

"Azmadeler" Azmzâde Âilesi"

TTM

Suriye Azmî idâresi

P.K. Hitti, "History...", s. 731

- Azmadeler

KARACA,

Alli "Azm - Zâde Mehmet Paşa", Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, (Danışman-
: Prof. Dr. Mücteba İğürel), Marmara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1986,
84 S.

Medrese vakfına ait arazi işletmelerinin tamamı Konya kazasına bağlı olan Hatunsaray ve Said ili nahiyelerinde yer almaktadır. Bu araziler yıllık belirli bir miktar karşılığında icareteyn usulü ile işletilmiştir. Vakfın zirai gelirlerinin 15. yüzyıldan başlayarak 19. yüzyıla kadar sürekli olarak değişkenlik gösterdiği görülmektedir. 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına ait Muhasebe Defterleri'ne göre, bu dönemden sonra vakfın arazilerinden elde edilen yıllık gelir, enflasyon nedeniyle artış göstermiştir. 18. yüzyılda ise medrese vakfının gelirlerinin azalmaya başladığı tespit edilmiştir. Nominal değerler üzerinden yapılan bu incelemelerde vakfın tarımsal gelirlerinin azalma nedeni hakkında fikir veren arşiv belgeleri bulunmaktadır. Belgelere göre bu dönemde vakıf arazilerinin tasarrufu konusunda vakfiye şartlarına aykırı olarak birtakım uygulamalar gelişmiş ve bazı gelirlerin tahsilatı yapılamayarak vakıf gelirleri azalma göstermiştir. Ayrıca, yine vakıf şartlarına aykırı olarak yeniden görev ihdası bu dönemde vakfın masraflarını artırarak vakıf bütçesinin açık vermesine ve işleyişinin aksamasına neden olmuştur. Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerinde devletin içinde bulunduğu durumla paralel olarak eğitim sisteminin bozulması ve medreselere alternatif olarak modern eğitim kurumlarının hayata geçirilmesi bir eğitim kurumu olan Karatay Medresesi'nin de işlevini tamamen kaybetmesine neden olmuştur.



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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

SEARCHING FOR THE ORIGINS OF AN OTTOMAN NOTABLE FAMILY: THE CASE OF THE 'AZMS

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Problems with the Concept of 'Ayan' or Ottoman Local Notables

Since Albert Hourani published his monumental study¹ numerous attempts have been made to elucidate the role of *ayan* (local notables) in Ottoman history. As Ehud Toledano has pointed out, Hourani's conceptual framework has had a formidable impact on a wide range of elite histories of the Middle East and, in particular, on the interpretations of Ottoman-Arab history.² Although Hourani's main focus was the political behaviour of the urban notables between 1760 and 1860, his conceptual framework was subsequently welcomed by those writing Arab nationalist narratives of later periods and by Western scholars writing generally since the late 1960s. His approach has also been extended to the history of all the Ottoman lands of the eighteenth century, a period which is now sometimes called "the age of *ayan*".³ Dina Rizk Khoury, however, has pointed out that scholars are not yet agreed on how to characterise such "localisation". Although most scholars had viewed the period as one of decentralization with a loss of state hegemony to *ayan*, more recently, some 'revisionists' have started to reevaluate this period, considering it as one in which a form of Ottoman political culture centered on elite household organisation was reproduced at the provincial level.⁴ The main purpose of our paper here is not directly connected with such important work, rather we are attempting to understand why the study of the *ayan* has become so complicated. To do so we will concentrate on one particular family, the 'Azm family of "Syria".

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- 1 Albert Hourani, 'Ottoman Reform and Politics of Notables', in William Polk and Richard Chambers (eds.), *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*. Chicago, 1968, 41-65.
- 2 Ehud Toledano, 'The Emergence of Ottoman-Local Elites (1700-1900): A Framework for Research', in Ilan Pappé - Moshe Ma'oz (eds.), *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within*. London, 1997, 145. (Library of Modern Middle East Studies, 6).
- 3 The definition and duration of the 'age', however, differs among historians. McGowan, for example, defines the age between 1699 and 1812. Bruce McGowan, 'The Age of the ayans, 1699-1812', in Halil İnalcık - Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*. London, 1994, 639-758.
- 4 Dina Rizk Khoury, 'The Ottoman Centre versus Provincial Power-holders: An Analysis of the Historiography', in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*. vol. 3, Cambridge, 2006, 136-137.

Kaynaklar hakkında değerlendirme

Ailenin menşei

Osmanlı Devleti tarihinde özellikle 18 ve 19. yy.da, önemli hizmetlerde bulunmuş olan Azm-zâde ailesi'nin menşei hakkında iki görüş ileri sürülmektedir. Bunlardan biri bu ailenin arap asıllı, diğeri ise türk asıllı olduklarına dairdir.

Azm-zâdelerin arap oldukları tezini savunan araştırmacılardan Abdulkerim Refik ve tarihçi Abdurrahman el-Fasî'nin iddialarında bir zorlama olduğu sezilmektedir¹. İddalarını, ailenin "Azm" lakabını kullanmaları ve genellikle Suriye bölgesinde görev yapmalarına dayandıran yazarlardan, Refik'in kaynağı olan İskender el-Melûf ise, yine Refik'in belirttiğine göre, Mehriğ ve Rao adlı dergilerde çıkan yazılarında Azmların Türk menşeli olduklarını belirtmektedir. El-Fasî ise, onların Havran'daki arap kabilelerinden olmakla birlikte, ataları Kasım ve İsmail Paşalar'ın babası İbrahim Bey'in, Konya'da ortaya çıktığını kaydetmektedir². Bu yazarların, söz konusu ailenin menşei hakkında kesin bir belgeleri olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bir kişi veya ailenin bir yerde meşhur olması, onların oralı olmalarını açıklamaya kâfi gelmez. Kaldığı bu şekilde ifadelerin yer aldığı çok miktarda belgeye Osmanlı Arşivleri'nde de rastlanmaktadır. Azm-zâdeler'den de bu şekilde bahseden belgeler mevcuttur³. "Arap kabilesi" tezine gelince, arap araştırmacılar bu iddialarını da belgeleyememekte ve fakat tahmin yürütmektedirler. Arşivde, padişah hası olan Rakka livası'nda ikâmet ettirilmiş 101 hanelik "Azîm (عظیم)" kabilesini tespit mümkün olmakla birlikte, bu kabile ve yaşadığı bölgeyle, Azmzâdelerin bağımlı

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¹ Refik Abdulkerim, *The Province of Damascus 1723-1783*, Beyrut 1966, s. 85-87.

² Aynı eser, s. 86.

³ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA.), Hatt-ı Hümayun (HH.), nr. 1192. "...hâla Karahisar-ı sahib mutasarrıfı Azm-zâde Yusuf Paşa Arabistan vüzerâsından olup, Nasuh Paşa dahi Arabistan vüzerâsından..."

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MADDE YATIMLANDIKTAN
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Les investissements de Sulaymān Pacha al-‘Azm ✓ à Damas

LE RÔLE des élites politiques dans le remodelage urbain est un fait bien connu dans l'évolution des villes arabes à l'époque ottomane; les *waqf* qu'ils y fondent permettent notamment d'y réaliser des opérations foncières de grande envergure¹. Les investissements de Sulaymān Pacha al-‘Azm, gouverneur de Damas à deux reprises – de janvier 1734 à juillet 1738 (*ša‘bān* 1146 - *rabi‘ II* 1151) et, après avoir été gouverneur du Caire, de juillet 1741 à août 1743 (*rabi‘ II* 1154 - *raġab* 1156)² – apportent une nouvelle illustration de ce phénomène.

Lorsque, le 7 *raġab* 1156 / 27 août 1743, la nouvelle du décès de Sulaymān Pacha est annoncée à Damas, Fathī Efendi al-Falāqinsī, le responsable des finances, fait mettre ses biens sous scellés et en informe les autorités ottomanes à Istanbul. Au cours de plusieurs mois de perquisition, des richesses considérables sont découvertes dans la demeure du gouverneur où elles avaient été dissimulées par crainte des confiscations opérées dans de telles circonstances par le pouvoir central³. Si ces richesses sont ainsi exclues de la succession du défunt, les biens immobiliers, pour la plupart immobilisés sous forme de *waqf*, demeurent quant à eux dans le patrimoine familial⁴.

