually carry up to 1,600 pounds in the desert only managed about 800 in the mountains where mules and horses were preferred, especially on the roads between Mosul and Kurdistan, and Mosul and Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar.[2]

On the roads linking Mosul to Bagdad, mules and horses were used in the local trade (Mosul-Bagdad) as well

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1 "Dans tous les projets plus ou moins imaginaires de chemins de fer reliant l'Europe aux Indes, Mossoul se trouve sur le parcours, comme centre principal à desservir," H. Binder, Au Kurdistan, en Mésopotamie et en Perse (Paris, 1887), p. 220.

2 Tavernier, I, 20, 181; Jackson, p. 191; Buckingham, p. 46.

as in the trade between Bagdad and Asia Minor. On the same route, the caravans travelling between Başra and Syria (via Mosul) used camels instead of mules and horses. The safest road lay east of the Tigris and, after leaving Mosul, caravans crossed the Zāb on small rafts made of goat skins before making their way to Bagdad through Arbīl, Altūn Kūbrī and Kirkūk. The western route through Tikrīt was faster, but usually unsafe.[1] By far the quickest way between Mosul and Bagdad was the Tigris. Goods were loaded on rafts made of goat skins filled with air--200 to 600 skins--and which could carry up to 60 quintals; the largest ones also had a wooden cabin to accommodate passengers. In the good season, when the current was strong, Bagdad could be reached in 3 days. In the bad season, the journey could take up to 12 days. On arrival at Bagdad, the rafts were dismantled, as the journey upstream was practically impossible: the wood was sold in Bagdad and the deflated skins loaded on mules and asses and taken back to Mosul.[2]

Between Bagdad and Başra, boats fitted with masts and sails carried merchandise on the Tigris as well as on the Euphrates. An average boat could carry 35 tons, but some were large enough to take a hundred. With good winds, and when the current was fast, the journey down the Tigris could be completed in 7 or 8 days. Otherwise, 15 were needed to reach Başra from Bagdad. As for the journey upstream, it was very tedious as the boats had to be pulled all the way up by teams of men walking along the bank of the river, and it usually took 50 days to reach Bagdad from Başra.[3] Around 1830, the Pashas of Bagdad favoured the introduction of steam navigation,[4] and by 1845 there was a small British steamer navigating the lower part of the Tigris.[5] As well as reducing

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1 Sestini, p. 211; Munshi', pp. 86-87.

2 Badger, I, 80; Sestini, pp. 153-154; Tavernier, I, 225-230; Benjamin, p. 86; Layard, II, 97; Niebuhr, II, 287-288; Southgate, II, 239.

3 Jackson, pp. 39-41; Otter, I, 156-157; Buckingham, pp. 385-386; Parsons, pp. 141-145. To make up for the long duration of the journey, merchants used to communicate from one city to the other by pigeon-messengers.

4 Groves, p. 3.

5 Layard, I, 139.

considerably the duration of the journey, steam navigation also had the effect of rendering trade much safer, since the nomads who haunted the banks of the river could not assail a determined steamer going at its own mechanical pace as easily as they could a boat being painfully pulled by ropes from the bank of the river.

Finally, on the desert route from the Gulf to Syria, camels were used in large caravans of 2,000 to 6,000 beasts, and the journey usually took 20 to 30 days from Bagdad to Aleppo, and 30 to 40 days from Baṣra to Aleppo.[1]

C. Nature of the Trade

Throughout the Jalīlī period, the trade of Mosul developed quite independently of the state of the productive forces in the province. The cotton industry, which in the eighteenth century was "the source of considerable profit to the town,"[2] had greatly declined by the 1830s and most visitors pointed to the stagnant state of the crafts in general. And whilst Lanza, writing around 1770, had said that the trade of Mosul was based on the profits made in the cotton industry, some seventy years later Rassam could write to his superiors in Istanbul that "the value of imports surpasses by a great deal the exports, and the merchants are obliged to send specie to Constantinople and Aleppo to purchase their stocks."[3] Whatever the state of its productive forces Mosul presented, nevertheless, considerable mercantile advantages.[4]

1. Mosul's trade with its immediate neighbours

As a town, Mosul had always acted as a market for the neighbouring tribes who came to exchange their products--skins, sheep, camels, milk, cheese--as well as the produce of the desert--salt, alkali, truffles, bitumen--for all sorts of foodstuffs and goods manufactured in town--clothes,

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1 Sestini, p. 211; Tavernier, I, 157; Parsons, pp. 114-115.

2 Lanza, p. 13.

3 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 18 Oct. 1845. Cf. Appendix III.

4 Ainsworth, Travels, II, 127; Rauwolff, p. 205; Buckingham, p. 291; Lanza, p. 14; Southgate, II, 238; Walpole, I, 391; Olivier, IV, 272-273.

tools, finished leather, ropes.[1] From Jabal Sinjār, and from the town of Tall A'far which lies on the way to it, came dates and figs, as well as a small quantity of gall-nuts--around 40 qanṭārs a year--which the Mosulis themselves took to Aleppo.[2] The trade with Jabal Sinjār was conducted by Mosuli merchants who went to the town of Sinjār, lying at the foot of the mountain, as the Yazīdīs themselves never came to Mosul, and thus Mosul could benefit from the conveyance of the goods. But the loss of the bitumen, salt and truffles trade to the nomads in the late eighteenth century constituted a severe blow to Mosul as it deprived its merchants of the lucrative business of transportation, and it also illustrates an inability to control the local trade routes.[3]

2. Mosul's trade with the Kurdish emirate of Bahdīnān

Exchanges between Mosul and the Kurdish mountains were very extensive and the authorities always endeavoured to ensure the safety of the roads linking Mosul to 'Amādīya, 'Aqra, and Duhūk, as well as to make sure that peace prevailed in this mountainous region. Inter-Kurdish feuds usually affected Mosul to a great extent in its trade as well as in its crafts.[4]

The most important item of trade between Mosul and the Kurdish mountains was gall-nuts, which Mosuli as well as Kurdish merchants brought from the mountains and forwarded to the Mediterranean coast and the Persian Gulf.[5] These "Mosuli" gall-nuts were reputed to be the best in quality and the annual gathering around 1830 was 7,000 to 10,000 qanṭārs, of which a quarter was exported to Aleppo,[6] the rest making its way to Baṣra for export to India and Europe, or being used in the Iraqi crafts. Throughout the eighteenth century, Mosul's cotton production could not meet the requirements of the local industry and the merchants purchased

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1 Lanza, pp. 8, 14; Badger, I, 81; Layard, II, 47; CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), Commercial Report for 1853.

2 Bowring, p. 31; Mirza, II, 285; Dupré, I, 105; Layard, I, 323; Ṣūfī, II, 121. One qanṭār equals 550 pounds.

3 See Rich, II, 110.

4 GHA, p. 48; Lanza, p. 57.

5 Rauwolff, p. 203; BAG, pp. 96-97; Tavernier, I, 192; FO 195/394, Rassam to Stratford de Redcliffe, Mosul, 27 Feb. 1854.

6 Bowring, p. 31.

and brought cotton from the mountains of ʿAmādīya.[1] In the nineteenth century, however, there is no mention of cotton being imported from the mountains, an indication of the increase in the imports of British spun cotton. Besides gall-nuts and cotton, the emirate of Bahdīnān supplied Mosul with tobacco "inferior in quality to that of Latakia,"[2] as well as the whole of Mosul's requirements in wood and charcoal, usually conveyed by Mosuli merchants themselves.[3] Other imports from the mountains were wool, tanned skins, manna, raisins, grapes, apples, pears, pomegranates, nuts, cucumbers, honey and yoghurt, as well as earthern vases used in town to keep the water fresh.[4] In exchange, Mosul supplied the mountain Kurds with wheat and barley, clothes and cotton cloth, dates, salt and European products.[5]

It appears from this pattern of exchanges that trade between Mosul and the emirate of Bahdīnān was not to the advantage of the Mosulis in that imports far exceeded exports. Put into a wider context, however, this pattern of exchanges illustrates the role of Mosul as a successful intermediary between the producing areas and the trade terminals on the sea. Mosul must have benefited immensely from the trade with the mountains, as the goods were mainly conveyed to Mosul and then to other centres by Mosuli merchants.

3. Mosul's trade with eastern Kurdistan

Throughout the Jalīlī period, commercial exchanges between Mosul and eastern Kurdistan (Sulaimānīya, Rāwandūz, Kuyy Sanjaq) remained modest. Imports to Mosul consisted of gall-nuts and rice, and, when Mosul's crops failed, corn as well. In exchange, Mosul exported boots and shoes, turban pieces, chintz and printed cotton cloth, as well as the products of Syria and Diyār Bakr. As with the emirate of Bahdīnān, the local Kurds had little to do with trade, and

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1 BAG, pp. 96-97; Lanza, p.13. Sources do not specify whether or not it was spun cotton.

2 Olivier, IV, 275-276. See also Sestini, p. 150 and Dupré, I, 93.

3 ZUB, p. 114; Rich, II, 105-106.

4 BAG, 96-97; Sestini, pp. 144, 251; Chesney, I, 124; Ainsworth, Travels, II, 135; Layard, I, 151, 228.

5 BAG, pp. 96-97; Rousseau, Bagdad,p. 101; Sestini, p. 151.

it seems that this activity was in the hands of Christians, Jews and Armenians.[1]

4. Persian trade

The history of Persian trade with Mosul is the history of Perso-Ottoman relations and their effect on the flow of silk from the producing areas to the Mediterranean: a point illustrated by the fact that when the Ottomans conquered Mesopotamia in the sixteenth century, the ruler of the silk producing Jīlān area requested Ottoman protection,[2] thus acknowledging that control of the trade routes and terminals was more important than control of the producing regions. As a result of the commercial blocade instituted by Salīm I (1512-1520), the silk route shifted from the north to the south, via Mosul and Diyār Bakr to Aleppo and Alexandretta.[3] In the seventeenth century, Mosul was still on one of the main routes linking Aleppo to Persia, and Tavernier, travelling in 1644, wrote about "notre Caravan-bashi Arménien né à Ispahan, ayant passé souvent à Moussoul . . ."[4] Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, Russo-Persian and Perso-Ottoman wars reduced the silk trade considerably, and Europe increased its imports of Levant silk while Persian silk was being exported north via Russia.[5] By the second half of the century, in spite of normal relations between the Ottomans and the Persians, Mosul had ceased to benefit from the trade as the powerful Mamluk Pashas of Bagdad gradually diverted the silk trade from Mosul to the "capital", whence it was forwarded to Syria and Asia Minor.[6] As far as the silk

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1 ZUB, p. 113; Rich, I, 86, 142, 305-306; Ainsworth, Travels, II, 193; Heude, p. 200; R. Mignan, A Winter Journey through Russia, the Caucasian Alps, and Georgia, thence into Koordistaun (London, 1839), vol. I, pp. 287-288.

2 Olson, p. 16.

3 Ibid., p. 15.

4 Tavernier, I, 192-193.

5 J. Bell, Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia, to diverse Parts of Asia (London, 1764), vol. I, pp. 40-111; Olson, pp. 104-105, 119-120.

6 Olivier, IV, 446-447 and V, 311; FO 195/113 Part I(B), Hector to Taylor, Bagdad, 22 Sept. 1841; J-B. Rousseau, "Extrait de l'itinéraire d'un voyage en Perse par la voie de Bagdad", in Fundgruben des Orients, vol. III (Vienna, 1813), p. 85.

trade was concerned, the Mosulis did not play the lucrative role of conveyors and of intermediaries--as with the gall-nuts --the trade being dominated by Armenians and Jews operating from Bagdad. All the same, Mosul still traded with Persia, albeit modestly. Sestini wrote that the caravan from Tabrīz reached Mosul in 25 days, bringing silk and skins of still-born lambs which were used in the manufacture of bonnets. In exchange, the caravan took to Persia local cloth, shawls and French broadcloth.[1]

5. Commercial links with Bagdad:

As one of the major cities of the Ottoman Empire and the capital of a Pasha ruling over practically the whole of Iraq, Bagdad enjoyed a special position in trade relations, and throughout the period under study the Mamluk Pashas endeavoured to attract to it the trade transiting through Iraq. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Bagdad benefited greatly from the addition of Başra to its dominions, and as a result came to control one of the terminals of the great Indian route. Simultaneously, the Pashas of Bagdad were extending their influence north, absorbing the important transit centre of Mārdīn. On paper at least, the whole of the Iraqi trade routes was under their control. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the anarchy prevailing in Persia helped to switch most of the Indian trade to Başra and Bagdad, and while trade relations continued between Bagdad, Kirmanshāh, Hamadhān and Iṣfahān, many Persian merchants fled their war-torn country and came to settle in Bagdad.[2] To the south, and in spite of inimical relations with the Wahhābīs, trade with Arabia continued.[3] The goods it received from India, Persia and Arabia, Bagdad re-exported to the Syrian coast and to Asia Minor via Mosul or, more directly to Syria via the desert. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, yearly exports from Bagdad to Aleppo via the desert route--muslins, Surate cloth, Surate cotton, Bagdad cotton, Bagdad

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1 Sestini, pp. 252-253.

2 Comte de Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, Mémoires historiques, politiques et géographiques du . . . (Paris, 1790), vol. II, pp. 39, 85. Olivier (IV, 324-325) estimated these Persian merchants at between 12,000 and 15,000.

3 GHA, p. 53.

cloth, Persian cloth, Mocca coffee, indigo from Lahore, tobacco from Persia and Bagdad, Indian spices, Cashmere shawls--amounted to no less than 6,000,000 piastres.[1] As most of this trade did not go through Mosul, the town did not benefit from it directly. Nevertheless, Mosul's proximity to the Zagros Pass which lies on the main thoroughfare from Hamadhān to Bagdad,[2] as well as its proximity to the Syrian desert, meant that the Jalīlīs were needed to help keep the arteries of communication open and safe. Special relations between the Pashas of Bagdad and the Jalīlīs were also necessary as both towns lie on the road linking the Gulf to Asia Minor. Mosul forwarded to Bagdad the gall-nuts and the tobacco of northern Kurdistan, as well as the copper of Diyār Bakr.[3] Those articles were then re-exported to Baṣra and to Syria. In addition, Mosul sent to Bagdad wheat and barley whenever local crops were successful, wood from Kurdistan, marble used in the building industry, as well as several kinds of fruits and vegetables, all of which articles of trade were consumed in Bagdad itself.[4] In exchange, Bagdad supplied Mosul with all sorts of Indian goods, part of which were then re-exported from Mosul to Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. According to Olivier, at the end of the eighteenth century small caravans of 30 to 40 asses left Bagdad two or three times a month, heading for Mosul, Armenia and Asia Minor, whilst larger caravans of 150 to 200 asses went bi-annually to Istanbul.[5]

Trade between Bagdad and Mosul was but one link in the chain connecting India with Asia Minor and Syria. True to their role as intermediaries, the Mosulis often sought to bypass the Bagdadis and trade with Baṣra directly, and Tavernier mentions some Mosuli merchants trading in the

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1 Rousseau, "Haleb", p. 93. See also Bowring, p. 113; Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 54; Benjamin, pp. 150-151; Buckingham, p. 385.

2 A. Poidebard, "Mossoul et la Route des Indes", in Asie Française, Supplement no. 8 (May 1923), pp. 26-27.

3 Parsons, p. 134; Jackson, p. 92; Bowring, p. 32; Rich, II, 26.

4 Teixeira, p. 62; Lanza, pp. 7-8; Jackson, pp. 92-93; Rich, II, 15; Olivier, IV, 423.

5 Olivier, VI, 291.

Gulf.[1] In 1749 Mosul's hopes were boosted by the appointment of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī as wali of Baṣra. The importance of such an appointment, and its implications for trade and for the respective fortunes of Mosul and Bagdad is illustrated by the firm opposition which the nomination encountered on the part of the Pasha of Bagdad. With the help of the southern tribes he succeeded in paralysing the Jalīlīs' mutasallim in Baṣra, and with the help of the Kurds he managed to prevent Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī from leaving Mosul. Mosuli hopes faded away and Baṣra was restored to the powerful Pasha of Bagdad. Had Jalīlī control over Baṣra come into being, Mosul would have been able to bypass Bagdad and, through the control of the main terminal on the Persian Gulf, make up for the loss constituted by the desert trade to Syria.[2] But this was not to be, and, by and large, in their trade with the Persian Gulf the Mosulis were limited south by Bagdad--and where the rafts were dismantled the Bagdadis took over. Obviously, this does not mean that Mosuli merchants were unable to proceed beyond Bagdad to Baṣra. One thing, however, is sure: beyond Bagdad, the transportation of goods escaped them, as the role of the rafts ceased and the boats took over.

Baṣra sent to Mosul coffee, sugar, spices and increasingly in the nineteenth century spun Indian cotton and cotton cloth.[3] Also from Baṣra came considerable quantities of dyes used in the Mosuli crafts. In 1759, Hays in Aleppo wrote to Hanson Clark and Co. in London that he was unable to sell their indigo "greatly owing to a sort of ordinary indigo--but very cheap--that hath been brought from India to Bagdad from thence sent to Mosul Mardin, Ourfar and Derbekeer . . ."[4] In the following year, Hays wrote to Bosanquet in London about "Gambousy indigo brought from

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1 Tavernier, I, 152.

2 DUR(2), f. 337r. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Jalīlīs were a well established family with strong connections in Mosul. Therefore, the appointment of Ḥusain Pasha would not have severed the Jalīlī/Mosul connection, and the town would have benefited from the nomination.

3 GHA, pp. 40, 48; DUR(1), p. 630; BAG, p. 52; Dupré, I, 120-121; Aucher-Eloy, p. 200; Olivier, IV, 439, 441, 448.

4 State Papers 110/135, Hays to Hanson Clark, Aleppo, 15 Aug. 1759.

India to Bagdad, Mosul and Damascus . . ."[1] In the nineteenth century, Syria was receiving all kinds of dyes from Başra and Bowring's commercial report does not mention exports of indigo from Aleppo to Mosul.[2]

Mosuli exports to Başra were chiefly gall-nuts and iron and copper ores. In 1797, Jackson wrote that the copper trade between Mosul and Başra "has not long been carried on, and is fast increasing; for sometimes ships sail from Basra laden almost entirely with copper."[3] In the international trade with India, Mosul acted as an important collecting and distributing centre for Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, but its role south appears to have been limited by Bagdad.

6. Trade relations with Upper Mesopotamia and Asia Minor

By rafts, mules and asses, the produce of the north made its way to Mosul, whence it was exported to Bagdad, Başra and India: copper ore and copper utensils from Tokat; gall-nuts from Jazīra and Diyār Bakr; poplars, oaks and other varieties of trees from Diyār Bakr and Bitlīs; hemp, soap, coarse calicoes and yellow leather from Diyār Bakr; and, for local consuption in Mosul: manna, turpentine, hazelnuts and dried raisins.[4]

Exports from Mosul consisted of Indian goods received from the south, as well as some local cotton cloth.[5] By the eighteenth century, direct river trade between Bagdad and Bīr on the Euphrates[6] had almost ceased, to the benefit of the Mosuli merchants, as caravans between the south and Armenia now passed through Mosul.[7] In the early nineteenth century, Mosuli merchants were trading with Urfa,

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1 SP 110/135, Hays to Bosanquet, Aleppo, 1 June 1760.

2 Bowring, pp. 35-36.

3 Jackson, pp. 92-93. See also Jackson, p. 132; India Office Records, G/29/25, Commercial Report, f. 229v; Olivier, IV, 273, 435.

4 R. Pococke, A Description of the East (London, 1745), vol. II, p. 161; BAG, p. 112; Rauwolff, p. 205; Binder, pp. 229, 234-235; Layard, I, 167; Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, II, 208; Dupré, I, 72; Badger, I, 23.

5 Dupré, I, 42-44.

6 Mentioned by Pococke, II, 162.

7 Campbell, p. 131.

Tokat, Erzerum, Qaişar and Edirne.[1]

7. The Aleppo connection

In the eighteenth century, Aleppo was still one of the main store-houses for European products destined to Syria and Iraq, as well as for Ottoman goods destined for Europe. Towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite the growing trade of Damascus, Beirut and the ports of Anatolia, and in spite of the general decline of the Mediterranean trade due to Anglo-French wars, Aleppo remained the major terminal for Mosul's trade with Europe. In the early Ottoman period, Mosul used to send great quantities of gall-nuts, goat wool and cloth to Aleppo via ʿĀna and the Syrian desert, as well as via Diyār Bakr and Urfa.[2] In the eighteenth century, coffee, brought all the way up from Başra, also made its way to Aleppo through Mosul. Gall-nuts and goat wool remained important articles of trade, but cloth was now merely being dyed and printed in Mosul, having first been imported from India.[3]

The Aleppo connection was quite strong, and some Mosuli merchants had factors in the Syrian city.[4] After the fall of the Jalīlīs, Mosul kept on sending gall-nuts and wool to Aleppo,[5] but terminals became more diversified. Hence, in 1844, Rassam's firm in Mosul sent 21 loads of gall-nuts to Aleppo, 28 to Samsūm and 18 ballots of wool to Smyrna.[6] A few months later, 90 camel-loads of gall-nuts and wool were forwarded by the same firm to Samsūm.[7] By the 1840s, British

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1 GHA, pp. 52, 100; Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, II, 204; Dupré, I, 42-44; Sestini, p. 53; Bowring, p. 45.

2 Teixeira, pp. 86, 88, 99; Tavernier, I, 151-152.

3 GHA, 61; Sestini, p. 149; Niebuhr, II, 296, 303; Bowring, pp. 31-32, 90; Badger, I, 78-80; Olivier, IV, 273.

4 Buckingham, p. 3. Bowring writes that around 1835, there were about 25 Mosuli merchants trading with Aleppo, with a capital of 170,000 to 200,000 dollars, and that they were the most wealthy Mesopotamian merchants (p. 44).

5 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 28 June 1845.

6 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 29 Nov. 1844.

7 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 3 May 1845. Those figures do not represent the totality of the firm's business activities, but they do illustrate the diversification in terminals.

merchants established in Mosul were expressing the hope that ʿĀna might be included in the pashalik of Mosul, most probably because of the growing importance of Damascus and Beirut, and the manque à gagner thus suffered by Mosul.[1]

Mosul imported from Aleppo all kinds of European products such as broadcloth and linen cloth, indigo,[2] paper, glass, iron utensils, satin, bonnets and hardware.[3] Of the Aleppine products, soap was the most important, and around 1800, 320 qanṭārs were exported each year to Mosul alone.[4]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the nature of this trade changed, with increasing imports of British cotton twists, European cotton prints and shawls, while returns from Mosul were mainly gall-nuts, wool and specie.[5]

IV. Conclusion

Throughout the Jalīlī period, the evolution in the nature of Mosuli exports and imports was faithful to the pattern of exchanges which takes place within the type of economy known as colonial, in that slowly but surely the exports handled by Mosuli merchants became limited to raw materials--gall-nuts, wool--while exports of Mosuli products decreased. Simultaneously, imports of European manufactured goods increased rapidly and managed to supplant local industries, especially as regards cotton cloth.[6] That this pattern of exchanges placed the Mosuli social formation into a dominated position is an undeniable fact. That the imports of foreign manufactured goods dealt a severe blow to certain traditional local industries is also an undeniable fact. However, in spite of this bleak picture, one is still faced with the equally undeniable fact that throughout the Jalīlī period Mosul witnessed an important expansion of urban life,

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1 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 4 May 1846.

2 Imports of indigo from Aleppo dropped considerably in the second half of the 18th century. See supra, p. 69.

3 GHA, p. 55; Lanza, p. 14; Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 91; Sestini, p. 149; Bowring, p. 38.

4 Rousseau, "Haleb", p. 97. See also Bowring, p. 83.

5 Bowring, pp. 36-37, 44.

6 See Appendix III.

incompatible with any impoverishment of the society. This observation calls for a close examination of the social formation under study, and an examination which lies well beyond the modest ambitions of this work which will therefore content itself with suggesting possible directions of research.

The first striking fact is that long before European domination most Mosuli exports consisted of raw materials. And furthermore, these raw materials--and the surplus they generated--did not originate in the Mosuli social formation itself but in neighbouring ones, whence they were collected and thence conveyed by Mosuli merchants. It thus becomes clear that economic expansion and decline were closely connected with a mode of connection of surplus rather than with any one mode of production of surplus or with the state of the local productive forces. Secondly, it seems that the imports of European finished products did not trigger a general decline of the Mosuli crafts as much as they induced a reorientation of these crafts enabling them to adapt to new circumstances as well as to the domination of a local--and not yet alien--merchant capital. Hence, up to the eighteenth century, Mosul produced and sold cotton cloth as a finished product. From the end of the eighteenth century onward, cheap imports of Indian and European cotton cloth dealt a blow to the local spinning and weaving industries. Although figures were not available to us, it seems that the decline that ensued should be considered in relative rather than absolute terms, that is to say Mosul's share of the total market decreased, but at a time when this market was bound to have expanded. Simultaneously, the same imports of cheap cotton cloth which were competing with the local spinning and weaving industries induced a growth in the dyeing, printing and embroidering crafts under the auspices of the local merchant capital.

The fortunes of Mosul had always depended on its ability to attract a surplus generated in other, and sometimes distant, social formations, and the argument generally put forward, i.e., that Europe dealt a severe blow to the productive forces, is somehow irrelevant. Causes for the economic decline of Mosul as well as explanations for European domination in the second half of the nineteenth century, should be

looked for elsewhere. For centuries, the productive forces of the Mosuli social formation had been dominated by the merchant capital, and only a study of the dynamics of this merchant capital can help us grasp the evolution of the Mosuli social formation. In the Middle Ages, Mosuli merchants seem to have gone as far as Venice in search of markets for the spices and muslins they were conveying,[1] yet the sight of Mosulis in distant lands was not common as Mosul was too far away from the sea and the ocean to play a role as a true city-state. So that from the beginning, Mosul's geographic position--so lucrative in many ways--had shaped the aspirations and the future of its productive forces at the very moment it was limiting the outlook of its merchant capital. The interaction between geographic situation, merchant capital and productive forces is, it seems, essential for an understanding of the nature of the Mosuli social formation. Now, taking into consideration the wider political and economic structure within which Mosul was comprised under the Jalīlīs, one must acknowledge that even at its apogee the Ottoman Empire controlled very limited maritime trade routes. In more than one way, the future of Ottoman productive forces was "ordained" before the extension of the Capitulations, before the barā'āt, before the Lancashire mills, and before the shift of international trade away from the Mediterranean, away from the Persian Gulf and away from Ottoman control, by the absence of any "will" (both mental and institutional) for international trade, for control of international trade routes and for mercantile expansion. It seems that the problem does not lie in the fact that European merchants were establishing themselves in Ottoman ports and European powers controlling the major trade routes. Rather, it would seem that the problem lies in the fact that such a situation did not constitute a problem as far as the Ottoman State and the Ottoman world view were concerned. That Europe was gradually encircling the Ottoman Empire and monopolising the international trade is a fact. But much more important was that psychologically the Ottoman authorities did not regard this as a threat, whereas they were more

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1 Fiey, "Mossoul d'avant 1915", pp. 33-34.

sensitive to other issues involving Europeans (war and military threat, relations between the dhimmīs and Europe, etc.). As far as Mosul was concerned, the dynamism of its merchant capital was certainly affected by this disarticulation between State and province, as between province and province. This "fragmentation and conflict of wills" determined a priori the extent of Mosul's mercantile fortunes.[1] Within these limitations, Mosuli merchants remained active in the Ottoman Empire and in Persia. In the sixteenth century, very few European traders ventured beyond Aleppo and into Mesopotamia.[2] In the seventeenth century, Mosuli merchants traded regularly with Persia[3] and, more locally, Mosuli merchant capital dominated exchanges up to the nineteenth century: the gall-nuts and the goat wool of Kurdistan, the salt and the sheep wool of the desert. As Niebuhr noted:

> "Dans d'autres villes les marchands confient ordinairement leurs marchandises aux Arabes des grandes tribus voisines, qui alors les transportent sur leurs chameaux par le désert. Mais dans notre voyage [Mosul to Aleppo], on m'assurait, que les propriétaires de toutes les bêtes à charge de notre caravane demeuraient à Mosul et dans les villes voisines, et qu'ainsi les Arabes et les Curdes ne profitaient rien du Transport de ces marchandises."[4]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, this trade began to escape the Mosuli merchant capital. First, the insecurity in the desert compelled trade to rely increasingly on the nomads for conveyance and protection. Later

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1 This is not to say that had the local merchant capital benefited from more favourable circumstances, this would have necessarily triggered a development of the local productive forces. This is not an exercise in reconstructing history, and its aim is not to point at the interruption of a real trend of development, but rather to point at the moment of rupture of a potential trend of development. If the local DNA can be said to have "failed", then it is certainly in the programming of its merchant capital as of its State institutions and not in that of its productive forces. And to put it in Leibnizian terms, Europe came to dominate the local social formation because it was more "perfect", in that one could find in Europe that which would supply a reason a priori for what happened in the local social formation.

2 Rauwolff, p. 123.

3 Tavernier, I, 192-193.

4 Niebuhr, II, 303.

on, with the extension of security to the desert and to the mountains of Kurdistan, European consuls and merchants settled in Mosul, barā'āt multiplied, and the trade of gall-nuts and wool was open to an alien merchant capital. In 1845, British merchants in Mosul were dealing, directly or through their dhimmī protégés, with ʿAmādīya, Sulaimānīya, Rāwandūz, and even with the nomads of the desert from whom they bought sheep wool and to whom they even lent money.[1]

Much more so than the industries of Europe, it was the dynamism of European merchant capital, backed by the European State, that crippled the Mosuli social formation by competing with its motor, the local merchant capital. Already limited, long ago, by foreign control over some of the international trade routes, local merchant capital gradually lost the Ottoman routes, then the local routes, to foreign merchants who, ironically, came to benefit from the extension of safety through the subjugation by the Ottoman State of mountain rebellion and desert dissidence. Transport and conveyance of trade came under the control of Europe, and the Mosuli merchant capital lost its mode of connection.[2]

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1 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 2 Nov. 1844, 3 May 1845 and 10 Aug. 1845.

2 "Avons-nous raison de voir dans les transports et ce qui s'y rattache (les prix, les routes, les techniques) une sorte de moteur décisif à la longue . . .," F. Braudel, Ecrits sur l'Histoire (Paris, 1969), pp. 123-133.

Chapter IV

CONTROL OF THE TRADE ROUTES

Transport techniques, prices, conveyance of goods and intermediaries cannot account for everything. Beyond them, one should examine the actual control of the trade routes. Who was able to raise taxes? Who was in a position to exact unlawful contributions? Who appropriated to himself the greatest part of the surplus generated by trade? The following pages will attempt to answer these questions, first of all by looking at the official, juridical, and recognised areas of influence and control, secondly by examining, beyond them, the factual and real areas of influence and control as they resulted from the various and successive relationships of power which were being formed between the many power groups constituting Iraq in the period under study.

Jalīlī rule in Mosul coincided with that of the Mamluks in Bagdad. Throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, political life in Iraq was dominated by the shadow of Bagdad. Mamluk rule was initiated by Ḥasan Pasha and his son Aḥmad Pasha at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and very soon the Mamluk empire expanded so as to englobe the whole of Ottoman Iraq. Ḥasan Pasha managed to have Mārdīn detached from the province of Diyār Bakr and included in his wilāya, and at the same time he had his son and successor, Aḥmad, appointed wali of Baṣra. Thus, by controlling the safest route linking the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean and Asia Minor, the Pashas of Bagdad had laid the basis of a durable realm. Throughout the eighteenth century, and until their fall, the Mamluks of Bagdad had under their direct and official control all the towns of Iraq from Baṣra to the south to Mārdīn north, ʿĀna west

and Kirkūk east.[1] In addition to these territories--which had been officially incorporated in the province of Bagdad --the Mamluks also controlled eastern Kurdistan (Sulaimānīya, Kuyy Sanjaq) and the northern Kurdish emirate of Bahdīnān ('Amādīya), as the Mamluks appointed the one-tail or two-tail walis of these provinces. In the whole of Iraq only Mosul escaped the official control of Bagdad, its wali being appointed directly by the Porte.[2] The exiguity of the pashalik and the overshadowing presence of a neighbour whose territories literally encircled Mosul from all parts, obviously called for a special relationship between the Jalīlīs and the Mamluks.

The autonomist drive of the Pashas of Bagdad benefited from the Perso-Ottoman wars--a strong government and military leader in Bagdad being essential to the successful defence of Iraq. But following the failure of Nādir Shāh's Iraqi ambitions and the subsequent tacit acknowledgement of "natural" borders between the two empires, the quasi independence of the successors of Aḥmad Pasha had come to weigh increasingly on the Porte. The Mamluks, however, proved immovable, and in 1774 Parsons remarked that the wali of Bagdad "was not appointed by the grand signior, but by the principal inhabitants of Bagdad."[3] The history of the reinforcement of Mamluk rule in Bagdad owes at least as much to Istanbuli politics and palace intrigues as it does to the geopolitical situation of Iraq. Unfortunately, the Istanbuli side of the equation has remained beyond our reach. Still, it seems that the high Ottoman dignitaries were quite willing to bless the status quo established by the Mamluks in Iraq as long as the tribute was being forwarded to the capital--which it was. The Jewish ṣarrāf of Sulaimān Pasha the Great assured Sir Harford Jones Brydges that of the one million or so pounds sterling which constituted the revenues of the wali c. 1780 at least 10% was sent to the Porte in the form of tribute and presents to the sultan, the Ottoman family and the officials. And when Sulaimān the Great sent his

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1 BAG, pp. 50-111; Niebuhr, II, 267; Buckingham, p. 383; Chesney, I, 107; Otter, I, 164; Parsons,pp. 134-135.

2 Lanza, p. 15; Rousseau, Bagdad, pp. 88-89.

3 Parsons,p. 104.

katkhudā ʿAlī against the Wahhābīs the expedition cost the treasury £300,000. Finally, when the Grand Vizir Yūsuf Pasha was preparing the Egyptian expedition against Bonaparte Sulaimān Pasha contributed £500,000 to the expenses.[1] And so it seems that the power and stability of the rule of this great Pasha was at least partly due to the large contributions he made to the imperial treasury and to the private funds of Istanbuli officials.

Such power as that of the Mamluks could not be ignored by the Jalīlīs and, slowly but surely, Mosul began to gravitate around them. Physically attracted by Bagdad (its buildings were crammed on the southern walls) Mosul was also politically attracted. In 1752/1166 Amīn Pasha Jalīlī was appointed wali thanks to Sulaimān Pasha Abū Lailā of Bagdad; four years later the wali of Bagdad acted as mediator between rival Jalīlī houses; from 1760 until 1778 Bagdad was largely responsible for the misfortunes of the house of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī and the appointment of rival Jalīlīs as walis of Mosul; and in 1775/1189 Amīn Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī was entrusted by the Porte with the task of ousting ʿUmar Pasha of Bagdad, but he died in the same year, and his son Sulaimān Pasha, then wali of Shahrazūr, participated in the same Ottoman campaign against ʿUmar Pasha. In the following year, Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī, then wali of Mosul, was at odds with ʿAbdallāh Pasha of Bagdad who succeeded in removing him from office[2] and replacing him by a Mamluk, Ḥasan Pasha, later himself wali of Bagdad.[3] It appears that strained relations between the two parties go back to the time when Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī was appointed wali of Baṣra.

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1 H.J. Brydges, An Account of the Transactions of His Majesty's Mission to the West of Persia in the Years 1807-1811 (London, 1834), vol.II, p. 18.

2 And this despite the great prestige attached to his late father, Amīn Pasha, who had been captured by the Russians in Eastern Europe, then freed and honoured by the sultan with the rare title of ghāzī.

3 On these episodes of Jalīlī/Mamluk relations, see Ives, p. 281; Howel, p. 60; Otter, II, 183; Lanza, pp. 30-34, 50, 54-55; ZUB, pp. 140-144; BAG, p. 188; MAN(2), I, 167, 184; Longrigg, p. 182.

Relations between the two provinces changed with the advent of Sulaimān Pasha the Great in 1780. For a period of twenty-seven years--until the assassination of Sulaimān's successor, 'Alī--the relative stability of Mamluk rule was reflected in the relations with the Jalīlīs. The coming to power of Sulaimān Pasha the Great augured well for the house of Amīn Pasha Jalīlī, for, as soon as Sulaimān Pasha was appointed governor of Bagdad, and while he was on his way to his capital from Baṣra, Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī moved to Bagdad to act as muḥāfiẓ and crushed a rebellion headed by the enemies of the great wali.[1] In the following year, Mosul participated in a campaign mounted by Bagdad against the Bābān Kurds[2] and in 1784/1199, at the request of Sulaimān the Great, Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī sent him 500 Tufinkjīs from Mosul.[3] Relations between the two houses were cordial, and in 1795/1210, Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī went to Bagdad with a costly present to Sulaimān the Great.[4] Three years later, 400 Mosuli Janissaries were fighting with Bagdad against the Khazā'il tribe; and in the same year, Sulaimān the Great secured the wizāra (three-tail Pasha) for Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī.[5] In 1801/1216, Muḥammad Pasha sent Bagdad 500 Janissaries, 300 ṭughārs[6] of wheat, as well as weapons and ammunition; and when, in the same year, Muḥammad Pasha's katkhudā died, it was Sulaimān the Great who appointed his successor.[7] In 1802/1217, Muḥammad Pasha sent 300 Janissaries to Bagdad and 250 others to protect Karbalā from the Wahhābīs.[8] When the Jalīlī wali died, it was 'Alī Pasha of Bagdad who secured the succession for Nu'mān Pasha Jalīlī.[9]

These close relations--based on the Jalīlīs' acknowledgement of Bagdad's power as well as on their

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1 BAG, p. 189.

2 DUR(1), p. 633.

3 DUR(1), p. 637.

4 BAG, 193.

5 DUR(1), p. 652.

6 One ṭughār equals about 900 pounds.

7 GHA, p. 60; BAG, p. 197.

8 DUR(1), pp. 665-667.

9 Dupré, I, 118.

readiness to provide military and financial assistance--finally ended with the assassination of ʿAlī Pasha in 1807 and the advent of Sulaimān Pasha the Little.[1] In 1808/1223, Nuʿmān Pasha Jalīlī, having fallen ill, resigned, and his son Yaḥyā became mutasallim. But orders came from Bagdad reversing the decision of the notables and appointing ʿUthmān, Nuʿmān's brother, as mutasallim. Not content with this, Sulaimān the Little also succeeded in having a non-Jalīlī, Aḥmad b. Bakr al-Mauṣilī, appointed as wali of Mosul. The principal Jalīlīs went to Bagdad in protest, but to no avail. Mosul rebelled in favour of the Jalīlīs and Bagdad sent an army to back Aḥmad Pasha. In the ensuing battle, the latter was killed and the armies of Sulaimān the Little retreated.[2] A Jalīlī was appointed mutasallim, but Sulaimān the Little was not ready to forgive: he appropriated to himself ten Mosuli villages, claiming that they belonged to Arbīl, and he unleashed his soldiers who plundered the country-side around Mosul. In the end peace was restored with the Jalīlīs and the Mosuli merchants paying him 100,000 piastres as compensation.[3] In the following year, Mosul and the Jalīlīs played a crucial role in the military operations which caused the downfall of this Pasha.[4] After the fall of Sulaimān the Little, the Jalīlīs remained greatly dependent on the walis of Bagdad,[5] their fate being in fact linked to that of the Mamluk dynasty. Such a dependence was not only due to the power of the Mamluks, but also to the gradual erosion of the Jalīlīs' power-base in Mosul itself, and to the growing ambition of other notable families, such as the ʿUmarīs. In the end, the Mamluks and the Jalīlīs were both to succumb to the battering rams of the Tanzimat.[6]

This exposé of Mamluk-Jalīlī relations shows that although Mosul was officially independent of Bagdad, it was in fact almost totally subordinated to it. In turn, this

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1 GHA, p. 74.

2 GHA, pp. 83-90.

3 GHA, pp. 95, 105.

4 GHA, pp. 105-122.

5 See GHA, p. 125.

6 Groves, pp. 125, 139, 195, 257, 275. See also Raʾūf, pp. 151-156.

should help to clarify the fact that although most of Ottoman Iraq was juridically subject to Bagdad, an examination of the historical events might well unveil a different picture: a picture behind the official picture. We shall now undertake a study of the main trade routes described earlier on in an attempt to perceive the various forces--official and unofficial--which controlled them and, through them, controlled the surplus brought about by commerce. Having established the importance of trade and trade routes in the foregoing pages, we shall approach the political history of the Iraqi provinces of the Ottoman Empire as it revolved around trade and along the routes of communication.

I. The Road Linking Mosul to Syria via the Syrian Desert

This road, the quickest, went through Hatra and ʿĀna on the Euphrates before entering the Syrian desert. It was often used by Mosuli merchants going to Damascus, Tripoli and Aleppo in the seventeenth century.[1] But by the eighteenth century--and disregarding the Syrian part of the journey--the stretch of desert between Mosul and ʿĀna had become unsafe, and trade with Syria ceased almost totally. As late as the 1820s, the tribes were still in control, and the Mosulis had lost the salt trade to them.[2] At the end of the Jalīlī period, the northerly drive of the ʿAnaza was still disrupting the pattern of tribal life in the area, causing further disturbances.[3]

II. A Network of Roads Connecting Mosul with Syria via Upper Mesopotamia

A. Mosul-Naṣībīn-Mārdīn-Diyār Bakr-Urfa-Bīr

This had always been a popular road, as the numerous towns which lay on the way enabled the merchants to conduct local trade at the very time they were conveying merchandise

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1 Teixeira, p. 86.

2 Ainsworth, Narrative, II, 319; Rich, II, 110.

3 Walpole, I, 326-328.

to Aleppo and the coast. Caravans for Upper Mesopotamia and Syria assembled outside the southern walls of the town where they paid custom-duties.[1] Around 1775, every camel-load entering the town paid 10 piastres for silk and cloth, 7.5 piastres for coffee and 6⅔ piastres for spices.[2] A substantial part of these commodities being re-exported, had to pay another duty before leaving Mosul. In 1845, duties on local and Iraqi goods were 10% on imports and 3% on exports, with some commodities--unspecified--paying up to 18%.[3] In 1838, copper, iron, lead, soap, pepper and pimento coming from Aleppo paid 100 piastres per load and 2.5% on invoice amount at arrival in Mosul, while all other goods from Aleppo paid 200 piastres per load and 2.5% on invoice amount.[4] Figures are too scarce to give even a vague idea of the revenues of the customs, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century Dupré wrote that they constituted the biggest source of revenue for the wali of Mosul.[5] As an indication of the growing importance of the trade in foodstuffs--mainly coffee and spices--a new tax of 1 ẓulṭa on each mann of coffee sold was instituted in 1795/1210;[6] and in 1808/1223, Nu'mān Pasha separated foodstuffs from all other commodities and allotted them a custom-house of their own.[7]

1. Mosul-Naṣībīn

Having paid custom-duties before departing from Mosul, the caravan went on its way to Naṣībīn which was under the jurisdiction of Bagdad and was governed by the voyvode of Mārdīn. Here as well, duties had to be paid, and large caravans often had to remain in Naṣībīn 3 or 4 days.[8] Before

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1 Ives, p. 321.

2 Niebuhr, II, 287.

3 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 27 May 1845.

4 Bowring, p. 45.

5 Dupré, I, 119. In 1845, revenues of the customs, from local and Iraqi goods only, amounted to 10% of the total revenues of the wali (see FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 27 May 1845).

6 GHA, 40; DUR(1), p. 646. One mann equals 18 pounds; a ẓulṭa equals 0.75 piastres.

7 GHA, p. 82.

8 Ives, p. 337; Niebuhr, II, 305, 309; Sestini, p. 121; Otter, II, 264-265; Olivier, IV, 249.

reaching Naṣībīn, however, the caravan had to go through the "territory" of the Yazīdīs who lived in Jabal Sinjār. In 1575, Rauwolff wrote that the road between Mosul and Naṣībīn was unsafe.[1] Indeed, the situation had not changed in the Jalīlī period, as illustrated by the accounts of numerous travellers who visited the area.[2] In 1777/1191 the Yazīdīs stole some flocks belonging to Mosul; in 1781/1196 the state of insecurity was such that two missionaries were robbed a mere mile away from the town; in 1785/1200 the Sinjārīs killed the wali of Mosul who had mounted a punitive expedition against them; in 1788/1203 they raided the environs of Mosul; three years later they ambushed a Tatar and robbed him of 6 loads of goods, belonging to Mosuli merchants, which he was conveying and which were worth 500 purses; in the same year they raided some villages near Naṣībīn and then returned to their mountain with their booty; in 1799/1214 they killed a Tatar carrying a present from the Pasha of Bagdad to the Grand Vizir in Istanbul; in 1800/1215 they looted two caravans and took goods worth 700,000 piastres; the following year they raided a "friendly" tribe, the Ḥadīdīyīn, near Mosul, taking 4,000 sheep; in 1802/1217, they attacked a caravan on its way to Aleppo and plundered part of it--after which the caravan had to return to Mosul; in 1808/1223 they raided some mounts belonging to Mosul while on their way back from their grazing grounds near Naṣībīn; two years later they looted the Aleppo caravan near Mārdīn and took away goods valued at 100,000 piastres excluding the camels, horses and mules.[3] The Sinjārīs continued their depredations throughout the Jalīlī period, and only in the late 1830s were they finally subdued by the urban authorities and their power was broken: in 1840, they were paying tribute to the wali of Mosul.[4] As one can clearly perceive from this long list of continual depredations, the Mosuli authorities

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1 Rauwolff, p. 206.

2 Among others, see Olivier, IV, 237; Mirza, II, 277-279; Buckingham, pp. 116-117; Kinneir, pp. 433-436; Rousseau, Bagdad, pp. 90, 94, 98.

3 DUR(1), pp. 627, 665; GHA, pp. 14, 25-26, 55, 58, 61, 80, 121; ZUB, pp. 169-170; BAG, pp. 190, 195, 332; Sestini, p. 141. One purse equals 500 piastres.

4 Layard, I, 310; Ainsworth, Travels, II, 118. CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), Botha to Guizot, undated (AE date 5 Feb. 1843).

were unable to ensure the safe passage of trade between Mosul and Naṣībīn.[1] As an alternative to being plundered, the merchants could offer presents to the Sinjārī chieftains and pay a contribution relative to the value of the goods being conveyed.[2] Thus, through plunder and "unofficial taxation", the inhabitants of Jabal Sinjār were able to appropriate to themselves part of the trade surplus.

Unable to prevent Yazīdī attacks, the urban authorities none the less retaliated by organising punitive expeditions against the mountain. In 1752/1166 the wali of Bagdad raided Jabal Sinjār and killed many Yazīdīs; in 1763/1177 and in 1765/1179 Amīn Pasha Jalīlī attacked the mountain and returned to Mosul with the heads of the Yazīdīs carried on the lances; in 1767/1181 he sent his son who exacted 800 sheep from the Sinjārīs; in 1773/1187 Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī raided the mountain and plundered the sheep; in 1779/1193 the Mosulis plundered the Yazīdīs' crops; in 1792/1207 the Mosulis attacked Jabal Sinjār just before the harvest and returned to town with the crops as well as the flocks; in the following year they also raided the mountain before the harvest; in 1794/1209 the Pasha of Mosul sent some troops to protect the roads: they killed 13 Sinjārīs and sent their heads to Bagdad; in 1800/1215 the wali of Urfa, acting on behalf of Bagdad, attacked the Yazīdīs who had just plundered a caravan and forced them to return 30 mounts and part of the money stolen, all of which were forwarded to Bagdad; in 1802/1217 the wali of Bagdad launched a major expedition against the mountain: on his way there he attacked two small tribes, taking some sheep and 300 buffaloes, then he laid siege to Jabal Sinjār, destroyed some villages, burnt the crops and uprooted the trees; in 1809/1224 the soldiers of Bagdad again raided the mountain, looting and destroying.[3]

Such is the picture drawn by the Sinjārīs during

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1 Niebuhr (II, 315) and Otter (II, 255) wrote that although Sinjār was Mosul's responsibility, the authorities were too weak to act decisively.

2 Olivier, IV, 250-254.

3 AKH, f. 175v; GHA, pp. 31, 33, 35, 55-56, 88; BAG, p. 202; DUR(1), pp. 610-611, 621, 630; ZUB, pp. 108, 124, 125, 137, 147.

a period of some 60 years covered by a Mosuli chronicler, Yāsīn ʿUmarī. In order to check the Sinjārīs' activities along the stretch of road linking Mosul to Naṣībīn, the authorities had to rely upon the nomads, and more precisely Ṭayy, who participated in most punitive expeditions against the mountain. And Ṭayy's connection with trade did not stop at that: Niebuhr wrote that a caravan of 2,000 loads was escorted by 300 Ṭayy warriors and had to give their chief a load of coffee, a certain amount of tobacco, rice, butter and 30 ʿabāyās, on top of which the caravans heading towards Naṣībīn had to pay Ṭayy "les droits ordinaires du passage"--the usual dues, an indication of the permanence of the arrangement.[1] In the nineteenth century, Ṭayy was exempted from paying a tribute, as it supplied the caravans with the escorts needed to protect them against the Sinjārīs,[2] and Kinneir wrote that Ṭayy, "nominally subject to the pasha of Bagdad, are, in fact, the sovereigns of the whole country between Nisibin and Mosul, and under the mask of granting a safe-guard through the desert, lay a tax on all caravans that pass near them."[3] Finally, the government of Naṣībīn was given to the emir of Ṭayy by the wali of Bagdad.[4] In more than one way, Ṭayy too were thus enabled to feed on the trade surplus. And it is interesting to note that early in the eighteenth century the Jalīlīs, as Mosuli notables, were closely associated with Ṭayy, and they often warned the tribe whenever the non-Jalīlī wali of Mosul was preparing an expedition against them.[5] Later in the eighteenth century this special relationship appears to have come to an end, probably as a result of Bagdadi pressures. By 1814, the Shammar, who had moved northward and displaced the ʿUbaid and Ṭayy, seem to have replaced Ṭayy as escorts for travellers on the western routes.[6]

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1 Niebuhr, II, 304, 311.

2 Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 94.

3 Kinneir, p. 444.

4 Dupré, I, 87.

5 See for example DUR(2), f. 336r.

6 Correspondance Consulaire et Commerciale (Bagdad, vol. IV), p. 374, quoted by T. Nieuwenhuis, Mamluks and Big Sheikhs. Political Systems at the Starting Point of Modern Iraqi History, 1780-1831, forthcoming book.

Let us recapitulate. The pattern of trade surplus draining on the Mosul-Naṣībīn road was as follows: a duty paid to the wali of Mosul on departure and/or arrival; a duty paid at Naṣībīn, part of which went to Ṭayy and another to their overlord the wali of Bagdad; in between, a contribution to the Beduin escort and another tax levied by Ṭayy at Qassī Kūbrī. In the nineteenth century, Ṭayy were being displaced by Shammar, at least on the western routes, although the extent of their influence north is not known. In times of insecurity caravans also had to pay the Yazīdīs to avoid being plundered, and this did not exempt the caravans from paying their ineffectual Beduin escorts all sorts of taxes. Often, after an attack on a caravan the authorities organised punitive expeditions against the raiding party, or against some group associated with it. Thus did the authorities retrieve--in specie, in goods or in cattle--parts at least of the value of the goods stolen from a caravan. However, such money as was retrieved from the brigands seldom went back to the looted merchants: the authorities who had mounted the expedition--Mosul, Ṭayy--appropriated to themselves yet another portion of the trade surplus through an operation of counter-plunder. And the only thing which prevented a total loss as far as Mosuli merchants were concerned was the close connection between them and the ruling family. Because Mosul was ruled by a local family, a surplus which originally belonged to Mosuli as well as to non-Mosuli traders found its way into the town and was invested in it. And whatever the actual mode of redistribution of the wealth extracted from the Yazīdīs (between Ṭayy, the Pasha and his soldiery, the Janissaries and the local merchants), it is a fact that this appropriation, however exceptional and rare, still constituted a net profit to the town considered in toto.
As can be seen, the inimical relations between Mosul and the Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār were not always detrimental to Mosul qua social formation which occasionally benefited from the appropriation of a wealth generated in other social formations. What is certain is that this violent process of appropriation and reappropriation affected a drastic redistribution of wealth and a rapid flow of capital, the study of which is

beyond the ambitions of this work.[1] It appears that the trouble, as far as Mosul was concerned, started when Ṭayy became increasingly dependent on the Pashas of Bagdad, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, and Bagdad started to play a dominant role in policing the area. Consequently, the pattern of surplus draining was altered, the surplus was increasingly rerouted towards Bagdad, and this constituted a loss to Mosul.

2. Naṣībīn-Mārdīn

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the voyvode of Mārdīn was appointed directly by the Porte,[2] then Ḥasan Pasha of Bagdad succeeded in including this town into his dominions, and it remained subject to Bagdad until the fall of the Mamluk dynasty.[3] At Mārdīn, a tax was levied on all goods in transit, and the beneficiary was the wali of Bagdad. In the eighteenth century, the Millī Kurds, under a new leadership, had spread south towards the Tigris and upset the pattern of tribal life around Mārdīn.[4] In 1775, Niebuhr estimated their tents at 11,000, while in the nineteenth century, Buckingham wrote of 50,000 tents scattered between Mount Taurus (north), the Great Desert (south), the sea (west) and Mārdīn (east).[5] Sestini gave the number of 10,000 individuals, probably for the area between Mārdīn and Urfa along the trade route.[6] The walis of Bagdad used this new power in order to put pressure on Ṭayy and bring them under their direct control.[7] This they seem to have succeeded

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1 Sestini exposes the rationale behind the military expeditions against the tribes: (a) the Pasha makes the necessary preparations and awaits a messenger from the "guilty" tribe bringing news of its submission and promise of a tribute to be paid; (b) if this threat does not work, the Pasha leaves town with his troops, and tribute is often paid without a battle; (c) if a battle results and the Pasha wins, the loot constitutes a form of tribute (see Sestini, p. 260).

2 Niebuhr, II, 254.

3 Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, II, 204; Otter, II, 267; Ives, p. 340; Heude, p. 225; Southgate, II, 285-286.

4 Hourani, "Fertile Crescent", p. 96.

5 Niebuhr, II, 339; Buckingham, p. 166.

6 Sestini, p. 254.

7 Ibid., pp. 248-249.

in doing as, increasingly, Ṭayy began to revolve around the leadership of Bagdad. Relations between Bagdad and this new tribal power, the Millīs, were not always smooth. In 1790/1205, their unruly behaviour induced Bagdad to march against them: the Millīs fled, losing 10,000 sheep as well as 3,000 camels and bovines.[1] In the following year the Millīs attacked a caravan and three villages near Urfa.[2] But a few years later their chief went to Bagdad: he was pardoned and requested to remain in the capital.[3] It seems that through the Millīs Bagdad was able to exercise its influence on the trade route between Naṣībīn, Mārdīn and Urfa, and in 1800/1215 the alliance between the two parties was further cemented by the appointment of the Millī emir as wali of Urfa, a nomination secured by Bagdad. As a result, the Mamluks' influence spread west to the borders of Syria.[4] Cooperation between Bagdad and the Millīs also helped the Mamluks to subdue the tribe of ʿUbaid which dwelled between the Euphrates and the Tigris[5] and had lost the privileged position it enjoyed with the Pasha of Bagdad following the murder of Sulaimān Bey ash-Shāwī who liaised between the Pashas and the tribes. To Bagdad who sought to control the trade routes between southern and northern Iraq, cooperation with the Millīs was even more necessary in view of the northerly drive of the ʿAnaza who were pushing the Shammar from the west to the east of the Euphrates, and were themselves heading north to the districts of Mārdīn and Urfa.[6] By 1845 the ʿAnaza were "pouring over the Euphrates in multitudes, devastating the whole country"[7] and were even dwelling in the plain between Mosul and Jabal Sinjār,[8] now pushing the Shammar north-west to the region of the Khābūr where they robbed the caravans.[9] But such developments are

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1 BAG, p. 191.

2 GHA, p. 25.

3 BAG, p. 192.

4 AKH, f. 169v; BAG, p. 196.

5 See GHA, pp. 66, 88, and BAG, pp. 202-203, 207-208.

6 Buckingham, p. 158; Longrigg, p. 202.

7 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 30 Apr. 1845.

8 Layard, I, 312.

9 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 14 June 1845.

posterior to the Jalīlīs. During the period under study, the Mamluks of Bagdad were able to control the road from Naṣībīn to Mārdīn as well as the road between the Euphrates and the Tigris leading from Bagdad to Mārdīn. Obviously, this control was neither permanent nor total. But in times of peace as in times of insecurity, the wali of Bagdad remained the ultimate reference and the final recourse. This meant that Bagdad could cut Mosul from Syria through its control over the westerly and the north-westerly roads. The pressures resulting from this control are well illustrated by the great influence which Sulaimān the Great of Bagdad exercised over political life in Mosul.

3. Mosul-Jazīrat Ibn ʻUmar

Whenever the desert route from Mosul to Mārdīn was unsafe, the caravans could take a more circuitous route, east of the Tigris, to Jazīra, and therefore escape the Yazīdīs. From Jazīra, the caravans could go directly to Diyār Bakr and avoid Mārdīn and the Millīs.[1] However, having escaped both the Yazīdīs and the Millīs, Mosuli trade could not hope to avoid the wali of Bagdad, for during the rule of Sulaimān Pasha Abū Lailā, Jazīra was separated from Diyār Bakr and integrated into the Mamluks' realm.[2] Yet Bagdad's authority over Jazīra seems to have been nominal, as the town was ruled by a hereditary Kurdish family. Not that this augured well for the Mosulis trying to escape the grip of Bagdad: the almost continual internal feuds in the area rendered this route unattractive to trade. But by controlling Jazīra, Bagdad could exert even more pressure on Mosul. Mosul's three routes to Syria, west, north-west, and north, were under Bagdad's jurisdiction. Moreover, Jazīra could be used to cut Mosul off from its hinterland in the mountains of Kurdistan.

4. Diyār Bakr-Urfa-Bīr

In the eighteenth century, the Pashas of Bagdad had managed to rob the Pashas of Diyār Bakr of Jazīra and Mārdīn. The Mamluks' influence, however, stopped at Diyār Bakr, and

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1 Buckingham, p. 187.

2 BAG, p. 111; Niebuhr, II, 313.

all of Sulaimān the Little's efforts to control it or subdue it by force failed.[1] In the seventeenth century, duties paid by the Mosul caravans amounted to 2.25 piastres per load of goods, whatever its value.[2] In the nineteenth century, all goods, whether destined for the city or in transit, paid 5% ad valorem.[3] These taxes, which secured right of passage, did not, however, secure safety of passage. Throughout the period under study travellers reported that the roads teemed with brigands. This entailed further expenses for the merchants, as another portion of the trade surplus found its way into the pockets of regular or tribal escorts, as well as into the pockets of the many bandits which roamed the roads.[4]

At Urfa, custom-duties were levied once more. In the seventeenth century they were of 2.5 piastres per load[5] and in the nineteenth century 5 piastres per load.[6] The customs' revenues at Urfa were considerable, as the town lay on the roads from Diyār Bakr and Mārdīn as well as on the southerly desert road from the Khābūr.[7] And this explains why the Mamluks of Bagdad, unable to subdue Diyār Bakr, endeavoured to control Urfa: officially by having a Millī emir appointed as wali, unofficially by allowing the Millīs to control the Mārdīn-Urfa road. Through their control over Urfa, the Mamluks could cut Diyār Bakr off from Syria.[8]

Before reaching Syria, the last town was Bīr, on the Euphrates. It used to be subject to Aleppo, but in the second half of the eighteenth century it was placed under the jurisdiction of Urfa.[9] Thus, by controlling Urfa, Bagdad

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1 GHA, p. 89; Longrigg, p. 225.

2 Tavernier, I, 187.

3 Buckingham, p. 125.

4 Jackson, pp. 166-167; Otter, I, 116.

5 Tavernier, I, 185.

6 Buckingham, p. 125.

7 See Sestini, p. 264.

8 The Mamluks' control over Urfa appears to have been intermittent, and subject to the power of the Mamluk wali of the day. In 1790/1205, the Millīs' unrest in the area of Urfa allowed Sulaimān the Great to present himself to the Porte as the only ruler who could quell their power. As a result, he succeeded in having the wali of Urfa removed (GHA, p. 24).

9 Buckingham, pp. 35-36; Niebuhr, II,334.

could influence the whole of the trade flowing between the Gulf and Syria through Iraq and Mesopotamia.

III. The Road Connecting Mosul with the Emirate of Bahdīnān

This was a vital road for Mosul, as it connected it with the gall-nuts producing country. During the Atabeg period parts of the emirate belonged to Mosul.[1] Under the Jalīlīs, however, there were no juridical ties linking the merchant capital of Mosul to the gall-nuts producing mountains. Around 1730, Aḥmad Pasha of Bagdad sent his katkhudā who besieged ʿAmādīya, after which incident the wali of Bagdad sent a yearly firman and robe of honour to the "wali" of ʿAmādīya.[2] Although nominally subject to the authority of the wali of Bagdad, the wali of ʿAmādīya remained in fact a hereditary and independent ruler.[3] Still, whatever the connection between ʿAmādīya and Bagdad, it remains that Mosul suffered from being administratively cut off from this most productive area. Throughout the period under study Mosul endeavoured to maintain peace in the emirate, as well as to secure the road leading to it. The importance which Mosul attached to this road is well illustrated by the very few mentions of looting reported by chroniclers and travellers on the road north-east of the Tigris. The danger, when it came, was from the Yazīdīs of the Shaikhān district, north-east of Mosul, as well as from tribes making incursions into the pashalik from eastern Kurdistan.[4] Such occurrences were rare, and the whole area between Mosul and ʿAmādīya was well covered with villages and fields: a clear indication of its safety.

Although Mosul was able to ensure that this vital road remained free of highwaymen, there, nevertheless, were two factors detrimental to trade and which Mosul could not influence directly. The first was inter and intra-clan feuds

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1 BAG, p. 96.

2 BAG, p. 93; Otter, I, 147; Sestini, p. 150; Longrigg, p. 159.

3 Kinneir, p. 456.

4 See Rich, II, 89.

for control of the emirate. In 1768/1182, the powerful Bahrām Pasha died and was succeeded by his son Ismā'īl. However, a relative, Bairam Bey, made a bid for power and was backed by the wali of Bagdad, with strife ensuing. In 1787/1202, as a result of a feud in the emirate, the people of 'Aqra fled to Mosul for safety. In the following year, the ruler of 'Aqra extorted money from the merchants and disrupted trade. In 1798/1213, the death of the wali of 'Amādīya triggered a feud which resulted in the interruption of commercial relations with Mosul. The very detrimental effect which this feud was having on Mosul induced the Jalīlīs to mediate between the contenders for power--but to no avail. One of the emirs, Qubbād Bey, secured the backing of the wali of Bagdad by sending him 120 purses and giving 55 more to his agent; but the feud continued, despite military assistance given by Bagdad to its candidate.[1] Seven years later, the feud had not subsided and 'Alī Pasha of Bagdad asked Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī to settle the dispute, which was done, with the new Kurdish "wali" sending 100,000 piastres to Bagdad.[2]

Another factor which was beyond Jalīlī control was Kurdish policy towards Mosul. Here as well, the Jalīlīs endeavoured to accommodate the Kurds and settle disputes quickly. In 1737/1150, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī besieged 'Amādīya following a dispute; as a result, trade was interrupted completely, but terms were agreed upon and normal relations resumed quickly.[3] Throughout the rule of Sulaimān the Little of Bagdad, relations between Mosul and 'Amādīya remained strained in view of Sulaimān the Little's continual efforts to put pressure on the Jalīlīs by using his influence with the mountain Kurds.[4] Not content with controlling the trade routes which linked Mosul to its Syrian markets, Bagdad also tried to cut Mosul off from its richest hinterland.

After the fall of the Jalīlīs, the emirate of Bahdīnān was integrated into the province of Mosul.[5] In this

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1 Lanza, pp. 56-57, GHA, pp. 19, 21, 47-48, 51,53; BAG, p.196.

2 BAG, pp. 203, 205, 208; GHA, p. 70.

3 GHA, p. 108.

4 GHA, pp. 80-82, 107.

5 Vaucelles, p. 39; Benjamin, pp. 105, 124; Layard, I, 159.

way, the merchant capital of the town was able to establish organic links with the gall-nuts and goat wool producing country. By that time, however, it was not so much local merchant capital, but European merchant capital, which came to benefit from the subjugation of the mountain. Through the establishment of consulates and commercial firms in Mosul, and through the extension of European protection to the Jews and to the Nestorians, an alien merchant capital--with strong connections in the ports of Syria and Anatolia--was able to compete favourably with the Mosuli merchant capital.

IV. The Road Linking Mosul to the Bābān Emirate and Persia

Ever since the stabilisation of the Perso-Ottoman borders, the Bābān emirate had been the scene of a game of power and influence played between Persia and Bagdad through the main leaders of the Bābān family. In 1750, Sulaimān Pasha Abū Lailā marched against the Persian candidate to the emirate and defeated him. As a result, Bagdad's protégé, Sulaimān Pasha Bābān, ruled the province for 14 years as a vassal of Abū Lailā. At the death of Abū Lailā, Sulaimān Pasha Bābān sought to shake off Bagdad's domination, and he was backed by the Persians. However, by 1775, a protégé of Bagdad, Aḥmad, was again in power.[1] To Bagdad, control of the Bābān emirate was essential as it meant control of the Zagros Pass, one of the main thoroughfares between Persia and Iraq. Having integrated Arbīl into their dominions, and being in a position to influence the state of affairs in Kuyy Sanjaq,[2] the Mamluks of Bagdad endeavoured to keep the Bābān emirate (Qara Jūlān) within their sphere of influence. Officially, the wali of Qara Jūlān--one-tail or two-tail--was tributary to the wali of Bagdad from whom he received his nomination.[3] In fact, the Persian factor enabled the Bābān to oppose Bagdad on more than one occasion. In 1780/1195, Maḥmūd Pasha Bābān rebelled and Sulaimān the Great mounted an expedition against him, with Mosul contributing to the

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1 Longrigg, pp. 179-180.

2 Niebuhr, II, 277.

3 Niebuhr, II, 268; Olivier, IV, 338; Rousseau, Bagdad, p.100; Dupré, I, 90.

military effort. Maḥmūd Pasha offered his submission and Sulaimān the Great ordered him to leave his capital of Qara Jūlān and build another one, Sulaimānīya, south-west of it. Ironically, as far as the Bābān were concerned, their new capital was named after the great Mamluk Pasha.[1] In 1782/1197, when Maḥmūd Pasha Bābān died, Bagdad nominated his son ʿUthmān as his successor.[2] The grip of Sulaimān the Great was such that in 1801/1212 he replaced the Bābān governor of Kuyy Sanjaq by a rival Ṣūrān emir.[3]

In 1805, the Bābān attacked the Ṣūrān Kurds of Kuyy Sanjaq, but they were defeated by ʿAlī Pasha of Bagdad.[4] The death of ʿAlī Pasha coincided with a change in the relations between the Porte and Persia. As a result, the Bābān emirate escaped the influence of Bagdad, in spite of a major expedition by Sulaimān the Little which resulted in the capture of Sulaimānīya.[5] And in 1810/1225 the Bābān played a crucial role in the downfall of Sulaimān the Little, their influence spreading briefly to Bagdad with the appointment of a wali who was well inclined towards them--and this, despite the Porte's opposition.[6] Throughout the rule of the last Mamluks, the Bābān emirate continued to elude Bagdad's control by relying on the Persian factor.[7]

During the Jalīlī period, the struggle for power between the Bābān and Bagdad affected the trade of Mosul with Persia, and this was true whatever the outcome of the struggle. Whenever the Bābān were in open rebellion against Bagdad, wars led to an interruption of trade. Whenever the Bābān were able to assert their autonomy, Bagdad could still hinder trade through its control over Kuyy Sanjaq and Arbīl.[8] Finally, whenever the Mamluks were able to exercise control

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1 ZUB, pp. 149-150; BAG, p. 189.

2 BAG, p. 190.

3 BAG, p. 198.

4 BAG, pp. 205-207.

5 GHA, pp. 71-72,77-78, 107.

6 GHA, pp. 120-125; Longrigg, pp. 227-228.

7 Munshi', p. 61; Longrigg, pp. 227-245

8 The low level of commercial activities is indicated by the poor urban development in the Bābān capital: see Niebuhr, II, 268 and Heude, p. 200.

over the emirate, trade was directed towards Bagdad rather than Mosul.[1] After the fall of the Jalīlīs, the situation in eastern Kurdistan changed drastically with the rise and expansion of the Şūrān emir of Rāwandūz who threatened Mosul itself. When this threat was finally parried, and the country pacified, European capital moved in to deal directly with the agricultural and pastoral producers.[2]

V. The Trade Routes between Mosul and the Persian Gulf

A. Mosul-Bagdad

The fastest route by land from Mosul to Bagdad was the one lying west of the Tigris, via Tikrīt. This, however, was also the least secure route, as it crossed the territories of various tribes. The principal tribes were the ʿUbaid, the Ṭayy of Shamāmik, the Bū Ḥamad and the Bū Silmān, usually content with exacting a contribution from the caravans but, in times of unrest, ready to plunder the travellers.[3] In the nineteenth century, the northerly migration of the ʿAnaza pushed the Jabbūr and the Shammar tribes across the Euphrates to the east, hence adding to the state of insecurity.[4]

An alternative land route from Mosul to Bagdad was to follow the east bank of the Tigris, cross the river Zāb, then go through Arbīl, Altūn Kūbrī and Kirkūk. Although safer than the western route, this one was not always free of dangers. Before crossing the Zāb, and while still inside the province of Mosul, caravans had to go through the area around the village of Nimrūd which was described around 1770 as a brigands' den.[5] In these parts, danger also came from the Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār who crossed the Tigris to attack

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[1] At the beginning of the 19th century the trade of Sulaimānīya was "entirely in the hands of a few Armenians, who are the agents for some wealthy Baghdad merchants," Mignan,I, 287-288.

[2] FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 3 May 1845; FO 195/394, Rassam to Stratford de Redcliffe, Mosul, 27 Feb. 1854.

[3] Lanza, p. 65; Munshi', p. 82; Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 92.

[4] Layard, I,72 and II, 45, 72, 97.

[5] Lanza, pp. 23, 28.

the caravans.[1] Having reached the Zāb, caravans were taken across on small rafts by the Yazīdī inhabitants of the village of Iskī Kalak, in exchange for a small contribution.[2] On the other side of the river lay the dominions of the wali of Bagdad,[3] and caravans had to pay custom-duties at Arbīl, Altūn Kūbrī and Kirkūk;[4] On top of which money had to be given to the Beduin escorts who protected the caravans from the hostile tribes of the day--the roles being easily reversed.[5] The safety of trade in this region depended very much upon Bagdad's hold on the tribes, as well as on the balance between the tribes themselves.[6] When they were plundered, Mosuli merchants could seldom hope to get their goods back, for even when a punitive expedition was organised against the plundering party, it was done by Bagdad and not by Mosul.

The most popular route from Mosul to Bagdad was the Tigris. When the current was strong enough trade was safe from the marauding tribes who could not stop a fast moving raft, but danger had to be expected in the narrower parts of the river and when the current was slow.[7] Goods which took this route paid duties on arrival in Bagdad,[8] but it is not known whether these were calculated in proportion to the duties which would have been paid had the caravan taken the land route via Arbīl, Altūn Kūbrī and Kirkūk. Apart from its safety, the river route appealed to the Mosulis who benefited from the raft industry, the monopoly of which was granted to a few notable families by the sultan, in exchange for a nominal sum.[9] The Tigris route was a one-way route and, the rafts being dismantled at Bagdad, the tribes

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1 DUR(1), p. 647; Rich, II, 143.

2 Niebuhr, II, 287; Buckingham, p. 320.

3 Niebuhr, II, 275; Otter, II, 240; Olivier, IV, 296, 300; Buckingham, p. 339.

4 Niebuhr, II, 287.

5 Jackson, pp. 116, 119.

6 Munshi', pp. 52-53; Buckingham, p. 334.

7 Buckingham, pp. 331-332, 497.

8 Sestini, p. 160. Parsons put these duties at 8% ad valorem (p. 104); Olivier at 8% on heavy goods--metals, corn, tobacco --and 5% on precious ones--cloth of all kinds (IV, 433).

9 FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 27 Aug. 1843.

were bound to benefit from all the trade between Bagdad and Mosul.

B. Bagdad-Baṣra

Trade between the two cities was conducted by land or river, depending on the state of security.[1] Mosuli goods which had paid duty on arrival in Bagdad did not pay further taxes before leaving the city.[2] On the Tigris and on the Euphrates were several custom-houses, the greatest share of whose revenues were reaped--depending on the balance of power--either by the wali of Bagdad, or by the tribes. Olivier put the number of duties on the Euphrates at 7, and on the Tigris at 2, the tax being of 2 to 5 piastres on each bale of goods.[3] The tribes dwelling on the banks of the two rivers were nominally subject to the authority of Bagdad. In the eighteenth century, the Mamluk Pashas used these tribes to assert their domination over Baṣra and thwart the Porte's attempts at controlling this trade terminal. As we saw, the Jalīlīs, and Mosul, lost a great deal in this operation.[4] Relations between the Pashas of Bagdad and the most powerful tribes--Muntafik, Khazā'il, Ka'ab, Banū Lām--were not always peaceful. In 1742, Aḥmad Pasha sent his katkhudā Sulaimān (Abū Lailā) on a most lucrative military expedition against the tribes: the Banū Lām alone had to pay him 600 purses.[5] Twenty years later, the new wali, 'Alī Pasha, also mounted a major expedition against the Muntafik, Khazā'il, Ka'ab and Banū Lām.[6] In times of peace, and when Bagdad was not strong enough to quell them, the tribes set up their own custom-houses on the rivers, levying taxes from the merchants. Although the tribes were officially acting as the agents of the Pashas of Bagdad, they obviously appropriated for themselves a greater share of the trade surplus.

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1 See Buckingham, p. 385.

2 Olivier, IV, 432-433.

3 Ibid.

4 Otter, II, 146-150. See supra, p. 68.

5 Otter, II, 170, 185.

6 ZUB, p. 120.

Such was the situation around 1770, once the tribes had recovered from the severe blows administered to them by Abū Lailā.[1] These tribes seldom looted the merchants, as an interruption of trade was not to their advantage. Rather, they endeavoured to exact regular taxes in order to appropriate to themselves a portion of the trade surplus. Only when relations with Bagdad were bad did they plunder the merchants systematically, depriving the Mamluks of a handsome income and retreating before the soldiers, deep into the desert or the marshes. In 1780/1195, when Sulaimān the Great was appointed wali of Bagdad, he made his way up from Baṣra, taking with him children from all of the tribes as hostages.[2] In the same year, he marched against the tribes and exacted money from them.[3] In 1781/1196, "the Khazā'il having broken the peace," he attacked them and forced them to give him considerable sums of money.[4] For a few years the iron-handed policies of Sulaimān the Great reaped their fruits and most of the trade surplus escaped the tribes and made its way into the pockets of the merchants and the treasury of the wali.[5] But in 1787, the Muntafik managed to capture Baṣra and remained in it for 3 months.[6] It is conceivable that such a dramatic event as the seizure of Baṣra was directly linked to the policy of Sulaimān the Great, which had the effect of depriving the tribes of a regular revenue yielded from the trade.

By the end of the eighteenth century a new danger to Iraq arose when the Wahhābīs captured the Arabian district of Aḥsā' in 1795/1210.[7] In the same year, Sulaimān the Great concluded peace with the Muntafik, gave their emir, Thuwainī, 100 purses, 100 camels and 100 mares, and sent him against

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1 Niebuhr, II, 192-193, 199, 203; Parsons, p. 146.

2 ZUB, p. 146.

3 BAG, p. 189.

4 BAG, pp. 189-190.

5 Sir Eyre Coote, "Diary of a Journey with . . .", in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, XXX (1860), p. 201. All European travellers agree that Sulaimān the Great had the tribes under control.

6 Howel, p. 29.

7 BAG, p. 194.

the Wahhābīs.[1] While Thuwainī was busy campaigning against the Wahhābīs, Sulaimān the Great subdued the Khazā'il from whom he took 70,000 sheep, 700 buffaloes and 700 ṭughārs of cereal and rice.[2] But despite this campaign, the road from Baṣra to Bagdad was still controlled by the tribes. In the summer of 1797, Jackson paid 1,300 piastres to an Arab chief for 3 boats and an escort from Baṣra to Bagdad.[3] At the beginning of July in the same year, the Khazā'il having attacked Ḥilla, Sulaimān the Great sent an army against them; the tribe offered its submission and gave the wali 200 purses and 500 ṭughārs of cereal.[4] Jackson wrote that at that time sheep, taken as booty, were being sold very cheap in Bagdad.[5] A few days later, news reached Bagdad of the death of Thuwainī at the hands of a slave; the great expedition against the Wahhābīs had failed, and there were even fears for the safety of Baṣra.[6] The threat of the Wahhābīs led to a reallignment of alliances in Iraq, with the major tribes cooperating with Bagdad. In 1798/1213, Sulaimān the Great sent his katkhudā, 'Alī, against the Wahhābīs; in the following year, the Wahhābīs having penetrated into Iraq were fought by the Khazā'il; in 1800/1215 and in 1801/1216, the Wahhābīs raided Karbalā, Qubaisa and 'Āna, and the Muntafik retaliated by raiding Wahhābī country.[7] The Wahhābīs were unable to make territorial gains in Iraq, but through their control over Arabia they had laid their hands on the profitable Pilgrimage route, and through their incursions into the dominions of the Pashas of Bagdad they hindered the Gulf trade with Iraq and Syria.[8] Moreover, their threat

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1 BAG, pp. 193-194; Jackson, pp. 51-52.

