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Sayısal Analiz Metotlarının Kısa Tarihi ve Bu Bağlamda Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî'nin Hesap Kitabı

A Brief History of Numeric Analysis and Pir Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevi's Arithmetic Book in this Context

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Öz

Klasik dönem Osmanlı muhasebe matematiği eserleri, ondalık kesirleri ve kök alma işlemlerini ihtiva etmesi bakımından, dönemin diğer genel hesap kitaplarının önüne geçmiş ve ortaçağın doğu ve batı uygarlıklarında sayısal analize yapılan katkıları aralıksız sürdürmüştür. Bunlardan Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî'nin hesap kitabı, yüksek derecelerde hem tam kök ve hem de yaklaşık kök alma metotlarını içermesi itibarıyla diğer muhasebe matematiği eserlerinden ayrılmakta, hatta 15. yüzyıl Osmanlı matematiğinin üstün bazı hususlarını Türk dilinde sunmada rehber olmaktadır. Çalışmamızda, kalburüstü bu eserin yazma nüshası ve ikincil diğer kaynaklar yardımıyla, eserdeki üçüncü ve dördüncü dereceden yaklaşık kök alma metotları matematiksel olarak analiz edilerek Edirnevî'nin öncü rolü vurgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı, aritmetik, Edirnevi, sayısal analiz, kök alma

ABSTRACT

In the classical period, Ottoman mathematical texts written by bookkeepers were one step ahead of other general calculation (arithmetical) books of this period regarding containing decimal fractions and root extraction methods. In addition, the contributions about numeric analysis made in both the eastern and western civilizations of the middle ages are greatly progressed in these texts. Pir Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevi's book stands out from other mathematical texts written by bookkeepers in terms of including exact and approximate root extraction. In our study, through analyzing approximate root extraction methods in this book, the leading role of Edirnevi is emphasized with the help of the manuscript copy of the text and secondary other references.

Keywords: Ottomans, arithmetic, Edirnevi, numeric analysis, root extraction



Extended Abstract

Since the Ottoman early traditional period, arithmetical books that could improve bookkeepers' mathematics had already begun to be written. One of them is Pir Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevi's translation of *Miftah-i Kunuz-i Arbab al-Kalam va Misbah-i Rumuz-i Ashab al-Rakam*, which belongs to the 15th century and was written in Persian owing to the Persian effects on the financial foundation in 1505. The attention paid to arithmetic in Edirnevi's *Terceme-i Miftah-i Kunuz (Ilm-i Arkam-i Taksimat)* is noticed in the chapters on root extraction, and it differs with approximation methods from other mathematical books in its century. Thus, our study mentions Edirnevi's approximation methods on 3rd and 4th degree root extractions and intends to define this translation's contribution to Turkish mathematic compilations. In this respect, our study aims to reveal the pioneer position of Edirnevi in the reception of numeric analysis subjects in Ottomans through the unique and complete manuscript of *Terceme-i Miftah-i Kunuz (Ilm-i Arkam-i Taksimat)*. Also, in our study, both the historical and the mathematical analysis are followed in a methodological way. Our study consists of three main parts which are related firstly to the historical background, secondly to the introduction of the book and thirdly to the mathematical analysis of texts on the approximation of root extraction in this book, and it includes an evaluation of Edirnevi's role in this context.

In Mesopotamian mathematics, the fact that the exact and approximate results were separated obviously could be inferred from the particular terms that point out this separation. Also, since the formulas used for root extractions look like Greek mathematicians such as Archytas (BC 345) and Hero of Alexandria (AD. ~60), it is possible to say that Mesopotamian mathematics had a significant effect on Greek mathematics and represents the first steps of the history of numeric analysis. In the late medieval periods, it is outstanding that Chinese mathematicians made the solutions of the polynomials possible through the root extraction methods, and this method resembled what William Horner invented for algebraic equations in the 19th century.

The tendency that provided mathematical improvement in the medieval Islamic world and the Ottomans was a numeric perspective that had been developed as an alternative to a geometric perspective. It should be considered that Newton's and Descartes' revolutionary attempts in their books occurred thanks to this numeric perspective. Although the revolutionary process did not occur in the East as the West achieved in the early modern period, the results of this perspective in the East is meaningful for mathematical precision. For instance, there was more than one way to find the square root in Khwarizmi's (d. ~ 847) Hindî reckoning book. Then, Abu'l-Hasan al-Uqlidisi (d. 980) proposed different rules and found more precise results, but Abd al-Qahir al-Baghdadi's (d. 1037) rules were begun to be followed as

a conventional method (approximation) since his result of approximate cube root was more precise. Subsequently, Ibn al-Haytham (d. 1040) noted the irrational roots with justifications, and mathematicians after the 11th century attempted to find higher degree roots. The formulas that were applied by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274) and Nizam al-Din Nisaburi (d. 1328) were not different from the one that is known as the Ruffini-Horner method of the 19th century. The conventional method (approximation) was initially promoted by Samaw'al al-Maghribi (d.~1175) through nth degree root extraction to the base-60 numeral system (sexagesimal), then by Jamshid al-Kashi (d. 1429) to the base-10 numeral system (decimal). Thus, in Kashi's book named *Miftah al-Hisab*, both predecessors' methods were combined and extracting the approximate root was generalized in any degree. Through using *Miftah al-Hisab*, which is of East origin in Ottoman madrasahs and making commentaries and copies of the concise texts of Ibn al-Banna's *Talkhis Amal al-Hisab*, which is of Andalus origin, the Ottomans became aware of many numeric analysis methods inheriting various mathematical traditions in different geographies.