Comme beaucoup d'autres gouverneurs de Damas – et notamment comme son frère Ismā‘il Pacha qui avait fait construire une *madrasa* et deux *ḥammām*, l'un dans le Sūq al-Ḥayyāṭīn et l'autre dans le quartier de Ḥarāb⁵, Sulaymān Pacha dote la ville de plusieurs édifices publics: un *ḥān* dans le Sūq al-‘Ubī wa al-Ṣūf⁶, une *madrasa* dans le quartier de Nūr al-Dīn⁷, et deux *ḥammām*, l'un dans le quartier de Bāb al-Ġābiya, mitoyen du Ḥān

¹ Sur cette question, cf. Raymond A., «Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain».

² Sur Sulaymān Pacha al-‘Azm, cf. Rafeq A.-K., *Province*, p. 112-160; Shamir S., *The ‘Azm Wālis of Syria*, p. 62-98.

³ Budayrī A., *Ḥawādīt*, p. 45, 53-57.

⁴ On trouve trace de ces *waqf* dans les registres des tribunaux que j'ai pu consulter grâce à l'aimable autorisation de M^{me} Da‘d al-Ḥakīm, directrice du Centre des archives de Damas. Les références des actes juridiques consignés dans ces registres

sont ici identifiées par trois nombres (registre/page/document).

⁵ Rafeq A.-K., *Province*, p. 96.

⁶ Ibn Kannān M., *Yawmiyyāt*, p. 465. Le *ḥān*, désigné par le terme *qaysāriyya* par Ibn Kannān, est situé non pas dans le Sūq al-‘Abid comme cela est indiqué dans l'édition des *Yawmiyyāt*, mais dans le Sūq al-‘Ubī comme cela est précisé dans les actes juridiques.

⁷ Ibn Kannān M., *Yawmiyyāt*, p. 500, n. 3.

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CHAPTER 4

The Third Phase of 'Az̄m Rule in Damascus

THE SECOND GOVERNORSHIP OF SULAYMĀN PAŞHA AL-'AZM.

Ibrāhīm Agha, the *mutasallim* of Sulaymān Paşa al-'Az̄m, entered Damascus around the end of Rabī' II 1154/around the middle of July 1741.¹ On 12 Jumādā II/25 August, Sulaymān Paşa made his entry into Damascus.² This was his second governorship of Damascus, and there was nothing very extraordinary about such a recurrent appointment if judged by other examples — the nearest was that of Abū Ṭawq. But with the 'Az̄ms there was something particular about it. As they were a local family which distinguished itself by acquiring mainly local governorships, their aim was always to stick to these governorships and to prefer that of Damascus to any other. Whenever the Sultan tried to appoint or to transfer them to governorships outside Syria, they accepted their new appointments only with reluctance. A second appointment of Sulaymān Paşa to Damascus was, therefore, quite an achievement for himself and for the 'Az̄m family.

The Policy of Sulaymān Paşa in Damascus.

The past policy of Sulaymān Paşa - of appeasing the Damascenes and tightening his grip on the rural people - was maintained. But the politi-

1. *Dh̄ikr man tawallā al-wizāra*, ff. 114b, 115; *Risāla*, f. 14b. These sources describe Ibrāhīm Agha as the *k̄hazinedār* of Sulaymān Paşa. Budayrī, f. 2a, states that he was his *silāhdār*, a position which he seems to have acquired after his previous one, or in addition to it. If he was the same Ibrāhīm who was killed later by the Beduin while acting as *mutasallim* for Sulaymān Paşa, see Budayrī, ff. 7a, 7b, then he was his *mamlūk* as well.
2. Budayrī, f. 2a; Ibn Jum'a, ed. Munajjid, 69.

cal situation in Damascus had by now undergone a deep change, which necessitated an equivalent change of policy to keep in step with what was happening. The difference was, that the previous balance between the *Kapı Kulus* and the *Yerliyya* had been destroyed by the dismissal of the former. The triumph of the *Yerliyya* encouraged its insubordinate members, the *zorab*, to assert themselves and to defy the governor publicly.

Three days after his entry in Damascus, Sulaymān Paşa put to death three insubordinate Beduin.¹ This act might have helped to impress the Damascenes and emphasize his authority. But it failed to make a deep impression. They were not Damascenes, but Beduin; and this was not followed by further, similar firmness within Damascus. In the words of his contemporary chronicler, Sulaymān Paşa 'left everything as it was'². This encouraged the insubordinate elements to make headway. Taking advantage of the delay in the arrival of the firman confirming Sulaymān Paşa in his governorship, they continued lawless until it arrived on 4 Jumādā II 1155/6 August 1742.³ This was a challenge to his authority because nothing was changed in his *de facto* status, and it was quite natural, after his confirmation, to take some action against them. But the way he reacted was remarkable. On 22 Jumādā II 1155/24 August 1742 he convoked the religious officials and other dignitaries in a *dīwān* and produced a *Khatti Sherif* for the punishment of the *zorab*. Sixteen of them from the Maydān quarter were struck off the rolls and the Damascenes were exhorted to kill them.⁴ To make the dignitaries and the religious officials share with him the responsibility for such an important decision was politically expedient, and consistent, at the same time, with his previous policy of attaching himself to these influential persons. The crucial point, however, is that he did not follow this apparently daring but rather showy decision by personal initiative to implement it. On the contrary, the decision against the *zorab* was reversed, also in a *dīwān* which he convoked before his departure on the pilgrimage in *Şhawwāl* of the same year, in spite of the *Khatti Sherif* to have them killed.⁵ Whether he was unable to punish them, which is very

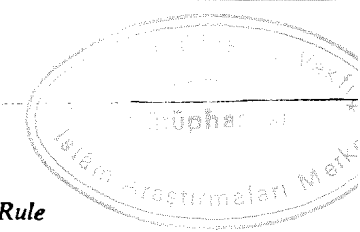
1. Budayrī, 2a.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, f. 4a.
4. *Ibid.*, f. 4a.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 6b.



strong links with the Sultan, was a potential political rival to Ismā'il Pasha al-'Az̄m. It was well known that Abū Ṭawq preferred the governorship of Damascus to any other,¹ but the Sultan could no longer disregard the growing opposition of the Damascenes to Abū Ṭawq. More serious things were occupying the attention of the Sultan. Persia was torn by internal disorder and the Russians were taking advantage of it.² The rebel Aṣhrāf advocated *Sunnism* in Persia and this posed a challenge to the religious authority of the Sultan.³ In Baghdad, too, the authority of the Sultan was challenged. After the death of Ḥasan Pasha, governor of Baghdad, in 1724, the Sultan reluctantly appointed his son Aḥmad as his successor.⁴ Things had to be settled peacefully in Damascus to avoid the eruption of another crisis which might threaten the safety of the Pilgrimage and obstruct the passage of the relief troops which were sent from Cairo to the Persian front through Damascus.⁵

Although Abū Ṭawq became governor of Sidon after his deposition from Damascus, he still exercised wide influence in several dependencies of Damascus.⁶ One of his sons was governor of Jerusalem at the time.⁷ Abū Ṭawq also tried to restore his credit in Istanbul.⁸ Had he lived longer he would have proved a serious impediment to the expansion of 'Az̄m rule. His death on 17 Rabi' II 1139/12 Dec. 1726⁹ coincided with the upsurge

1. A. Rabbath, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905-11 and Beirut, 1921, vol. I, 370 : short reference, Rabbath.
2. PRO, S.P. 97/25: Istanbul, 4/15.1.24.
3. *Ibid.*, Istanbul, 8/19.2.24.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Ibn Kannān, II, f. 36b.
6. A.E. B1 978: Acre, 25.4.25, Acre, 30.4.25, Acre, 12.10.25.
7. *Ibid.*, Acre, 10.2.25, Acre, 15.2.25, Acre, 23.2.25, Acre, 27.3.25, Acre, 14.4.25.
8. A.E. B1 978: Acre, 23.4.25; A.E. B1 1021: Sidon, (?)3.25.
9. A.E. B1 1021: Sidon, 24.4.27; Ibn Kannān, II, f. 74b; al-Qārī, ed. Munajjid, 77 reports his death in 1138/1725-6. The statement by Murādī, *Silk*, IV, 15, that Abū Ṭawq was appointed governor of Baṣra around 1150/1737-8, appears to be erroneous. In fact Abū Ṭawq was appointed governor of Baṣra but that was around 1126/1715 before his first appointment to Damascus, see *Shidyāq*, 70, 417; *Shihāb*, *Lubnān*, I, 16; Anon., *Nuzhat al-zamān fi ḥawādith Jabal Lubnān*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. F. A. Arabe, 1694, f. 35b: short reference, *Nuzha*, Paris, MS.; cf. 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq bayn iḥtilālayn*, 8 vols., Baghdad, 1353-76/1935-56, vol. V, 187-8: short reference, 'Azzāwī.