2 BAG, p. 194.

3 Jackson, p. 37.

4 BAG, p. 194.

5 Jackson, p. 97.

6 Ibid., p. 101.

7 BAG, pp. 194-197; GHA, pp. 53-54; Mirza, II, 326-328.

8 The Wahhābīs' impact on the flow of trade is illustrated by Rousseau's mention of good relations between them and the English agent in Baṣra: see Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 39. Brydges tells us that he, as well as his predecessors Manesty and Latouche, used to exchange presents with Sa'ūd, and that "it was absolutely necessary, for the safety of our public dispatches, which were then transmitted across the desert, to

compelled the Pashas of Bagdad to rely heavily on the tribes which were given considerable sums of money for the protection of Başra,[1] and this, in turn, increased the tribes' share of the trade surplus.

Around 1807, the drive of the Wahhābīs had been checked[2] and the southern tribes began to reassert themselves: in 1810/1225 they were in control of the coffee route; in 1812/1227 navigation between Başra and Bagdad on the Tigris was interrupted and boats were plundered; in September 1819 a fleet was attacked on its way to Bagdad from Başra and three boats were looted, with goods valued at 40 purses being lost; in November of the same year Bagdad mounted an unsuccessful expedition against the tribes.[3] These were times of acute crisis which never lasted long: in times of peace--uneasy peace--the tribes levied their own taxes on the rivers, and trade went on.[4]

Along the Bagdad-Başra routes, the actual distribution of legal and illegal appropriation of a share of the trade surplus by individuals and groups depended very much on the balance of power between city and nomads. Tough policies and major military expeditions by the Pashas of Bagdad usually rendered the tribes "irresponsible" and led to an interruption of the normal flow of merchandise: as Bagdad sought to appropriate to itself the totality of the lawful and unlawful levies, the tribes resorted to drastic measures and trade suffered immensely. On the other hand, whenever the major tribes were "allowed" to set up their own custom-houses, the profits they reaped--by making them benefit in the system--induced them to keep the smaller tribes in check and to keep exchanges flowing.

VI. The Road from Başra and Bagdad through the Desert to Syria

Başra had greatly benefited from the internal wars

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and from Aleppo, that the [Başra] factory should be on good terms with Saoud," Brydges,II, 15.

1 Dupré, I, 166; Rousseau, Bagdad, p. 43.

2 Rousseau, "Wehabis", p. 191.

3 GHA, p. 123; Rich, II, 163-165, 397, 402.

4 Rich, II, 165, 174.

of Persia, and the wali of Bagdad had seen the revenues of his customs increase immensely as a result of the rerouting of the Gulf trade away from the Persian ports. At the end of the eighteenth century, duties on goods entering Başra from the sea and the land were 7% on precious commodities and 8.5% on heavy ones, while Europeans paid only 3% on all goods.[1] All commodities leaving Başra for Bagdad paid another duty on arrival in the capital, while all commodities leaving Başra and taking the direct desert route to Syria had to pay the Bagdad custom-duties before leaving Başra.[2] Whenever relations between Bagdad and the desert tribes were strained, the wali always endeavoured to prevent the caravans from travelling directly through the desert, not so much out of fear for their safety, but rather because this would constitute a direct loss for the wali who usually entered into agreement with the tribes as to what proportion of surplus each party was entitled to.[3] Thus, when city/nomad relations were bad, Mosul benefited from the diversion of trade which then went all the way north through Mesopotamia to Syria. But for the caravans, this meant a longer journey, increased custom-duties and higher transport costs: the desert route--rendered safe through an agreement between the merchants and the tribes--was always preferred by the merchants who did not trade with the towns of Mesopotamia.[4] The desert tribes benefited from this trade, for, as Parsons put it, "a caravan cannot pass the desert in safety without hiring Arabs of each of the tribes which inhabit the borders. . ."[5] The taxes levied by the tribes were considerable. In 1774, on the road from Aleppo to Bagdad, a caravan had to pay a Beduin chief 1.25 piastres for each loaded camel, on top of

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1 India Office Records G/29/25, Commercial Report, f. 231r.

2 Parsons, p. 155.

3 B. Plaisted, Narrative of a Journey from Basra to Aleppo in 1750 by . . ., D. Carruthers (ed.) (London, 1929), p. 64. See also Eliot, in Plaisted, p. 119.

4 See Appendix IV.

5 Parsons, p. 103; Beawes, p. 34.

which the chief took 10 raṭls of coffee as well as other goods.[1] Tavernier's caravan was stopped for 5 weeks at ʿĀna and had to pay the Beduins 40 piastres per camel-load before proceeding to their destination.[2] From Aleppo to Baṣra, in 1745, protection cost each merchant 14 dollars per 500 pound load, compared with carriage costs of 35 dollars per load,[3] i.e., 40% of the carriage costs. Throughout the eighteenth century, one or two caravans left Bagdad annually for Aleppo, and one caravan left for Damascus. From Baṣra, two caravans left every year for Syria.[4] Under normal circumstances caravans could travel through the desert unhindered, as the tribes realised that they would be the first to suffer from any disruption of trade. When, however, the pattern of tribal life was disturbed, as happened at the end of the eighteenth century, trade suffered and the desert route to Syria was abandoned. It is safe to assume that Mosul must have benefited from these depredations through the diversion of trade via Mesopotamia. After 1810, however, and until the end of the Jalīlī period, the southern part of the route, between Baṣra, Bagdad and Syria, was safe, while Mosul suffered from the continual disturbances brought about by the Shammar and the Jabbūr who had been pushed north and north-east by the ʿAnaza.

VII. Conclusion

The study of trade has shown that the three most important roads, as far as Mosul was concerned, were the road to the Kurdish mountains, the road to Aleppo and the road to the Persian Gulf. As a collecting centre for the gall-nuts and the wool of the mountains, and as a distributing centre for the terminals of the Mediterranean and the Gulf, Mosul relied for its prosperity on the safety of these three

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1 Parsons, pp. 90-91.

2 Tavernier, I, 153.

3 Beawes, pp. 8, 13.

4 Olivier, VI, 290; Beawes, pp. 11, 34; Parsons, p. 150; Plaisted, pp. 62-63; E. Irwin, A Series of Adventures (London, 1787), vol. II, p. 281. One of these last-mentioned caravans did not carry goods but consisted of camels taken to be sold in Syria.

trade routes. The foregoing study of the political control of the trade routes shows that Mosul's military influence did not extend beyond ʿAmādīya to the north, Naṣībīn to the north-west and the Zāb to the south. Officially independent of the Mamluks, Mosul was in fact at the mercy of Bagdad and relied on it to ensure that the trade routes remained open. This explains why political life in Mosul revolved around the Mamluks who were in a strong position to influence the Jalīlīs. After the fall of the Mamluks and the Jalīlīs, the relationship between Mosul and Bagdad was altered and the integration of the emirate of Bahdīnān into the province of Mosul augured well for trade, and Mosul was also able to extend its military influence so as to supplant Bagdad in its control over the road to Syria. By that time, however, European merchant capital moved in to capitalise on the extension of security and the integration of the trade-commodities producing hinterland.

Chapter V

THE POLITICS OF NOTABLES

I. The Political Scene before the Rise of the Jalīlīs

When the Jalīlīs first made their appearance on the Mosuli political arena towards the end of the seventeenth century, the principal families of the town were the ʿUmarīs, the various Ashrāf branches (Fakhrī, ʿUbaidī, Aʿrajī), Āl Yāsīn al-Muftī, Āl Qara Muṣṭafā Bey and, to a lesser extent, the ʿAbdalīs and the Ghulāmīs.

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The ʿUmarīs who interest us here are all descendants of Qāsim who lived in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq, south-west of Mosul.[1] In 1562/970, this Qāsim was in conflict with the Ashrāf of the town regarding his proposed building of a dye-shop. The conflict seems to have arisen because the Ashrāf held a monopoly on the dyeing industry in the town.[2] Backed by the Ottoman ruler of the time, Qāsim finally overcame the opposition of the Ashrāf and, armed with an official permission from the Grand Vizir, he built his dye-shop in 1574/982. Some time later a feud erupted in Mosul and the

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1 There were other ʿUmarīs in Mosul, previous to the emergence of Qāsim, but the sources never mention them as being notables.

2 Sources often mention a maṣbaghat as-sāda whose mutawallī was always a prominent member of the Ashrāf. Amīn ʿUmarī (MAN(2), II, 151) tells us that prior to the construction of the dye-shop by Qāsim ʿUmarī, there was only one dye-shop in Mosul, and its benefits (as a waqf) went to the Ashrāf and to the ʿulamāʾ (bi rasm as-sāda wa ʾl-fuqahāʾ). Yāsīn ʿUmarī (DUR(1), p. 425) tells us that before 1574/982, there was only one dye-shop in Mosul, that it was waqf, and that the mutawallīs were the Ashrāf.

Ashrāf destroyed the dye-shop. But once again the ʿUmarīs, backed by the Ottoman administration, won the day and the Ashrāf's monopoly was broken. The rebuilt dye-shop was given as waqf to the mosque which Qāsim had erected in 1571/979 on the site of an old masjid in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq, close to the ʿUmarīs' house. As well as the dye-shop, the mosque also had as waqf two baths situated close to it, parts of an orchard, a stretch of arable land, eight shops situated in Suwaiqat Bāb al-ʿIrāq and two others in Sūq al-ʿAllāfīn.[1] The mosque and its waqf were, according to Yāsīn ʿUmarī, entrusted to "the most righteous, the wisest and the closest relative"[2] and the waqfīya stipulated that the imāma and the khuṭba should always be given to an ʿUmarī,[3] hence securing the family's wealth and notability.

Qāsim had one son only, ʿAlī who died in 1591/1000, a year before his father, leaving three sons: ʿUthmān, Mūsā and Muḥammad. Of ʿUthmān's progeny we know Murād (d. 1680/1091), a teacher and a preacher in Nabī Allāh Yūnus, who knew Turkish, Persian and Kurdish as well as Arabic and rose to become ra'īs al-ʿulamā'.[4] One of his sons, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, studied in Mosul and then went to Asia Minor where he taught. Back in Mosul, he became the mudarris at Nabī Allāh Yūnus, succeeding to his father in this position. Removed from it at a later stage, he secured the backing of the shaikh al-islām and was reinstated. He was also appointed qadi in various towns but, preferring to remain in Mosul, he sent deputies to act on his behalf.[5] Another of Murād's sons, ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il (d. 1734/1147), taught in Nabī Allāh Yūnus after his brother and his father, became ra'īs al-ʿulamā' and mufti of Mosul and then qadi of Bagdad for two years. Back in Mosul, he was reappointed mufti and retained this position until very old age. He visited Istanbul many times

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1 Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 4; UNW(1), f. 183r; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 132-133.

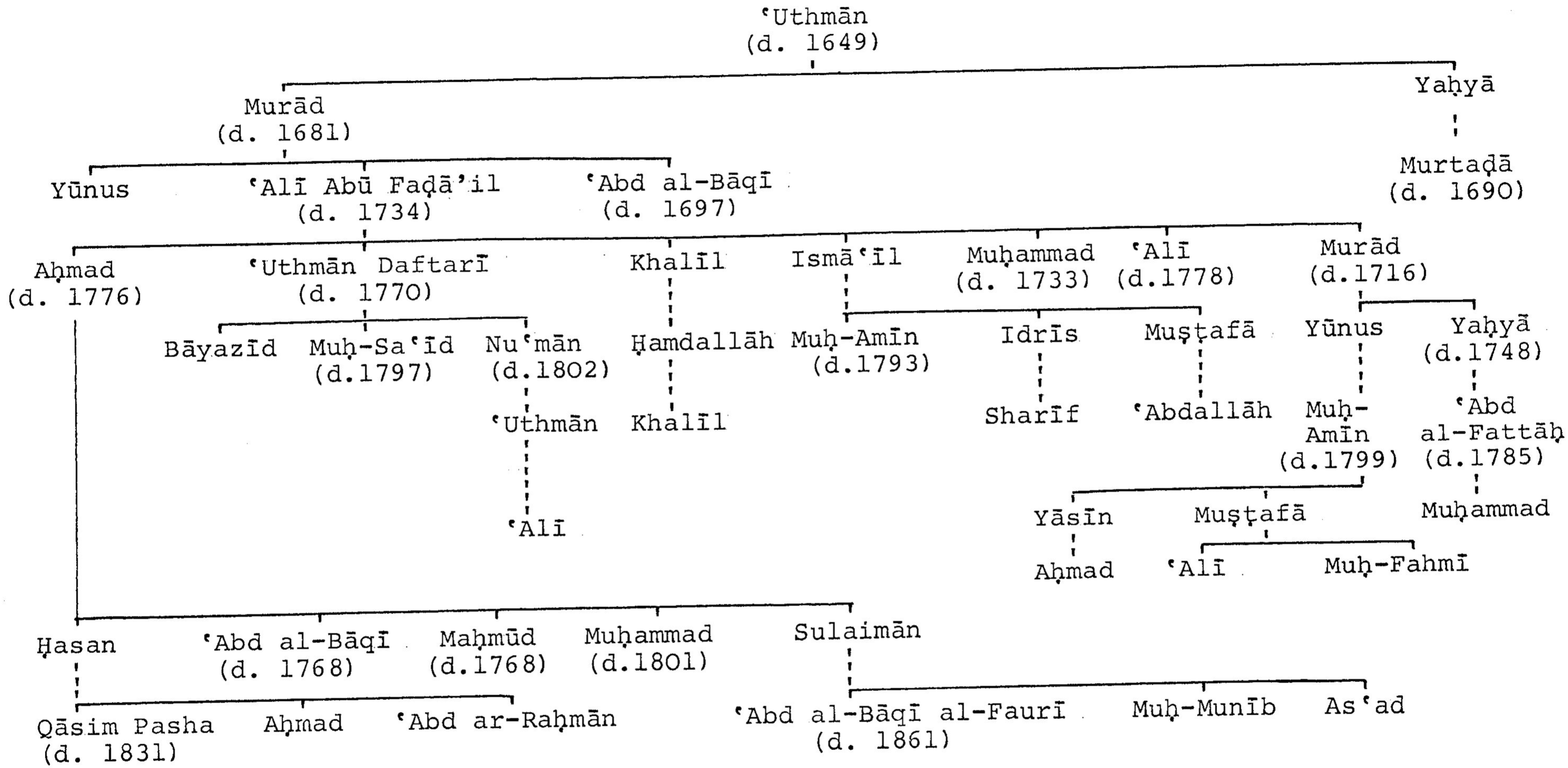
2 BAG, p. 340.

3 Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 132-133.

4 MAN(2), I, 224; Ṣā'igh, II, 134, 137; Jalabī, p. 14; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 103. The ra'īs al-ʿulamā' is an honorary title and not a function.

5 MAN(2), I, 227; Ṣā'igh, II, 145; Jalabī, p. 14; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 103.

TABLE I: The House of ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī



and was granted, along with the office and honours, the villages of Kīr Isḥāq, Kibr Ishkist, Qubba, Aghj Qal'a, Jāmkarm, Yinkijī, Kharāb Kark, Sandanīk, Ḥusn Shāmī, Barṭalī, Tall Isquf and Mimān, as well as half of the villages of Jabal Maqlūb. Yāsīn 'Umarī describes 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il as being "the first who owned villages in Mosul, as previously they were all given to the ruler." In addition to his rural holdings, 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il also owned various bazars, khans, baths and coffee-houses in town. In 1720/1133, he repaired the 'Umarī Mosque and gave it a school.[1] At the time the Jalīlīs were making their political débuts in Mosul, 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il was without doubt the chief notable of the town. He was mufti and had succeeded in getting the qaḍā' for his son Muḥammad. And when, at one point, this son had a dispute with a Jalīlī notable who threatened him with a dagger, 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il threatened to go to Istanbul to complain and the Jalīlī notable had to come to the 'Umarīs' house to apologise.[2]

In another branch of the 'Umarī family, that of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Qāsim, the leading figure was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad who went to Istanbul where he held various important --and unspecified--positions. He returned home rich and powerful, "and in 1650/1061 he was murdered by a spiteful wali of Mosul who had felt snubbed."[3]

Around the same time, the prominent figure in the third branch of the family, that of Mūsā b. 'Alī b. Qāsim, was Fatḥallāh b. Mūsā, reader and teacher in Mosul and qadi in Baṣra, who appears to have acquired considerable wealth through his tenure of office. He, however, dissipated it all fighting his cousin 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il over control of the 'Umarī Mosque. In the end, the Grand Vizir arbitrated between them and they became partners.[4] Fatḥallāh died in 1695/1107, aged 80, and 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il remained in charge of the

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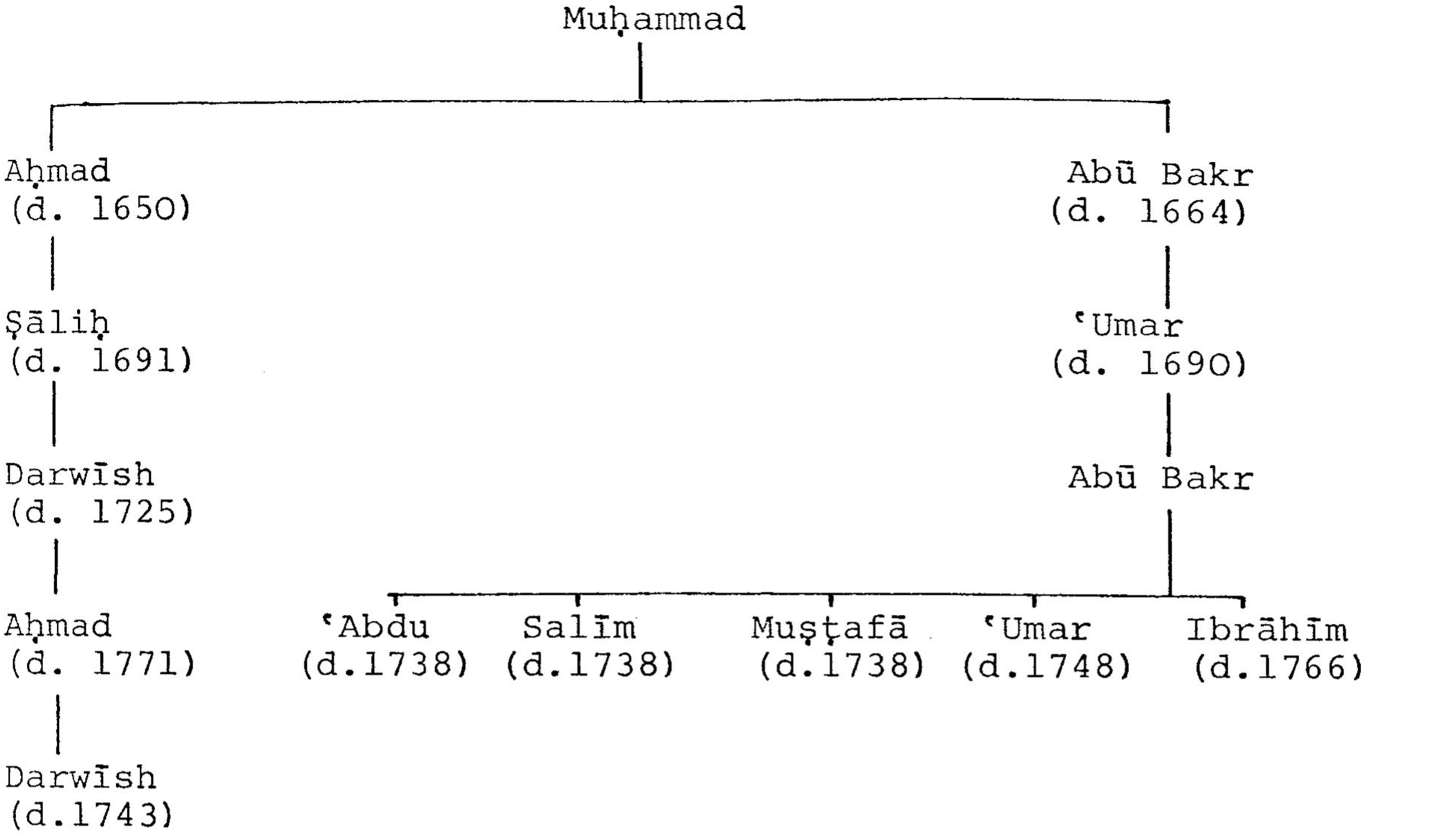
1 BAG, pp. 340-341; MAN(2), I, 225-226; Ṣā'igh, II, 152; Siouffi, p. 131; Jalabī, pp. 14-15, 85-86; Dīwahjī, Jawāmi', p. 103.

2 QUD, ff. 127v-128r.

3 UNW(1) f. 39r; MAN(2), I, 230-232. ATH (p. 215) gives the date 1660.

4 QUD, f. 94r; MAN(2), I, 224-225.

TABLE II: The House of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī



mosque. But the problem of the tauliya outlived both men.

Although there is evidence of intra-ʿUmarī matrimonial alliances,[1] the family did, nevertheless, split into three at the third generation.[2] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the branch of ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim had emerged as the main one, with ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il at its head. The ʿUmarīs owned villages and farms, orchards around the town, bazars, khans, coffee-houses, baths and at least one dye-shop. They were also in charge of a mosque with its school, as well as of a shrine.[3] In addition, they seem to have had great influence over the running of the old and prestigious school of Nabī Allāh Yūnus and to have monopolised, for years on end, the offices of mufti and qadi.[4] Through

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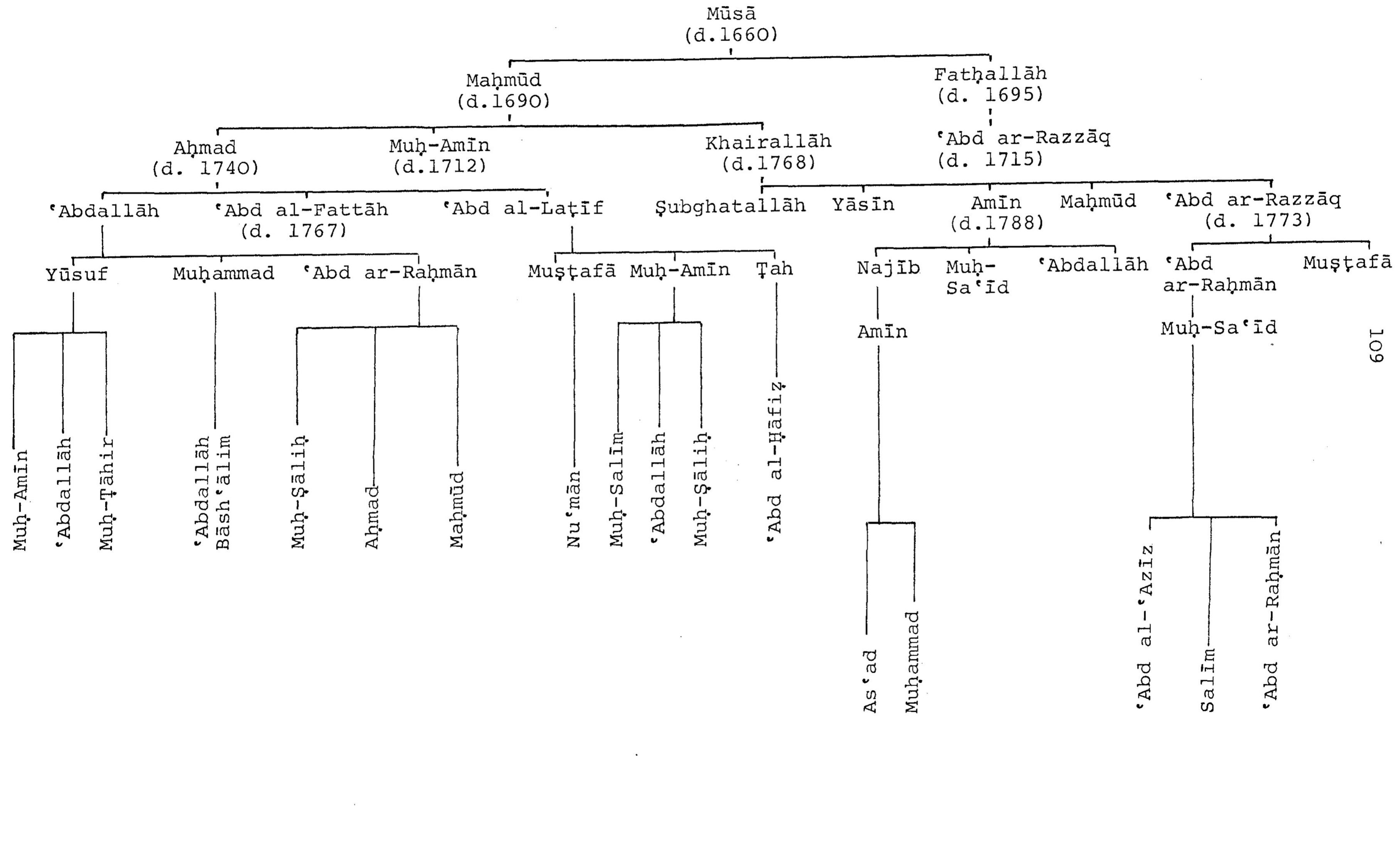
1 See for example, MAN(2), I, 141.

2 It is interesting to note that when the Persians captured Mosul in 1623, Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim fled to Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, while his two brothers took refuge near ʿAmādīya: ATH, p.211.

3 That of Sulṭān ʿAbdallāh, given by the Porte to Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Mūsā: SAI, p. 132.

4 The ʿUmarīs were Hanafites, and Murādī is the only source to state that ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il was Shafiite: see Silk ad-durar fī aʿyān al-qarn ath-thānī ʿashar (Būlāq, 1883), vol. II, p.231.

TABLE III: The House of Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī



the religious offices and institutions which they controlled, the ʿUmarīs were able to attract a clientèle of ʿulamāʾ and udabāʾ: Jirjīs b. Darwīsh (d.1727/1140) was a friend and follower of ʿAlī Abū Faḍāʾil and his personal imām; Maḥmūd al-Kurdī al-Khurratī (d. 1747/1140), was a teacher; Ismāʿīl b. Abī Jaḥsh (d. 1727/1140) was another teacher.[1]

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The Ashrāf of Mosul constituted another power bloc in local politics. Their relationship with the ʿUmarīs appears to have been strained, at least since the incident of the dye-shop. Less than a century later, a far more serious incident was to erupt between the two parties. Yāsīn ʿUmarī tells us that at some point during the first half of the seventeenth century, on the Day of ʿĀshūrāʾ, the Ashrāf of Mosul had organised a funerary procession as they used to do every year. And it seems that in this specific year, the procession was seen by the ʿUmarīs as a provocation,[2] as a result of which ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī ordered "the people of his maḥalla to open fire on the Ashrāf, one of whom lost his life."[3] The Ashrāf, Yāsīn ʿUmarī tells us, protested to the Porte who sided with the ʿUmarīs and ordered the Ashrāf to leave their quarter and to move north of Mosul, far from the ʿUmarī district.[4] So that on two occasions the Porte stepped in on behalf of the ʿUmarīs and against the Ashrāf. The reason for this might well be that the ʿUmarīs loyal Hanafism was preferred to the disturbing "Jaafarite" tendencies of the Ashrāf at a time when the Persian Shii threat was still lurking. And so it seems that early in the seventeenth century, the Ashrāf of Mosul lived in Maḥallat Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn, just north of Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq, the ʿUmarī stronghold. Indeed, Maḥallat Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn appears to have been called Maḥallat aṭ-Ṭālibīyīn in the past, and

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1 MAN(2), I, 272-273, 295-296; Ṣāʾigh, II, 140, 141, 158.

2 People in Mosul today think that the Ashrāf had mocked ʿUmar.

3 Mosulis today think that the Ashrāf had retaliated, killing at least a dozen ʿUmarīs.

4 DUR(1), p. 518.

in the shrine of Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn one can still see "Shii" inscriptions on the walls, various old tombs belonging to the Ashrāf, as well as a miḥrāb in the burial vault and which the Sunnis of Mosul nowadays identify with Shii practices.[1] After the famous ʿĀshūrā' strife, the Ashrāf abandoned their homes and settled in Maḥallat al-Khātūnīya, north of the Great Mosque and south of Maḥallat al-Maidān al-Akhḍar.

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Āl Yāsīn al-Muftī was a family of learned men whose ancestor, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin, an ʿālim from Sāmarrā', had settled in Mosul in 1543/950. His great-grandson Maḥmūd (d. 1671/1082) became mufti of Mosul and on his death the office passed to his son Yāsīn (d. 1722/1135), after whom the family came to be known.[2] Yāsīn the mufti had studied in Istanbul and, back in Mosul, he built a great khan known as Khān al-Muftī, as well as a school, both situated in Maḥallat Bāb as-Sarāy, to the south-east. The family lived west of Mosul, in the vicinity of Bāb Sinjār. Muḥammad Ghulāmī tells us that Yāsīn's heirs abandoned science and learning and became men of the sword,[3] but the learned tradition nevertheless passed on to Yāsīn's son-in-law, Yūsuf an-Nā'ib (d.1737/1150), who became deputy qadi (nā'ib) of Mosul--thanks to Yāsīn--as did his son and great-grandson after him.[4] The family owned land given as iqṭāʿ to Yāsīn when he travelled to Istanbul with his father around 1650.[5]

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Āl Qara Muṣṭafā Bey was a prominent Mosuli family of landowners and tax-farmers of whom, unfortunately, the sources say very little during the Jalīlī period. The

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1 Conversation with the guardian of the shrine of Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn, Mosul, 20 Mar. 1979.

2 A note written by Yāsīn's great-grandson in the margin of UMD tells us that Yāsīn had served as qāḍī ʿaskar.

3 Arabic: wa kasarū 'l-qalam wa ʿtanū bi 's-saif (see Muḥammad Ghulāmī, Shamāmat al-ʿanbar wa 'z-zahr al-muʿanbar (Bagdad, 1977), p. 104). And we know that Khalīl b. Maḥmūd b. Yāsīn was a Janissary leader during the rebellion of 1778 (see UMM, f. 22v).

4 Lanza, p. 59; MAN(2), I, 223.

5 DUR(2), f. 300v.

TABLE IV: Āl Yāsīn al-Muftī

ʿAbd al-Muḥsin

ʿAbd al-Qahhār

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb

Maḥmūd
(d.1671)

Yāsīn al-Muftī
(d.1719)

Muḥammad | Yūnus | Maḥmūd (d.1743) | daughter = Yūsuf al-Nā'ib (d. 1737)

Yūnus: Muḥ-Saʿīd | Ibrāhīm = sister of ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī

Maḥmūd: Ismāʿīl (d.1765) | Khalīl

daughter: = Ḥasan

Ibrāhīm: Muḥ-Amīn (d.circa 1825)

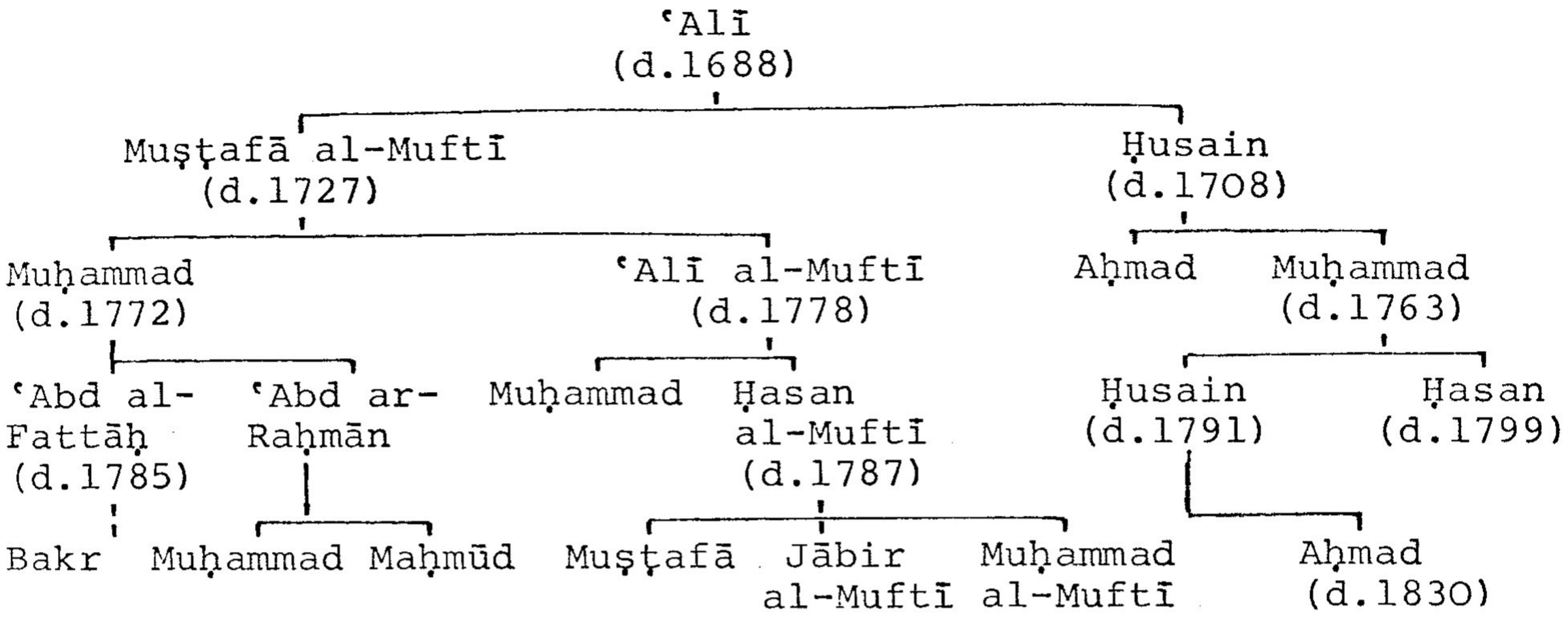
Ḥasan: Aḥmad

Aḥmad: Badr ad-Dīn

Muḥ-Amīn: Muḥammad | Muḥ-ʿĀrif | ʿAbdallāh | Muḥ-Yāsīn | Sulaimān (d.1798) | Muḥ-Badīʿ | Ibrāhīm | Muḥ-Salīm

The family lived west of Mosul, near Bāb Sinjār

TABLE V: The Ghulāmī Family



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family's ancestor, Yaʿqūb Āghā seems to have been from the Mawālī tribe and to have settled in Mosul when Sultan Murād IV granted him an iqṭāʿ. His son Qara Muṣṭafā Bey is mentioned during the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh. The family appears to have faded away from the political arena when its leader gave up his iqṭāʿ and turned to zuhd and sufism.[1]

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The Ghulāmīs were a Shafiite family noted for its learning and not for its wealth or power. It is not certain where they lived, but late in the nineteenth century Maḥallat al-Khātūnīya was associated with their name. Their principal representative at the beginning of the eighteenth century was Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī who studied in Mosul and taught in Nabī Allāh Yūnus. He also held the position of Shafiite mufti. The political dimension of religious institutions becomes clear when we learn that this Muṣṭafā was a good friend of ʿAbd al-Bāqī ʿUmarī who, as we have seen, exercised a strong control over the school of Nabī Allāh Yūnus. Muṣṭafā travelled twice to Istanbul and died there in 1717/1130.[2]

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[1] See Siouffi, p. 109.

[2] MAN(2), I, 252-253; Ṣā'igh, II, 150; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 103; Jalabī, p. 14.

Another Shafiite family, the ʿAbdalīs, lived near Bāb as-Sarāy. The founder of the family, Shaikh ʿAbdāl, was a merchant and an adīb who died in 1688/1100. In 1669 he erected a mosque and a school close to his house and endowed them with a khan, some shops and some coffee-houses. In 1672 he established another waqf which comprised half a khan and twelve shops, all located in Maḥallat Bāb as-Sarāy, and he endowed its revenues half to the school he had built and the other half to his family (dhirrī). Five years later, he built a sabīl. In 1700, twelve years after the death of Shaikh ʿAbdāl, the family enlarged the mosque; in 1718 the ʿAbdalīs rebuilt Masjid al-Yatīm, situated in Maḥallat ʿAbdu Khūb, to the north-east; and eight years later, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdāl established another waqf (some shops) whose revenues were to be shared between the mosque and the family. This policy of investment in religious buildings indicates that the wealth of the family was still growing in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century there were seven shops, two dye-shops, an oat-store and half a bazar, all situated in the busy Maḥallat Bāb as-Sarāy, and which were the property of the ʿAbdalīya Mosque.[1] Whereas the Ghulāmī Shafiites were a family of learned men, the ʿAbdalī Shafiites were certainly wealthy merchants.

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As for the less important notable families of the time, we hear of the Tūkandīs who rebuilt a ruined mosque and a school in Sūq aṣ-Ṣaghīr (1674/1085). The Juwaijīs, a mercantile family living in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq, built two baths in Maḥallat al-Mikkāwī and gave them as waqf to the Juwaijātī Mosque (1651/1062). Ḥājj ʿAlī an-Nūma, a merchant, lived in Maḥallat Khazraj and erected a dome over the tomb of Nabī Shīt in 1659/1070, while some seventy years later his descendants erected a number of masjids, expanded one in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq and another one near Bāb Likish, then rebuilt the Khazraj Mosque and gave it a school: a clear

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[1] Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 110; Majmūʿat waqfīyāt; BAG, p. 376; Siouffi, pp. 47-54, 81, 123-124; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 142, 152, 155-156 and Schools, I, 78; Jalabī, p. 164.

pointer to the growing wealth of this mercantile family. Āl Maḥḍarbāshī erected a masjid and a school in Maḥallat Bāb an-Nabī in 1620/1030. The Manṣūrīs, two brothers who were merchants and lived in Maḥallat Bāb al-Baiḍ, built the mosque of Shaikh Muḥammad and gave it a bath as waqf (1670/1081), then rebuilt a mosque in Maḥallat al-Manṣūrīya (1673/1084), while some ten years later one of the two brothers built a mosque in Shahrasūq. Āl ʿIrāqī were an old notable family living in Maḥallat Bāb al-Masjid where they had built a masjid. Āl Jumʿa, a family who had moved from Ḥadītha to live in Mosul in Maḥallat Bāb al-Masjid, rebuilt the mosque of Sulṭān Uwais in 1683/1095. Āl al-Jurdī were a Shafiite family of cloth merchants who traded with Aleppo, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Aḥmad al-Jurdī was a friend and follower of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī. Āl al-Juwair, a family of candlestick makers and/or merchants built a masjid near Bāb al-ʿIrāq around 1707/1119. Āl Khallūtī erected a masjid in Maḥallat Shaikh Abī al-ʿAlā', to the south-east. Āl Darwīsh rebuilt a masjid in Maḥallat al-Maḥmudain in 1722/1135. A notable, known as Ilyās Bey, repaired the old Umawī Mosque. And in 1700/1112, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd as-Salām expanded a small masjid located in Sūq aṣ-Ṣaghīr.[1]

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At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mosul was ruled by walis sent from Istanbul, and although local notables were able to fill the high religious offices, it seems that the administration continued to escape them. So that there was a clear distinction between the permanent local notables and the passing Turkish administrations. Not that such a distinction should be understood in terms of dichotomy and opposition between what is local and what is alien. As we have seen, intra-local contradictions (e.g., Ashrāf/ʿUmarī) were at least as important as any contradictions and conflicts of interest between local and alien, or between Mosuli "autonomism" and central government. Rather, this distinction

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[1] All the information presented in this paragraph is taken from MAN; Murādī; Jalabī; Siouffi; Ṣā'igh; Dīwahjī, Schools, Jawāmiʿ and "Umayyad Mosque at Mosul", in Sumer, VI, 2 (1950).

between local and alien should be understood as signifying that in every political equation in Mosul, the alien factor (wali, Porte) was a common denominator: actor, instigator, arbitrator, source of power. Throughout the pre-Jalīlī period, the ultimate reference was the faraway Porte, and Mosuli notables visited Istanbul frequently, drawing their political muscle from their connections in the capital--as we saw the ʿUmarīs do on more than one occasion. But by the beginning of the eighteenth century, this political pattern was modified by the emergence of two new factors: the Jalīlīs in Mosul and the Mamluk Pashas in Bagdad.

The sources tell us that the founder of the Jalīlī family, ʿAbd al-Jalīl, was a merchant who had traded on the Diyār Bakr-Mosul road. He finally settled in Mosul and had seven sons: Khalīl, Ibrāhīm, Yūnus, Ismāʿīl, Ṣāliḥ, Zubair and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān. Until today, the Christians of Mosul believe that ʿAbd al-Jalīl was a Christian who had converted to Islām, and they point to a tomb, in the vault of the church of Shamʿūn aṣ-Ṣafā, which is known as Qabr al-Bāshā and which they take to be the tomb of ʿAbd al-Jalīl. It seems, however, that the appellation of the said tomb might have a different origin. It is a fact that when, early in the eighteenth century, a European Carmelite missionary died in Mosul, Ismāʿīl Pasha b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl forced the reluctant Nestorians to bury him in their church, Shamʿūn aṣ-Ṣafā. And when, a few decades later, another Catholic missionary died, Amīn Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha b. Ismāʿīl Pasha Jalīlī compelled the grumbling Nestorians to bury him in the same tomb.[1] According to twentieth century Mosuli sources, this is the reason why the tomb became known as Qabr al-Bāshā, and not because it contains the remains of a Christian ʿAbd al-Jalīl. The same sources have quite pertinently remarked that Christians who convert to Islam usually take a name such as Aḥmad, Maḥmūd, etc., and often call themselves b. ʿAbdallāh, whereas ʿAbd al-Jalīl's father was called ʿAbd al-Malik.[2] And as both names, ʿAbd al-Jalīl and ʿAbd al-Malik, can refer to a Muslim as well as to a Christian, it is likely

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1 See Goormachtigh, p. 24.

2 Conversation with Maḥmūd Bey Jalīlī, Mosul, 25 Mar. 1979.

TABLE VI: The House of ʿAbd al-Jalīl (first and second generations)

ʿAbd al-Jalīl
(d.1681)

Khalīl | Zubair | Ibrāhīm | Ismāʿīl (d. 1733) | Yūnus | ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān | Ṣāliḥ

that a Christian converted to Islam would drop both equivocal names in favour of frankly Muslim ones.

It is generally believed that ʿAbd al-Jalīl was a merchant and that the family's merchant capital was gradually transformed into political capital through the building of religious institutions, the farming of taxes and the financing of Ottoman campaigns. There is no doubt that a mercantile wealth that could finance the Ottoman war effort and send a party of Mosulis to the front would have to be considerable. Not that such a thing would be impossible, or even improbable, but it might well be that the Jalīlīs' power, wealth and notability were well established before they moved to Mosul. And in the seventeenth century, the only kind of power and wealth worth talking about found its roots in the land. So, was ʿAbd al-Jalīl a "landowner"? Yāsīn ʿUmarī's remark regarding ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī as being the first in Mosul to own villages seems to rule out this possibility. But such a remark may be simple rhetoric, since we know that Yāsīn al-Muftī had already been granted land c. 1650. And then again, it is possible that such villages as those controlled by ʿAbd al-Jalīl may have been situated outside the boundaries of the province of Mosul. Since the family originated in Diyār Bakr, it is likely that their move to Mosul might be connected with the setting up of the old liwā' of Mosul (formerly a part of the province of Diyār Bakr) as an independent wilāya. All this is speculation, but the documents which are available to us offer two hints regarding the rural holdings of the Jalīlī family late in the seventeenth century. The imperial firman which granted Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī the village of Qaraqūsh (subject to the province of Shahrazūr) as

a reward for defending Mosul against the armies of Nādir Shāh in 1743, granted him the said village as private property (ʿala wajh al-mulkīya huwa wa aulāduh wa aʿqābuh . . .).[1] There is no doubt that the village was being given to Ḥusain Pasha by the sultan as private property (mulk), and the question which arises is: why, of all the possible favours he could ask from the sultan, did Ḥusain Pasha ask for a piece of land to be given as mulk; and why, of all the possible fertile land within the province of Mosul, did he insist on having a village which was a part of the province of Shahrazūr? The answer seems to emerge from the text of the waqfīya of the village of Qaraqūsh, in which the wāqif, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, states very clearly: . . . qaryat qaraqūsh . . . al-mutaṣarrifīn naḥn bihā min al-qadīm, ab ʿan jadd, bi ṭarīqat al-mālikīya . . . istudʿiyat wa 'ltumisat min al-jānib as-sulṭānī tamlīkī 'l-qarya 'l-madhkūra . . .[2] This seems to indicate that Ḥusain Pasha had chosen the village of Qaraqūsh because his family had "owned" it, as mālikāna, for three generations (ab ʿan jadd). Another hint to the same effect appears in the waqfīya of Nabī Shīt which informs us that early in the nineteenth century, the village of Balāwāt "belonged" to Aḥmad Pasha b. Sulaimān Pasha b. Amīn Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī,[3] while the village of Karamlīs "belonged" to ʿUbaid Āgha b. Ṣāliḥ Āgha b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl.[4]

The interesting thing here is that the three villages, Qaraqūsh, Balāwāt and Karamlīs, neighbour on each other. One is tempted to think that the three villages were originally part

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[1] Unfortunately, I have only been able to examine thoroughly a published version of the firman: see Ra'ūf, pp. 520-521.

[2] Unfortuntely, I was only able to examine thoroughly a published version of the said document: see Ra'ūf, p. 525.

[3] See Majmūʿat waqfīyāt.

[4] MUN, f. 26r and 54r; DUR(1), p. 633; ZUB, ppi 150-151.

of a single lot and obeyed a single will: and that will is obviously that of ʿAbd al-Jalīl, the only common denominator between the house of Ḥusain Pasha and that of ʿUbaid Āghā, and the natural source of the inheritance. And so it seems that the Jalīlī family, early in the seventeenth century, must have owned land as mālikāna south-east of Mosul, which could account for their considerable wealth and notability.

Once in Mosul, ʿAbd al-Jalīl appears to have elected residence in Maḥallat Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn, and gradually the Jalīlīs came to occupy the old homes of the Ashrāf who had previously been forced to move north. In a similar fashion to other wealthy families, the Jalīlīs endeavoured to secure their assets and to transform them into political capital by building religious institutions. In 1702/1114, three of ʿAbd al-Jalīl's sons, Ismāʿīl, Khalīl and Ibrāhīm, built the Āghāwāt Mosque and its school in Sūq Bāb al-Jisr, entrusting it to the family and stipulating in the waqfīya that the imām, the preacher and the teacher should be either Jalīlīs or their protégés.[1] Around the same time, ʿAlī b. Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (d. 1734/1147) built a school.[2] In 1716/1129, Ismāʿīl (later Pasha) b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl built a school in the mosque of Nabī Jirjīs situated in Sūq ash-Shaʿʿārīn,[3] and one of its first teachers was Yūsuf an-Nā'ib, son-in-law of Yāsīn the mufti (Āl Yāsīn). It is interesting to note that at this early stage the Jalīlīs did not erect religious buildings in the south-western district but rather in the market area of the south-east, thus making inroads in the Maidān district, stronghold of the Turkish administration. Around 1720, the Jalīlīs acquired the lucrative farm of the tamgha[4] and, in association with ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī and Muṣṭafā Qara Bey, they were collectors of taxes from the crafts.[5] As merchants and as urban tax

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1 Majmūʿat waqfīyāt.

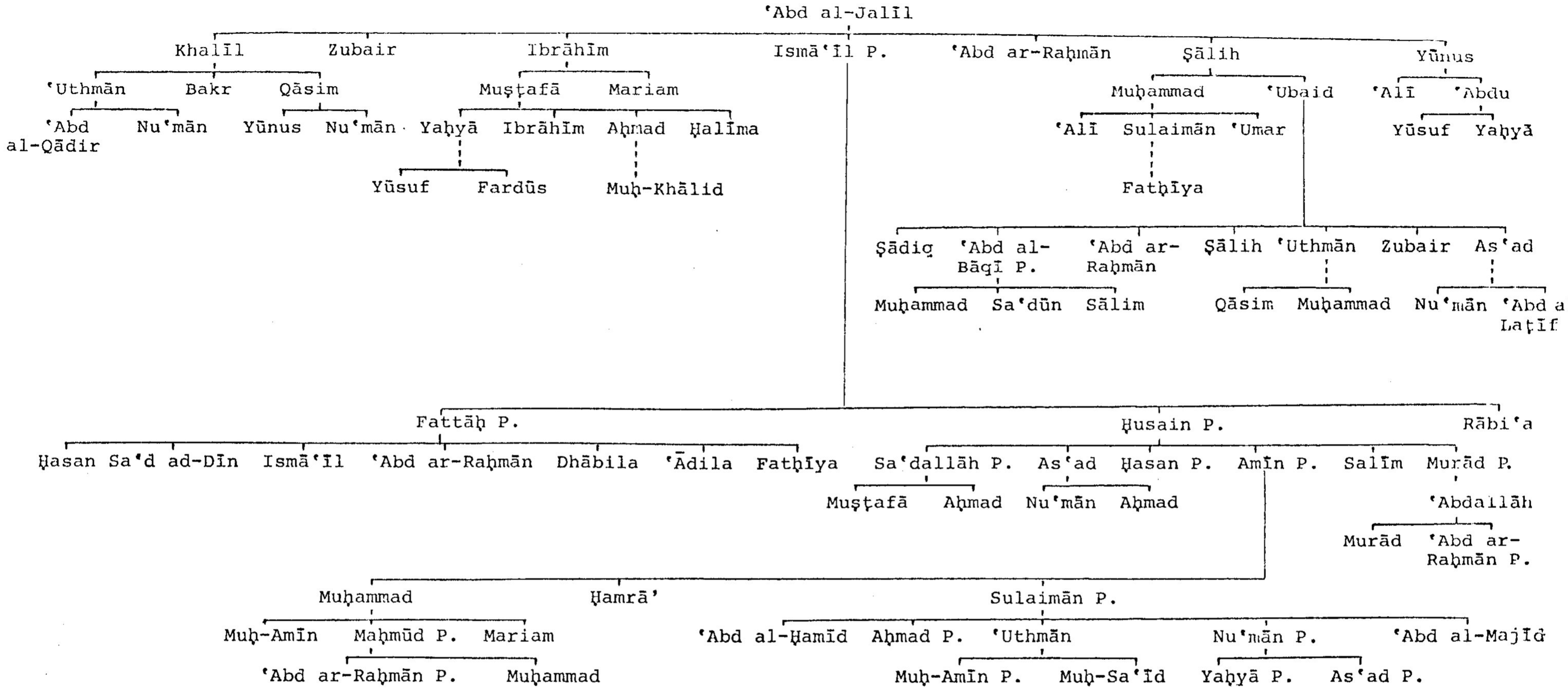
2 MAN(2), I, 259.

3 Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 82-83.

4 General Stamp. It is an excise levied on goods produced locally before sale occurs: see H. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West (London, 1951-1957), vol. II, p. 8. In 1845, the farm was worth 142,000 piastres in Mosul: see FO 195/228, Rassam to Cunningham, Mosul, 27 May 1845.

5 Ra'ūf, pp. 51-54.

TABLE VII: The Jalīlī Family



collectors, the Jalīlīs were in a strong position to extend their influence on the suqs and they certainly endeavoured to enlist the support of the common people. Amīn ʿUmarī wrote that "they took good care of the poor and the artisans, defended them, protected their interests and sought to abolish the avanias and all [tax] innovations."[1] Along with their bid to secure the backing of the "street", the Jalīlīs also directed their efforts towards gaining the favours of the Porte. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl contributed financially to the Ottoman wars against Persia, and he sent his son Ḥusain (later Pasha) with a group of warriors to participate in a campaign against the Safavids. It seems that to reward him for his zeal and assistance, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (Jalīlī) was made Sanjaq Bey and then appointed wali of Mosul in 1726/1139. He was only in office for a year, but it seems to have been enough to establish him as the first notable of the town.

II. The First Years of Jalīlī Rule

Although it would be adventurous to talk of an alignment of families, it does seem that towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī was well in control of the south-western district (known as Bāb al-ʿIrāq) and hence of the families living there for the simple reason that he controlled the very space they lived in. To this bloc one can oppose two others: the Ashrāf and the Turkish administration. The Jalīlīs then came to constitute yet another bloc, not necessarily opposed to the ʿUmarī bloc, but certainly a potential rival to the prominence and power of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il.[2] While the ʿUmarīs were still entrenched

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1 MAN(2), I, 142.

2 A brief visit to the ʿUmarī Mosque is enough to give a feeling of the meaning of "notability" as well as to explain the shock which the meteoric rise of the Jalīlīs must have given to the main branch of the family. At the time the Jalīlīs were settling in Mosul, the ʿUmarīs had emerged as the main notable family, having broken the power of the Ashrāf. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī was the link between the town and the Turkish administration. This notability of the family can be felt in the splendid mosque they controlled. Behind this mosque, which dominated the district of Bāb al-ʿIrāq, the ʿUmarī cemetery, compact and cohesive, gave the mosque (a place of public worship and congregation), an "air of private realm".

in Bāb al-ʿIrāq,the Jalīlīs, living in Maḥallat Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn, were gradually establishing themselves in the south-eastern district known as Maidān, and where they were building mosques and schools. Moreover, their connections with Maidān, the seat of officialdom, were further strengthened by the appointment of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl as wali of Mosul.

Ismāʿīl Pasha died in 1733, but before his death one of his sons, Ḥusain, became wali of Mosul in his turn: the second Jalīlī wali in four years. Between 1730 and 1750 Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī was appointed wali seven times (1730, 1731-3, 1733, 1738-40, 1741-6, 1747-8, 1750). The Jalīlīs' dual position, as walis and as notables, must have greatly enhanced the power and prestige of a family which, at this stage, appears to have been united behind Ḥusain Pasha. Gradually, the Jalīlīs were monopolising the office of wali and at the same time proving increasingly indispensable for the maintenance of law and order. Even when Ḥusain Pasha was not in office, his connections with the "street" made him the effective ruler of the town.[1] When Otter reached Mosul in 1736, he noted that the town was restless following the arrival in Mosul of a new Turkish wali.[2] It should be remembered now that in the previous year, the Janissary urţa "27", exiled from Bagdad, had come to settle in the south-eastern district of Mosul. And it seems that Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī had formed close links with "27"[3] which had implanted itself in the very heart of the seat of officialdom: the seraglio, the ammunition depot, the Tatar station, the custom-house and the Court, were all there.

During this period, the Jalīlīs had continued to build religious institutions. In 1735, Ḥusain Pasha added a Shafiite muṣallā in the mosque of Nabī Allāh Jirjīs.[4]

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1 In the first years of Jalīlī rule, and before being appointed wali, Ḥusain b. Ismāʿīl Jalīlī had three prominent Janissary leaders assassinated: see DUR(2), ff. 326r-328v.

2 Otter, I, 135. The wali was Iljī Muṣṭafā Pasha.

3 When the leaders of "27", exiled from Bagdad, arrived in Mosul in 1735 they were honoured by Ibrāhīm Āghā b. Muṣṭafā Āghā Jalīlī, an ally of the house of Ḥusain Pasha: see DUR(2), f. 329r.

4 Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 115-117.

Three years later, he rebuilt the old Nūrī (Great) Mosque after it had been in ruins and defunct.[1] But by far the most crucial factor in reinforcing Jalīlī power and prestige was the successful resistance of the town, led by Ḥusain Pasha, to the invading armies of Nādir Shāh in 1743. The Mosuli literary and historical production of the time bears witness to the tremendous political capital which the house of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī had reaped from the heroic resistance which the town offered to the battering rams of the Persian conqueror.[2]

As a result of their tenure of office, the Jalīlīs soon supplanted the ʿUmarīs as princes among notables: in the eyes of the Mosulis as well as in those of the Porte. The lesser notables and the learned men started to gravitate around the new rulers and the rise of local rule opened the doors of the administration to the Mosulis. As notables, the Jalīlīs might well have been the rivals of the ʿUmarīs, the Ashrāf, or Āl Yāsīn, but as rulers they were certainly at the centre of a large movement which was co-opting the Mosulis into the ruling élite.[3]

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Here, it would be of some interest to follow the fortunes of the main notable families in an attempt to see the effect of the emergence of local rule.

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1 Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 24.

2 See Appendix V, and infra, p. 130.

3 In 1620 and in 1625, the rule of Mosul (which was then a liwā') was given to a Mosuli called Bakr Pasha b. Yūnus. And in 1636, his son, Muḥammad Pasha, was also ruler. This Mosuli family did not, however, succeed in establishing itself permanently, and as MAN tells us "they did not last long, their State faded away, their property was sold and only a few commoners from their family remain today," (MAN(2), I, 136). Nevertheless, these few years appear to have allowed at least one Mosuli family to establish itself in the administration. This family, known as Āl Maḥḍarbāshī (civil servants as the name indicates) was still prominent under the Jalīlīs and seems to have shot up to prominence and office during the period when Bakr Pasha and his sons ruled Mosul around 1630. Indeed, the school they built in Maḥallat Bāb an-Nabī dates from this period. And so it was natural that the tenure of office of the Jalīlīs should fling the doors of the administration wide open to local elements.

ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī died in 1734/1147 and his grandson Yaḥyā b. Murād, already mufti of Mosul since his grandfather had retired, succeeded him as mutawallī of the ʿUmarī Mosque. Yaḥyā died in 1748/1161. Ten years earlier, his uncle Aḥmad, who had the backing of the wali of Bagdad, managed to take the tauliya away from him and to keep it for forty years. He was succeeded by his brother ʿAlī b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il who went to Istanbul and died there in 1778/1192. Around that time, the most important ʿUmarī must have been ʿUthmān Daftarī b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il, the author of NAD. He had studied in Mosul and under the Ḥaidarīs in Māwarān,[1] then entered the service of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī and followed him to Asia Minor. But he left his service after quarrelling with Yūnus Effendi, the kātib of the dīwān, and returned to Mosul to serve Amīn Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī. In 1757 he went to Istanbul where he was appointed daftardār of Bagdad. He was in Bagdad for four years, attained great heights but later fell into disgrace and died a broken man in Istanbul in 1770/1184.[2] As for the other branches of the ʿUmarī family, they did not attain any degree of importance after the death of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il, but the rise of the Jalīlīs must have given them the opportunity to elude the grip and power of the mutawallīs of the mosque, as they started courting the favours and seeking the service of the local rulers. The question of the tauliya of the mosque still divided the family. As we have seen, Yaḥyā the mufti had succeeded to his grandfather ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il, but Yāsīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī claims that before he died ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il had in fact given the tauliya to his father, Khairallāh, as he was "the wisest and the closest relative." Yāsīn also tells us that Yaḥyā the mufti had protested and, backed by Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī who was wali, had won the day, "as my father could not possibly hope to fight such power and influence. He was given 30 dirhams and a raṭl of coffee each month, and the same for my uncle."[3] The issue of the

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1 Near Rāwandūz.

2 UNW(1), f. 253r; BAG, pp. 342-344; MAN(2), I, 233-236; MUN, f. 25r; DUR(1), pp. 616, 626.

3 QUD, ff. 88r-90r. The uncle in question must be Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, as the other uncle, Muḥammad Amīn had died long before the issue arose. Khairallāh ʿUmarī was khaṭīb of the ʿUmarī

tauliya of the ʿUmarī waqf offers a good illustration of the way in which the Jalīlīs, as a local force with a supra-Mosuli dimension, were beginning to replace the Porte as common denominator, as recourse and as arbitrator in the various conflicts of interest among local notables. This same issue enables us to perceive the growing importance and interference of the Pashas of Bagdad in Mosuli politics.

The relations of the Ashrāf with the ʿUmarīs may well have been uneasy: not so their relations with the Jalīlīs. Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b.Fakhr ad-Dīn (d. 1774/1188), an adīb, served Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī before becoming head of the dīwān al-inshā' in Bagdad. His brother Yaḥyā(d. 1773/1187) served the Jalīlīs and the walis of Bagdad, and was naqīb al-ashrāf and mufti for a long time. It seems that Āl Fakhr ad-Dīn (Fakhrīs) were emerging as the main family among the Ashrāf. It might be coincidental, but it is a fact that the emergence of the Jalīlīs and the displacement of the offices of qadi and mufti away from the ʿUmarīs occurred around the same time.

As for Āl Yāsīn, it will be remembered that Yāsīn's son-in-law, Yūsuf, was the first teacher at the Jirjīsīya School, erected by Ismāʿīl Pasha Jalīlī. Yūsuf was deputy qadi of Mosul (hence his name Nā'ib) until his death, it seems, and he was succeeded by his son Ḥasan. Later, his great-grandson Badr ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad was deputy qadi.[1] One of Yāsīn's grandsons, Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus b. Yāsīn, had married into the Ashrāf, the sister of Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b. Fakhr ad-Dīn whom we have just mentioned. Their son, Muḥammad Amīn, was to become the leading figure of the family late in the eighteenth century. And so it seems that, at least for a while, the families of Āl Yāsīn, Āl an-Nā'ib and the Fakhrīs were closely associated. On the other hand, we know that each of these three families enjoyed good relations with the Jalīlīs.

Another notable family of the time, Āl Qara Muṣṭafā Bey, were collectors of taxes from the crafts in association with the Jalīlīs and the ʿUmarīs. In 1740/1154 the family

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Mosque for 60 years. He was also amīn al-fatwā for ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il, and for his grandson Yaḥyā after him: see KHU, f. 78r.

[1] MAN(2), I, 249-250; QUD, ff. 41r-42r; Ṣā'igh, II, 139-140.

was still prominent as Yāsīn ʿUmarī informs us that the then Turkish wali of Mosul paid them a visit to their house on the occasion of the feast of Ramaḍān. Their relations with the Jalīlīs are not known to us, and they are no longer mentioned in the chronicles after the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh and after the leader of the family became an ascetic.[1] Late in the eighteenth century, the family will re-emerge in the waqf documents under the name Alāy Bakkī.

As for the Ghulāmīs of this period, three names have reached us. Muḥammad b. Ḥusain (d. 1763/1177) was employed by Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī. ʿAlī b. Muṣṭafā (d. 1778/1192), who became mufti after his father, was a poet, a teacher and a friend of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī who sent him to negotiate with Nādir Shāh during the siege of Mosul. His brother Muḥammad (d. 1772/1186) was a famous ʿālim and adīb who made a living writing madḥ poetry.[2] It should be noted that their father, Muṣṭafā, was a friend and follower of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī. But by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Ghulāmīs too were gravitating around the local rulers.

The Ghulāmīs were not the only Shafiite family to establish good relations with the Jalīlīs. Muḥammad ʿAbdalī (d. 1752/1164), an adīb and a doctor, was the physician of the Jalīlīs.[3] The building, by Ḥusain Pasha, of a Shafiite muṣallā in the mosque of Nabī Jirjīs thus loses any coincidental characteristic.

The foregoing sketch of the situation of the main notable families shows that the house of the Jalīlī walis had succeeded in attracting prominent figures from the political, religious and cultural spheres. Obviously, the fact that certain ʿUmarīs, Fakhrīs or Ghulāmīs actually entered the service of the Jalīlīs does not mean that the families in question were backing the Jalīlīs en bloc. Nevertheless, it shows that the families were not monolithic blocs and that the Jalīlīs were able to attract those in search of power, money or fame, thus making inroads into traditional family ties. Power--and the position of wali included--had

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1 UNW(1), f. 84r; ZUB, p. 98.

2 DUR(1), pp. 610, 629; Ṣā'igh, II, 176, 197; Olson, p. 175.

3 MAN(2), I, 267-269; Ṣā'igh, II, 168-169; Jalabī, p. 15.

in fact always managed to make such inroads: the novelty now was that power had put on a local cloak as rulers and notables were becoming one and the same thing.

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In the period immediately preceding the Jalīlī era, the pattern of urban politics, as it evolved in the urban space, was one of obvious distinction and separation between the passing alien walis based in Maidān and the main notables of Bāb al-ʿIrāq. But within twenty-five years (1725 to 1750) this pattern had changed drastically. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il had died and his heirs appear to have dissipated most of the wealth he had acquired.[1] The ensuing political vacuum created in the district of Bāb al-ʿIrāq must have been filled by the Janissary urṭa "31" which, exiled from Bagdad, had settled in Bāb al-ʿIrāq in 1729/1142.[2] At the same time, the Jalīlīs were rising to prominence and establishing themselves as rulers of the town. And as the walis were increasingly recruited among a local family, the south-eastern district of Maidān, seat of the administration, became a constitutive part of the local politics of notables. This district had been reinforced by the arrival of the Janissary "27" in 1735/1148, settling, it seems, on the square in front of the Īj Qalʿa at a time when the square was being overrun by shops and khans.

III. The Feud of 1754

The weakness of all alien walis who came to Mosul, and the fact that no local family had emerged to threaten Jalīlī supremacy led to divisions within the family itself. Dominico Lanza wrote that around 1760 there were no less than fifteen different Jalīlī households.[3] The first rivalry broke out between Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (d. 1757/1171) and Fattāḥ (later Pasha) b. Ismāʿīl Pasha (d. 1772/1185).

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1 See MAN(2), I, 225-226.

2 When the leaders of "31" arrived in Mosul, they were honoured and welcomed by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī: see DUR(2), f. 325v.

3 Lanza, p. 16.

TABLE VIII: The House of Ismā'īl Pasha Jalīlī

('Abd al-Jalīl)

Ismā'īl Pasha
(d.1733)

Ḥusain Pasha | Rābi'a | Fattāḥ Pasha

Muṣṭafā was Ḥusain Pasha's cousin and brother-in-law, as his sister Mariam had married Ḥusain Pasha. As for Fattāḥ, he was Ḥusain Pasha's brother, although they were from different beds.[1] When the dispute broke out in the open in 1752/1166, Amīn Pasha Jalīlī had just replaced his father Ḥusain Pasha as wali. Amīn Pasha had married Ḥalīma, Muṣṭafā's daughter, so that he was the son-in-law of one of the two rivals and the nephew of the other. Worried about the effect which the conflict might have on the power of the family, Amīn Pasha sent both rivals to Bagdad to seek the arbitration of Sulaimān Pasha Abū Lailā. The dispute--a matter of inheritance--was not resolved although the two men spent enormous sums of money trying to win the support of the wali of Bagdad. Back in Mosul, they were compelled to sell all the grain they had hoarded in order to pay the debts they had incurred. The enmity between them was still very much alive. Sensing that the wali, his nephew Amīn Pasha, was supporting his opponent Muṣṭafā, Fattāḥ began plotting and managed to win the support of two important--unspecified --Jalīlī households as well as that of the Janissary "31" based in Bāb al-'Irāq. But Amīn Pasha moved swiftly and besieged Fattāḥ in his house. An elderly and venerable Jalīlī, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Jalīl, intervened to stop the feud and as a result of his mediation Amīn Pasha agreed to spare his uncle Fattāḥ and ordered him, his sons and his followers, to leave town. The defeated party went to Bagdad whose Pasha interceded on their behalf and secured them a pardon from Amīn Pasha who allowed them to return to Mosul.[2]

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1 Lanza, p. 31.

2 DUR(1), p. 637; ZUB, pp. 109-110; Lanza, pp. 30-34.

TABLE IX: The House of Ibrāhīm Jalīlī (second to fifth generation)

('Abd al-Jalīl)

Ibrāhīm

Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī = Mariam — Muṣṭafā (d. 1757)

Yaḥyā — Ibrāhīm — Aḥmad — Ḥalīma = Amīn Pasha Jalīlī

Muḥ-Khālid

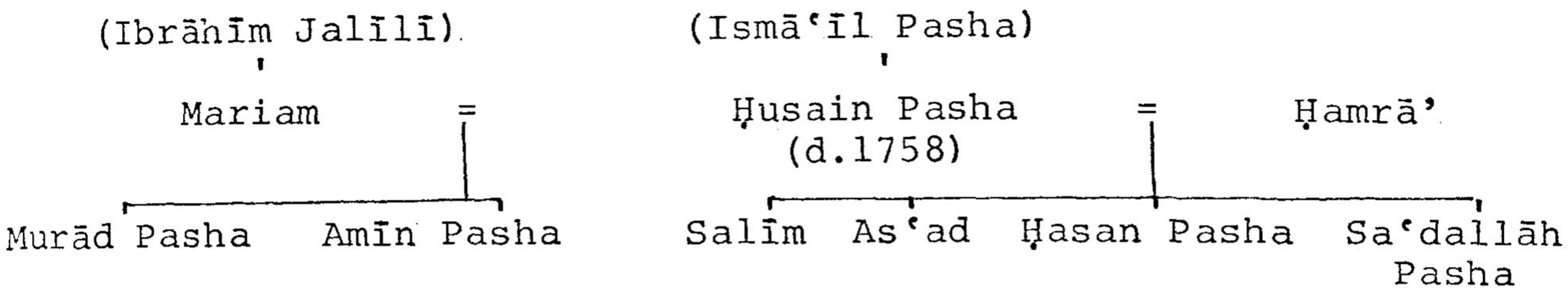
Yūsuf — Fardūs = Ḥasan Pasha Jalīlī

This first intra-Jalīlī feud informs us that the family had split into two main factions: the first headed by Amīn Pasha, the second by his uncle Fattāḥ. Although information is scarce, it seems that women played an important role in cementing political alliances, however temporarily. Especially in view of the fact that the main Jalīlī figures (e.g.,Ḥusain Pasha,or Amīn Pasha) did not practise polygamy and only remarried after the death of their wives. It might be coincidental, but it seems that by having a sister married to Ḥusain Pasha and a daughter married to Amīn Pasha, Muṣṭafā Jalīlī had enlisted the support of the main Jalīlī house. This feud also casts a light on the growing influence of the Pashas of Bagdad.

IV. The Feuds of 1756 and 1758

Two years after subduing Fattāḥ, Amīn Pasha was removed from office and replaced by Muṣṭafā Pasha 'Aẓm. As soon as the new wali had arrived, Fattāh started courting his favours and enlisting his support against Amīn Pasha who decided that it would be wiser to leave town. He therefore went to join his ailing father, Ḥusain Pasha, who was in Kūtāhiya. Before leaving town, he put As'ad b. 'Ubaid Āghā Jalīlī in charge of his party and entrusted him with the protection of his family and interests. Lanza informs us that this As'ad Āghā was the most powerful notable, obeyed

TABLE X: The House of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī



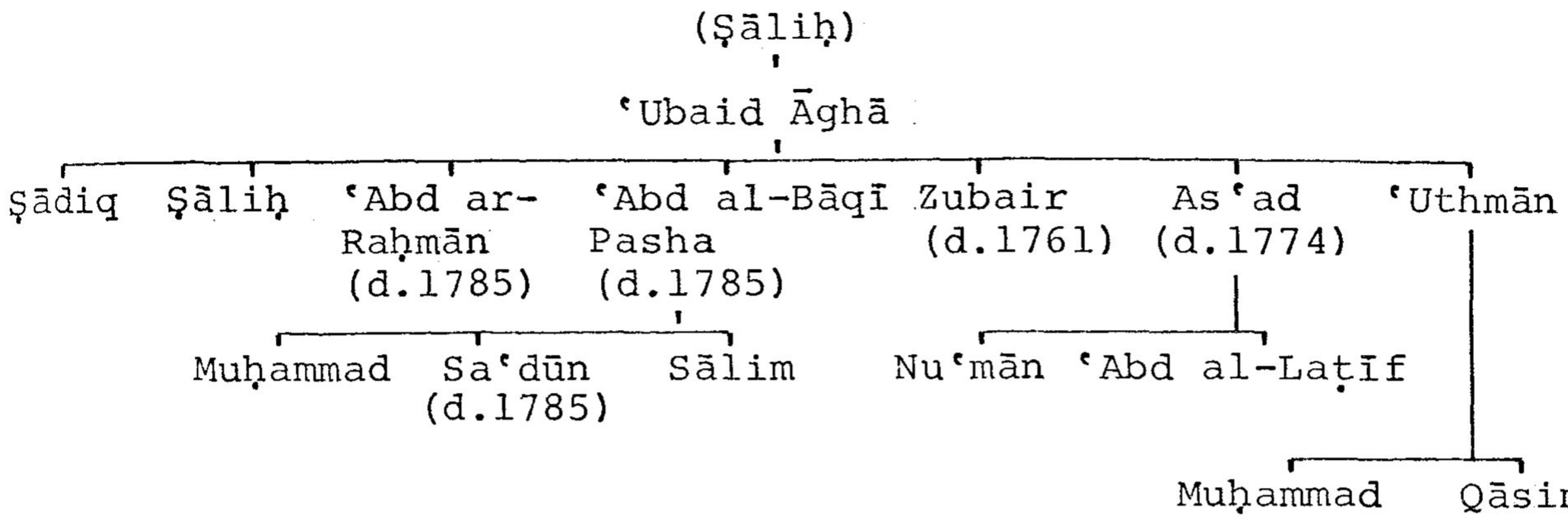
by the whole town. Soon after Amīn Pasha's departure, the Janissaries of Maidān and the Citadel who supported him rebelled and expelled the wali from the seraglio. Muṣṭafā Pasha 'Aẓm was compelled to take refuge in Bāb al-'Irāq, the stronghold of Fattāḥ. After a few days of street fighting peace was restored, but the authority of the alien wali had been reduced to nothing and, unable to govern, he was removed from office within a few months of his arrival. With his departure, As'ad Āghā b. 'Ubaid Āghā, of the party of Amīn Pasha, became wakīl. Once again Fattāḥ had lost, and the house of Amīn Pasha (and his father Ḥusain Pasha) had emerged victorious and strengthened.[1]

While Ḥusain Pasha and Amīn Pasha were still in Asia Minor, a new Turkish wali, Rajab Pasha, arrived in Mosul. Lacking military muscle, he was unable to rule and the town was still dominated by As'ad Āghā. Once again Fattāḥ chose to ally himself with the alien wali against his nephew. He and Rajab Pasha approached the wali of Bagdad and secured from him an order outlawing the Janissary leaders of Maidān and the Citadel who were supporting Amīn Pasha. Warned, the Janissary leaders took refuge in the Citadel and refused to hand it over to the envoy of the Pasha of Bagdad, saying to him that they were ready to die for Ḥusain Pasha and his son Amīn Pasha who had defended them and their families against Nādir Shāh:[2] an indication of the political capital reaped by Ḥusain Pasha from the happy outcome of his resistance to the Persians, and a clear pointer to the fact that the Janissaries of Maidān and the Citadel were well integrated

1 BAG, p. 325; Lanza, pp. 38-40.

2 Lanza, p. 43.

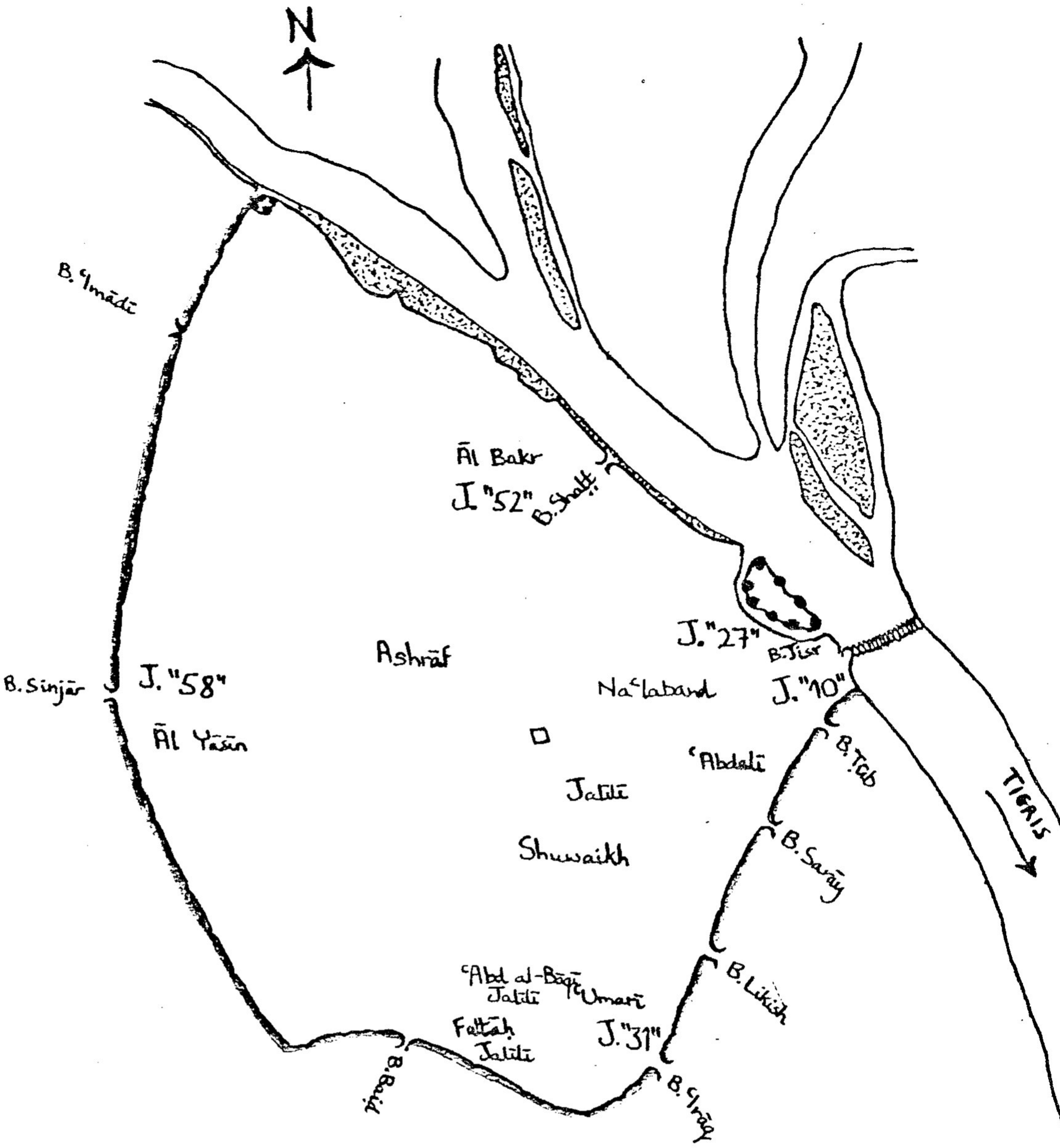
TABLE XI: The House of ʿUbaid Āghā Jalīlī



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into the Mosuli tissu urbain.

Faced with the determination of the Janissaries the envoy of Bagdad left Mosul, after which the Janissaries attacked the wali who had to flee from the seraglio and take refuge in the house of ʿUthmān Daftarī b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī, the chief notable of the family. Having secured the backing of the whole Bāb al-ʿIrāq district.Fattāḥ Jalīlī approached other Jalīlī households and managed to win some of them to his side. During the feud of 1754, the house of Ismāʿīl Pasha Jalīlī had split into two, with Fattāḥ opposing his nephew (and his brother). It was now the turn of the house of ʿUbaid Āghā Jalīlī to be split. While his sons Asʿad and Zubair were at the head of the party of Amīn Pasha, his other sons ʿAbd al-Bāqī and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān sided with Fattāḥ. The party of Amīn Pasha was backed by Maidān, while that of Fattāh was supported by Bāb al-ʿIrāq. The feud lasted forty-two days and barricades were erected in the streets to make up for the lack of structural division between the various quarters. The Janissaries of Maidān used the guns of the Citadel to shell Bāb al-ʿIrāq. The feud stopped on 15 May as news reached town of the appointment of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī as wali. As soon as he arrived he imprisoned his brother Fattāḥ, as well as ʿAbd al-Bāqī and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān and the leaders of "31", fining all of them very heavily. He also crucified two men. Soon after, he was taken ill and he died barely two months after his arrival.



Map 14: Distribution of the main families and of the Janissaries within the urban districts

He was succeeded by his son Amīn Pasha who called a council attended by the mufti, the qadi, the main notables and the Janissary leaders, to decide the fate of the defeated party. The council recommended leniency and the prisoners were pardoned. Once again, the house of Amīn Pasha had emerged victorious.[1]

V. The Feud of 1760-1761

Amīn Pasha did not enjoy his success for long --within a few months of his appointment he was moved from Mosul to Shahrazūr. He was succeeded by Nu'mān Pasha al-Ḥalabī, whose reputation for toughness had preceded him to Mosul. Once again, Fattāḥ Jalīlī pinned his hopes on the new wali and discussed with him ways of breaking the power of the party of Amīn Pasha. The new wali seized the Janissary Āghā of the Citadel and came close to killing the Shafiite mufti, 'Alī Ghulāmī, a friend of Amīn Pasha. The party of Amīn Pasha dug its heels in and prepared for an onslaught that never came as Nu'mān Pasha was removed from office before he could achieve anything. It is not known whether the removal of Nu'mān Pasha was due to pressure being exercised by Amīn Pasha's friends in the capital, but as soon as Nu'mān Pasha was removed, he was replaced by Amīn Pasha.[2]

A few months later Amīn Pasha was again removed from office, and he went to Urfa in the hope that its Pasha, a friend of his, might help him regain his position. While Amīn Pasha was in Urfa, strife broke out in Mosul between the Janissary urtaṣ. This time, however, "27" and "31" sided together against the other three units, "10", "52" and "58". Trade and crafts came to a complete halt and the two main urtaṣ defeated the other three. The reasons behind this strange alliance between "27" and "31" are not known to us. As a matter of fact the Janissary units' internal structures, the control they exercised over their respective territories, their connections with the crafts and trade as well as with the notable families are totally unknown to us. It is a

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1 DUR(1), p. 604; MUN, f. 53; ZUB, pp. 114-115; BAG, p. 325; Lanza, pp. 40-46, 58.

2 Lanza, pp. 48-49.

fact that the Jalīlīs had come to be identified with "27", the ʿUmarīs and the families of Bāb al-ʿIrāq with "31", and Āl Yāsīn with "58", be it only for geographical reasons. But this is as far as one could go. It is not known to what extent these units were homogeneous blocs, what kind of sub-units there were within these blocs, what was the nature of the leadership conflicts within each urṭa.

Soon after the feud had ended, Amīn Pasha returned to Mosul as wali, but he did not deal harshly with the trouble-makers, contenting himself with fining them. And when, a few months later, Amīn Pasha was removed from office, strife broke out again. As soon as the new wali, Muṣṭafā Pasha Shahsuwār, arrived in Mosul, Fattāḥ Jalīlī sided with him, and this time the traditional alliance between the party of Amīn Pasha and the district of Maidān was broken. As a matter of fact, the alien wali and Fattāḥ were supported by Maidān, while Bāb al-ʿIrāq sided with the party of Amīn Pasha. After three days of fighting Bāb al-ʿIrāq was defeated and one of their leaders, ʿAbdu Āghā exiled.

The question one must attempt to answer is: did this feud witness a complete shift in the traditional alliances between the various Janissary units and the notables, and if so, to what extent was such a shift related to the nature of each urṭa's control over its traditional territory? It seems that the first lesson to be drawn from this feud must be that the urṭa cannot, as a rule, be considered as a unit since there were factions within it and that the various alliances concluded by each urṭa were in fact those concluded by its official or unofficial leadership of the moment. One must realise that Janissary leaders of "27" does not necessarily mean urṭa "27", and that urṭa "27" does not necessarily mean district of Maidān. It will be remembered that in the pre-Jalīlī era Maidān was the stronghold of the Turkish administration, and this is where urṭa "10" was based. From 1735 onwards, "27" was able to control the district of Maidān and always managed--most probably in alliance with "10"--to expel the Turkish walis from the seraglio and from the district. So that the alliance between the party of Amīn Pasha and Maidān depended on the ability of the leadership to conclude an alliance between the party

and the urṭas "27" and "10" which shared practically the same urban space, as well as on the ability of the Janissary leadership to control Maidān as a geographic entity. And it seems that the reason Maidān did not back the party of Amīn Pasha in the latest feud was due to the inability of the leaders of "27" to control the physical space known as Maidān. This inability, already announced by the end of the alliance between "27" and "10" a few months earlier, was accentuated by the arrival of Muṣṭafā Pasha Shahsuwār who had come to Mosul with his retinue of armed men. And this is precisely why this Pasha was not ousted from the seraglio. The pressure was not on him but on "27" who were being attacked or threatened by both "10" and the soldiery of the Pasha. Already, a few months earlier, the "easterly" pressure exercised by "10" on "27" had resulted in an alliance between the "eastern" "27" and the "western" "31", so that the traditional division between Maidān and Bāb al-ʿIrāq had been altered. With the arrival of a new Turkish Pasha and his retinue who settled in Maidān, the westerly drift of "27" continued and the urṭa proved unable to control the urban territory assigned to it. Hence, in this specific feud, one witnesses a recurrence of the old pre-Jalīlī pattern of urban politics, with the Turkish administration apparently establishing its domination over Maidān and the economic heart of Mosul.

The shift in alliances was thus due to a shift in the actual control of urban districts, a point further substantiated by the fact that when strife broke out again a few months later, urṭa "27" is referred to by name--and not included under the appelation of Maidān--as supporting the party of Amīn Pasha alongside urṭa "31" against the Turkish wali and Fattāḥ Jalīlī. The feud lasted forty to forty-five days and spread from Mosul to some of the surrounding villages. Bāb al-ʿIrāq was shelled by the wali who also enlisted the support of the Shaikhān Yazīdīs as well as of the tribe of Ṭayy. The town was besieged and prices rocketed as supplies of fresh fruits and vegetables were interrupted. Barricades made of stones and gypsum were erected in the streets. In all, a hundred and fifty people died and three hundred were wounded. Fighting stopped with the news that Amīn Pasha

Jalīlī had been appointed wali of Mosul. Muṣṭafā Pasha Shahsuwār left town, and Fattāḥ followed suit.[1]

Amīn Pasha had arrived in Mosul in 1761/1175, and this time he remained wali until 1768/1182. Throughout his long rule there is no mention of feuds in the town.

VI. The Notables of Mosul around 1760

Their tenure of office had enabled the Jalīlīs to increase their wealth which was transformed into real estate, hence emphasising the local character of their rule. Niebuhr noted that they owned the most beautiful baths, coffee-houses and bazars.[2] The house of Ḥusain and Amīn Pasha already controlled the mosque and school Āghāwāt, the Great Mosque and the mosque and school of Nabī Jirjīs. Through these, it seems that they were able to influence a variety of learned men, as well as manual workers. The political and economic importance of religious institutions should not be underestimated because, first of all, their setting-up puts a substantial number of individuals on the pay-roll of the wāqif. Hence, in the waqfīya of the Āghāwāt Mosque it is stated that a daily salary should be paid to the imām, the mu'adhdhin, the mu'adhdhin for the Friday prayer, the mattress-maker and the sweeper.[3] In the waqfīya of the mosque and school of Nabī Shīt (1815/1231), the pay-roll includes a khaṭīb, an imām, a teacher, a preacher for the Friday prayer and Ramaḍān, a mu'adhdhin, a sweeper, a mattress-maker, a shaikh al-qurrā', a gardener, a cook, a teacher for the boys, a watchman, a mason and a carpenter.[4] The waqfīya of the Ḥasanīya School (1816/1232), set up by Ḥasan (later Pasha) Jalīlī, provides a salary for the teacher of the various sciences, the teacher of reading, the librarian, the students, the porter, the sweeper, the

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1 On these feuds, see Letter from Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn to his uncle Sayyid ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī, Maktabat al-Auqāf in Mosul, number Jalabī 65/9; Lanza, pp. 48-49, 51, 58-59; ZUB, p.118; DUR(1), pp. 607-608.

2 Niebuhr, II, 293.

3 Majmūʿat waqfīyāt.

4 Ibid.

guardian of the tombs and servant of the sabīl.[1] The choice of a mutawallī was of paramount importance, as illustrated by intra-ʿUmarī disputes over the tauliya of their mosque. The choice of the whole personnel of a mosque or school was obviously political, as shown by the conditions laid down in the waqfīya of the Āghāwāt which stipulates that the khaṭīb, the imām, the teacher and the preacher should be Jalīlīs or their protégés.[2] The waqfīya of the Pasha Mosque (Ḥusain and Amīn Pasha, 1755/1169) stipulates that the choice of the employees should be at the discretion of the mutawallī.[3] And when, in 1767/1181, Rābiʿa bint Ismāʿīl Pasha Jalīlī endowed the mosque she had built in Shahrasūq, she appointed as mutawallī her nephew Amīn Pasha, established a pay-roll for eighteen people and stipulated that their "hiring and firing" should be at the discretion of the mutawallī.[4] Religious institutions were seen not merely as economic tools (through the system of auqāf) but also as political tools.

The local extraction of the walis opened the doors of the administration to the Mosulis. Al Maḥḍarbāshī re-emerge in this period: Yūnus b. Yaḥyā Bey entered the service of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī and became scribe in the dīwān al-inshā'. It is following a dispute with this Yūnus that ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī left the service of Ḥusain Pasha.[5] Later, Yūnus served Amīn Pasha as scribe. His grandson, Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā, a poet and adīb, served Aḥmad Pasha Jalīlī and then Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī.

The Jalīlīs were also responsible for the meteroric rise of the family known as Āl Bakr. Ḥasan b. Ḥājj Shaʿbān

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1 Majmūʿat waqfīyāt. The people attached to a mosque varied in number between eight and twenty. Less than forty years ago, the mosque of Nabī Yūnus employed eighty to eighty-two people, from the khaṭīb to the sword-bearer, to the sweeper. (Conversation with Akram b. ʿAbd al-Wahāb, imām and khaṭīb of Nabī Yūnus, Mosul, 22 Mar. 1979).

2 See Majmūʿat waqfīyāt.

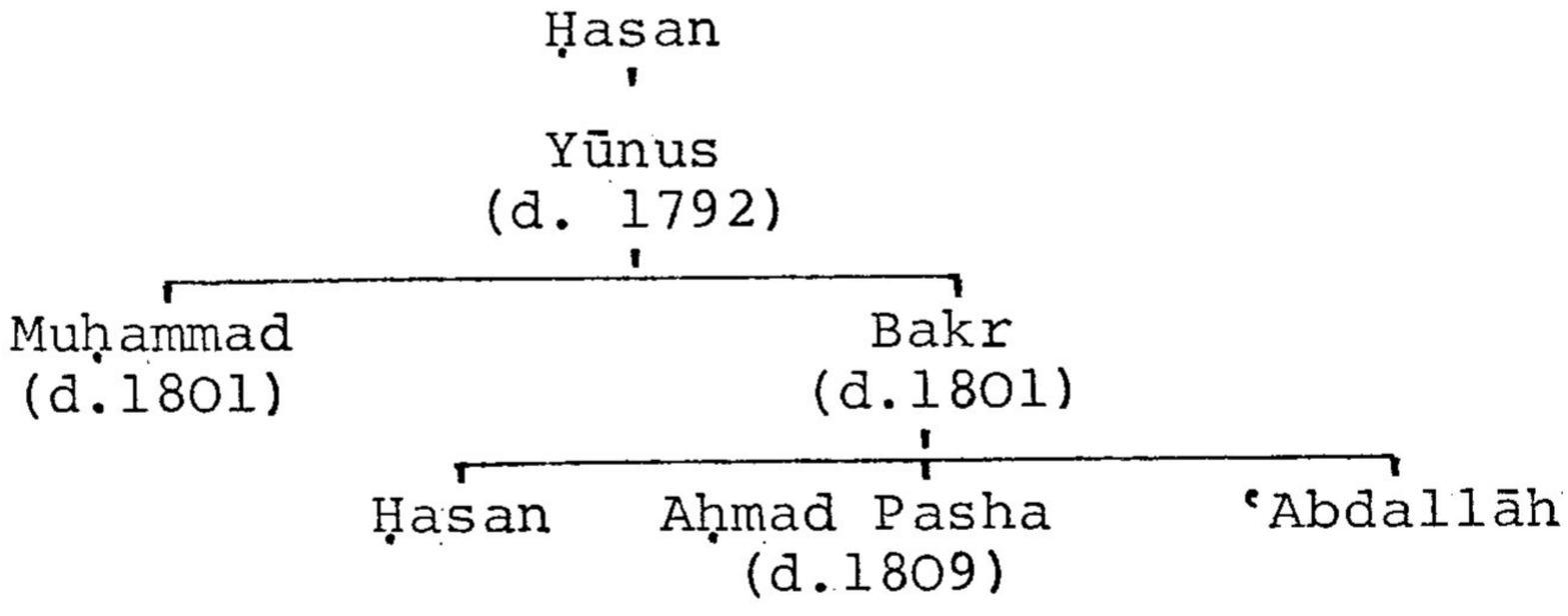
3 See Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 321. Arabic: sharṭ irādat al-mutawallī.

4 See Majmūʿat waqfīyāt. Arabic: wa sharaṭat anna naṣb wa ʿazl arbāb al-waẓā'if munḥaṣira bi 'l-mutawallī.

5 See supra, p. 124.

was a copyist who sold paper. His son Yūnus (d. 1792/1207) entered the service of the Jalīlīs, and in 1780/1194 he was wealthy enough to be able to build the mosque and school known as Bakr Effendi and located in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, close to his house. He also repaired the old Red Mosque situated outside Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb. In 1788/1203, he seems to have built a sabīl near his mosque and to have endowed the "complex" with various shops and a coffee-house situated in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, as well as with three weaving mills, half of a bath located near Maidān al-Akhḍar, a small khan near Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb and an orchard, as well as with a slaughter-house, various other shops and a house all situated near the mosque. This Yūnus appears to have been a loyal servant of Amīn Pasha Jalīlī, following him to Eastern Europe and then residing in Istanbul when Amīn Pasha was captured by the Russians. Back in Mosul with Amīn Pasha, he served him as katkhudā until the Pasha died. Later, he counselled Sulaimān Pasha b. Amīn Pasha and left Mosul when a rival Jalīlī, ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. ʿUbaid, became wali of Mosul in 1784.[1]

TABLE XII: Āl Bakr



The family lived in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, north-west of Maḥallat al-Maidān

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During this period, the name Āl al-Mutawallī re-emerges in the chronicles and the documents. It seems that the family, a branch of the Ashrāf, took its name

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[1] See Majmūʿat waqfīyāt; DUR(1), p. 644; BAG, pp. 365-366; Jalabī, p. 71; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, p. 208.

from Sayyid Naṣīr ad-Dīn who, back in 1365/767, was entrusted by the then ruler of Mosul, Jalāl ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Khatanī, with the waqf of Nabī Yūnus which he had just established.[1] In the period which interests us, Fatḥallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qādir (d. 1789/1204), a learned man, was mutawallī of Yūnus as well as of Jirjīs, in association with the qadi, Sayyid ʿUbaidallāh b. Khalīl al-Baṣīrī a friend of the Jalīlīs and of the Grand Vizir Rāghib Pasha. His son Ṣubghatallāh b. Fatḥallāh seems to have succeeded him but died a few months after his father. He was succeeded by his brother Saʿdallāh who became mutawallī of Yūnus in association with Bakr b. Yūnus (Āl Bakr), the servant of the Jalīlīs. As for his other brother, Saifallāh (d. 1772/1186), he had been khaṭīb of the Jirjīs Mosque.[2]

Another family of the time, Bait Shaikh al-Qurrā', became known after a prominent figure. The shaikh al-qurrā' was not a remunerated office or position but an honorific title. Saʿdallāh b. Aḥmad (d.1774/1188) was a friend of the Jalīlī walis. He wrote some verses praising the building of the Rābiʿīya Mosque and was khaṭīb and teacher there until he died.[3]

Scores of other learned men became part of the large clientèle of the Jalīlīs. Muḥammad b. Daʿdaʿ al-Qaṣṣār was personal imām to Ḥasan b. Ḥusain Pasha; Salīm al-Wāʿiẓ (d.1748/1162), a famous astronomer favoured by Ḥusain Pasha, was appointed teacher in the Pasha School and preacher in Jirjīs; Ḥamd al-Jamīlī (d. 1756/1170) was a good friend of Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl, Amīn Pasha's father-in-law, and taught at the Jirjīsīya; ʿAbd al-Wahāb b. Ḥusain (d. 1759/1173) was imām and teacher in Jirjīs; ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ṭah (d. 1759/1173) was khaṭīb in Jirjīs; Bakr b. Yaḥyā (d. 1760/1174), an adīb, was scribe of the auqāf of Jirjīs; Mūsā al-Ḥaddādī (d.1772/1186) had great influence with Amīn Pasha, taught at the Pasha School and at the school of the Great Mosque, and became mutawallī of the Great Mosque;[4] ʿUthmān

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[1] See Majmūʿat waqfīyāt. The endowment consisted of twelve villages and some farms.

[2] MAN(2), I, 293-295; DUR(1), p. 632; Ṣā'igh, II, 203.

[3] DUR(1), p. 623; BAG, pp. 376-377; Jalabī, pp. 15-16; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 197-199

[4] He was of humble origins and first entered the service of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī. Later, he served Yaḥyā b. Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm Jalīlī as his personal reader, before joining Amīn Pasha.

b. ʿUmar (d. 1776/1190), an adīb, entered the Jalīlī administration and became scribe in charge of the Arabic correspondence. Some Kurds also benefited from the cultural and religious revival. ʿAlī b. Rasūl as-Sūsanī (d.1777/1191) was a teacher at the Āghāwāt School; ʿAlī al-Kūrānī (d. 1780/1194) was imām at Jirjīs.[1] Through a large network of mosques and schools, the house of the Jalīlī walis co-opted scores of learned men who were respected and listened to by the people of Mosul, and who must have fulfilled the function of intermediaries between the local rulers and the "street".

VII. The Feuds of 1768-1771

In 1768/1182, Amīn Pasha was summoned by the Porte to take part in the Holy War against the Russians and he left Mosul with the Janissary leaders of his party.[2] Soon after his departure, strife broke out among the Janissaries, and for six months the alien wali, called Ḥusain Pasha, was unable to assert his authority. In April 1768, Asʿad Āghā Jalīlī and Sulaimān b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī secured an alliance between "31" and "52" against "27". It appears that the absence of Amīn Pasha and of the main Janissary leaders of his party had strained relations between the party of Amīn Pasha and "27". Backed by "10" and "58", "27" attacked the houses of Asʿad Āghā and Sulaimān Bey in Maḥallat Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn, making it clear that they were only after these two notables and had no wish to harm anyone else from the party of Amīn Pasha. As "31" rushed to the rescue of Asʿad and Sulaimān, the attack failed and "27" was forced to retreat. The alliance between "31" and "52" had put presure on "27" from two different directions: from the west, as "31" was based in Bāb al-ʿIrāq, and from the north, as "52" was based in Ra's al-Kūr. On the day following the abortive attack, Asʿad and Sulaimān went to the house of Āl Yāsīn, and there they managed to break the alliance which "27" had formed with "10" and "58". Isolated

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[1] All the information contained in this paragraph comes from BAG, AKH, MAN, DUR, Ṣā'igh, Jalabī, and Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ and Schools.

[2] Among whom was Ṣāliḥ Āghā Shuwaikh, leader of "27", who lived in Maḥallat al-Jūlākh.

and outnumbered, "27" retreated further east and the allied urṭas, pursuing their onslaught, overran the territory of "27" and looted Maidān. At that point, Sulaimān b. Amīn Pasha intervened and ordered the victorious Janissaries to return the booty, which was done. Meanwhile, 70 Janissaries from urṭa "27" fled Mosul and went to Bagdad where they consorted with Fattāḥ Jalīlī who had been residing there since escaping from Mosul in 1761.[1]

Soon after, rumours began to circulate in Mosul regarding the possible appointment of Fattāḥ--who had the backing of the Pasha of Bagdad--to the office of wali. As a result, "27" was encouraged and fell on "52" who had fought them in the previous feud. Sensing that the wind was changing, Sulaimān Bey b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī thought it better not to intervene and, deprived of his financial backing, "31" was unable to step in on behalf of "52". Four days later, fighting stopped as Sulaimān Bey and the mufti mediated between the two parties.[2]

In January 1769, strife broke out again when "52" joined "27", "10" and "58" against "31". But despite their numerical superiority, the united urṭas were unable to breach the defences of "31" and enter Bāb al-ʿIrāq. Eight days after the feud had started Ṣāliḥ Āghā Shuwaikh and his son ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Āghā arrived in town. Ṣāliḥ seems to have been the chief āghā of "27", and he and his son had followed Amīn Pasha to Eastern Europe. Ṣāliḥ ordered his urṭa to stop fighting "31" and, when faced with internal opposition, he threatened to execute anyone who disobeyed his orders. The feud stopped. With the return of Ṣāliḥ Āghā Shuwaikh "27" seems to have re-entered the party of Amīn Pasha.[3]

At the end of 1769, news reached the town of the appointment of Fattāḥ as wali of Mosul. The party of Amīn Pasha could not agree on a common course of action and it lost its cohesiveness. Asʿad Āghā b. ʿUbaid and his brothers fled to Qara Jūlān, others went to Arbīl or to the Kurdish

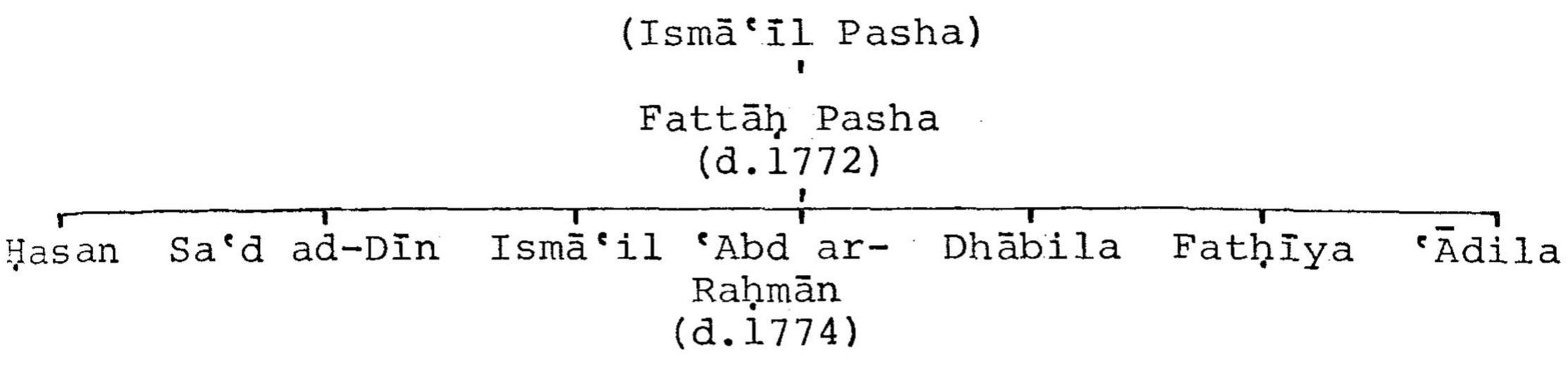
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1 On this feud, see DUR(1), p. 614; MUN, f. 53v; Lanza, pp. 58-60.

2 Lanza, pp. 61-62.

3 Ibid., pp. 64-65. Meanwhile, Amīn Pasha was in captivity in Russia.

TABLE XIII: The House of Fattāḥ Pasha Jalīlī



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mountains, while Sulaimān Bey b. Amīn Pasha decided to remain in Mosul and to refrain from provoking his great-uncle. On 14 April 1770, Fattāḥ Pasha made his entry into the town and immediately seized the house of his old enemy As'ad Āghā b. 'Ubaid, confiscating his grain reserves and his horses. Later, at the request of the ruler of Qara Jūlān and of the Pasha of Bagdad, he allowed As'ad and his brothers to return to Mosul on condition that they pay him 10,000 dinars. He also exacted money from all his rivals and borrowed 80,000 piastres from the merchants of the town.

Fattāḥ Pasha did not stay long in Mosul. A few months after his arrival he was sent by the Porte to Syria to help repel the threat of 'Alī Bey of Egypt. He left in Mosul his son 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as his lieutenant and Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm Jalīlī as his mutasallim. The latter was the son of Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm with whom Fattāḥ Pasha had had a dispute some fifteen years earlier. This is an indication of the great instability of family alliances: a feature which, paradoxically maybe, had always worked to the advantage of the Jalīlīs and the Mosulis. Another of Fattāḥ Pasha's cousins, 'Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm, went with him to Syria, while his brother Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd remained in Mosul to support 'Abd ar-Raḥmān.

A few months after Fattāḥ Pasha's departure strife broke out as the Janissaries of "27", "10", "52" and "58" joined forces against "31" and the party of Fattāḥ Pasha. The feud went on for fifteen days, the voyvode of Mārdīn then effecting a reconciliation between the two parties. The truce only lasted twenty-four hours, at the end of which time

fighting resumed and continued for forty-five more days. Then, Sulaimān b. Amīn Pasha stepped in as arbitrator and another truce was agreed upon by the warring factions. The main Janissary leaders who were in control of Maidān and the Citadel--Ṣāliḥ Āghā Shuwaikh, Ilyās al-Manzaljī, Yaḥyā b. Būlū, ʿAbbās al-Ashram and Muḥammad ad-Dīwahjī--all went to the house of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Fattāh Pasha to conclude peace. There, they were ambushed and only one of them, Muḥammad ad-Dīwahjī, escaped death. Having eliminated the main Janissary leaders, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān extended his control over the whole town. But his success was short lived. Eight days after the killings, news reached him of the death of his father Fattāḥ Pasha. He was compelled to leave Mosul with his supporters, and among them were Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Jalīlī and Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Jalīlī.[1]

VIII. The Bid for Power of ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. ʿUbaid Jalīlī

On the death of Fattāḥ Pasha, Sulaimān b. Amīn Pasha was appointed wali of Mosul, and he ruled the town--with two short interruptions--from 1771 until 1783. In 1774/1188, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. Fattāḥ Pasha and five of his followers were executed by Sulaimān Pasha because they were attempting to start a feud.[2] With the death of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān the challenge of the house of Fattāḥ Pasha came to an end, and in the same year, Asʿad b. ʿUbaid Jalīlī, one of the principal notables of the town and a leading figure in all the feuds which had shaken Mosul, died.[3]

The first interruption to Sulaimān Pasha's rule came in 1775/1189 when his father, Amīn Pasha, was appointed wali of Mosul. Amīn Pasha had been released by the Russians and greatly honoured by the sultan who conferred upon him the title of ghāzī. He was also appointed wali of Mosul and entrusted with the delicate task of leading the Ottoman campaign

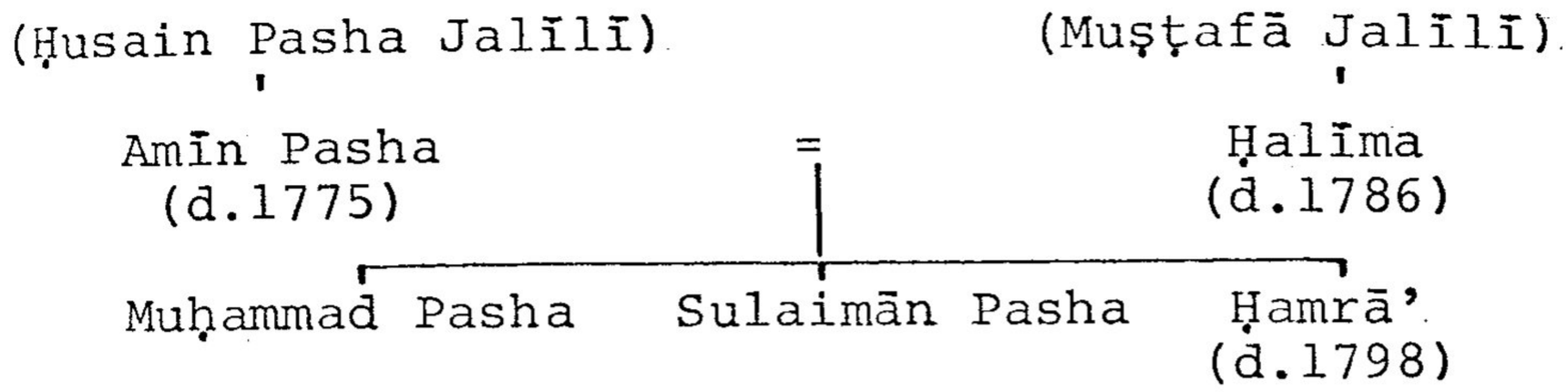
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1 On the events which occurred during the rule of Fattāḥ Pasha, see: MAN(2), I, 184-185; DUR(1), pp. 616-618; ZUB, pp. 127, 134-135; BAG, pp. 338-339; MUN, ff. 53v-54r; Lanza, pp. 66-69.

2 DUR(1), pp. 622-623.

3 Lanza, p. 38.

TABLE XIV: The House of Amīn Pasha Jalīlī



against ʿUmar Pasha of Bagdad. He entered Mosul amidst great rejoicing but, weakened by his long captivity, he died a month later. Sulaimān Pasha succeeded his father and, following orders from the Porte, he went to Bagdad to unseat ʿUmar Pasha, leaving in Mosul his brother Muḥammad as mutasallim.[1]

The second interruption to Sulaimān Pasha's rule came in 1777/1191 when Mosul was given to the wali of Shahrazūr, Ḥasan Pasha. The latter appointed as his mutasallim in Mosul Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm Jalīlī, who had previously acted as mutasallim for Fattāḥ Pasha and was an old enemy of the Janissaries of Maidān and the Citadel, having had a hand in the murder of their leaders in 1771. The urtaṣ rebelled and the wali, Ḥasan Pasha, was compelled to remove Aḥmad Jalīlī. In his stead, he appointed ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. ʿUbaid Āghā Jalīlī. At that time, the town was suffering from a severe shortage of grain, and when the mutasallim left Mosul to raid a Yazīdī tribe, the Janissary leaders, taking advantage of the discontent, prevented him from returning to town and elected another mutasallim, Khālid Āghā Jalīlī. Ḥasan Pasha, now wali of Bagdad, ratified their decision.[2]

After the return to office of Sulaimān Pasha calm was restored and Mosul knew five years of peace. Then, in 1783, an alien wali, Muṣṭafā Pasha Yāzijī was appointed

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1 DUR(1), p. 624; MAN(2), I, 175.

2 DUR(1), p. 628; ZUB, pp. 142-144; UMM f. 23r. This Khālid is probably Muḥammad Khālid b. Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (see the tree of the house of Ibrāhīm Jalīlī). Some sources give him as Khālid b. Asʿad, but this is doubtful since Asʿad Āghā had no son by this name.

wali of Mosul and Sulaimān Pasha moved to Urfa. Immediately, strife broke out between Maidān and ʿAbd al-Bāqī Jalīlī backed, at least for a while, by Bāb al-ʿIrāq where his house was. In the end, ʿAbd al-Bāqī was forced to leave town and went to Karamlīs, a village he owned, and resided there.[1]

Muṣṭafā Pasha Yāzijī was removed from office and replaced by another alien wali, Taimūr Pasha. Under his brief rule, strife broke out between two factions which the historian Yāsīn ʿUmarī calls Karamlīsīya and Qaraqūshīya.[2] The appellations might be the nisba form for the neighbouring villages of Karamlīs and Qaraqūsh--the first owned by ʿAbd al-Bāqī Jalīlī and the second by the house of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī--and the feud could well be a transposition of urban politics to the villages owned by rival notables. On the other hand, this might refer to feuding within the Christian communities.[3]

In the following year, ʿAbd al-Bāqī, backed by the Pasha of Bagdad, was appointed wali of Mosul with the title of mīrmirān (two-tail Pasha). When news of his appointment reached Mosul, his partisans in the district of Bāb al-ʿIrāq rejoiced and prepared to attack the party of Sulaimān Pasha b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī. During this period, the centre of political activities was the house of Nuʿmān b. ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī in Bāb al-ʿIrāq. In the past, Nuʿmān's father had backed Fattāḥ Pasha against the house of

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1 MUN, ff. 26r, 54r; DUR(1), p. 633; ZUB, pp. 150-151. A letter from Padre Ruevo in Mosul to Padre Garzoni in Rome tells of four Janissary uprisings in 1783, and of 60 dead "Turks" and five or six dead Christians: see Goormachtigh, pp. 79-82.

2 ATH, p. 247.

3 Olivier tells us that Qaraqūsh was inhabited by "Catholiques Syriens" (IV, 286); Niebuhr writes that Karamlīs used to be Nestorian before but was Chaldean when he visited it (II, 283); and in 1820 Munshi' wrote that the area around Karamlīs was full of Chaldeans and Nestorians (p. 78). Yāsīn ʿUmarī tells us that in 1783, the evil ones among the people of Mosul (ahl al-mauṣil al-ashrār) were divided into two factions: the party of ʿAbd al-Bāqī Āghā Jalīlī was called Karamlīsīya and that of Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī Qaraqūshīya. Here the expression ahl al-mauṣil is ambiguous and could refer equally well to the people of the town of Mosul or to the people of the villages of the province of Mosul. However, after reporting the khabar, Yāsīn ʿUmarī gives us a satirical poem against Āl Karamlīs,which seems to indicate that the two appellations refer to the villages: see UMM, f. 30v.

Amīn Pasha. At the time ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha was appointed wali of Mosul, Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī was wali of Qarṣ and his followers were quick to leave Mosul. Some, like his brother Muḥammad, his uncle Saʿdallāh b. Ḥusain Pasha and Yūnus Āl Bakr went to Bagdad.[1] Others joined Sulaimān Pasha in Qarṣ, and among them his uncles Ḥasan and Asʿad b. Ḥusain Pasha who both served him as katkhudā. With the party of Sulaimān Pasha out of the way, ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha could hope to rule Mosul unchallenged. His principal lieutenants were his brothers ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān and Ṣāliḥ, his son Saʿdūn, his cousins Maḥmūd b. ʿAbdallāh and Ṣāliḥ,[2] and Nuʿmān ʿUmarī. But his rule was short-lived for in the following year he, his brother ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān and his two cousins Ṣāliḥ and Maḥmūd were killed during an expedition against the Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār. Two months later, ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha's son, Saʿdūn, died in Mosul.[3]

After the death of ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha, Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī returned to Mosul as wali (1786/1200), and with him came those of his followers who had left Mosul when ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha became wali. Among them were Ḥasan b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī and his brother Saʿdallāh, Muḥammad b. Amīn Pasha, Yūsuf b. ʿAbdu b. Yūnus Jalīlī,[4] Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Ghulāmī, a certain Muḥammad Āghā b. Ḥajj Sulaimān, and Nuʿmān Āghā aṣ-Ṣarrāf.[5] Once in town, Sulaimān Pasha exiled Nuʿmān ʿUmarī.[6] He ruled Mosul unopposed until 1789/1204 when he resigned and was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad who ruled without interruption for eighteen years until his death in 1806/1221. From 1786 until 1806 Mosul was free of feuds

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1 It is possible that Sulaimān Pasha's brother, Muḥammad, was sent to cultivate the favours of the wali of Bagdad, Sulaimān the Great. It is a fact that both men became quite close a few years later.

2 I have unfortunately been unable to trace the genealogies of these two Jalīlīs.

3 On the rule of ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha, see MAN(2), I, 195-196; DUR(1), pp. 634-636; ZUB, pp. 153-154; GHA, p. 14.

4 He was the brother of the author of SIR.

5 I have not been able to identify the last two men mentioned.

6 It seems that Ṣāliḥ, ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha's brother, was also exiled, as Yāsīn ʿUmarī informs us that he was residing in Bagdad in 1801/1216 (see DUR(1), p. 662). And the genealogical tree of the Jalīlī family tells us that he died in Bagdad.

TABLE XV: The House of Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī

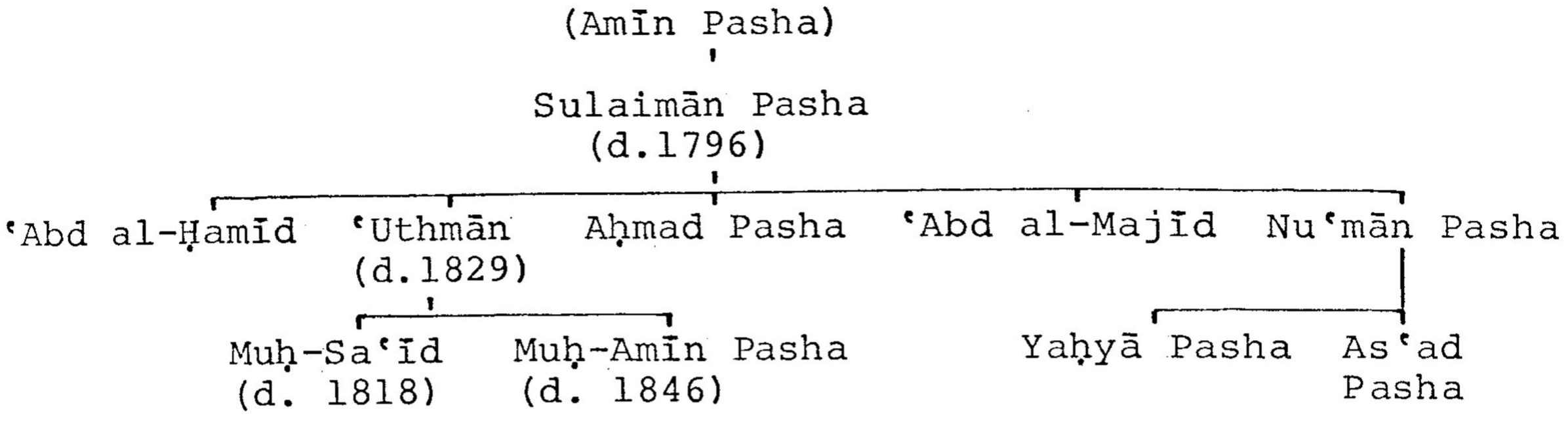
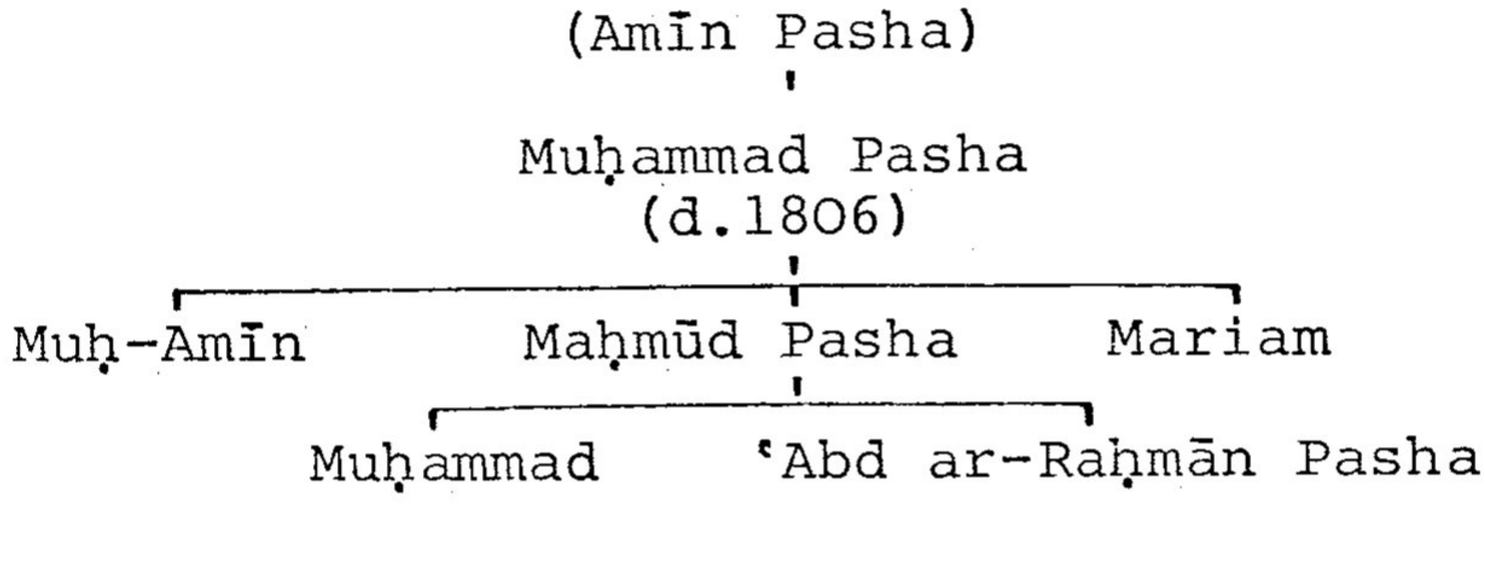


TABLE XVI: The House of Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī



and troubles.

IX. The Notables of Mosul at the End of the 18th Century

The events of the years 1771-1774 had finally broken the power of the house of Fattāḥ Pasha and left the houses of Amīn Pasha and that of ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha as the two main contenders for absolute power in the province. With the death of ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha in 1786 the house of Amīn Pasha, now headed by his sons Sulaimān Pasha and Muḥammad Pasha, ruled unopposed for twenty years. The main Jalīlī figures of the period were Sulaimān Pasha and his sons Nuʿmān, Aḥmad and ʿUthmān,[1] Muḥammad Pasha and his son and katkhudā Maḥmūd, as well as Ḥasan, Asʿad and Saʿdallāh,

[1] ʿUthmān was an adīb and a poet. One of his teachers was Muḥammad Amīn b. Saʿdallāh Shaikh al-Qurrā' (Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 70). It will be remembered that the family were friends of the Jalīlīs.

sons of Ḥusain Pasha.

The Jalīlīs continued to erect religious buildings during this period. The Pasha Mosque was repaired in 1778/1192 and its school completely rebuilt by Sulaimān Pasha. Around 1775, ʿĀdila and Fatḥīya, daughters of Fattāḥ Pasha, erected a school called Ḥajjiyāt in Maḥallat al-Qanṭara (south-west) on the site of the house of their late father.[1] In 1780/1194, Fatḥīya bint Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl built the mosque and school known as ʿArāqida in Maḥallat al-Ḥammam al-Manqūsha, west of Mosul. In 1779/1193, Sulaimān Pasha, his mother Ḥalīma, his brother Muḥammad and his sister Ḥamrāʾ built the Zīwānī Mosque near Bāb al-Baiḍ. In 1797/1212, ʿUthmān b. Sulaimān Pasha built a school in the Rābiʿīya Mosque and gave it as waqf a coffee-house he owned near Bāb Likish and a khan located outside the gate. In the same year, his brother Nuʿmān (later Pasha) erected a mosque and a school in Maḥallat as-Sirājkhāna, close to the Great Mosque, on the site of an old masjid. Also in 1797/1212, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Pasha (later himself Pasha) and his mother built a mosque in Maḥallat al-Maḥmūdain south-west of the town.[2]

And the clientèle of the Jalīlīs continued to grow. Ibrāhīm b. Karzʿalī (d. 1790/1205) was a Shafiite who taught at the Āghāwāt. Yūnus aṭ-Ṭawīl (d. 1802/1217) preached at the Zīwānī Mosque. Muṣṭafā b. Raḥmānī (d. 1799/1214) was a teacher at the Rābiʿīya and curator of the books which Sulaimān Pasha had given to the Zīwānī Mosque. Saʿd ad-Dīn al-Miʿmārī (d. after 1787) was imām of the Zīwānī Mosque. Yūsuf al-Wāʿiẓ (d. 1829/1244) taught at the Pasha School. Qāsim b. Falḥ (d. after 1788) was curator of the Pasha School library. Jirjīs al-Jawādī, one of the most respected ʿulamāʾ (d. 1799/1214), preached at the Pasha Mosque. Ḥusain b. Bakr (d. 1800/1215) became scribe of the auqāf of Nabī Jirjīs after his father,[3] and his brother Yaḥyā b. Bakr

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[1] ʿĀdila was the wife of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿUbaid, ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha's brother.

[2] See GHA, p. 72; BAG, pp. 375, 382; MUN, f. 26r; Siouffi, p. 136; Ṣāʾigh, I, 304; Jalabī, pp. 46, 85, 89-99, 168, 171, 224; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 183-184, 200-206, 223 and Schools, I, 84-88, 95, 96.

[3] See supra, p. 139.

(d. after 1817) was khaṭīb of the Āghāwāt Mosque and imām of the Pasha Mosque. The Jalīlīs also attracted many Kurds who flocked to Mosul from the neighbouring provinces. ʿAzīz al-Kurdī was the first teacher at the Maḥmūdain School when it opened in 1797. Jirjīs al-Arbīlī (d. 1791/1206) taught at the Zīwānī School and was teacher and khaṭīb at the Pasha Mosque. Walī al-Arbīlī (d. 1788/1203) was khaṭīb of the Zīwānī Mosque, and so was Fatḥī b. Ḥankū (d. 1791/1206). Maḥmūd al-Arbīlī settled in Mosul in 1776/1190 and became imām of the Pasha Mosque.[1] And so the cultural influence of Mosul extended well beyond the limits of the pashalik. Learned men of humble origin benefited from the religious zeal of the Mosuli rulers and notables and were co-opted by the Jalīlīs.

ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī's son, ʿUthmān, had died in disgrace after having been daftardār of Bagdad. His son Nuʿmān had backed ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha and was exiled from Mosul by Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī who also stripped him of the important tauliya of the ʿUmarī Mosque, which was then given to Amīn b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il, Nuʿmān's cousin. This Amīn effected repairs on the mosque in 1786 and 1789, and he rebuilt the tomb of Qāsim, the founder of the family. When he died in 1793/1208, one of his brothers succeeded him as mutawallī. The question of the tauliya was still a cause of friction in the family. Yāsīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī tells us that when Nuʿmān was stripped of the care of the waqf, his brother Amīn b. Khairallāh claimed, "and rightly so", that he was entitled to be mutawallī. But Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī rejected his claim on the basis of a waqfīya which according to Yāsīn was a fake one. Yāsīn claims that the original waqfīya of the ʿUmarī Mosque granted the tauliya to the wisest, the most righteous and the closest relative, and that his brother Amīn, being one of the leading udabā' of the time, was the most entitled to it. The waqfīya which has reached us stipulates that of Qāsim's three grandsons, the tauliya should go to the house of ʿUthmān, the khuṭba to the house of Mūsā and the tadrīs to the house of

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[1] DUR(1), pp. 641-643, 659; BAG, pp.79-81, 374-376, 380-383; GHA, p. 19; UNW(1), ff. 84v, 253v-254r; MAN(2), I, 268-288; Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 90.

Muḥammad.[1] This document, according to Yāsīn b. Khairallāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim, is a fake, "as the original was falsified by Maḥmūd Maḥḍarbāshī who was paid sixty dirhams,"[2] and consequently the tauliya was given to Amīn b. Ismāʿīl, who was from the house of ʿUthmān, and after him it passed on to his brother "who was illiterate".[3] Shunned by Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī on the subject of the tauliya--a responsibility which would certainly have turned him into a powerful notable--Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī remained a client of the Jalīlīs and taught at the Zīwānī. Sulaimān Pasha also entrusted him with the task of completing the book of history which Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdu Jalīlī had left unfinished.[4] His brother Yāsīn served Saʿdallāh b. Ḥusain Pasha for more than ten years as his personal imām.[5] Another ʿUmarī who is associated with the Jalīlīs is Sulaimān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il who entered the service of Muḥammad (later Pasha) Jalīlī and stayed with him for a year in Sīwās where this emir had gone to join his brother Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī. Then, Sulaimān ʿUmarī returned to Mosul and served ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha Jalīlī until the latter was killed.[6]

The politics of the Ashrāf are rather difficult to grasp. In the past they had clashed with the ʿUmarīs on more than one occasion. Around 1750, one of them, known as Sayyid Biktāsh (d. 1764/1178) had managed to get the care of the important shrine of Imām Bāhir (ʿAbdallāh) which had until then been in the care of the ʿUmarī family. Sayyid Biktāsh

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1 Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 4.

2 He is one of the ancestors of Āl Maḥḍarbāshī. It is not certain which Maḥmūd is being referred to. He might by Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā (d.1758) who repaired the family's school in 1754, or he might be his grandfather Maḥmūd b. Ṭah whose own father had built the school around 1625.

3 QUD, ff. 88r-90r. Amīn b. Ismāʿīl ʿUmarī died in 1793, and the tauliya, so Yāsīn ʿUmarī tells us, should have been given to him since he was "the eldest, the closest [relative] and the most learned one." Instead, the wali, Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī, favoured "the youngest, the farthest [relative] and the most ignorant one," and granted the tauliya to Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl who had given him 2,000 piastres: see UMM, f. 48r.

4 See infra, p. 202.

5 BAG, pp. 331, 350-353; Ṣā'igh, II, 205.

6 SUL, ff. 89r-90v.

became mutawallī and built a mosque on the site of the said shrine which is situated west of Mosul, close to Maḥallat al-Khātūnīya. His son Muḥammad succeeded him as mutawallī.[1] And so it seems that the Ashrāf's relations with the ʿUmarīs remained strained. Both parties being Hanafite, clashes over religious appointments were always possible, and it seems that since the coming to power of the Jalīlīs the offices of qadi and mufti had moved away from the ʿUmarīs and into the care of the Ashrāf: the last recorded ʿUmarī mufti in the Jalīlī era was Yaḥyā b. Murād b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il who died in 1748, and the last recorded ʿUmarī qadi was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il who died in 1733. Sayyid Yaḥyā Fakhrī was most probably mufti of Mosul from 1755 until his death in 1773. He was succeeded by Sayyid ʿUbaidallāh b. Khalīl al-Baṣīrī who was replaced by his cousin Sayyid Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm when he moved to the qaḍā' around 1776. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm remained mufti until his death in 1787/1202. He was succeeded by Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Fakhrī who retained his position until his death in 1804/1219. His brother, Sayyid Sulaimān b. Sayyid Ḥāmid Fakhrī, had served Sulaimān Pasha the Great of Bagdad, thanks to whom he was granted, by the Porte, the care of the auqāf of Mecca and Medina which were in Mosul. On the side of the qaḍā', Sayyid ʿUbaidallāh b. Khalīl al-Baṣīrī was certainly qadi from around 1776 until his death (c. 1784). This ʿUbaidallāh was a friend of Rāghib Pasha the Grand Vizir, as his father Khalīl before him.[2] After him we have the name of a certain Sayyid ʿAbdallāh, without further detail, who was qadi between 1786 and 1788. As for Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid Fakhrī, brother of Aḥmad the mufti, he appears to have monopolised the office of qadi between 1789 and 1819.[3]

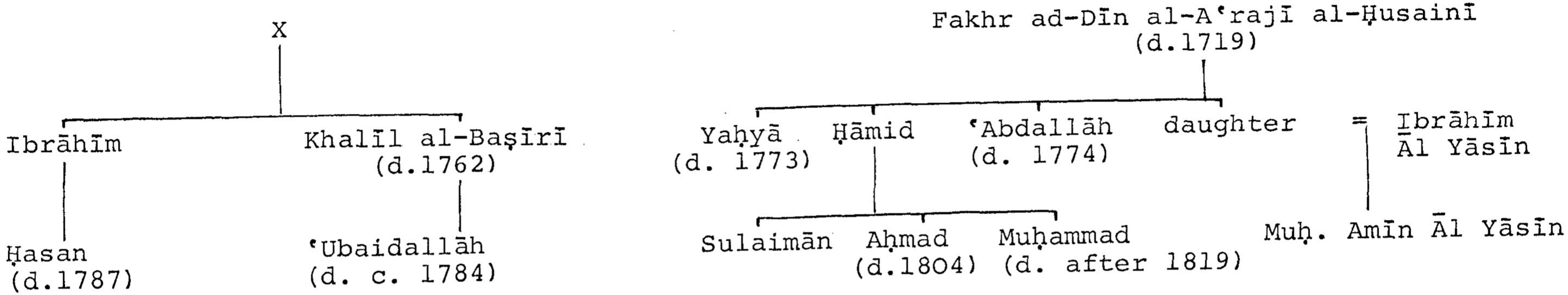
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1 DUR(1), p. 610; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 188-194.

2 QUD, f. 92r.

3 Sijill waqfīyāt; Majmūʿat waqfīyāt; DUR(1), pp. 622, 633, 638; BAG, p. 357; GHA, p. 19; MAN(2), I, 243-246; Ṣā'igh, II, 221; SUL ff. 12r, 15r, 18r, 88v.

TABLE XVII: The main Ashrāf mentioned in the sources



Āl Yāsīn do not appear to have established links with either one of the two main Janissary corps, but rather with "58" and possibly with "10". Muḥammad Amīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus b. Yāsīn (d. after 1821)[1] was a landowner, a poet and a doctor who married in Bagdad in 1770.[2] His son Sulaimān (d. 1798/1213) served the Grand Vizir in Istanbul and later Sulaimān the Great of Bagdad.[3] Another son, ʿAbdallāh, had gone to Bagdad in 1774 and served ʿUmar Pasha until the latter died. He then returned to Mosul where he practised as a doctor. Nothing is said, in the chronicles, about Muḥammad Amīn's six other sons. The family had only one school in Mosul, the one built by Yāsīn in Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy.[4] The family owned land north-east of Mosul, as indicated by a waqf dhirrī which Muḥammad Amīn constituted in 1799/1214.[5]

The Ghulāmīs' good relations with the Jalīlīs continued throughout this period. To ʿAlī b. Muṣṭafā the mufti had succeeded his son Ḥasan who followed Sulaimān Pasha to Qarṣ and returned with him after the death of ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha. His cousin, Ḥusain b. Muḥammad (d. 1791/1206), was a learned man whom various governmental responsibilities had kept away from teaching.[6]

The wealth of the ʿAbdalī family appears to have remained considerable, as Jirjīs b. Ismāʿīl repaired the

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1 In 1821 he was still alive, since he wrote a dīwān on the occasion of the wedding of Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī on that date: see Dīwān Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn, a MS in the private collection of Maḥmūd Bey Jalīlī.

2 It will be remembered that his maternal uncle, Sayyid ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī, had served the Pashas of Bagdad.

3 This Sulaimān, who died in Istanbul in 1798/1213, had apparently been granted a tīmār near Kirkūk by the Grand Vizir. He left Istanbul where he was residing and went to take possession of his tīmār but he could not manage to get anything (SUL, f. 84v). This incident casts an interesting light on the relations and rapport de force between provincial powers and central government.

4 Some of its teachers were: ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd ʿUmarī (d. 1767/1181), Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī (d. 1788/1203) and Yūnus aṭ-Ṭawīl, who was also a preacher at the Zīwānī Mosque.

5 See Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 229; MAN(2), I, 247-248; DUR(1), p. 656; BAG, pp. 362-365; Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 79-80 and Jawāmiʿ, pp. 160-161.

6 DUR(1), p. 629; MAN(2), I, 257-258.

Khuzām Mosque, rebuilt the ʿAbdalīya Mosque, and enlarged its school around 1788/1203; and in 1823 Fāṭima bint ʿAbdallāh and her daughter Mariam established a small waqf to the benefit of the family, and, after the interruption of the descendancy, to the ʿAbdalīya Mosque.[1] Those learned men whose names are associated with the ʿAbdalīya Mosque are Jirjīs al-Jawādī (d. 1804/1219) who taught there; Ḥusain b. Muḥammad (d. after 1820) who succeeded him; and Ismāʿīl al-Mauṣilī (d. 1797/1212) who was khaṭīb.[2]

In 1797/1212 Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar Alāy Bakkī--a branch of Āl Qara Muṣṭafā Bey--built a sabīlkhāna. In 1816/1232 his son ʿUmar constituted a waqf dhirrī which comprised some shops and a well. Four years later he established another waqf (dhirrī and khairī) which included his house. In 1823/1239 he gave some wells and a stretch of arable land "to the mosque he had erected, to the sabīl, and to his family." Two years later he gave his mosque a well situated in the village of Qaraqūghlī, an olive grove in Baḥzānī as well as some orchards in the village of Fāḍilīya. And a few years later the name Qara Muṣṭafā Bey appears in the waqfīyāt, when, in 1837, Maḥmūd Bey b. Yūnus Bey gave an orchard as waqf to the masjid known as Yaʿqūb Āghā; and in 1839 Asmā bint Aḥmad Bey constituted another waqf to the benefit of the same masjid which is situated in the north-west.[3]

Of the less notable families which were already established in Mosul before the rise of the Jalīlīs, we have news of the Tūkandīs who rebuilt their mosque in 1793/1208, and their school was still operating in 1802/1217. The Sʿirtīs (associated with the Janissaries) repaired a school and a masjid in 1806/1220. The Khallūtīs repaired their school and masjid in 1820/1236. In 1776/1190 Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Āl an-Nūma erected a masjid in Maḥallat Khazraj and endowed it with some shops and coffee-houses, as well as with a stretch of arable land situated near Shaikh ʿAnnāz, outside the southern walls. The descendants of the Manṣūrī brothers

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1 Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 74; BAG, p. 376; Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 78 and Jawāmiʿ, p. 142.

2 UNW(l), f. 84r; DUR(l), p. 652; Dīwahjī, Schools, I, 78.

3 Sijill waqfīyāt, pp. 194, 234, 276-278, 283; DUR(l), p. 636; Siouffi, p. 44.

repaired the Shahrasūq Mosque in 1823/1239. The remaining pre-Jalīlī names do not appear in the documents of the period. But lost names were replaced by others. Qāsim b. Muḥammad Ḥasan, a merchant draper, was a poet and a good copyist. Aḥmad b. Ḥammūda, another merchant, built the masjid of Shaikh ʿUthmān in Shahrasūq in 1761/1175. Āl Jarīkī erected a masjid in Shahrasūq in 1773/1187. Muṣṭafā Āghā b. ʿĀbid (d. 1771/1185), Amīn Pasha's banker, erected many masjids. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, a merchant, built the mosque of Sūq al-ʿUlwa in 1767/1181. Āl Tikrītī built a masjid in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq in 1763/1177 and rebuilt it in 1818/1234. Āl al-Lāhūrī built a takiya in Maḥallat Ḥaush al-Khān.[1] Āl Kharūfa, whose family headed the corporation of the goldsmiths, built a masjid in 1738/1151. Āl al-Bakrī repaired a masjid in Maḥallat Khuzām in 1741/1154. Muḥammad Muṣaffī adh-Dhahab rebuilt the old Umawī Mosque in 1810/1225. In 1819/1235 ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Jādir built a school known as Madrasat al-Ḥabbār[2] near the Jirjīs Mosque. The year after, Āl Shahīdu built a masjid in Sūq aṣ-Ṣāgha. In 1795/1210 Āl ar-Raḍwānī built a school and a masjid in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq. Āl Baṭṭāl erected a mosque and a school in Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb. Āl al-Jawādī built a masjid in Maḥallat ʿAbdu Khūb in 1797/1212. A merchant called Zakarīyā erected an important school in Shahrasūq in 1786/1201. Āl aṣ-Ṣabbāgh build a masjid in Maḥallat ʿAmmū Baqqāl in 1751/1165 and repaired it in 1813/1228. A certain Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad gave some orchards and mills to Masjid Qūzbakr in 1762/1176. In 1825/1241 ʿAbd al-Wahāb al-Khaṭīb gave some land and a house as waqf to Nabī Jirjīs. In 1805/1220 ʿUmar b. Muṣṭafā al-Makhyūl built a mosque outside Bāb al-Baiḍ, the first religious building to be erected beyond the south-western walls, and endowed it with some arable land situated near Nabī Shīt; and nineteen years later he established a waqf for the benefit of an unspecified masjid. In 1797/1212 Fāṭima bint Aḥmad Tirzibāshī erected a sabīlkhāna and gave

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[1] There were very few takiyas standing on their own, and most mosques had their takiya. Some forty years ago, the mosque of Nabī Yūnus had a special office called shāwīshīyat al-ḥalaqa (an-naqshbandīya).

[2] Named after the famous Ḥasan al-Ḥabbār: see supra, p. 9.

it a coffee-house and some shops; eight years later she gave it an orchard and some coffee-houses; in 1814/1230 she established a waqf which comprised some coffee-houses; two years later she erected a masjid and a school; and in 1822/1238 she endowed a mosque, but it is not known whether she had built it.[1]

Not all wealth and notability originated in the land or in trade. Local rule also gave rise to a noblesse de robe.

After having backed Fattāḥ Pasha, Āl Maḥḍarbāshī entered the service of Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī and later of his brother Muḥammad Pasha. They were "comfortable" enough to be able to repair their school and to erect another one, and in 1855 the family was still wealthy enough to be able to donate five shops as waqf khairī.[2]

Āl al-Mutawallī still held the auqāf of Jirjīs and Yūnus. At the death of Fatḥallāh, his son Muḥammad Amīn replaced him at the wishes of Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī.[3]

Āl ʿAlwān also rose through office. Aḥmad b. Bakr b. ʿAlwān (d.1792/1207) was an adīb and a poet who served Sulaimān Pasha and then Muḥammad Pasha as scribe in charge of the Arabic correspondence (kātib al-ʿarabīya). In 1786/1201 he built an important school and a masjid near the seraglio, spending 10,000 piastres on construction. He also gave the school and the masjid an orchard near the Red Mosque, half of a coffee-house in Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy, as well as various other neighbouring premises.[4]

Another family of civil servants was Āl Bakr. To the mosque and school which Yūnus had built, his son Bakr added the mosque and school of Jamshīd in the maḥalla known by this name. The same Bakr was co-mutawallī of Nabī Jirjīs (with Āl al-Mutawallī) and he increased the auqāf of the

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1 See Sijill waqfīyāt; Mamjūʿat waqfīyāt; DUR(1), MAN(2); BAG; MUN; UNW(1); AKH; GHA; Ṣāʾigh; Siouffi; Jalabī; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ and Schools.

2 Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 192; UNW(1), f. 254v; Jalabī, pp. 186-188; Ṣāʾigh, II, 212-216; Raʾūf, pp. 504-505.

3 DUR(1), p. 641.

4 Sijill waqfīyāt, p. 133; AKH, f. 180v; BAG, pp. 366-367; DUR(1), p. 645; GHA, p. 18; MAN(2), I, 290-291.

mosque. In 1786/1201 he rebuilt the stone arches of the bridge of Mosul and his wealth was sufficient to allow him to lend thirty purses[1] to the emir of ʿAmādīya. In 1789/1204 he became the katkhudā of Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī and he retained his position until his death in 1801/1216. His brother Muḥammad was chief secretary of the wali's administration. One of Bakr's sons, Ḥasan, also served Muḥammad Pasha who entrusted him with rebuilding the ramparts. In 1804/1219 he went to Bagdad and resided there. Another of Bakr's sons, Aḥmad, was scribe in the administration when his father was katkhudā, and he later rose to become katkhudā to Nuʿmān Pasha b. Sulaimān Pasha. In 1804/1219 he rebuilt the medieval Kamālīya School and its mosque overlooking the Tigris. When Mirza visited Mosul in 1802 he wrote that among "the principal inhabitants of the city, [are] Ahmed Effendi and his brother, both of whom are secretaries to the Pasha."[2]

X. The Feud of 1806

With the death, in 1806/1221, of Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī, political unrest crept back into Mosul. The notables had agreed to appoint the late wali's son, Maḥmūd, as mutasallim, and ʿAlī Pasha of Bagdad ratified their decision. But there emerged a rival to Maḥmūd in the person of his great-uncle Asʿad who felt more entitled to be mutasallim --and then wali--being the son of the great Ḥusain Pasha. Thus, in the absence of any serious challenge from other Jalīlī households, the house of Ḥusain Pasha was split for the first time. The urṭa "52" rebelled and fought the others in the main suqs: 200 shops were looted and goods worth 50,000 piastres lost. Some Jalīlī elders intervened and fighting ceased for a few days, only to explode with greater violence as Asʿad Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha overtly assumed the leadership of one of the feuding parties. Faced with an increasing state of anarchy the mutasallim, Maḥmūd Bey b.

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1 15,000 piastres.

2 AKH, f. 179r; BAG, p. 104; UNW(1) f. 84v; DUR(1), p. 661; GHA, p. 84; Mirza, II, 292-293; Jalabī, p. 22; Dīwahjī, Jawāmiʿ, pp. 229-230 and Schools, II, 58; Siouffi, pp. 119-120.

Muḥammad Pasha, resigned. The road to power now seemed open to As'ad Bey, but orders came from Bagdad appointing Nu'mān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī as mutasallim. For fifteen days peace prevailed in town then, as two of As'ad Bey's followers were attempting to stir up trouble, Nu'mān moved swiftly, killed one of the two men and besieged the house of As'ad Bey. Once again, Jalīlī elders intervened to stop the feud and As'ad Bey left Mosul for Arbīl. A few months later Nu'mān was appointed wali and, with the legitimacy and sanction offered by the Porte and by Bagdad, Mosul was able to breathe.[1]

XI. The Feud of 1809

In 1809/1224, Nu'mān Pasha Jalīlī, bed-ridden, resigned, and his son Yaḥyā became mutasallim. Soon after, orders arrived from Bagdad appointing Nu'mān's brother 'Uthmān as mutasallim. A month later, news reached Mosul of the appointment of Aḥmad b. Bakr b. Yūnus Āl Bakr as wali. The same Aḥmad who was the Jalīlīs' secretary and katkhudā, as his father and grandfather had been before him. Backed by Sulaimān the Little of Bagdad, Aḥmad had now risen to the highest provincial office at the expense of his masters and benefactors, the Jalīlīs. It will be remembered that one of Aḥmad's brothers, Ḥasan, had in fact been residing in Bagdad for a few years. But it is not known whether his proximity to Sulaimān the Little had anything to do with his brother's appointment.

Mosul was stunned by the news as this was the first time a local man was being appointed wali at the expense of the Jalīlīs. Immediately Sa'dallāh and Ḥasan b. Ḥusain Pasha, Aḥmad b. Sa'dallāh and Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Pasha, left for Bagdad to plead with the Pasha. While they were in Bagdad, Aḥmad Pasha b. Bakr arrived in Mosul and started exacting money from the Jalīlīs. Soon after his arrival he murdered 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Āghā b. Ṣāliḥ Āghā Shuwaikh, the Tufinkjī Bāshī who was a partisan of the Jalīlīs, like his--murdered --father before him. It seems that at this point the whole

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[1] On this feud, see GHA, pp. 72-73; DUR(2), f. 394v.

Jalīlī family had reunited against the outsider, as Sālim b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha and Ḥasan b. Fattāḥ Pasḥa were among the notables whom Aḥmad Pasha b. Bakr ordered out of town. The new wali had not come to Mosul alone, and as the soldiers of Sulaimān the Little of Bagdad were watching events from their positions just outside Mosul, the Jalīlī leaders bowed to the pressure and agreed to leave town. All, that is, except for Asʿad Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha who approached the urṭas and gained "31" to his side. Soon, "31" was joined by "27", "10" and "58". Only "52" still supported Aḥmad Pasha b. Bakr: "52" whose territory was Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr, where Āl Bakr lived. Fighting flared up and the allied Janissaries drove the wali out of the seraglio. He took refuge in his house in Maḥallat Ra's al-Kūr with his brother ʿAbdallāh and a small group of followers. Soon, however, his house became vulnerable as "52" bowed to Jalīlī pressure and stopped fighting the other urṭas. Isolated and abandoned by all, Aḥmad Pasha fled the town with five men, pursued by Aḥmad Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha who managed to capture two of the fugitives while Aḥmad Pasha was reaching the camp of the wali of Bagdad. In Mosul, the mob broke into the house of Aḥmad Pasha and looted everything. The Jalīlīs were well in control of the town, but they were in open rebellion against the Pasha of Bagdad.

Supplied with soldiers by Sulaimān the Little, Aḥmad Pasha b. Bakr was soon marching against Mosul. The Jalīlī leaders met him on the east bank of the Tigris with 300 of their men. In the ensuing battle--which was going badly for the Mosulis--Aḥmad Pasha b. Bakr was killed and his army retreated south of the river Zāb. His rule had lasted a mere fifty days, and the Jalīlīs were once again masters of Mosul. Asʿad Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha, the daring leader who had forced the issue, was appointed mutasallim, and the town paid Sulaimān the Little 200 purses to appease him. Asʿad Bey seized the wealth of Aḥmad Pasha and of his brothers, "and their names and their tales were all they had left in Mosul."[1] A few months later news came of the appointment of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī as wali of

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[1] GHA, p. 94.

Mosul. As'ad Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha, who had done so much to ensure that the Jalīlīs remain in command, first refused to acknowledge the authority of the wali. But isolated, he finally submitted, and he died a few weeks later.[1]

The challenge which Aḥmad Pasha b. Bakr had thrown out to the supremacy of the Jalīlī family illustrates the fact that control of urban politics was not a sufficient condition for ruling, and it points to the increasingly important role played by the Pashas of Bagdad in appointing walis, mutasallims and khatkhudās in Mosul. As the swift defeat of Aḥmad Pasha at the hands of the Jalīlīs shows, his challenge was only made possible by the backing of Bagdad, and not by any power-base within Mosul itself. But it remains that the Jalīlīs had to pay the Pasha of Bagdad 200 purses to compensate him for the loss of his protégé. And it remains that the final choice as to which Jalīlī would rule Mosul rested with the Pasha of Bagdad: hence we saw the powerful and independent As'ad Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha twice shunned by Bagdad--in 1806 and in 1809--despite the fact that theoretically Mosul was independent of Bagdad.

The fall of Sulaimān the Little in the following year (1810) marked the beginning of twelve years of peace for Mosul under the Jalīlīs, as relations between them and the Pashas of Bagdad improved. Throughout the period we have just examined, the Jalīlīs were constructing religious buildings. In 1807/1222, Qāsim b. 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaid Āghā built a masjid in Maḥallat Shaikh Muḥammad, to the south-west. In 1815/1231, Aḥmad Pasha b. Sulaimān Pasha built the school and mosque of Nabī Shīt, outside the southern walls. In the following year, Ḥasan (later Pasha) b. Ḥusain Pasha and his wife Fardūs bint Yaḥyā b. Muṣṭafā Jalīlī erected the Ḥasanīya School in Maḥallat ar-Rābi'īya. In 1819/1235, Zainab bint 'Abdallāh, the wife of a Jalīlī, repaired the old mosque of Zuqāq al-Ḥuṣn. In 1821/1237, Aḥmad Pasha Jalīlī repaired the mosque of the Citadel and built a masjid in Maḥallat Ḥaush al-Khān. In 1825/1241, 'Ādila bint Fattāḥ Pasha gave a sabīl to the school she had previously constructed with her sister Fatḥīya. In the same year, the wife and the children

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[1] On these events see GHA, pp. 83-96.

of Muḥammad Pasha built the Khātūnīya Mosque in Maḥallat Ḥaush al-Khān. And also in 1826, Yaḥyā Pasha b. Nu'mān Pasha built a school near the Nu'mānīya Mosque, south-east of Mosul.

The building of religious institutions gives an indication of the Jalīlīs' wealth. In Sūq Bāb as-Sarāy, Ḥammām al-Qamarīya, Qaiṣarīyat al-'Aṭṭārīn, another unnamed bazar, a khan, a coffee-house and seven shops located around the bath were all waqf for the Pasha Mosque. The villages of Kūkjlī, Lakk and Qūyijbāgh were waqf for Yūnus. Two hundred aqjis from the revenues of the village of Qaraqūsh were given to Yūnus and Jirjīs. In 1798/1213, Muḥammad Pasha b. Amīn Pasha erected a palace near the village of Āgh Kand and the family also owned a palace in the village of Salāmīya. In 1814/1230 Aḥmad Pasha built a bazar known as Qaiṣarīyat Ma'āsh al-'Askar, another called Qaiṣarīyat at-Tamgha, a khan for the storing of wood, and twenty-five shops located outside Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb, and he gave it all to the mosque of Nabī Shīt, the building of which was completed in the following year. He also gave this same mosque a dye-shop and a tenth of the produce of the villages of Ṭahrāwa, Balāwāt, Kubrīlī, Sulṭāna and others. In 1816/1232, Ḥasan Pasha gave his school the village of Bābūkhā, a coffee-house he owned in Maḥallat Shaikh Abī al-'Alā' and a sixth of Qaiṣarīyat 'Alī Effendi. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Pasha b. Maḥmūd Pasha Jalīlī owned a bath near Bāb Likish and a coffee-house in Maḥallat Bāb al-Baiḍ, which were later given as waqf to the Zīwānī Mosque by his son Yūnus.[1]

XII. The Fall of the Jalīlīs

In 1825/1241, an invasion of locusts caused a great famine in Mosul, and although the wali, Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī, took measures to alleviate the miseries of the poor--importation of grain, opening of new bakeries--there was a general revolt--apparently masterminded by certain local notables--and

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[1] On the information given in this section see Majmū'at waqfīyāt; MUN, ff. 36r, 44rv, 45r; Layard, I, 36; Siouffi, pp. 15, 25-26, 34, 59-60, 124, 127-128; Ṣā'igh, I, 303; Jalabī, pp. 79, 205, 227; Dīwahjī, Jawāmi', 235-237; and Schools, I, 95-96.

the wali had to leave Mosul and go to Bagdad in 1827. This revolt against the ruling Jalīlīs was the first tangible sign of the rise of the old notable families which, for more than a century, had lived in the shadow of the Jalīlīs.

Yaḥyā Pasha was succeeded by another Jalīlī, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Pasha b. Maḥmūd Pasha who became wali on 20 July 1827/24 Dhū al-Ḥujja 1242. Nine months later, on 15 April 1828/9 Shawwāl 1244, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Pasha was ambushed and killed while on his way to the seraglio by a group of snipers positioned on the roofs. His assassins then killed his brother and katkhudā Muḥammad in the seraglio. It seems that there was no large-scale fighting, and immediately after the assassinations the Jalīlī party met and chose Muḥammad Amīn b. ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha as successor to ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Pasha. Then, as the late wali and his brother were being buried in the Maḥmūdain Mosque, the two parties--the loyalists and the rebels--sent delegations to Bagdad to enlist the support of Dā'ūd Pasha who sided with the loyalists and used his influence to get the Porte to appoint Muḥammad Amīn Jalīlī as wali. The firman arrived in Mosul at the beginning of July 1829/Muḥarram 1245.

The new wali did not deal harshly with the rebels, contenting himself with exiling some of their leaders to the town of Tall Aʿfar. A month later the rebels were at the gates of Mosul with an army of 1,400 men raised in Tall Aʿfar. In Mosul itself, the Janissaries were divided and some joined the rebels who entered the town. Sources do not specify which urṭas had sided with the rebels, but since the latter had come from Tall Aʿfar, it would be safe to assume that the western gates (ʿIrāq, Baiḍ, Sinjār) were the most likely points of penetration and this would not have been possible had the urṭas "31" and "58" been on the side of the loyalists.[1] In the ensuing battle, the wali's father, ʿUthmān, was killed, and so were the ra'īs dīwān al-inshā' Ṣāliḥ as-Saʿdī, Aḥmad Bey Alāy Bakkī, Muḥammad and Sālim b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha, and a Janissary leader called Ḥusain Bey b. Aḥmad. The

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[1] Any attempt to enter the town from the east would cut the rebel forces off from their back lines. From the military point of view it is thus safe to assume that they entered the town from the west where "31" and "58" were located.

loyalist party was defeated and the wali fled Mosul. After their victory, the leaders of the rebels emerged: Qāsim b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī, Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm b. Yūnus Āl Yāsīn, Muḥammad Āghā and Saʿīd Āghā as-Sʿirtī, and Khālid Āghā Shuwaikh, chief of urṭa "52".[1] And so it seems that "31", "52" and "58" had sided with the rebels, while "27" and "10", entrenched in the south-east, had remained faithful to the Jalīlīs. On the other hand, one should not rule out the possibility that each urṭa might have split into factions. Once the rebels were in control of the town, Qāsim ʿUmarī was appointed mutasallim, and Muḥammad Saʿīd Āl Yāsīn acted as his lieutenant.