The First Phase of 'Az̄m Rule

in the power of the 'Az̄ms, who filled the power vacuum he left. The sons of Abū Ṭawq inherited his ambitions. As soon as the 'Az̄m governors were all deposed in 1730, a son of Abū Ṭawq was appointed governor of Sidon.¹ This appointment shows the interest which the family of Abū Ṭawq still had in the region and further illustrates the importance to the 'Az̄ms of the revolt of the Damascenes against Abū Ṭawq.

The revolt had further bearing on the relations between Ismā'il Pasha al-'Az̄m and the Damascenes, and between the succeeding governors and the Damascenes. Ismā'il Pasha, while governor of Damascus, ordered his brother Sulaymān Pasha, governor of Tripoli, to give asylum to the shipwrecked Damascene prisoners who were sent by Abū Ṭawq to Istanbul.² By this act he was courting the friendship of the Damascenes, to whom he was already familiar as commander of the *jarda*.

The fact that the Damascenes revolted and killed several of the 'awāniyya without being punished was of great significance for the future. Their attitude towards their governors was deeply affected, all the more so because the Sultan complied with their demands when he deposed Abū Ṭawq. A revolutionary tradition was thus established which was to inspire further revolts of greater magnitude and far-reaching results.

THE ORIGIN OF THE 'AZ̄MS AND THEIR RISE TO POWER

There has been much speculation about the origin of the 'Az̄m family. The most controversial attempt to trace their origin was made by 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf, a versatile Lebanese author who wrote in the first half of the 20th century. Several later writers quoted Ma'lūf and the sources he used, but added hardly anything substantial to his arguments. The most recent of these writers is 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Az̄m, whose account appears in his book entitled *al-Usra al-'Az̄miyya*.³ The two major pronouncements by Ma'lūf on the subject appeared in *al-Mashriq*.⁴ in the form of an introduction to his description of the palace of As'ad Pasha al-'Az̄m in Damascus, and in *RAAD*⁵ while writing about another member of the family.

1. See p. 112.
2. Mawṣilī, f. 55b.
3. Published in Damascus, 1960.
4. 'Qaṣr As'ad Bāshā al-'Az̄m', *al-Mashriq*, 24 (1926), 5-6.
5. 'Al-Marḥūm Jamīl Bek al-'Az̄m', *RAAD*, 14 (1936), 56.

KARL K. BARRIR

OTTOMAN RULE

IN DAMASCUS, 1708-1758, Princeton-New Jersey-1980, s. 56-

PATTERNS IN GOVERNORSHIP

tary pressure and financial temptation to cooperate in the pilgrimage. Without Nasuh Paşa's legacy, his well-known successors, the 'Azms, even with their local roots and long years in office could not have succeeded to the extent they did.

RETROSPECT: THE 'AZMS AND THE GOVERNORSHIP OF DAMASCUS

The 'Azms' administration of Damascus has been regarded as a virtually unbroken sixty-year monopoly of power, a view encouraged by a narrow focus on that family and the simple arithmetic of accumulated years in office.¹³⁰ Somewhat more distinct cases of "dynastic succession" in the Iraqi provinces were the *mamlūk* family of Ahmed Paşa in Baghdad and the Jalilis of Mosul. Similarly, the dramatic enfeeblement of the Ottoman governorship of Egypt during the eighteenth century was complemented by the rise to near total power of the local *mamlūk amirs*. These phenomena have encouraged the generalization that the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, including Damascus, gradually slipped away from Istanbul's control during the eighteenth century. This interpretation is no longer an adequate explanation for events in that province. Indeed, a good argument can be made that the 'Azms were appointed to Damascus precisely because they possessed the qualities that the Ottoman state required for its attempt to reorganize the province. That the manner in which they ruled was often not to the central government's expectations does not justify invoking the broad interpretation of Ottoman decline to explain events in Damascus.

The thesis of Ottoman decline and the corresponding rise of the 'Azms has its best representative in Shimon Shamir, who offers two possible causes of the 'Azms' dominance. He considers, first, whether the Ottomans began a new program of provincial appointments during the early eighteenth cen-

¹³⁰ Cf. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, 1, 1, p. 219, among others. Shamir has been the major proponent of this view, which he states succinctly in "As'ad Pasha al-'Azm and Ottoman Rule in Damascus."

DiA. Ktp: 26735.

THE 'AZMS AND THE GOVERNORSHIP

tury and, second, whether the rise of the 'Azms "was brought about by contemporary circumstances over which the Ottomans had little control and of which they were scarcely aware."¹³¹ Opting for the latter interpretation, Shamir concludes that the 'Azm phenomenon, "a constructive measure by external appearance, was actually another manifestation of the decay endemic in the central government."¹³² Shamir has apparently been compelled to accept this thesis because of the weight of his evidence, which focuses narrowly on the 'Azm family and on upheavals and disorders in the province of Damascus and its neighbors. His evidence concerning the motives and policies of the central government is understandably less detailed. A broader focus—taking in the preceding two centuries of Ottoman rule in Damascus—would yield a similar pattern of disorders and troubles, these being the stuff of local chronicles, even of the Ottoman court histories. Such a focus would attempt, among other things, to account for these events by seeking the central government's view of provincial affairs, rather than taking refuge in the comfortable assertion of general decay and decline in order to exclude the central government as an actor in provincial affairs.

This discussion of changing patterns in the governorship of Damascus requires a review of the 'Azms' place in those patterns. The phenomenon of governors of local origin was by no means a new development, and the 'Azms should be regarded less in this light than as a group of governors whose background and skills fit well with Ottoman plans for reorganizing Damascus. Two important points are involved here: first, the disputed ethnic origins of the 'Azms and second, the "dynastic" aspects of their history.

For many years, historians have debated the mystery of the 'Azms' origins. In spite of contradictory and generally unsatisfactory evidence, students of the problem have allowed themselves to be locked into one of two explanations. The first favors the "Turkish" or Anatolian origin of the 'Azms. They are alleged to have been *sipahis* of Turkman extraction

¹³¹ Shamir, " 'Azm Wālis," p. 250.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 251.



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to join Sulaymān Paṣha. He set out to conquer the fortress of Dayr Ḥanna, which was defended by Zāhir's brother, Sa'd.¹ Such a plan of attacking the less important strongholds of the Ziyādina, if successfully carried out, would cut off the supplies of Tiberias, and exert a psychological pressure, as well, on its defenders. However, the sudden death, from an unascertained cause,² of Sulaymān Paṣha in the village of Lubia, near Tiberias, around 4 Rajab 1156/24 August 1743,³ brought relief to Zāhir.