Angered at the ousting of his protégé, Muḥammad Amīn Pasha Jalīlī, Dā'ūd Pasha of Bagdad refused to recognise the authority of Qāsim ʿUmarī and he endeavoured to get the Porte to condemn him. But by now the Porte had other plans, for Mosul and for Iraq as a whole. These plans were, it seems, masterminded by ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha of Aleppo, and Mosul, lying on the strategic route linking the Syrian coast to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf was caught in the middle. Here one can clearly see how, slowly but surely, as the years passed, the politics of Mosul were bypassing the politics of the notables to become an integral part of the politics of the empire. For very long Mosul had managed to remain independent from the Pashas of Bagdad, thus ensuring that, as far as the Porte was concerned, Upper Mesopotamia did not become easy hunting grounds for the Mamluks. But since the beginning of the nineteenth century Mosul had been moving inexorably towards Bagdad, threatening to open before the Mamluks the gates of Syria. The inexorable movement attracting Mosul to Bagdad was finally stopped by an external factor.

Early in 1831 an Ottoman army commanded by ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha left Aleppo heading towards Bagdad. Once in Mosul, ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha recognised the rule of Qāsim ʿUmarī and appointed him qā'im maqām. Soon after, he sent him at the head of an army against Dā'ūd Pasha, and Qāsim departed, while Muḥammad Saʿīd Āl Yāsīn was appointed mutasallim. In Bagdad, Qāsim ʿUmarī was killed by the troops of Dā'ūd Pasha, Muḥammad Saʿīd Āl Yāsīn remained mutasallim and, following the fall of the Mamluk dynasty, Mosul was officially integrated in the province of

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[1] His family had, in the past, been closely associated with the Jalīlīs and with "27".

Bagdad which was ruled by ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha.

ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha was well in control of Bagdad, but all was not well for the Ottomans in Iraq. Following the successful campaigns of Muḥammad ʿAlī's Egyptian armies in Syria, the whole Upper Euphrates was in turmoil: the rulers of ʿĀna and Hīt had declared their allegiance to the Egyptians and Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Muḥammad ʿAlī found a powerful ally in Ṣufūq of Shammar. Indeed, feelings against ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha were running so high after the massacres his soldiers perpetrated in Bagdad that a rebellion broke out in the eastern part of the city in May 1832/Dhū al-Ḥujja 1247. Barely had ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha crushed the uprising--by bombarding the districts held by the rebels--than the ʿUqail Arabs--allies of the Egyptians--rebelled in western Bagdad. Once again ʿAlī Riḍā subdued the rebels by subjecting their positions to a tremendous bombardment. These uprisings in Bagdad left the Pasha unable to cope with the new developments on the Iraqi scene. Foremost among those was the meteoric rise of Mīrkūr, the Ṣūrān emir of Rāwandūz who, taking advantage of the Ottoman-Egyptian wars, occupied Arbīl and Altūn Kūbrī, then moved into the emirate of Bahdīnān and occupied ʿAmādīya and ʿAqra. From the mountains he came back down to the plain and besieged Mosul,plundering the countryside and forcing the mutasallim, Muḥammad Saʿīd Āl Yāsīn, to acknowledge his authority. Wasting no time before the walls of Mosul, Mīrkūr moved north again, occupied Zākhū and Duhūk, and even Naṣībīn and Mārdīn. The time was ripe for Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī to make a bid for Mosul. He had been residing in Aleppo until just before the Egyptian occupation of the town in July 1832. Allying himself to Ṣufūq of Shammar, Yaḥyā Pasha marched on Mosul which was defended by an Ottoman garrison. The town fell and Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī seized power while his ally Ṣufūq went to besiege ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha in Bagdad. Unable to oppose Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī, ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha chose instead to recognise his authority and to appoint him, officially, wali of Mosul, thus hoping to preserve Ottoman sovereignty, however nominal it might be. Meanwhile, the forces of Ṣufūq which were besieging Bagdad came under heavy attack from the ʿAnaza tribe who forced Ṣufūq to abandon the siege and any plans he had of capturing

the city. ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha officially called for the removal of Yaḥyā Pasha from Mosul and the Jalīlī, deprived of the assistance of Ṣufūq, stepped down. Muḥammad Saʿīd Āl Yāsīn once again acted as mutasallim for ʿAlī Riḍā Pasha and Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī, summoned to Istanbul, was appointed member of the newly formed consultative council. The Jalīlī dynasty had come to an end.[1]

XIII. Conclusion

One of the most interesting aspects of the urban politics of Mosul in this period was the local extraction and power-base of the élite. With the rise of the Jalīlī family and the arrival of the Janissaries "27" and "31" from Bagdad the Mosuli body politic took shape and became inward-orientated, as local elements increasingly monopolised the various offices of the provincial administration and the religious hierarchy, and outsiders stood almost no chance at all of asserting their domination.

It seems that the reason behind this "localisation" of power should be sought at two different levels. At an internal level, the exiguity of the province of Mosul must have made it far easier for a single family--and indeed for a single household--to control the various forces involved in the town and in the countryside. Hence the emergence of the Jalīlīs and their subsequent monopoly of power constituted a relatively simple political operation since the actors on the political scene were few in number and consequently the political combinations, equations and possibilities equally limited. At an external level, the main reason behind this process of "localisation" should be sought in the strategic importance of Mosul. As far as the Porte was concerned, a strong local government in Mosul could act as a major obstacle to a Persian advance towards Upper Mesopotomia (and thence Syria or Anatolia), as well as a guarantee against the expansion of the influence of the Mamluk

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[1] On the fall of the Jalīlīs, see FO 195/113 Part I(A), Taylor to Ponsonby, Bagdad, 24 Jan. 1834; Ṣāʾigh, I, 302-309; Raʾūf, pp. 182-209; ʿA. ʿAzzāwī, Tārīkh al-ʿIrāq bain iḥtilālain, vol. VI (Bagdad, 1954), pp. 300-320.

Pashas of Bagdad. And once a local dynasty of walis had emerged and established itself solidly in Mosul, it made sense, in the eyes of the Porte, to appoint local qadis, etc., since Mosuli notables could hope to stand up to the power of the Mosuli walis, whereas outsiders would have little power. In turn, the Jalīlīs' grip on the reins of power must have greatly discouraged Ottoman civil servants and religious dignitaries from wishing to be appointed in Mosul where they stood little chance of exercising their authority. And so it seems that the process of "localisation" fed itself, from the highest to the lowest governmental office: Mamluk local rule in Bagdad favoured--however unwittingly--Jalīlī local rule in Mosul, Jalīlī local rule in Mosul opened the gates of the administration to local elements. Such a process of "localisation" need not be contrary to the interests of the central government. Between local and central the dichotomy is often too easily taken for granted. One should not take the local as a given and unquestionable unit of analysis, and within the local party segmentation operated to the benefit of the central government and various other outside forces. The Janissary urṭas were not homogeneous blocs, and neither were the families, or even single households. Segmentation operated very deep within Mosuli society.

The relationship between this segmentation and the nature of political violence casts a light on an important characteristic of Mosuli society under the Jalīlīs. Violence, as the foregoing study has shown, played an important part in political life. But much more so than the actual triggering of a violent feud, it was the ability of a chief notable to back his threat of violence which ensured his political power. Violence thus acquired a ritual aspect: used often, but with great constraint. Seldom were more than a dozen people killed, physical elimination--exile or murder --was aimed against a few leaders while their clients were always offered the chance of switching their allegiance and entering into another faction. Consequently, cleavages within society were many, but they were shifting, superficial, easily healed. This ritual, rather than total, use of political violence casts a new light on the segmentation of

Mosuli society. It certainly shows that segmentation did not only serve the purposes of outside forces--Bagdad, Istanbul--but also the Mosulis themselves. And it points to a supple pattern of segmentation in which loyalties and allegiances were often changing, in which clientèles were fickle. Mobility and interchangeability of political clientèles ensured the preservation of the tissu urbain. In some odd way, and quite paradoxically, the segmentation of Mosuli society itself provided the necessary cement for the preservation of the community.

Chapter VI

CULTURAL LIFE

From the end of the thirteenth century until that of the seventeenth the biographical dictionaries of learned men in the Islamic world bear witness to the immense poverty of cultural life in Mongol and Turcoman Mosul. Indeed, the historian Ibn al-Athīr, himself a Jazarī,[1] was to be one of the last medieval "Mosuli" intellectuals proudly displayed and paraded for centuries to come. From the second half of the thirteenth century onwards Mosul offers us a clear picture of what, in a different context, Berque has called an "interrupted nation."[2] After the seizure and devastation of the town by the Mongols following the death of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu': nothing. The fragmentation of Iraq increased the isolation of Mosul and ended its role as a cultural centre sought by scholars from the towns and villages of Mesopotamia and the Kurdish mountains; the low level of economic exchange discouraged investment in cultural activities; the mosques and prestigious schools built by the Atabegs were in ruins. Less than 200 miles to the west, in Mamluk Syria, there was keen cultural activity: the politico-religious struggle against the Infidel Mongols--as well as the less Infidel ones--was attracting lively interest, as was the controversy surrounding Ibn Taimīya, Hanbalism, and the cult of the saints. In Mosul, however, there was a frightening vacuum, and a vacuum which was to last well beyond the period of invasion and full-scale war. To the west and to the south, in Syria as in Egypt, the Mamluk State was fostering intellectual activities. To the east, this very east whence had

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1 From Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar.

2 In connection with the impact, on Egypt, of British military occupation.

come the lethal stampede, a cultural revival was noticeable: Samarqand, Bukhāra, and the unifying and salutary role of a dominant language--Persian. Whereas Mosul, caught on an uneasy middle ground between Mamluk Islam and the Islam of the Ilkhānids, suffocated in a wasteland roamed by petty princelings, mercenaries and brigands. And whatever cultural production there might have been soon floundered in a Babel of languages and dialects. In the absence of one single dominant--and thus orientating--language, intellectual output dwindled into insignificance and sank into oblivion.

I. The Setting of the Cultural Scene

By the beginning of the sixteenth century a totally different geopolitical configuration was emerging. The Safavids to the east, the Ottomans to the west, were rapidly effecting an acute bipolarisation of the region through their expansionist and unifying drives. Together with Upper Mesopotamia Mosul was to be the prize of the Ottoman sultan, and its inclusion into the Sunni empire was to determine the pattern of its cultural life. The integration of the town into a vast territorial entity put it in economic and cultural contact with Asia Minor and the Arab provinces, and whereas the easterly and southerly outlooks of Mosul suffered from its vanguard position on the thughūr, this was compensated for by a northerly and westerly perspective that was to establish, once and for all, the Sunni character of Mosuli culture. Thus were the foundations of an intellectual revival laid, and its orientation shaped. Yet Mosul had to wait another hundred years for tangible evidence of this revival. Until the reconquest of Bagdad in 1693 the town remained the chef-lieu of a frontier liwā' integrated in the province of Diyār Bakr. Mosul was still a mere fortress, important for its strategic position as an offensive platform for Ottoman campaigns into Iraq, as well as a defensive stronghold and plaque tournante guarding the approaches to Anatolia and to the Syrian coast. Then, with the Ottoman reconquest of Bagdad, the liwā' of Mosul became an independent wilāya. In addition to upgrading the status of the town within the Ottoman administrative division of the empire and

granting it a wali appointed directly by the Porte, this measure also allowed Mosul some breathing space by attenuating its thaghr position and connecting it with the Iraqi plains which spread outside its southern walls. But first and foremost, at a cultural level, the creation of the province of Mosul freed the town from the grip of a predominantly Turco-Kurdish Diyār Bakr[1] and allowed it smoother contacts with Aleppo to the west and especially with Bagdad to the south. Thus were the Arab foundations of Mosul's cultural revival laid.

On the eve of the Ottoman conquest of Mosul the dominant madhhab in the town seems to have been Shafiism. The arrival of the Ottomans then favoured the rise of Hanafism, and old Mosuli Hanafite families emerged on the politico-cultural scene while others came and settled in Mosul. From this period dates the rise to prominence of the ʿUmarī family, whose ancestor, Qāsim, is first mentioned in the sources around 1560. At the same period the ancestor of Āl Yāsīn, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin, arrived from Sāmarrā' and settled in Mosul. Both families were to become the pillars of the Ottoman religious hierarchy and its worthy representatives in Mosul. At the time when the ʿUmarīs and Āl Yāsīn were rising to prominence cultural activities and prospects of scholarly advancement were practically non-existent and the newcomers did not, therefore, displace and frustrate an already established Shafiite intelligentsia. Rather, the emergence of the new Hanafite families was accompanied by a general and wide increase in cultural activities which benefited Hanafites and Shafiites alike. Finally, the new Hanafite "masters" did not expropriate Shafiite mosques and turn them into Hanafite ones[2] but since practically all mosques were in ruins new ones were built and the Shafiites

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[1] At the end of the 18th century an English traveller wrote that south of Mārdīn "Arabic is the prevailing language. To the northward the Turkish language is more common," Jackson, pp. 158-159. And some 40 years later, ". . . the Arab population almost entirely ceases at Diarbekir. The Mussulmans are chiefly Turks and Kurds, and here the Turkish language begins to prevail," Southgate, II, 292.

[2] As had happened in Tunis where the Hanafites expropriated some Malikite mosques: see A. Abdesselem, Les Historiens Tunisiens des XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles (Tunis, 1973), p. 28.

participated in this movement.

Whereas sources never mention clashes, or indeed tension, between Hanafites and Shafiites, relations betwen the new families and the Ashrāf of Mosul do not seem to have been entirely harmonious, at least during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.Chronicles mention two major incidents involving the Ashrāf and the ʿUmarīs,[1] and on both occasions the Porte backed the ʿUmarīs. It is possible that at this early stage of Ottoman expansion in Iraq when the border with Persia was still fluctuating and Bagdad still in the balance, the "Jaafarite" leanings of the Ashrāf of Mosul might have cast doubt on their ultimate loyalty to the Ottoman sultan.[2]

A hundred years after the Ottoman conquest Mosul became a province, and the road to the south--to Bagdad, to Başra and to the Gulf--was opened to its merchants as well as to its scholars. On the trade routes connecting the Mediterranean to the Gulf Mosul had become an essential link. Between political stability, economic growth and urban space there was a "natural" correlation, and from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards Mosul developed considerably as the population increased and notables and merchants erected mosques and schools. Already in 1571 Qāsim ʿUmarī had transformed an old derelict masjid into a mosque that was to become a major centre of cultural life in the town. A century later Yāsīn al-Muftī (Āl Yāsīn) built a famous school in Maḥallat Bāb as-Sarāy. In 1669 the Shafiite ʿAbdalīs built a school and a mosque. In 1620 Āl Maḥḍarbāshī built a school in Maḥallat Bāb an-Nabī. In 1670 the Manṣūrīs built the mosque of Shaikh Muḥammad. In 1689 Āl Jumʿa, a family who had come from Ḥadītha and settled in Mosul, rebuilt the old mosque of Sulṭān Uwais. Around 1655 the Juwaijīs expanded the Juwaijātī Mosque. Around 1710 Āl an-Nūma rebuilt the Khazraj Mosque. To these mosques and schools should be added scores of masjids and shrines erected or

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1 See supra, pp. 104-105, 110.

2 By the end of the 17th century the Fakhrīs had finally emerged as the main branch of the Ashrāf of Mosul. These Fakhrīs were certainly Hanafites, and with the reinforcement of Ottoman domination over Iraq and the rise of the Jalīlīs in Mosul, they rose to prominence, sometimes at the expense of the ʿUmarīs.

rebuilt in the same period. New mosques and new schools meant increased numbers of learned men and udabā', of teachers, preachers and fuqahā': a clear pointer to a growth in cultural activities.

Two hundred years after the Ottoman conquest of Mosul and less than a century after the setting up of the wilāya of Mosul, the Mamluk "dynasty" of Bagdad was emerging as the main political force in Iraq, and the Jalīlī family was establishing itself as the undisputed master of Mosul. This process of "localisation" of power created more opportunities for the growth of a class of intellectuals. In Mosul, the local ruling family, secure in its position and well established in the town, invested considerable capital in religious institutions, and in a society where politics, religion and culture often merge, the mécénat system benefited greatly from the formation of political clientèles. With local elements establishing themselves as the "natural" rulers of the town, and with Mosul being physically and politically attracted by Bagdad, Mosuli culture developed less along Ottoman and Turkish lines than along Iraqi and Arab lines; and Turkish, the official language of the State, was certainly not the dominant language in the province. Jalīlī rule in Mosul and Mamluk rule in Bagdad were helping to connect Mosul with a pre-Ottoman, pre-Turcoman, pre-Mongol, Arab cultural heritage which was to put the town on its way to recapturing some of the prestige and prominence it had enjoyed under the golden reign of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu'. As new schools and mosques were being built, Mosul's cultural influence extended far beyond the narrow limits of the pashalik. Students and scholars--Kurds and Arabs, nomadic and sedentary --flocked from Tall A'far and from 'Āna, from Arbīl and from Rabtak, from Duhūk, from 'Aqra and from 'Amādīya, attracted by the generosity of the Mosuli rulers and notables.

II. Cultural Network and Mental Landscape

An important centre of cultural activity was the majlis of the prince or the notable. There, friends and clients assembled to listen to poetry and music. The notables,

of course, directly inspired madḥ poetry which flourished at that time in Mosul, and they encouraged other genres such as mawāwīl, ikhwānīyāt, ghazal and khamrīyāt by organising poetical competitions and awarding prizes in species.[1] Poetry in its various forms was an important means of communication--conversations, oratory duels, correspondence, etc.--and it served as an indicator for assessing the local political climate and the power and prestige of the various notables. And this poetry gravitated around, and was fed by, the majlis of the mulūk and the aʿyān.

Another important centre of cultural activity was the school. All major mosques in Mosul had their own school, in addition to which certain notables erected schools independently of mosques, in or close to their own houses. In all, Jalīlī Mosul must have had some 20 schools, the most important being the Amīnīya (Pasha Mosque), the Āghāwāt, the ʿUmarīya, the Zīwānīya, Mullā Zakar, ʿAbdalīya, Āl Yāsīn, Jirjīsīya, Khātūnīya, Yaḥyā Pasha, Ḥasan Pasha, Rābiʿīya and Bakr Effendi. At the head of each school was a mudarris whose appointment was at the discretion of the mutawallī.[2] The richest schools had a dozen or more rooms and employed between 10 and 20 people, from the mudarris to the sweeper. Competition for employment and positions was severe and a good teacher was usually appointed for life. To establish himself as an authority a scholar had to possess a vast culture, profess respect for the saints in accordance with the sufi climate of the time, secure the backing of a powerful notable, have an attractive and imposing personality, and be eloquent.[3]

The schools of Mosul offered a wide spectrum of courses ranging from Coranic exegesis to arithmetic and from grammar to astronomy. Young boys were taught separately by a special teacher (mudarris

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1 HAS, p. 23; UMM, f. 23v.

2 Thus was the dependence of the learned man on the notable consecrated.

3 Hence ʿAlī as-Sūsanī, a Kurd who had settled in Mosul and taught at the Āghāwāt School had very few students because he stuttered (illā annahu kāna fī lisānihi waqfa fa lam yakun li ʾṭ-ṭalaba fīhi raghba): MAN(2), I, 275.

aṣ-ṣibyān). Some schools also had a dār ḥadīth as well as a dār qur'ān, an indication of the importance of the study of Tradition and qirā'a in Mosul.[1]

Little is known of the way in which these schools functioned and knowledge transmitted, but a quick glance at the works and ijāzas contained in the libraries of Mosul shows that courses consisted of a public reading of works of authority (e.g., Bukhārī on ḥadīth, or ʿĀmilī on algebra) followed by a discussion based on a recognised sharḥ of the work being read. Having satisfactorily read (i.e.,understood) the work, the student received from his teacher an ijāza to this effect. And it seems that the students were sometimes requested to copy the work under study to ensure greater familiarity.

A solid traditional education usually opened the doors of local government and the religious hierarchy, as well as those of the imperial élite. In search of this essential "social passport"[2] some Mosulis--at least those who had the necessary kifāya--left their hometown, heading for other centres of learning. The village of Māwarān in the province of Shahrazūr, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus and Istanbul were the most popular destinations. Cultural contacts with Persia and North Africa were non-existent, and those with Egypt and Arabia negligeable.[3] The most prominent Mosuli intellectuals of the time (ʿUmarīs, ʿAbdalīs, Fakhrīs, Āl Yāsīn, Ghulāmīs) all spent some time in Bagdad, Syria or Istanbul, whence they returned with the added prestige of an ijāza from, or even only a meeting with, some illustrious shaikh. To Mosul and its schools came Kurds from neighbouring towns and villages as well as Arabs from the tribes passing through the province. These Kurds and Arabs came to Mosul to stay and become part of the cultural élite. The prestige

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1 Some waqfīyāt stipulate that the school should have a dār qur'ān and a dār ḥadīth. A religious function in Mosul was that of rāwiya (of ḥadīth), while the dignity of shaikh al-qurrā' became hereditary and confined within a single family known as Āl Shaikh al-Qurrā'.

2 What André Miquel has called adab qua literary culture.

3 In the case of Arabia cultural contacts were poor despite the Pilgrimage and the coffee trade.

and reputation of some Mosuli teachers (Ḥaddādī, Rabtakī, Wā'iẓ) also attracted students and scholars from Damascus, Aleppo, Bagdad and other important places of learning. They came to Mosul for a while and then returned home having studied with the shaikh they were originally seeking.

The geo-human network of cultural exhanges spun around the schools of Mosul was Syro-Iraqo-Ottoman, it was Sunni, and it was Arabic in language. Such an intricate net-work of cultural--as also political and social--relation-ships which developed around the schools gives but a partial image of the cultural and mental profile of Jalīlī Mosul. The sufi khānqa was another constitutive element of this profile. Sufism was a fundamental part of the Mosuli religious, cultural and mental personality, and practically all the learned men mentioned in the biographical dictionaries were sufis. Furthermore the Kurdish mountains had a strong sufi character, and most of the Kurds who came and settled in Mosul brought with them a vivid sufi experience.

Very little is known of the internal organisation and the external hierarchical structure of the orders. The sources at our disposal mention three distinct ṭarīqas: the Qādirīya, the Naqshbandīya, and the Rifā'īya. The first two were by far the most common and they attracted people from all sections of society while apparently being domin-ated and "run" by the notables. Both ṭarīqas were open, non-esoteric and non-exclusive--indeed most learned men belonged to both orders at the same time. It seems that the Qādirī and Naqshbandī orders provided a strong link of com-munication between the notables and the"street". The activities of the orders were limited to dhikr, tajwīd and singing, the emphasis being on social intercourse: theirs was a "mild" form of sufism. The Rifā'ī order, on the other hand, was very marginal and appears to have recruited from the lower classes of society. No prominent learned man, no notable, is mentioned as being a Rifā'ī: theirs was a more violent, more exhibitionist form of sufism, entailing self-mutilation.[1]

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[1] Until today sufism thrives in Mosul and the distinction between a "mild" and social Naqshabandī-Qādirī experience and a violent and esoteric Rifā'ī one is still valid.

According to Amīn ʿUmarī there were 10 sufi khāngas in Mosul around 1760. To those should be added more than 100 shrines and tombs of auliyā': as many centres of sufi activity. At the fringes of sufi society were the majādhīb who, subject to melancholia (mālīkhūlya), would sometimes contravene the sharīʿa; and the simpletons (ablah) who worshipped at the tomb of Shaikh Sharaf ad-Dīn, "himself a simpleton".[1] But be it in its esoteric form or in its more social and worldly one, Mosuli sufism was united in its apology for a deep-rooted religious experience threatened by the burgeoning fundamentalist movement. The mufti,the qadi, the teacher and the sufi shaikh, the ṭālib and the murīd were one and the same, and thus did the khānqa, in its interaction with the madrasa and the majlis of the notable, contribute to a further homogenization of Mosuli society, and thus does it give us a further clue as to the configuration of the Mosuli cultural and mental landscape.

From the sufi khānqa rose the sound of the dhikr and of the religious poems; from the madrasa could be heard the qirā'a and the tajwīd; from the notable's majlis escaped the joyful melody of the mawāwīl; in front of the seraglio the military band played; and all this sound and all this music poured into the streets of Mosul: multiple rhizomes of cultural connections.

Until the seventeenth century ʿĀshūrā' had been one instance of cultural expression running wild in the streets of Mosul. The "innovation" was outlawed following the famous feud between the Ashrāf and the ʿUmarīs,[2] and then it seems to have reappeared briefly in the eighteenth century before Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī put a stop to it.[3] ʿĀshūrā' was certainly a very marginal phenomenon in Sunni Mosul--at best involving some Ashrāf and Shii peasants from neighbouring villages--but there were other religious occasions when the assembled townspeople, notables and plebs, rejoiced in the streets. Such was ʿīd al-fiṭr, marking the end of Ramaḍān, when the guns of the Citadel gave the signal for the beginning

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1 See MAN(2), II, 183

2 See supra, p. 110

3 MAN(2), II, 71.

of the festivities. On this occasion the military band played music throughout the _'īd_.[1] The streets of Mosul welcomed the various processions of _istisqā'_ and _du'ā'_ when the people begged the Almighty to water the crops or to deliver them from a plague. And then there were the numerous official festivities--birth of a son to the sultan, circumcision of the wali's son, Muslim victory over the Infidels, etc.--when the suqs were decorated, the guns of the Citadel fired salvos of honour and the military band played. Non-official festivities included fêtes organised by each trade and called _ḥuraifānāt_,[2] as well as various religious occasions which the Muslims shared with the Christians of the town, exchanging gifts and organising outings together, to the great despair of some of the _'ulamā'_ infuriated by those "century-old innovations".[3]

Processions and festivities only filled the streets of Mosul occasionally, whereas the coffee-houses were a permanent feature of these streets. The coffee-houses of Mosul --some 120 of them--were the domain of the Janissaries. The habit of coffee drinking was well established in town, and the coffee trade with Arabia had become an important component of the Mosuli economy. The habit of tobacco smoking, on the other hand, was less widespread and still encountered opposition in certain milieus.[4] As for wine, it had no public existence whatsoever, although many Mosulis appear to have indulged in private. The British resident in Bagdad around 1820 tells us that "the people of Mosul of all religions are much addicted to wine"[5] and Mosuli sources sometimes mention a notable or even an _'ālim_ as being a heavy drinker.[6] Since

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1 Ra'ūf, p. 354.

2 Dīwahjī in MAN(2), II, 116.

3 Some of these innovations went as far back as the 13th century: see MAN(2), II, 71-73.

4 At the end of the 18th century there were at least two treatises in the libraries of Mosul discussing the consumption of tobacco: see Appendix VI. Amīn 'Umarī tells us that at visits of condolence the _masjid_ where family and friends met was often filled with smoke as tobacco was passed and coffee drunk: see MAN(2), II, 73. And Yāsīn 'Umarī made a very violent diatribe against the Kurds whom he accused of having introduced the nasty habit of tobacco smoking: see BAG, p. 95.

5 Rich, II, 59.

6 See _infra_, p. 212.

wine was out of the question, coffee provided a nucleus for social intercourse. Sitting in a café, Janissary leaders established their claim to their territory, ordered their men about and liaised with the envoys of the prince and the notables. In these coffee-houses, political factions and alliances were formed and broken, trade contracts agreed upon, poetry recited and mawāwīl sung. Life went on, interrupted from time to time by a feud, the closing of the suqs or the assassination of an over-confident Janissary āghā. The coffee-houses of Mosul formed yet another network of communication and exchanges. They symbolised and delineated distinct urban territories controlled by this or that leader. They provided the most regular form of contact between the rulers and the ruled.

In the majlis of the notable, the madrasa, the khānqa, the street and the coffee-house, segments of culture --written and oral, official and marginal, oppressive and subversive, religious and profane--connected in harmony or in conflict, drawing a mental profile and a cultural configuration unique to Mosul. But how was this effervescence channelled and what concrete forms did it take?

III. Cultural Production[1]

A glance at the works written by the Mosulis during the Jalīlī era might help to answer these questions. Yet, it is not merely enough to list the works. Ideally, each one ought to be examined thoroughly and called upon to tell us--beyond the title, the chapter headings and the preface --what its project is, what line of research it pursues and how--with what means and with what insight--it does so. Such

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[1] This section, as well as the lists included in Appendix VI, are based on a week's work in Maktabat al-Auqāf in Mosul as well as on Fahras makhṭūṭāt maktabat al-auqāf al-ʿāmma fī 'l-Mauṣil, S. ʿAbd ar-Razzāq Aḥmad (ed.) 8 vols. (Bagdad, 1978); Jalabī's catalogue of Mosuli MSS; C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur, 2 vols. and 3 supplements (Leyden, 1937-49); F. Sezgin, Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums, 6 vols. (Leyden, 1967-78); Muḥammad Āghā Buzurk, Adh-dharīʿa fī taṣānīf ash-Shīʿa, 25 vols. (Najaf, 1936-77); Khair ad-Dīn az-Ziriklī, Al-aʿlām, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1954-9).

a study, however, is well beyond my capabilities and ambitions. Still, one is confronted with the problem of situating the Mosuli intellectual output with more precision. One way might be to look at the lines of tradition and influence, at the aslāf and the recognised and sacralised authorities: one might therefore refer the reader to the libraries of Jalīlī Mosul--a quick glance at the works contained within these libraries will certainly inform as to the intellectual genealogy of the Mosuli 'ulamā' and udabā': a solution de facilité to which I nearly succumbed. Between this course of minimal action, and the draconic and daunting prospect of having to come to terms with each work in its details, a median path has been chosen which, it is hoped, will satisfy the reader.

Seeking to comprehend better a work written by a Mosuli, to judge it, its intellectual level and its methods, to identify its influences and evaluate the realm of its possibilities, one might well examine the "copying industry", to identify and locate the reference works copied in Mosul or by Mosulis in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century;[1] to perceive the lines of tradition and borrowing which the Mosulis drew for themselves through the art of copying; to measure the radius of the circle of possibilities thus formed by these lines--a circle beyond which the Mosulis could not venture without effecting major epistemological breaks. Such works as were copied in Mosul were either commissioned by rulers and notables from professional copyists, or they were required from students as part of their education, or else they were the product of an autodidact's urge for greater learning.[2]

The most widely spread literary genre was poetry, and every adīb worthy of the name indulged in writing verses. Poetry could be found in anthologies or scattered throughout prose works, didactic manuals (as rhythm was used to help students to memorise), history books (ta'rīkh, madḥ, rithā'), private correspondence between littérateurs, as well as on the walls of all sorts of monuments (mosques, gates, etc.).

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1 Roughly between 1675 and 1840.

2 On all works copied, see Appendix VI.

In brief, poetry pervaded everything, and the Jalīlī rulers encouraged this prolific activity by sponsoring competitions and by financing prominent poets, and also, indirectly, simply by being there: a local, Arabic-speaking élite whose actions and deeds, in war as in peace, induced the udabā' to record them for posterity through madḥ and through ta'rīkh, on paper and on marble. And in Maktabat al-Auqāf in Mosul is a MS[1] containing various eulogies and ta'rīkh (of birth, advent, arrival of the firman of investiture from Istanbul, victory, building of a monument, etc.) of Jalīlīs by some 50 Mosulis, and covering the period 1734-1807. More complete poetical compilations directly inspired by the princes and notables of the town and Iraq include a muwashshaḥ by ʿUthmān Biktāsh in praise of Muḥammad Pasha b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī, a eulogy of Aḥmad Pasha b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī by the Shafiite adīb Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ghulāmī, and a poem in praise of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Ghulāmī, the author of Shamāmat al-ʿanbar wa 'z-zahr al-muʿanbar. The libraries of Mosul also contained various dīwāns by at least six Mosulis of the Jalīlī era including a famous poet called Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Bāqī (d. 1744/1157), Amīn ʿUmarī (d. 1788/1203) who is said to have written seven different dīwāns including one in praise of the Prophet, and Jirjīs al-Arbīlī (d. 1791/1206) a Kurdish learned man who had settled in Mosul. As for the smaller odes and poems which have reached us, they include seven by Qāsim ar-Rāmī in praise of the Prophet, one by Yūsuf b. ʿAlī ʿUmarī, one by ʿUmar b. Abū Bakr ʿUmarī, and one by the sufi quṭb ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Aswad, all in praise of Muḥammad; two small collections of sufi poems by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ʿUmarī (d. 1800/1215), including one entitled Al-azhār al-aqdasīya fī 'l-ʿulūm al-ilāhīya; a poem (manẓūma) by Amīn ʿUmarī on the freezing of the Tigris; a poem on the disturbing events of the year 1756-7 by his brother Yāsīn ʿUmarī; a poem on the interpretation of dreams (Maqāṣid at-taʿbīr) by the same Yāsīn ʿUmarī. On a lighter note, Nuʿmān b. ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī, the prominent notable, composed various mawāwīl, popular poems, zuhairīyāt and lyrics for music, and most Mosuli udabā', the serious

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[1] MS number Jalabī 50/9 in 257 pages.

ones and the less serious ones did, at one point or another, succumb to the temptation of writing madḥ, ghazal or khamrīyāt, and the libraries of Mosul contain poems by Yāsīn al-Muftī (Āl Yāsīn),[1] by his great-grandson Muḥammad Amīn and the latter's son ʿAbdallāh, by ʿAlī Ghulāmī, ʿAbdallāh ar-Rabtakī, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Ghulāmī, ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī, ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭāʾī (of the tribe of Ṭayy), Aḥmad al-Mauṣilī (d. 1737/1150), Jirjīs b. Darwīsh who was the imām of ʿAlī Abū Faḍāʾil ʿUmarī, ʿAlī b. Yūnus Jalīlī, and Ṣāliḥ as-Saʿdī who composed poetry in Turkish and in Persian as well as in Arabic. And the Mosulis did not confine their art to the composition of new poems: exhuming their literary heritage, they employed various techniques to develop, expand and put a personal touch on the prestigious and immortal poems they were compiling. The takhmīs[2] was the most popular of these techniques, and at least nine Mosulis composed a takhmīs of Būṣīrī's Hamzīya;[3] Muḥammad al-Jawādī has a takhmīs of Maqṣūrat Ibn Duraid (d. 934/321) and which he dedicated to ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī; ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (d. 1768/1182) has a takhmīs of a poem by Ibn Abī Ḥadīd (d. 1257/655); the sufi shaikh ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Aswad wrote a takhmīs of a poem by Ḥallāj answering Abū Bakr ash-Shiblī (d. 946/334); and we also have an anonymous takhmīs of a sufi poem commissioned by Ḥasan Bey (later Pasha) Jalīlī. Another poetical technique used was tasmīṭ,[4] and Qāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Mauṣilī has one (dated 1808/1223) of Khafājī's (d. 1659/1069) maqṣūra in praise of Muḥammad.

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1 Naẓm fī madḥ ʿulamāʾ Baghdād wa faḍāʾilihim.

2 Dozy tells us that the takhmīs (quintain) is obtained by the addition of four new hemistiches on to each hemistich of the original poem. But as it appears in the Mosuli works examined here the takhmīs seems to be the addition of three hemistiches on to each line of the original poem, making five hemistiches in all. See for example GHA, pp. 15-16.

3 ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn, Ṣāliḥ al-Miʿmārī, ʿAlī al-Jafʿatrī, Muḥammad Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī, ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī, Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh ʿUmarī, Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ghulāmī, ʿUthmān Biktāsh.

4 The fragmenting of each hemistich into two, three, four, etc., and the rhyming of each subdivision thus obtained with the others.

Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī (d. 1789/1204), the mutawallī of the shrines of Yūnus and Jirjīs, has a tashṭīr[1] of Būṣīrī's Burda; ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn has one of the Lāmīya by ʿUmar b. al-Wardī the historian. His father Muḥammad Amīn composed a poem imitating (naẓīra) the same Lāmīya by Ibn al-Wardī. Sulaimān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ʿUmarī has a taṣrīʿ[2] of Ṭughrā'ī's (d. 1119/513) Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam called Al-maṣraʿa 'l-ʿUmarīya fī madḥ ad-daula 'n-Nuʿmānīya in praise of Nuʿmān Pasha Jalīlī. Finally, the tasbīʿ[3] is another technique which is said to have been used by the udabā' of Mosul, but I was not able to find any example of it.

In the wider field of prose literature Mosuli production was as considerable. Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī wrote Al-farīda 's-sanīya fī 'l-ḥikam al-ʿarabīya, Nawādir al-minḥ fī aqsām al-malāḥa wa 'l-milḥ, Al-fuṣūl aẓ-ẓarīfa wa 'n-nukat al-laṭīfa, Al-ḥikam al-muṭriba wa 'l-kalimāt al-muʿjiba and Qiṣṣat ʿAnṭara. His brother Yāsīn wrote Rauḍat al-mushtāq wa nuzhat al-ʿushshāq, Rauḍ al-adab and ʿUyūn al-adab. ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī composed Al-maqāma 'd-dujailīya wa 'l-maqāla 'l-ʿUmarīya. In 1707/1119 ʿAbdallāh ar-Rabtakī wrote Hudā 'l-ḥikam ilā khair al-ḥikm. And Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ʿUmarī wrote Tuḥfat aṣ-ṣafā bi murāsalat ahl al-maḥabba wa 'ṣ-ṣafā.

Along with this lively literary production went the study of language, philology and literary criticism. In the field of literary criticism ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī (d. 1774/1189), maternal uncle of Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn, wrote a sharḥ of Būṣīrī's Burda; ʿAlī al-Jafʿatrī analysed a poem written by the sufi ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulsī (d. 1731/1143) who had met with the Mosuli shaikh ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Aswad; Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī wrote a commentary on a poem by ʿAbdallāh ar-Rabtakī--a contemporary of his--and compiled a résumé of a commentary by Abū Falaḥ al-ʿAskarī (d. 1679/1089) on the Badīʿīya by Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 1434/837); Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Mauṣilī analysed an ode (qaṣīda) by the Mosuli poet Ibn al-Kallāk; Yāsīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī,

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1 The rhyming of the two hemistiches.

2 The taṣrīʿ appears to be similar to the tashṭīr.

3 Seven hemistiches.

the historian, wrote Al-ʿadhb aṣ-ṣāfī fī tashīl al-qawāfī on the art of rhyming; ʿAlī Maḥḍarbāshī wrote an appendix to Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī as-Samarqandī's (d. 1483/888) commentary on a treatise on prosody,[1] and in 1700/1112 ʿAlī b. Yūnus Jalīlī had already written a commentary on the same treatise; Amīn ʿUmarī wrote Aṭ-ṭirāz al-marqūm fī ʿilm al-manẓūm; ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī wrote an important work in poetical criticism entitled Al-ḥijja ʿalā man zāda ʿalā Ibn al-Ḥijja; in 1751/1165 Mūsā al-Ḥaddādī wrote Zubdat an-naẓīr fī sharḥ laghz Bahā' ad-Dīn[2] and offered it to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdu Jalīlī. In addition to which all the biographical dictionaries of poets and udabā' contained samples of the art of the mutarjamūn together with comments.[3]

In the study of language ʿAlī b. Yūnus Jalīlī wrote Al-futūḥ al-mauḍūḥ; Sāliḥ Maḥḍarbāshī wrote a Risāla fī maʿrifat ism al-jins wa ʿilmih; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Kaula (d. c. 1830) wrote Kitāb ʿuqūd al-farā'id fī sharḥ al-amthila wa 'sh-shawāhid, a work in grammatical syntax (naḥw); Amīn ʿUmarī wrote Al-manhaj aṣ-ṣāliḥ fī maqāṣid alfīyat Ibn Mālik--a poem on grammatical syntax--and Qalā'id an-nuḥūr--another work on grammatical syntax; the same Amīn ʿUmarī also compiled three different encyclopaedic works (Zahrat al-fann wa nuzhat al-ʿuyūn, Maṭāliʿ al-ʿulūm wa mawāqif an-nujūm, Ad-durr al-manthūr fī ḥall qalā'id an-nuḥūr) which are partly devoted to the study of language (allegory, metaphor, metonymy, rhetoric, grammar, etc.); Ṣāliḥ as-Saʿdī wrote a poem on the rules of grammatical syntax (manzūma fī 'n-naḥw); and Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn composed Aurāq adh-dhahab fī ʿilm al-muḥāḍarāt wa 'l-adab.

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Literature and literary criticism were closely connected with religion, sometimes in their very object of knowledge as Islam and Muḥammad inspired great literary works. And the connection between literature and religion went

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1 By either ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Ījī or Abū Bakr at-Tabrīzī (d.1109/502).

2 Bahā' ad-Dīn al-Ashbīhī (d. 1446/850).

3 See for example Muḥammad Ghulāmī's Shamāmat al-ʿanbar.

beyond the identity of objects, through the intimate relationship existing between literature and the philological sciences on the one hand, and the religious sciences--especially ḥadīth and Coranic exegesis--on the other.

In Coranic exegesis Dhū an-Nūn b. Jirjīs, a sufi shaikh who died in 1819/1235, wrote a short treatise of some 20 pages entitled Taḥīyat al-Islām fī adab as-salām wa 'l-muṣāḥafa wa 'l-qiyām (1811/1226), as well as a two-volume Al-mukhtaṣar al-jalīl min kitāb ma'ālim at-tanzīl (being Baghawī's); Amīn 'Umarī wrote Tījān al-bayān fī mushkilāt al-Qur'ān (1761/1175) and Ḥadā'iq az-zahr wa 'r-raiḥān fī 'l-bayān 'an balāghāt al-Qur'ān; Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh al-Mauṣilī wrote Al-anwār al-lā'iḥa fī tafsīr al-fātiḥa; Salīm al-Wā'iẓ composed a treatise in Turkish entitled Ad-durar al-bahīya.

In the sciences of ḥadīth Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Jalīl (d. 1825/1241) compiled forty Traditions in a 75-page long treatise; Muslim Akhī Bābā, another sufi, wrote a Risāla nāshirat al-faraḥ wa ṭāwiyat at-taraḥ; in 1723/1136 Muḥammad b. 'Aun ad-Dīn wrote Az-zahr an-naḍir fī ḥayāt al-Khiḍr; Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh 'Umarī compiled an abridged version of Ibn Ḥajar's commentary on Nawawī's forty Traditions;[1] Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn wrote a book of aḥādīth and mawā'iẓ; and the Shafiite notable and learned man Muḥammad b. Qāsim 'Abdalī wrote a Risālat al-ḥadīth al-marwī 'an khair al-barrīya al-musalsal bi 'l-a'imma 'l-Ḥanafīya, following a Hanafite chain of Tradition.

In Mosul, the shaikh al-qurrā' was a "function" and a title which bore great prestige and became hereditary within a single family. Such prominence bears witness to the importance, in the religious experience and tradition of the town, of Coranic recitation (qirā'a) and of the "genres" gravitating around it. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Ghulāmī, the author of Shamāmat al-'anbar, wrote Khulāṣat aqwāl al-qurrā' wa 'l-fuqahā', and in 1765/1179 he offered it to 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il 'Umarī; Abū Bakr b. Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī wrote Al-bahja 'l-marḍīya fī bayān wujūh al-jam' fī 'l-hamzāt al-Qur'ānīya as well as other short treatises;

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[1] Al-arba'īn an-Nawawīya.

Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā al-Mauṣilī wrote Tabṣirat al-mubtadī wa tadhkirat al-muntahī; and Ḥasan Bey (later Pasha) b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī wrote a Fahras li āyāt al-Qur'ān al-karīm, probably at the time he was studying under Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl who awarded him an ijāza in the recitation of the fātiḥa.

At some level, qirā'a and tajwīd converge with mystical practice and rituals (taṣawwuf, adʿiya, ṣalawāt, dhikr). Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl, the teacher of Ḥasan b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, wrote Al-ilhām min Allāh al-ʿallām fī madīḥ sayyid al-anām, a eulogy of the Prophet, and in 1796/1211 he wrote Al-intiṣār li 'l-auliyā' al-akhyār, an apology for the cult of the saints and an attack on the fundamentalist movement.[1] His brother Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl wrote Taʿlīqāt ʿalā muqaddimat ʿilm al-hudā wa asrār al-ihtidā' which is a commentary on ʿIlm al-hudā by Muḥyī ad-Dīn al-Būrī (d.1225/622), and Tadhkirat al-albāb wa naṣīḥat al-aḥbāb as well as various small treatises and compilations taken from the works of Ibn ʿArabī. Dhū an-Nūn b. Jirjīs wrote Maʿdan as-salāma fī aḥwāl ad-dunyā wa 'l-barzakh wa 'l-qīma and Al-waṣīya fī 'l-futūḥāt al-Makkīya. ʿAlī al-Jafʿatrī wrote three mystical treatises entitled Al-qaul al-ʿumda, Kashf al-mukhaddarāt[2] and Az-zahr an-naḍir ʿalā 'l-ḥauḍ al-mustadīr. Muslim Akhī Bābā composed a Dīwān fī 't-taṣawwuf wa 'l-adʿiya wa 'ṣ-ṣalawāt wa madḥ an-nabī. A certain Muḥammad b. Yūnus wrote Aḥādīth wa adʿiya wa adhkār--a compilation taken from various works and offered to Ḥasan Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī composed Qūt al-ʿāshiqīn and Al-azhār al-qudsīya fī 'l-ʿulūm al-ilāhīya. The richness of the Mosuli production shows that mysticism played an important part in determining the Mosuli world view.

Moving from sufism to theology one notices that no work in kalām seems to have been composed by a Mosuli in this period, whereas a flurry of works in ʿaqā'id (dogma) were produced by these same Mosulis. Khairallāh ʿUmarī wrote a commentary on a treatise of ʿaqā'id by Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawwānī

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[1] It will be used by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ in his AUL.

[2] A commentary on the odes by ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulsī.

(d. 1501/907). Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1791/1206) wrote Kashf ash-shabahāt. In 1764/1178 Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī wrote a preface to Shaʿrānī's (d. 1565/973) Al-yawāqīt wa 'l-jawāhir fī bayān ʿaqā'id al-akābir. Ṣāliḥ as-Saʿdī composed various glosses to Ḥāshiyat Yūsuf Qarabāghī ʿalā sharḥ ʿaqā'id ad-Dawwānī ʿalā 'l-Aḍudīya, being an appendix by Yūsuf Qarabāghī al-Muḥammadshāhī (d. 1620/1030) to a commentary by Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawwānī (d. 1501/907) on Al-ʿaqā'id al-ʿAḍudīya by ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Iji ash-Shīrāzī (d. 1355/756). ʿAlī ar-Ramḍānī (d. 1827/1243) composed a Risāla fī 'l-ʿaqā'id. ʿAlī Maḥḍarbāshī wrote a Risāla fī 'l-qadar and a Risāla fī afʿāl Allāh taʿālā. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl is the author of Al-istishfā' bi aḥādīth al-muṣṭafā, written at the height of the plague which hit Mosul in 1800/1215. In 1761/1175 Abū Bakr al-Khallūtī wrote a commentary on ʿAqīdat ash-Shaibānī. And Muḥammad Amīn (later Pasha) b. ʿUthmān Bey Jalīlī wrote Al-kaukab al-mutalālī li sharḥ ʿaqīdat al-Ghazālī. With speculative theology totally absent, Mosuli works in dogma were limited to small treatises and commentaries on recognised works.

Mosuli intellectual probing in theology and philosophy did not extend beyond dogma, and no major work in speculative theology or logic seems to have been written by a Mosuli in the Jalīlī era.[1]

Fiqh[2] was at the basis of the social system, and Mosuli interest in the field appears to have focused on three main issues. In 1724/1137, the mudarris ʿAbdallāh ar-Rabtakī wrote a Risāla fī bayān kufr aṭ-ṭā'ifa 'r-rāfiḍa, a treatise on the origins of the appellations given to various Shii groups, and a justification of the legality of the war waged against them. Amīn ʿUmarī wrote a Risāla fī 'r-radd ʿalā 'r-Rāfiḍa which ends with a takfīr (excommunication as Infidel or renegate) of the Dāsinī Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār, and a Risāla fī 'r-radd ʿalā 'n-Naṣārā inspired by the Kitāb takhjīl man ḥarrafa 'l-Injīl by Abū

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1 The only Mosuli works slightly approaching the subject are appendices to Iṣām al-Isfarā'inī's commentary on the Risāla al-ʿAḍudīya fī 'l-waḍʿ by Shams ad-Dīn ad-Damlūjī (d. 1835/1251), and Ṣāliḥ Maḥḍarbāshī.

2 Fiqh being understood as jurisprudence, but also as the science of religion qua foundation of the social order.

al-Baqā' al-Ja'farī. And around 1830 Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ[1] wrote Al-farīda 's-sanīya fī kashf 'aqā'id al-Yazīdīya. In trying to come to terms with the legal problems of takfīr and tabdī' the Mosulis were thus defining their attitude vis-à-vis Shiism (and hence vis-à-vis Persia and the Porte), vis-à-vis the Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār (a constant threat to trade and stability), as well as vis-à-vis the rising and bewildering star of a local Christianity increasingly identified with Infidel Europe. At the turn of the eighteenth century the Mosulis faced another challenge, that of Wahhābism and of the fundamentalist movement. Such a challenge, an insidious one since it sprang from the depths of Sunnism itself, was answered in an indirect fashion through an apology for the cult of the saints and of sufism.

The second important centre of interest was land tenure and taxation, and 'Abdallāh ar-Rabtakī wrote a treatise entitled Al-minhāj fī bayān aḥkām al-'ushr wa 'l-kharāj: al-arāḍī 'l-amīrīya. And in a mercantile and growing society where the rapid flow of capital was an essential element in continued prosperity, the problems of inheritance and succession attracted great interest. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā Ghulāmī wrote a Risāla fī 'l-farā'iḍ and a Faṣl fī qawā'id al-munāsakha (Shafiite fiqh). Badr ad-Dīn an-Nā'ib wrote a Risāla fī 'l-farā'iḍ (Hanafite fiqh). In 1838/1254 'Abdallāh ad-Damlūjī wrote a commentary on an anonymous work on inheritance entitled Shubbāk taurīth dhawī 'l-arḥām. Other Mosuli works in jurisprudence include 'Alī ar-Rabtakī's Ẓawāhir az-zawājīr in Shafiite fiqh; Dhū an-Nūn b. Jirjīs' Kāshifāt aḍ-ḍarar 'amman nakaḥ wa kafar in Hanafite fiqh; as well as three different compilations and commentaries on Hanafite fatāwā by Amīn 'Umarī, Nu'mān b. 'Uthmān Daftarī 'Umarī and Yaḥyā Fakhrī.[2]

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In the field of medical sciences Yāsīn 'Umarī wrote Al-kharīda 'l-'Umarīya; a certain 'Abdallāh Effendi

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[1] The teacher and father-in-law of Aḥmad, the author of AUL.

[2] The last compilation is in Turkish.

composed a poem on the various sorts of fever and their treatment;[1] Nu'mān 'Umarī wrote Ar-riyāḍ an-Nu'mānīya fī fawā'id aṭ-ṭibb min al-ḥikma 'ṭ-ṭabībīya; in 1792/1207 Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn wrote Ash-shafā' al-'ājil wa 'd-dā' al-kāfil in which he compiled all the colloquial names of diseases, as well as the treatment required for curing and preventing various ailments such as measles and smallpox which were frequent in eighteenth century Mosul and claimed many lives among the children of the town. By far the most important medical man lived at the end of the Jalīlī era. Muḥammad al-Muhtadī, the founder of the Jalabī family, was a Chaldean priest who had converted to Islam. He has a 212-page long commentary on Ibn Sīnā's urjūza; in 1825/1241 he wrote Aṭ-ṭibb al-mukhtār, a treatise of some 190 pages in which he mentions Jenner's vaccine; in 1830/1246 he wrote Mufradāt aṭ-ṭibb al-mukhtār, a miscellaneaous compilation dealing with nomenclatures, a table of equivalence between terms in different languages and preparations of medicinal drugs, the work being based on various Arab, Ottoman, Syriac and European sources. The same Muḥammad al-Muhtadī composed a Risāla fī 'n-nabaḍ (pulse) and he was also active as a copyist and as a translator, putting into Arabic various Christian medical treatises written in Syriac and in karshūnī.[2]

In the natural sciences, in 1742/1155 Muḥammad b. Ḍāsim 'Abdalī wrote a treatise on snow, frost and hail, in which he attempted to explain the principles of evaporation and condensation of water.

Modern medical knowledge and practice were, it seems, late to develop in Mosul, and the Christians appear to have dominated the discipline. Medical practice itself was very limited in scope, and despite the many preventive and curative treatises contained in the libraries, and despite the many names of local doctors given by the biographical dictionaries, popular medicine--of which an essential component was the cult of the saints[3]--still swayed

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1 Manẓūma fī ajnās al-ḥumma wa 'ilājihā.

2 Arabic language written in the Syriac script.

3 Each tomb of a saint was supposed to cure a specific illness (fever, madness, etc.).

the beliefs of the common people. As for the rulers, they made use of another form of magic: the European missionaries.[1]

Astronomy was a popular science in eighteenth century Mosul, and many learned men came from Bagdad especially to study under Salīm al-Wā'iẓ who was the authority in the field. Salīm al-Wā'iẓ wrote Al-kawākib ad-durrīya fī 'l-uṣūl al-jafrīya; 'Abd al-Qādir aṣ-Ṣafā'ī wrote a Risāla fī 'ilm al-zīj; Ṣāliḥ al-Mi'mārī wrote a Risāla fī 'l-mawāqīt; 'Ubaidallāh b. Khalīl al-Baṣīrī, the qadi, translated from Persian a treatise on the orientation to the qibla, on the distance in parasangs between Mecca, Medina and other cities, and on the seven climates (aqālīm) by Najm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī (d. 1276/675); in 1701/1113, while in Damascus, Muḥammad b. Qāsim 'Abdalī copied Bahjat aṭ-ṭullāb, a treatise on astronomy by a certain Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Yardanī to which he added an appendix. At one level, as the titles of the works indicate, astronomy and physics connected with astrology and horoscopes, while at another level they connected with geography through the need to provide for accurate orientation towards the qibla.

In the Jalīlī era copies were made of various geographical works (Mas'ūdī, Ibn al-Wardī, Abū al-Fidā, Idrīsī), but the only Mosuli geographical work written in the Ottoman period was that of a priest who travelled to Europe and thence to Latin America. This Chaldean priest left Bagdad in 1668 and his travels took him to France, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Portugal, the Canary Islands and Mexico, and what is now Columbia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru. In the first part of his book he talks of his travels and of the peoples with whom he came into contact, while in the second part he deals with the conquest of the continent and of the Indian kingdoms--the latter part of the work being inspired by Spanish and other Catholic writings on the subject.[2]

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[1] See supra, pp. 32-33.

[2] Father Anṭūn Rabbāṭ s.j. has published the first part of the work. His edition is based on a MS he found in the library of the Syrian-Catholic metropolitan seat in Aleppo. See "Riḥlat awwal sā'iḥ sharqī ilā Amrīkā", in Al-Mashriq, VIII (1905).

In arithmetic, Amīn ʿUmarī wrote two treatises. Neither the sources of the time nor the libraries of Mosul today give any hint of works on new technology being written in Mosul in this period. The only concession to the technological changes being a rather literary Risāla fī ʾṣ-ṣaid bi ʾl-bārūda, a treatise on shooting by ʿAlī Maḥḍarbāshī.

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In a society where the form of the communication was at least as important as the message being conveyed it was natural that adab--in the narrow sense of literature--should have played a major role in culture. Be it in fiqh, in medicine or in astronomy, a text offered itself to many different readings, and language was multi-dimensional: a far cry from the "transparence-language" nowadays advocated in "science". The pattern of recurrence of works copied in Mosul at that time[1] casts a light on the principal authorities in each field and gives an indication as to which "manuals" were most popular in the madrasas: in rhetoric Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1338/739); in grammar ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078/471), Ibn Mālik (d. 1273/672) and Ibn Hishām an-Naḥwī (d. 1360/761); in istiʿāra ʿIṣām ad-Dīn al-Isfarāʾinī (d. 1537/944) and Abū al-Qāṣim ʿAlī as-Samarqandī (d. 1483/888).

Within the religious sciences, it appears that the main topics of interest were fiqh, Coranic exegesis and sufism and its connected sciences (taṣawwuf, qirāʾa, tajwīd, adʿiya, ṣalawāt, dhikr). Coranic exegesis is the field where the Mosulis showed the most daring and originality. In the sufi-oriented religious fields, as in the science of ḥadīth and in theology, they were uninspired, hiding behind recognised authorities. Again the pattern of recurrence of copied works informs as to these authorities: in ḥadīth were Muslim (d. 875/261), Bukhārī (d. 870/256), Suyūṭī (d. 1505/911) and Nawawī (d. 1277/676); in Coranic exegesis were Baiḍāwī (d. 1286/685) and Baghawī (d. 1117/510); in dogma and theology were Nasafī (d. 1142/537) and ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355/756), and their recognised commentators

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[1] See Appendix VI.

Dawwānī (d. 1501/907) and Taftāzānī (d. 1389/791); and while Mosuli production in logic was non-existent, the main authority was Abharī (d. 1264/663) and his commentators Kātī and Tālishī; in fiqh Khair ad-Dīn ar-Ramlī (d. 1670/1081), Ibn Nujaim (d. 1563/970) and Mullā Khuşrū (d. 1480/885).

Medical knowledge was derived from three sources: the local and ancient Syriac tradition, Arab medicine and the European influence which reached Mosul through the Ottoman doctors. The authorities were Ibn Sīnā, Dā'ūd al-Anţākī (d. 1599/1008) and Şāliḥ Ḥakīm Effendi (d. 1670/1081). In astronomy, physics and arithmetic Bahā' ad-Dīn al-'Āmilī (d.1621/1030) dominated the scene.

Finally, the great numbers of works copied show that the "copying industry" had started to move and to expand rapidly from the end of the seventeenth century, a pattern which is similar to that of urban growth: as books were being written and copied, so were the mosques and schools that would welcome them being erected.

IV. The Issues

The most serious challenges facing the Mosuli intellectuals of the Jalīlī era seem to have been the Persian Shii wars against the Sunni Ottomans; the uneasy awareness, by these Mosuli Muslims, of a totally new configuration of local Christianity; and the undermining threat posed by the fundamentalist movement and by Wahhābism. The first two issues were clear cut and entailed no problems of conscience[1] or drastic epistemological and mental breaks: the century-long mechanisms of tabdī' and takfīr were duly resurrected and mustered in pamphlets, treatises, poems and sermons, and the Infidels promptly and vehemently vituperated--music to the ears of the people, and a reassuring spectacle for the prince. The third issue, however, was far more delicate. In the eighteenth century, there lived in Mosul a faqīh and a Qādirī sufi by the name of Aḥmad b. al-Kaula (d. 1759/1173) whose father had been a mamluk of the family Āl Yāsīn. This Aḥmad had gained the respect of the notables and the plebs,

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[1] Except maybe in connection with the Jaafarite proposals of Nādir Shāh.

and, showing great learning, piety and asceticism, had gathered a large following in the town. Then one day Aḥmad dared to cast doubt on the prophethood of the most revered Nabī Jirjīs. This caused a tremendous uproar in Mosul, with the sufis taking up the matter with the wali, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, who ordered Aḥmad to retract and repent. The culprit appears to have done so de mauvaise grâce, hanging on to his convictions and going, so to speak, underground. Aḥmad lost his following and died in disgrace.[1] Aḥmad's son, Muḥammad, was also an ʿālim of great learning and all the Mosuli biographers of the time agree in praising his far-reaching intellectual abilities. Muḥammad followed in his father's steps and went farther than him in his condemnation of what he saw as a "vampirisation" of Sunnism.[2] He went so far as to attack Ibn ʿArabī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī, two figures who were essential to the Iraqi religious experience. Seeing that his prospects in Mosul were poor, Muḥammad went to Istanbul where he seems to have entered the right channels, succeeding in being appointed qadi of Diyār Bakr. Later, he was given the qaḍā' of Bagdad but was forced by its wali to leave the city soon after his arrival.[3] His vast learning and intelligence, as well as the support he seemed to enjoy at the Porte, kept the Mosuli sufis in awe, and they were pleased to see him seek his fortunes outside the province.[4] Sources do not mention other prominent fundamentalists in the Jalīlī era, but it is certain that the movement had attracted some support, and in 1793 Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī exiled three learned men who had attacked Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī, ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ, and ʿAbd al-Karīm

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1 An Aleppine learned man, ʿAlī b. Muṣṭafā ad-Dabbāgh, wrote a treatise entitled Itḥāf al-anām bi akhbār sayyidinā Jirjīs in which he answered the charged levelled against the walī by Aḥmad b. al-Kaula, and he immediately sent it to Mosul together with an accompanying poem: see Muḥammad Ghulāmī, Shamāmat al-ʿanbar, pp. 230-231.

2 The expression is Sartre's who uses it in connection with Catholicism.

3 It seems that his expulsion had to do with his role in a previous feud in Bagdad.

4 The historian Yāsīn ʿUmarī made a violent diatribe against him: see for example GHA, p. 35.

al-Jīlī.[1]

The rise of the fundamentalist movement had varying effects on the up till then predictable march of Mosuli thinking and production. First, it led some prominent learned men (Amīn ʿUmarī, ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī) to restate their sufi identity in terms of a call for the purification of the religious experience under attack from the many abuses and superstitions which tarnished its image. Amīn ʿUmarī wrote Al-kashf wa 'l-bayān ʿan mashāyikh az-zamān in which he condemned certain abuses and practices in order to safeguard the love and respect for the real auliyā' and the genuine mashāyikh. ʿUthmān Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī wrote many treatises in which he condemned practices which gave the cult of the saints and sufism a "bad name". But, as always, the line between good and evil was very hard to draw. Secondly, the rise of the fundamentalist movement forced the more traditional sufi shaikhs to rally in defence of a religious experience they had until then taken for granted and believed to be unassailable. The intellectual--as also the military (Wahhābism)--onslaught of fundamentalism drew them somewhat closer to the Shiis of Iraq (and even to the Iraqi Christians), at least at a popular level. The threat also set in motion a great discursive machine; Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Fakhrī translated Jāmiʿ al-anwār by Murtaḍā Naẓmī Zāda, Amīn ʿUmarī wrote Manhal al-auliyā' (MAN), Yāsīn ʿUmarī consecrated an important section of his Munyat al-udabā' (MUN) to the tombs of the saints, Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ wrote Tarjamat al-auliyā' (AUL), and Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl wrote Al-intiṣār li 'l-auliyā' al-akhyār. To which should be added scores of treatises either written or copied by Mosulis at that time.

Historical production shares in this intellectual climate. And it thus illustrates the uneasy position of a Sunni Arab Mosul with its strong sufi tradition, caught as it then was between a religiously similar yet ethnically and

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[1] UMM, ff. 46v-47v. And it was said (UMM. f. 48r) that none other than Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had studied in Mosul. It is worth noting that even Ibn Taimīya considered ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī to be a true sufi and walī: see A. Morabia, "L'Antéchrist s'est-il manifesté du vivant de l'Envoyé d'Allāh?", in Journal Asiatique, CCLXVII (1979), p. 81.

linguistically different Ottoman overlord, a Persia which was as alienating in its Sunni as in its Shii variants, and an Arab, yet bewildering, fundamentalist Sunni Arabia.

Chapter VII

MOSULI HISTORIANS

Isolating the writing of history from the rest of the intellectual production is a somewhat artificial operation rendered necessary for reasons of convenience and for the requirements of the communication.

At one level, the writing of history connects with literature and with literary criticism. Muḥammad Ghulāmī's Shamāmat al-ʿanbar is a biographical dictionary (history), and it contains a large amount of poetry and criticism. And the same applies to Ar-rauḍ an-naḍir (NAD) by ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī, to Nash'at aṣ-ṣibā bī aḥādīth al-udabā' by his son ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān ʿUmarī (d. 1814/1230), and to Nuzhat ad-dunyā fī madḥ al-wazīr Yaḥyā by ʿAbd al-Bāqī ʿUmarī (d. 1861/1278), a biographical dictionary of all the udabā' who had praised Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī. In all of these works the form of the communication is at least as important as the message being conveyed. Literature, poetry, and history also connect in various qaṣā'id and arājīz: Yāsīn ʿUmarī composed a poem on the violent feuds which shook Mosul in 1756; Ḥusain Ghulāmī (d. 1801/1206) wrote an urjūza fī asmā' ahl Badr (an illustration of the way in which poetry, history, education and religion connect); Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī composed an urjūza on the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh; Khalīl al-Baṣīrī in Mosul and ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī in Bagdad entered into versified correspondence and described to each other the siege of Bagdad and the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh.[1]

At another level, the writing of history comes into

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[1] MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9802.

contact with religious considerations. First through the works of ḥadīth and through the sīras of the Prophet, such as Amīn ʿUmarī's Manhal aṣ-ṣafā. Secondly through the various hagiographical compilations: hence, at the request of Saʿdallāh (later Pasha) b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, Sayyid Aḥmad b. Sayyid Ḥāmid Fakhrī translated from Turkish into Arabic Murtaḍā Naẓmī Zāda's work on the saints of Bagdad;[1] the same Saʿdallāh Jalīlī commissioned Amīn ʿUmarī's Manhal al-auliyā' (MAN) whose avowed aim is to inform the reader about the saints buried in Mosul; Yāsīn ʿUmarī's Munyat al-udabā' (MUN) contains a substantial section on the saints of Mosul; and Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ's Tadhkirat al-auliyā' (AUL) is an apology on behalf of the cult of the saints.

At one end of the spectrum, ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī's work will be examined as illustration of the artistic dimension of the act of historical writing. At another end of the spectrum, Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ's work provides an interesting connection between history and apologia. In between ʿUthmān and Aḥmad are four "professional historians" who, as this study aims to show, are as "open" as the two marginal cases also being considered. Much more than a discipline, the writing of history emerges as a nebulous alluvial ground where various disciplines and intentions meet: the "memorative residue" whence they draw the strength and justification that enable them to compete and fight, and which also determine the laws of their survival.

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1 The translation is entitled Tarjamat auliyā' Baghdād, MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Ḥasanīya 4/22, in 69 folios.

I. ʿUTHMĀN DAFTARĪ ʿUMARĪ

ʿUthmān ʿUmarī was born in 1721/1134, the son of the head of the ʿUmarī family and most powerful notable of the town.[1] He was one of ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il's youngest sons, and 71 years separate his birth date from that of his father. As a young boy ʿUthmān was sent by his father to the village of Māwarān near Rāwandūz, an important cultural centre in Iraq at that time. There he studied under the Ḥaidarīs, a family of ʿulamā' famous all over Iraq in the eighteenth century.[2] It is not known how long he stayed in Māwarān, but he was there in 1738/1151, since a book copied there at that date bears his name.[3] Back in Mosul ʿUthmān pursued his education under Ismāʿīl b. Jaḥsh[4] (a Kurd who was a friend and follower of his father ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il), Darwīsh al-ʿAqrāwī and Muṣṭafā al-Khūshanāwī (two other Kurdish ʿulamā'), and Yaḥyā b. Murād b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī who was ʿUthmān's own nephew.

Later ʿUthmān entered the service of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī and was closely associated with him, especially during the siege of Nādir Shāh. ʿUthmān was among the Mosulis who made a sortie at the beginning of the siege. And when the Persians withdrew Ḥusain Pasha sent ʿUthmān with his son Amīn Pasha Jalīlī to Istanbul to bring the news of the great victory to the sultan. In 1750/1164 ʿUthmān followed

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1 His full name is ʿIṣām ad-Dīn ʿUthmān Abū an-Nūr b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī.

2 The family was said to be of Persian (Kurdish) origin and to have fled from the Safavids.

3 See Jalabī, p. 27.

4 Transcription uncertain.

Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī to Asia Minor where the latter was to hold the office of wali in Qarṣ and in Kūtāhya. His absence from Mosul lasted four years, at the end of which period he left Ḥusain Pasha and returned home after quarrelling with Yūnus Effendi, the kātib dīwān al-inshā'. Once in Mosul, he entered the service of Amīn Pasha Jalīlī and became his katkhudā. Shortly thereafter he travelled to Bagdad where he married the daughter of a Mamluk, Kujuk ʿAbdallāh Aghā, who later became mutasallim of Baṣra. In 1756/1170, ʿUthmān completed his Rauḍ an-naḍir fī tarjamat udabā' al-ʿaṣr and offered it to Amīn Pasha Jalīlī. But soon, and for some unknown reason, he left Mosul for Istanbul where he met the Grand Vizir, Rāghib Pasha, and dedicated to him the work he had previously offered to Amīn Pasha Jalīlī.[1] ʿUthmān secured from the Grand Vizir the daftardārīya of Bagdad, a position he held for four years until the death of the wali, Sulaimān Pasha Abū Lailā, who favoured him.[2] Then ʿUthmān was elected qā'im maqām, and all doors appeared to be open to this Mosuli notable.[3] As qā'im maqām it seems that ʿUthmān spent lavishly within the

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1 This Rāghib Pasha was a close friend of Sayyid Khalīl al-Baṣīrī, a highly respected Mosuli learned man. Rāghib Pasha himself was a cultured man and a poet (see S.J. Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (Cambridge, 1976), vol. I, p. 246) and ʿUthmān's biographical dictionary of poets must have pleased him.

2 It was because of his position as daftardār of Bagdad that the Mosulis called him Daftarī.

3 This episode offers us a good example of the workings of internal relations within the ruling élite of the empire. This Rāghib Pasha, the Grand Vizir who gave ʿUthmān the daftardārīya of Bagdad, had himself held the same post under Aḥmad Pasha. When the latter died Rāghib was appointed qā'im maqām following the rebellion which ousted Ḥājj Aḥmad Pasha, the new wali nominated by the Porte in preference to Sulaimān Abū Lailā. Relations between Sulaimān Abū Lailā and the future Grand Vizir were good, and when the Grand Vizir appointed ʿUthmān as daftardār of Bagdad, the nomination had the blessing of Sulaimān Abū Lailā, Pasha of Bagdad. Furthermore, ʿUthmān could count on the support of the family of his Bagdadi wife. From Mosul to Bagdad, to Istanbul, the élite weaves a network of personal relations of kinship, of friendship, and even of cultural affinities, to which the cohesion of the Ottoman Empire probably owes more than one will ever be able to find out.

city, drawing money out of the treasury of the late Pasha. It is probable that ʿUthmān was banking on his appointment as wali of Bagdad. This, however, was not to be, and the new wali, ʿAlī Pasha, called on him to justify his expenditure. Soon ʿUthmān was on his way to prison in Bagdad, whence he was transferred to Ḥasaka where he remained until the death of ʿAlī Pasha. The new wali, ʿUmar Pasha, was no more favourably inclined towards ʿUthmān. As a matter of fact there appears to have been an old enmity between the two and ʿUmar, now in a position of power, intended to have ʿUthmān executed. He was saved by the intervention of ʿĀdila Khānum, daughter of Aḥmad Pasha and wife of Sulaimān Abū Lailā. ʿUmar Pasha agreed to spare him but sent him into exile. In 1764/1178 Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī saw him in Arbīl. He was later allowed to reside in Mosul, and he took advantage of this stay up north to try and reach Istanbul where he hoped he could plead his cause. But hearing of his plans, ʿUmar Pasha had him seized in Mārdīn,[1] whence he was sent to prison in Bagdad and later in Ḥilla. There he suffered a severe stroke and was subsequently allowed to return home. Soon after, notwithstanding his poor health, he travelled to Istanbul and tried in vain to approach the Grand Vizir. He died in Istanbul a victim of the plague in 1770/1184.

ʿUthmān ʿUmarī was not a historian (in the sense of a scholar who makes use of historical sources), nor was he interested in the recording of "events"--wars, famines, political upheavals, etc. ʿUthmān was an adīb and, it seems, a sufi, for we know of two sufi works which he copied in 1737-1738: the Alfīya by ʿUmar b. al-Wardī and Al-mulhamāt ar-rabbānīya fī asrār dhauqīya wijdānīya by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaidarī. But first and foremost ʿUthmān was interested in poetry. The bulk of his poetical production consisted of madḥ, and he also showed interest in ghazal, khamrīyāt, ikhwānīyāt and tashawwuq. Besides his mastery of the language and of prosody ʿUthmān also possessed a deep knowledge of his Arab poetical heritage, and he used it in various compilations of tashṭīr

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1 A simple example of the way in which the powerful walis of Bagdad had managed to encircle Mosul by controlling its thoroughfares to Asia Minor.

and takhmīs. Most of his poetry was scattered throughout letters, notes and oral exchanges and was never assembled in an anthology. However, the biographical dictionary which he wrote is more a poetical compilation than a historical work. ʿUthmān also composed a literary work in prose entitled Al-maqāma 'd-dujailīya.

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Ar-rauḍ an-naḍir fī tarājim fuḍalā' al-ʿaṣr[1]

NAD contains the biographies of 123 ʿulamā', udabā' and notables of the 12th century AH, 114 of whom are from Iraq and 9 from Asia Minor. In the preface the author makes it clear that his main aim is to compile a poetical work, and so the historical dimension of the biographies takes second place. Indeed the historian in search of details about the life of the mutarjamūn, in search of dates, figures and hard facts, will be rather disappointed by NAD where historical information comes incidentally and somewhat fortuitously.[2] As a matter of fact, the presentation of each mutarjam seems to assume that the reader is familiar with the person in question. ʿUthmān simply praises the mutarjam, his qualities and his literary skills in rhymed prose (sajʿ); he then gives a few samples of the art of the mutarjam; he mentions the person's correspondence with various notables and learned men (murāsalāt); and finally, he examines carefully and presents fully his

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[1] NAD(1): MS of the British Library number Add. 18531. The title is given as Ar-rauḍ an-naẓir and not Ar-rauḍ an-naḍir as it appears on the Mosul and Berlin MSS. The date of the copy is not known, but it was purchased by the British Library on 8 Mar. 1857. The MS comprises 361 folios numbered in Arabic. This MS of NAD is dedicated to Amīn Pasha Jalīlī and not to the Grand Vizir, Rāghib Pasha, as were later copies of the same work. Indeed the author consecrates only 3 pages to Rāghib Pasha (ff. 341r-342r) whereas he does not stop singing the praises of Amīn Pasha Jalīlī (ff. 149v-161v).

[2] In itself the study of madḥ poetry with its intricate subtleties can be a most interesting source for the understanding of the politics of the notables, and it can cast a light on the complex networks of personal or cultural relations and affinities. This, however, necessitates a thorough examination of poetical anthologies at a linguistic level and not merely at a semantic one: a study which is well beyond my capabilities.

own epistolary relations with the mutarjam in question.

The invocation is on an unnumbered folio of the MS. On f. 1r the author writes of his love of adab and especially of poetry, a love he had nurtured since his childhood. On f. 2r he dedicates his work to Amīn Pasha Jalīlī and then goes on to praise him and his father Ḥusain Pasha.

Of the 123 biographies mentioned 58 belong to Mosul, 26 to Bagdad, 21 to Māwarān and 3 each to the Kurds, Kirkūk and Ḥilla. The only non-Iraqi region mentioned being Istanbul with 9 biographies. Iraq is thus the world of ʿUthmān, with Asia Minor, by virtue of its inclusion in the text, illustrating the political dimension of a literary creation such as this one and, in the process, underlining the isolation of Iraq from the neighbouring provinces. The other Arab regions of the empire (Egypt, Syria, Arabia, North Africa) seem to belong to other and separate worlds by virtue of their own privileged and particular politico-cultural relationship with the same Asia Minor: common denominator, Asia Minor appears as much a factor of division, as of unity.

The profile of NAD gives us ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī as a notable and as a dignitary of the Ottoman Empire as much as an adīb. And the profile of this member of the Iraqi Ottoman élite may help us comprehend the orientations and aspirations of provincial élites towards the end of the eighteenth century.

II. YAḤYĀ B. ʿABDU JALĪLĪ

Very little is said, in the sources at our disposal, about Yaḥyā Jalīlī. He was born into one of the less prominent branches of the Jalīlī family, the son of ʿAbdu b. Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl. The reason sources are silent about him is that he was neither politically active, nor did he hold religious office--mufti, qadi, mudarris. Yaḥyā was an adīb, a notable who indulged in versification and engaged in various murāsalāt and mudāʿabāt with his peers. Amīn ʿUmarī describes his poetry as indifferent[1] but adds that Yaḥyā was a past master at the art of mawāwīl (lyrics for songs), hence illustrating his dilettante adīb character. In 1783/1198, less than a year before his death, Yaḥyā was commissioned by Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī to write a book of history which will be examined in the following pages. Apart from small fragments of poetry scattered here and there, it is the only trace (āthār) which Yaḥyā Jalīlī has left us of his literary skills. As a notable and as a littérateur he encouraged cultural life in Mosul, mainly by commissioning various works to be composed or copied. The works which he copied himself illustrate the adīb rather than the specialist dimension of his mind. In 1756/1170 he copied Rauḍ al-adab by Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Ḥijāzī (d. 1470/875); and in 1770/1184 he copied Dīwān lisān al-ʿArab wa ḥujjat ahl al-adab by Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. 1311/711). His interest in history seems to have been aroused around 1760, and in 1763/1177 he copied parts of Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī's Mir'āt az-zamān. In 1783 while he was busy composing his historical work Yaḥyā was asking the help and advice of Amīn ʿUmarī. And when Yaḥyā died in medias res Amīn ʿUmarī was asked to complete the task.

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[1] MAN(2), I, 261: wa lahu naẓm mutawassiṭ (average poetry).

Sirāj al-mulūk wa manhāj as-sulūk[1]

SIR is certainly the most ambitious historical work undertaken in Mosul in the period under study. It surpasses all other compilations in its scope, the amount of material it puts forward, and the sources used. Even though incomplete SIR comprises 439 folios. The only known copy of SIR is in the British Library, and it ends with the Abbasid al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh, concluding with the words: "This is where the author stopped his work."[2] It is generally believed that Amīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī later completed the work, taking it up to Ottoman times and eighteenth century Mosul. However, no such copy of SIR has reached us. Moreover, other Mosuli historians dealing with post-Abbasid periods do not refer to SIR, and this seems to indicate that Amīn ʿUmarī did not complete SIR as a historical work. In his MAN, Amīn ʿUmarī tells us that following the death of Yaḥyā Jalīlī the Pasha had asked him to complete SIR, "and so I completed it while changing its internal structure. I added to it considerable material, combining various arts. I mentioned in it various sciences. And the added material amounted to more than 40 subjects, so that the additions became an independent work."[3] It thus seems that Amīn perfected and polished Yaḥyā Jalīlī's work without bringing it up to date chronologically, but that he ended up writing an independent encyclopaedic work dealing with more than 40 subjects. On f. 3r of the prologue to SIR we are told that the work was presented to Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī as a project, that he was pleased with it and asked Yaḥyā Jalīlī to bring it to completion. And in this same prologue we are told that at the death of Yaḥyā Jalīlī, Amīn ʿUmarī completed the work, perfected it, and added to it. It seems that Amīn ʿUmarī's modifications were limited to the period already covered by Yaḥyā.

The prologue to the work contains a preface (dībāja) and nine different poems (taqārīd) praising the

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1 SIR: MS of the British Library, number Add. 23306, in 439 folios.

2 Arabic: ilā hunā waṣala 'l-mu'allif.

3 MAN(2), I, 261.

qualities of the work and the virtues of Yaḥyā Jalīlī. These poems were, we are told, composed at the request of Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī, Muḥammad Pasha's brother, when he became wali of Mosul. The preface is by Aḥmad Effendi al-Kātib and is dated Jumādā I 1202/February 1787.

After the invocation, the author praises Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī to whom the work is dedicated and then presents to the reader the plan of SIR.[1] The whole work is a tireless compilation, the product of unlimited erudition: scores and scores of authors and works are mentioned, and they cast a light on Yaḥyā's intellectual genealogy as well as on his conception of what a work of history is.

The historical information given by this dynastic history can be found in other Mosuli historical works of the period, such as those of Yāsīn ʿUmarī. Far more than the historical data, what is interesting in SIR is the scope of the work, the vast numbers of sources quoted, and the grandiose attempt at liberating the narrow act of writing history (ta'rīkh: dating) into a wider field of discursive events. The study of ʿUthmān ʿUmarī's NAD indicates that although a biographer, ʿUthmān was a littérateur more than a historian. This work by Yaḥyā Jalīlī is certainly a book of history. But it is much more besides, and SIR thus helps to bridge the gap between what is historiography and what is not, between the mu'arrikh and the adīb, therefore justifying the inclusion of ʿUthmān ʿUmarī and of his NAD in this corpus.

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[1] See Appendix VIII.

III. AMĪN B. KHAIRALLĀH ʿUMARĪ

Amīn ʿUmarī was born on a Friday in mid-Shaʿbān 1151/end of October 1738. His father, Khairallāh b. Maḥmūd ʿUmarī, was the khaṭīb of the ʿUmarī Mosque--a position he held for 60 years--and amīn al-fatwā for his cousin the mufti ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī, and for the latter's grandson Yaḥyā after that. The family lived in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq, south-west of Mosul.

As a boy Amīn was taught to read the Coran by his father who also taught him grammatical syntax (naḥw) and gave him some rudiments of jurisprudence and of theology. As a young man he had as a teacher Muḥammad Salīm al-Ardalānī (d. 1788/1203) who was the mudarris of the ʿUmarī School and who taught him grammar and Shafiite fiqh, and gave him an ijāza for his successful reading of Muslim, Bukhārī and Baghawī's Maṣābīḥ as-sunna. Another Kurd who had settled in Mosul, ʿAlī as-Sūsanī, helped him with various works on language such as Qazwīnī's Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ and its various commentaries. Aḥmad al-Jamīlī (d.1756/1170), a friend of Muṣṭafā Jalīlī and a teacher at the Pasha School, taught him briefly the works of the logician Fanārī (d. 1431/835). Jirjīs al-Arbīlī taught him the Ithbāt al-wujūd, which is the Risāla fī ithbāt wājib al-wujūd by either Muḥammad Amīn aṣ-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1655/1066), Najm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī, or Ṣadr ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (d. 1648/1059), and its commentary by Uskudārī (d. 1736/1149). Amīn also studied with ʿAbdu b. Ghīdā and Jirjīs al-ʿAqrāwī. In 1760/1174, at the age of 23, Amīn went to Māwarān where he studied under ʿĀṣim al-Ḥaidarī, of the famous family of learned men. Four years later Amīn was in Bagdad where he studied the works of

Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawwānī under Ṣubghatallāh al-Ḥaidarī who gave him an ijāza, and he read Bahā' ad-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's Risāla fī 'l-ḥisāb under ʿĪsā b. Ṣubghatallāh al-Ḥaidarī. Unable to prolong his stay in Bagdad, Amīn returned to Mosul where he became a disciple of Mūsā al-Ḥaddādī, the mudarris of the Pasha School who taught him dogma and theology, "dialectics" (ādāb al-baḥth), fiqh (inheritance treatises) and arithmetic, finally "graduating" in 1772/1186, a few months before the death of his teacher. In the same year Amīn took an ijāza in Coranic recitation from the shaikh al-qurrā' of Mosul, Saʿd ad-Dīn b. Aḥmad who also gave him an ijāza for his successful reading and understanding of a treatise on supplications (adʿiya) entitled Kitābāt ad-dā'ira 'l-majrīya li dafʿ aṭ-ṭāʿūn, attributed to ʿAlī.

Amīn ʿUmarī was a sufi, and he was initiated into the Naqshbandī and Qādirī ṭarīqas by his shaikh ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Aswad. In 1766/1180, at the age of 29, Amīn became the khaṭīb of the ʿUmarī Mosque after his father. In the following year he was appointed mudarris of the school of Āl Yāsīn following the death of ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī. Amīn was also the first teacher to be appointed at the Zīwānī School founded in 1779/1193. Finally, he was appointed mudarris of the ʿUmarī School. Amīn died in Mosul in Muḥarram 1203/October 1788, aged 52, and he was buried alongside his ancestor Qāsim in the ʿUmarī Mosque.

Amīn ʿUmarī is certainly the most versatile and most accomplished Mosuli adīb of his time. His historical works include MAN, which will be studied here; Marāti' al-aḥdāq fī man raqqa shiʿruh wa rāq, a biographical dictionary of poets no copy of which has reached us, and to which the author refers in his MAN;[1] and Majmūʿ shajarat al-anbiyā' wa 'l-mulūk, a short compilation which includes the Ottoman walis of Mosul and Bagdad, of which Madrasat aṣ-Ṣā'igh owned a copy at the beginning of this century, but which has since vanished without trace. Finally, the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London owns a work entitled ʿUnwān ash-sharaf, a biographical dictionary attritubed to Amīn ʿUmarī. But on closer examination it

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1 MAN(2), I, 257, 304.

becomes obvious that Amīn cannot be the author of this work.[1]

In the field of "religious sciences" Amīn wrote Manhal aṣ-ṣafā, which is a sīra of the Prophet; two works in Coranic exegesis (tafsīr) entitled Ḥadā'iq az-zahr wa 'r-raiḥān fī 'l-bayān 'an balāghāt at-tibyān[2] and Tījān al-bayān fī mushkilāt al-Qur'ān;[3] Al-fawā'id al-manthūra fī 'l-fatāwā 'l-ma'thūra in Hanafite fiqh; a Risāla fī 'r-radd 'alā 'n-Naṣārā which he wrote in 1759/1173 after reading Kitāb takhjīl man ḥarrafa 'l-Injīl by Abū al-Baqā' al-Ja'farī; a Risāla fī 'r-radd 'alā 'r-Rāfiḍa which castigates the Shiis and ends on a takfīr of the Dāsinī Yazīdīs; Al-kashf wa 'l-bayān 'an mashāyikh hādhā 'z-zamān which is an attempt at cleansing the sufi practices, denouncing the bad shaikhs and exonerating the auliyā' and the pious shaikhs; and, to bridge the gap between religion and literature, Amīn has a much praised badī'īya on the Prophet and on the sūras of the Coran, followed by his own sharḥ of it in some 200 pages, completed in 1769/1183, as well as a dīwān which is a eulogy of the Prophet in some 70 folios.[4]

In the study of language Amīn wrote Al-manhaj as-sālik ilā maqṣad alfīyat Ibn Mālik (1778/1192), a treatise in grammatical syntax; a Manẓūma fī fawā'id ar-risāla 's-Samarqandīya fī 'l-isti'āra (1784/1199), which is a poem and its commentary on Abū al-Qāṣim 'Alī as-Samarqandī's treatise on metaphors; Qalā'id an-nuḥūr, a book of naḥw which he wrote for a blind son of his; and Al-manāhil fī 'ilm al-'arūḍ wa 'l-qāfiya (1787/1202), on prosody.

In literature Amīn wrote a much praised Al-farīda 's-sanīya fī 'l-aḥkām al-'arabīya (1757/1171) which is introduced by a poem "on the vicissitudes of time" (fī taqallub al-umūr) and appears to have been inspired by the violent events of the years 1756-7; Nawādir al-minḥ fī aqsām al-malāḥa wa 'l-milḥ[5] for which he took as models the

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1 See infra, p. 248.

2 It has an introduction on rhetoric and eloquence, and chapters on allegories, metonymies, metaphors, etc.

3 It has some 150 pages and was written in 1761/1175.

4 It is not certain whether this dīwān was written in 1762 or in 1786.

5 Written in 1757 or in 1765.

Ḥalba of Muḥammad an-Nawājī (d. 1455/859), and the Dīwān aṣ-ṣabāba of Ibn Abī Ḥajala (d. 1375/776); Naẓm ba'ḍ abwāb fākihat al-khulafā';[1] Aṭ-ṭirāz al-marqūm fī ma'rifat maḥāsin al-manẓūm in 10 folios; Al-fuṣūl aẓ-ẓarīfa wa 'n-nukat al-laṭīfa (1757/1171) in 20 folios; Al-ḥikam al-muṭriba wa 'l-kalimāt al-mu'jiba (1759/1173); and a Qiṣṣat 'Anṭara which was regarded very highly. In poetry, Amīn composed various poems and odes, wrote a takhmīs of Būṣīrī's Hamzīya, and composed a poem on the freezing of the river Tigris.

Amīn 'Umarī also wrote two treatises in arithmetic: a Risāla fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb written in verse with a sharḥ in prose, and Dharī'at aṭ-ṭullāb fī ma'rifat al-ḥisāb. In 1775/1189 he completed an encyclopaedic work in 675 folios entitled Maṭāli' al-'ulūm wa mawāqi' an-nujūm which was commissioned by 'Alī b. 'Alī Abū Faḍā'il 'Umarī. This encyclopaedic work deals with grammar, rhetoric, prosody, eloquence, rhyme, "dialectics" of discussion (baḥth wa munāẓara), logic (manṭiq), philosophy (ḥikma), metaphysics (ḥikma ilāhīya), arithmetic, theology, Coranic exegesis, Tradition, jurisprudence (fiqh, uṣūl al-fiqh, farā'iḍ), mysticism (taṣawwuf) and oratory (muḥāḍarāt). Amīn's two other encyclopaedic works (one of which had also been commissioned by 'Alī 'Umarī) deal with the same subjects: Zahrat al-fann wa nuzhat al-'uyūn, written in 1762/1176, is in some 1,400 pages, and Ad-durr al-manthūr fī ḥall qalā'id an-nuḥūr is as voluminous.

Amīn 'Umarī also copied various reference works which can now be found in Mosul. In literature, he edited Buḥturī's dīwān in 1761/1175, omitting all satirical passages and some of the more obscure verses. In 1773/1187, he copied a commentary on the Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ fī 'l-ma'ānī wa 'l-bayān[2] by 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-'Abbāsī (d. 1556/963). In 1754/1168, he had copied Abū Shāma an-Naḥwī's commentary

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[1] Fākihat al-khulafā' wa mufākahat aẓ-ẓurafā, by Abū al-'Abbās 'Arabshāh (d. 1450/854).

[2] Qazwīnī's résumé of Sakkākī's work, and which Amīn had studied with his teacher 'Alī as-Sūsanī.

on the Burda, the manẓūma of Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 1350/752) and Taftāzānī's (d. 1389/791) appendix to Zamakhsharī's (d. 1143/538) Sharḥ nawābigh al-kalim. In the following year, he copied the Majma' al-amthāl by Aḥmad an-Naisābūrī al-Maidānī (d. 1124/518). Sharḥ zawāl at-taraḥ, a work in fiqh attributed to Abū 'Abdallāh al-Kinānī (d. 1416/819) was copied in 1754/1168; two years later, Amīn copied Nawawī's fatāwā as well as various works in tafsīr al-ḥadīth by Suyūṭī; in 1761/1175, he copied Baghawī's Ma'ālim at-tanzīl.

As can be seen, the scope of Amīn's culture was very wide. He was a prominent intellectual, respected for his learning, and many of his works were commissioned by princes and notables.

* * *

Manhal al-auliyā' wa mashrab al-aṣfiyā' min sādāt al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā'[1]

MAN is the most interesting and the most original work by a Mosuli historian of the Jalīlī era. As its title indicates, it is a work of regional history. In his preface (ff. 3r-4r), the author sets his aim and reasons for writing the book plainly and simply, leaving aside all theories and conceptions of history. The preface starts with the usual invocation and praises of Allāh and of His Prophet which are followed by a eulogy of Sa'dallāh Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, later wali of Mosul. This prince, the author informs us, had come across a treatise in Turkish and Persian dealing with the saints (auliyā') of Bagdad and Iraq,[2] and had asked a Mosuli adīb, Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Fakhrī (d. 1804/1219), to translate it into Arabic. Later, Sa'dallāh Bey requested the author to write a similar book on Mosul, presenting through it to the reader all the saints who were buried in and around the town:

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1 MAN(l): MS of the British Library, Or. 2429 in 173 folios. The title-page gives the name of the book as Kitāb tārīkh al-Mauṣil. Amīn completed it on 9 Rajab 1201/28 Apr. 1786. This MS of the British Library is dated 1297/1879 and is the work of Muḥammad al-Mauṣilī, a resident of Bagdad who made the copy for the British Consul-General.

2 Jāmi' al-anwār fī manāqib al-abrār, by Murtaḍā Naẓmī Zāda (d. 1720/1133).

". . . for this noble character and this sublime quality is not to be found solely in Bagdad, but all regions have their share in this grace, according to how well prepared they are to receive it.[1] Hence will the virtues of Mosul [through this book] become manifest, enriched as they will be by the bodies of the Prophets through whom Allāh has guided His worshipppers, enriched His land and given victory to His party and to His warriors. To these Prophets should be added the bodies of the noble Companions who have erected the palaces of Islam, raised its banners, unveiled its innermost secrets and safeguarded its gems. And the bodies of the Alid lineage, and those of the Fatimid tree, so similar to Noah's ark, may Allāh bless him, for he who takes refuge in it will be saved and he who turns his back on it will surely perish. So, I hastened to comply with the wishes of His Excellency, and I compiled all that I could find regarding the virtues of the people of Mosul and the news of its inhabitants [from among the saints], and I added to it a brief and useful introduction on the biographies of its rulers, its learned men and its poets, and I concluded with a word on the miracles performed by the saints and a refutation of their ignorant detractors . . ."

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The preface is followed by an introduction "on Mosul, on some of its rulers and learned men, and on some of the events which took place in it." This introduction takes up more than half the work and falls into six sections of very unequal length,[2] based mainly on Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Wardī, Yāqūt and Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī.

In section V the author gives us the names of the various walis whom the Porte sent to Mosul. He tells us quite frankly that he does not know the names of those who ruled the province before the year 1000 AH (1591),[3] but from the eleventh century AH onwards, he supplies us with an almost complete list of Ottoman representatives, presenting his evidence with great circumspection, putting forward alternative versions of the same event, attempting to distinguish between bearers of the same name in order to spare

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1 Arabic: bi ḥasab al-isti'dād.

2 Sections on Mosul, the Islamic conquest, the Tigris, neighbouring towns and villages, the rulers of Mosul, and its learned men.

3 In fact, Mosul only became an independent wilāya in 1639.

his reader any great confusion. As a background to this enumeration of walis, we are presented with the continual saga of Ottoman-Persian rivalries in Iraq.

In the eighteenth century, the narrative, for the first time since the Ottoman conquest, focuses on Mosul, and the town seems to acquire a continuity of its own through the succession of Jalīlī walis. In a way, this continuity "shadows" the greater--Ottoman--continuity and allows the author a somewhat easier and more concrete identification, based as it is on everyday life. And to give but one simple illustration of this process: in the Ottoman wars against the old enemy, Persia, it is now the Jalīlīs, and not the sultans, who are at the centre of the conflict, as Mosul is besieged twice in the first half of the century.[1]

Of the 106 biographies contained in section VI 25 are pre-Ottoman: people such as Ibn al-Athīr, Yāqūt al-Mālkī, Ibn Shaddād, Khaṭīb aṭ-Ṭūsī and Fakhr ad-Daula b. Juhair ath-Tha'labī. For the pre-Ottoman period, the biographies are taken from Ibh Khallikān's Wafayāt al-a'yān, with the exception of five which are taken from Ibn al-'Adīm's Bughyat aṭ-ṭalab. It seems that Amīn, using Ibn Khallikān to compile his biographies of famous Mosuli learned men and poets, had been disappointed by the letters zain and sīn in Wafayāt al-a'yān, and therefore switched to Ibn al-'Adīm using him to supply the required names starting with sīn and zain.[2]

Not all of the contemporaries, judged worthy of being mentioned in MAN, are, however, deserving of Amīn's praises and respect. 'Alī b. Muṣṭafā Ghulāmī, the Shafiite

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1 For Amīn's own account of the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh, see Appendix V.

2 It is obvious that historians, while composing their books, would use what sources were at their disposal. And in this respect, it is interesting to note that at the beginning of this century, the Madrasa al-Ḥasanīya in Mosul had a fragment of Ibn al-'Adīm's Bughya for the letters zain and sīn (Zahdam b. Ḥarath to Sa'īd b. Sahl an-Naisābūrī). This MS is now in Maktabat al-Auqāf (number Ḥasanīya 5/22 in 383 pages), and the five men mentioned by Amīn 'Umarī under the letters zain and sīn (Zaid b. Abī Khadāsh, Zaid al-Ḥusainī, Zaid at-Taghlibī, Sirrī ar-Rufā' and Sa'īd at-Taghlibī) can be found in the Bughya, pp. 176-177, 180-183, 297-302, 368-370. It is clear that MAN's account is a résumé of Ibn al-'Adīm's.

mufti and an intimate friend of the Jalīlī walis, is said to be arrogant. ʿAlī as-Sūsanī, Amīn's teacher, is said to have "far greater knowledge than wisdom". As for Maḥmūd al-Khūrātī, "he was lazy and a bad teacher". But whether he praises or criticises, Amīn is constantly giving us an insight into Mosuli society through his descriptions of personal relations between patron and client, teacher and disciple, sufi shaikh and murīd. And through the vivid account he gives us of trivial incidents and anecdotes, the author allows us to share in the cultural climate of the time. Hence, while presenting us with the biography of Jirjīs b. Darwīsh, who was a good friend of the mufti ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī and his imām, Amīn digresses to tell us of the following incident:

> "After the prayer had ended, somebody whispered in ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il's ear that Jirjīs b. Darwīsh was drunk. So ʿAlī turned to the congregation and told them: 'Repeat your prayers, all of you, I see our imām is drunk.' At which point Jirjīs turned to ʿAlī and said to him: 'I have been performing these prayers with you people for forty years. Can you remember one single time when I was not drunk?'"[1]

Thut such a light-hearted story could be included in a serious work on the saints of the town is indicative of a certain mentality which more formal descriptions of Mosul and of Sunni Islam do not betray. In all, this extremely useful if lengthy introduction is an invaluable source for the study of Jalīlī Mosul.

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We now move to the main topic of the work, or, as Amīn puts it, "the original purpose",[2] being a presentation "of the inhabitants of the luminous tombs, of their radiant morals and their blessed state. And we begin with the prophets, may Allāh's peace and blessings be upon them, and after them the noble Companions and then the others, stating all that we were able to find concerning them" (ff. 93r-163r).

The author introduces us to 118 saints and righteous men whose tombs (maqām, mashhad, qabr) are, or are said to

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1 f. 86v.

2 Arabic: al-maqṣad al-aṣlī (indicating that the author was well aware of the long digression).

be, in and around Mosul. Amīn starts with the prophets (Nūḥ, Yūnus, Jirjīs) and the Companions, telling us the reason why people believe that they were buried in Mosul, quoting the various traditions concerning them, and taking great pains to differentiate between the various holders of the same name. Amīn not only questions the identity of the occupants of such and such a tomb, or their lineage, he also casts doubt on the very existence of a tomb on a site visited by the people. Hence he tells us that the tomb of Sayyida Nafīsa "is in various places in Mosul."[1] The mausoleum of Imām ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan is in the north of Mosul, "but Allāh knows best." And as for the tomb attributed to Ṣāliḥ b. aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn, "it is but a simple well to which people are superstitiously attracted."

Whether he dismisses a venerated site, or whether he confirms it, Amīn is constantly informing us. First, at the level of topography, by describing the areas surrounding the tombs lying without the walls of the town--hills, orchards, fields, villages--by situating with relative precision those within the walls, by relating the names of certain maḥallas to this or that tomb, by telling us of the various inscriptions that can be found on their walls. Secondly, at a social and economic level, on the way in which, as time passed, the waqf property of certain sanctuaries gradually became mulk, usually passing to the family of the Mutawallī. Hence, the waqf of Ibrāhīm az-Zaitūnī: wa qad taghallabat ʿalaihā aidī 'n-nās fa ṣārat amlāk; and the same applies to the waqf of Shaikh ʿAnnāz al-Aswad. Also at a social and economic level, the author informs us of the investments of the princes and the notables, of the founding of sanctuaries and of the repair works effected from one century to the other, as well as of expansion of waqf property, especially under the Jalīlīs. Finally, at a cultural and mental level, Amīn points out the tombs especially sought by the common people (ʿāmma) and the "nicknames" they give various saints, as well as the particular properties of this and that tomb. Hence, writing about Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-ʿUmarī, whose tomb is situated outside the

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[1] As a reader of Ibn Khallikān, the author would of course know that she is in fact buried in Egypt: see Ibn Khallikān (A), II, 223-224.

walls on the road to Tall A'far, the author informs us that highwaymen do not harm those travellers who seek refuge in his sanctuary.

The description becomes even more lively when we move into the Ottoman period to be introduced to "contemporary" saints. The author deals with many majādhīb: sufis who were drawn to Allāh, such as Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zain al-'Ābidīn, "who sometimes appeared to have succumbed to melancholia (mālikhūlya) when he would contravene the sharī'a, while at other times he seemed to be drawn to Allāh"; or this 'Umar, disciple of Yūnus b. Siyāla the Rifā'ī:

> "He fancied a young lad who used to be an apprentice to a tailor near our house. This 'Umar often spent his nights in a nearby masjid, singing and humming until dawn, while we all mocked him. One day, as he was performing a ceremony of tauḥīd, he asked his disciples to stab themselves with knives and pins in the stomach, and it so happened that one of them died as a result. 'Umar had to flee Mosul and went to Diyār Bakr where he was later to allay the doubts of the people by going into an oven and emerging from it unharmed."[1]

Besides the majādhīb and the dervishes, Amīn mentions a few simpletons (ablah), such as Sharīf Sharaf ad-Dīn, "a simpleton whose tomb is visited and venerated by the simpletons." The exposé he gives us, in this book, of his personal experience of sufis and of the cult of the saints allows us a true insight into Mosuli society.

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In his conclusion (ff. 163r-173v), Amīn presents us with "everything that has been said about the miracles of the saints and a refutation of those who deny them and those who reject them." The author quotes ḥadīth, sufi compilations and treatises, and he tells us of contemporary karāmāt which he had either witnessed personally, or heard of from truthful and reliable sources.

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The end of MAN shows just how difficult it is to

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[1] f. 152v.

separate history from this collective culture which we call adab, from this wide field of discursive events where various "disciplines" and "genres" meet and mingle. MAN had started as a descriptive work and a eulogy of Mosul aiming at showing the qualities of the town and at proving that it had and still has its fair share of saints, righteous men and learned men. It ends in polemics, as the author perceives the emergence of a fundamentalist movement of thought threatening the very local experience which the book aims to present. Indeed, one of the learned men mentioned in MAN is Aḥmad b. al-Kaula, once a sufi Qādirī who dared put in doubt the cult of Nabī Allāh Jirjīs, fell into disgrace, and was ordered to repent by the wali. Tārīkh and kalām meet in the mind of adīb and in his work. Without pomp or pretence, somewhat involuntarily, tārīkh is put to the service of kalām, and both come to illustrate a local, a Mosuli experience.

IV. YĀSĪN B. KHAIRALLĀH ʿUMARĪ

Yāsīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī was born on a Thursday at the end of Rajab 1158/end of July 1745, the brother of Amīn ʿUmarī, author of MAN.[1] Although he grew up in a family renowned for its great learning, we know nothing of his education and life before his forties. No doubt Yāsīn, like his brother Amīn before him, had learned to read with his father Khairallāh who must also have given him rudiments of grammar. No doubt he attended the madrasat aṣ-ṣibyān when in his teens, but the names of his teachers have not reached us, and this indicates that he only received a rudimentary education, not acquiring any ijāza. The young Yāsīn was certainly not an ʿālim, but he was a sufi and, like his brother Amīn and most Mosulis of his time, he belonged to the Qadīrī and the Naqshbandī orders. His shaikh was ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Aswad who was also the shaikh of most of Yāsīn's generation.

The only mudarris under whom Yāsīn studied and whose name has reached us is ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arbīlī who had come to settle in Mosul in 1789/1204, teaching at the school of Zakarīya at-Tājir in Maḥallat Bāb al-ʿIrāq, not far from Yāsīn's home. ʿAbd al-Qādir taught Yāsīn fiqh, and it thus seems that Yāsīn took his first ijāza around the age of 46. This is the only trace we have of Yāsīn's "official" education. Still, his culture was extremely vast, albeit superficial, and his brother Amīn must have helped him enormously. Yāsīn and Amīn shared the same house until 1777/1191 when a dispute forced them to divide up their father's heritage. Yāsīn acknowledges his intellectual debt

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[1] They were both from the same father and mother: akh wa shaqīq (uterine brother).

to his brother Amīn when he says: "I am but a drop in the ocean of his culture." And it is interesting to note that Yāsīn had decided to "go back to school" and learn fiqh in 1789, just after the death of his brother Amīn in 1788. In the same year Yāsīn entered the service of Sa'dallāh Bey (later Pasha) b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, and he remained his personal imām for 12 years. This is the only remunerated position held by Yāsīn of which we know. Yāsīn appears to have made his living by writing history books, madḥ and ta'rīkh, dedicating them to the princes and notables of Mosul, thus making sure of this kifāya which was indispensable for any pursuit of knowledge. He was definitely a "court historian", but not, it would seem, a very highly prized one, as none of his works appear to have been actually commissioned beforehand. Rather, Yāsīn appears to have offered them a posteriori in the hope of a reward. Yāsīn's financial situation had its ups and downs. He belonged to a minor branch of the 'Umarī family, and did not benefit from the tauliya of the 'Umarī Mosque. His fortunes seemed to have further suffered from the dispute he had with his brother Amīn, and his nephews later denied him the books left by his father Khairallāh. At some point, around 1790, his financial position appears to have been desperate enough to force him to "sell the rough draft" of a major historical work he was compiling. But in all, Yāsīn appears to have had the kifāya necessary for him to be able to consecrate all his time to the pursuit of knowledge. Yāsīn's vast historical production is an essential source for the study of Jalīlī Mosul, and as his chronicles and biographies stop, so does the picture we have of Jalīlī society become blurred. Indeed, Yāsīn is the last local chronicler of the Jalīlī era, and between the end of his works and the emergence of new sources (consular reports, etc.) is a regrettable gap which, among other more serious things, means that we do not even know the exact date of his death (he must have died c. 1820).

Yāsīn 'Umarī was primarily a historian, and his 17 historical works are here to prove it. Fifteen of these will be examined at some length in the following pages, while two others have remained beyond my reach: Ad-durr

al-muntathir fī tarājim fuḍalā' al-qarn ath-thālith ʿashar is a biographical dictionary of contemporary ʿulamā' and udabā', and all copies of it appear to have been lost. Since the author refers to it in his NIS as well as in his QUD, both written before 1797/1212, it would seem that this biographical dictionary, despite its title, must have been written at the end of the twelfth century AH, and this makes its loss less important, since the information it contains would be found in other works by Yāsīn ʿUmarī.

The second work, Ar-rauḍ az-zāhir fī tawārīkh al-mulūk al-awā'il wa'l-awākhir is a biographical dictionary of kings, emirs and religious dignitaries, ordered alphabetically and written c. 1790. No copy of it has reached us. The remaining 15 works which will now be examined, will be divided[1] into five categories: dynastic history, annalistic history, biographical dictionaries, local history and chronicle of events.

As an adīb, Yāsīn also showed interest in other fields of learning. In literature and language he wrote Rauḍat al-mushtāq wa nuzhat al-ʿushshāq, Rauḍ al-adab and ʿUyūn al-adab, all before 1796 it seems; in 1811 he wrote a work on prosody entitled Al-ʿadhb aṣ-ṣāfī fī tashīl al-qawāfī; and in poetry he composed qaṣā'id, including various madḥ and ta'rīkh, as well as a poem on the violent events of the years 1756-7. He has a poem on the interpretation of dreams entitled Maqāṣid at-taʿbīr; a book on prayers and supplications called As-suyūf as-sāṭiʿa; and a medical treatise entitled Al-kharīda 'l-ʿUmarīya.

As for the works which we know he copied, they reflect his sufi concerns. These works include Al-lamʿa 'n-nūrānīya fī ḥall mushkilāt ash-shajara 'n-nuʿmānīya by Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 1273/672), copied in 1802/1217; Yāfiʿī's Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt aṣ-ṣāliḥīn, which Yāsīn copied in 1806/1221; Tuḥfat ar-rāghibīn fī amr aṭ-ṭawāʿīn, which is an extract from Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's Badhl al-maʿūn fī akhbār aṭ-ṭāʿūn, copied in 1772/1186; in the same year Yāsīn copied Suyūṭī's Al-kashf ʿan mujāwazat hādhih al-umma 'l-alif which is a work in the science of ḥadīth, an anonymous Kitāb masā'il al-khilāf bain al-imāmain;

[1] Somewhat arbitrarily and for reasons of convenience.

Al-qalā'id wa 'l-farā'id (a work of fiqh by ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulsī); a poem entitled Tuḥfat al-mubtadī which I have not been able to identify, and a literary piece of work entitled Ikhtilāj al-aʿḍā' attributed to Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq.[1] Finally Yāsīn also made a copy of the dīwān of Ṣafī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1349/750), as well as of Ad-durr an-naqī fī fann al-mūsiqī which is an Arabic translation by Muslim Akhī Bābā al-Mauṣilī of the treatise by ʿAbd al-Mu'min al-Balkhī.

A. Dynastic History

ʿUnwān al-aʿyān fī dhikr tawārīkh mulūk az-zamān[2]

Written, it seems, in 1789/1203, AYA is a work of dynastic history which is divided into an introduction, 43 different chapters and a conclusion. Unfortunately, the Berlin MS which has reached us is incomplete: it has 303 folios and stops in the middle of the 42nd chapter, while presenting the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd I, so that the reigns of the following Ottoman sultans are missing, and so are the last chapter and the mysterious conclusion. At one point, however, the author does give a hint as to the nature of the last chapter. On folio 303r, in the biography of Sultan Maḥmūd I, the following khabar appears:

> "In 1153, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, wali of Mosul, marched at the head of his soldiers and besieged ʿAmādīya. And we shall give an account of this event in the biography of the said vizir."

This seems to indicate that the last chapter dealt with the Jalīlī dynasty, exclusively or in part. And if in part, then one can safely assume that the chapter also dealt with the Mamluk Pashas of Bagdad, as such a chapter would presumably follow a chapter on the Ottoman sovereigns and constitute a satisfactory concluding part to this universal history arranged by dynasties.

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1 See Brockelmann, SI, 104.

2 AYA: MS of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, number 9484.

The invocation is followed by a brief excursus on the usefulness of the writing of history--unveiling the details of the lives of the virtuous men, informing on their good deeds, etc. Then comes a presentation of the work by the author:

> "In this book, I have mentioned the prophets and the messengers, then the Rāshidūn caliphs. And I followed this with a mention of the kings and the sultans, specifying the date of their birth, the rise of their State, the wars and other events which took place during their reign, and finally their death, all according to what I was able to find in the books of history. I divided the book into an introduction, 43 chapters and a conclusion . . . and I gave it the name ʿUnwān . . . and when I completed it, I offered it to Saʿdallāh Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī."[1]

The work is based on Qaramānī, Ibn al-Wardī and Yāfiʿī, and marginally so on Ibn al-Athīr, ʿUmāra's Tārīkh al-Yaman and Muḥibbī's Khulāṣat al-athar. Yet however varied its sources, AYA is always prone to oversimplification, and the events reported are sketchy and lack in principle of causality. AYA is also negligent in the transcription of names and the dating is erratic.

In a corpus which defines itself as essentially Middle Eastern, it is, at first sight, surprising to find a separate, and substantial, section on the Umayyads of Spain. The more so since in ATH, also by the author of AYA, Muslim Spain is judged worthy of a mere 11 akhbār, as opposed to 50 for the Byzantines and more than 100 for the Crusaders: Middle Eastern perspective of the author. From the mere appendage to the mamlaka that it is in ATH, the Andalus becomes a constitutive element of Islam in AYA. The reason behind this great discrepancy in the order of importance of the Andalus from one work to the other by the same Mosuli author is probably to be sought in the different natures of the two works. ATH is an annalistic history of Islam which certainly effects an unconscious selection of "universal" events, sorting out the relevant from the irrelevant, the primordial from the accessory: an operation which, as the centuries go past, gradually unveils a line of historical continuity orbiting around a single centre which determines the author's vantage point and his "position of discourse".

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[1] This is followed by a large section of madḥ.

And in this context, one can clearly understand that the Andalus, past adventure in a far away land which has long been acknowledged as the land of the Infidels, is of minor importance and of no lasting consequence. AYA, on the other hand, is a work of dynastic history which truly endeavours to "impress" the reader by offering him the political and military achievements of Islam as well as the cultural and civilisational monuments left by its rulers and dynasties. And in this context, the Umayyad dominions in Spain, marches of the mamlaka and vanguard of Islam, acquire a new dimension. On the same lines, the mosques, madrasas and palaces built by the Analusian rulers in so distant a land acquire the strength of symbolic defiance. For an eighteenth century Iraqi historian who is compiling a dynastic history, the Andalus is part of Islam's "ornamental history" and not part of Islam's "formative history". Hence the importance, in AYA, of the Andalus; hence the complimentary aspect in which many of its princes are presented in the texts: privilege of a dynasty which, by its remoteness in time and its geopolitical position on the thughūr, succeeds in escaping discursive polemics and petty squabblings. The Umayyads of Spain are part of a history which is "spread" before the reader who is asked to approve, and admire.

The same discursive mechanism is apparent in the chapter on the Barmakids. Indeed, the importance of the Barmakids in the economy of discourse far exceeds the importance accorded to the Marwānids or the Dailamites for example. Whereas in political terms the importance of the latter far exceeds that of the Barmakids whose formative effect on the shaping of Islamic history is relatively small. This discrepancy between political and cultural importance of the Barmakids in AYA illustrates the function of AYA as a work of "ornamental history".

The only truly original contribution made by AYA can be found in the chapters on the Khawārij and onthe zanādiqa. Having started Chapter XXXVII with "the Khārijites fought by ʿAlī", the author then ventures onto hitherto untrodden paths: less interested by Kharijism, by the Ibāḍīya and the Ṣufrīya, than by the khawārij.

Relying on the usual sources and putting forward

normal and unoriginal akhbār, the author has nevertheless produced an uncommon chapter which is based on an interesting meaning of the term khārijī. Rather than narrowly referring to Kharijism, it sends the reader back to kharaja ('an aṭ-ṭā'a), to an act of rebellion against authority, to a rupture in the prevailing order of things: hence the inclusion, in this chapter, of the Carmathians, the Zanj and the Khurramīya, of a slave who rebelled against his master, of a dignitary who took up arms against his sultan.[1] This same concept of khārijī also sends the reader back to kharaja (min bilādih), to a departure, to a physical movement which disturbs peace and harmony, shakes a recognised equilibrium and ignores the acknowledged division of the world: hence the inclusion of Byzantine Emperors and Domestics who, having crossed the Jaiḥān, have trodden on "our" territory; hence the presence here of the Frankish kings who left their distant country, crossed the seas and came to spread terror in the mamlaka. And then of course, the term khārijī can also refer to a combination of the two meanings of physcial movement and moral movement away from harmony: these are the the Mongols who had no assigned territory in the represented world and who, coming from nowhere, from the wilderness, have erupted on to our civilised world in open rebellion against all its values; these are also the Nādir Shāhs who, having rebelled against the recognised authorities in their country (in this case the Safavids), have then turned their nose up at the status quo and invaded our land.

"The zanādiqa are those who claimed godliness and prophethood."[2] As in the previous chapter on the khawārij, this one joins together a great variety of individuals, different in time and in space, in character and in impact, but united in the eye of the beholder, by that which was described by Michel Foucault as "ce geste qui exclut" by the granting of the appellation and the public exposition of evil.

The difference between the khawārij and the zanādiqa is mainly political. It is a difference between

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1 In UNW(l), f. 89v, the Mamluk emirs who rebelled in Bagdad in 1778/1192 are called khawārij.

2 On the political implications of the term zandaqa, see B. Lewis, Islam in History (London, 1973), pp. 228-229.

movements (khawārij) leading to armed rebellion, secession, invasion, physical threat, and individuals (zanādiqa) who pose a moral and ideological threat. It is also a difference between kufr through action (khawārij) and kufr through the word, through discourse (zanādiqa). And this is why two Carmathians, Karmanīh and Abū Faḍīl, find themselves included in the chapter on the zanādiqa--being "ideologues"--while three other Carmathians, Abū Sa'īd, Abū Ṭāhir and Zikrawaih, as leaders of movements and rebellions, are included in the chapter on the khawārij.

Chapter XLII is on the Ottoman State, "may Allāh preserve their State until the end of time." Qaramānī is certainly the main source for the first ten sultans. From the reign of Sultan Murād III onward there is a definite resemblance with the phrasing of Muḥibbī's accounts. And as Muḥibbī stops at Sultan Muḥammad IV, the reader can perceive a definite epistemological break there. Hence, it would be of interest to note here that the first khabar for the reign of Sultan Muḥammad IV concerns a Yazīdī from the region of Mosul who went to Istanbul in search of a position and took up arms against the sultan when he was shunned. In the biography of Sultan Muḥammad IV there is also news of Porte-Mosul relations and more news from the eastern provinces than ever before. In the biographies of Muḥammad's successors there is still news of the western front and of Istanbul, but the eastern and increasingly Iraqi and Mosuli character of the akhbār becomes more obvious. The Pashas of Bagdad, the Bābān Kurds, the Shii tribes of Iraq and the Jalīlīs of Mosul emerge on the discursive scene. This strong "localisation" trend is interrupted as the Berlin MS stops while dealing with the biography of Sultan Maḥmūd I, but it is bound to have continued as contemporary historical sources become more and more oral and more and more local, and the last chapter of the book deals with contemporary Iraq and Mosul.

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For the student of the Middle East, AYA comes as a disappointment as it tells him nothing of Jalīlī Mosul, while most of its information regarding Muslim history is very common. Still, a few passages (e.g., the khawārij) constitute an interesting pointer to the mentality of the time. AYA is a good example of a provincial work of "ornamental" history which, by its generality and concision, appeals to the average cultured man.

B. Annalistic History

Al-āthār al-jalīya fī 'l-ḥawādith al-arḍīya[1]

The British Library manuscript of ATH is something of an enigma. Purchased by the Library in 1901, it bears neither a date of copying nor the name of the copyist. The handwriting is rather poor and very uneven, the work is covered with erasings, and certain names of nations and places are distorted. Hence, Belgrade becomes Bagdad (p. 238); and the Russians, "worshippers of the cross", become "worshippers of the sultan" on p. 242.[2] Some pages of the manuscript have 20 lines (e.g.,p. 28) while others (e.g., p. 224) have 30 lines or even more. The work falls into twelve separate sections, each dealing with one century, starting with the year of the Hijra and ending in the year 1199 AH: a universal, annalistic work which covers twelve centuries of Islam. The work ends quite decisively in the year 1784/1199, as the last paragraph of the last page brings us a statement to that effect. The reader first becomes aware of the bizarre nature of ATH when, having reached p. 223 of the manuscript, he finds the following statment awaiting him after the news of the year 1726/1139:

> "Here ends the history of Yāsīn al-Khaṭīb. From this year until the end, what has been recorded cannot be taken into consideration, as most of it is inarticulate and consists of blind wanderings[3] which can be neither edited nor corrected. And this is precisely why I have taken it upon myself, I Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn to rewrite this book in the year 1212 of the Hijra in order to please the noble and the learned ones who might come to read it."

And so it seems that this manuscript of ATH, or the original upon which it is based, was "edited" by a contemporary of the author, Yāsīn ʿUmarī. And one can only speculate as to the why of the matter. At the beginning of this century, Madrasat al-Khayyāṭ in Mosul had a unique manuscript of ATH

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1 ATH: MS of the British Library, Or. 6300 in 248 pages.

2 As the word سلطان replaces the word صلبان .

3 Arabic: khabaṭ ʿashwāwī ʿayyan.

in the hand of the author himself. This manuscript is now lost, but Dr. D. Jalabī's ZUB is based on it. Dr. Jalabī's private papers (now in Maktabat al-Auqāf in Mosul) tell us that in the original manuscript of ATH--by the hand of the author--the small passage by Muḥammad Āl Yāsīn had been added in the margin. And so it seems that the copyist of the British Library copy of ATH has included it in the body of the text. The British Library copy also differs from the original in two respects. The original contained 273 pages, and the last folio, covering the events of the year 1794/1209 was missing when Dr. Jalabī examined it, whereas the British Library copy, the "edited" one, stops ten years earlier in 1199 AH. And there is something else missing from the British Library copy: in the original, the author, in his preface, dedicates the work to Muḥammad Amīn Bey b. Ibrāhīm Bey b. Yūnus Bey b. Yāsīn Effendi al-Muftī (Āl Yāsīn), whereas this dedication cannot be found in the British Library copy.[1]

ATH comprises a short preface and twelve sections. The book is introduced by the invocation and praises to Allāh, and in the next paragraph, the author introduces his work to the reader:

> "While reading books of history--books which are equally instructive and entertaining, I decided to compile a separate book about outstanding and magnificent events, and I therefore compiled this book, using various sources such as Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Wardī, the Ghurar[2] and the Himyān[3] as well as what

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[1] Until today this kind of "editing" takes place in Mosul. When Ṣiddīq Bey Jalīlī published Yāsīn ʿUmarī's GHA in 1940, he was approached by a prominent member of the ʿUmarī family who asked him if he could eliminate from the publication the passages of the MS where Yāsīn ʿUmarī makes violent diatribes against the Kurds: and this because a notable ʿUmarī of the time had just married into a Kurdish family. As a result of this request, all published copies of GHA were withdrawn from the bookshops and pages 81-82 torn out before the copies were put back into circulation. The Middle East Centre (St. Antony's College, Oxford) has a copy of GHA, published by Ṣiddīq Bey Jalīlī, and it seems that this copy is one of the very few to have escaped the mutilation that awaited its sister copies.

[2] Most probably Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs, attributed to either Ḥusain al-Marghanī ath-Thaʿālibī or to Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik ath-Thaʿālibī.

[3] Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī's Nakt al-himyān fi nukat al-ʿumyān, although I have been unable to trace a single khabar mentioned in ATH to the said work.

> I have heard from the wise men and what I have witnessed with my own eyes. I wanted this book to be an example for those who can understand[1] so that the reader might acquire some knowledge of what happened in the cities and in various other import- and places, and so that the wise and intelligent among the illustrious be honoured."

The written sources mentioned in this preface do not cover all of the material contained in ATH, especially since all the sources mentioned stop short of the Ottoman period. One obvious other source must be the author's previous works, AYA for example.

Most of the akhbār are oversimplified as ATH shies away from doctrinal problems and refuses to tackle the cause of political strife, choosing instead to concentrate on the military and violent succession of events from which the law of causality is totally absent. This oversimplified and schematic view of history might well irritate the modern scholar, but it surely serves a purpose in itself. First of all, it casts a light on history as entertainment much more than as learning and understanding. Secondly, it illustrates the gap between political power and true knowledge, between the malik and the ʿālim, and, through them, between the mamlaka (rival and conflicting succession of dynasties) and the umma --in a way present in its totality in the mind of each single learned man who is untouched and untainted by the corruption of power, the more so since he is not concerned with establishing relations of cause to effect between events which, in any way, are morally condemnable. Finally, this lack of "understanding", this "ignorance", allows a somewhat reassuring picture of the umma, since it does away with many segmentations and internal rivalries. Hence these Ghuzz Turcomans who captured Balkh in 1153/548 are not said to be Muslims.[2] In the same context, the Saljūqids are never said to be Ghuzz themselves.[3]

The eighth century is, at an epistemological level, quite interesting. The first years introduce us to the future

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1 Arabic: ʿibra li ūlā 'l-abṣār.

2 Whereas Ibn al-Wardī (Tatimma, II, 53) tells the reader that they were Muslims.

3 Whereas Ibn al-Wardī tells us that they were Ghuzz (Tatimma, II, 53).

masters of the destiny of Sunni Islam: "In 702 Sultan ʿUthmān Khān, son of Urthughrul, ancestor of the glorious sultans, marched at the head of the Islamic armies, besieged the fortress of Iznīq, conquered it and made it Dār al-Islām."[1] Iznīq (Nicaea) was in fact conquered in 732 by Urkhān son of ʿUthmān.[2] But beyond historical error, what is of real interest here is that neither Ibn al-Wardī nor Yāfiʿī, ATH's two main sources, mention the first Ottomans. The reader is thus presented with a phenomenon of binarity with, on the one hand political identification of ATH with the Ottoman dynasty, and on the other hand cultural identification with the Mamluks of Egypt through the pre-Ottoman sources. Indeed, in spite of the rise of the Ottomans, Egypt remains at the heart of the texts: "In 709 news reached Egypt of a Frankish onslaught on Granada."[3] The Mamluk sultan of Egypt is still <u>the</u> sultan, as indicated by the fact that the texts refer to him without further precision: <u>as-sulṭān</u>.

Towards 1329/730, however, this binarity fades away as ATH stops relying on pre-Ottoman sources and news about Egypt is taken, in retrospect, from an Ottoman source, Qaramānī. ATH's accounts of Mamluk-Ottoman-Timūrid relations are taken from him,[4] and so is the "Egyptian news" such as <u>coups d'état</u> and the many tribulations of the sultanate: from observer Egypt becomes observed.

Section X sees the final demise of the Mamluks in Egypt, once the spear-head and standard-bearers of Islam, now simply sultans of Egypt, masters of Egypt, and "ill-omened Circasssians",[5] while the Ottoman sultan becomes <u>the</u> sultan.

This century is also the century of the Persians and it is inaugurated by the emergence (<u>ẓuhūr</u>) of Ismāʿīl the Safavid. ATH gives us a shortened account of Qaramānī, but

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1 ATH, p. 143.

2 See S.J. Shaw, <u>History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey</u> (Cambridge, 1976), vol. I, p. 15; Qaramānī, p. 298.

3 ATH, p. 144.

4 The account of the rise of Timūr is the same in ATH as it is in Qaramānī, and both quote <u>Kitāb al-muntakhab</u>. In ATH, p. 155: <u>dhakara ṣāḥib kitāb al-muntakhab</u>; and in Qaramānī, pp. 288-289: <u>dhakara ṣāḥib al-muntakhab</u>. In AYA,which was written prior to ATH, Yāsīn b. Khairallāh, introducing Timūr in his chapter on the <u>khawārij</u>, quotes <u>ṣāḥib al-muntakhab</u>.

5 ATH, p. 194: <u>al-jarākisa 'l-anḥās</u>.

also draws from other sources such as Muḥibbī.

With the division of the Muslim world between Ottomans and Safavids, Iraq emerges as the main battlefield: border province devastated from all sides. And this is why accounts of wars and battles go beyond the mere military encounter: they become more intelligible, easier to follow, and the nomenclature--names of peoples, individuals and places--becomes relatively clear. In contrast, the news from the western empire, the front and the capital, is all extremely confused, and ATH's accounts of the struggles for power in Istanbul excessively naïve.

The western empire remains covered with mist. It is not possible to say whether ATH has relied on Naʿīma for the 11th century. This is possible, although Naʿīma is far more detailed and precise than the provincial adīb who wrote ATH. ATH delights in conveying to the reader small incidents, "signs" and "symbols",[1] which, in themselves, personify an event or a period. Hence, in 1593/1002, when the Ottomans besieged Yānuq, a shell fired by the Infidels broke the noble standard. While Naʿīma does not mention this particular incident in his account of the campaign,[2] it can be found in Muḥibbī,[3] whose akhbār can often be found in ATH during this period.[4]

In this century, Mosul emerges in the narrative with news of droughts, invasions of locusts, etc. In the last year of the century one witnesses the first personal intervention by the author of ATH: the point where ʿiyān and hearsay start to replace isnād:

> "In this year, a famine known as the great famine struck Mosul. I was told by my father, Khairallāh al-Khaṭīb, that when he was just ten years old he witnessed the hardships which were brought by this famine which lasted 3 years."[5]

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1 "La petite histoire".

2 See Annals, I, 32-33.

3 IV, 353.

4 Cf. for example ATH, p. 204 and Muḥibbī, IV, 352; ATH, p. 205 and Muḥibbī, IV, 353; ATH, p. 208 and Muḥibbī, I, 289; ATH, p. 209 and Muḥibbī, IV, 264, for the deposition of Muṣṭafā I; ATH, p. 212 and Muḥibbī, IV, 338 for the conquest of Bagdad by the Ottomans in 1638/1048.

5 ATH, p. 217.

In the twelfth century ATH acquires a strong local flavour. At the level of sources, Mosuli historians, Mosuli travellers and merchants, and the author's friends and relatives supply the political news of the province and convey, be it by writing or orally, reports about all sorts of events taking place in Iraq, in Persia or in Istanbul.[1] Still at the level of sources, ʿiyān becomes prominent as the author tells us of the events he has witnessed, from the urban strife to the ʿajīb which pervades the narrative:

> "In the spring of 1180[2] it rained in Mosul and the skies poured forth quantities of tiny frogs. At that time I was in the market, and when it stopped raining I returned home from outside the walls[3] to find the ground covered with innumerable little frogs."[4]

Parallel to this "regionalisation" of sources is a "regionalisation" of contents, as the subject matter and preoccupations of ATH become increasingly Iraqi and Mosuli. Bagdad rises to prominence with Ḥasan Pasha and his son Aḥmad Pasha after him preparing the way for the Mamluk dynasty. The power and prominence of the Pashas of Bagdad is well illustrated in the narrative, as every victory against

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1 Hence in the account of Nādir Shāh's campaigns in far away lands: "I have heard from someone I trust that . . .," ATH, p. 227.

2 The author would have been 22 years old.

3 This indicates that the market in question is most probably Sūq Bāb al-Baiḍ, or else Sūq Bāb aṭ-Ṭūb.

4 ATH, p. 237. Six years later, ATH gives us the following story: "A poor man's wife had died of the plague, leaving a suckling. The father gave the baby the breast and milk flowed abundantly, feeding the child who lived and grew up suckled by his father, glory be to the Fosterer, the Strong, the Mighty. This story is well known among the people of Mosul," ATH, p. 241. The inhabitants of Mosul today still recall the story of the owner of a shāikhāna who died some 15 years ago. This man's mother, it seems, had died while giving birth to him. His father then carried the baby to the shrine of Nabī Jirjīs, and as a result he was able to suckle the child who grew and lived.

the Persians or the tribes of Baṣra brings madḥ and ta'rīkh by Mosuli poets. Closer to Mosul, one sees the emergence of the Kurds of the emirate of Bahdīnān, as well as of the predatory Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār. Interestingly enough, it seems that the intensity of the accounts of disturbances, feuds, raids and razzias, etc. focuses along a line which goes from Baṣra on the Persian Gulf, to Bagdad, to Mosul, to Aleppo on the Mediterranean, thus outlining the mercantile profile of the individual or group of individuals whose preoccupations and interests inspire the narrative of ATH.

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Ad-durr al-maknūn fī 'l-ma'āthir al-māḍiya min al-qurūn

A. The Paris MS[1]

In the preface (pp. 1-3) the author tells the reader that he had originally written a book in which he had followed the model of Yāfi'ī (Mir'āt al-jinān) and Ibn al-Wardī (Tatimma), starting with the Hijra until the year 1200 AH.

> "But then I mislaid this book, and this loss saddened me very much for I had not made a fair copy of it.

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[1] DUR(1): MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, number Arabe 4949, in 670 pages. The copy, by Muḥammad b. As'ad Nīnawī, is dated Monday 18 Rabī' II 1297 (sic) and it is based on a MS (probably by Yāsīn 'Umarī himself) completed on 25 Muḥarram 1218/18 May 1803.

> And so it remained for some years until Allāh enabled me finally to compile this book which is based on Yāfiʿī, Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān, Tārīkh ad-duwal,[1] Tārīkh al-Yaman,[2] the Ḥurm,[3] the Himyān fī nukat al-ʿumyān,[4] the Istīʿāb,[5] the Tabyīn fī ansāb al-Quraishīyīn,[6] the history of Muḥibbī,[7] the Nafḥa,[8] the Ṭabaqāt,[9] the Rauḍ an-naẓīr,[10] Manhal al-auliyā' and Marāti' al-aḥdāq,[11] the history of Naʿīma, as well as other books of history."

The work is dedicated to ʿAlī Pasha who became wali of Bagdad following the death of Sulaimān Pasha the Great in Rajab 1217/July 1802.

DUR is a more complete, more detailed and more carefully written version of ATH, another annalistic work by Yāsīn ʿUmarī. The first eight centuries are taken from Ibn al-Wardī and Yāfiʿī. In the ninth century AH the narrative becomes crowded with biographies, and this coincides with a considerable increase in the frequency of news from Egypt: Cairo and the historians of the Mamluks become prominent. In the tenth century there is a definite shift away from the Mamluks and towards the Ottomans, and the biographies retain a dominant position well into the eleventh century when they practically monopolise the narrative. The eleventh century also sees a number of akhbār related to the Muslim sultans of Bilād al-Hind. At the beginning of the twelfth century (c. 1110 AH) the biographies stop abruptly and the narrative centres almost exclusively on Mosul and on Iraq, as the Pashas of Bagdad displace the Ottoman sultans. For the student of Jalīlī society DUR is invaluable as it provides ample information regarding the history of the town, its rulers and its learned men. The detailed chronicle of

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1 By Qaramānī.

2 Probably ʿUmāra's.

3 Probaly Al-iʿlām bi aʿlāmbait Allāh al-ḥarām by Nahrawālī.

4 Nakt al-himyān by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī.

5 Qurṭubī's Al-istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb.

6 By Muwaffaq ad-Dīn b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī.

7 Khulāṣat al-athar.

8 Muḥibbī's Nafḥat ar-raiḥāna wa rashḥat ṭalā 'l-ḥāna.

9 Probably Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīya by Nahrawālī.

10 ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī's Rauḍ an-naḍir.

11 Both by Amīn ʿUmarī.

Iraqi events stops in the year 1803/1218.

B. The London MS[1]

This MS of DUR is quite enigmatic. In the preface (f. 2v) the author informs us that he had once compiled a book "unique in its kind, a concise book starting with the Hijra and ending in the year 1206. But circumstances forced me to sell this book as I was in need of money.[2] At the same time I decided to give up historiography. Then, towards the end of the year 1213, a friend encouraged me to write another book, and so I wrote this book, giving it the name I had given the other, and which is Ad-durr al-maknūn fī 'l-ma'āthir al-māḍiya min al-qurūn."

The preface of DUR(2) thus differs from that of DUR(1) and the one and only rough draft is said to have been sold, not lost, while the period covered now stretches to 1206 AH instead of 1200. As for the bitterness and disappointment of Yāsīn, and as for his decision to give up the writing of history, it may well have to do with the reception given to ATH around 1212 AH by the notable to whom it was dedicated.[3] The London MS also differs from the Paris one in that it does not stop in 1803/1218 but goes on to cover the period up to 1811/1226. The last fifteen years covered by DUR(2) are very short and not in line with the more fluent and detailed account of the earlier years. The period 1210-1218 when compared with the end of DUR(1), is markedly different in the two works. It seems that the copyist of DUR(2) has used an incomplete original, and that he then drew from other works by Yāsīn 'Umarī to take the narrative up to 1811/1226. For although the events of the years 1793/1210-1811/1226 differ from those given in DUR(1) they are, however, taken from other works by Yāsīn 'Umarī. Despite the fundamental difference between the prefaces of both works, and despite their divergent endings,

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1 DUR(2): MS of the British Library, number Add. 23312, in 399 folios. The MS was purchased by the Library from Mrs. Taylor in April 1860.

2 Arabic: aḥrajanī 'l-ḥāl ilā bai'ih wa ṣarf thamanih.

3 See supra, p. 225.

it seems that DUR(1) and DUR(2) are nevertheless copies of the same work by Yāsīn ʿUmarī. A thorough examination of the two MSS reveals minute differences in the body of the text (a shorter version of an account here, a poetical line omitted there), but the actual structure of the work is exactly the same, as are the wording of the akhbār and the ordering of events under each year.[1]

Between DUR(1) and DUR(2) there is, however, one major and interesting difference. But this difference does not cast doubt either on the identity of the work or on its attribution to Yāsīn ʿUmarī. Rather, it sheds a light on the "copying industry" and on the freedom of the copyist. It is certain that DUR(2), the London MS, is not based on DUR(1), the Paris MS which is a very late copy, but that both MSS are based on different, and most probably lost, originals. What is of particular interest in the London MS is that it appears to have been thoroughly "edited" by the copyist, and the wording of the events related to the Shiis altered throughout, as a comparison between the akhbār clearly shows. While dealing with Sunni-Shii feuds in Abbasid Bagdad, DUR(1)--following its main sources (Yāfiʿī and Ibn al-Wardī), and in accordance with other works by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (AYA, ATH)--refers to the Shiis as Rafaḍa and Rawāfiḍ, whereas DUR(2) simply refers to them as Shiis.[2] The vizir Ibn al-ʿAlqamī, "who induced the evil Tatars to capture Bagdad", is called an accursed Rāfiḍī in DUR(1), but not in DUR(2). Identification with the Ottoman dynasty, blatant and whole-hearted in DUR(1) where they are called "our sultans", is muted in DUR(2). Faithful to its main sources, DUR(1) refers to the Fatimids as ʿUbaidīyūn, hence denying them a noble lineage, whereas DUR(2) always refers to them as the Alid caliphs. In DUR(1) Junaid the Safavid is "the first who propagated rafḍ" whereas DUR(2) never mentions the word rafḍ.[3] DUR(1) tells us that after

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[1] The only difference of some importance is an account of the French invasion of Egypt which can be found in DUR(2) but not in DUR(1) nor in any other work by Yāsīn ʿUmarī. See infra, p. 294.

[2] Cf. for example DUR(1), p. 139 and DUR(2), f. 83r.

[3] Cf. DUR(2), f. 212r and DUR(1), p. 392: awwal man aẓhara 'r-rafḍ.

defeating and killing the king of the Uzbeks, Shah Ismā'īl the Safavid had drunk wine (khamr) out of the king's skull, whereas DUR(2) mentions water and not wine.[1] While writing of the Iraqi campaigns of Nādir Shāh, DUR(1) refers to the Persians as Rawāfiḍ and puts them in opposition to "us", Muslims (muslimūn) and monotheists (muwaḥḥidūn), and Nādir Shāh is referred to as an accursed rebel (khārijī la'īn), whereas such derogatory attributes and value judgements do no appear in DUR(2).[2] Finally, the 'Āshūrā' feud which took place in Mosul c. 1650 between the 'Umarīs and the Ashrāf is totally ignored by DUR(2).[3]

The London MS is certainly a copy of DUR by Yāsīn 'Umarī. But it appears that this copy, or the original on which it is based, is the work of a mutashayyi'--maybe one of the Ashrāf of Mosul--who thought it wiser to alter the wording of the akhbār related to Shiism. Unfortunately, the London MS bears no date of copying, but this "editing" might well be connected with the growth of the fundamentalist movement: it may well have induced the sufis and advocates of the cult of saints to come closer to the Shiis in defence of a relatively common religious experience.

C. The Berlin MS[4]

This MS is in bad condition and numerous pages are faded. Throughout, the margins are crammed with last-minute additions, and the narrative covering the last ten years or so (1800-1811) is illegible. The beginning and the end of the MS are missing--it starts in 729/111 and ends in 1811/1226. A close examination of this imperfect MS shows that it is certainly a copy of Yāsīn 'Umarī's DUR. It is certain that this Berlin MS is a rough draft. The phrasing of the akhbār related to the Shiis is in line with the Paris MS and

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1 Cf. DUR(1), p. 407 and DUR(2), f. 219rv.

2 See Appendix V for what Amīn 'Umarī has to say about the Persians.

3 Cf. DUR(1), p. 518 and DUR(2), f. 281r.

4 DUR(3): MS of the Staatsbibliothek, number 9485, without title, referred to as Ta'rīkh and attributed to Yāsīn 'Umarī. Incomplete in 434 folios.

with all other works by Yāsīn ʿUmarī, and it differs from the neutral phrasing used in the London MS. Hence, the Berlim MS tells us that in 1588/997 ʿAbd al-Mu'min, the Uzbek king, conquered Mashhad (in Persia), "killing the Rafaḍa and integrating Mashhad into the Dār al-Islām,"[1] whereas the same event, as it appears in the London MS, betrays a totally different attitude: ". . . he killed all the Shiis who were in the holy shrine."[2]

There is no doubt that these three MSS are copies of DUR by Yāsīn ʿUmarī. And it appears that the Paris MS is based on an original which differs in its preface as in its ending from the originals upon which the London and Berlin MSS are based.

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ʿUmdat al-bayān fī taṣārīf az-zamān[3]

In the preface the author informs the reader that he had extracted UMD from DUR. The work is organised annalistically, and the events pertaining to each year are separated from the others by a line. In each "square" thus formed by the lines the author presents the one or two major events which, to his mind, have marked their year.[4] The style of UMD is very similar to that of ATH.

One interesting feature of UMD is that spontaneous identification with the Ottoman dynasty comes earlier in time, and the Mamluks are dropped altogether. This differs from Yāsīn ʿUmarī's other works, AYA for example, in which a certain ambivalence and a dual identification survive in the eighth and early ninth century. The reason for this appears to be that UMD, based on DUR, is a doubly filtered work where contact with pre-Ottoman sources (e.g., Ibn al-Wardī, Yāfiʿī, Maqrīzī) does not occur.

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1 DUR(3), f. 257r.

2 DUR(2), f. 232rv: wa qatala min ahl ash-shīʿa kull man fī 'l-mashhad al-muqaddas.

3 UMD: MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 9084, in 124 folios. The title page gives it erroneously as being DUR.

4 For example: "In the 40th year of the Hijra ʿAlī was killed, and the philosophers of Alexandria discovered the powder and the bomb."

The eleventh century AH and the emergence of Mosul on the discursive scene sees the introduction of various corrections in red on the MS. Hence, whereas the body of the text tells us that in 1082 AH the mufti of Mosul, Maḥmūd Effendi b. ʿAbdallāh, died, someone has corrected ʿAbdallāh to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, adding in the margin, "He is the grandfather of my own grandfather Yūnus Bey b. Yāsīn the mufti who became qāḍī ʿaskar, and I am the humble Muḥammad Amīn." And so it seems that UMD was being edited by the same notable who had edited Yāsīn's ATH. Again, in the year 1140 AH, the same hand has corrected "Ashraf Khān, shah of the ʿAjam" to "Ashraf Khān, shah of the Afghans." Furthermore, the whole, confused, account of Persio-Ottoman wars is filled with corrections.

The work ends abruptly in 1205 AH. There is no conclusion, and the MS appears to be incomplete.

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Umm ad-dunyā[1]

The beginning and the end of the MS are missing. It starts with the year 1768/1182 and ends in the middle of the year 1798/1213. This annalistic work is similar to Yāsīn's other books. One khabar, the first in this amputated MS, is of interest. The author tells us that the accursed party of Infidel Musqūf (Russians) who waged war on the sultan in 1768/1182 "were the descendants of Jabala b. al-Aiham the Ghassānid."[2]

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[1] UMM: fragment of a MS without title belonging to the Staatsbibliothek, number 9486, in 63 folios, attributed to Yāsīn ʿUmarī. The last folio tells us that "this is an abridged version of a history book called Umm ad-dunyā, and it was also said Umm al-barāhīn."

[2] Jabala b. al-Aiham, the last Ghassānid prince who was briefly converted to Islam.

C. Biographical Dictionaries

Ar-rauḍa 'l-faiḥā' fī tawārīkh an-nisā'[1]

In the preface the author tells us that he wrote NIS because he "could not find a book of history concerned exclusively with women[2] . . . and so I composed this book, dividing it into an introduction, two chapters and a conclusion."

The introduction (fī fawā'id jalīla wa maḥāsin jamīla) deals with the physical and moral qualities which should be sought in a woman, it contains various Traditions and proverbs about women, and it defines woman's role in the adventure of mankind. This Frauenanschauung is inspired by Baghawī's Maṣābīḥ as-sunna and Ma'ālim at-tanzīl, Ibn Nujaim's Al-ashbāh wa 'n-naẓā'ir fī 'l-furū' (jurisprudence), Suyūṭī's Īḍāḥ, also in jurisprudence, and 'Umar as-Sunnāmī's Niṣāb al-iḥtisāb, a work of ḥisba. Yāsīn 'Umarī also quotes Qādīkhān al-Uzājandī, a Hanafite faqīh who died in 1196/592.[3]

The first chapter, "On virtuous women", starts with Eve, and the biography of Amīna (the Prophet's mother) allows Yāsīn 'Umarī to digress on Muḥammad himself. The narrative relies heavily on Manhal aṣ-ṣafā by Amīn 'Umarī,

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[1] NIS(1): MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 1802, in 480 pages. This copy by Ibrāhīm Durūbī, dated 1910/1330, is based on a MS by Yāsīn 'Umarī dated 1789/1204.

[2] At the beginning of this century there were no biographical dictionaries of women in the libraries of Mosul.

[3] Maybe his Kitāb masā'il al-ghurūr.

Yāsīn's brother, as well as on the Sīra 'l-Ḥalabīya by Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī.

The most interesting account is that of Mariam bint ʿUmrān where Yāsīn digresses to tell us of Jesus (ʿĪsā) and of the Christians (Naṣārā). ʿĪsā is, of course, a prophet, and the question of his resurrection should therefore be dealt with satisfactorily. And thus we are told that when one of the disciples, having betrayed Jesus, led the Jews to him, Allāh raised Jesus to heaven and cast on the traitor a mould that made him look exactly like Jesus. And so, notwithstanding his pleas and protestations, the Jews seized the man and crucified him. And it was he who died on the cross, and not Jesus the prophet. In this way does Yāsīn elude the question of the resurrection. Jesus then came back on earth and, having gathered his disciples, he sent them out to spread the good word. The real problem, as far as Yāsīn is concerned, starts with a quote from Mattā: "I now send you to the nations of the earth, as my father had sent me to you, so that you go and preach to the nations of the world in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This, Yāsīn tells us, is what the Naṣārā claim, but Allāh is one, He was not born, nor did He procreate. Then Yāsīn goes on to say that when, during the Last Supper, Jesus said to his disciples that one of them would betray him, he most probably

had in mind this Mattā (Matthew) who later reported these evil words about a son of Allāh. Thus is the divine nature of Christ dealt with in a satisfactory manner, and thus is Jesus separated from the Christians who misunderstood and falsified his mission: Islam annexes Christ by rejecting the Christians. There follows a violent diatribe against the Naṣārā who pretend that the Messiah is Allāh, worship idols and drown in superstitions of all kinds. Here Yāsīn mentions the Christian credo, the Lord's Prayer, the Councils and the religious hierarchy. The author quotes Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Wardī, and the Kitāb takhjīl man ḥarrafa 'l-Injīl, which is by Abū al-Baqā' al-Ja'farī.[1] One point of interest in this account is Yāsīn's attitude to the new religion which had emerged in his time:

> "And among the many ignominies of the Christians one can include this new religion which appeared among the Christians of Mosul. It was brought in 1193 AH by the Padres from the land of the Ifranj.[2] And this new religion, which they call Masīḥīya, is but an erratic and degenerate version of the other. Soon, most of the Christians of Mosul were converted to this new creed and they started cursing their dead, ancestors, mothers and fathers, castigating them as Infidels, may Allāh damn them and put them all to shame. And I have composed an ode, in which I have exposed such infamous beliefs, and which I have reproduced in my book Ad-durr al-muntathir fī tarājim udabā' al-qarn ath-thālith 'ashar."[3]

From the second century Hijra onwards the biographies of virtuous women are taken from Yāfi'ī's Mir'āt al-jinān and his Durr an-naẓīm,[4] Ibn al-Athīr's Kāmil, Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn al-Wardī, Tha'ālibī's Yatīmat ad-dahr, Al-ikhtiyār,[5]

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[1] At the beginning of this century Madrasat al-Khayyāṭ had a copy of a shorter version of this work, by Abū Faḍl as-Sa'ūdī, copy dated 1687/1099. Yāsīn's brother Amīn had written a Risāla fī 'r-radd 'alā 'n-Naṣārā.

[2] The date given by Yāsīn (1779) is rather late and must refer to some official recognition by the authorities (firman?) of the new religion. For Padres Yāsīn writes bawātir, a term used nowadays in Mosul, by Muslims and Christians alike, to designate the Roman-Catholic priests.

[3] This work is unfortunately lost to us, but the ode can be found in DUR(1), pp. 630-632. For the diatribe against the Christians and the account of the Virgin and Christ, see NIS(1), pp. 66-76.

[4] The exact title is Ad-durr an-naẓīm fī khawāṣ al-Qur'ān al-karīm.

[5] Al-ikhtiyār fī furū' al-Ḥanafīya by 'Abdallāh al-Mauṣilī (d. 1284/683).

and Yāsīn also quotes a mysterious Tārīkh al-Yaman in connection with an ʿajīb-gharīb phenomenon of the ninth century AH. The last biography in this first chapter is that of Khānum Sulṭān, daughter of Sultan Sulaimān, who rebuilt the wells of Mecca in the tenth century AH.

The second chapter deals with a variety of rebellious, tyrannical, treacherous and lustful women, from ʿAbbāsa bint al-Mahdī, "who was the reason behind the disgrace and murder of the Barmakids," to Jubra queen of Persia. The sources here are Ibn al-Wardī, Amīn ʿUmarī's Manhal aṣ-ṣafā, and Ibn al-Jauzī's Adhkiyā'. While presenting to the reader the mother of Jinkiz Khān, Yāsīn confuses her with the latter's grandmother, digresses on the legal period of pregnancy (Jinkiz Khān's mother having given birth to him long after the death of her husband), on the kingdom of China conquered by Jinkiz Khān--as in Ibn al-Wardī--and on the Great Yāsā where Yāsīn gives us the same account as in ATH and in AYA. The last biography is that of Sulṭān Bakht, daughter of the wicked Timūr, a lustful lesbian.

The author concludes his work (fi dhikr adhkiyā' an-nisā') with some entertaining stories about interesting and witty women, such as the one from the Banū Kilāb whom the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn met while hunting, and who seduced him by her wit and eloquence.

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Manhaj ath-thiqāt fī tarājim al-quḍāt[1]

In the preface Yāsīn ʿUmarī tells us of the previous works he had composed and mentions the sources he used to compile the present book, "and they are Yāfiʿī, Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Athīr, DUR, Tārīkh al-Yamanī,[2] the Himyān[3] as well as others." He then goes on to tell us that although QUD is a biographical dictionary of the qadis of Islam, he has limited it to those qadis who had written poetry. The work is ordered alphabetically, it comprises

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1 QUD: MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, number Khayyāṭ 5/14, in 143 folios. The copy, dated 1806/1221, is by the author.

2 Maybe a reference to ʿUmāra's work.

3 Nakt al-himyān fī nukat al-ʿumyān by Salāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī.

an introduction, the body of the text and a conclusion, and is dedicated to Sayyid ʿUbaidallāh b. Sayyid Khalīl al-Baṣīrī, qadi of Mosul.

In the introduction (ff. 7r-8v)[1] he mentions some Traditions and proverbs on the virtues and necessity of the qaḍā', and he also quotes Al-fuṣūṣ (Ibn ʿArabī ?), Al-bustān,[2] ʿUyūn al-madhāhib by Qiwām ad-Dīn al-Khujandī al-Kākī (d. 1348/749), Maṣābīḥ as-sunna by Baghawī, Nisāb al-iḥtisāb by ʿUmar as-Sunnāmī (d. 1585/993), as well as a Kitāb as-sijillāt.[3]

In all, 978 qadis are mentioned in QUD, and the great majority are not Mosulis, nor are they contemporaries of the author. The biographies are usually concise--a résumé of the main sources. Each biography is in fact a pretext for poetical digressions and the whole work is but an anthology where original verses by illustrious poets, past and present, are usually followed by various versions of takhmīs and tashṭīr by Mosuli udabā'.

In his conclusion (ff. 138r-142r)[4] Yāsīn, true littérateur that he is, seeks to entertain the reader and tells him various stories about odd judgements passed and about eccentric judges, such as the story of the qadi into whose presence were brought a chained man, a bull and a dead man: the chained man's bull had killed the other man. And what did the qadi do? He had the bull crucified. Yāsīn completed QUD on Friday 24 Jumādā II 1211/26 December 1796.

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As-saif al-muhannad fī manāqib man summiya Aḥmad[5]

As the title of the work indicates this is a biographical dictionary, and it deals with those worthy of mention and whose name was Aḥmad. In the preface the author

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1 Entitled: fī faḍl al-ʿilm wa 'l-qaḍā'.

2 Bustān al-ʿārifīn by either Nawawī or Abū al-Laith as-Samarqandī.

3 It could refer to the Law Court documents.

4 Entitled: fī nawadīr al-quḍāt.

5 SAI: facsimile copy of a MS belonging to the ʿUmarī family, Madrasat Yaḥyā Pasha in Mosul, number 970/ع م س, in 147 pages.

tells us that all the biographies were extracted from his own DUR and that the work was offered to Aḥmad Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī.[1]

After telling us, in the introduction (pp. 3-4), of the virtues attached to the name Aḥmad, Yāsīn ʿUmarī starts his biographical account with the Prophet. The body of the text contains no original material and all the biographies can be traced to the author's other works, AYA and DUR for example. The first Mosuli mentioned is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī, a notable who was murdered by a Turkish governor.

The author ends his work with a conclusion on the names derived from ḥamada (Ḥāmid, Ḥamīd, etc.). In all SAI comprises 397 biographies.[2]

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Qurrat al-ʿainain fī tarājim al-Ḥasan wa 'l-Ḥusain[3]

Following the invocation and the usual prayers, the preface (pp. 2-3) gives the structure of the work: two chapters, one on the name Ḥasan and the other on the name Ḥusain "in which I did not mention any ignorant man,"[4] and a conclusion on the name ʿAlī. The work is dedicated to Ḥasan Bey (later Pasha) b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī.

The first chapter (pp. 4-48) starts with Imām Ḥasan and comprises 71 different biographies, and the second chapter (pp. 49-80) starts with his brother Imām Ḥusain and contains 49 biographies. Various Ottoman dignitaries and learned men are mentioned, and many biographies

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1 Aḥmad Bey became Pasha in 1812, and SAI must have been written before that date. In the text, in the biography of a contemporary Mosulī, the author gives 1804 as the date of death. SAI must therefore have been written between 1804 and 1812. And as the author, in his presentation of Aḥmad Āl Bakr, does not refer to him as Pasha nor mention his ill-fated rule, it appears that SAI was written after 1804 and before 1809.

2 Oddly enough, the biography of the Jalīlī emir to whom SAI is dedicated is conspicuously absent. Nor it it to be found in the Iraqi Museum Library MS copy of SAI (number 18251) which I have also examined. The explanation should probably be sought in connection with the politics of notables.

3 HAS: MS of a private Jalīlī library in 172 pages.

4 Arabic: man tajahhala.

are taken from Muḥibbī's Khulāṣa.[1]

The conclusion begins with ʿAlī, and in this section the author, in contrast with the two chapters, introduces various juhhāl, such as ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid the zindīq who claimed to be Dhū al-Qarnain,[2] and ʿAlī Zaitūnī the khārijī of Yaman. As with the two chapters many biographies of contemporaries are taken from Muḥibbī.[3] In all, 125 men are mentioned in this conclusion which ends with ʿAlī ash-Shaqqāq, a sufi saint who died in 1772/1186. This copy was completed on 6 Rajab 1224/20 August 1809.