The events that ensued in Damascus after the death of Sulaymān Paṣha confirmed the weakness of his policy of appeasement and portended the difficulties which his successor would encounter. Shortly after his death the *Yerliyya* arose and killed some members of the *Dalātiyya*. The situation played also into the hands of Faṭḥī al-Daṣṭarī. He assumed *de facto* authority, sequestrated the property of Sulaymān Paṣha and arrested his *silāḥdār* (sword-bearer), his *kḥazīnedār* (treasurer) who was his cousin, and his *wakīl al-kḥarj* (superintendent of expenditure), together with their retinue, pending the arrival of an order from the Sultan, who was duly informed by Faṭḥī.⁴ The fact that Faṭḥī acted 'authoritatively' on his own initiative illustrates his latent enmity to Sulaymān Paṣha and his hopes for political power. If he was expecting to be appointed governor, he was disappointed: a nephew of the late Sulaymān was appointed governor. In spite of this, Faṭḥī spared neither time nor effort to make the most he could of the new situation.

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF AS'AD PAṢHA AL-AẒM

On 14 *Shā'bān* 1156/3 Oct. 1743, it was learned in Damascus that As'ad Paṣha was appointed as governor.⁵ 'Alī Agha, the *mutasallim* of his predecessor, acted for him in the meantime.⁶ On Sunday 24 *Shā'bān*, As'ad Paṣha entered Damascus.⁷

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 9a, 9b.
2. Budayrī, f. 10a; Murādī, *Silk*, III, 184; M. al-Ṣabbāgh, 62, 63; Breik, 11.
3. Ibn Jum'a, ed. Munajjid, 69; 'A. al-Ṣabbāgh, f. 9a; cf. al-Qārī, ed. Munajjid, 78.
4. Budayrī, f. 10a.
5. *Ibid.*, erroneously gave the name of the month as Ramaḍān.
6. *Ibid.*; *Dhikr man tawallā al-wizāra*, f. 115a; *Risāla*, f. 14b.
7. Ibn Jum'a, ed. Munajjid, 69. This date was preferred to that given by Budayrī, f. 10b, as Saturday 25 *Shā'bān* because Sunday coincides with 24 *Shā'bān*.

As'ad Paṣha was thirty-nine years old at the time. He started his administrative career as *mutasallim* for his father, Ismā'il Paṣha, in Ma'arra and Ḥamāh.¹ Towards the end of 1741 he succeeded his brother, Ibrāhīm Paṣha, in Sidon,² and remained in this office until about the beginning of March 1742, during which time his rule was generally acclaimed.³ Shortly afterwards, he was appointed governor of Ḥamāh. By using money and with the help of Bakr Paṣha, ex-governor of Jeddā, he obtained the *mālikāne* of Ḥamāh as his own.⁴ It seems that partly through the intercession of this very influential person who was a son-in-law of the Sultan,⁵ As'ad Paṣha was appointed to Damascus.

There was nothing at the time to discredit the 'AẒms at Istanbul; nor was there any radical change in the administration in Istanbul, such as happened after the revolution of 1730 and as a result of which the 'AẒms were eclipsed, albeit temporarily. As'ad Paṣha had at his disposal the principal means of obtaining a governorship: money and strong backing. Furthermore, he had experience in the affairs of the Pilgrimage, having commanded the *jarda* in 1153/1740-1.⁶ Given the safety which his uncle had ensured for the Pilgrimage and his own experience, As'ad Paṣha would be expected to maintain a similar record.

The appointment of As'ad Paṣha to Damascus was the only instance of two 'AẒm governors succeeding each other in Damascus. Such an event had previously occurred in Tripoli and Sidon. But it acquired an added importance in this case, because As'ad Paṣha's rule lasted, without interruption, for about fourteen years — a great exception in the history of Ottoman Damascus.⁷

We may note three phases in the governorship of As'ad Paṣha:

1. *The dominance of the Yerliyya and Faṭḥī at-Daṣṭarī, 1156-8/1743-5.*

As'ad Paṣha's attitude in Damascus during this period was characterized

1. Ṭabbākh, III, 334.
2. A.E. B1 1025: Sidon, 10.11.41; cf. Ṭabbākh, III, 334.
3. A.E. B1 1026: Sidon, 7.3.42.
4. Ṭabbākh, III, 334.
5. Hammer, XV, 10.
6. Ṭabbākh, III, 335.
7. See the list of the Ottoman governors of Damascus in *Wulāt Dimashq* by Munajjid.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELENDOKIMIZIN

23 Mars 2015

Le sérail d'Ismā'il pacha al-'Azm à Damas

AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE, les divers membres de la famille 'Azm qui gouvernent successivement Damas pendant plusieurs décennies entreprennent, chacun à leur tour, d'importants travaux d'aménagement dans divers secteurs de la ville. Au cœur de la ville *intra-muros*, on assiste alors à une profonde modification du tissu urbain grâce aux nombreux bâtiments à vocation résidentielle, économique ou religieuse qu'ils édifient, notamment dans le secteur situé au sud de la mosquée des Omeyyades¹.

Parmi ces réalisations architecturales, celles d'As'ad pacha, gouverneur de Damas au cours de la période 1156-1170/1743-1757², sont incontestablement les plus célèbres : le caractère monumental de son caravansénil et la splendeur de son palais font figurer ces deux bâtiments parmi les bijoux de l'architecture ottomane à Damas. Le « Palais Azem » fut construit en 1163-1164/1750-1751³. Aḥmad al-Budayrī, chroniqueur contemporain d'As'ad pacha, évoque à plusieurs reprises les étapes de la construction de ce palais en insistant tout particulièrement sur tous les matériaux récupérés par le gouverneur dans divers lieux pour construire ce bâtiment⁴. Après avoir été en grande partie détruit en 1925⁵, le « Palais Azem » fut restauré et il abrite désormais le musée des Arts et Traditions populaires, ce qui lui vaut d'attirer de très nombreux visiteurs.

Tout autre est le sort que connut le sérail édifié par le père d'As'ad pacha, Ismā'il pacha, qui fut le premier gouverneur de la famille 'Azm à Damas (1137-1143/1725-1730)⁶. Curieusement, les divers travaux d'aménagement réalisés par Ismā'il pacha à Damas ont laissé relativement peu de traces dans les sources narratives. Seuls les registres des tribunaux en témoignent de manière précise. Ces documents nous informent notamment sur les aménagements commerciaux réalisés par ce gouverneur dans deux secteurs de la ville, à proximité de la citadelle d'une

1. Sur cette question, cf. Weber, « The Transformation », p. 247; Marino, « Les investissements »; Marino, « Les constructions ».

2. Sur As'ad pacha al-'Azm, cf. Rafeq, *Province*, p. 160-207.

3. Pour une description de ce palais, cf. Ma'lūf, « Qaṣr Āl al-'Azm »; Écochard, « Le Palais Azem de Damas ». La description publiée par I. Ma'lūf a été établie au début du xx^e siècle par Muḥammad Khalīl Beyk al-'Azm.

4. Tous les matériaux (bois, pierre, marbre, etc.) récupérés par As'ad pacha dans divers lieux pour réaliser cette opération sont alors mentionnés par le chroniqueur; Budayrī, *Hawādith*, p. 141, 143, 144, 158. Sur cette question, cf. Goodwin, « The Reuse of Marble »; Rogers, « The State and the Arts ».

5. Sur l'histoire du Palais Azem à cette époque, cf. Avez, *L'Institut français de Damas*.

6. Sur Ismā'il pacha al-'Azm, cf. Rafeq, *Province*, p. 94-111.

of being related: Whereas 'lineage' stresses consanguinity (both agnate and sometimes cognate), and time depth, household is more focussed on moments in time and on other forms of relatedness like slavery or patronage etc. 'Family' will be used loosely to address the sense of belonging together that can be expressed for instance by using the same 'family' name (*bayt*, *banu*).

The second problem is the time frame for any inquiry into Ottoman elite formation. For a long time now, research has concentrated on the 'long' eighteenth century and the 'rise of the *a'yan*' as a sort of prelude to nineteenth-century developments without paying much attention to earlier periods. Hence Gabriel Piterberg's opening remarks that the Ottoman Egyptian elite was the result of a process of elite formation 'which had begun by the mid-17th century and was complete in the closing decades of the 18th century and should be understood in the wider Ottoman context.'²⁰ Even Ehud Toledano's 'framework for research' refers only to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Yet, in my view, the process of elite formation or at least elite 'transformation' began the moment the Ottomans took control of the Arab lands. The change initiated by the transfer of power from the Mamluks to the Ottomans significantly altered not only the political environment of the existing elites, but also the economic and social contexts in which they operated. It certainly opened new avenues to obtaining power on different levels.²¹

A third problem is related to the exact nature of what we mean by elite or family formation; in particular, the concept of 'familial strategies' has become rather contested over the last few years.²² Critics argue that the broad notion of 'agency' is sufficient to approach the performance of the social groups called 'families' because it has to be understood on the base of the decision-making of its individual members.

²⁰ Piterberg, 'Formation of an Ottoman Egyptian Elite', 275.

²¹ Bakhit, *Ottoman Province...*, 164-191; Barbir, 'From Pasha to Efendi...', 68-83; see also Muhammed Altonji (al-Tunji), 'Social Interaction in the Aleppo Governorship (wilayat) between the Arabs and the Ottomans', in Abdeljelil Temimi, ed., *La vie sociale dans les provinces arabes à l'époque ottomane*, Zaghwan, Publications du Centre d'études et de recherches ottomanes, morisques, de documentation et d'information, 1988, 258-59; and Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, 'Aspects of the Legitimation of Ottoman Rule as Reflected in the Preambles of Two Early *Liva Kanunnameler*', *Turcica* 21-23, 1991, 371-83.

²² For a succinct introduction to the discussion, see the debate 'Family Strategies: A Contested Concept', in *International Review of Social History* 47, 2002, 421-85. I am grateful to Bernard Heyberger for a perceptive question in this regard.

This is not the place to enter fully into this debate, but the following paragraphs will try to identify significant moments in the trajectories of the 'well-founded fiction called family' (Pierre Bourdieu), insofar as individuals make decisions that include and affect other members and future generations of their familial units.

In what follows I shall try to trace the history of three households who settled in Damascus, focussing not only on their relationship to the Ottoman state and its central administration, but also on some important aspects of family formation like endogamous or exogamous marriage strategies. For the sake of a concise argument and in *hommage* to the research of 'Abdul-Karim Rafeq on the 'Local Forces in Ottoman Syria in the 17th and 18th centuries', I have chosen my examples from military households or at least from families with military backgrounds.²³ First, I shall present a short sketch of the 'Azm lineages in the eighteenth century, because they have been used so often as a model for the rise of an *a'yan* family. I shall then go on to two other examples from an earlier and a later time period, first the Kiwani household and then the Qurmushis, or, as they were later known, the Mardam Beys, in order to show that diverging patterns of family formation can be found even in the rather limited setting of a provincial military elite. These differences can be explained among other factors by the changing political circumstances of the formation periods.

The following is an attempt by a social historian of endowment practices to connect with political history. In this, I am drawing on the source material I collected for another study on the role of endowments in early Ottoman Damascus. This source material consists of court records and contemporary historical writings, most importantly chronicles and biographical collections.

Azma dealer
The 'Azm family as model? 012447

The 'Azms are often cited as one of the most eminent examples of the rise of a locally based elite family in the eighteenth century, and because they are so well known I shall only emphasise a few points in their collective history that are important for my argument.²⁴ In the late

²³ Rafeq, 'Local Forces...'

²⁴ For 'Azm family histories see 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azm, *al-'Usra al-'Azmiya*, Damascus 1951; Rafeq, *Province of Damascus...*, *passim*; Barbir, *Ottoman Rule...*

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Syria and *Bilad al-Sham* under Ottoman Rule

Essays in honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq

Edited by
Peter Sluglett
with Stefan Weber

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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LES CONSTRUCTIONS D'ISMA'IL PACHA AL-'AZM À DAMAS
(1137-1143/1725-1730)

BRIGITTE MARINO

Introduction

Dès la conquête ottomane de la Syrie, en 1516, Damas connaît d'importantes transformations. Plusieurs constructions monumentales sont édifiées, d'abord par les sultans Salim et Sulayman qui dotent la ville de deux grandes mosquées, puis par les différents gouverneurs ottomans qui entreprennent divers travaux d'aménagement aussi bien à l'extérieur des remparts que dans la ville intra-muros.

Parmi les constructions les plus importantes réalisées à cette époque, signalons celles d'Ahmad Shamsi Pacha (958-962/1551-1555) qui, dans la ville *intra-muros*, édifie, au sud de la citadelle, un complexe religieux (mosquée, *madrassa*, *khanqa*, *takiyya*) et un *suq*, le *Suq al-Sibahiyya/Suq al-Arwam*, ainsi qu'un *khan*, le *Khan al-Jukhiyya*, dans le *Suq al-Khayyat*. Lala Mustafa Pacha (971-975/1563-1567) construit quant à lui une mosquée et un *khan* au nord de la citadelle. Trois importantes mosquées sont ensuite édifiées à l'extérieur des remparts, sur la route du pèlerinage : la Mosquée de Murad Pacha (nommé en 976/1568), la Mosquée de Darwish Pacha (979-982/1571-1574) et la Mosquée de Sinan Pacha (m. 1004/1596). Deux *khan*, un *suq* et un *hammam* sont par ailleurs bâtis dans la ville *intra-muros*, au sud de la Mosquée des Omeyyades : Darwish Pacha (979-982/1571-1574) y construit le *Khan al-Harir* et le *Hammam Qishani*, et Murad Pacha (nommé en 1002/1593-1594, m. 1020/1611) un *suq* et un *khan*.¹

¹ Sur cette question, cf. Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas à la fin du XVI^e siècle d'après trois actes de waqf ottomans*, Damas, IFEAD, 1983; Stefan Weber, "The Creation of Ottoman Damascus: Architecture and Urban Development of Damascus in the 16th and 17th Centuries", *ARAM* 9-10, 1997-98; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "In the Image of Rum": Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus, *Muqarnas* 16, 1999, 70-96; Marianne Boqvist, *Architecture et développement urbain à Damas de la conquête ottomane (922 h./1516-17) à la fondation du waqf de Murad Pacha (1017 h./1607-08)*, thèse de doctorat, Université Paris-IV Sorbonne, Paris, 2005.

241-268

cus with their neighbours; and this development affected to some extent their policies inside Damascus.

THE PROVINCE OF DAMASCUS BETWEEN 1771 and 1775.

The First Governorship of Muḥammad Paṣha al-'Az̄m.

On 13 Rajab 1185/22 Oct. 1771, the day on which 'Uṭhmān Paṣha al-Kurjī was informed of his deposition,¹ a messenger dispatched by Muḥammad Paṣha al-'Az̄m arrived in Damascus and officially announced his appointment, and that of Muṣṭafā Agha of the *Kapī Kulus*, as *mutasallim*.² On 26 Rajab/4 November, Muḥammad Paṣha al-'Az̄m entered Damascus.³

Muḥammad Paṣha represents the third generation of 'Az̄m governors who were appointed to Damascus. He was the son of Muṣṭafā b. Fāris b. Ibrāhīm al-'Az̄m and his grandfather on the maternal side was Ismā'il Paṣha al-'Az̄m.⁴ Since his first appointment to Sidon in 1763 Muḥammad Paṣha had been appointed to other provinces. But for the larger part of the period between 1763 and 1771 he held the governorship of Sidon intermittently.⁵ Before he could assume the governorship of Konya, to which he was posted, Muḥammad Paṣha was appointed to Damascus.⁶ This appointment realized a long-standing desire of the 'Az̄ms to have one of their

1. Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, ff. 83a, 83b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 84b; cf. *Risāla*, f. 15a.
3. Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, ff. 86a, 93b; cf. *Risāla*, f. 15a.
4. Murādī, *Silk*, IV, 97; cf. Mikhā'il al-Dimashqī, *Ta'rīkh ḥawādith al-Shām wa-Lubnān, 1197-1257/1782-1842*, ed. L. Malouf (Ma'lūf), Beirut, 1912, p. 7: short reference, Dimashqī; see the genealogical table of 'Az̄m governors, Appendix, I. The statement by Gibb and Bowen, I, i, 221, that Muḥammad Paṣha was descended from the 'Az̄m family on the maternal side, is misleading because it seems to have been based on a statement by Murādī, *Silk*, IV, 97, that the grandfather of Muḥammad Paṣha on the maternal side was the famous Wazīr Ismā'il Paṣha al-'Az̄m. This seems to have been intended by Murādī to link Muḥammad Paṣha with this famous governor who was known to the Damascenes. Ismā'il Paṣha was certainly more famous than any relative on the paternal side of Muḥammad Paṣha. The statement by Murādī does not bear any implication that Muḥammad Paṣha was not descended from the 'Az̄ms on the paternal side also.
5. See Murādī, *Silk*, IV, 98-101.
6. Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, ff. 91b, 92a; cf. Murādī, *Silk*, IV, 101.

members appointed to Damascus in place of the former *mamlūk* of As'ad Paṣha.¹

Uppermost among the difficulties that confronted Muḥammad Paṣha was the need to obtain enough money to finance the Pilgrimage; however, he was always able to find means to overcome the obstacle. Rather than enforce levies in cash and in kind indiscriminately on the Damascenes, he marked certain groups which were small in number and rich enough to contribute, such as the merchants and other wealthy dignitaries, and excused the mass of the people, who could be easily alienated and who were able to cause trouble.² It might be argued that this would sharpen the protests of the non-exempted groups, and that they also had means of creating trouble. But it seems that care was taken not to include among them the militant groups, such as the *Yerliyya*, who could carry their complaints into open revolt. On the contrary, the governor courted their approval. Through his intercession, 'Uṭhmān Agha b. Shabīb was appointed *agha* of the *Yerliyya* in place of Sulaymān Agha, who was a puppet of the deposed 'Uṭhmān Paṣha.³ Before his departure for the Pilgrimage, Muḥammad Paṣha received a firman in which the Sultan granted 120 *esāmī* to the *Yerliyya* corps, which swelled their number to 2,070. This increase was intended to guard the fortresses along the Pilgrimage route. Muḥammad Paṣha handed the *esāmī* to the *agha* of the *Yerliyya* and ordered him to confer them on able persons and not on boys or elderly people.⁴ Such an increase in the *esāmī* could not fail to win Muḥammad Paṣha much support among the *Yerliyya*, particularly as the distribution was entrusted to 'Uṭhmān Agha b. Shabīb. Muḥammad Paṣha was also on good terms with the *agha* of the *Kapī Kulus*, and he appointed him for the second time, on the occasion of his departure with the Pilgrimage, as his *mutasallim*. Over all these preparations a sense of religious responsibility prevailed, as the fate of the Pilgrimage was at stake. One more resource which helped to relieve the Damascenes was the Sultan's authorization to confiscate part of the revenue of the *milākānes* of Ḥamāh, Ḥimṣ, Ma'arra and al-Ḥiṣn from 'Uṭhmān Paṣha,⁵ who was

1. See p. 237 f.
2. Ibn al-Ṣiddīq, f. 94b.
3. *Ibid.*, ff. 110a, 110b.
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 110a, 110b.
5. *Ibid.*, f. 105a, cf. ff. 102b, 103a.

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012447 AZM ZADELER

ولاية طرابلس الشام تتمردها واليهما

سليمان باشا وإبراهيم باشا العظم

(١٧٢٥ = ١٧٢٤)

د. حسين سلمان سليمان

استاذ التاريخ الحديث في الجامعة اللبنانية
كلية الاداب الفرع الرابع - كسرة

20 KASIM 1993
DOKÜMANI DİSTAN
BURSA GELEN DOKÜMANI

تشمل ولاية طرابلس البلاد الممتدة بموازاة البحر بين اللاذقية ونهر الكلب، ويحدها من الغرب مجرى هذا النهر وسلسلة الجبال المطلة على نهر العاصي، ومعظم أراضيها جبلية وليس فيها أرض منبسطة إلا تلك التي تقع بين طرابلس واللاذقية، وقد ساعدت الجداول العديدة التي تجري في أرض هذه الولاية على زيادة خصب تربتها^(١)، وقَدَّرت الوثائق الدبلوماسية الفرنسية عدد سكانها بحوالي ٢٦٧,٤٩٠ نسمة^(٢).

سهلية تنتشر فيها الأخشاب، وسكانها محمديون قدر عددهم سنة ١٨١٢ بحوالي ثلاثون ألفاً. والتزم آل الرعد مقاطعة الضنية الواقعة شمال طرابلس، وقدر عدد سكانها في سنة ١٨١٢ بحوالي خمسة آلاف نسمة يدينون بالإسلام. أما مقاطعة الميناء فقد جعلها والي طرابلس تابعة له وكملاكته، وتقع في أسفل الضنية وقدر عدد سكانها بحوالي الألف مسلم. في حين كان التزام إقليم جبل لبنان أو مقاطعة جبيل يخص الأمير الحاكم من آل شهاب، وتقسم المقاطعة الأخيرة إلى عدة نواحي^(٣).

وتضم الولاية مجموعة من المقاطعات هي التالية من الشمال إلى الجنوب:

مقاطعة طرطوس، وهي مدينة تضم حوالي ألفي نسمة، معظمهم من المسلمين يعملون كحرفيين وبحارة في حين اشتهرت مقاطعة صافيتا بغناها في القمح والشعير والحريز والخضار، ويقطنها حوالي أربعين ألفاً من النصيرية يقيمون في قلاع قديمة عرف أمراؤها باسم «مشايخ الجبل»، وتحت إمرتهم شباب ينفذون أوامرهم في القيام بعمليات في غاية الجرأة. في حين أقطعت عكار إلى آل الأسعد (المرعبي)، وهي منطقة



١١/١٣/١٤٢، ١٩٨٣ Amman

[Am linken Rand hat der Schreiber einen Zusatz zu Zeile [8] vermerkt, den er dort offenbar versehentlich ausgelassen hatte:]

«und einer zusätzlichen Bekräftigung von seiten des erhabenen, bereits erwähnten Amtes des *Şeyhülislam* mit Datum vom 6. Rabi' I 1313 und der Nummer 190» («*wal-amr at-tānī ta'kīdan al-wārid minġānib maşyahat al-Islām al-ġalīla al-mušār ilaiha al-mu'arraḥ 6 Rabi' awwal 1313 wa-numeru 190*»).

Am Ende des Dokuments folgen (von rechts nach links) das Siegel der Geschiedenen (*al-muṣallaqa*) mit dem Wortlaut 'Ā'īša bt. Muḥammad, der Namenszug des *mu'arrif* (das ist derjenige, der die Identität einer Person vor Gericht bestätigt) Sa'īd al-Idlibī, das Siegel des *mu'arrif* 'Abdalfattāḥ b. Ğa'far und das des *mu'arrif* Rašīd b. Muḥammad.

Dergi / Kitap
Kütüphanede Mevcudtur

VAKIF-MÜSADERE İLİŞKİSİ

(Şam Valisi Vezir Süleyman Paşa Olayı)

198 ŞUBAT 1993

Hasan YÜKSEL

YEREL İÇİŞLER BAKANLIĞI
EYLÜK BÜYÜKLERİ BÖLÜMÜ

Vakıf-müsadere ilişkisi zürri ve yarı hayri (yarı ailevi) vakıfların tesisi sebebi açısından büyük önem arzeden bir konudur; çünkü bu tür vakıflara yöneltilen eleştirilerin niteliği, konu üzerinde durmayı adeta zorunlu kılmaktadır¹.