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Khulāṣat at-tawārīkh[4]

KHU is a biographical dictionary comprising 395 names and divided into 8 chapters. The name of the person to whom it is dedicated is missing, but it was probably an ʿAbdallāh since the first chapter deals with those whose names were ʿAbdallāh and ʿUbaidallāh (ff. 2r-36v). The second chapter (ff. 37r-50r) deals with the name ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān; the third (ff. 50v-52v) with ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm; chapter four (ff. 52v-56v) presents "those whose name has been added to Malik, Quddūs, Salām, Mu'min"; chapter five (ff. 56v-64v) "those whose name has been added to ʿAzīz, Wahhāb, Razzāq, Fattāḥ, Laṭīf, Ḥalīm"; the sixth chapter (ff. 64v-72v) tells us of "those whose name has been added to Karīm, Majīd, Waḥīd, Ḥaqq, Ḥamīd, Ḥayy, Qādī, Ghanī, Ḥāfiẓ and Bāqī"; chapter seven (ff. 72v-79r) those whose name comprises the qualities given by Allāh, such as Faḍlallāh and Hadīyatallāh". All the material contained in these chapters can be found in other works by the same author. The eighth and last chapter (ff. 79r-122v) has an interesting title: "On the names of those who claimed perfection but were on the path of error, and whose names are not

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1 Cf. for example Ḥasan Pasha b. al-Aʿwaj in HAS, pp. 28-29 and Muḥibbī, II, 45-48; Ḥasan ar-Rūmī Sinānzāda in HAS, p. 35 and Muḥibbī, II, 18-21.

2 In AYA Yāsīn had told us that this ʿAlī had claimed to be the Mahdī.

3 Cf. the biography of ʿAlī Jānbalāṭ in HAS, pp. 132-134 and Muḥibbī, III, 135-140.

4 KHU: MS of the Staatsbibliothek, number 9900, in 122 folios.

Arabic".[1] Oddly enough, good Muslim rulers such as Subuktikīn, Zanki and Tughān Khān "a good Muslim Turkish king", are included in this chapter. And this inclusion seems to indicate that some words are missing from the title of the chapter which ought to read: ". . . and on those whose names are not Arabic".[2] Included in this chapter, among the doomed ones, are Jinkiz Khān and the Zoroastrian poet Mahyār (d. 1036/428) who became a Shii and to whom the wise Abū al-Qāsim b. Burhān said: "By converting to Islam as you just did, you simply switched from one corner of hell to another."[3] The chapter ends with Nādir Shāh, "one of the khawārij". The copy was completed on Friday 1 Rajab 1224/ 12 August 1809.

Ghāyat al-bayān fī manāqib Sulaimān[4]

SUL is a biographical dictionary based on the author's other, and more comprehensive, works. The Berlin MS is the only known copy of SUL. The first two folios are unfortunately illegible, so that the author's own presentation of his work is missing.

Folio 3r has the biography of the prophet Sulaimān who is followed by no less than 126 other Sulaimāns, the last being Sulaimān Pasha the Little of Bagdad. Poets, learned men, emirs, vizirs, good men, evil men and heretics, all meet in this biographical compilation. The Ottoman era is inaugurated by Sultan Sulaimān b. Urkhān b. ʿUthmān (f. 33r) and the first Mosuli to be mentioned is Sayyid Sulaimān b. Sayyid Murtaḍā, the naqīb al-ashrāf who died in 1695/1107 (f. 59r). Other contemporaries and near contemporaries of the author include Pashas, Mosuli notables and learned men, Kurdish emirs and Arab chiefs.

On folio 98r Yāsīn ʿUmarī introduces the second

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1 Arabic: fī dhikr asmā' rijāl mimman iddaʿā 'l-kamāl wa huwa bi 'ḍ-ḍalāl wa asmā'uhum laisat ʿarabīya.

2 Arabic: wa fī dhikr man asmā'uhum laisat ʿarabīya.

3 In other words he switched from the corner of hell reserved for the Zoroastrians to that reserved for the Shiis.

4 SUL: MS of the Staatsbibliothek, number 9901, incomplete in 101 folios.

chapter, "On those whose name is Salīm", and he gives us the biography of Sultan Salīm al-Fātiḥ. His is in fact the only biography in this second chapter (al-maqāla 'th-thāniya), and the MS ends on folio 101v with the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans.

On the whole SUL is a rather uninspired work which offers nothing new to the inquisitive reader and student of Mosuli society. There is, however, one interesting point, and it concerns the biography of Sulaimān Pasha the Little of Bagdad. This Pasha was on rather bad terms with the Jalīlīs, and he had backed Aḥmad Pasha Āl Bakr when the latter had made a bid for power and was appointed wali of Mosul in 1809, in preference to the Jalīlīs.[1] In GHA by the same author, which was written in 1811/1226, after Aḥmad Pasha Āl Bakr's ill-omened attempt and after the fall and death of Sulaimān Pasha the Little himself, Sulaimān Pasha of Bagdad fares very badly: he is obviously the villain and Yāsīn 'Umarī informs us of his support for Aḥmad Pasha Āl Bakr and then goes on to tell us in detail of the events which led to his downfall and death at the hand of the Bābān and the Jalīlīs. In SUL, however, Yāsīn 'Umarī shows far more circumspection, and the whole episode of Aḥmad Pasha Āl Bakr which shook Mosul in 1809 is dealt with in two brief lines. The reason, it seems, being that SUL was written before the Porte had moved against Sulaimān Pasha the Little. It is also probable that this work which is a biographical dictionary of all Sulaimāns was in fact dedicated by Yāsīn to this Sulaimān Pasha the Little himself. The page where the name of the person to whom the work is dedicated should appear is totally illegible and very faded. But the madḥ poetry surrounding it seems to indicate that the recipient was the Pasha of Bagdad.[2] It is possible that SUL was in fact doctored after the death of Sulaimān the Little. And so it seems that SUL, having been written before 1810, is much more favourable to Sulaimān the Little than GHA by the same Yāsīn 'Umarī, but written just after 1810 and in which the death of Sulaimān the Little determines

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1 See supra, p. 158.

2 For example: ẓahara fī 'z-zaurā' ẓuhūr al-badr. And zaurā' was the name given to Bagdad.

the structure of the narrative and the tone of the narrator.

The ta'rīkh and madḥ of contemporaries, of princes and of notables, are gambles and hesitations in the flow of history. For history as it is being lived is not "History" yet: it is a struggle where everything done can still be undone, and where historical discourse--as recording of such events--trails behind and hesitates, then faces about--turncoat--seeking to adapt, striving to survive.

* * *

ʿUnwān ash-sharaf[1]

UNW is a biographical dictionary arranged alphabetically and by classes (ṭabaqāt).[2] The three known copies of it are incomplete and all three end in the fourth and last class (kings) of the last letter (yā'). Of the three known MSS, the original is that of the Bibliothèque Nationale number Arabe 5792. A note attached on the inside of the cover tells us that the copy was made in Mosul at the end of the nineteenth century for the French vice-consul there, Nicolas Siouffi:

> "Je soussigné déclare que le manuscrit intitulé ʿUnwān ash-sharaf et dont l'auteur appartient à la famille Omari, descendants d'Omar-el-Khattab de Mossoul a été copié sous ma dictée. L'original écrit de la main de l'auteur qui, d'après certain passages de l'ouvrage a vécu il y a près d'un siècle avant cette date, était tout à fait délabré et abîmé par une main ennemie de la dite famille, de sorte que j'y ai trouvé un grand nombre [de feuilles] colées [collées] les unes contre les autres pour faire disparaître les mentions relatives à cette famille; et j'ai été assez heureux de dégager, avec le temps et la patience, la plus grande partie de ces feuilles que je suis parvenu à déchiffrer, ayant soin de laisser en blanc l'équivallant [l'équivalent] de celles qu'il m'a été entièrement impossible de lire. La main hostile dont j'ai parlé n'a visé heureusement que les noms de quelques personnages de la famille Omari. Les noms de turcs les autres personnage contemporains ont été épargnés.
>
> N. Siouffi
> Kaboun, près de Damas 24 mars [mai?] 89 "

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[1] UNW(1): MS of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies number, 49780, in 257 numbered folios. UNW(2): MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, number Arabe 5792, in 284 numbered folios. UNW(3): MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, number Arabe 5138, in 274 numbered folios.

[2] See Appendix X.

The other two MSS are copies of this original, and all three MSS attribute UNW to Amīn ʿUmarī as indicated by their title-pages. This, however, is a doubtful attribution for the obvious reason that the biographies of contemporary Mosulis extend into the nineteenth century,[1] whereas we know that Amīn died in 1788. Various clues scattered throughout UNW allow us to ascertain that it is in fact the work of Amīn's brother, Yāsīn. Hence, on folio 253r of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies' MS Khairallāh ʿUmarī is referred to in the text as "my father". On folio 198v of the same MS, while presenting the biography of the poet Sharaf ad-Dīn ad-Dimashqī (d. 1235/633) and his satire of Ibn ʿAsākir, the author tells us that "when my brother Amīn ʿUmarī read these verses . . ." This proves quite conclusively that Amīn is not the author of UNW which was written by one of his brothers. Khairallāh ʿUmarī had five sons, one of whom, ʿAbd ar-Razzāq, died in 1773. Two others, Ṣubghatallāh and Maḥmūd were certainly not udabā' and are never mentioned in the sources at our disposal. And so it would seem that the last son of Khairallāh and brother of Amīn, Yāsīn, is the author of UNW, which appears to be the rough copy of a missing work.

D. Local History

Ghāyat al-marām fī maḥāsin Baghdād dār as-salām[2]

BAG is a history of Bagdad written by a Mosuli, and in its very inception it illustrates the paramount importance of Bagdad in Mosuli political life during the Jalīlī era. "For Bagdad is the destination of every traveller and the cradle of goodness and righteousness" (p. 9). Yāsīn ʿUmarī completed his work on 21 Shaʿbān 1220/15 November 1805,

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1 See for example the biography of Yūnus aṭ-Ṭawīl who died in 1802.

2 BAG: published by ʿAlī al-Baṣrī, Bagdad, 1968. This publication is based on a MS belonging to the Iraqi Museum Library, number 6295, in 434 pages. The MS is by ʿAbd al-Ghanī ad-Durūbī and is dated 1916/1335. It is based on a MS by Yāsīn ʿUmarī himself.

dedicating it to Yaḥyā Bey (later Pasha) b. Nu'mān Pasha Jalīlī.

The first twelve chapters of the book (pp. 12-112) present the city of Bagdad since its foundation: cosmographic position, origin of the name, topography, sphere of influence. Of these chapters, the first eleven are based almost entirely on Yāqūt.[1] The whole narrative comes as a disappointment: the gates, suqs, maḥallas and palaces being unravelled before us belong to the Bagdad of isnād, to the discursive past behind which hides the elusive Ottoman city.[2] As for Yāsīn's description of "the luminous tombs of Bagdad" (chapter seven), it comes straight from the Arabic translation of Murtaḍā Naẓmī Zāda's Jāmi' al-anwār of which there was a copy in Mosul.[3] The twelfth chapter, "On the towns which were placed under the jurisdiction of Bagdad", is more interesting for, in attempting to define Bagdad as the Ottoman province in the eighteenth century, BAG introduces new material. The towns described are Ḥilla, Baṣra, Kūfa, Sāmarrā', Hīt, 'Āna, Rāwa, Kubaisa, Alūsa, Bundanījair, Ḥasaka, Badrān, Shahrazūr, Arbīl, Tikrīt, Mārdin, Tall A'far, 'Amādīya and Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar. The author starts his exposé with a very brief presentation of the town taken, when possible, from Yāqūt. He follows this with a concise history (annals) of the town, concluding with a list of each town's famous udabā' and 'ulamā'. The annals, which can be found in other works by Yāsīn 'Umarī, are a compilation of the material given by Ibn al-Wardī and Yāfi'ī. Yāfi'ī is also the main source for the biographies of early Islamic and medieval learned men, with marginal use of Tha'ālibī's Yatīmat ad-dahr and Ibn

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[1] The only difference between BAG and Yāqūt (and the other sources) being that BAG places Bagdad in the third climate (iqlīm) which belongs to Mercury (Mirrīkh).

[2] Cf. for example BAG, pp. 12-16 and Yāqūt, I, 677-683 for a general presentation of the city; BAG, pp. 23-24 and Yāqūt, I, 232, 532 on Maḥallat Barātha and Maḥallat al-Azaj.

[3] The translation, entitled Tarjamat auliyā' Baghdād, is by Sayyid Aḥmad Fakhrī al-Mauṣilī. For comparative purposes see BAG, p. 31 and Tarjamat, ff. 1v-2r; BAG, p. 133 and Tarjamat, ff. 7r, 8r, 10v, 16v; BAG, p. 34 and Tarjamat, ff. 25v, 31v; BAG, p. 35 and Tarjamat, ff. 36r, 44r, 47r; BAG, p. 36 and Tarjamat, f. 47v; BAG, p. 37 and Tarjamat, ff. 66v, 68r, 69r.

Abī Hajala's (d. 1375/776) Dīwān aṣ-ṣabāba,[1] while Muḥibbī supplies some of the biographies in the Ottoman period. In all, the exposé Yāsīn gives of the towns under the jurisdiction of Bagdad is rather uninspired and relies too heavily on isnād. The only interesting accounts are those of Arbīl (where Yāsīn tells us of the various Kurdish learned men who came and settled in Mosul), of Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (with some information concerning trade) and ʿAmādīya (where Yāsīn gives a description of the emirate of Bahdīnān--crafts, cultivation, trade with Mosul--and where he informs us of Mosuli attitudes towards the foolish and anarchic mountain Kurds).

The next seven chapters deal with the rulers of Bagdad since its foundation, with its ʿulamā' and its udabā', the virtuous men who visited it, its emirs and its vizirs (pp. 113-295). The narrative is taken almost entirely from Yāfiʿī and Ibn al-Wardī, and once restructured the material can be found in other works by Yāsīn: MUN, ATH, AYA.

Chapter twenty introduces the ʿajīb-gharīb dimension with earthquakes, droughts, floods, human monsters and imaginary beings, jinns, weird stars and planets: all of which annals are taken from other works by the same author. Finally, Yāsīn concludes on the contemporary Mosulis who travelled to Bagdad, "and I have only mentioned the vizirs, the learned men, the emirs and the poets, to the exclusion of all others such as merchants and craftsmen." This section is of particular interest to the historian as it gives the biographies of various notables and princes, as well as of learned men of humble origins.

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Munyat al-udabā' fī tārīkh al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā'[2]

MUN is a work of regional history very similar in

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[1] Cf. for example BAG, p. 298 and Thaʿālibī, Yatīma, II, 197 for some verses by the Būyid ʿAḍud ad-Daula.

[2] MUN: MS of the British Library, Add. 23323, in 55 folios. This copy was bought on 1 May 1841 by Col. Taylor who was British Resident in Bagdad. The British Library purchased it of Mrs. Taylor in April 1860. The copyist is ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ b. Ḥajj Saʿīd Shawwāf Zāda, as indicated on the last folio.

structure to both MAN and BAG. Following the invocation, thanks to Allāh and prayers for Muḥammad, his Companions and the saints (auliyā'), the author, in his preface, presents the book to the reader:

> "I had, in the past, compiled a book on the history of Bagdad which proved to be both satisfactory and truthful, thanks be to Allāh. After that, I endeavoured to write a history of Mosul, as it is my home town, the place where I live and where my friends are. The learned men, the virtuous and the wise, have said that a man's country is his wet-nurse[1] and his cradle, and that a man's disposition is shaped by his love for his country. . . . When my book about Bagdad, its learned men, its kings and its virtuous men, became known in Mosul, I thought it suitable to write about my home town and its people, to tell of the various events which took place in it, to mention its kings and to record the good deeds of its learned and cultured men . . . and so I compiled this book from various historical sources; I divided it into chapters and gave it the name Munyat al-udabā' fī tārīkh al-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā'."

The work is divided into six sections[2] and in section (iii) MUN deals with the tombs of 50 prophets and saints, all of which can be found in Amīn's MAN which gives us 118. The comparatively small number of 50 given by MUN is probably due to the fact that the author shies away from "contemporary saints, sufis and majādhīb." Contrary to MAN, MUN hardly ever questions the existence of this or that tomb in Mosul, and it presents the Mosulis' belief as the ultimate evidence, brushing aside the question of what is probable and what is possible.

As far as the historian is concerned, MUN is an important source for the evaluation of the waqf property attached to certain important shrines such as that of Nabī Allāh Yūnus and Nabī Allāh Shīt, and it is also a pointer to the "investment policies" of the various notable families. Such information as given by MUN is global and gives, at best, a rough idea, indicating a trend and nothing more: in no way could MUN be used as a replacement for the invaluable waqf documents (waqfīyāt). It seems that the author did not have direct access to the documents, and that his information is based on his conversations with various mutawallīs, scribes

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[1] The word reads ḍi'r and must be a tahrīf of ẓi'r.

[2] On Mosul, its rulers, the tombs of the noble prophets and the honoured saints, the neighbouring towns and villages, the Tigris, and on heavenly and earthly events.

and court clerks. Hence, while presenting the village of Bāqūfā, a waqf of Yūnus, the author tells us that "it has been said that the name of the wāqif is not mentioned on the document."[1]

At a social and economic level, MUN informs us as to the importance of the various shrines and allows us to follow the fortunes of certain Mosuli families in the absence of more precise documentation. Hence the tomb of Nabī Allāh Shīt, discovered in 1647/1057, was erected as a shrine by a merchant called ʿAlī b. an-Nūma. More than a century later, in 1787/1202, one of ʿAlī's descendants built a masjid there. This kind of information allows us to perceive a continuity in certain families which are not politically active and prominent and whose existence, in the absence of more precise documentation, would elude the historian.

If, at a social and economic level, MUN gives the historian pointers and signs on a misty path, at a mental and cultural level it draws a far more complete picture. It tells us of the well-endowed shrines and of the derelict ones, of the cherished tombs and of the forgotten ones, of the saints venerated especially by the common people, of the miraculous properties attached to this and that tomb as a cure for epilepsy, obsessions, fever, etc.

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If one were to compare MUN with another work about Mosul, MAN for example, one must agree that MUN is far less critical, far less "modern" and "scientific". The historian misses an enumeration and description, by a Mosuli, of the town of Mosul--suqs, quarters, official buildings, gates, etc. Still, MUN does cover far more ground than MAN and supplies us with various details about the province of Mosul under the Jalīlīs.

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[1] f. 37r.

E. Chronicle

Gharā'ib al-athar fī ḥawādith rub' al-qarn ath-thālith 'ashar[1]

GHA is a straightforward chronicle of events covering the first quarter of the thirteenth century Hijra (1785-1810 AD), a sort of "journal d'un bourgeois de Mossoul". The prologue is introduced by the invocation and by the usual praises, which are then followed by a brief presentation of the work:

> "This is a book in which I have recorded strange events and extraordinary phenomena which occurred in the first quarter of the 13th century. My aim in doing so was to inform, to please and to entertain . . . I introduced the book with a mention of some monstrous events drawn from the past, and I gave it the name Gharā'ib . . ."

Having presented the work to the reader, the author then sings the praises of the great prince to whom it is being dedicated. This prince is not mentioned by name, but the attributes and honorific titles used to describe him seem to indicate that he is Sa'dallāh Pasha Jalīlī. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that GHA was completed in 1811/1226, just after Sa'dallāh Pasha had been appointed wali of Mosul.

The introduction, "about events from the ancient past", consists of an annalistic enumeration of weird phenomena and abnormal or extreme circumstances having occurred between the year 240 AH and the year 1185 AH. In toto, 71 years are mentioned in this introduction, the principle of selection appearing to be the sheer oddity of the event and its impact on the reader's imagination: earthquakes, volcanoes, meteorites, lethal droughts, famines and plagues, bizarre creatures, strange movements of the stars, fires from heaven and deadly upsurges of the waters, all taking place in a fluid mamlaka: Iraq, Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Syria, and even Sardinia.[2]

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[1] GHA: Published by Ṣ. Jalīlī (Mosul, 1940). This publication is based on a typed copy which is itself based on a MS belonging to Père Anastase-Marie and which, in its turn, is based on a MS Dār al-Kutub al-Baladīya, Alexandria, number 2036-D.

[2] At the beginning of the 12th century AH, Istanbul is mentioned for the first time (in relation with severe frost).

The book itself starts in the year 1200 AH, and for each of the 26 years mentioned the reader is given an average of ten events. As one approaches the last years, the events become more detailed, the descriptions more vivid, the author's involvement and passion more apparent. It should be said, however, that as a chronicle of events GHA does not compare at all with the detailed intricate and sometimes daily, chronicles of a Maqrīzī or a Jabartī. GHA is far more modest in its scope, its descriptions and its historical analysis, and can be compared with a Damascene chronicle of the nineteenth century written by a Christian priest, Mikhā'īl ad-Dimashqī.

Most of the news reported in GHA is political--wars, tribal raids, change of walis, deposition of sultans, etc.--and Iraq remains paramount as the author's attention centres on a circle drawn on the map by Mosul, Bagdad and the Kurdish mountains. But despite this strong provincialism, there are echoes, in GHA, of events taking place in Cairo, in Damascus, in Istanbul and even in Western Europe, albeit in the light of parochial Mosuli preoccupations, as indicated by the following account of the French Revolution:

> "The Faransa emerged among the Ifranj,[1] killed their sultan and entrusted power to six men from among themselves. They rejected Christianity and abandoned the beliefs of their forefathers. Their sultan's brother fled to the Ankurūs who waged war on the Faransa. As a result of these wars, supplies of cloth to the lands of Islam were interrupted and a cubit of French broadcloth came to cost 15 piastres."[2]

Here, the most important aspect of the revolutionary upheaval appears to be the interruption of the cloth trade and its effect on the Mosuli merchant economy.

Oddly enough, Mosul itself does not leave the misty shadows one would have hoped to see dispelled by a "journal", a contemporary and local historical work such as GHA. It is as if Mosul, physical centre of discourse, was taken for granted: its existence established once and for all in its most minute details in a pre-discursive time; as if there were not need to talk of Mosul. And this is because GHA addresses itself especially to him who knows: not to the

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1 The term Ifranj refers to all the Infidel nations of Europe.

2 GHA, p. 32.

twentieth century historian in quest of a reconstruction of the past, but to the eighteenth century protagonist of Mosuli history. GHA is thus, first and foremost, a mirror of the way in which Mosuli society perceived itself. And in this respect, the lack of information about Mosul acquires an unexpected dimension. Of course, we are told of every change of wali, of tribal raids, of urban feuds, etc. But such feuds as are reported are dealt with superficially: the groups and parties concerned remain shadowy and without substance, the leaders seldom emerge, the reasons behind the strifes remain obscure.[1] It is as if the lack of serious treatment of internal strife could ultimately "serve the purpose" of conjuring away internal fragmentation and division, thereby reasserting at each moment the oneness of Jalīlī Mosul.[2]

To the historian, GHA offers an interesting picture of the political situation in Iraq at the turn of the eighteenth century: the prominent position of the Mamluk Pashas of Bagdad, their relations with Mosul, with the Bābān Kurds and with the Porte; the Wahhābīs' thrust and their threat to the Iraqi religious experience; the absence--for more than 25 years--of a Persian danger (thus pointing at the internal situation in Persia); and finally, mountain-city and nomad-sedentary relations. More than any other work of the period, GHA succeeds, however unwittingly, in situating Mosul very precisely on the Iraqi chess board, showing its great dependence on Bagdad, its need to preserve good relations with the mountain Kurds who control the gall-nuts producing hinterland, its impatience and its impotence in the face of the Sinjārīs' depredations. More than any other historical work of the period, GHA touches on the true dimension of Mosul: a city-state which lives off trade and is constantly walking the tightrope of the volatile Iraqi political scene.

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1 Hence the historian's difficulties in drawing a clear picture of the urban feuds.

2 In the same way as, in the past, poor historical analysis served the purpose of conjuring away the segmentation of the umma: cf. supra, p. 227.

V. ʿALĪ B. YĀSĪN ʿUMARĪ

Nothing is known of ʿAlī b. Yāsīn ʿUmarī, and nowhere is his name to be found in Mosuli sources of the early nineteenth century, or in later sources and compilations. As a matter of fact, the name ʿAlī b. Yāsīn ʿUmarī only appears in connection with Rauḍat al-akhbār fī dhikr afrād al-akhyār, a MS belonging to the British Library. And, what is more, nowhere is the name ʿAlī b. Yāsīn ʿUmarī to be found in the body of the text, in its preface, introduction, or conclusion. The name only appears in a note at the bottom of the first folio, written in a different handwriting from that of the rest of the MS.[1]

Rauḍat al-akhbār fī dhikr afrād al-akhyār[2]

AKH is a work of dynastic history very similar in structure to Yaḥyā Jalīlī's SIR and Yāsīn ʿUmarī's AYA,

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[1] The name seems to suggest that this ʿAlī is the son of Yāsīn b. Khairallāh ʿUmarī. But it is doubtful, for the author of Rauḍat al-akhbār often quotes Yāsīn ʿUmarī and his works on which he relies heavily, and he mentions Yāsīn by name, but not once does he refer to him as "my father" or even give a hint to the effect that he knew Yāsīn. The only other member of the ʿUmarī family called Yāsīn is Yāsīn b. Muḥammad Amīn b. Yūnus b. Murād b. ʿAlī Abū Faḍā'il ʿUmarī who was alive at the beginning of the 19th century. But the sources do not tell us whether he had a son called ʿAlī. In any case, such an ʿAlī, if he existed, would have been able to write and cover a period going up to 1840 or even more, whereas Rauḍat al-akhbār stops c. 1810. Supposing that the name of the father (Yāsīn) is erroneous, one can then suggest an ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. Nuʿmān b. ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī who may have written Rauḍat al-akhbār. Or else, one might be tempted to look for this ʿAlī b. Yāsīn ʿUmarī outside the prominent ʿUmarī family which was founded by Qāsim, for we know that there were other, more obscure, ʿUmarīs in Mosul. The task is daunting and thankless.

[2] AKH: MS of the British Library, number Add. 2311 in 202 folios.

albeit more modest in scope than its two Mosuli predecessors. Besides presenting the reader with the plan of the work, the preface (ff. 2v-4r) discourses on the usefulness of the historical discipline, on the importance attached to it by the first caliphs, on the dating (ta'rīkh) used by various nations and on the necessity for Islam to create its own.

Chapter II, promised in the preface, is left out completely, and the last four lines of f. 21v have been erased.

The bulk of the material of which AKH is composed can be found, again and again, in other Mosuli historical compilations. There are, however, one or two novelties which AKH introduces in the Mosuli historical discourse, such as the author's presentation of the Fatimid caliphs. AKH blatantly tells us (f. 81r) that "they were not Alids, they were Majians" and is extremely virulent in its attack against the Fatimids, greatly rejoicing at their downfall and the disappearance of their State, praising the Ayyūbids as the spear-head of Islam, vituperating the infamous Rafaḍa in such a way as to make the reader feel that the Abbasid/Fatimid rivalry was still going on. In contrast, contemporary Shii dynasties such as the Persian ones which posed a far more real threat to Sunni Islam are presented in a much more detached and less inflamed style. This discrepancy and oddity seems to indicate that the tone of the narrator betrays not so much his attitude to Shiism--in which case the Persians would have fared very badly in his accounts--but rather the sources he had at his disposal. It is a fact that AKH relies heavily on Hanbalite works: al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥanbalī, Mar'ī al-Ḥanbalī (being Zain ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-Karmī), Abū Shāma "who wrote a book denouncing their kufr and exposing their wicked lies," Ru'ainī "who said that the learned men had agreed that the 'Ubaidīyūn were apostates and zanādiqa." AKH also quotes Ibn Taimīya and Ghazālī on rafḍ, and Ibn Taimīya appears in the narrative as the one guide leading to the right path.

In conclusion (ff. 184r-200r) AKH gives a theoretical exposé of the rights and duties of the prince: an open letter to the rulers. The author quotes Muslim, Mar'ī al-Ḥanbalī, Ibn Ḥanbal's Musnad, the Jāmi' al-kabīr (fī

'l-ḥadīth) by Muḥammad at-Tirmizī (d. 892/279), Ṭabarānī, the Ṣaḥīḥain,[1] Mālik's Muwaṭṭa', Ghazālī, an account of the Andalusian Umayyads, Ibn 'Uqail's Funūn,[2] Qaṭāda,[3] Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, Jālīnūs (Galen) and his Kitāb al-adwiya, the psalms,[4] Mutanabbī, Ardashīr b. Bābik, Anūshirwān and Buzurjmihr. Having started as an open letter to the rulers the conclusion develops into a treatise on ethics and aesthetics.[5]

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1 Al-mustadrak 'ala 'ṣ-ṣaḥīḥain by al-Ḥākim an-Naisābūrī, already quoted by the author.

2 Abū al-Wafā' al-Baghdādī (d. 1121/515). He too was a Hanbalite. His Kitāb al-funūn, quoted here, is said to comprise 400 volumes. I could find no trace of any of it in the libraries of Mosul.

3 The mufassir who died in 738/118.

4 The Zabūr Dā'ūd, translated by Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 732/114).

5 The last two folios of the British Library MS contain Traditions regarding the jinns.

VI. AḤMAD B. AL-KHAYYĀṬ

Born in ʿĀna in 1786/1201, the son of a weaver, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad frequented the religious schools of his home town before coming to Mosul in 1810/1225. There, he pursued his education with Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ. Later, he married his teacher's daughter and became known as Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. His last teacher was the famous ʿAbdallāh Bāshʿālim ʿUmarī, the ra'īs al-ʿulamā', under whom Aḥmad studied when he was fifty years old. In 1836/1252, with the money brought by his wife, Aḥmad erected a masjid, which became known as Masjid Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, close to the shrine of Imām Ibrāhīm, and five years later he built a school. As most of the ʿulamā' of his time Aḥmad was a sufi belonging to both the Qādirī and the Naqshbandī orders. He was a preacher at the mosque of Nabī Jirjīs and the Friday preacher of the Pasha Mosque. He also taught at the then newly founded Madrasat aṣ-Ṣā'igh before taking over as mudarris at the school he had built in 1841/1257. Aḥmad died in Mosul in 1868/1285.

Apart from Tarjamat al-auliyā' (AUL) there is no record of any work by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ, but quite a few books which can now be found in the libraries of Mosul are in his handwriting. In the field of language studies Aḥmad copied Suyūṭī's Al-bahja 'l-marḍīya, and in the same year (1818/1234), while in Bagdad, he copied ʿAbdallāh al-Fākihī's work in grammatical syntax Sharḥ qaṭr an-nadā by Ibn Hishām an-Naḥawī; in the following year, 1819/1235, he copied Ibn Mālik's Alfīya; in 1821/1237 he copied the Mughnī 'l-labīb fī kutub al-aʿārīb by Ibn Hishām an-Naḥwī; and he also copied the Risālat al-istiʿāra by ʿIṣām ad-Dīn al-Isfarā'inī (d. 1537/944). In the religious sciences he seems to have been particularly interested in fiqh,

reproducing various reference works including two anonymous Shurūṭ aṣ-ṣalāt wa arkānihā and Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-fiqh li Abī Ḥanīfa wa Shāfi'ī;[1] in 1821/1237 he copied the Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar li 'l-imām Abī Ḥanīfa 'n-nu'mān by Muḥammad al-Maghnīsāwī (d. 1532/939); and in the same year he copied Bughyat al-bāḥith (an urjūza in Shafiite inheritance laws called Raḥbīya by Muḥammad ar-Raḥbī) as well as a commentary on it by Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Mārdīnī (d. 1501/907) and entitled Mukhtaṣar 'alā muqaddamat ar-Raḥbīya.

Tarjamat al-auliyā' fī 'l-Mauṣil al-ḥadbā'[2]

AUL is expression and part of Aḥmad's sufi experience. The work was written in 1842/1258, after the fall of the last Jalīlī Pasha, on the occasion of the visit to Mosul of the wali of Bagdad, Muḥammad Najīb Pasha (1842-1848). "For when I saw this prince so eager to visit the tombs of the saints, and when I realised how much love and respect he had for these righteous men, I hurried to write this book on the righteous, the good, and those who are close to Allāh" (p. 1). Expression of the author's sufism AUL is, first and foremost, a pointer to the inroads made by the fundamentalist movement. Indeed the shahāda calls the tune for the whole of the work: "I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh, and that He is one and has no equal . . ." Aḥmad writes lā ilāh illā 'llāh waḥdah lā sharīk lah, and this particular phrasing of the shahāda, and the fact that the author felt compelled to "clarify his position", all this illustrates the pressure which the fundamentalists were exerting on the sufis.

The work falls into two chapters, and the first one, "On the visits to the righteous ones, those alive and those dead" (pp. 4-11) is an apologia, based on the authorities, of the widespread cult of the saints.[3]

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1 Both, it seems, copied in 1813/1229 as part of his education.

2 AUL: MS of the Iraqi Museum Library, number 684, in 78 pages. The work is dated 1842.

3 What Amīn 'Umarī had called a bid'a mustaḥsana.

In the second chapter (pp. 11-78) the author mentions "the occupants of the luminous tombs whose noble bodies our good town of Mosul was honoured to welcome." In all 76 tombs are described in this chapter. All belong to figures from a distant past and no contemporaries are mentioned: as if to draw on time, tradition and authority in support of the religious experience which the author seeks to safeguard. AUL's three essential sources here are Amīn ʿUmarī's MAN, Yāsīn ʿUmarī's MUN, and Al-intiṣār li 'l-auliyā' al-akhyār by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl. The author's description of the tombs is also based on some measure of ʿiyān, as he tells us of the various inscriptions he found on the walls of the mausoleums. Sometimes Aḥmad's reliance on his sources is quite obvious. Hence, while presenting Shaikh Qadīb al-Bān he tells us that "he was born in Mosul around 471 AH and died in Mosul in 573 AH, and in the history book of al-Mu'ayyid[1] it is said that he died around 570 AH."[2] The same account, word for word, can be found in MAN by Amīn ʿUmarī.[3] At times the act of automatic writing reveals some negligence. Thus in his presentation of the tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad az-Zīwānī the author mentions that "in 1193 AH the late Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī built a great mosque over the tomb . . . and the donors of the waqf were his mother, his sister and his brother the noble emir, our wali Muḥammad Pasha, may Allāh protect him."[4] This account is taken verbatim from Yāsīn

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1 Abū al-Fidā's Mukhtaṣar.

2 AUL, p. 38.

3 MAN(2), II, 117.

4 AUL, p. 64.

ʿUmarī, and by the time Aḥmad was writing "our wali Muḥammad Pasha, may Allāh protect him" was much more in need of Allāh's mercy and forgiveness than of His protection: he had been dead for 36 years. And yet AUL is important in that it comes well after the death of the main Mosuli chroniclers to give up-to-date information regarding some of the shrines.

Although AUL relies heavily on Amīn ʿUmarī's MAN it is in fact closer in spirit to Yāsīn ʿUmarī's MUN. Contrary to Amīn ʿUmarī, Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ does not question popular belief in the existence of a holy body in a visited tomb, and contrary to MAN, AUL is always eager to tell us of the miraculous dimension of each venerated tomb: the man who recovered his sight after worshipping at Imām ʿAun ad-Dīn; the crowds that flock to Imām ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān, to Imām Zaid and Sitt Shāhzinān (the wife of Ḥusain) seeking a cure for various diseases; Imām Bāhir who relieves the Faithful from grief and from anxiety; and Ṣāliḥ b. aṣ-Ṣāliḥīya, known as Shaikh al-Wiswāsī, the visit of whose tomb will--"with the permission of Allāh" specifies the cautious Aḥmad --cure of satanic melancholia and of spleen.[1] Besides giving the reader this insight into the reality of the cult of the saints and the Mosuli mentality, AUL also ventures some explanations as to the origins of the "nicknames" given to this or that saint. Hence Imām Ibrāhīm al-Mujāb was so called "because faced with some detractors who had cast doubt on his noble lineage he had called upon his ancestor Imām Ḥusain who answered him, and thus did he come to be known as 'the answered' (al-mujāb)."[2]

There is no conclusion to the work and the author ends with a few lines in which he begs the reader's forgiveness for any mistakes because the book was written without a rough draft. In all,AUL is an interesting document for the study of culture and mentalities. It bears witness to the strength of the cult of the saints well into the nineteenth century and beyond the fall of the Jalīlīs.

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1 AUL, p. 67.

2 AUL, p. 28.

VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Talking of a Mosuli theory of history on the basis of the material that has just been examined would only mean one thing: to note a definite lack of originality and to underline the strength of traditional conceptual frameworks inherited, along with the historical data, from the obvious sources (Ibn al-Wardī, Mas'ūdī, Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī).[1]

Even when envisaged within the traditional conceptual frameworks, Mosuli historiography suffers from fundamental fragmentation, analytical superficiality and dearth of information. When examining the accounts taken over from the main sources[2] one is bound to note the endless repetitions, the importance of the process of automatic writing, and the tendency to oversimplify the khabar and thus rob it of causal logic. What seems to be lacking is a qualitative accumulation of knowledge, as the act of writing history shies away from the enquiry and the synthesis. Events are linked together formally (linear succession in time, direct transposition of the akhbār in the order in which they appear in the source used, or linkage to a human centre in the case of the biography), but these same events do not appear to be intellectually or emotionally accepted, assumed and digested by the Mosuli historian reporting them. The vast historical data provided by the numerous sources available in the libraries of Jalīlī Mosul was subjected to extremely loose and often haphazard principles of selection which, at best, define the texts under study along very broad lines as being masculine, Muslim, Sunni, Arabic speaking, Middle Eastern (as opposed to Maghribī or Central Asian), and as approaching the khabar more as entertainment than as learning. Events --especially those from a distant past--seem to be apprehended qua happening, qua rupture. As such, they are interchangeable and to a great extent dispensable, not subject to any structure

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1 See for example Yāsīn 'Umarī's preface to AYA and ATH, and 'Alī 'Umarī's preface to AKH.

2 Mosuli historians have a propensity for the more manageable and concise sources (Ibn al-Wardī, Yāfi'ī, Qaramānī) and shy away from the more elaborate and more detailed chronicles, universal histories and biographies (Ibn al-Athīr, Ṭabarī, Maqrīzī, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Khallikān).

of historical development.[1] And this could well explain the lack of importance attached to precise dating, transliteration of names and clear exposition of historical plots. In this history understood as collective memory events are largely permutable,differentiated more in terms of impact --impact on the protagonists, of course, but especially impact on the reader--than in terms of nature, i.e., more on a quantitative level than on a qualitative level that would allow the apprehension of different series.[2] In other words events are perceived as happenings before being events of certain kinds (political, doctrinal, military, natural, heavenly): they are ruptures, ruptures to be reported, repeated.

Yet beyond these negative characteristics, beyond the traditional--and undigested--theoretical frameworks, and beyond vague conceptions of time and world, the writings examined in the foregoing pages must surely express a more specific Mosuli apprehension of history understood as collective memory; and this Mosuli specificity ought probably to be sought in the practical structuring of the historical data as expression of an attempt at situating oneself, however defined (Mosul, Islam, Sunnism, Ottomanism, Arabism, or any combination thereafter), in time and space. And indeed, a second look at the historical data reported by the Mosuli historians shows that it orders and structures itself along certain pivotal events.

It is possible to isolate five such events, and they

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1 A good illustration is the introduction which Yāsīn ʿUmarī has given to his GHA (see supra, p.253). It consists of an annalistic enumeration of weird phenomena. All the events mentioned appear in other works by Yāsīn ʿUmarī, but tracing them is not easy as most are recorded in the wrong year. The precise dating of an event of that sort--being understood as an oddity, i.e, as an exception per se, not linked to any one series, not bound to any logical succession in time, subject only to its internal structure and to its rapport with the reader's imagination--matters far less than its actual recording: the when, the where and the how are totally eclipsed by the actual acceptance that such an event did or could happen. Here, the technique of ʿajīb-gharīb is put fully in use, to inform, of course, but primarily to entertain.

2 For example, a plague that kills 10,000 people is closer to a famine, to an earthquake, or to a battle killing 10,000 people, than to another plague that kills only a hundred people.

would be the Revelation, the sojourn in Mosul of Ibn ʿArabī, the Ottoman conquest of Iraq, the governorship of Ḥasan Pasha of Bagdad in the early eighteenth century, and the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh. These five events appear to be fundamental in the ordering of the Mosuli historical thought and production; and each event, fully accepted, gives birth to specific dichotomic structures of the mind and of discourse (along the Self/Other model) that announce a certain representation and presentation of the world.

The Revelation (and subsequent struggle for the Islamisation of Mosul) acts as redemption (in the same way as Christ redeems the sins of the world) and inscribes Mosul in an unambiguous dichotomic structure, Believers/Unbelievers, with variations on the theme (wisdom/foolishness, doom/salvation, truth/error, knowledge/ignorance, civilisation/wilderness).[1]

The second event, Ibn ʿArabī's stay in Mosul understood as expression and as catalyst of a sufi experience, helps to "people" the void between the thirteenth century Hijra and the Revelation by investing time with venerated figures and filling space with shrines and sanctuaries--as many bridges between Man and his Creator, as between Jalīlī Mosul and a rather dimly perceived past. The lack of a strong identification with ephemeral (and all in all corrupt) mulūk is compensated for by a clear identification with and a deep love for the auliyā', the friends of Allāh, seen as cement of the umma.[2] Hence the importance of hagiography and of the apologia for the cult of the saints in the historical writings

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[1] "According to Ibn al-Wardī Mesopotamia was once the land of the Christians and of the Kharijites, whereas now it is, Allāh be thanked, the cradle of true knowledge and religion." (MAN(1), f. 4r). And at another level: "When the Muslims conquered Mosul it had neither ramparts nor ditch. Later, Marwān al-Ḥimār transformed it into a real city comparable to the great metropolis." (MUN, f. 4r).

[2] And this could explain--and justify--the general epistemological and technical marasm that characterises the numerous akhbār pertaining to the plethora of Muslim dynasties and rulers, the wars they waged against one another, the internal strifes, etc. Falling, as most of these dynasties and rulers do, outside the field of identification, they lose any real relevance to the Mosuli historian, and their akhbār, unassumed and undigested, are littered with negligent transcriptions, erratic dating and general indifference: between one Ayyūbid princeling and another. . .

under study. Sufism therefore highlights yet another dichotomy in the Mosuli mind which apprehends Allāh in terms of bridge/gap, or forsakeness/intercession; and apprehends the past in terms of rupture/continuity, vacuum/territorialisation, loss/recovery, disillusionment/identification, forgetting/remembering, mamlaka/umma, malik/walī. As much as the Revelation, sufism orders historical events along certain hierarchical structures that determine what is to be remembered, what is to be forgotten, what is worthy of enquiry, what is permutable and dispensable; and the symbolism of sufism helps to comprehend, relate and give meaning to apparently chaotic and disturbing events.[1] Furthermore, the dichotomies emanating from sufism cut across and permeate the basic dichotomy of the Revelation (Believers/Unbelievers), thus introducing a certain elasticity in the world view and allowing for a smoother functioning of an otherwise too intransigent and impractical social order.[2]

The third pivotal event, the Ottoman conquest, sets in motion, at a socio-political, at a geopolitical and at an epistemological level, new series of dichotomies that further help to situate Mosul: ʿIrāq al-ʿArab/ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam, Mesopotamia/Iraq, Ottoman/Circassian Mamluk, Ottoman/Safavid, Ottoman/Timūrid, Sunni/Shii.[3]

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1 Hence in GHA, if it is true--and sad--that the wali of Mosul was killed by the Yazīdīs of Jabal Sinjār in the year 1200 AH, it is even more true--and reassuring--that his death had been announced by a strange spear-like constellation that appeared in the sky of Mosul. And if the rule of Sulaimān Pasha the Great of Bagdad was such a glorious rule, can one forget that Ibn ʿArabī himself had borne witness to this Pasha's superior qualities? (Arabic: shahada bi faḍlih). And had not Ibn ʿArabī predicted the violent death of Sulaimān's successor, ʿAlī? And the French invasion of Egypt and their subsequent rout at the hand of the Grand Vizir Yūsuf Pasha? (Arabic: wa yajlis yūsuf ʿalā sarīr yūsuf, i.e., Yūsuf the Grand Vizir, and Joseph son of Jacob). And in SUL Yāsīn ʿUmarī uses the Fatḥ al-muqaffal by Bisṭamī al-Ḥanafī to explain the relevance of Ibn ʿArabī's gematria to the situation in 18th century Iraq and to the career and death of Sulaimān Pasha the Great.

2 As the Sunni Wahhābīs are ostracised by these Sunni historical works which make room for a certain amount of common ground with the Shiis, and even with the Christians.

3 Only in the light of such dichotomies can one grasp the originality of the London MS of DUR, the ambiguity of the Mosulis' attitude to the Sunni Afghans, and their embarrassed silence regarding the Jaafarite proposals of Nādir Shāh.

The governorship of Ḥasan Pasha of Bagdad (and the subsequent rise of the Mamluk dynasty in Iraq) produces a continuity whence other dichotomic relations emerge: Iraq/Mesopotamia, Arab/Turco-Kurdish, Bagdad/Diyār Bakr (as centre of attraction for Mosul). As a distinct Iraqi continuity and identity, centred around the Mamluk dynasty, begins to crystalise, Bagdad becomes theme of historical writing (BAG) and finality of historical discourse (SUL, DUR).

Finally, the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh in 1743, in its rapports with the strengthening of Jalīlī rule, highlights a more specific Mosuli continuity that runs parallel to the Ottoman and Mamluk ones. From it emerge new series of mental and discursive dichotomies: Mosul/outside world, Arabic language/Turkish language,Mosuli wali/alien wali, Jalīlī ruler/non-Jalīlī ruler. Such dichotomies rule the Mosulis' everyday behaviour and help to connect the town with certain--glorious--periods of its past.[1] Beyond general themes, doctrinal positions and mental attitudes, these basic dichotomies emanating from the siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh throw light on the town as physical and real centre of discourse.

These seem to be the most fundamental events underlying the mental and discursive profile of the Mosuli historical production. There were other events, of course; events such as the emergence of the Wahhābī movement, the new dimension of the local Christianity, the intrusion of Europe on the Mosuli scene, Istanbul's daring policies. Yet events such as those, if not marginal, were still embryonic: at best sources of mental and discursive digressions, variations and parenthetical clauses; at most triggering spontaneous, passionate and altogether ephemeral reactions; but not as yet fully integrated into the cultural landscape. Whereas the five events examined here--unexhaustive as they may be--appear to be strong leitmotivs. As epistemological, mental and material sources of inspiration and of production, these five events and the various dichotomies they entail connect together, in harmony, in conflict, to order and structure the historical genres, themes, accounts and styles of writing along lines which are specific to Jalīlī Mosul.

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[1] See for example the fragment of Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī's Mir'āt az-zamān which deals with Mosul under Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu', copied by Yaḥyā Jalīlī and extensively used by the Mosuli historians.

Chapter VIII

MOSULI SKETCHES OF OTTOMAN HISTORY

In the foregoing pages, attempts have been made to cast light on the town of Mosul, its social structure, its material basis, its political life, its culture, and finally its historical production during the Jalīlī era. This Mosul which has been examined and presented at length was part of the Ottoman Empire; yet throughout this study the Ottoman factor and Mosul's rapports with Istanbul have remained in the background, held at bay by an ignorance of the Turkish language and an unfathomable Ottoman archive. This chapter seeks to compensate for this shortcoming by looking at the ways in which Mosul viewed its Ottoman dimension. The following pages are a personal reading of Mosuli representations and presentations of Ottoman history. This concluding chapter will therefore complete the transition of the work from an investigation into "Mosul observed" to an enquiry into "Mosul observing".

The New Order

The Ottomans, we are told, were Turcoman nomads related to the Tatars and dwelling in the region of Māhān near Balkh,[1] and their ancestor, Sulaimānshāh, a "sultan of the east", was a descendant of Jafeth son of Noah. When Jinkiz Khān appeared and his evil spread, Sulaimānshāh left his country with 50,000 households (bait), heading west. Sulaimānshāh drowned while crossing the Euphrates, and after his death his nation split up into four groups, each following one of his sons. While most retraced their steps east, Urtughrul son of Sulaimānshāh took his own people and pursued the westerly march towards Rūm. He reached the dominions of the Saljūqids in 1220/617 and was welcomed and honoured by Sultan 'Alā' ad-Dīn who granted him and his people land to settle. Urtughrul died in 1288/687 and was succeeded as leader by his most powerful and bravest son, 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān was young and most eager to perform the duty of the Holy War. His zeal and his achievements found favour with Sultan 'Alā' ad-Dīn who presented him with the sultanal standard, the drum and the fife. When, in 1299/699, Sultan 'Alā' ad-Dīn died without an heir, the people and the armies chose 'Uthmān to succeed him as sultan.[2] Thus were the foundations of the Ottoman Empire laid.

Like many other peoples who, time and again, had injected new life or introduced mere tremblings--even convulsions--into the history of Islam, the Ottomans stem from two fundamental realities: nomadism and Turcism. Turks, the Ottomans are by virtue of the appellation (Turcomans) as also by virtue of the genealogy of Sulaimānshāh: a descendant of Jafeth, the ancestor of all Turkish peoples. As such, as Turks, the Ottomans' situation vis-à-vis Islam and their role in the history of Islam is open to speculation: defenders of the umma? or foes of the true religion? nothing as yet has been decided and the Ottomans, like so many peoples and tribes before them and after them, can go

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1 Or, alternatively, an area near Balkh which is in the region of Māhān (bilād māhān): cf. AKH, f. 141r; AYA, f. 272v and DUR(1), p. 304.

2 AKH, f. 141rv; UNW(1), f. 174v.

either way. Indeed, the fate of the Ottoman nation following Sulaimānshāh's watery death is indicative of this binarity: whereas part of the nation heads west, there to settle on the marches and uphold the standard of Islam, their brothers go back east, maybe beyond Alexander's Wall, there to lose themselves in a nebulous mass of nations and fragments of nations haunting the Asiatic immensities of the Abode of Islam.

Turks and nomads, the Ottomans--those among the nation of Sulaimānshāh who pursued his original westerly course--none the less differ from the Infidel Turks and nomads: they differ from the Ghuzz, from the Khiṭai, from the Khazars,[1] and from those Tatars whose thrust had triggered the westerly migration of the people of Sulaimānshāh. Turks and nomads, the Ottomans also differ from the Islamised Turks and nomads. Proof is the ill-fated Muslim Khwārizms: driven, like the Ottomans, out of their hunting grounds by the lethal stampede of the Infidel Tatars, these Muslim Turks turned into mercenaries, murderers and brigands, causing disurption throughout the land.[2] Whereas the westerly migration of the Khwārizms had brought with it misery and destruction, the westerly migration of the Ottomans was to prove salutary for the umma.[3]

And for those late Shuubites, as for those premature nationalists, who would rather think in terms of Arabism and Quraishism, there is another version--albeit marginal and, it seems, not taken very seriously--which ʿAlī ʿUmarī mentions.[4] ʿUthmān, the first Ottoman, would, according to this version of events, have been a Ḥijāzī nomad, driven, along with his people, out of Arabia and into Asia Minor in 1266/665 by a great famine, "and according to some historians ʿUthmān was from the Noble City itself." Yet

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1 All of them Infidels and the enemies of Allāh: see ATH, pp. 46, 99, 101.

2 ATH, p. 127.

3 It is interesting to note that a copy, dated 1675/1086, of Jāḥiẓ's Risāla ilā Fatḥ b. Khāqān fī manāqib at-Turk wa ʿāmmat jund al-khilāfa was in Mosul at the beginning of the 29th century (see Jalabī, p. 264, who entitles it Risāla fī faḍā'il al-Atrāk).

4 Quoting the Durar al-athmān fī aṣl manbaʿ Āl ʿUthmān by Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 1619).

ʿAlī ʿUmarī does not lend much weight to this story which makes the Ottomans through and through Quraishīs, for he immediately adds "and Allāh knows best."[1]

Beyond historical substantiation and beyond racial considerations,[2] Turks and Arabs share in a common form of nomadism. Jāḥiẓ, in his Risāla, tells us that the Turks are "the Arab nomads of the non-Arab peoples" (hum aʿrāb al-ʿajam).[3] As, six centuries before, Islam had harnessed and directed the energy of the "Arab nomads" (aʿrāb) of the Arab peoples; there it was, now, harnessing and directing the vital strength of the "Arab nomads" (aʿrāb) of the non-Arab peoples. And it is finally this islām, this new meaning to existence, that overshadows everything else. Be it in their Arab cloak or in their Turkish cloak the Ottomans, with ʿUthmān, shed all residues of paganism and the instability inherent to nomadism. Once in Asia Minor the Ottomans appear as a positive factor: working for the reinforcement of Islam, they possess all the attributes of an Islamic State and their territory on the thughūr is the embryo of an Islamic empire.[4]

Yet, there can be no State without a capital: ʿUthmān was the first Ottoman to become independent of the Saljūqids:[5] he was also the first to have a capital (dār al-mulk), Yanīshahr.[6] The Ottomans were no longer vassals, they had become masters, sultans. Later, they moved their capital to Bursa,[7] itself superseded for a while by Edirne,[8]

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1 AKH, f. 141v.

2 Many Mosuli notables and ʿulamāʾ today believe that the only reason the Ottomans were Hanafites was that Abū Ḥanīfa was the only one of the four Doctors of the Law not to stipulate that the caliph had to be a Quraishī.

3 ". . . pour évoquer le nomadisme turc, ce n'est pas au pur concept de nomadisme (badw) que se réfère Ǧāḥiẓ, mais bien à un nomadisme d'allure arabe (aʿrāb)" notes André Miquel (Géographie, II, 251, n. 1). And in the Ḥudūd al-ʿālam, the Tughuzghuz Turks are called "the Arabs of the Turks" (see Miquel, Géographie, II, 208).

4 The agnatic ʿaṣabīya of the nomad injecting new blood in the tired arteries of the State.

5 AKH, f. 141v.

6 DUR(1), p. 304.

7 ATH, p. 156.

8 ATH, p. 157: maqarr as-salṭana, maqarr at-takht.

before Bāyazīd I returned to Bursa, having provided the city with a permanent supply of water,[1] and built a new market area as well as a hospital.[2]

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But was this new Ottoman State yet another one of those many principalities fragmenting the Abode of Islam, and this new self-styled Ottoman sultan yet another of those many princelings littering the mamlaka?[3] The answer is no. And it is no because the Ottomans owe their State and their rise to the sultanate to their zeal and achievements in the Holy War: jihād, a duty incumbent on every Muslim, is in fact the Ottomans' very raison d'être. And besides jihād--or rather as a result of it--Ottoman power is also based on consensus (ijmāʿ): at the death of the Saljūqid ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn the people and the army chose ʿUthmān to succeed him as sultan,[4] and this ʿUthmān was Sultan ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn's favourite. Thus, through ijmāʿ and through jihād, internal conflict is elided and the transition from the Saljūqids to the Ottomans made smooth. In the same way, Ottoman expansion at the expense of the various small Islamic principalities is dealt with to the benefit of the Ottomans. Threatened by the Ottomans, these princelings went to Timūr "who marched against the Ottomans, determined to show his evil, defiant of Sunnism."[5] On the advent of Murād I the Qaramānids attempted to cause disruption and the Ottoman sultan had to abandon the Holy War and return to defend his

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1 By diverting a river.

2 AYA, f. 276r.

3 Does not Maqrīzī call him ṣāḥib ar-rūm? a mere prince and master defined by the geographical area he controls.

4 Amīn ʿUmarī, who only mentions the Ottomans incidentally while discoursing on Mosul, is the only historian dealing with the subject of the origins of the Ottomans not to mention the "election" of ʿUthmān. In his extremely brief presentation (3 lines) he merely tells us that Sultan ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn, lord of Rūm, was impressed by the valour (furūsīya) of the father of ʿUthmān and showed him favour. Later, ʿUthmān succeeded his father, and in 699 AH he laid his hands on the sultanate (istaulā ʿalā ʾs-sulṭana): see MAN(2), I, 132.

5 The expression used in li ʾs-sunna muʿānidan, and sunna could be rendered by Sunnism, sunna, or Sunnis: all three readings place Timūr outside Sunnism and determine identification with the Ottomans.

kingdom. He consulted the 'ulamā' who issued a fatwā legalising war against the evil Qaramānids, and Murād I marched against them and defeated them.[1] Here, it is clear that the Qaramānids are the wicked ones: interrupting the Holy War and sowing discord among the ranks of Islam. Later on, when Murād II abdicated in favour of his son Muḥammad II, the Qaramānids took advantage of the instability at the head of the Ottoman State and called upon the Hungarians to invade the land of Islam.[2] Thus does historiography build a case for the Ottomans, true mujāhidūn and ghuzāt untainted by collaboration with the Infidels. No wonder, then, that the Christian contingents (Byzantines, Bosnians and Serbs) which participated in the 1387 Ottoman campaign against the Qaramānids should be overlooked by the texts.

Previous to the emergence of the Ottomans, Saljūqids, Qaramānids, Ilkhānids, Byzantines, Hungarians and others, are all engaged in petty squabbles and senseless quarrels, with Muslim princes siding with Christian princes against other Christian princes allied with other Muslims. In the prevailing anarchy it is not certain who is Muslim and who is not, what is Holy War and what is fratricidal war. Then, with the rise of the Ottomans, the border between the Abode of Islam and the Abode of War becomes perceivable, and the line is finally drawn between good Muslim rulers and evil ones. Jostling and hustling the Rūmī princes, Infidels and Muslims alike, the Ottomans come to fill a political vacuum, supply historical meaning and direction, and restructure the geopolitical space around them.

The subjugation, by the Ottomans, of the neighbouring Muslim principalities can only be justified in terms of the northerly and westerly expansion of the Abode of Islam. And, indeed, even before subduing the Jandarids of Kastamonu (1462) and the Qaramānids (1468) and annexing their dominions the Ottoman ghuzāt had thrust as far to the north as Moldavia and the Dniestr, and as deep west as Serbia and the Morava, overrunning the Bulgarians and the Wallachs on their way and integrating a wide European area into the Dār

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1 ATH, p. 156.

2 ATH, p. 181.

al-Islām for the very first time.[1] Infidel kings and Infidel nations answering strange and hitherto unheard of names (Mīkhāl,[2] Irdil Bānū,[3] Ṣarf, Lās, Arna'ūṭ) pay tribute to Islam for the first time, and the expression wa ja'alahā 's-sulṭān dār islām,[4] the sound and feel of which had been buried deep in the recesses of Islam's memory, now emerges and recurs with forceful--and joyful--monotony. And all this despite the meteoric and satanic rise of the accursed Timūr who drew the sword against the sultan and laid his hands on his capital.[5]

Through their ghāzī zeal and through their tangible achievements in the Holy War the Ottomans clearly take precedence over all other Muslim rulers in Asia Minor, and they are, at least, the equals of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, Islam's other dynamic pole. Then, in 1453, Byzantium fell to the Ottoman sultan: it bowed to Islam. Byzantium: city of cities, city-empire, heir to Greece and to Rome, Islam's oldest and closest enemy[6]--its fate had mingled with Islam's for eight long centuries. With the conquest of Byzantium Islam, through the Ottoman sultans, relives a somewhat shelved and neglected mission of universalism. More than that, the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium casts new light on the Word:

غلبت الروم في أدنى الأرض وهم من بعد غلبهم سيغلبون

"The Rūm have been defeated/In a land hard by, but after their defeat they will defeat their foes."[7]

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1 ATH, pp. 143, 153, 155-169, 178-184.

2 Prince Michael of Wallachia.

3 John Zapolya of Hungary. The name also refers to his wife Isabelle.

4 "And the sultan integrated it [country, city, region] into the Abode of Islam."

5 Not once is Timūr explicitly acknowledged as a Muslim, let alone as a Sunni.

6 At the battle of Mu'ta in the year 8 AH, the first razzia in Rūmī territory, the Muslims were heavily defeated (ATH, p. 14).

7 Coran, XXX, 2-3. This is the usual reading of the āyāt which are understood to refer to the Byzantine defeat at the hand of the Persians in Palestine in 613-614 AD, and to announce Byzantine victories over the Sassanids. And yet,

Whichever way the second āya of the sūra of the Rūm might be read (ghalabat or ghulibat)[1] it remains that the Ottoman sultan, more than any other Muslim ruler before, has,

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without the diacritical marks, غلبت, which we read ghulibat in the passive form, could also read ghalabat in the active form (see R. Blachère, Le Coran (Paris, 1966), p. 429). In which case the āyāt would read ghalabat ar-rūm/fī adnā 'l-arḍ wa hum min ba'd ghalabihim sayughlabūn (The Rūm have vanquished/In a land hard by, but after their victory they will be defeated). Such a reading could then refer to early Rūmī successes against Islam (Mu'ta?) and to contain the promise of a Muslim victory: in which case the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium appears as vindication of Islam and as fulfilment of the Word. Such a reading (ghalabat as opposed ghulibat) would find confirmation in the following āyāt: "In a few years,to Allāh belongs fate in the past as in the future, then will the Faithful rejoice/In the aid of Allāh, He aideth whom he will, and He is the Mighty, the Merciful." With the āyāt 2 and 3 usually understood to refer to Byzanto-Sassanid wars, the following āyāt are understood to refer to Muslim joy at the Byzantines' victories over the Sassanids: "the sympathies of Muhammad would naturally be enlisted on the side of the Christians rather than on that of the idolatrous fire-worshippers, with whom Islam had nothing in common" (J.M. Rodwell, The Koran (London, 1963), p. 210). This interpretation leaves, however, much to be desired, for if the Christians (Naṣārā) are closer to Islam than the fire-worshipppers, this does not necessarily mean that the Rūm (Greeks, Romans, Byzantines) qua nation, qua State, are closer to Islam than the Sassanid nation and State: the concept of Rūm here refers to an ethnic and political unit, and not to a doctrinal one. Furthermore, a ḥadīth has it that "the Rūm are the farthest away from Islam" (Ibn al-Faqīh, Kitāb al-buldān, M.J. de Goeje (ed.) (Leyden, 1885), p. 196, who builds a case for the Persians and against the Rūm on the basis of ḥadīth). Leaving aside the question of whether or not Islam prefers the Byzantines to the Sassanids it remains that the interpretation given by Rodwell is unsatisfactory mainly because it binds the Coran too much to historical events. It would seem that the āyāt have less to do with the Sassanids, and the Byzantines, than with Allāh more generally, and one is tempted to accept Miquel's interpretation of the joy of the Faithful as being less joy at a Byzantine victory over the Sassanids than joy in the knowledge that "en tout état de cause Dieu juge et finalement, dans le futur eschatologique, sauvera" (Miquel, Géographie, II, 478). So that in the first reading (ghulibat) the joy of the Muslims is justified in terms of their acknowledgement of the omnipotence of Allāh and their trust in Him; and in the second reading (ghalabat) referring more specifically to Islamo-Byzantine wars, the joy of the Muslims is justified in terms of the promise of Allāh's succour in adversity.

[1] It would be interesting to look at the specific reading and interpretation most common in the Ottoman State following the capture of Constantinople.

by annihilating the Rūm, given historical substance to the Word. And from the Coran to ḥadīth:

لتفتحن القسطنطينية فلنعم الأمير أميرها ولنعم الجيش ذلك الجيش [1]

Promising, with a double emphasis (latuftaḥanna), the Muslim conquest of Byzantium, this ḥadīth underlines the privileged nature of its victor: "Blessed is the emir who conquers Constantinople, and blessed is the army which will enter it." In many ways, the Ottoman Turks are fulfilling what Massignon has called Islam's "désir de Constantinople".[2] And in view of it all, one can sense the triviality, the ephemerality, of the hopes, the fears, and ultimate fate of the Muslim princelings of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

In the same way as jihād in the west and in the north had contributed to the founding of the Ottoman State on the ruins of the Saljūqid Empire, so did the need to uphold the rights of the true religion justify Sunni Ottoman expansion to the east at the expense of the Sunni Mamluks. The danger, for the rightly-guided religion, lurked in Persia where the Safavid Ismā'īl had emerged, subduing the Turcoman masters of Bilād al-'Ajam and Iraq one after the other[3] and raising the standard of heresy (rafḍ). Prompt to react, the Ottoman Salīm I marched against Ismā'īl in 1514/920, defeated him, and conquered Tabrīz. Yet, despite this great victory, the sultan was unable to remain in Persia in order to organise the administration of the area (iqlīm al-'ajam) because the cunning Ismā'īl had burnt all the crops as he fled, and because the Mamluk Qānṣū al-Ghūrī had prevented supplies from reaching the Ottoman armies.[4] For quite some time now the Mamluk sultans, the one time conquerors of the Tatars and subduers of the Crusaders, had neglected the Holy War. Not content with

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1 Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad (Cairo, 1895), vol. IV, p. 335.

2 "Textes prémonitoires et commentaires mystiques relatifs à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs en 1453", in Oriens, VI (1953), p. 11.

3 Amīn 'Umarī is the only one to posit an Ottoman presence in Iraq previous to the 16th century. He tells us that at the death of Timūr's lieutenant in 1418/821 Bagdad and Iraq had become Ottoman until the rise of Shah Ismā'īl I who conquered Iraq: see MAN(2), I, 133.

4 ATH, p. 193.

sitting back watching the Ottoman mujāhidūn drink the cup of martyrdom, here they were, now, impeding Ottoman endeavours: conscious or unconscious accomplices of the heretics, they were preventing the expansion of the Abode of Islam.[1] Two years later, when Sultan Salīm I again marched against the heretics, he asked Qānṣū al-Ghūrī for permission to go past Aleppo on his way to Persia. The Mamluk sultan refused,war ensued, and Salīm conquered Syria, then Egypt where he reassured the raʿīya and extended his protection to everyone except the ill-omened Circassians.[2]

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With the inclusion, in their realm, of the Sunni lands of Syria, Egypt and Arabia, the Ottoman sultans emerge as the main representatives of Sunni Islam and assume the succession to the Mamluks, the Ayyubids, the Saljūqids and the Zankids, pledging to defend the umma against the Infidels as against the heretics. The empire thus constituted is vast, stretching on to three continents, and although the historical texts at our disposal do not lend themselves to an exercise in cartography, the narration of political and military events draws, in words and in names if not in lines, the contours of the Ottoman mamlaka in the mind of the reader. In this period of expansion the Abode of Islam will stretch as far as the Ottoman military arm will, and Ottoman military limitations, Ottoman expectations, Ottoman diplomacy and Ottoman ʿajz will, therefore, trace the limits (ḥadd, pl. ḥudūd) and point at the marches (thaghr, pl. thughūr) of the realm. The mamlaka will be the territorial expression of the vitality of the Ottoman State, as also of the codification of this vitality in the historical discourse under study. To the extreme north-west lies Vienna, besieged and conquered in 1529/936 by Sulaimān I who "ordered the destruction of the city because it was too far away from the land of Islam."[3] To the south-west, not too

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1 There is no doubt that Sunni conquest of Shii-held territory constitutes an extension of the Dār al-Islām: when the Uzbek ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān conquered Mashhad in Persia in 1588/997, he killed all the Shiis who were in it "and integrated it in the Abode of Islam" (DUR(1), p. 431).

2 ATH, pp. 193-194: al-jarākisa 'l-anḥās.

3 ATH, p. 197.

far from Ottoman Tunis, is the fort of la Goulette, taken and razed to the ground by the Ottomans because of its vulnerability to Infidel attacks: limit of expansion, expression of limitation.[1] Beyond the Holy Cities of Arabia--safely in Ottoman hands--is the Ḥabasha, city or province, southernmost ḥadd of the empire.[2] To the east, Tabrīz and Adharbaijān, undecided, still waver between allegiance to the Ottoman sultan and recognition of the de facto power of an uncomfortably close Safavid shah. The fate of the ʿIrāq al-ʿArab, as well as of the ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam, will long remain uncertain, until the sultan and the shah finally make an arrangement giving Bagdad to the Ottomans and Bilād al-ʿAjam to the Safavids.[3]

Istanbul

At the centre of this empire lies Istanbul,[4] throbbing heart of a reborn Islam. Straddling, so to speak, two continents,[5] Istanbul flouts Infidel Europe, for it is not merely a Muslim-held city on European soil, nor is it, Andalus-like, a severed member: it is the capital of a large and dynamic Muslim empire. By breaching its ramparts, by rape, the Ottomans had assumed a universal--even an oeucumenical--dimension.[6] And a mission which the moribund

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1 ATH, p. 202.

2 ATH, p. 201.

3 AKH, f. 161v.

4 "The dominions of the sultan are divided in two: east of Constantinople is Anatolia, and west of it is Rumelia," MAN(2), I, 179-180. Istanbul lays out the empire around itself.

5 As a city Constantinople does not straddle two continents but is situated on the European bank of the Bosphorus. The straddling lies in the Constantinople-turned-Istanbul, in the Asiatic Ottomans bestriding the Bosphorus. Istanbul is not a mere Muslim version of Constantinople, it is Byzantium resurrected: the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople reconciles the city with its imperialism.

6 Rome had adopted the Greek heritage and universalism, and Byzantium had then taken over from Rome: smoothly, culturally and civilisationally, Byzantium had become a father to an orphaned Greco-Roman heritage. All this was taking place within the bonds of marriage or consent. Whereas the Ottomans had burst into Byzantium politically and militarily, literally fathering by rape an orphaned (Stateless) mission of universalism.

Rūm had, long ago, relinquished. For, this city of Constantinople, now the prize of Muḥammad the Conqueror, had long ceased to be the haughty Byzantium that tantalized Islam. Indeed the Emperor, a mere master of Constantinople[1] engaged in petty bickerings with his neighbours was, on and off, a vassal of the Ottomans, and the sultan had even imposed on him the building of a Muslim quarter and of a mosque within the walls, then sent a qadi and a khaṭīb to the Muslims of the city.[2]

The first political act of the conquering sultan was to de-christen the city, renamed Istanbul. Istanbul is, of course, by some kind of wishful taḥrīf, Islāmbūl, the heart of Islam. But Istanbul is also Istānbūlin,[3] the city, the one and only city. For, if Istanbul is undoubtedly the capital of Islam,[4] it is no less, by virtue of the universal mission of Islam as of the mujāhid dimension of the Ottomans, the capital of the world.

Of this city of cities, what is said? It is a bewildering city: 13,315 different quarters.[5] If not a sign of gigantism,[6] this incredible number is, to say the least, indicative of a mosaic contrasting with the forty or so gateless and homogeneous Mosuli quarters. And this gigantic and somewhat alien aspect of Istanbul is highlighted by the rather peculiar religious distribution of the quarters: 3,902 Muslim maḥallas, 4,231 Jewish maḥallas, and no less than 5,113 Christian ones.[7] Whichever way these figures may be taken (overall preponderance of Christians and Jews, or extremely high segmentation within the various dhimmī communities contrasting with a homogeneous Muslim mass), they still convey to the provincial Arab Muslim subject of the Ottoman sultan Istanbul's cosmopolitanism[8] and

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1 ṣāḥib al-qusṭanṭīnīya.

2 ATH, p. 167.

3 See Miquel, Géographie, II, 412, quoting Mas'ūdī. From the Greek eis tèn polin (to the city).

4 ATH, p. 184: maqarr al-islām.

5 The following description of Istanbul in the late 16th century is taken from DUR(2), f. 232rv and DUR(1), p. 432.

6 Since quarters can vary enormously in size.

7 A total of 13,246 quarters, 69 short of the number given originally. Yet the error does not infirm the mental image.

8 Infidel nations have consulates there: see GHA, p. 51.

oecumenism: so flattering in times of grandeur, yet so frightening in times of weakness and distress.

And in case the number of urban quarters does not give a definite idea as to the size of the city, the religous buildings certainly will: 485 mosques (jāmi'), 4,594 masjids, 796 zāwiyas, 105 khānqas, and 1,656 religious schools (mu'allimkhāna), of which the first and foremost is the Aya Sofia, the eight-gated madrasa erected by Muḥammad the Conqueror.[1] And the enumeration of Istanbuli buildings fills this vast urban space: 874 baths, 1,972 caravanserails,[2] 8,891 bakeries, 2,585 mills, 23 wholesale store-houses (qabbān), 58 dye-shops, 451 butcheries (qaṣṣābkhāna), 862 beer sellers (būzakhāna),[3] 790 coffee-houses, 4,790 māikhāna, 4,985 mūṣluq and 968 ab jashma,[4] and a total of 117,061 shops.[5]

Istanbul is also the residence of the sultan and his government; it is a main Janissary centre with 120 barracks;[6] it has at least one hospital (dār shifā') built by Sultan Bāyazīd II;[7] and an observatory (raṣd) set up in 1579/987 by Taqī ad-Dīn al-'Alawī.[8]

A city blessed with a healthy climate and good winds, its green pastures, its many promenades and its fine buildings are a pleasure to the eye.[9] Water is paramount in Istanbul, and the city is dominated by its aqueducts (nahr) and by the gulf (khalīj) to which it gives its name. Linking Istanbul to the west, to Uskudār to the east,[10] this

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1 UNW(1), f. 236r; AKH, f. 145v.

2 1,817 in DUR(1).

3 Or breweries--although the number is far too high (792 in DUR(1)).

4 All three terms (the latter being Persian) refer to more or less elaborate forms of fountains.

5 117,961 shops according to DUR(1), To which should be added 1,000 'amāra (high buildings?) and 46 mysterious shahr qabūs (شهر قبوس).

6 110 in DUR(1).

7 AKH, f. 146v.

8 AKH, f. 150v; UNW(1), f. 236v.

9 NAD(1), f. 337r.

10 The Gulf of Istanbul is only perceived in width: from Istanbul to Uskudār. It is a link between two continents, between east and west ("the Ottoman bestriding"), and not

gulf has been known to freeze entirely, when the people walked on it as on terra firma.[1] The whole city seems to be built on water: "Water runs in its streets and seas flow underneath it" tells us ʿUthmān ʿUmarī who visited Istanbul in 1743/1156.[2] Antithesis of this watery and icy dimension of Istanbul: fire. No less than 24 fires are reported by our historians since the Ottoman conquest of the city. For some reason--probably to do with the building materials--fire feeds very easily in Istanbul and the slightest flare will engulf hundreds of houses. Other fires are more lethal: the 1658/1069 fire that raged for three days and three nights destroyed 80,000 buildings and killed 200 people; the 1750/1164 fire devoured 80,000 houses, khans, baths, shops; and in 1781/1196, in Ramaḍān, a terrifying fire swept through Istanbul, destroying two thirds of the city and claiming more than 40,000 lives.[3]

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A flood, an earthquake, a plague, a drought, or a famine, no rare thing in Istanbul--as in the empire at large --is, none the less, a natural (and supernatural) phenomenon: sign of divine wrath, warning or punishment, it illustrates our condition humaine and carries within its scourge a promise of the coming of Allāh's compassion and mercy.[4] Whereas fire obeys a totally different rationale: negligence or pyromania, heinous crime or suicide, Istanbul seems to devour and consume itself from within, and it remains to be seen whether, phoenix-like, Istanbul will go on rising from its ashes. Fire--a man-made calamity--seems to denote an underlying pessimism, to symbolise an uncertain fate.

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between north and south: the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara are neglected and forgotten. And it is as if from a Mosuli viewpoint the waters flowed, not along a north-south axis, but rather along an east-west axis: pattern of dialogue.

[1] In 1620/1030, 1693/1105, 1697/1109, 1766/1180, 1769/1183.

[2] NAD(1), f. 337v.

[3] ATH, pp. 215, 232, 246.

[4] Hence the importance of intercession, the cult of the saints, istirjā', adʿiya, istisqā', etc.

The Sultan

Why a sultan? Because the government of the people is one of the principal duties laid down by religion, for without government there can be no religion, nor indeed anything else. The human race can only survive and prosper by gathering around a single man acknowledged as their leader, "and this is precisely why it is said that the sultan is the shadow of Allāh on earth, and let it be known that 60 years of tyranny are preferable to a single night without a sultan."[1] Allāh in his great wisdom favours two groups above all others: the prophets, and the kings after them; and "He has created the kings to stop His creatures from killing one another."[2] Yet this indispensability of the ruler inscribes itself in a logic that makes justice an indispensable component of power: "for religion needs power, and power needs armies, and armies need riches, and riches are brought by prosperity, and prosperity is conditional on justice towards the subjects."[3]

Religion lays the terms of a contract passed between a sultan and his subjects: if a sultan rules according to the sharī'a and respects the rights of the umma, then he should be obeyed and supported, and it is illegal to rebel against him and seek to overthrow him, "despite, says Mar'ī al-Ḥanbalī,[4] the opinion of certain 'ulamā' who have drawn on Imām Ḥusain's revolt against Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya as justification for opposition to a tyrannical ruler."[5] Rebellion is evil and it is illegal, because it results in destruction, death, plunder, unsafe roads, burnt crops and trees.[6] Power therefore appears as a de facto and a dynamic phenomenon: the sultan creates his own legitimacy: there is no divine right to the imamate and power becomes legitimate by being and by exercising itself in accordance with the will of Allāh

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1 AKH, f. 187r.

2 AKH, f. 189r.

3 AKH, f. 192v. This is the famous "circle of equity".

4 Zain ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-Karmī (d. 1644).

5 AKH, f. 184v.

6 Ibid.

and the Law of Islam.

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And what could be more in accordance with the sharī'a and more pleasing to Allāh than the Holy War and the expansion of the Abode of Islam? Jihād alone should command obedience to the Ottomans, and their successes in war legitimise their rule. There is no mistaking the ghāzī and mujāhid foundation of the Ottoman sultanate: from Kūtāhya to Sofia, to Constantinople, to Vienna, the sultan dominates every conquest, every campaign: either directly, as he leads the glorious armies to battle, or indirectly, as he dispatches sons and vizirs on the marches.[1]

The association between sultan and jihād is so strong that in 1511/917 the armies demanded a new sultan because Bāyazīd II was in poor health and could not lead the mujāhidūn.[2] Murād II was actually recalled after his abdication so that he would lead the armies against the Infidels.[3] Aḥmad III was forced to abdicate because of his wavering policies towards the Persians at a time when the Islamic armies had pushed deep into enemy territory.[4] Jihād is certainly one of the principal components of the power and legitimacy of the Ottoman sovereign, and with the rapid expansion of the empire swaying the whole-hearted identification of our historians, there creeps into the narrative a certain confusion between mamālik 'uthmānīya, mamālik sulṭānīya and dār islām. Despite what a fifteenth century Egyptian such as Maqrīzī might have to say, the Ottoman sultan is clearly the sultan. Military power and conquest resolve the issue of binarity, the ill-omened Circassians

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1 In ATH, Yāsīn 'Umarī mentions 92 military campaigns between 702 AH and 1199 AH. In all these akhbār except five the sultan is the subject of the proposition: he either leads the armies (sāra bi), or else he sends them (arsala). In the remaining five akhbār it is the Grand Vizir who leads the armies, and the sultan is not mentioned at all in the sentence. And all five akhbār in question belong to the 17th century (1605, 1646, 1662, 1682): see ATH, pp. 208, 213, 215-216.

2 ATH, p. 192.

3 ATH, p. 182.

4 ATH, pp. 221-222.

are dropped, Istanbul becomes the capital of Islam, and the umma ceases to be a two-headed ecclesia.

The Islamic character of the Ottoman sultanate does not stop at jihād, and Muḥammad I was the first Ottoman sultan to send the ṣurra to the Holy Cities; Murād II used to send 3,500 dinars each year; Bāyazīd II used to send 7,000 dinars to Mecca and as much to Medina, and the khaṭīb of Mecca came to Istanbul and praised him in an ode; in 1612/1021 Aḥmad I sent a diamond necklace worth 50,000 dinars to adorn the tomb of the Prophet, three years later he sent two silver window-frames incrusted with gold to Medina, and he also increased the auqāf of the Holy Cities; and in 1516/922 Sultan Salīm I was proclaimed "Servant of the Holy Shrines" by the khaṭīb, in Aleppo as in Cairo.[1] Upholder of the rightly-guided religion, guardian of the Pilgrimage routes and Servant of the Holy Shrines, the Ottoman sultan also emerges as the protector and guarantor of a more intimate religious experience revolving around sufism and the cult of the saints.[2] When Salīm I conquered Damascus, he ordered the erection of the mosque of Ibn ʿArabī, "thus fulfilling Ibn ʿArabī's prophecy: 'When the sīn[3] enters into the shīn,[4] then will appear the tomb of Muḥyī ad-Dīn!'"[5] And when Sulaimān I conquered Bagdad, he ordered the construction of the mausoleums of Abū Ḥanīfa and of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kīlānī.[6]

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Be it in its official aspect or in its more local colouration religion relies on power (ad-dīn bi 'l-mulk, says ʿAlī ʿUmarī). And power--of which jihād is only one aspect --permeates the institution of the Ottoman sultanate: no

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1 AKH, ff. 144r-145r, 146v, 148rv, 149v, 151v; ATH, p. 194.

2 Ḥallāj, "excommunicated saint", apostle and mystical eponym of the Turks, "sur qui [the Turks] pesait le hadīth contre Gog et Magog; que devait raviver, surtout en pays arabe, le sac mongol de Bagdad en 1258" (Massignon, "Textes prémonitoires", p. 15).

3 Of Salīm.

4 Of Shām.

5 ATH, pp. 193-194.

6 AKH, f. 149v.

divine right to the throne, no written rules of succession. ʿUthmān I's zeal, courage and achievements in the Holy War had made him Sultan ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn's "natural" successor; when ʿUthmān I died, he was succeeded by his most powerful son. Although a sultan may designate his successor--usually his son--his choice was not binding and the period of succession was an uneasy transitional phase affecting the whole State: hence the subterfuges surrounding a sultan's death, usually kept secret until the arrival of the heir-apparent.[1] Another inconvenience of this system in which power is the determining factor in the process of succession is the custom of eliminating all potential pretenders to the throne: when Bāyazīd I became sultan in 1388/791 he had his brother Yaʿqūb strangled, "and he was the first Ottoman sultan to do so."[2] Of the Ottoman sultan's male progeny, one was the future sultan, the others future sacrificial victims, immolated on the altar of unity and stability. Not that the Mosuli historians relating the matter condone it in any way;[3] they seem to accept it, faute de mieux, as a fact of power, as an institutionalised mechanism of government. Power--that same power injecting life-blood into the Holy War--is at the very foundations of the throne, and it justifies many things. Once on the throne --and because he was able to secure it--the Ottoman sultan is obeyed and pretenders are dealt with harshly.[4] And yet, all along, it is clear that rivals and pretenders are not condemned

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[1] When Muḥammad I died his advisers hid his death for forty days and even staged a macabre audience with the body of the sultan being articulated by a man hidden behind a curtain: all for the benefit of the army (AYA, f. 278v).

[2] ATH, p. 164.

[3] "When, in 1620/1030, ʿUthmān II ordered his brother Muḥammad's execution, Muḥammad told him: 'In the name of Allāh, do not make me your enemy on the Day of Judgement, for I am your loyal and obedient servant.' But the sultan paid no heed to him and handed him to his executioners. As they were strangling him, blood spurted out of his nostrils and on to the sultan's turban. Muḥammad's last words to his brother were: 'Allāh has made you the plaything of merciless passions which will bring your downfall.' And so it was: a year later the sultan was himself murdered!" (ATH, p. 209)

[4] Ṣānjī, who rebelled in 1385 against his father Murād I and proclaimed himself sultan "was induced to do so by the devil" (ATH, p. 162).

as rebels as much as they are condemned as unsuccessful rebels: their challenge was abortive and did not contain within it the seeds of a new order: their failure determines the writing of history.

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It is not easy to extract from the parochial, ill-informed--and all in all unconcerned--texts under study a coherent picture of the reality of the sultan's power. Still, the narration of political events does allow a certain trend to emerge. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the sultan occupies a central position in Islam, in the historical narrative, and in the grammatical construction. In Islam: he symbolises its unity and continuity, he is the ultimate authority, he rules unopposed. In the historical narrative: the history of the Ottoman Empire is lost in the akhbār of each sultan (his conquests, his rule, his achievements). In the grammatical construction: the sultan is the main subject of the clause, the truly active factor, the fā'il. In the seventeenth century things change and new protagonists appear on the forefront of the scene: Grand Vizir, daftardār, shaikh al-islām, Janissary Āghā, all acquire prominence, constitute pressure groups, and draw the sultan into their schemes and stratagems. The power of the sultan is on the decline. Whereas Muḥammad II had clinically disposed of the Grand Vizir Khalīl Pasha,[1] and whereas Murād III had successfully dealt with the rebel Janissaries,[2] and whereas in the past challenge to the sultan had come from the House of 'Uthmān (an ambitious brother or uncle), the situation now was such that the sultan--and with him the House of 'Uthmān--had lost the initiative: in 1618 it was the shaikh al-islām who deposed the ascetic Muṣṭafā I; his successor and nephew, the young 'Uthmān II, was murdered during a rebellion against the Grand Vizir and the daftardār; Ibrāhīm I was strangled by Janissaries loyal to the shaikh al-islām; Muḥammad IV was deposed by his vizirs;[3] Aḥmad III

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1 The same Khalīl Pasha had accepted a bribe from the Rūm (ATH, pp. 182-183; AKH, f. 145r).

2 ATH, p. 205.

3 And not overthrown by some powerful Ottoman contender.

was forced to abdicate by Patrona Khalil.[1] And despite occasional outbursts of energy (Murād IV, Sulaimān II, Maḥmūd I, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I), the sultanate is overwhelmed by lethargy. The sultan no longer acts (fa'ala), he merely reacts (radda 'l-fi'l), and the fi'l lies elsewhere, it belongs to someone else.

The process of the decline of the sultanate--process to which our historians only hint confusedly--has been described and analysed in great detail by modern scholarship. What would be more interesting here, is to extract from the texts an apprehension of the sultan's position vis-à-vis the centres of power in the capital. At a time when the Holy War flounders and Infidels and heretics are on the offensive, the texts appear to effect a displacement of the sultan in relation to the State apparatus. In times of crisis the sultan somehow becomes a prisoner of the institution, and the statesmen build around him a wall of silence: a wall which the sultan can only breach in a moment of fortuitous lucidity and "savage" consciousness, when he wittingly or unwittingly places himself without the institution. It was outside Istanbul, in a bucolic setting, and dressed like a commoner, that Muṣṭafā II coincidentally heard of the Muscovite onslaught on the Muslims which the Grand Vizir had hidden from him.[2] Murād IV had not been informed of the Persian conquest of Bagdad and was told by the khaṭīb of the mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa who went to Istanbul and managed to give the khuṭba in the presence of the sultan.[3] As for Salīm III, he had not been told of the French occupation of Egypt: when he heard of it, two months after the event, he wept for Islam, exiled the Grand Vizir, had the ra'īs afandī executed because he was to blame for this calamity, and prepared himself for the Holy War.[4]

This mechanism which separates the sultan from the instances of power is not meant to absolve and clear

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1 ATH, pp. 208-209, 210, 212, 214-217, 225-226.

2 ATH, p. 237.

3 Another version has it that the sultan was told by a concubine; another that the child-sultan was aware of the Persian capture of Bagdad, but was powerless.

4 GHA, pp. 48, 57.

this or that sultan, it is meant as expression of Mosuli--and provincial--suspicion towards far away statesmen and anonymous policy makers, towards those who hold the reins of power and the destinies of the empire and of Islam at a time when the Persian heretics are sacking Bagdad and the Infidel Ifranj becoming increasingly defiant. By separating the sultan from the institutions of government the texts effect a powerful identification between sultan and ra'īya: the sultan's moment of consciousness (Murād IV shocked by the khaṭīb, Muṣṭafā II fortuitously falling on an important missive) is the Muslims' own moment of consciousness, since the historian describing the sultan's moment of truth creates this very moment in the mind and heart of the Muslims--present and future--who will come across his writings. In a contemporary society, one might say that the people ("masses", "proletariat" or "nation") is duped, cheated and misinformed by unscrupulous or negligent leaders. In the society described by our texts it is the sultan who falls victim to such mischievous schemes, and it is through his own moment of awakening and subsequent reaction that the people (Muslims) become aware of what has been happening.

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The sultan's moment of consciousness--following which he chooses to act or not to act--is usually associated with religious figures, such as the shaikh who warned Bāyazīd I against his drinking wine,[1] the khaṭīb who informed Murād IV of the Persian conquest of Bagdad, or the wā'iẓ who drew Salīm III's attention to the bida' introduced by his government.[2] Yet such warning and such advice is given to the sultan in congregation, which makes the discourse in question immediately public--open to scrutiny--and explains the historian's knowledge of it.[3] There is no question of a conspiracy: either of a conspiracy between the historian and the religious figures warning and advising the sultan, or of

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1 AYA, f. 277r.

2 UMM, f. 55r.

3 When the "moment of awareness" is private (Murād IV told by his concubine, or Muṣṭafā II incognito), it is the sultan's reaction and the divulgation of the crime (execution, exile, dismissal) that informs the historian, and the Muslims generally.

a conspiracy between the historian and some well-informed palace sources. Furthermore, there is absolutely no question of a conspiracy being hatched by the religious figures in question:[1] a conspiracy cannot be unmasked by another conspiracy, and the shaikh, the khaṭīb and the wā'iẓ, address the sultan overtly.

The message is clear. Be it in the matter of the Holy War, or be it in the matter of the bida' introduced regarding new taxes[2] or the creation of a new army independent of the Janissary corps, the sultan is ill-advised,[3] for a sultan should "rule according to the sharī'a and to the sunna, and ignore all other rules which, although apparently useful, actually do harm to Allāh's creatures. And those who make such rules take precedence over that which the Prophet has decreed, stifle the sunna and encourage the bid'a."[4] In all matters, a sultan should consult with the wise learned men.[5] And the wise learned men, untainted by government practice and corruption, are usually provincial figures, lower clergy or sufi shaikhs: conscience of the umma, minor figures of angels and prophets who, if not "sent", are in effect "made to intrude" on to a divine comedy, sadly corrupted.

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Yet despite the introduction of bida' and despite the vicissitudes of time, identification with the Ottomans still operates, the dynasty has no serious rival, and the unity of the empire is fervently desired. The sultan is the upholder of the rightly-guided religion and its shield against the battering rams of the Infidels; he is the guarantor of a local religious experience and its guardian against the insidious attacks of the heretics of the within as of the without.

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1 These religious figures differ essentially from the shaikh al-islām, the qāḍī 'askar, and other power-oriented religious functions.

2 UMM, f. 47v; DUR(2), f. 377r.

3 GHA, p. 33: qawānīn ghair mustaqīma is what Yāsīn 'Umarī calls the new military and financial decrees.

4 AKH, ff. 187v-188r.

5 AKH, f. 187v.

Between the golden age of the first sultans and this dying eighteenth century haunted by the spectre of the Infidel there is, however, one difference. Then, as Imām of the Faithful, the Ottoman sultan was backed by a loyal State apparatus and by a formidable war-machine which he inspired. Now, the Ottoman sultan appears to fulfil his duties as Imām of the Faithful without--and sometimes even despite--the State and the army. Everything is not well, certainly, and one wonders whether in the terrifying fires that light Istanbul it is only the city that consumes itself.

The sultan is symbol of unity--of a desired unity--and this symbol has had to lose in efficacity, in insight and in power in order, precisely, to retain an essential purity and integrity: weakness and innocence often walk side by side.

Enemies: the Ifranj

By stepping on to the European continent and parading their standards as far to the west as the Viennese Danube, and as far to the east as the Don and Azov, the Ottomans had integrated within the Abode of Islam a variety of little kingdoms and principalities,[1] and effected fundamental changes in the geopolitical configuration. Out of these great convulsions three major Infidel nations (Ifranj, Faranj) were to emerge and pose a threat to the Muslim empire: to the north-west were the Ankurūs, to the north-east the Musqūf, and, somewhere, in some far away land separated from the mamlaka by unknown countries and seas, the Faransa.

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The Ankurūs (Hungarians)[2] are old enemies of the sultan. Even before the Muslim conquest of Constantinople they had not hesitated to assist the Serbs, the Bosnians, the Byzantines and the Qaramānids against the Ottomans.[3] When

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1 Rūm, Bulghār, Arna'ūṭ (Albania), Ṣarf (Serbia), Būsna (Bosnia), Būghdān (Moldavia), Iflāq (Wallachia), etc. The Dār al-Islām and the Dār al-'Ahd are confused in their opposition to the Dār al-Ḥarb.

2 From the Turkish Engürüs.

3 ATH, pp. 156-157, 167, 181-182.

the Ottomans finally capture Būdun,[1] the capital of their king Nimji Qirāl,[2] and when, later on, we are told that their queen Irdil Bānū pays a tribute to the sultan, we may well be tempted to assume that the threat of the Ankurūs has subsided. Far from it, the Ankurūs, as impious as ever, still launch their attacks on Islam. And this is because the term Ankurūs no longer refers to the Hungarians[3] but to the Habsburgs. In 1529/936 Sultan Sulaimān I besieged and captured their capital, Bīj (Vienna),[4] laying his hands on the treasures of their fleeing king.[5] Then the Muslims effected a strategic retreat, having first destroyed Bīj.[6] Yet despite the destruction of their capital the Ankurūs remain Islam's main foe in Europe, and in 1682/1094 they wipe out an Ottoman army which had come to defy them under the walls of Bīj.[7] Following this second siege of Vienna the border between the two powers becomes more stable, recognised, and the Ankurūs are no longer mentioned in war against the Ottomans. Danger now lurks on the north-eastern marches of the mamlaka.

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> "In 1181 the tailed-star appeared in the east, dragging its ever-growing tail and pursuing its westerly course. And this year saw the beginning of the subjugation of Islam at the hand of the Banū al-Aṣfar."[8]

In eighteenth century Mosul the term Banū al-Aṣfar, once used in connection with the Crusaders, applied to the Musqūf (Muscovites). To understand the connection between the tailed-star and the Muscovites one has to leap back in time to this year 1108 AH "when Sultan Maḥmūd was born and the heathen Musqūf conquered the fortress of Azāq (Azov)."[9] An

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1 Also written Burdūn: a reference to Buda.

2 From the Turkish Nemče (Austrian, Prussian) and qiral (king).

3 Now called Majar.

4 From the Turkish Beč, it is the Hungarian name for Vienna and was used by the Ottomans.

5 Nimji Qirāl, or Nimji Qira Dūsh.

6 See supra, p. 277.

7 ATH, pp. 216-217.

8 GHA, p. 13.

9 ATH, p. 219.

Italian missionary who lived in Mosul around 1750 tells us that the people of the town believed that the end of the Ottoman Empire would come at the hands of the Muscovites after the death of Sultan Maḥmūd I. This could well explain why the birth of a sultan and the conquest of Azov by the Russians are put in one and the same khabar. Some years had passed since the death of Sultan Maḥmūd I, and the Ottoman Empire, although weakened and somewhat frightened, was still standing. This, the Mosulis believed, was due to the Prophet who was interceding on behalf of the Muslims, hence delaying the fatidical moment. But when, in this year 1767/1181, the tailed-star burst into the skies, impressing its omen on to the peaceful blackness of night and memory, the old belief suddenly acquired a dreadful reality: "When war broke out between the Ottomans and the Russians, alarming news was reaching Mosul regarding the fate of the Muslim armies. And when the people saw this strange star, they became convinced that it augured the fall of the Ottoman Empire, as this was written in the books of the Elders."[1]

Ifranj, Banū al-Aṣfar, and even descendants of the apostate Ghassānid prince Jabala,[2] the Musqūf differ from the Ankurūs in two fundamental respects. Time-wise, their threat belongs to the present, to this twelfth and thirteenth century Hijra experienced by the texts, whereas the Ankurūs are part of a relatively distant past--a resolved time. Space-wise, the Musqūf's impious standards come frighteningly close to Mosul (Georgia, Lake Urmīya, Khuyy), whereas the Ankurūs haunt a mysterious--and only dimly perceived--west.

The Infidel Musqūf seem to take the forefront when the Infidel Ankurūs fade away. They spread their influence --and disorder--from Azov to the east, south to Georgia where they encourage the Kurj to rebel,[3] and west to the Crimea which they annex and to Belgrade where they pose as the protectors of the Christians.[4] Their power is even felt deep

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1 See Lanza, pp. 63-64. Mosuli Christians even showed Lanza old manuscripts buried in forgotten recesses of ancient monasteries, and which contained old maps showing the precise points of penetration of the Russian armies and their routes of invasion.

2 See supra, p. 237

3 ATH, p. 238.

4 DUR(2), f. 377r; GHA, p. 30.

into Muslim land, in Mosul itself, through an association with the Christian ra'īya of the sultan.[1]

With their power enhanced by the prophecy and the omen the Musqūf are a formidable enemy, and the Mosulis came into direct contact with them in 1770/1184 when Amīn Pasha Jalīlī, then in Bandar and defending the city against all odds (abandoned by the Grand Vizir, cut off from the Muslim lines, having to fight fire after fire in a city smitten by plague and famine), was forced to capitulate and was taken as prisoner to Bitribūkh (St. Petersburg), the capital of the Musqūf.[2] And in 1809/1224 the same Musqūf crushed the Muslim armies killing between ten and fifteen thousand Believers. Their victory was so complete that they sent to Istanbul demanding the jizya from the Muslims. Islam responded positively to the arrogant provocation, as the mujāhidūn flocked to Istanbul in their thousands, marched against the Infidels, and defeated them with the assistance of Allāh.[3]

With or without Azov, with or without the Crimea, the Ottoman Empire lives on, the tailed-star still has to realise its evil omen, and Muḥammad still intercedes on behalf of his people.

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Enemies of Islam, the Musqūf and the Ankurūs, as well as other Infidel nations such as the Namsā,[4] all join forces with the sultan towards the end of the eighteenth century. The reason behind this most unholy alliance is the rise of the Faransa and their invasion of Egypt. There is no mistaking the convulsive and bewildering effect which the emergence of the Faransa on to the historical scene--into

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1 The 1792 treaty with Russia stipulated that the Christians should be allowed to repair (or build) their churches, and as a result the Christians of Mosul did so: DUR(2), f. 377r; GHA, p. 33.

2 ATH, p. 239.

3 GHA, p. 102.

4 From the Turkish Nemče (Austrian, Prussian), or else from the Arabic Nāmjīn (German). It seems that the term Namsā now refers to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whereas the term Ankurūs refers to the English: confusion between Ankurūs and Inkilīz.

the historical narrative--had on the accepted geopolitical landscape of the familiar world.

The Faransa make their splendid entry in the texts by effecting a drastic revolutionary upheaval in their country: killing their sultan, abolishing the monarchy, rejecting Christianity, abandoning the beliefs of their forefathers, and installing a new and merciless order in which there was no room for the sick, the old or the weak.[1] Having rebelled against the "legitimate" authority in their country, the Faransa were soon crossing the seas and invading the Abode of Islam. Doubly bewildering phenomenon, since "a well-informed and dependable source assured me that the Faransa had a long-standing friendship with the Ottoman kings, and no one can recall them ever taking up arms against our sultans."[2] Yet, here were the Faransa, having disrupted harmony in their distant world, now disturbing the peace in our world. Led on to the path of evil by Burta Būl (Bonaparte),[3] they came, 80,000 of them,[4] on 80 ships, and captured Alexandria by ruse and treachery.[5] The Faransa's scheme was diabolical: banking on their centuries-old friendship with the sultan, "they approached Rashīd Effendi who was muḥtasib for all of Bilād al-Ifranj and their dragoman (turjumān) at the Porte, and they secured from him a firman allowing them to go to Egypt. Armed with the firman, they returned to their country, gathered 200,000 soldiers and took to sea. Once in sight of Alexandria, they sent a man who spoke Turkish, dressed like an Ottoman statesman, to fool the Muslims. With the help of the firman he was successful, and the Infidels managed to lay their hands on the town."[6] Having taken Alexandria by treachery, the Faransa then went on to capture Cairo, Yāfa, Ramla and Gaza in the same way, and they conquered the rest by the sword.[7] Finally, they were defeated and ousted from Egypt by the

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1 GHA, p. 32.

2 DUR(3), f. 420v.

3 Also written Būtrā Būl.

4 200,000 in DUR(2), f. 383v.

5 GHA, p. 48.

6 DUR(2), f. 383v.

7 GHA, p. 48.

Grand Vizir Yūsuf Pasha, and their forsaken leader fled to his country beyond the seas.[1]

With the defeat of the Faransa and their expulsion from the mamlaka and from the familiar world, the "usual" pattern of war is resumed, and the Musqūf again raise their ugly heads.

Enemies and Rivals: the ʿAjam

If it is the sultan's duty to defend the umma from the military threat posed by the Infidel Christian nations, it is also his duty to protect it from the physical and spiritual onslaught of heresy. In the period under study the heretical counterpart of the Ottoman sultan, the "Antisultan", is the Safavid shah. As a Sunni Ottoman empire was emerging from the ruins of Byzantine and Saljūqid grandeur, so was a Shii Safavid empire rising from the ashes of the Mongol and Turcoman principalities of Iraq and "beyond the river": bipolarisation of the region, division of the Muslim world, and drawn-out strife. Caught between a Sunni empire of the west and a Shii empire of the east was Iraq, Mosul's Iraq, gateway to the Holy Cities of Arabia and repository of the venerated bodies of ʿAlī and Ḥusain.

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The founder of the Shii empire was Ismāʿīl b. Ḥaidar: a descendant of Imām Ḥusain, his mother was the daughter of Uzūn Ḥasan.[2] When in Ahjān, this Ismāʿīl frequented "misguided groups, he followed them and they followed him, he deluded them and they deluded him, he made them Rafaḍa and abandoned the righteous path of his forefathers."[3] Despite his noble lineage Ismāʿīl was an evil character,[4] and in 1500/906 he raised high the standard of heresy and rebelled against the kings of Iraq and Persia,

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1 GHA, p. 57.

2 AKH, f. 159rv.

3 ATH, p. 190.

4 AKH, f. 159rv.

laying his hands on the treasures of Murād Bey b. Sulṭān Ya'qūb and conquering Persia and Iraq, including Bagdad, Arbīl and Mosul. Ismā'īl was the first to be crowned and to take the title of shah.[1] The heretical character of Ismā'īl's creed is beyond doubt, for "he deluded the Persians, blinded them and led them astray."[2] More than a heretic, Ismā'īl was a sinner and a murderous barbarian: he used to drink wine in the skull of an enemy; and when he took Shirwān he forced the defeated emirs to slaughter their lord, chop him up, grind him, cook him and eat him.[3] His soldiers would prostrate themselves before him, and he pretended to be divine.[4] He massacred the 'ulamā', destroyed their books and the Corans, dug up the tombs of the Sunni mashāyikh and burnt their remains.[5] Having done which Ismā'īl installed a new order based on rafḍ and on sabb, and accursed udabā' rewrote history for him in vindication of their evil beliefs.[6]

And as if error, sin and heresy were not enough, the 'Ajam seem unable to secure a stable government and to ensure that the ra'īya lives in peace and security. Proof is the frequent palace coups and changes of dynasty. Ṭahmasb I son of Ismā'īl I came to the throne having fought and defeated his uncle Muḥammad. Later, he killed his brother Mīrzā, and he himself died poisoned by his wife.[7] His son Ismā'īl II inaugurated his reign by murdering his sister and benefactor, and two years later he was poisoned.[8] His son Muḥammad Khudābanda was challenged and defeated by his own son 'Abbās I.[9] There follows fifty years of longed-for stability ending with the bloody and mad Afghan usurpation.[10]

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1 MAN(2), I, 133; ATH, pp. 190-191; AKH, f. 159rv.

2 ATH, p. 191.

3 ATH, pp. 190-191.

4 AKH, f. 147v.

5 Ibid.

6 ATH, p. 191.

7 AKH, ff. 159v-160r. Poisoned with either theriaca or lime.

8 ATH, pp. 202-203.

9 The many historical errors and the great confusion do no infirm the sense of anarchy.

10 Maḥmūd Khān (Mīr Wais' son) is said to have been even more oppressive than the devil (dajjāl). In the end he became mad and was murdered by his cousin Ashraf Khān (AKH, f. 162rv).

Nādir Shāh, who had ousted the Afghans, was murdered in 1747/1160, and on his death the country sank into anarchy.[1] In the end come the Qajar, smitten by internal feuds and regicides.[2] Unable to recognise the authority and legitimacy of a single dynasty, often wavering (monarchs and subjects alike) between Shiism and Sunnism, Persia is indeed in a sorry state.

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And all this anarchy, all this evil and all this heresy were Iraq's--and Mosul's--fate, as Ismā'īl I pursued his conquests, ever victorious, "for some reason known only to Allāh."[3] Yet a saviour was to appear in the person of the Ottoman sultan. Notwithstanding the lethargy and the indifference of other Sunni monarchs, he drew the sword in defence of the rightly-guided religion. As 'Alī 'Umarī puts it: "When Sultan Salīm heard of Ismā'īl's evil deeds,[4] he was most eager to march against him, considering the campaign against Ismā'īl as the holiest of wars."[5] Identification of the texts with the Ottomans, defenders of Sunnism, is unquestionable: when, in 1516/922, the Ottomans captured Diyār Bakr from the Persians, they purged it of their evil, and not one heretic was left in the town;[6] when Sultan Sulaimān I conquered Bagdad from the Persians in 1535/942, he spread justice and goodness where there had been tyranny and evil, and the sweetest words ever to caress Bagdad's ears were: "Iraq has been conquered!"[7]

Underlying, cutting across and unifying more than three centuries of Ottoman-Persian relations in Iraq, is the struggle of truth against error, and of orthodoxy against heresy. Safavids, Afghans, Nādir Shāh, Zandites and Qajar: all are 'Ajam, and this concept of 'Ajam refers the reader to

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1 Seven Zandites in quick succession.

2 See for example GHA, p. 42.

3 ATH, p. 190.

4 It was said that when one of his emirs died, Ismā'īl granted his wife and his property to another man.

5 AKH, f. 147v.

6 ATH, p. 193.

7 ATH, pp. 197-198.

heresy, to rafḍ, to sabb. The Sunnism of the Afghans who overthrew the Shii Safavids is elided, and Ashraf Khān is even called shāh al-ʿajam;[1] Nādir Shāh's Jaafarite--and oeucumenical--proposals are ignored; and Ottoman-Persian opposition is presented as being doctrinal and not political. Interestingly enough, the two Persian monarchs vituperated the most in the texts are Ismāʿīl I and Nādir Shāh. Ismāʿīl I because of his great conquests and because he was the instigator of the heresy; Nādir Shāh because of his conquests and the siege of Mosul, but also because of his readiness to embrace Sunnism. Indeed Nādir Shāh is particularly dangerous and threatening precisely because of his oeucumenical designs, precisely because he could have posed as the pacifier of Islam, the resolver of the great schism. More than an enemy, Nādir Shāh was a rival of the Ottomans --like Timūr before him--and this could well explain the curses he collects on his way through the narrative.[2]

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Enemies or rivals, Shiis or Sunnis, the ʿAjam will, in the end, be tolerated as long as they remain east of a line linking Baṣra to Sulaimānīya to Urmīya, as long, that is, as they respect an implicit status quo based on a division of the area into an Ottoman ʿIrāq al-ʿArab and a Persian ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam. Despite the occasional jolt, this tacit agreement reached between a moribund Ottoman Empire and an anarchic Persia will hold. Following the daring Iraqi adventure of Nādir Shāh, Ottomans and Persians experience an uneasy peace disturbed from time to time by rivalries between petty feudal lords and officials, or by tribal raids on either side of the border.

Rivals: the Wahhābīs

The great divide tacitly recognised by Ottomans and Persians had left the Pilgrimage routes, the Holy Cities of

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1 ATH, p. 223.

2 "He was a grocer, a native of Khurasān. Following a quarrel with a man who maltreated him, Nādir Shāh left his shop and joined a band of highwaymen" (AYA, f. 248v).

Arabia and the Iraqi sanctuaries in the care of the sultan.[1] Yet this "natural" divide was to be shaken and upset by a third force, an unexpected line of interception which, in the fashion of Kleist's Penthesilea and her Amazones, was to jostle Ottoman and Persian ranks alike and, by drawing the sword against both Sunnis and Shiis, contribute to bring the two old enemies closer together.

The drive behind this alien tide, now threatening a centuries-old religious experience as well as a habitual --and reassuring--political and doctrinal enmity between Ottomans and Persians and between Sunnis and Shiis, was a certain ʿAbdallāh, also called ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and known as the Wahhābī:

> "He came from an Iraqi tribe and had spent some time studying in Mosul. Later, he frequented the innovators and the misguided, followed their inclinations and applauded their infamies. He went to Yaman where he became notorious for his erroneous beliefs and teaching. Then, he settled in Hajar, and there was proclaimed emir of the tribes. He propagated his heresy and blinded the fool and the ignorant. He claimed, doomed as he was, that it was enough to pray for Muḥammad once in a lifetime. He destroyed the Dalā'il al-khairāt[2] and forbade the people to read it. He condemned as Infidels all the Muslims who sought the intercession of the Prophet, of Shaikh ʿAbd al-Qādir (al-Kīlānī) and of others. He legalised ablutions with sand (tayammum) even if water were available. He forbade the study of all books of fiqh and tafsīr, and ordered the people to use the books of ḥadīth to the exclusion of all others. When he died in 1793/1208, Allāh having relieved His poor creatures of his evil, he was succeeded by his nephew ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who followed in his footsteps and showed even more delusion in all matters of religion. His one aim was to destroy the House, plunder Mecca, and raze the Kaʿba to the ground."[3]

Hajar, plundering Mecca, destroying the Kaʿba: there is no mistaking the association: these Wahhābīs are an incarnation of the Carmathians. In 1799/1214, they killed the emir of the Khazāʿil Shii tribe when they saw him kissing the threshold of the mausoleum of ʿAlī.[4] Two years later

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1 Thus do we see, in 1800/1215, the shah's mother visiting the Iraqi sanctuaries and being honoured by the Ottoman officials (GHA, p. 56).

2 By Abū ʿAlī Bakr al-Juzūlī (d. 1465/870).

3 GHA, p. 34; UMM, f. 48r.

4 GHA, pp. 53-54.

they attacked Mashhad in Iraq, plundering and massacring before leaving the sanctuary heavy laden with booty, having demolished the mausoleum of Ḥusain, the martyred Imām.[1] Iconoclasts is precisely what these Wahhābīs are. Already in 1796/1211 they had extended their influence north by ousting the Banū Khālid from Aḥsā', and were in a position to control the Pilgrimage route in Arabia.[2] Then, in 1805/1220, Ibn Sa'ūd the Wahhābī besieged Medina for three months then entered the starved city and demolished all the domes on the tombs of the noble Companions, only sparing that which adorned the tomb of the Prophet. In the same year the Wahhābīs were in Mecca, dictating their conditions to the Pilgrimage and forbidding the entry of the maḥmal.[3] The Wahhābīs then spread their evil to the Syrian part of the Pilgrimage route,[4] the ḥajj was thrown into disarray, Mecca and Medina were no longer--even nominally--acknowledging the authority of the Ottoman sultan, and in 1807/1222 Salīm III was deposed "because the Wahhābīs had seized Mecca and Medina, and the Pilgrimage was interrupted."[5]

The Wahhābīs' iconoclasm, their fierce onslaught on a local religious experience as on the Iraqi sacramental space, drew Sunnis and Shiis together, and the anarchic energy of the Shii tribes of southern Iraq was harnessed and channeled against this astounding new danger.[6]

Bewildering enemy, uneasy struggle: because the Wahhābīs are the insidious enemy, a cancer from within feeding on our very sunna before throwing it back at us, malformed yet still recognisable. More than enemies the Wahhābīs are rivals: rivals of the Sunni Ottoman sultan, rivals of an Iraqi religious experience. Although the Wahhābīs' interpretation of the sunna does not invalidate ours, it is, none the less, living proof of a duality, of a rivalry.

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1 GHA, pp. 60-61.

2 GHA, pp. 53, 54, 57.

3 GHA, pp. 70-71.

4 GHA, pp. 77, 121.

5 GHA, p. 74.

6 GHA, pp. 42, 48, 53, 57.

Through the Wahhābī rivalry, through the fundamentalist movement and through the duality in the interpretation of the sunna, we leave the Ottomans and Istanbul to rejoin Mosul, the concerns of its notables and sufis, its shrines, the polemic in its schools. Our survey of Ottoman history would therefore have effected a full circle, ready to turn in on itself as the last point in the circle becomes the first. Indeed, the alien nature of an Arab Wahhābism has the result of throwing an Arab Mosul into the arms of a Turkish Ottoman overlord: and thus does the circle restart.

The spatio-temporal panning effected has drawn the contours of a configuration of the contemporary world. And it is an interesting configuration: positing as its centre and as its pivot the Ottoman and Muslim capital, Istanbul, its real centres of perception lie in fact elsewhere. And it is just this hiatus, this bias--some may call it incorrectness-in focus that I have attempted to catch here.

POSTSCRIPT

In these last decades of the twentieth century the study of Mosul presented here may well seem antiquated. In this age of computers and figures, of demographical and climatological curves, of quantitative analyses and of statistics of all kinds, the methods and the material used here have a definite air of obsolescence. Oddly enough, at no time throughout the research was the need really felt for more statistical data, for a substantial body of figures that would enable the undertaking of a quantitative study. Oddly enough, what was missed at every moment was a pictorial documentation. Throughout, there has been an underlying longing for sketches and for pictures of Mosul, its suqs, its houses, its people at work; and for portraits, engravings and descriptions of its princes, its notables, its learned men: anything that would allow a glimpse at the profile of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, or a hint of the 'humour" of Fattāḥ his brother. In many ways this study is a palliative for an impossible pictorial corpus. Methodological approach? or mere shortcoming? No matter, after all, if the "human" corpus examined here has allowed some to talk to each other, to their contemporaries and to future generations. And no matter if, when all is said and done, these malformed voices have been able to reach our alien ears and our distorting minds.

APPENDIX I

The Governors of Mosul, 1726-1844

Ismā'īl Pasha Jalīlī	1726-7
Ḥusain Pasha Darandalī	1727-8
Muḥammad Pasha Rashwān Zāda	1728-30
Ḥusain Pasha b. Ismā'īl Pasha Jalīlī	1730
'Alī Pasha	1730-1
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (2nd time)	1731-3
Mīmush Pasha	1733
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (3rd time)	1733-5
Mīmush Pasha (2nd time)	1735-6
Iljī Muṣṭafā Pasha	1736-8
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (4th time)	1738-40
Aḥmad Pasha al-Ḥalabī	1740-1
'Uthmān Pasha al-Wānlī	1741
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (5th time)	1741-6
Sulaimān Pasha	1747
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (6th time)	1747-8
Muḥammad Pasha at-Tiryākī	1748
Ibrāhīm Pasha	1748-9
Muḥammad Pasha	1749-50
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (7th time)	1750
Muṣṭafā Pasha Shahsuwār	1750-1
Rajab Pasha	1751-2
Muḥammad Pasha	1752
Amīn Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī	1752-5
Muṣṭafā Pasha Shahsuwār (2nd time)	1755
Amīn Pasha Jalīlī (2nd time)	1755-6
Muṣṭafā Pasha 'Aẓm	1756-7
Rajab Pasha (2nd time)	1757
Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī (8th time)	1757-8
Amīn Pasha Jalīlī (3rd time)	1758
Nu'mān Pasha al-Ḥalabī	1759
Amīn Pasha Jalīlī (4th time)	1759-60
Muṣṭafā Pasha Shahsuwār (3rd time)	1760-1
Amīn Pasha Jalīlī (5th time)	1761-8
Ḥusain Pasha	1768-9
Fattāḥ Pasha b. Ismā'īl Pasha Jalīlī	1769-71
Sulaimān Pasha b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī	1771-5
Amīn Pasha Jalīlī (6th time)	1775
Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī (2nd time)	1775-6
Ḥasan Pasha	1776-7
Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī (3rd time)	1777-83
Muṣṭafā Pasha Yāzijī	1783
Taimūr Pasha al-Wānlī	1783-4
'Abd al-Bāqī Pasha b. 'Ubaid Āghā Jalīlī	1785-6
Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī (4th time)	1786-9
Muḥammad Pasha b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī	1789-1806
Nu'mān Pasha b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī	1806-8
Aḥmad Pasha Āl Bakr	1808-9
Maḥmūd Pasha b. Muḥammad Pasha Jalīlī	1809-10
Sa'dallāh Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī	1810-2
Aḥmad Pasha b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī	1812-7
Ḥasan Pasha b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī	1818
Aḥmad Pasha Jalīlī (2nd time)	1818-21

ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Pasha b. ʿAbdallāh Bey Jalīlī	1821-2
Yaḥyā Pasha b. Nuʿmān Pasha Jalīlī	1822-7
ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Pasha b. Maḥmūd Pasha Jalīlī	1827-8
Muḥammad Amīn Pasha b. ʿUthmān Bey Jalīlī	1829
Qāsim Pasha b. Ḥasan ʿUmarī	1830-1
Muḥammad Pasha Āl Yāsīn	1831-3
Yaḥyā Pasha Jalīlī (2nd time)	1833-4
Muḥammad Pasha Āl Yāsīn (2nd time)	1834-5
Muḥammad Pasha Inja Bairaqdār	1835-44

APPENDIX II

Mosuli Industries in 1845[1]

Industry	Numbers	Remarks
Indigo dye-shops	3	Employing 30 workers each
Madder dye-shops	17	
Other dye-shops	12	
Cloth printing shops	30	Or else 38
Calicot weaving looms	500	4/5 of the weavers are Muslim
Woolweaving looms	40	or else 400; all Muslim
Silkweaving looms	?	All Christian
Blacksmiths	40	Uncertain reading of the number (all Christian)
Copper smelters	20	Or else 8; all Muslim
Coppersmiths	15	3 of whom are Christian
Goldsmiths	24	7 Muslims, 9 Christians and 8 Jews
Watchmakers	?	
Cauldron makers	40	30 Christians and 10 Muslims
Tanners (cow and buffalo)	15	
Tanners (goat and sheep)	80	
Shoemakers	12	Or else 14
Saddlemakers	25	
Baggage-makers	10	
Mule stockings makers	15	
Master builders	20	
Stone hewers	7	
Common plasterers	10	
Potters	7	
Pipe-bowl makers	20	
Tailors	60	
Seamstresses	150	
Furriers	2	
Felt makers	14	
Sabre makers	13	7 Muslims and 6 Christians
Rifle-canon makers	10	5 Muslims and 5 Christians
Rifle-butt makers	5	
Sesame oil makers	6	3 Christians and 3 Muslims
Saltpetre makers	7	

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[1] CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), Botha to Guizot, Mosul, 31 Jan. 1845. The microfilm used to draw this list of Mosuli industries is unfortunately faulty in places, and a few numbers given are unreliable (they have been indicated in the Remarks column).

APPENDIX III

Mouvement commercial de la ville de Mossoul et des Provinces environnantes pendant 1853[1]

IMPORTATIONS

Tissus de soie		2,230,570 piastres
Tissus de laine		873,790 p.
Chanvre et lin		137,100 p.
Tissus de coton		2,617,500 p.
Objets fabriqués et non fabriqués, tels que tabac, plomb, minerai de fer, peaux, charbon, blé, sel, etc.		1,724,300 p.
Objets divers, tels que papier, savon, etc.		454,800 p.
	Total	8,058,060 p.

EXPORTATIONS

1. Coton:

Matière première		2,000,000 p.
Tissus, fils et objets		1,964,952 p.
	Total	3,964,952 p.

2. Laine:

Matière première		1,174,500 p.
Tissus, fils, objets		339,378 p.
	Total	1,513,878 p.

3. Soie:

Etoffes (kazz)		16,350 p.
Soies (harir)		6,650 p.
	Total	23,000 p.

4. Productions Diverses:[2]

Noix de galle	1,723,215 p.
Sésame	78,600 p.
Huile de sésame pour Bagdad	103,625 p.
Garance	470,400 p.
Graine jaune pour la teinture	17,850 p.
Graisse de mouton	20,000 p.
Sel	200,000 p.

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1 CCC (Mossoul, vol. I), pp. 276-279. These figures apply to the extended province of Mosul constituted by the Ottomans after the fall of the Jalīlīs and comprising the Kurdish mountains north of the town.

2 In effect, raw materials and natural resources.

Lentilles		23,685 p.
Pois		24,094 p.
Blé		425,138 p.
Blé mondé		25,518 p.
Fèves		3,472 p.
Riz		8,825 p.
Fromages		22,125 p.
Miel		7,425 p.
Figues sèches		41,080 p.
Noix		14,268 p.
Raisins secs		89,732 p.
Amandes		54,350 p.
Tabac		87,555 p.
Bois de peuplier		452,800 p.
Sumac		7,300 p.
Savon		239,040 p.
Gypse		4,330 p.
Bitume		26,000 p.
Soufre		10,548 p.
	Total	4,180,976 p.

4. Objets Divers:

Bottes rouges et jaunes en maroquin		366,920 p.
Peaux de renard		55,048 p.
Peaux de fouine		125,000 p.
Peaux d'agneau		12,500 p.
Peau de loutre		19,120 p.
Peaux de maroquin		177,579 p.
Noix de pipes		14,600 p.
Soufflets de forge		3,500 p.
Couvertures de lit		10,000 p.
Serpettes		13,320 p.
Selles		59,805 p.
	Total	857, 392 p.

Total 10,540,198 p.

APPENDIX IV

Traduction d'un Contrat passé avec le sheick Suliman, pour une escorte d'Arabes qui traversera le grand Désert d'Alep à Bassora[1]

Cet écrit est pour certifier que nous soussignés, de la tribu des Arabes Nigadi, avons, de notre volonté libre, consenti d'accompagner et de conduire le porteur de ce contrat, le colonel Capper, anglais, et tous ceux qui le suivent; que nous nous obligeons de prendre avec nous soixante-dix gardes des tribus d'Arabes Nigadi, Agalli, et Benni Khaled, qui tous seront armés d'un mousquet: nous soussignés promettons d'être du nombre, excepté sheick haggi Suliman Eben-Adeyah: nous promettons également de fournir de plus neuf refeeks avec leurs mousquets; savoir, deux des deux différentes tribus appelées Edgelas, deux des deux tribus il Fedaam, un de la tribu de Welled-Aly, un de la tribu de Benni Waheb, un de la tribu de la Cruti, un de la tribu de Baigée, et le dernier de la tribu de Sachaany, formant les neuf ci-dessus mentionnés.

Il est convenu que nous soussignés porterons avec nous les provisions nécessaires, tant pour les chefs que pour les gardes et les refeeks ci-dessus dénommés; que ces provisions seront chargées sur des chameaux dont nous paierons le loyer; nous sommes pareillement d'accord de nous fournir, à nos frais, et non à ceux de colonel Capper, treize rotolas de poudre à canon, et vingt-six rotolas de balles.

Nous nous obligeons aussi de fournir au colonel et à ses gens, dix-neuf chameaux pour son usage et pour ceux qui l'accompagnent; de porter tentes, bagage, eau, provisions, tant pour eux que pour leurs chevaux. Outre ces dix-neuf chameaux, nous promettons d'en fournir deux autres pour porter le mohafa, afin qu'ils puissent tous les jours changer de chameau, et de nommer un conducteur pour le chameau chargé du mohafa d'Alep à Graine; nous choisirons de plus un homme qui surveillera les chevaux.

Nous soussignés promettons au colonel, de notre libre volonté et consentement, et nous obligeons de payer tous les kasars et giawayez (c'est-à-dire les droits) à tous les Arabes, au sheick Temur, au sheick Tiverni, à tous les chefs de la tribu de Benni Khaled, et à toutes les autres tribus d'Arabes quelles qu'elles soient; nous nous rendons personnellement responsables de toutes les conditions imposées par cet écrit. En outre, quand nous approcherons des tribus arabes appelées il Aslam et Shammar, et d'aucunes des autres tribus, nous nous obligeons de prendre un nouveau refeeck pour veiller avec nous jusqu'au moment où nous serons hors de leur territoire.

Nous consentons de ne porter ni les marchandises, ni même les lettres de personne, excepté les marchandises de Khwaja-Rubens, qui composeront trente-une charges, pour le transport desquelles nous avons reçu de Khwaja-Rubens le loyer, l'inamalumi, les refeecks, les giawayez-sigmaniah, et autres dépenses à faire jusqu'à Graine. Notre quittance de tous ces objets est entre les mains dudit Khwaja-Rubens. En outre, et de notre volonté libre, nous consentons de fournir deux chameaux pour chacune des trente-une charges, qui ne quitteront point le colonel Capper, ni sa société, jusqu'à notre arrivée à Graine.

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[1] Voyages dans l'Inde par terre, Th. Mandar (tr. and ed.) (Paris, 1797).

Les dolleels, maadeb, les birakdar et les chaous (officiers de la garde) seront payés par nous, et non par le colonel Capper. Nous nous sommes librement engagés de rendre ledit colonel et sa companie saufs à Graine, dans l'espace de trente-six jours, à dater de celui où nous quitterons le village de Nayreb: mais dans le cas où ledit colonel désirerait de rester un ou quelques jours de plus, ce délai ne sera point pris sur les trente-six, fixés par le présent. Les soussignés s'engagent également d'envoyer, trois jours avant l'arrivée à Graine, un de leurs gens, pour porter, à leurs frais, les lettres du colonel, à l'agent de la nation anglaise à Graine. Par ce contrat, il est stipulé entre ledit colonel Capper et les soussignés, que ces derniers recevront, pour tous les services ci-dessus énoncés, neuf cent quarante-un dollars, dont nous reconnaissons avoir reçu la quatrième partie, et dont nous donnons quittance, ayant reçu cette somme avant notre départ d'Alep. Ledit colonel s'engage à nous compter, pendant le trajet, huit cents dollars; et, au moment de notre arrivée à Graine, si nous avons parfaitement rempli nos obligations, il nous paiera de plus huit cents autres dollars rumi; dans la cas contraire, nous consentons à les perdre. Les soussignés sont solidairement responsables pour l'accomplissement des promesses et conventions portées dans le présent acte entre les parties. En témoignage de quoi nous avons signé de notre propre main, le seizième de la lune shetval (chawal), en l'année de l'égire onze cent quatre-vingt-douze.

APPENDIX V

Account of the Siege of Mosul by Nādir Shāh, by Amīn ʿUmarī (MAN)

Having captured the whole of the country (iqlīm) of the ʿAjam as well as Bilād al-Hind--his reputation makes it useless to go into the details of his various conquests --Nādir Shāh fancied himself, wicked-minded as he was, heading towards the dominions (mamālik) of the Ottoman sultan with the aim of laying his hands on the provinces he controlled. He forgot that a man does not always get what he aims for, and he was ignorant of the many pitfalls lying on his path. And so he marched on with this wicked intention, feeble-minded and deluded, followed by an army of 300,000 men excluding the prisoners and hangers-on, until he reached the fortress of Kirkūk--a town in the province of Shahrazūr and the boundary of the Ottoman dominions--and besieged it. In Kirkūk were the emir Ḥusain Pasha, better known as Ibn Ḥamāl, and Aḥmad Pasha al-Ḥalabī its military governor (muḥāfiẓ). When they realised that Nādir Shāh had come to them with forces they could not withstand,[1] they were unable to stand firm, decided to avoid confrontation, and fled from Kirkūk to Mosul and thence to Bilād ar-Rūm. The accursed Nādir Shāh besieged the fortress of Kirkūk for two days and subjected it to a dreadful bombardment which threw its inhabitants into distress and despair and made them surrender upon terms of the security of life and property. But Nādir Shāh took Kirkūk forcibly, killed some of its defenders, seized its notables, laid his hands on its treasures, forced its men to join his army and headed towards Mosul, more deluded than ever. The wali of Mosul at that time was His Excellency, he who soundly administered the affairs of the public, he who was forgiven by Allāh, Ḥājj Ḥusain Pasha ʿAbd al-Jalīl Zāda, and its military governor was His Excellency, he whose penetrating mind perfected the affairs of mankind, the late vizir Ḥusain Pasha the wali of Aleppo. Two days away from Mosul, Nādir Shāh reached the fortress of Arbīl whose inhabitants surrendered to him after a siege of a few hours. Notwithstanding their surrender, Nādir Shāh took the fortress forcibly. From Arbīl, he sent an ambassador to Mosul warning the two vizirs and advising them to welcome him in peace and obedience and not to undertake anything they might live to regret. When the ambassador sent by this incompetent fool reached Mosul, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī called on all the inhabitants of the town, the notables and the common people, to gather outside the walls near the Red Mosque. There the two vizirs and the notables appeared before the assembled Mosulis and made public the delusive and erratic letter sent by the accursed Nādir Shāh, this renegade rebel. After the letter was read, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī asked the people for their answer. Inspired by Allāh, to Him belong power and might, the people answered as a man,

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[1] Arabic: atāhum bi junūd lā qibala lahum bihā. This is āya 37 of the sūra of the Ant.

unwavering: "You are our wali and as such obeyed by all. You have all power over us, so give us the order which you think is right, and nobody here will disobey you. You are our leader and the protector of our honour. The sultan has appointed you custodian of his town and of his flock (ra'īya)." And so Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī turned to the ambassador: "You have just heard our one and only answer to your master. We are the servants of the Sublime Ottoman State. We ask for nothing more than to safeguard this town in obedience and in pursuit of our duty to our lord and master, the shadow of Allāh on earth, sultan of the two lands and the two seas." And he sent the ambassador back to Nādir Shāh with this reply. And however unfailing the reach of this rebel, and however powerful his grip, we, with the assistance of Allāh and the blessings of the true Muḥammadan religion, will fight this wicked man and, Allāh the Almighty willing, will not fail to repel him. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī then ordered the ditch to be dug, the ramparts repaired and everything else put in order in preparation for the siege. He put his trust in Allāh, the One, the Subduer, and ordered the inhabitants of Mosul, notables and plebs, to raze all the hills and monticules surrounding the town to the ground so as not to allow the wicked Persians to overlook it. He pitched his camp outside the walls and ordered the drums to beat to raise the morale of the people. He himself, along with his noble sons and his relatives, the mighty and the humble, were all helping to remove the earth from the ditch and bring the stones needed for the ramparts. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī had appointed one of his officers at the head of each class (ṣinf) of people, and so the preparations went on until the 21st of Rajab the deaf, when the armies of the heretical and evil Rafaḍa were sighted near the village of Yārimja, one of the villages of the province of Mosul, situated on the east bank of the river Tigris, a mere parasang away from the town. When Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, this wise and able vizir, saw the advancing armies of evil and sin, he summoned his noble sons, his followers, his relatives, his clients (man yalūdh bih) and the rest of the Mosulis, as well as the wali of Aleppo, the aforementioned vizir, his soldiers and his followers. Among those who were in the service of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, this glorious prince, was a Kurdish emir known as Qūj Pasha, a courageous and able warrior, a true lion, a man of noble birth and lineage who had a retinue of some 500 horsemen, strong lions who feared nothing and no one. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī was taking care of all the needs and expenses of this emir who ruled over a Kurdish town called Kuyy Sanjaq, an appointment he received from the wali of Bagdad. After the great victory and the departure of Nādir Shāh weak and subdued, the wali of Mosul requested the Sublime Porte to confer the rank of mīrmirān on this emir. This request met with the approval of the sultan and the said emir became mīrmirān. To go back to our story, when the Persians appeared near the village of Yārimja, they drew up in ranks and darkened the horizon like clouds of locusts. At the command of Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, the victorious soldiers of Islam made a sortie and clashed with the enemy, their hearts firm as rocks. The commander of the monotheist soldiers was the wali's own brother, Fattāh Pasha, who was a young man of 24 at that time. He crossed the Tigris and showed tremendous skill

and courage, cutting through the Persian ranks like an invincible collossus, distributing his lethal blows left and right, followed by the monotheists. While they were engaged in battle with the enemy, 20,000 heretics suddenly appeared behind the Muslims, aiming at surrounding them and cutting them off from Mosul. But the Muslims foiled the stratagem before the sly Rafaḍa had had time to deploy and, after slaying many a wicked enemy, and after many monotheists had died as martyrs, they returned to the town, closed the gates and prepared for the siege. On the following day, the standards of the the vile heretics could be seen floating over Yārimja where they had struck camp. They numbered 300,000 soldiers, excluding the servants, cameleers, prisoners and others who, alone, numbered some 150,000. Nādir Shāh, this despotic rebel, sent another ambassador to the two vizirs, warning them and cautioning them to receive him in peace and obedience and not to risk their lives and fall into the fire of his wrath, or else be held responsible (by Allāh) for the deaths brought about by their stubborn behaviour. To this the two vizirs answered in a manner which suited Nādir Shāh's feeble mind: "You are a Rāfiḍī and have no religion. What you ask of us is impossible. Allāh forbid, when this town will have but one defender left alive awaiting the cup of martyrdom, he will not leave you in peace, nor will he make it possible for you to enter this invulnerable town of ours. All this zeal, strength, power and skill that you show, you should come and use it against us. As for us, with the assistance of Allāh the Almighty, we shall rely on the strength of religion and take refuge in the takbīr and the tahlīl, and in the love of the noble Companions, whereas you are a Rāfiḍī, the enemy of religion, and the sword will decide between us. Should you send another ambassador, we shall return him to you without his head. So do as you please, for nothing you might say will ever convince us." After this, Nādir Shāh remained at Yārimja for five days. On the sixth, he gathered his armies, had a bridge erected across the Tigris, passed on the side where the town lies and deployed his soldiers around it before returning to his camp. On the first day of Sha'bān, the Persians advanced towards Mosul and took up positions near the Red Mosque and other such sites which are close to the walls. The prisoners who were with the army carried stones and earth for the erection of 12 towers facing the 12 towers of Mosul, and upon which Nādir Shāh mounted sophisticated guns and numerous large mortars. Then, from these towers, bugles and trumpets filled the air with a great clamour resembling that of Gog and Magog. When Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī realised what the Persians were up to, he ordered the artillery to concentrate its fire on the towers which the wicked enemy was erecting. By the 5th of Sha'bān, however, the accursed Nādir Shāh had completed all his towers, and on the 6th he started bombarding the town. It was a dismal and distressing day which saw the skies pour down fire on to the earth. Battle flared up and the ground swelled, the clamour rose and gun fire tore the skies like lightning. The Mosulis answered the Persians with guns and muskets. This deadly exchange lasted for 8 days and 8 nights. Bombs mingled in the firmament like luminous stars before dropping on the town like ropes dangling down into wells. Nādir Shāh fired 50,000 rounds on Mosul

causing tremendous losses in life and property. In spite of it all, the courage of the defenders of the faith did not waver but grew stronger and stronger with each day of bombardment as their takbīr and their tauḥīd rose in glorification of the Almighty, the Omnipotent, Creator of day and night, until, salamander-like, they were floating in a sea of fire. We are here talking of some 100,000 guns with which the Persians were firing from a position facing the Bāsh Ṭābya, being the tower neighbouring the mausoleum of Imām Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim, may Allāh be pleased with him. The defender of this tower was Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī himself. Every night, from dusk until midnight, he could be seen touring the ramparts, encouraging the mujāhidūn to stand firm and repel the enemy, while his sons, Murād Pasha and Amīn Pasha, these lions of the forest, took over from midnight until dawn and toured the town, raising the morale of the ghuzāt and distributing money to the people. As for Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, day and night he was encouraging the people, giving them strength, belittling the enemy in their eyes and generously giving money. After sunrise he was back at Bāsh Ṭābya whence he directed the operations of defence amidst the roaring of the guns and the trembling of the earth and under a heavy and dark sky filled with smoke. When the wicked Rāfiḍī realised that the defenders, led by the great vizir, were unwavering, he became more arrogant and venomous, left Yārimja and came in person to the village of Qāḍiya, east of the town. There, he did his utmost to subdue His Excellency Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī. He ordered an escalation of the bombardment with the result that the fire from the various and innumerable guns merged into a single terrifying lightning and tremor directed against this one tower, Bāsh Ṭābya, pounding the ramparts to breach them. As shells rained down, the Mosulis could see that the skilful enemy gunners would soon succeed in breaching the walls, and they were bewildered and confused by the gravity of their situation. Then arose the high-minded wali. Like a roaring lion, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī rushed to the ramparts which were collapsing on all sides under the continuous bombardment, summoned the masons and ordered them to repair what had been destroyed. The first mason to approach the walls was blown to pieces by a shell. Distressed and frightened, the remaining masons and the people fled to safety. But there, at the centre of the inferno, stood Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī the ghāzī saying: "This is a day for victory and Holy War. Here are the gates of Paradise open to those who will be offered the cup of martyrdom. For those who die on this day, for those who uphold the honour of the Muslims and prevent the massacre of children and families, will have their names forever covered in glory." And there stood Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, unaware of the danger, a shield protecting his head while the walls collapsed all around him. Faced with such determination, such courage, such valour and such fervour, the people were carried away by religious zeal. Allāh allayed their fears, they longed for martyrdom and became indifferent to death. They returned to their positions after having contemplated fleeing before the great disaster which was befalling them. There arose the clamour of their takbīr and their tauḥīd to the Creator of day and night, as they gathered round their wali. Bodies were cut to pieces and heads fell, but they remained with the vizir

on a day which saw many a wet-nurse abandon the child she was suckling. The defenders of Mosul were made drunk by the cup of martyrdom. Every new breach in the walls was sealed with sacks of sand, and bodies were used to replace the missing stones. So much so that the Mosulis foiled the gunners and caused their plan to fail, and every fire lit by the heretics was put out by Allāh. The Persians then realised that they could not overpower the Mosulis and were alarmed by their courage and their steadfastness as they saw them seal off the breaches in the ramparts with the bodies of the martyrs. And so they dug three tunnels under the walls and filled them with gunpowder, aiming at bringing down the ramparts, killing those who were manning them, then enter the town and capture it amidst fear and trembling. They stepped up their onslaught against the monotheists who were soon submerged in a sea of fire. The martyrs were being wafted away to the gardens of Paradise and a great clamour rose: "Jalīl, Jabbār, Karīm, Sattār." This went on until the night of Friday the 15th of Shaʿbān. On Thursday morning the wicked Nādir Shāh crossed to the west bank of the Tigris and positioned his soldiers around the town. The Mosulis did not know what he had in store for them; they entrusted their affairs into the hands of Allāh the Almighty, and cautiously awaited the unfolding of the heretics' stratagem. Early in the night, the heretics gathered about 1,000 ladders carried on the shoulders of the polytheists. Just before dawn, they crept forward with the ladders, followed by thousands and thousands of evil warriors. Neither bombs nor bullets could stop their advance for they were as numerous as locusts spread out over the horizon. And so they reached the ditch which also failed to stop them and they placed their ladders against the walls, in pursuit of their wicked aim, until the people appeared in great numbers to repel them. At the same moment, on the other side of the town, the Persians set the gunpowder in the tunnels on fire, so that if the defenders were to rush to the walls crumbling under the impact of the explosions the Persians would enter Mosul using the ladders on the other side; and were the defenders to hasten to repel the enemies creeping up the ladders, then the Persians would enter the town through the breach in the walls on the other side. But divine providence came to the rescue of the Sunnis and of the Muḥammadan religion, and one of the mines exploded prematurely, killing all those heretics who were eagerly waiting to rush through the breach in the walls. The fire stopped short of those who enjoy Allāh's protection, and His will was done as it was on the day Pharao crossed the sea in pursuit of Moses, peace on him. Thus the wheel of fate turned against evil. This is what happend in one of the three tunnels. As for the other two, they did not serve their purpose either. The reason being that when the Mosulis were digging the ditch in preparation for the siege, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, inspired by Allāh the Powerful, the Mighty, ordered the people to dig wells in the ditch at ten cubits' interval one from the other, and this especially to foil attempts such as this one. So that when the Persians set the mines on fire, two of them were too close to the wells which sucked in the full impact of the gunpowder. As for the third mine,the one which did explode, it failed as we were saying, and it did so because the

Persians had mistaken some ancient foundations for the foundations of the walls. And so they dug under these old foundations, filled the hole with gunpowder, and the explosion shattered these old foundations which were some 20 cubits away from the actual walls of Mosul. These old foundations used to support the walls of ancient Mosul before it fell into ruins. When it was rebuilt at a later period, the plan of the town was altered and the walls pushed back to their present site. Such was the power and will of Allāh the Strong, the Mighty, and this is precisely why there happened what happened. The Persians perished and the wheel of fate turned against them as Allāh gave them a glimpse of His wrath. On the other side of the town, the Persians placed their ladders against the walls, came forth in waves and climbed up the ramparts with drawn swords. But when they reached the top, Allāh inspired the monotheists with the cry of Allāh is great, Allāh is great, and they battered and slew the Rafaḍa until there was no one left on the ladders. And as the remaining assailants were still in the ditch, the Muslims shot down on them like stars on to devils and cut them to pieces with sharp swords. Like wolves, the ghāzūn then pursued the heretics well beyond the walls, killing countless numbers while the others fled, weak and subdued. This was indeed a dismal day for the heretics. When Nādir Shāh, this rebel, realised that he had accomplished nothing and that the Mosulis remained untouched by everything he could dream of doing, and when he saw their steadfastness in the face of calamity, he was bewildered and confused and had but one wish left, that of departing before the Mosulis should break out from the siege and attack him. For he was amazed by their daring in battle and their firm stand whenever he confronted them, whereas his own troops had been defeated and left weak, frightened and subdued. This was particularly due to everything the Persians had had to endure from the horses of the souls of the martyrs and of the saints who haunted them at night, while great numbers of them were being slain by the swords of the souls of the martyrs and the souls of the saints. So much so that they were unable to sleep a wink for their great anxiety as they could see piebald stallions, white mares and green standards assail them at night and bring destruction upon them. And so the wicked rebel lost hope of capturing this town and despaired of defeating its people. On the following day fighting ceased, firing died down and Nādir Shāh sent an ambassador requesting the two vizirs to send two wise men to his camp as he wished to discuss a few things. The ambassador was sent back to tell his master that the Mosulis had sacrificed their souls and their property on behalf of the revealed religion and that they refused to answer him. On the ambassador's return to the Persian camp, Nādir Shāh inquired from him about the town and its people. "We thought," replied the ambassador, "that the tremendous bombardment to which we had subjected the town would have left no house standing. And yet, I could see no apparent trace of destruction when I entered Mosul, nor could I discern any sign of weariness among its inhabitants. Far from it, they look like lions ready for the hunt." Having ascertained the truth of the information, Nādir Shāh was astounded and confused, and he rushed to write another letter, an excessively humble and subservient letter in which

he begged the Mosulis to send two notables to his camp. On receipt of his request, the two vizirs and the notables of the town decided to delegate the qadi of Mosul, one of its most revered 'ulamā', together with 'Alī Effendi Ghulāmī the Shafiite mufti, and Qara Muṣṭafā Bey one of the principal notables of the town. Once in the Persian camp, which was in the village of Qāḍiya, they were met by the chamberlains of Nādir Shāh who led them to their master. He greeted them cheerfully, praised them for their steadfastness and courage, and told them that from the start he had had no grudge against the people of Mosul but simply wished to correct his belief and reveal the truth in Sunnism and Shiism. He also asked them to convey to the two vizirs his greetings and his offer of peace. On the other hand, should the two vizirs be adamant to wage war, then they should make their intention clear. And whatever their decision, war or peace, they should inform the Sublime Porte accordingly. With these words he ended the audience, bestowed upon the envoys magnificent robes of honour and sent them to the tent of their shaikh al-islām, known to them as mullā bāshī, whose name was 'Alī al-Akbar and who held the position of Shii ra'īs al-'ulamā'. As they were approaching his tent, he came out to welcome them, greeted them warmly and honoured them. Then they sat down together and discussed what had happened, and the mullā bāshī praised Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī for his great courage. While talking, he told the envoys: "Our sultan has heard that the two vizirs own splendid horses. It is hoped that Their Highnesses will send a few such horses as a present to His Highness the sultan." The envoys understood that Nādīr Shāh wished to use the horses to glorify himself in front of his soldiers and to eradicate the feeling of humiliation which accompanied his offer of peace. The following morning, the envoys returned to Mosul and passed on the message to the two vizirs, each of whom then decided to send Nādir Shāh eight superior horses. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī sent his gift with his cousin Qāsim Āghā, while Ḥusain Pasha of Aleppo entrusted his to one of his close collaborators. Once in the Persian camp, the two men were met by the mullā bāshī who led them to his tent and honoured them. An hour later, they were summoned by Nādir Shāh and went to him with the horses. After examining the animals he showed his pleasure and appreciation, conversed with the two men politely, bestowed upon them splendid robes of honour, granted them large sums of money and surrendered to their care all his Muslim prisoners. And thus peace was agreed upon. On the 4th day of Ramaḍān the noble, Nādir Shāh left Mosul heading for his country of origin, which is Bilād al-'Ajam and Hind. Upon his departure, the gates of the town were thrown open, the people were at long last able to breathe and enjoy life, and they congratulated the great vizir, Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī, for this victory, as poets sang his praises in odes and poems . . .[1] As for the rest of our story, the great vizir hastened to inform the Sublime Porte of the siege and of the final victory. The messenger who conveyed the good news was the son of the wali, the late vizir, object of

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[1] There follow two poems, one by 'Abdallāh al-Arbīlī and the other by 'Uthmān 'Umarī.

reverence and respect, Amīn Pasha, who, at that time, was an emir. When he reached the Sublime Porte, he was taken into the presence of the shadow of Allāh on earth, the greatest sultan and the sublime khāqān, the late Maḥmūd Khān. The sultan was extremely pleased by the news of this great victory and by the fact that Nādir Shāh had been compelled to withdraw from his kingdom unsuccessful and defeated. He thanked Allāh Almighty, praised Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī and called upon Allāh to send him victorious. He also sent him a gift of a sword encrusted with gems and a splendid and magnificent robe of honour. He bestowed a robe of honour upon Amīn Pasha, conferred upon him the rank of mīrmirān, and, in his great generosity, covered him with gifts and honours before sending him back to his father in Mosul . . .

APPENDIX VI

The Copying Industry in the Jalīlī Era

Among the vast numbers of books acquired by Mosuli notables and Mosuli religious institutions between the end of the sixteenth and the end of the nineteenth century, there was a need to identify those copied during the Jalīlī era. The criteria of selection used here are the name of the copyist, the date of completion of the work, the place of copying and the name of the person who commissioned it. Any one of these segments of information found on a book allows identification, selection, or rejection. The lists of works drawn here is not exhaustive. First of all because many works copied in Mosul in the Jalīlī era are probably lost. Secondly because many others bear neither name of copyist nor date of copying. When in doubt as to the date or as to the identity of the copyist, I have chosen to exclude a work rather than include it. The lists may therefore be incomplete, but each work it contains was certainly copied by or for a Mosuli of the Jalīlī era, and a study of these lists may help us understand the intellectual frame of mind prevailing at that time.

Adab (prose and poetry)

Buḥturī (d. 897/284), Dīwān, edited by Amīn ʿUmarī (1761/1175)[1]

Ṣafī ad-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1349/750), Dīwān, copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1772/1186)

Anon, Tuḥfat al-mubtadī, copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1772/1186)

Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 1434/837), Badīʿīya, copy by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1771/1185)

Khafājī (d. 1659/1069), Raiḥānat al-albā, copy by Naṣr al-Mauṣilī (c. 1830)

Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Ḥijāzī (d. 1470/875), Rauḍ al-adab, copy by Yaḥyā Jalīlī (1756/1170)

Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī (d. 1311/711), Dīwān lisān al-ʿArab wa ḥujjat ahl al-adab, copy by Yaḥyā Jalīlī (1770/1184)

Miskawaih (d. 1030/421), Jāwidān khirad, copy by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī ʿUmarī (1758/1172)[2]

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[1] The editor excluded the hijā' and the most obscure passages.

[2] Copied in Bagdad. In 1774/1188 the work belonged to Yaḥyā Jalīlī.

Bahā' ad-Dīn al-Abshīhī (d. 1446/850), Al-mustaṭraf min kull man mustaẓraf,[1] copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Maḥmūd Āghā (1694/1106)

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. c. 760 AD), Ad-durra 'l-yatīma, copy by Murād b. ʿUthmān ʿUmarī (1679/1089)[2]

Suyūṭī (d. 1505/911), Maqāmāt, copy by ʿAlī al-Mauṣilī (1727/1140)

Aḥmad an-Naisābūrī al-Maidānī (d. 1124/518), Majmaʿ al-amthāl, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1755/1169)

Jāḥiẓ (d. 869/256), Al-ḥanīn ilā 'l-waṭan, copy by Qāsim b. Murād (1769/1183)[3]

Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 765/148), Ikhtilāj al-aʿḍā', copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī

Literary criticism

Abū Manṣūr ath-Thaʿālibī (d. 1038/430), Al-farā'id wa 'l-qalā'id, Al-mustashbih, Mir'āt al-murū'āt, Al-mubahhij[4]

Abū al-Ḥasan Jibrīl (d. 1339/739), Sharḥ al-Ājurrūmīya[5]

ʿAlī as-Sakhāwī (d. 1245/643), Sharḥ manẓūmat al-Muqannaʿ ad-Dānī,[6] copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1712/1124)

Anon, Commentary on a poem by Manṣūr aṭ-Ṭablāwī (d. 1606/1014), copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1705/1117)[7]

ʿIzz ad-Dīn al-Kinānī (d. 1403/806), Sharḥ ʿalā manẓūmat Ibn Faraḥ al-Ashbīlī, copy by Muḥammad b. ʿAun ad-Dīn (1747/1160)

Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1239/634), Al-washī 'l-marqūm fī ḥall al-manẓūm, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī

Abū Shāma an-Naḥwī (d. ?), Commentary on Būṣīrī's Burda, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1754/1168)

Saʿd ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī (d. 1389/791), Appendix to Sharḥ nawābigh al-kalim,[8] copy by Amīn ʿUmarī

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1 These are "pieces of conversation".

2 The copyist was apparently in Constantine, but this could well be a taḥrīf of Constantinople.

3 He was rāwiya of ḥadīth.

4 All four were copied in 1768-9/1182-3 by Qāsim the rāwiya.

5 The Ājurrūmīya is by Abū ʿAlī aṣ-Ṣanhājī b. Ājurrūm (d. 1323/723).

6 Died 1053/444.

7 Copied on the island of Sāqiz.

8 By Abū al-Qāsim az-Zamakhsharī (d. 1143/538).

Abū al-Fatḥ al-Muṭarrazī (d. 1213/610), Al-mugharrib fī 'l-lugha, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī

Anon, Commentary on Ṭughrā'ī's Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam,[1] copy by Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb al-Aswad (1756/1170)

Anon, Commentary on the Burda,[2] copy by Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Aswad

Anon, Commentary on Al-kawākib ad-durrīya,[3] copy by Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān al-Aswad

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (d. 1567/974), Al-minaḥ al-Makkīya fī sharḥ al-hamzīya, copy by Aḥmad b. Ḥusain Ghulāmī (1789/1204)

ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī (d. 1076/648), Commentary on Mutanabbī's Dīwān, copy by Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Yūsuf al-Wāʿiẓ (1802/1217)

Grammatical Syntax

Ibn Hishām an-Naḥwī (d. 1360/761), Sharḥ shudhūr adh-dhahab, copy by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ʿAbdalī (1740/1153)

Badr ad-Dīn al-ʿAinī (d. 1451/855), Farā'id al-qalā'id, copy by Ṣafāy Jalabī (1668/1079)

ʿAbdallāh al-Fākihī (d. 1564/972), Commentary on Ibn Hishām's Qaṭr an-nadā, copy by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (1818/1234)

Nūr ad-Dīn al-Jāmī (d. 1492/898), Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's[4] Kāfīya, copies by Fatḥallāh b. Mūsā ʿUmarī (1650/1060) and ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn (1770/1184)

Ibn Mālik (d. 1273/672), Alfīya, copy by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (1819/1235)

Suyūṭī (d. 1505/911), Al-bahja 'l-marḍīya fī sharḥ alfīyat Ibn Mālik, copies by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1700/1112) and Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (1818/1234)

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078/471), Al-ʿawāmil al-mi'a, copy by Sulaimān b. Aḥmad Sharīf (1745/1158)

Saʿdallāh al-Bardaʿī (d. ?), Commentary on Jurjānī's ʿawāmil, copy by Sulaimān b. Aḥmad Sharīf (1745/1158)

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1 The copyist attributes it, wrongly it seems, to Abū al-Baqā' al-ʿUkbarī (d. 1219/616).

2 Attributed to a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr.

3 Said to be the work of a certain Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr.

4 Died 1174/570.

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1689/1101), Commentary on Jurjānī's ʿAwāmil, copy by Sulaimān b. Aḥmad Sharīf (1745/1158)

Rhetoric

Jāḥiẓ (d. 869/256), Al-bayān wa 't-tabyīn, copy by Murād b. ʿUthmān ʿUmarī (1678/1089)

Anon, Shurūḥāt fī 'l-balāgha, copy by ʿAlī as-Sūsanī (1768/1182)

Niẓām ad-Dīn al-Khaṭā'ī (d. 1495/901), Commentary on Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ,[1] copy by the khaṭīb of Nabī Yūnus (1668/1079)

Saʿd ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī (d. 1389/791), Commentary on Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ, copies by Fakhr ad-Dīn b. Yaḥyā Fakhrī (1698/1110), Yūnus b. Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn al-Muftī (1682/1093), and ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1715/1128)

Suyūṭī (d. 1505/911), Commentary on Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ, copy by Qāsim b. Muḥammad ʿAbdalī (1702/1114)[2]

Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Aqsarā'ī (14th/8th century), Commentary on Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ, copy by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ghulāmī (1727/1140)

ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 1556/963), Commentary on Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1773/1187)

Art of metaphors

Manṣūr aṭ-Ṭablāwī (d. 1606/1014), At-taḥrīrāt fī bayān al-istiʿāra, copy by Ibrāhīm b. Ayyūb ʿUmarī (1715/1128)

ʿIṣām ad-Dīn b. ʿArabshāh al-Isfarā'inī (d. 1537/944), Risālat al-istiʿāra, copies by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (c. 1830) and Zakarīya b. Aḥmad (c. 1830)

Ḥasan az-Zībārī (?), Appendix to ʿIṣām ad-Dīn's Risāla, copy by an unknown scribe

Kamāl ad-Dīn Masʿūd (d. 1499/905), Commentary on Abū al-Qāsim as-Samarqandī's Risāla, copy by an unknown scribe commissioned by Yaḥyā b. Muṣṭafā Jalīlī

Grammatical morphology

ʿAlī al-Ḥillī (d. 1204/601), Al-anīs al-jalīs fī 't-tajnīs, copy by ʿUthmān b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī

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[1] The Miftāḥ (al-ʿulūm) is by Sakkākī (d. 1229/626) and its Talkhīṣ by Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1338/739).

[2] Copied in Damascus.