İşte, bu gibi sebeplerden ötürü, vakıf-müsadere ilişkisi araştırılırken; müsaderenin ilk ortaya çıkışı, kimlerin mallarının müsadere edildiği, bu uygulamanın şer'i dayanağı ve uygulanış şekli, hangi dönemlerde yaygınlık kazandığı, ne gibi sonuçlar doğurduğu ve ne zaman ortadan kaldırıldığı gibi hususlara cevap aranacaktır. Ayrıca, İslâm'ın ferde tanıdığı mal-mülk edinme hakkına mukabil, müsadereye cevaz veren sistem neden vakıf mallarına ve mülklerine (akarlarına) dokunamadığına ilişkin bazı tahminlerde bulunulacaktır. Bu meyanda, 18. yüzyıl ortalarına doğru, Şam' da iki defa vali olarak bulunan Şam muhafızı Vezir Süleyman Paşa'nın ölümüyle (1744) mallarının nasıl müsadere edildiği, aynı dönemde Şam'da yaşamış bir berberin hatıratından da faydala-

1 Osmanlı devrinde zürri ve yarı hayri (bu tabir yenidir) vakıflara yöneltilen eleştirilere misal olarak, Koçi Bey şöyle demektedir: «...sonra diledikleri yeri vakfedüp, bazılarını dahi vakıf adıyla evlâdlarına gelir sağlayan mal ve yapı yaparsa, o çeşit vakıf nasıl sahih olur? Ve onu bismillah diye yemek nasıl câiz olur?», bkz., *Koçi Bey Risalesi* (Sad. Zuhurî Danışman), Ankara, 1985, s. 79; Osmanlı Devleti'nin sonlarına doğru vakıflara yöneltilen eleştiriler için bkz., Celâl Nuri, «Havâic-i Kanûniyyemiz (Kavânin-i Vakfiye)», 18 Nisan 1329 ve 62 numaralı *İctihad* Gazetesindeki makale. Diğer eleştiriler için bkz. Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, «Vakıf», *IA.*, C. XII/2 (İstanbul 1986), 153-172 ve Nufan Racâ el-Hamud: *el-Asker fi Bilâdi's-Şam fi Karneyni's-Sâdis Aşar ve's-Sâbi Aşar el-Miladeyn*, Beyrut, 1981, s. 213-234.

Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi

TARİH İNCELEMELERİ DERGİSİ, XI, Bornova-1996, s. 203-209

Nahide Şimsir

AZMZÂDE YUSUF PAŞA ve TRABLUS ŞAM'A TAYİNİ İLE İLGİLİ İKİ VESİKÂ

Azmzâde ailesi Osmanlı Devleti'nin tanınmış ailelerinden olmasına rağmen, bu aile hakkında Ali Karaca'nın, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Azmzâdeler" maddesi¹ haricinde ayrıntılı bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Bu maddede de Azmzâde Yusuf Paşa'dan söz edilmemektedir. Mehmed Süreyya Bey'in *Sicill-i Osmanî* adlı eserinde Azmzâde ailesine mensup olan İbrahim, Abdullah ve nihayet Yusuf Paşa hakkında bilgi verilmektedir². Konuya açıklık getireceği düşüncesi bizi, Azmzâde Yusuf Paşa ve nispeten Azmzâde Abdullan Paşa ile ilgili *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Cevdet Dahiliye 1799 ve 15213* numaralı belgeleri değerlendirmeye teşvik etmiştir.

Azmzâde ailesi XVIII. ve XIX. yüzyılda Suriye'de önemli hizmetlerde bulunan bir Türk ailesidir. Azmzâdeler aslen Konyalıdır. Sülâlenin bilinen ilk atası Kemik Hüseyin'dir. Aile Suriye'ye gittikten sonra "kemik" anlamına gelen "azm" lakabıyla anılmıştır. Hüseyin'in torunlarından İbrahim Bey 1638 Bağdat Seferi'nden sonra Suriye'ye yerleşmiştir. İbrahim'in hepsi de Paşa olan İsmail (öl.1730) ve Süleyman (öl.1743) isimlerinde iki oğlu olduğu bilinmektedir. İsmail'inde hepsi de kendisi gibi paşa olan İbrahim (öl.1746), Mustafa (öl.1755), Esad (öl.1757) ve Sâdeddin (öl.1762) isimlerinde dört oğlu olmuştur³. Azmzâdeler İsmail Paşa'nın kızı Neslihan Hanım'ın oğlu Mehmed Paşa'nın hem ana tarafından hem baba tarafından yürümüşdür⁴.

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Cevdet Dahiliye Tasnifi 1799 numaralı belgeden edindiğimiz malûmat da Azmzâdeler'in, Trablus Şam'ın nüfuzlu ailelerinden biri olduğunu göstermektedir⁵.

Azmzâdeler'den ilk Şam valisi ve emîrû'l-hac olan kişi İsmail Paşa'dır. Onun babası "vezir-i ekber Azm" olarak bilinmektedir. Kardeşi Süleyman Paşa 14 Ocak 1734'e kadar Şam valiliği, daha sonra da İsmail Paşa'nın oğlu Esad Paşa 1743-1757 yılları arasında Şam valiliği ve emîrû'l-hac görevini yapmıştır. 1757'de görevini

- ¹ Ali Karaca, "Azmzâdeler", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, IV, İstanbul, 1991, s.350.
- ² Mehmed Süreyya, "İbrahim Paşa (Azmzâde)", *Sicill-i Osmanî*, I, İstanbul, 1971, s.126; Mehmed Süreyya, "Yusuf Paşa (Azmzâde)", *Sicill-i Osmanî*, IV, İstanbul, 1971, s.668; Mehmed Süreyya, "Abdullah Paşa (Azmzâde)", *Sicill-i Osmanî*, III, İstanbul, 1971, s.393.
- ³ Ali Karaca, *a.g.Madde*, s.350.
- ⁴ Yılmaz Öztuna, "Azmzâdeler", *Devletler ve Hanedanlar Türkiye (1974-1990)*, II, Ankara, 1990, s.558-583 adlı eserinde bu aile hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Ayrıca Azmzâde Abdullah Paşa'nın, kendisinin beşinci kuşaktan dedesi olduğunu belirtmektedir. Yılmaz Öztuna, *a.g.e.*, s.566.
- ⁵ Bakınız *Ek I Cevdet Dahiliye 1799*.

MADDE YAYINLANMISKTAN
SONRA GÖZDEN GEÇİRİLMİŞTİR
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of occasions, topographical surveys of still earlier centuries have also been consulted to aid in ascertaining the correct nomenclature and the location of institutions named in the 18th and 19th century texts but not located by the modern topographers. Subsequent researchers will no doubt make a number of corrections on many of the details of this topography. It is felt, however, that the topographical aspects relevant to our study, which are well-enough founded, have justified a presentation of the topography in this detailed form.

LINDA SCHATKOWSKI SCHILCHER
 FAMILIES IN POLITICS, Stuttgart-1985,
 s. 27-35. DN:25816

- Armradeler

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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CHAPTER II: POLITICS

THE FACTIONALISM OF THE 'AZM AND POST-'AZM PERIODS

Damascus was a provincial capital of the Ottoman Empire. Under the Ottoman administrative system as applied to geographic Syria (the region which today comprises Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and small portions of Turkey), the territory was divided into a number of smaller districts (called *sanjaqs* or *liwas*) according to geographic, strategic, ethnic and political considerations.¹ These districts were then organized into three, or sometimes four, provinces (called *eyalets*, *pashaliks*, or later *wilayets*) though not always according to the same pattern or with the same city as a provincial capital. Sometimes — as in the case of Mount Lebanon or Jerusalem — a particular district would be given exceptional status and was able to obtain special imperial consideration.²

Following the Ottoman conquest in the early 16th century, geographic Syria was first organized into three provinces: a coastal province with its capital at Tripoli; a northern province with its capital at Aleppo, and an interior province with its capital at Damascus. In 1660 a fourth province was created for Lebanon and the southern coastal regions with its capital at Sidon. During the period studied here, a number of reshufflings took place in the districts attached to the province of Damascus.³ These fluctuations are, however, not of direct relevance to our study because the city remained the capital throughout. The interaction of Damascus with its surroundings were, moreover, hardly restricted by administrative boundaries.