Desinential syntax

Ibn Hishām an-Naḥwī (d. 1360/761), Mughnī 'l-labīb fī kutub al-aʿārīb, copy by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (1821/1237)

Khālid al-Azharī (d. 1499/905), Sharḥ qawāʿid al-iʿrāb, copy by Sulaimān b. Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn; Tamrīn aṭ-ṭullāb fī ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb, copy by ʿAbdallāh b. Sharīf Yaḥyā (d. 1736/1149); Mauṣil aṭ-ṭullāb ilā qawāʿid al-iʿrāb, copies by Bakr b. Khalīl al-Mauṣilī (1711/1123) and Bakr Kīlān (1761/1175)

Encyclopaedias

ʿAlī al-Mūsawī (d. 1044/436), Ghurar al-farā'id wa durar al-qalā'id, copy by Murād b. ʿUthmān ʿUmarī (1674/1085)

ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Jauzī (d. 1200/597), Al-munʿish mukhtaṣar al-mudhish, copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (1756/1170)

Lexicons

Kitāb Nuʿmatallāh (Persian-Turkish lexicon),[1] abridged copy by Fakhr ad-Dīn b. Yaḥyā Fakhrī (d. 1719/1131)

Coranic exegesis

Nūr ad-Dīn al-Jāmī (d. 1492/898), Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm, copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī

Anon, Wasīla fī sharḥ al-ʿaqīla, copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1712/1124)

Shams ad-Dīn al-Bakrī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī,[2] Al-faiḍ al-qudsī fī sharḥ āyat al-kursī, copy by Maḥmūd b. Mūsā ʿUmarī

Muḥammad al-Miskīn al-Anṭākī (?), Baḥth fī Hārūt wa Mārūt, copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (1756/1170)

Abū al-Qāṣim az-Zamakhsharī (d. 1143/538), Al-kashshāf ʿan ḥaqā'iq at-tanzīl, copies by Ḥamū al-Kurdī (c. 1760) and Muslim Akhī Bābā

Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240/638), Tafsīr al-fātiḥa, copy by Muslim Akhī Bābā (1716/1129)

Shaikhīzāda al-Qujawī (d. 1543/950), Appendix to Baiḍāwī's Anwār at-tanzīl, copy by Ḥamū al-Kurdī (1753/1167)

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1 Attributed by Jalabī to an Aḥmad b. Mubārak ar-Rūmī.

2 Probably Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Bakrī (d. 1598/1007) who was mufti in Egypt.

Shams ad-Dīn b. al-Jazarī (d. 1429/833), Al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn fī kalām sayyid al-mursalīn, copy by Muḥammad Amīn b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1810/1225)

Baghawī (d. 1117/510), Maʿālim at-tanzīl, copies by Bakr b. Ibrāhīm (1751/1163), Amīn ʿUmarī (1781/1196), ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭā'ī (1802-6/1217-21), and Muḥammad b. Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī (1838/1254)

Tradition

Suyūṭī (d. 1505/911), Jāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaghīr, copy by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn (1814/1230); Al-kashf ʿan mujāwazat hādhih al-umma 'l-alif, copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1772/1186); Inbāh al-adhkiyā' fī ḥayāt al-anbiyā', copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1756/1170); Al-ḥabā'ik fī akhbār al-malā'ik, copies by Amīn ʿUmarī (1756/1170) and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿUmarī (1756/1170); Bushrā 'l-kā'ib fī liqā' al-ḥabīb, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1756/1170); Al-arā'ik fī aḥkām al-malā'ik, copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿUmarī (1756/1170); Tazyīn al-arā'ik fī irsāl nabīnā ilā 'l-malā'ik, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1756/1170); Ad-durar al-muntashira fī 'l-aḥādīth al-mushtahira, copy by Khairallāh ʿUmarī (1754/1168); Laqṭ al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jān, copies by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿUmarī (1756/1170) and ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Maḥmūd (1821/1237)[1]

Badr ad-Dīn ash-Shiblī (d. 1367/769) Ākām al-marjān fī aḥkām al-jān, copy by Aḥmad, the mu'adhdhin of Nabī Shīt (1821/1237)[2]

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1448/852), Tauḍīḥ nukhbat al-fikr fī muṣṭalaḥ al-athr, copy by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ʿAbdalī (1708/1120)

Muslim (d. 875/261), Ṣaḥīḥ, copies by Sulaimān Shabakī (1743/1157) and Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. Sayyid Aḥmad (c. 1770)

Nawawī (d. 1277/676), Commentary on Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ, copies by Sulaimān Shabakī (1744/1158) and Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Ghulāmī (1753/1167)

Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qaṣtallānī (d. 1517/923), Commentary on Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ, copy by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy (1731/1144)

ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī (d. 1299/699), Jamʿ an-nihāya fī baʿḍ al-khair wa 'l-ghāya,[3] copy by an unknown scribe in Mosul (1825/1241)

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[1] The latter copy was commissioned by Muḥammad Amīn (later Pasha) b. ʿUthmān Bey Jalīlī.

[2] The work was most probably commissioned by a Jalīlī, since a century later it was part of a Jalīlī waqf.

[3] A résumé of Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ.

ʿIyaḍ al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 1149/544), Ash-shafā bi taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā,[1] copy by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad ʿUmarī (1798/1213) commissioned by Nuʿmān (later Pasha) b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī

Coranic recitation

Anon, Bayān ḥikam al-qirā'a ʿalā arwāḥ al-amwāt, copy by Muḥammad b. ʿAun ad-Dīn (1748/1161)

Ḥusain b. Iskandar (?), Risāla fī 't-tajwīd,[2] copy by ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Maujūd (1727/1140)

Baghawī (d.1117/510), Al-qirā'āt at-tisʿa,[3] copy by an unknown scribe (1773/1183)

Anon, Ishārāt al-qurrā' ʿalā ramz ash-Shāṭibīya,[4] copy by Sayyid Darwīsh b. Sayyid Maḥmūd (1678/1089)

Abū ʿAbdallāh ash-Shiʿla al-Mauṣilī (d. 1258/656), Kanz al-maʿānī (sharḥ ash-Shāṭibīya), copy by ʿAlī b. Yūnus Jalīlī (1725/1138)

Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 1519/926), Ad-daqā'iq al-muḥakkama fī sharḥ al-muqaddama,[5] copy by ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Maujūd (1722/1135); Fatḥ ar-raḥmān fī sharḥ al-walī raslān, copy by Muslim Akhī Bābā (1714/1126); Sharḥ al-Jazarīya,[6] copy by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (1755/1169); Sharḥ al-munfarija,[7] copy by Sayyid Aḥmad b. Sayyid Ḥāmid Fakhrī; Al-aḍwā' al-bahija fī ibrāz daqā'iq al-munfarija li Ibn an-Naḥawī, copy by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī.

Sufism

Muṣṭafā Bakrī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1749/1162), Al-lamaḥāt ar-rāfiʿa, copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿUmarī (1756/1170)

Ibn Kamālbāshī (d. 1534/940), Risālat aṣ-ṣalāt, copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿUmarī (1756/1170)

Anon, Tuḥfat ar-rāghibīn fī umm aṭ-ṭawāʿīn,[8] copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1772/1186)

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1 The attribution is not certain.

2 This could be a reference to Muḥammad al-Ghāzī al-Fāsī who completed his treatise in 1016/607.

3 Extracted from his Maʿālim at-tanzīl.

4 The Shāṭibīya is by Abū Muḥammad b. Fīrru (d. 1193/589).

5 The Muqaddama by Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 1350/751).

6 A commentary on an urjūza in tajwīd by Ibn al-Jazarī.

7 Attributed to Ibn an-Naḥawī (d. 1119/513).

8 A treatise based on Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's Badhl al-māʿūn fī akhbār aṭ-ṭāʿūn.

Ṣadr al-Qūnawī (d. 1273/672), Al-lamʿa ʾn-nūrānīya fī ḥall mushkilāt ash-shajara ʾn-nuʿmānīya, copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1802/1217)

Yāfiʿī (d. 1366/768), Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyāt aṣ-ṣāliḥīn, copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1806/1221)

Ibrāhīm Ḥaidarī (18th/12th century),[1] Al-mulhamāt ar-rabbānīya fī asrār dhauqīya wijdānīya, copy by ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī (1738/1151)

Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1348/749), Alfīya, copy by ʿUthmān Daftarī ʿUmarī (1737/1150)

Ibn al-Kīzānī (d. 1160/562), Al-iʿtimād,[2] copy by Abū Bakr b. Fatḥallāh al-Mutawallī (1791/1206)

ʿAbd as-Salām al-Maqdisī (d. 1279/678?), Ḥall ar-rumūz wa mafātīḥ al-kunūz, copy by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm ʿUmarī (1700/1112)

Nawawī (d. 1277/676), Ḥulyat al-abrār wa shiʿār al-akhyār fī talkhīṣ ad-daʿawāt wa ʾl-adhkār, copy by ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭāʾī (1817/1233)

Muḥammad Fāsī al-Qaṣwī (d. 1642/1052), Maṭāliʿ al-musirrāt bi jalāʾ dalāʾil al-khairāt,[3] by ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭāʾī (1794/1209)

Aḥmad ar-Rūmī (d. 1611/1020), Majālis al-abrār wa masālik al-akhyār, copy by ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭāʾī (1814/1230)

ʿAbdallāh al-Balyānī Auḥad ad-Dīn (d. 1287/686), Ar-risāla ʾl-Babānīya, copy by Muslim Akhī Bābā (1715/1128)

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1417/820), Sharḥ mushkilāt al-futūḥāt al-Makkīya, copy by Muslim Akhī Bābā (1715/1128)

Muḥyī ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (?), Lubab al-ḥikma fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf, copy by Muslim Akhī Bābā (c. 1716)

Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240/638), Mafātīḥ al-ghaib, Kitāb al-ḥayy, Durar ad-durar, Manhaj al-bayān li ahl ar-riḍwān, Ḥulyat al-abdāl, Kitāb al-fahwānīya, Al-fanāʾ bi ʾl-kullīya, Risālat al-waqt wa ʾl-ān, Risāla fī ʾt-taṣawwuf;[4] Muḥāḍarat al-abrār wa musāmarat al-akhyār, copy by Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1809/1224)

Abū al-Wafāʾ b. ʿAttīya al-Ḥamawī (d. 1530/936), Kifāyat al-ʿāmil wa hidāyat al-ʿāqilīn, copy by Khairallāh ʿUmarī (1721/1134); Kashf ar-rain wa nazh ash-shain wa nūr al-ʿain,[5] copy by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Qādir (1814/1230)

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1 An ʿālim from Māwarān.

2 Attribution uncertain.

3 The Dalāʾil al-khairāt is by Juzūlī (d. 1485/870).

4 All nine treatises were copied by Muslim Akhī Bābā between 1715 and 1718.

5 A commentary on Silk al-ʿain, a sufi ode by ʿAbd al-Qādir aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 1509/915).

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ash-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565/973), Risāla fī ʾt-taṣawwuf, copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1709/1121); Al-mīzān ash-Shaʿrānīya, copy by Qāṣim ar-Rāmī (1764/1178); Madārik as-sālikīn ilā rusūm ṭarīq al-ʿārifīn, copy by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Mauṣilī (1766/1180)

Aḥmad b. ʿAṭā al-Iskandarānī (d. 1309/709),[1] Al-ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾīya, copy by Muḥammad b. ʿAun ad-Dīn (1745/1158); Tāj al-ʿarūs wa qamʿ an-nufūs, copy by Muḥammad Amīn b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1832/1248)

Dogma

Muḥammad al-Hadhādī (?), Sharḥ ʿalā ʾl-aqāʾid as-Sānūsīya,[2] copy by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (1690/1102)

ʿAlī al-Jurjānī (d. 1413/816), Sharḥ al-mawāqif, copy by Murtaḍā b. Yaḥyā ʿUmarī (d. 1690/1102)

al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1605/1014), Ḍauʾ al-maʿālī fī badʾ al-amālī li ʾl-Ūsī,[3] copy by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī

Marʿī al-Ḥanbalī Zain ad-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-Karmī (d. 1644/1054), Itḥāf dhawī ʾl-albāb, copy by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ʿAbdalī (1715/1128)

Shaʿrānī (d. 1565/973), Risāla fī ʾl-ʿaqāʾid, copy by Muḥammad Ṭāhir (1760/1174)

Taftāzānī (d. 1389/791), Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid an-Nasafīya,[4] copy by Muḥammad b. Mūsā ʿAbdalī (1710/1122)

Aḥmad al-Khayyālī (d. 1458/862), Appendix to Taftāzānī's commentary on Al-ʿaqāʾid an-Nasafīya, copy by Fatḥallāh b. Mūsā ʿUmarī (c. 1660)

Muḥammad Birkilī (d. 1573/981), Aṭ-ṭarīqa ʾl-Muḥammadīya wa ʾs-sīra ʾl-Aḥmadīya, copies by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1782/1197), Muḥammad Amīn b. Yūnus ʿUmarī (1786/1201) and Muṣṭafā at-Talaʿfarī (1802/1217)

Abū al-Wafāʾ al-Ḥamawī (d. 1530/936), Badīʿ al-maʿānī fī sharḥ ʿaqīdat ash-Shaibānī,[5] copies by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm b. Ayyūb ʿUmarī (1700/1112), ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥabbār (1719/1132), Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. Sayyid Aḥmad (1814/1230) and Maḥmūd b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Ghulāmī (1821/1237)

Jalāl ad-Dīn ad-Dawwānī (d. 1501/907), Sharḥ al-ʿaqāʾid al-ʿAḍudīya,[6] copy by ʿAlī as-Sūsanī (1736/1149)

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1 Ibn Taimīya's arch-enemy.

2 By Muḥammad as-Sānūsī (d. 1480/895).

3 Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Ūsī (12th/6th century)

4 Najm ad-Dīn an-Nasafī (d. 1142/537)

5 Also attributed to a certain Najm ad-Dīn al-ʿAjlūnī.

6 ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Ījī ash-Shīrāzī (d. 1355/756).

Anon, Appendix to Dawwānī's commentary on the ʿAqā'id al-ʿAḍudīya, copy by Yāsīn b. Ḥasan (1794/1209) commissioned by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Āghā as-Sʿirtīl

Ḥaidar al-Ḥaidarī (d. 1716/1129),[2] Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ ʿIṣām ad-Dīn ʿalā 'l-ʿaqā'id al-ʿAḍudīya, copies by an unknown scribe made in Māwarān (1736/1149) and by Yāsīn b. Ḥasan (1794/1209) for ʿAbdallāh as-Sʿirtī

Yūsuf Qarabāghī al-Muḥammadshāhī (d. 1620/1030), Sharḥ ʿalā 'l-ʿaqā'id al-ʿAḍudīya, copy by Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd (1791/1206)

Art of discussion

Ḥasan an-Nāzilī (?), Commentary on the treatise by ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Ījī, copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr (1705/1117)[3]

Anon, Appendix to Qūshajī's[4] commentary on the treatise by ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Ījī, copy by Yāsīn b. Ḥasan (1794/1209) for ʿAbdallāh as-Sʿirtī

Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥusainī (17th/11th century), Appendix to Qūshajī's appendix to Ījī, copy by Muḥammad b. Mūsā ʿAbdalī (1710/1122)

Muḥammad Bardaʿī at-Tabrīzī (d. 1494/900), Commentary on Ījī's treatise, copy by a certain ʿUbaida (1739/1152)[5]

Logic

Dā'ūd al-Qūjawī (d. 1541/948), Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-Quṭb ʿalā 'sh-Shamsīya,[6] copy by Maḥmūd ʿAbdalī (1821/1237)

Ḥusām ad-Dīn al-Kātī (d. 1359/760), Sharḥ Īsāghūjī,[7] copies by Murtaḍā b. Yaḥyā ʿUmarī (1677/1088), Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. Sayyid Aḥmad (1769/1183) and Darwīsh b. Aḥmad (1785/1200)

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1 A family with close ties with the Janissaries of Mosul.

2 An ʿālim from Māwarān.

3 Copied on the island of Sāqiz.

4 Maybe the Hanafite physicist and astronomer who died in 1474/879.

5 Copied in the mosque of Nabī Jirjīs.

6 The Risāla 'sh-Shamsīya fī 'l-qawāʿid al-manṭiqīya, a commentary on the work of Shams ad-Dīn al-Juwaijānī (d. 1282/681) by Najm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī (d. 1276/675). In which case the Quṭb referred to in the title would be Quṭb ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d. 1364/766), also known as al-Quṭb at-Taḥtānī.

7 The Īsāghūjī by Athīr ad-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 1264/663), is based on the Eisagore by Porphirius, a disciple of Plotinus and a philosopher of the School of Alexandria.

Muḥyī ad-Dīn at-Tālishī (d. ?), Appendix to Kātī's commentary on Abharī's Īsāghūjī, copies by Murtaḍā b. Yaḥyā ʿUmarī (1677/1088), Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. Sayyid Aḥmad (18th/12th century), Darwīsh b. Aḥmad (1785/1200) and Maḥmūd b. ʿAbdallāh ʿAbdalī (1826/1242)

Aḥmad b. Khiḍr (d. 1543/950), Appendix to Fanārī's[1] commentary on Abharī's Īsāghūjī, copies by Maḥmūd b. Ḥasan (1701/1113) and Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh ʿAbdalī (1820/1236)

Yūsuf Qarabāghī al-Muḥammadshāhī (d. 1620/1030), Appendix to Abharī's Īsāghūjī, copy by Sayyid Ibrāhīm b. Sayyid Aḥmad (1770/1184)

Fiqh (miscellaneous)

ʿAbd al-Bārī al-Ashmāwī (16th/10th century), Muqaddama fī 'l-fiqh ʿalā madhhab Mālik, copy by Muḥammad Shāhir (1777/1191)[2]

Anon, Risāla fī dhikr mā yuʿfa min an-najasāt, copy by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm ʿUmarī (1700/1112)

Jalāl ad-Dīn ash-Shaizarī (d. 1193/589), Al-iḍāḥ fī asrār an-nikāḥ,[3] copy by a priest called ʿAbd al-Aḥad b. Ḥannā aṭ-Ṭabīb (1820/1236)

Shafiite fiqh

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī (d. 1567/974), Treatises[4]

Muḥammad ar-Raḥbī (d. 1181/577), Raḥbīya[5]

Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Mārdīnī (d. 1501/907), Commentary on the Raḥbīya, copies by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī, Maḥmūd ʿAbdalī, Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ and Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl

ʿAbdallāh ash-Shinshaurī (d. 1590/999), Al-farā'id ash-Shinshaurīya fī sharḥ al-manẓūma 'r-Raḥbīya, copy by Muḥammad ʿAbdalī (1821/1237)

Ibn Labbān al-Baṣrī (d. 1011/402), Ījāz, copy by Maḥmūd ʿAbdalī (1822/1230)

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1 Shams ad-Dīn al-Fanārī (d. 1431/835).

2 Copied in the mosque of Nabī Jirjīs. This seems to be the only work in Malikite fiqh copied in Mosul in the period under study. It also seems that no work in Hanbalite fiqh was copied.

3 This work touches on aphrodisiacs: see Brockelmann, SI, 833.

4 Various small treatises by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī were copied in Mosul in this period.

5 At least two copies were made of this poem on the laws of succession.

Abū Isḥāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. 1083/476), Tanbīh, defective copy completed by Maḥmūd ʿAbdalī

Anon, Al-fiqh al-akbar li Shāfiʿī, copy by Muḥammad b. ʿAun ad-Dīn (1748/1161)

Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Kinānī (d. 1416/919), Sharḥ zawāl at-taraḥ, copy by Amīn ʿUmarī (1754/1168)

Ṣadr ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 1378/780), Raḥmat al-umma fī ʾkhtilāf al-aʾimma, copy by ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭāʾī (1808/1223)

Hanafite fiqh

Qāsim al-Khānī (d. 1697/1109), Risālat at-taḥqīq fī ʾr-radd ʿalā ʾz-zindīq, copy by Muslim Akhī Bābā (1712/1124)

Anon, Shurūṭ aṣ-ṣalāt wa arkānihā, copy by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ

Anon, Al-mukhtaṣar fī ʾl-fiqh li Abī Ḥanīfa wa Shāfiʿī, copy by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ

Khair ad-Dīn ar-Ramlī (d. 1670/1081), Al-fatāwā ʾl-Khairīya, copies by Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Ghulāmī (1773/1187), Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1780/1195), Saʿdallāh al-Mutawallī (1781/1196) and ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭāʾī (1784/1199)

Zain ad-Dīn Ibn Nujaim (d. 1563/970), Tuḥfat al-mulūk, copy by Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (1778/1192); Fatāwā, copy by Yūnus b. Amīn (1779/1193); Kanz al-fuqahāʾ, copy by Yūnus b. Amīn (1780/1194); Al-ashbāh wa ʾn-naẓāʾir, copy by Muḥammad Amīn al-Mutawallī (1837/1253)

Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī (d. 1686/1098), Appendix to Ibn Nujaim's Ashbāh, copy by Ḥamū al-Kurdī (1769/1183)

Badr ar-Rashīd (d. 1366/768), Fatāwā, copy by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿUmarī (1756/1170)

Mullā Khuṣrū (d. 1480/885), Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ ghurar al-aḥkām,[1] copies by Murtaḍā ʿUmarī (1708/1120) and ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Maujūd (1722/1135)

Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 1677/1088), Ad-durr al-mukhṭār fī sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār,[2] copies by Muḥammad Shāhir (1777/1191) and ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (1768/1182)

Muḥammad b. ʿĀbidīn (d. 1784/1198), Ar-radd al-muḥtār ʿalā ʾd-durr al-mukhṭār sharḥ tanwīr al-abṣār,[3] copies by Mūsā al-Ḥaddādī and Saʿdallāh al-Mutawallī

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[1] This same work by Mullā Khuṣrū was popular among Tunisian fuqahāʾ in the 18th century: see Abdesselem, p. 34.

[2] The Tanwīr al-abṣār is by Shams ad-Dīn at-Timirṭāshī al-Ghazzī (d. 1595/1004).

[3] It is a commentary on Ḥaṣkafī's commentary on Timirṭāshī.

Abū al-Laith as-Samarqandī (d. 985/375), Khizānat al-fiqh, copy by ʿAlī al-Mauṣilī (1731/1144); Muqaddima fī 'l-fiqh, copy by Muḥammad Amīn b. Yūnus ʿUmarī (1789/1204)[1]

Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (d. 1549/956), Ghunyat al-mutamallī,[2] copies by Sayyid Murtaḍā b. Sayyid Yaḥyā, Khalīl b. Rajab (1780/1194) and ʿAlī al-Baghdādī (1771/1185)[3]

Aḥmad al-Khazrajī,[4] Taʿlīqāt ʿalā sharḥ al-ʿAinī li 'l-hidāya,[5] copy by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī (1717/1130)

al-Qārī al-Harawī (d. 1605/1014), Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar li Abī Ḥanīfa, copy by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (1750/1164)

Abū al-Ḥasan as-Sughdī (d. 1068/461), An-nutaf fī 'l-fatāwā, copy by Fatḥallāh b. Mūsā ʿUmarī (1666/1077)

Qiwām ad-Dīn al-Kākī (d. 1348/749), ʿUyūn al-madhāhib

Ṣadr ash-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī (d. 1346/747), Tauḍīḥ tanqīḥ al-uṣūl,[6] copy by Murtaḍā ʿUmarī (1713/1125)

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ash-Shaʿbī (?), Al-anwār al-bahīya fī sharḥ farā'id al-Ushnuhīya,[7] copy by Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī (1723/1136)

ʿAlī al-Ḥarjānī (d. 1413/816), Sharḥ farā'id as-Sajāwandīya,[8] copy by Khālid al-Mauṣilī (1752/1166)

Ibn ash-Shiḥna (d. 1515/921), Tafṣīl ʿiqd al-fawā'id bi takmīl qaid ash-sharā'id,[9] copy by Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Ghulāmī (1757/1171)

Aḥmad al-Bardhaʿī (10th/4th century), Masā'il al-khilāf bain al-imāmain,[10] copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1772/1186)

ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulsī (d. 1731/1143), Qalā'id al-farā'id, copy by Yāsīn ʿUmarī (1791/1206); Risāla fī taḥlīl

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1 Copied at the request of ʿAbd al-Majīd Bey b. Sulaimān Pasha Jalīlī.

2 The work being a synopsis of Munyat al-muṣallī by Sadīd ad-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (d. 1305/705).

3 Copied while he was in Mosul.

4 Maybe Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh who died after 1517/923.

5 The Hidāya is by Burhān ad-Dīn al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197/593) and the commentary by Badr ad-Dīn al-ʿAinī (d. 1451/855).

6 A commentary on his own Tanqīḥ al-uṣūl.

7 The Ushnuhīya is by Abū al-Faḍl al-Ushnuhī (11th/5th century).

8 Al-farā'id as-Sirājīya by Sirāj ad-Dīn as-Sajāwandī (end of 12th/6th century).

9 A commentary on the Wahbānīya by Wahbān al-Ḥārithī (d. 1366/768).

10 Attribution uncertain.

ad-dukhkhān, copy by an unknown scribe (1801/1216)

Anon, Treatise against tobacco smoking,[1]

Muḥammad al-Maghnīsāwī (d. 1532/939), Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar li 'l-imām Abī Ḥanīfa 'n-nuʿmān, copy by Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ (1821/1237)

Medicine

Ṣāliḥ Ḥakīm Effendi (d. 1670/1081), Murakkabāt,[2] copy by ʿAlī ʿUmarī (1768/1182); Ṣināʿat aṭ-ṭibb al-kīmyāwī,[3] copy by Muḥammad al-Muhtadī (c. 1835)

Paracelsus (d. 1541/948), Aṭ-ṭibb al-jadīd al-kīmyāwī, copy by Muḥammad al-Muhtadī (c. 1835)

Muṣṭafā Faiḍī Ḥakīm Zāda (d. 1738/1151), Al-ʿilla 'l-marāqīya,[4] copy by Muḥammad al-Muhtadī (c. 1835)

Anon, Taʿrīf fī 'ṭ-ṭibb, copy by ʿAlī b. ʿAlī ʿUmarī

Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1599/1008), Tadhkirat ūlī 'l-albāb wa jāmiʿ al-ʿajab wa 'l-ʿajāb, copy by an unknown scribe (1754/1159)[5]; An-nuzha fī 'ṭ-ṭibb, copy by Muḥammad Amīn b. Yūnus ʿUmarī (1784/1199)

ʿAbdallāh b. Bakhtīshūʿ (d. 1059/451), Ar-rauḍa fī 'ṭ-ṭibb, copy by Yūḥannā b. Qiss Dānyāl al-Kaldānī (1743/1146)

Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 1348/749), Nihāyat al-qaṣd fī ṣināʿat al-faṣd,[6] copy by Shammās ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Niʿmū (1817/1233)[7]

Astronomy

Abū al-Qāsim Zubair ath-Thaqafī,[8] Tadhkirat dhawī 'l-albāb fī 'stifā' al-ʿamal bi 'l-asṭurlāb, copy by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī (1701/1113)

Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Yardanī (?), Bahjat aṭ-ṭullāb fī 'l-asṭurlāb, copy by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī

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1 It is an 18th century treatise written in Persian and in Arabic.

2 Preparations of medicinal drugs.

3 A translation of Grollius' Chimia Basilica.

4 A work on hypochondria.

5 Commissioned by Muḥammad Amīn Āl Yāsīn.

6 A treatise on surgery.

7 Commissioned by the copyist's teacher, ʿAbd al-Aḥad.

8 See Brockelmann, SII, 1025.

Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 1340/740), Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ʿain,[1] copy by Muḥammad ʿAbdalī

Bahā' ad-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1621/1030), Sawāniḥ al-qarīḥa fī sharḥ aṣ-ṣaḥīfa, copy by Sayyid ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī; Tasrīḥ al-adrāk fī sharḥ tashrīḥ al-aflāk, copy by Sayyid ʿAbdallāh Fakhrī

ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Fāris (?), Urjūza fī ʿilm al-auqāt,[2] copy by ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Mauṣilī (1705/1117)

Abū Maʿshar al-Falakī (d. 885/272), Ṭawāliʿ ar-rijāl, copy by Maḥmūd ʿAbdalī (1823/1239)

Muḥammad b. Zuraiq al-Khairī (d. 1400/803), Ar-rauḍ al-ʿaṭir fī talkhīṣ jīz Ibn ash-Shāṭir, copy by Muḥammad al-Muhtadī (c. 1830)

Arithmetic and algebra

Ibn al-Ḥā'im (d. 1412/815), Al-lamʿ fī 'l-ḥisāb, copy by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad ʿAlwān (1689/1101); Murshidat aṭ-ṭālib fī asnā 'l-maṭālib, copy by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī (1701/1113)

Bahā' ad-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1621/1030), Risāla fī 'l-jabr wa 'l-muqābala, copy by Muḥammad as-Sulaimānī (1723/1136); Al-khulāṣa fī 'l-ḥisāb, copy by Muḥammad as-Sulaimānī (1724/1137)

ʿUmar al-Jīlī (d. 1710/1122), Sharḥ al-Bahā'īya fī 'l-ḥisāb,[3] copy by Muḥammad b. Qāsim ʿAbdalī

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1 The work is a commentary on a treatise by Najm ad-Dīn al-Kātibī (d. 1276/675).

2 A poem on orientation to the qibla, on the sun and the stars, on the horoscopes and on the climates of the earth.

3 A commentary on the Khulāṣa by ʿĀmilī.

APPENDIX VII

Historical Sources in Mosuli Libraries

Since the fall of the Jalīlīs Mosul has not suffered any major disaster (earthquake, devastating armed occupation), and it would therefore be safe to assume that the contents of its libraries remained constant between the first half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.[1] Obviously Mosuli notables as well as European merchants and officials must have drained some of the books out of the town, but such books as would have attracted interest would be rare MSS as well as local works, and not general works of reference as could be found throughout the Ottoman Empire (e.g., Ibn al-Athīr's Kāmil, or Tha'ālibī's Yatīmat ad-dahr). On the other hand general works of reference might have been acquired by Mosulis after the fall of the Jalīlīs. Still, taking everything into consideration, it would seem that the stock of works of reference must have remained, grosso modo, constant throughout the last two centuries, and a brief glance at the contents of the libraries of Mosul as they stood at the beginning of this century might help us delineate, in broad terms, the tradition upon which Mosuli historians of the Jalīlī era relied.

1. Abū al-Fidā: There were at least two copies of the geographical work Taqwīm al-buldān by this Ayyūbid master of Ḥamāt (one dated 1323/723 and the other 1833/1249). As for his historical work Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar, it was widely used, and quoted by Mosuli historians.[2]

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[1] When Jalabī compiled his catalogue of Mosuli MSS.

[2] Edition used: Al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar, 4 vols. (Cairo, n.d.).

2. Muḥammad Birkilī (d. 1573/981): There were four copies of his Aṭ-ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadīya (undated, 1728/1141, 1753/1167, 1842/1258).

3. Aḥmad al-Baṣrawī, known as Ibn al-Imām (d. 1606/1015): A copy was made in 1772/1186 of his Tuḥfat al-anām fī faḍā'il ash-Shām.

4. Mujīr ad-Dīn al-ʿUlaimī (d.1520/927): A copy (dated 1563/971) of his Al-uns al-jalīl fī tārīkh al-Quds wa 'l-Khalīl.

5. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (d. 1075/467): A copy (dated 1668/1079) of his Dumyat al-qaṣr wa ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr, which is a continuation (dhail) of Thaʿālibī's Yatīmat ad-dahr.

6. Ḥusain ad-Diyārbakrī (d. 1559/966): Two copies of Al-khamīs fī aḥwāl anfas nafīs, which is a sīra of the Prophet.

7. Shams ad-Dīn adh-Dhahabī: A copy of the Duwal al-Islām.[1]

8. Damīrī: At least seven copies of his Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān.[2]

9. ʿAlī b. Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 1634/1044): His Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn wa 'l-ma'mūn, known as As-sīra 'l-Ḥalabīya, is much quoted in all Mosuli biographies of the Prophet.

10. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 1166/560): A copy of his Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī 'khtirāq al-āfāq, a geographical work which he offered to Roger II of Sicily.

11. Ibn al-ʿAdīm: Parts of his Bughyat aṭ-ṭalab fī tārīkh Ḥalab.[3]

12. Ibn ash-Shiḥna: a copy (1691/1103) of Ad-durr al-muntakhab fī tārīkh Ḥalab. Two copies (1691/1103 and 1744/1157) of Rauḍat al-manāẓir fī ʿilm al-awā'il wa 'l-awākhir.[4]

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[1] Edition used: Duwal al-Islām, 2 vols. (Hyderabad, 1918/1337).

[2] Edition used: Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1891).

[3] Work used: Bughyat aṭ-ṭalab, MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Ḥasanīya 5/22, in 383 pages.

[4] Edition used: Rauḍat al-manāẓir, on the margins of Masʿūdī's Murūj, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1885).

13. Ibn al-Athīr: parts of his Al-kāmil fī 't-ta'rīkh.[1]

14. 'Umar b. al-Wardī: A copy of his Tatimmat al-mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar.[2] Four different copies of his geographical work Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib.[3]

15. Ibn Khaṭīb an-Nāṣirīya (d. 1439/843): A copy of his Ad-durr al-muntakhab fī takmilat tārīkh mamlakat Ḥalab (copy dated 1691/1103), which is a résumé of Ibn ash-Shiḥna's Rauḍat al-manāẓir and a continuation of Ibn al-'Adīm's Bughya.

16. Ibn Hishām: Three copies of his sīra.[4]

17. Ibn Jahḍam al-Hamadhānī (d. 1023/414): A copy of his hagiography-sufism work Bahjat al-asrār wa ma'dan al-anwār fī manāqib as-sāda 'l-akhyār wa 'l-mashāyikh al-abrār.

18. Ibn Kathīr: Parts of Al-bidāya wa 'n-nihāya (dated 1566/974).

19. Ibn Khallikān: Various copies, mostly incomplete, of Wafayāt al-a'yān.[5]

20. Ibn Khaldūn: A copy made in Damascus in 1738/1151 of the Muqaddima, and another made in Mosul in 1841/1257 of the Muqaddima and the Akhbār al-'Arab.

21. Ibn Abī 'Udhaiba (d. 1452/856): A copy of Mukhtaṣar at-tārīkh al-kabīr which is a résumé of his own Tārīkh ad-duwal.

22. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī: A 1365/767 partial copy of his Mir'āt az-zamān. A copy of a fragment (year 18 AH to Abū Ḥanīfa), made in 1763/1177 for Sulaimān (later Pasha) b. Amīn Pasha Jalīlī by Yaḥyā b. 'Abdu Jalīlī the historian. A copy of the fragment concerning Mosul under the great

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1 Edition used: Al-kāmil, C.J. Thornberg (ed.), 12 vols. (Beirut, 1966).

2 Edition used: Tatimma, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1868).

3 Edition used: Kharīda (Cairo, 1899).

4 Edition used: Sīrat an-nabī, M.S. Ṭahṭāwī (ed.) (Azhar, 1928).

5 Editions used: Wafayāt al-a'yān, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1892), hereafter referred to as Ibn Khallikān(A); Wafayāt al-a'yān I. 'Abbās (ed.), 8 vols. (Beirut, 1977), hereafter referred to as Ibn Khallikān(B); Wafayāt al-a'yān, de Slane (tr.), 4 vols. (Paris, 1842-1871), hereafter referred to as Ibn Khallikān(E).

Atabeg Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu'. And an anonymous résumé of the Mir'āt, copied in 1700/1112 by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm ʿUmarī.[1]

23. Ibn ʿArabshāh: A copy of ʿAjā'ib al-maqdūr fī nawā'ib Taimūr.

24. Sulaimān al-Kalāʿī (d. 1237/634): Maghāzī rasūl Allāh wa 'l-khulafā' ath-thalātha, was partly copied in 1823/1239 by ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭā'ī.

25. ʿIzz ad-Dīn al-Kinānī (d. 1365/767): Mukhtaṣar as-sīra 'n-nabawīya, also attributed to Wāsiṭī (d. 1311/711).

26. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Khafājī (d. 1659/1069): Four copies of his Raiḥānat al-albā wa zahrat ḥayāt ad-dunyā, which is a biographical dictionary similar to Thaʿālibī's Yatīmat ad-dahr.

27. Faḍlallāh al-Muḥibbī: he is the father of the well-known historian. A copy was made of a small fragment of his Faiḍ al-anām, and this fragment is a biography of Fāḍil Aḥmad Pasha Kūbirlū.

28. Muḥibbī: Two copies of Nafḥat ar-raiḥāna wa rashḥat ṭalā 'l-ḥāna. Three copies of his Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥadī ʿashar.[2]

29. Muwaffaq ad-Dīn b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 1223/620): Three copies of his Tabyīn fī ansāb al-Quraishīyīn.

30. Maʿrūf Effendi b. Aḥmad (17th/9th century?): Aḥwāl Miṣr, of which there were at least two copies (including one made for Saʿdallāh Bey b. Ḥusain Pasha Jalīlī in 1805/1220) is also called ʿAjā'ib al-akhbār ʿan Miṣr al-amṣār.

31. Masʿūdī: Various fragments of his Murūj adh-dhahab.[3]

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[1] Editions used: Mir'āt az-zamān, facsimile reproduction of MS number 136 of the Landberg Collection of Arabic MSS belonging to the University of Yale, J.R. Jewett (ed.) (Chicago, 1907), hereafter referred to as Ibn al-Jauzī (Yale); Mir'āt az-zamān, 2 vols. (Hyderabad, 1951), hereafter referred to as Ibn al-Jauzī (Hyderabad).

[2] Works used: Khulāṣat al-athar, MS of Maktabat al-Auqāf, Mosul, number Ḥasanīya 6/22, hereafter referred to as Muḥibbī (MS); Khulāṣat al-athar, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1868), hereafter referred to as Muḥibbī.

[3] Editions used: Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (eds.), re-ed. by Ch. Pellat, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1966-74), hereafter referred to as Murūj (Pellat); Murūj ad-dhahab, 2 vols., (Cairo, 1885), hereafter referred to as Murūj.

32. Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mazzī (d.1341/742): A copy of his Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' ar-rijāl.

33. Maqrīzī: Parts of Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājim al-aʿyān al-mufīda.[1]

34. Muḥammad an-Nahrawālī, also known as Quṭbī, or Ibn Qāḍīkhān (d. 1582/990): There was a sixteenth century copy of his Al-iʿlām bi aʿlām bait Allāh al-ḥarām, which is not only a history of Mecca but also a general history of the Ottomans.[2]

35. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Qaramānī (d. 1610/1019): Two copies (1758/1172 and 1824/1240) of his Akhbār ad-duwal.[3]

36. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī (d. 1071/463): Five copies of his Al-istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb including two by ʿAssāf aṭ-Ṭā'ī (1783/1198 and 1811/1226, the latter copied for Ḥasan Pasha Jalīlī), one by Amīn ʿUmarī (1774/1188), and one by Sulaimān b. Aḥmad ʿUmarī (1798/1213).

37. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qasṭallānī (d. 1517/923): Al-mawāhib al-ladunīya bi 'l-minaḥ al-Muḥammadīya.

38. Qazwīnī: Two copies of his ʿAjā'ib al-makhlūqāt.[4]

39. Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qalyūbī (d. 1659/1069): A copy of Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī aḥwāl an-nabī 'l-mukhtār is attributed to him. But the author might well be ʿAzīz al-Uskudārī (d. 1628/1038).

40. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Suwaidī (d. 1785/1200): A copy of Ḥadīqat az-zaurā' fī sīrat al-wuzarā', a history of Bagdad starting with Ḥasan Pasha.[5]

41. Tāj ad-Dīn as-Subkī (d. 1370/771): A fragment of his

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[1] The work by Maqrīzī used here for comparative purposes is the Kitāb as-sulūk fī maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk, M. Ziyāda (ed.), 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934-72).

[2] The works by Nahrawālī used here for comparative purposes with works by Mosuli historians are the Barq al-Yamānī fī 'l-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī (Riyad, 1967), and Al-iʿlām bi aʿlām bait Allāh al-ḥarām, F. Wuestenfeld (ed.) (Leipzig, 1857).

[3] Edition used: Akhbār ad-duwal (Bagdad, 1869).

[4] Edition used: ʿAjā'ib al-makhlūqāt, on the margins of Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1891).

[5] Edition used: Ḥadīqat az-zaurā', S. Khulūṣī (ed.), vol. I (Bagdad, 1962).

Ṭabaqāt (year 240 AH to year 260 AH).

42. ʿAbdallāh ash-Shīrāzī, known as Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍra (d. after 1328/728): Parts of his Tajziyat al-anṣār, in Persian. It is an account of the Mongols, from Hūlākū to Abū Saʿīd.

43. ʿAlī as-Samhūdī (d.1505/911): Khulāṣat al-wafā bi akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā, which is a résumé of his own Wafā' al-wafā. There were two copies of it (1550/957 and 1739/1152).

44. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ash-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565/973): Two copies of his Lawāqiḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt as-sāda 'l-akhyār.

45. Suyūṭī: Two copies of Al-wasā'il fī maʿrifat al-awā'il, of which one is an abridged version by Jirjīs al-Jawādī al-Mauṣilī. Two copies of Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira. Two copies of Tārīkh al-khulafā'.[1]

46. ʿAlī as-Siktuwārī (d. 1598/1007): A copy of his Al-awā'il wa 'l-awākhir which is a résumé of Suyūṭī's Al-wasā'il.

47. Ṭabarī: A Turkish translation of parts of his Tārīkh.[2]

48. Abū Isḥāq ath-Thaʿlabī (d. 1036/427): Four copies of his ʿArā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'.

49. Aḥmad Ṭāshkubrī Zāda (d. 1561/968): Two copies of his Ash-shaqā'iq an-nuʿmānīya fī ʿulamā' ad-daula 'l-ʿUthmānīya.[3]

50. Abū ʿĪsā at-Tirmidhī (d. 892/279): A copy of Ash-shamā'il an-nabawīya wa 'l-khaṣā'iṣ al-muṣṭafāwīya.

51. Thaʿālibī: Yatīmat ad-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr.[4]

52. Ḥusain al-Marghanī ath-Thaʿālibī: Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs.[5]

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[1] Edition used: Tārīkh al-khulafā' (Lahore, 1887).

[2] Edition used: Tārīkh ar-rusul wa 'l-mulūk, M.J. de Goeje (ed.), 15 vols. (Leyden, 1879-1901).

[3] Edition used: Ash-shaqā'iq an-nuʿmānīya, on the margins of Ibn Khallikān's Wafayāt al-aʿyān, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1892).

[4] Edition used: Yatīmat ad-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934).

[5] Copy used: Kitāb ghurar as-siyār, MS of the Bodleian number D'Orville 542. This work has also been attributed to Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik ath-Thaʿālibī. On the controversy,

53. Muḥammad al-ʿUtbī (d. 1035/427): A copy of his Al-yamīnī fī tārīkh ʿain ad-daula Maḥmūd b. Subuktikīn.

54. ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Qāḍī al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 1149/544): Four copies of his Ash-shifā bi taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā.

55. ʿAbdallāh al-Yāfiʿī (d. 1366/768): His Mir'āt al-jinān wa ʿibrat al-yaqẓān was used extensively, especially by Yāsīn ʿUmarī.[1] His Rauḍ ar-rayāḥin fī ḥikāyāt aṣ-ṣāliḥīn was also used.[2]

56. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣafadī (d. 1363/764): A copy of his Nukat al-ʿumyān.[3]

57. Yāqūt: Various parts of his Muʿjam.[4]

58. Murtaḍā Naẓmī Zāda Effendi: A copy of his Tadhkirat al-auliyā', also called Jāmiʿ al-anwār,[5] which was translated from Turkish by Sayyid Aḥmad b. Sayyid Ḥāmid Fakhrī al-Mauṣilī.[6] A printed copy of his Kulshin khulafā' (Mutafarriqa, 1730), in Turkish as well.

59. ʿAbdallāh Raḍwān (17th/11th century): Tārīkh Miṣr, in Turkish.

60. Suhailī Effendi (17th/11th century): Tārīkh Miṣr al-jadīd, in Turkish.

61. Naʿīmā: Two printed (Mutafarriqa) copies of his work, in Turkish. Yāsīn ʿUmarī quotes Naʿīmā in his introduction to DUR(1).[7]

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cf. H. Zotenberg, Histoire des rois des Perses de Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik ath-Thaʿālibī (Paris, 1900) and L. Caetani, "Un manoscritto non identificato della Bodleiana di Oxford", in Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari (Palermo, 1910).

1 Edition used: Mir'āt al-jinān wa ʿibrat al-yaqẓān, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1918-20).

2 Edition used: Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn (Cairo, 1897).

3 Edition used: Nakt al-himyān fī nukat al-ʿumyān, A. Zéki (ed.) (Cairo, 1911).

4 Edition used: Muʿjam al-buldān, F. Wuestenfeld (ed.), 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-1873).

5 Copy in the British Library number Add. 7877.

6 See supra, p. 193.

7 Edition used: Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian era by Naima, C. Fraser (tr.), vol. I (London, 1832). On this Ottoman historian, see L.V. Thomas, A Study of Naima, N. Itzkowitz (ed.) (New York, 1972).

62. Tārīkh al-Hind al-Gharbī 'l-musammā bi Ḥadīth Nū: An anonymous Turkish copy printed in Istanbul (Mutafarriqa, 1729). A sixteenth century work attributed to Aḥmad Ḥilmī.

63. Tārīkh sayyāḥ dirbayānī ẓuhūr Aghwānyān wa sabab inhidām binā' daulat shahān Ṣafwāyān: Published in Istanbul (1729), it is said to be a Turkish translation of a work in Latin. The title seems to indicate that the work is a traveller's account of the fall of the Safavids and the rise of the Afghans at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX VIII

Yaḥyā Jalīlī's SIR

INTRODUCTION: (ff. 3r-7v)

It comprises 40 Traditions taken from Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ.

PART ONE: On the history of bygone nations, on the earth and on the skies, on the lands, the seas, the mountains and the rivers (ff. 7v-146r)

Chapter I: On the genealogical tree linking Muḥammad to Adam (ff. 7v-15v)

The narrative is a résumé of the account given by Ibn al-Athīr in his Kāmil.

Chapter II: On the prophets and the kings of Israel (ff. 15v-46v)

The main sources here are Ibn al-Wardī's Tatimma and Ibn al-Athīr's Kāmil. Some details have, however, eluded attempts at tracing them. The account of the beliefs and mores of the Jews is taken verbatim from Ibn al-Wardī (Tatimma, I, 75-78) whom the author quotes.

Chapter III: On the Tabābi'a kings of Yaman (ff. 46v-53r)

The author quotes Mas'ūdī's Murūj,[1] Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddima, Ibn al-Wardī, and an anonymous Tawārīkh al-umam.

Chapter IV: On the kings of Arabia, those of Yaman excluded (ff. 53r-69v)

The account is taken almost entirely from Ibn al-Wardī's Tatimma, with marginal use of chapter 44 of Mas'ūdī's Murūj, as well as of Ibn al-Athīr's Kāmil.

Chapter V: On the kings of Persia before Islam (ff. 69v-89r)

The author quotes Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn al-Athīr and Tha'ālibī. The latter reference must be to Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs which is attributed to Ḥusain al-Marghanī ath-Tha'ālibī.[2]

Chapter VI: On the kings of the Rūm before Islam (ff. 89r-98r)

Mas'ūdī supplies the origin of the name,[3] and Ibn al-Wardī the story of Romulus and Remus and of the Roman conquest of Europe.[4] After a digression on aḥl al-kahf in which he quotes Tha'ālibī, the author returns to Ibn al-Wardī for an account of the beliefs and customs of the Christians.

Chapter VII: On the Copts, Pharaos of Egypt (ff. 98r-99r)

The whole chapter is a verbatim account of Ibn al-Wardī's Tatimma (I, 48-50).

Chapter VIII: On the kings of the Greeks (ff. 99r-99v).

This is also a verbatim transcription of Ibn al-Wardī's account.

Chapter IX: On the various nations of the world (ff. 99v-105v)

The narrative is taken from Ibn al-Wardī (Tatimma, I, 80-87).

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1 Cf. for example SIR, ff. 46v-47v and chapters 41-43 of the Murūj.

2 This Ghurar has an important section on pre-Islamic Persia: see Zotenberg.

3 See Murūj (Pellat), II, 32ff.

4 See Tatimma, I, 52.

Chapter X: On Creation, on the earth and the heaven, the climates and the famous lands, and on the Deluge (ff. 105v-114v)

In this chapter the author quotes a variety of sources: ʿulamāʾ, historians and geographers. The main references are to Masʿūdī's Murūj, Yāqūt's Muʿjam, Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān, Abū al-Fidāʾs Mukhtaṣar, Baghawī's Maʿālim at-tanzīl, the Tafsīr al-kabīr by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushairī (d. 1072/465), Baiḍāwī's Anwār at-tanzīl, Ṭabarānī's Muʿjam al-kabīr, and the Uns al-jalīl by ash-Shādhilī.[1] His reference to a Kitāb al-khamīs must be to Al-khamīs fī aḥwāl anfas nafīs by Ḥusain ad-Diyārbakrī (d. 1559/966). His mention of Al-ʿarāʾis is most probably to ʿArāʾis al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ by Abū Isḥāq ath-Thaʿlabī (d. 1036/427). His reference to the Qāmūs is certainly to the famous philological lexicon by Abū aṭ-Ṭāhir al-Fīrūzabādī (d. 1414/817) of which there were copies in Mosul. What he calls Al-wafā is probably al-Ḥāfiẓ b. al-Jauzī's Kitāb al-wafā fī faḍāʾil al-muṣṭafā. And Rauḍat al-aḥbāb could be a taḥrīf of Rauḍat al-akhbār (fī siyar an-nabī wa ʾl-āl wa ʾl-aṣḥāb) by Jamāl ad-Dīn ad-Dashtakī (d. 1400/803). As for the Madārik, also quoted in this chapter, it could be one of scores of works on fiqh, and I have not been able to identify it. It is practically impossible to tell whether the author has used all the sources he quotes, or whether many are quoted indirectly. And this is because he often mentions a name (e.g., Nafāʾī) or a single word from a title (e.g., ʿArāʾis) in connection with minute details which are practically impossible to trace.

Chapter XI: On the seas and the islands (ff. 114v-124v)

Although the author quotes Yāqūt's Muʿjam in connection with the Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ, the narrative is in fact taken from Ibn al-Wardī's Kharīdat al-ʿajāʾib. And this becomes obvious when both SIR and the Kharīda quote Abū ar-Raiḥān al-Khwārizmī.[2]

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[1] Probably the Sirr al-jalīl by Abū al-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī (d. 1258/656).

[2] Cf. Yāqūt, I, 504, Kharīda, pp. 73-74 and SIR f. 114v. For other similarities in authorities quoted cf. Kharīda, pp. 78, 94 and SIR, ff. 116v, 120v.

Chapter XII: On the rivers, the springs, the wells and the famous mountains (ff. 124v-133v)

The author quotes a Kitāb ʿajā'ib al-buldān, a Gharā'ib and a Tuḥfat al-gharā'ib, but these three titles appear to be a taḥrīf of Kharīdat al-ʿajā'ib by Ibn al-Wardī whence the account is taken.[1]

Chapter XIII: On Mecca and Medina (ff. 133v-146r).

Yāqūt, Masʿūdī and the Tuḥfat al-kirām fī akhbār al-ḥarām[2] are the main sources. The author presents us with all the information regarding the history, building and ornamentation of the House up to Ottoman times. He also gives a short account of all the events pertaining to all the Muslim rulers associated with Mecca and Medina.

PART TWO: On the beginning of the State of Islam, on the noble Companions, on the Rāshidūn and their conquests up to the time of Muʿāwiya (ff. 146r-378v)

Chapter I: On the birth of the Prophet, his life and his death (ff. 146r-328r)

This chapter falls into 5 sections: (i) on his birth, his suckling and the news of his life until his coming of age (ff. 146r-153v); (ii) on his journey to Syria with the servant of Khadīja and his marriage to Khadīja, on his wives and his children (ff. 153v-163v); (iii) on his mission, his miracles, his ascent and his emigration (ff. 163v-205v); (iv) on his raids, his troops, his campaigns, his mounts, his weapons and his standards (ff. 205v-316v); (v) on his death (ff. 316v-328r).

The narrative is based on Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī's Sīra 'l-Ḥalabīya, Al-mukhtaṣar fī sīrat sayyid al-bashar by ʿAbd al-Mu'min ad-Dimyāṭī (d. 1306/705), Bukhārī, Al-jāmiʿ bain aṣ-ṣaḥīḥain by Baghawī, Ar-rauḍ al-anif[3] by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Suhailī (d. 1185/581), Ṭabarānī's Ausaṭ (being the second volume of his Maʿājim al-ḥadīth), the Sīra 'sh-Shāmīya which is Subul al-hudā wa 'r-rushd fī sīrat khair al-ʿibād by Yūsuf ash-Shāmī (d. 1536/942), Suyūṭī's Jāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaghīr, and a work

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1 Cf. SIR f. 125r and Kharīda, p. 105.

2 Attributed to Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 1429/832).

3 A commentary on Ibn Hishām's sīra.

referred to as Al-imtinā‘ and which I have not been able to identify.

As for other authors and works mentioned marginally and often used indirectly, they are Ibn al-Athīr, Wāqidī, al-Ḥāfiẓ b. al-Jauzī, Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Muḥibb aṭ-Ṭabarī, Dhahabī, Ibn Kathīr, Ash-shifā' aṣ-ṣadūr which is a work of Coranic exegesis by Abū Bakr an-Naqqāsh (d. 962/351), al-Fākihī,[1] al-Ḥāfiẓ an-Naisābūrī,[2] Badr ad-Din al-‘Ainī,[3] al-Qurṭubī,[4] Al-kashshāf fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān by Zamakhsharī (d. 1143/538), Sha‘rānī's Ṭabaqāt,[5] the tafsīr of ar-Rāzī,[6] Khwārizmī,[7] al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Ḥajar,[8] Fīrūzabādī's Qāmūs, Ḥamd al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 998/388) who is the author of various works of ḥadīth, the Muzīl al-khafā' ‘an alfāẓ ash-shifā' by Aḥmad ash-Shumunnī (d. 1467/872), Balādhurī, Ḥayyān b. Ḥayyān,[9] Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Qurṭubī's Istī‘āb fī ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb and his Bahjat al-majālis wa uns al-mujālis, and Būṣīrī's Hamzīya. SIR also quotes a work referred to as Al-lafẓ, and another as Ad-dalā'il.[10]

Chapter II: On the Four Caliphs (ff. 328r-378v)

This chapter is divided in four sections: (i) on Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (ff. 328r-355r); (ii) on ‘Umar al-Fārūq (ff. 355r-362v); (iii) on ‘Uthmān (ff. 362v-370r); (iv) on the caliphate of ‘Alī and that of Ḥasan, and on the recognition of Mu‘āwiya as caliph by Ḥusain (ff. 370r-378v).

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1 Probably Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 1538/945) and his Tārīkh Makka.

2 His Sharaf al-muṣṭafā is about the Prophet.

3 ‘Aqd al-jamān fī tārīkh āl az-zamān.

4 Probably Al-jāmi‘ li aḥkām al-Qur'ān by Muḥammad al-Qurṭubī (d. 1272/671)

5 Lawaqīḥ al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha‘rānī.

6 Lawāmi‘ al-bayānāt fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh ta‘ālā by Muḥammad Fakhr ar-Rāzī (d. 1209/606).

7 A reference to Abū ar-Raiḥān, already quoted indirectly by SIR via Ibn al-Wardī: see supra, p. 222.

8 Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Haitamī (d. 1567/974).

9 This Andalusian historian (d.1076/469) wrote three history books one of which was on the Companions. But very few copies of this work have reached us (and in fragmented form). I could not find any trace of it in the libraries of Mosul, and one must assume that SIR is quoting him indirectly.

10 Maybe Dalā'il an-nubūwa by Abū Nu‘aim al-Iṣfahānī (d.1039/431).

The main sources used here are Muḥibb aṭ-Ṭabarī's Ar-riyāḍ an-naḍira fī manāqib al-ʿashara, his Dhakhā'ir al-ʿuqba fī manāqib dhawī 'l-qurba and his Ṣafwat al-qirā fī ṣifāt ḥijjat al-muṣṭafā; Diyārbakrī's Al-khamīs; Sīrat Mughlaṭāy, being the Sīra 'n-nabawīya by Mughlaṭāy b.Qulaij (d. 1361/763); Sīrat Ibn Hishām; Fīrūzabādī's Qāmūs; Wāqidī; Suyūṭī; Damīrī; Dhahabī; and Qurṭubī's Istīʿāb. The author mentions less frequently Ibn Khallikān; Abū al-Fidā's Mukhtaṣar; a certain Yaʿqūb az-Zuhrī;[1] Al-muntaqā;[2] Al-iktifā';[3] At-tadhnīb;[4] Sharḥ al-ʿaqā'id al-ʿAḍudīya by Muḥammad ad-Dawwānī (a commentary on ʿAḍud ad-Dīn al-Ījī's dogmas which was quite popular in Mosul in the eighteenth century); Ibn Kathīr; ʿAli ad-Dāraquṭnī;[5] Ibn al-Athīr's Usd al-ghāba; Al-mawāhib al-ladunīya by Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qasṭallānī (d. 1517/923); al-Uzrī;[6] Kitāb al-Umawī;[7] Baghawī's Maʿālim at-tanzīl; Kamāl ad-Dīn ash-Shirwānī (d. 1499/905); al-Khudandī;[8] Ibn Taghribirdī's Maurid al-laṭāfa fī man wuliya 's-salṭana wa 'l-khilāfa; Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ; a work referred to as Tārīkh Ibn ʿĀṣim;[9] al-Ḥāfiẓ b. al-Jauzī; the Ṭabaqāt of Abū Bakr ash-Shīrāzī;[10] Shawāhid an-nubūwa;[11] Al-baḥr al-ʿamīq;[12] as well as a work referred to as Tartīb

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[1] Since this Yaʿqūb is quoted by SIR very close to Wāqidī, one must assume that this is a reference to Muḥammad az-Zuhrī (d. 845 AD) who was a friend of Wāqidī.

[2] This could be a reference to one of various works (one of which is by Ibn Taimīya).

[3] This is either Al-iktifā' fī akhbār al-khulafā' by Ibn al-Kardabūs at-Taurazī (12th/6th century), or else Al-iktifā' fī faḍl al-arbaʿa 'l-khulafā' by Ibrāhīm al-Waṣṣābī (d. 1555/962).

[4] By either Suyūṭī or ʿAbd al-Karīm ar-Rāfiʿī (d. 1226/623).

[5] He wrote various works of ḥadīth (d. 995/385).

[6] Probably Qāzim al-Uzrī (d. 1796), a Bagdadi poet who wrote eulogies of the Prophet and of Ahl al-Bait.

[7] Probably Ḥassān al-Umawī (d. 970 AD).

[8] Probably Ibrāhīm al-Khudandī, a Medinite poet and adīb who died in 1447.

[9] Various Andalusian udabā' and one from Zubaida have this name.

[10] Probably his Alqāb ar-rijāl. He died in 1017/407.

[11] Attributed to Nūr ad-Dīn al-Jāmī (d. 1492/898).

[12] A work on fiqh by Abū al-Baqā' aṣ-Ṣaghānī (d. 1450/854).

ar-Rāfi'ī and Kitāb Saifallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Aqrabā', which is an account of Khālid's defeat of Musailima in the ridda.

Conclusion to Part Two: On the caliphs (ff. 378v-439v)

This conclusion is divided into 5 endings (tatimmāt): (a) on the Umayyads and Mu'āwiya (ff. 378v-402r); (b) on the Umayyads in the Maghrib (ff. 402r-404r); (c) on the Abbasids in Bagdad (ff. 404r-439v incomplete); (d) on the Abbasids in Egypt (missing); (e) on kings from various countries and races, and of varying degrees of wisdom (missing).

The main sources for the Umayyads are Dhahabī's Duwal al-Islām, Damīrī's Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān, Yāfi'ī's Mir'āt al-jinān, Abū al-Fidā's Mukhtaṣar and Mas'ūdī's Murūj. The author of SIR also mentions scores of other works in history, literature, poetry, fiqh and theology. More often than not references are vague and obscure: ". . . and Ya'qūb b. Sufyān mentions in his book that . . ."[1] SIR quotes Sīrat Mughlaṭāy; Wāqidī; Ṭabarī's Dhakhā'ir, his Riyāḍ an-naḍira and his Ṣafwat al-qirā; Ibn al-Athīr's Usd al-ghāba; Qurṭubī's Istī'āb and his Bahjat al-majālis; Shifā' al-gharām by Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 1429/832); Zubdat al-a'māl wa khulāsat al-af'āl by Isfarā'inī who was quite popular in Mosul; Ibn Taghribirdī's Maurid al-laṭāfa; Abū as-Sindī;[2] Khalīfa al-Khayyāṭ;[3] al-Madā'inī;[4] Ash-shifā' aṣ-ṣadūr by Abū Bakr an-Naqqāsh; the Ṣiḥāḥ, which is a reference to Jauharī's lexicon;[5] a Kitāb al-qurā;[6] an enigmatic Al-wafā al-muḥāṣir; Shawāhid an-nubūwa by Nūr ad-Dīn al-Jāmī; and finally the Mustadrak.[7]

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[1] Probably a reference to the Tārīkh al-kabīr by al-Fasawī (d. 890/277).

[2] Probably Abū Ma'shar as-Sindī (d. 787/171).

[3] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-'Uṣfūrī (d. 854/240) wrote a Ta'rīkh in 10 volumes.

[4] Probably 'Alī al-Madā'inī, the historian who died in 1233/631.

[5] Tāj al-lugha wa ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabīya. SIR uses it for example to explain the etymology of jaraf in the expression ṭā'ūn jarrāf (a devastating plague): see Jauharī, Tāj al-lugha (Būlāq, 1865/1282), vol. II, p. 12.

[6] Most probably Kitāb al-muntaqā fī akhbār umm al-qurā, a history of Mecca by Muḥammad al-Fākihī (d. 1538/945).

[7] Maybe a reference to the ḥadīth work by al-Ḥākim an-Naisābūrī (d. 1014/405).

With the section on the Umayyads the narrative becomes clearly annalistic, and it is obvious that Yāfiʿī, Dhahabī and other annalists such as Abū al-Fidā and Ibn al-Wardī are supplying the bulk of the material. The section on the Umayyads of Spain, which is relatively short taking into consideration the scope of SIR, is taken verbatim from Ibn al-Wardī's Tatimma.[1]

The section on the Abbasids, with which our MS of SIR ends, relies primarily on Ibn ash-Shiḥna's Rauḍat al-manāẓir;[2] Dhahabī's Duwal, Suyūṭī's Tārīkh al-khulafā';[3] Masʿūdī's Murūj; Sīrat Mughlaṭāy; the Kitāb al-aurāq by Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 946/335); Ibn Khallikān, ʿAskarī's Kitāb al-awā'il;[4] and Ibrāhīm Niftawaih (d. 935/324). Occasionally, the author quotes Yāfiʿī; Damīrī; al-Kātib al-Baghdādī; the Rabīʿ al-abrār by Zamakhsharī; the Tadhnīb fī 'l-furūʿ by ʿAbd al-Karīm ar-Rāfiʿī (d. 1226/623); Thaʿālibī; Ibn ʿAsākir; Ibn al-Wardī; al-Ḥāfiẓ b. al-Jauzī; a certain Maḥmud al-Iṣfahānī; Abū Bakr b. Abī Dunyā, the muḥaddith who died in 894 AD; Ibn Abī Rāshid, the Malikite faqīh who died in 1276 AD; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd;[5] Muʿāfī b. Zakarīya al-Jazarī (d. 1000/391), the qadi and author of Al-jalīs al-anīs; Abū Bakr al-Bāqillūnī;[6] Nawawī's Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lugha; Abū Saʿīd al-Makhzūmī, the poet who died in 1225/622; and Qazwīnī, the rhetorician and commentator of Sakkākī's Miftāḥ. As for the other authors and works quoted and which I have been unable to identify, they are Al-mabsūṭ, without further precision, which could be one of scores of works by the same title; a certain Quraish

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1 And the section starts with: wa qāla ibn al-wardī fī tārīkhih.

2 Cf. for example SIR, f. 404v and Rauḍat al-manāẓir, I, 252.

3 On Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr cf. SIR, f. 410r and Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-khulafā', p. 178.

4 By Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 1005/396).

5 A reference to ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī as-Sijistānī (d. 929/317).

6 In fact al-Bāqillānī and not al-Bāqillūnī, the author of Iʿjāz al-Qur'ān, he died in 1013/404. SIR quotes him in connection with the grandfather of the Fatimid ʿAbdallāh known as the Mahdī, "who was a Majian and pretended to be an Alid when he went to the Maghrib," SIR, f. 435v.

al-Khatalī; and the Ṭuyūrīyāt of as-Silafī quoted in connection with the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn.[1] As with the Umayyads the narrative is clearly annalistic, resembling Qaramānī's Akhbār ad-duwal. The biographies become shorter as we approach the end of the work which stops, unfinished, with al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh on f. 439v. The rest of Part Two, and all of Part Three are missing. It would therefore be of some interest to present the reader with the plan of the rest of the work as envisaged by the author.

Conclusion to Part Two: On the caliphs (ff. 378v-439v)

(a) On the Umayyads and Mu'āwiya (ff. 378v-402r)
(b) On the Umayyads in the Maghrib (ff. 402r-404r)
(c) On the Abbasids in Bagdad (ff. 404r-439v incomplete)
(d) On kings from various countries and races, and of varying degrees of wisdom (missing)
    (i) on the Muslim kings of Persia, excluding the Sassanids[2]
    (ii) on the Muslim kings of Rūm, excluding the Ottomans
    (iii) on the Ayyūbid kings of Egypt
    (iv) on the Turkish kings: the Mamluks of the Ayyūbids
    (v) on the Circassian kings
    (vi) on the Ottoman kings

PART THREE: On prose and on poetry

Chapter I: On erotic and amatory verses
Chapter II: On pastoral poems and lyrics
Chapter III: On wine songs, musical instruments and friendly gatherings
Chapter IV: On nights filled with songs and entertainment
Chapter V: On poems, on companionship and on riddles
Chapter VI: On eulogy, satire and elegy

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[1] Arabic: wa qāla 's-silafī fī 'ṭ-ṭuyūrīyāt. This could be a reference to Aḥmad as-Silafī, but occurring in connection with madḥ of the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn it is doubtful, since Aḥmad lived in Fatimid Egypt.

[2] Arabic: fī mulūk al-'ajam al-islāmīyīn ghair banī sāsān. This must be a mistake and should probably read "excluding the Safavids", or else the islāmīyīn should go.

Chapter VII: On various poetical arts, on proverbs and on morals, and with this do we conclude our book

APPENDIX IX

Jesus of Nazareth as seen in AYA by Yāsīn ʿUmarī

(ff. 21v-22r)

"Jesus (ʿĪsā) was a prophet and a messenger, sent by Allāh. He performed miracles and walked on water without wetting his feet. The story of his birth is well known, in books as in tales. When news of his presence in this world became known, the Jews feared his call to Allāh and decided to kill him. It was then that the Almighty sent Gabriel who elevated Jesus to heaven. Thus did he escape his enemies. It was also said that Jesus was in a cave on Mount Sinai when the leader of the Jews came into the cave. Allāh then changed the appearance of this man so that he looked exactly like Jesus. Then Allāh caused Jesus to die for three hours and he elevated him to heaven--hence the words 'I shall cause thee to die and bring thee unto Myself.' When the Jews, waiting for their leader outside the cave, became impatient, they entered and found their leader, alone, looking exactly like Jesus, may Allāh bless him. They mistook him for Jesus, seized him, and crucified him despite his vehement pleas--hence the words: 'They did not kill him, nor did they crucify him, though it appeared to them that they had.' Jesus remained in heaven for seven days. Then he came back on earth and was reunited with his disciples whom he sent to the four corners of the world to call the people to adore the one and true Allāh. Then he was reunited with his mother Mary whom he entrusted to the care of Simon the Pure. Then Allāh elevated him to heaven, clothed him splendidly and covered him with light."

APPENDIX X

Internal Structure of UNW(1) by Yāsīn ʿUmarī

Letter alif (ff. 1v-56r)

The first section (ff. 1v-5v) contains the names of twenty-five prophets; 30 Companions are listed in the second section (ff. 5v-13v); 228 names are given in the third and incomplete section on learned men, udabā' and ʿulamā' (ff. 13v-44v); and 120 rulers, caliphs, kings, sultans and walis are mentioned in the last section (ff. 44v-56r).

Letter bā' (ff. 56r-63r)

The section on the prophets (f. 56r) contains the biographies of 5 obscure characters whose only claim to fame is the blood-bonds they had with this or that prophet. The section on the Companions (ff. 56r-57v) deals with 13 names taken from the Tabyīn. The section on learned men (ff. 57v-59r) gives only 8 biographies and stops at Baraka b. Abī Yaʿlī Abū al-Barakāt. The section is incomplete and the lower part of f. 59r is blank. The last class, on the kings (ff. 60r-63r), is faulty at the start and incomplete at the end. It begins with Bādis b. Manṣūr and concludes on Ottoman vizirs and emirs.

Letter tā' (ff. 64r-66r)

This chapter has suffered very much and only parts of the last section have reached us. It contains 9 biographies in all, its end is missing and the last person mentioned is Timūrṭāsh Pasha, an Ottoman vizir. The section contains the biography of Timūr who, as in AYA and in ATH, is called a khārijī.

Letter thā' (ff. 67r-68r)

This chapter starts with the class of the Companions, for it seems that the author was unable to summon a prophet whose name starts with the letter thā'. The section gives only three names (Thuwaiba al-Aslīmīya, Thābit b. al-Arqam and Thābit b. Thaʿlaba). The remaining sections are missing.

Letter jīm (ff. 69r-73v)

The beginning of the section on the Companions (ff. 69r-70r) is missing, and there is no way of telling whether or not this chapter contains a section on the prophets. It most probably did, and the obvious name which comes to mind is that of Jirjīs who is mentioned in both AYA and in Qaramānī, and who had a mosque in Mosul. The section on learned men (f. 70rv) contains the biographies of Jarīr and Juʿaifarān al-Majnūn. There is a blank folio at the end, and the section is incomplete. The last section, on the rulers (ff. 71v-73v), is defective at the beginning, and the first--and incomplete--biography is that of the Abbasid al-Mutawakkil, with news of the miḥna, given exactly as in AYA.

Letter ḥā' (ff. 73v-90r)

The chapter starts with the Companions (ff. 73v-77v) and contains 13 biographies, including Ḥasan and Ḥusain. Oddly enough there is no section on the prophets, and this despite the "availability" of Ḥizqayyal who is mentioned in AYA. The third class (ff. 77v-84v) contains the biographies of 54 learned men and makes great use of poetry. Towards the end of the section the MS becomes defective (half of f. 83v, f. 84r and half of f. 84v are blank). The author gives us the biographies of Ottoman figures as taken from Muḥibbī, but in an abridged version,[1] anc concludes with 4 contemporary Mosulis. The section on rulers (ff. 85r-90r) starts with Ḥajjāj, presented as in ATH, and ends with Ottoman officials. Folio 89r is blank, and so is most of f. 89v. The section contains 30 names.

Letter khā' (ff. 90r-95v)

The section on prophets (f. 90r) gives us Khiḍr, as in AYA, and Khālid b. Sinān al-'Absī, when the author quotes Ṭabarī: but the latter biography takes up a mere 3 lines. Six names are mentioned among the Companions (ff. 90r-92r). The section on learned men (ff. 92r-93r) is incomplete and gives 10 biographies. Folio 93 v is blank and so is most of f. 94r. The last section, on kings (ff. 94r-95v) is incomplete at the beginning and at the end. Twelve names are mentioned here, including Timūr's lesbian sister. Muḥibbī provides the Ottoman biographies.[2]

Letter dāl (ff. 96v-99v)

The beginning of the first section on the prophets (f. 96v) is missing, and only the end of the biography of Dānyāl has reached us. The section on the Companions (ff. 96v-97r) deals with 4 persons and is complete. The third section (f. 97rv) which is also complete gives us 7 learned men, and Muḥibbī is used in the Ottoman period.[3] The last section (ff. 98r-99v) gives us the names of 10 kings.

Letter dhāl (ff. 99v-100v)

The prophets (f. 99v) are Dhū al-Kahf b. Ayyūb, Dhānīn and Dhurqān. There are no Companions, only 4 learned men (f. 100rv) and no section on kings. The chapter is incomplete.

Letter rain (ff. 100v-103r)

The section on the prophets (f. 100v) contains the names of 7 obscure persons such as Rūmā bint al-'Aiṣ b. Isḥāq and Raḥma bint Mīshā. The second section (ff. 100v-101v)

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1 Cf. for example the biography of Ibn ash-Sha''āl and his famous poem known as Qarmaḥshadīya, in UNW(1) ff. 81v-82r and Muḥibbī, II, 98-99.

2 Cf. for example UNW(1), f.95rv and Muḥibbī, II, 129-130.

3 Cf. for example the biography of Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, the doctor whose works were popular in Mosul, in UNW(1), f. 97v and Muḥibbī, II, 140-149.

has 7 Companions. The third (ff. 101v-102r) has 4 'ulamā' and poets. The fourth (ff. 102r-103r) has many gaps and only 4 biographies are legible: they can be found in AYA.

Letter zain (ff. 103r-107r)

Two prophets are mentioned in the first section (f. 103r); 14 Companions in the second (ff. 103r-105v); only Zaid b. al-Ḥasan b. Zaid al-Kindī (d. 1216/613)[1] is mentioned in the third section which has a blank folio; and the last section (ff. 106r-107r) is missing at the beginning: it starts with 'Imād ad-Dīn Zankī, and the narrative appears to be taken from Abū al-Fidā's Mukhtaṣar.[2]

Letter sīn (ff. 107r-116v)

Sām b. Nūḥ, Sūj b. Ibrāhīm and Sulaimān are mentioned in the section on the prophets (f. 107r); the second section (ff. 107r-109v) presents 20 Companions; the third (ff. 109v-111v), incomplete at the end, gives 13 biographies of learned men;[3] the beginning and end of the last section (ff. 112v-116v) are missing, with 2 blank folios following f. 116v: 31 biographies are given, including those of 3 Ottoman sultans.

Letter shīn (ff. 117r-121v)

Seven prophets in the first section (f. 117r); 8 Companions in the second (ff. 117r-118r); 11 learned men in the third (ff. 118r-119v);[4] and 12 kings in the last (ff. 119v-121v).

Letter ṣād (ff. 121v-125v)

There are 4 prophets in the first section (ff. 121v-122r); 8 Companions in the second (ff. 122r-123v); and 6 learned men in the incomplete third (ff. 123v-124r). The beginning of the last section on kings (f. 125rv) is missing and f. 125r has a mere two lines at the bottom narrating the entry of the Safavid Shāh Ṣafī into Bagdad.

Letter ḍād (ff. 125v-126v)

No section on the prophets. The second section (ff. 125v-126v) has 4 Companions.

Letter ṭah (ff. 126v-129v)

The chapter comprises 3 learned men and 12 rulers including the Safavid Ṭahmasb b. Ismā'īl and Nādir Shāh.

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1 As in Yāfi'ī, Mir'āt, IV, 26-27.

2 Cf. for example the poem following a great victory over the Crusaders, in UNW(1), f. 106r and Abū al-Fidā, III, 13-14.

3 The biography of Sufyān ath-Thaurī is a résumé of Yāfi'ī, Mir'āt, I, 345-347.

4 The biography of Sharīḥ al-Kindī, the qadi of Baṣra who lived over 100 years and died in 695/76, is the same as in Yāfi'ī, Mir'āt, I, 158-160; and at the other end of the period covered the biography of the qāḍī 'askar Sha'bān the Bosnian (d. 1677/1077) is taken from Muḥibbī, II, 226-230.

Letter ẓah (f. 129v)

Only one section and one name in it: the Companion Ẓubyān b. Kadād.

Letter ʿain (ff. 129v-177r)

ʿAzīz and ʿĪsā are the prophets (ff. 129v-130r), and the story of the crucifixion of Christ is the same as in AYA and different from NIS. Sixty one Companions and followers are mentioned in the second section (ff. 130r-140v) which starts off with ʿUmar. UNW tells us that Abū Luʾluʾa was a Christian, whereas ATH, by the same Yāsīn ʿUmarī, tells us that he was a Majian. The third section on learned men and poets (ff. 140v-162r) contains 160 biographies, it is incomplete, and stops at the beginning of the biography of ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim ʿUmarī. The last section (ff. 163r-177r) contains 64 biographies, it is greatly defective, and among those rulers mentioned are ʿAbd al-Bāqī Pasha Jalīlī and ʿAbdallāh, the katkhudā of ʿUmar Pasha of Bagdad.

Letter ghain (ff. 177r-178r)

One prophet (Ghābir), 2 Companions and 8 rulers. There is no section on learned men.

Letter fāʾ (ff. 178r-181r).

One prophet, 4 Companions, 5 learned men and 9 rulers.

Letter qāf (ff. 181r-188r)

One prophet (Qīnān), 7 Companions, 2 learned men in an incomplete section ending with Qāsim ʿUmarī, and 19 kings and rulers.

Letter kāf (ff. 188v-190v)

One prophet (Kālib), 4 Companions, 2 learned men and 6 kings.

Letter lām (ff. 190v-191v)

Four prophets and 1 Companion. No other sections in this chapter.

Letter mīm (ff. 191v-240v)

The first section (ff. 191v-192r) contains the biographies of 10 prophets; the second (ff. 192r-195v) 16 Companions; the third (ff. 195v-219v) 161 learned men and poets, incomplete with three blank folios; and the fourth (ff. 220r-240v) 137 biographies, incomplete with one blank folio.

Letter nūn (ff. 241r-245r)

Two prophets, 6 Companions, 7 learned men and 13 rulers.

Letter wāw (ff. 245r-247r)

Only three Companions and 3 learned men are mentioned in this chapter.

Letter hā' (ff. 247r-250r)

Two prophets, 4 Companions, 5 learned men and 4 kings.

Letter yā' (ff. 250r-257r)

The first section (f. 250rv) deals with 11 prophets; the second (ff. 250v-251r) with 2 Companions; the third (ff. 251r-254r) has the biographies of 25 learned men; and the fourth (ff. 254r-257r) contains 18 names, it is incomplete and stops at Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf, the vizir of the Fatimid al-'Azīz.

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