Of equal importance in the geopolitics of the Ottoman Empire was the city's position as the last urban settlement along the pilgrimage route to Mecca.⁴ The Ottoman state — if it was to remain the legitimate heir of the Islamic empire — was obliged to ensure the safety and success of the pilgrimage. Therefore, Damascus as the yearly gathering point for pilgrims from all over the Muslim world, came to

- 1 A discussion of Ottoman administrative districting in Syria is presented in H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Oxford, 1950, Part I, 222; Rafeq, *Province*, 1f.; Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861*, Oxford, 1968, 31f.; Karl Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus*, Princeton, 1980, 16f.; 'Abd al-'Aziz Muhammad 'Awad, *Al-Idara al-'Uthmaniya fi Wilayat Suriya 1864-1914*, Cairo, 1969, 61-81.
- 2 The case of Mount Lebanon is presented in Kamal S. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, London, 1965, xi f. The case of the sanjak of Jerusalem is discussed in Butros Abu Manneh, *Some Aspects of Ottoman Rule in Syria in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: Reforms, Islam and Caliphate*, unpublished D. Phil. Dissertation, Oxford, 1971.
- 3 See Maoz, *Ottoman Reform*, 32f.
- 4 The importance of the pilgrimage in 18th century Ottoman administration is mentioned by Gibb and Bowen (I, 219) and is discussed in Rafeq, *Province*, 52f. and Barbir, *Ottoman Rule*, 108.

012447 - AZMZADELER

47 — Azm-Zâde Mehmed Paşa (*)

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1760-1783 tarihleri arasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin mühim memuriyetlerinde bulunmuş Mehmed Paşa ve Ailesi hakkında bilgi verilmiş ve Paşa'nın valilik yaptığı yerlerde geçen tarihi olaylar, arşiv belgeleri ve Osmanlı tarihi hakkındaki kaynak kitaplardan yararlanılarak incelenmiştir.

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Har. Muallâ Zeren, s. 166, 1987 - İstanbul

4. Lisans Tezi.

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421 ✓

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AZMZÂDE (KEMİKOĞLU) MEHMED PAŞA (1731- 1783)

Ali KARACA*

I - Mensup olduğu aile¹

XVIII-XIX. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nun taşra idaresinde önemli görevler üstlenen ve aslen Konya'da yerleşmiş bir Türk aşiretinin beyi olan Kemik Hüseyin'in soyundan gelen " Azmzâde " ailesi, genellikle Suriye bölgesinin yönetiminde rol almıştır. IV. Murat'ın Bağdad seferine (1638)² katılan Hüseyin Bey'in oğlu İbrahim Bey'den dolayı, ailenin siyasi kariyeri ilk olarak Halep'le Şam'ı bağlayan yol üzerinde bulunan Maarratu'n-numan'a yerleşmeleriyle başladı³. İbrahim Bey'in orada Musa Bey⁴ İsmail ve Süleyman (Paşa) adında üç oğlu⁵, İsmail Paşa'nın da Mustafa, Esad, Saadeddin ve İbrahim isimli dört erkek evladı olmuştur⁶. Ticarî bir merkez olması ve Hâc yolunun üzerinde bulunması bakımından önem arz eden Şam'a, 1725 senesinde vali ve emîrül-hâc tayin edilen İsmail Paşa⁷ ile itibar kazanan bu aileden, Ahmed Vâsîf Efendi; "... şimdikiye dek otuzdan müte-câviz vüzerâ ve mîrimîrân zuhûr edip cümlesi Devlet-i aliyye'ye mutî ... olup ale'l-husûs Şam havâlisinde izâm-ı kadr ü şânları ke'ş-şems fi'l-hevâcir nümâyân ve zâhir ve vak'u râğbetleri sâir vüzerâdan ziyâde ve vâfir ..." idi⁸ şeklinde söz etmekteydi.

II - Mehmed Paşa'nın memuriyetleri⁹

A - Sayda ve Halep valilikleri

Bu ailenin 1731 -1783 tarihleri arasında yaşamış bir ferdi olan Azmzâde Mehmed Paşa'nın babası, İbrahim Paşa'nın oğlu Faris'in⁹ oğlu Mustafa Paşa'dır¹⁰. Annesi ise İsmail Paşa'nın kızıdır. 18 Nisan 1731'de fiam'da dünyaya geldi. Orada yetişti ve eğitim alarak mü-kemmelleşti. Cerde başbuğluğu, valilik ve mirü'l-hâclık görevi yapıp, mîrimîranlık ile vezirlik rütbesi¹¹ ihsan edilmiş olan Mehmed Paşa'yı, 1750'de dayısı vezir Saadeddin Paşa yanında Halep

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¹ Aile için bak. Ali Karaca, " Azmzâdeler ", *Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (DiA), c. IV., İstanbul 1991, s. 350.

² Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA.), Cevdet Adliye (CA), 5832. : "...merhûm ve mağîr Sultân Murad Hân Gâzi tâbserâhu fiark seferine teveccüh ve azîmet edib Konya'ya dâhil oldukda..."

³ Abdülkerim Refik, *The Province of Damascus (1723-1783)*, Beyrut 1966, s. 90.

⁴ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Cevdet Maliye (CM), 31175 ve Bâb-ı Baflmuhâsebe Defteri Kalemî Muhalletât (D.BîM.MHF), 40 / 20. : "...kaza-ı Maarratu'n- numan'ın sâkinlerinden iken bundan akdem vefât eden Azmzâde el- Hâc Musa Bey..."

⁵ Azmzâde Mehmed Paşa'nın dedesi Fâris'in de İbrahim Bey'in oğlu veya aynı sülaleden yakın akrabası olması pek müm-kündür. Çünkü kaynak eser olan şecereler ve Azmları konu edinen eserlerde İbrahim Bey'in büyük oğlu Musa Bey'in var-lığından bahsedilmemesi, Fâris Bey'den de haberdar olmadıklarını akla getirmektedir.

⁶ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, c. I., Dersaadet 1308, s. 362.

⁷ BOA., Bâb-ı Defteri Başmuhâsebe Kalemî (D. BŞM), 1010.

⁸ Ahmed Vâsîf, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâkikü'l-Ahbâr*, (Nflr. Müteba ilgürel), İstanbul 1978, s. 136-137.

⁹ Mehmed Paşa'nın memuriyetleriyle ilgili belgelerin hepsine ulaşılammış olması gözden uzak tutulmamalıdır.

¹⁰ BOA., CM., 24770.: Bu belgede " Harna Kadısına hükümki; Hâlâ şam vâlisi ve Mirü'l-Hâccı olan vezîrim Mehmed Paşa ademallhutaala mecedhunun birâderi Fâris Bey bin Mustafa dâme mecedhu Meclis-i şer'î şerîfe gelerek...fi 25 Ca. sene 1192 " denilmesi bu şecerenin güvenilirliğine gölge düşürmektedir. Buna göre Mehmed Paşa ile Fâris Bey kardeşdir. Baş-ka bir ihtimal kardeşine dedesinin ismi verilmiş olabileceğidir.

¹¹ Ebu'l-Fâzıl Seyyid Mehmed Halil el- Muradî, *Tarihü'l-Muradî*, cüz 3., İstanbul 1340, s. 97.; Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî Mehmed Paşa'nın babasını cerdeci ve Şam valisi Osman Paşa olarak kaydetmektedir, bak. Vefeyât-ı Selâtin, Yazma, İs-tanbul Üniversitesi (İÜ) Türkçe Yazmalar (TY), nr. 2539, vrk. 102-b.: Söz konusu Osman Paşa, Mehmet Paşa'nın ölümü üzerine (1783) Şam valisi olan Derviş Mehmed Paşa'nın babasıdır. Bu Mehmed Paşa, annesi tarafından Azmzâdeler'dendir. Bak.. *Sicill-i Osmanî*, IV., s. 260.

¹¹ BOA., Bâb-ı Asâfî Ruus Kalemî (A.RSK), 1578, s. 4. : " ibtida-i rütbe-i sâmiye-i vezâret ihsân buyuruldu. Fi 10 B. sene 1176. "