As mentioning root extraction methods in general reckoning books got usual in Ottomans, there were exact and approximate root extractions in high degree (fourth and fifth degree) in Ali al-Qushji's (ö. 1474) or Ibn Hamza al-Maghribi's (d. 1614) mathematical book. In addition, the Ottomans became familiar with these methods in not only integers but also fractional numbers through teaching Nisaburi's mathematical textbook in madrasahs. Although the Ottomans had difficulties in applying these methods to the solution of high-degree equations, this subject was handled as a detached chapter in reckoning books with algebraic contents.

Findings of our study indicate that Edirnevi's translation, which is an arithmetical book in principle, is based on calculation with measures and common fractional numbers, proportion, false position method, shares of dept claims and root extractions. Since finding rational roots were mentioned quite detailed in this book, it is avoided to give examples of large numbers' irrational roots. Thus, after the integer part of the root is obtained at once, the calculation of the approximate part of the root is left to be paid attention. Because of this, Edirnevi did not need the tables that he describes the steps of the finding rational roots. Edirnevi followed the method known as conventional approximation in the medieval Islamic world in finding the approximate cube root. However, he could not succeed in finding the fourth degree root exactly. Although he did not fail in extracting the integer part of the root, the approximate part of the root is not precise enough. That is a serious disadvantage of his book. On the contrary, the fact that this book addressed Ottoman bookkeepers is considered, these are pioneer and unique enterprises among the mathematical books written by bookkeepers. Despite the absence of chapters about algebra in this book, it could be a reference for algebra teaching thanks to the close relation between the root extraction methods and the solution of equations.

In conclusion, thanks to Edirnevi's efforts, the most important methods in numeric analysis were integrated with Turkish mathematics compilation at the beginning of the Ottomans' 16th century. That is also a rare and inspiring fact among the bookkeepers' texts. Therefore, the pros and cons of Edirnevi's approaches are important components of the mathematical precision in the Ottomans' numeric analysis methods.

Giriş

Osmanlılarda bir disiplin olarak ‘hesap’, miras alınan Arapça ve Farsça matematik geleneklerinin özümsemesiyle 16. yüzyılda olgun ve kendine mahsus bir biçime kavuşmuş, üstelik bu etkinlik içinde ortaya koyulan kitaplar, eğitim kurumlarındaki öğrencilerin yanı sıra bazı meslekî zümrelerin matematik öğretiminde de imdada yetişmiştir. Devlet teşkilatlanmasının büyük ölçüde tamamlandığı dönemlerde baş gösteren ciddi düzeydeki bu hareketliliğe, ekonomiye yön veren muhasebe dairelerinde hizmet etmiş memurlar da dahil olmaktadır. Etkin bir muhasebe düzenini sağlamanın devletin ekonomideki gücüne temel teşkil ettiği bilincine sahip olmuş bu muhasebeciler, bütçe hazırlanması ve gelir-gider kaydı gibi meslekî başlıca faaliyetler sayısal işlemlere dayandığından ötürü, hesap ilminde azami gayret göstermişlerdir. Bu gayretlerin bir neticesi olarak muhasebeciler zümresinin matematiklerini geliştirecek hesap kitapları oldukça erken dönemlerden itibaren yazılmaya başlanmış, bu hususta hem kapsam hem de işlem teknikleri bakımından ayrıntılı eserler üretilmiştir. Bunlardan günümüze ulaşanlardan en erken tarihlileri, malî yapıdaki Farisî etkiler dolayısıyla¹ 1475 yılında Hayrettin Halil b. İbrahim tarafından Farsça telif edilen *Miftâh-ı Künûz-ı Erbâbü'l- Kalem ve Misbâh-ı Rumûz-ı Ashâbü'r-Rakam* isimli eser ve bunun Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî tarafından 1505 yılında yapılan tam Türkçe tercümesidir.² Osmanlı hesap geleneğinin erken bir örneğini teşkil eden Edirnevî'nin *Terceme-i Miftah-ı Künûz*'una, içeriğindeki gerek manzum matematik problemleri³ gerekse de ondalık kesirleri⁴ itibarıyla, bazı makalelerde kısmen dikkat çekilmektedir. Ayrıca eserin bahusus yanlış yoluyla çözüm metotlarını inceleyen müstakil bir makale de mevcuttur.⁵

Bu eserde hesap ilmine gösterilen özen, eserin kök alma metotlarına dair bölümlerinde de fark edilmekte ve eser, aynı çağdaki diğer genel hesap kitaplarından bu yönleriyle ayrılmaktadır. Zira, ileri derecede kök alma işlemlerini içeren genel hesap kitaplarının sayısı Osmanlıların klasik döneminde oldukça sınırlı olup, buna muhasebe matematiği kitapları da dahildir. Bu anlamda en çarpıcı eserlerden olan 16. yüzyılda telif edilmiş *Câmi'u'l-Hisâb*'da dahi dördüncü dereceden kök alma işlemlerinin tam kök almadan ibaret kaldığı, yaklaşık kök hesaplarının ihmal edildiği⁶ anlaşılmaktadır. Halbuki, *Terceme-i Miftah-ı Künûz*'un onuncu faslında işlenen bu konunun örneklerinde, elde edilen kökün irrasyonel olması

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5 Tuba Oğuz-Ceyhan, “Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Matematiğinde Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî'nin ‘Çift Yanlış’ Metodu”, *Erdem*, sayı 79 (2020), s. 149-174.

6 Tuba Oğuz, “Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Matematiğinde Kök Çıkarma Teknikleri: Câmi'u'l-Hisâb Örneği”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)*, sayı 44 (2018), s. 133-187.

oldukça dikkat çekicidir. Eserde göze çarpan bu detaydan ötürü çalışmamız, Edirnevî'nin⁷ üçüncü ve dördüncü dereceden yaklaşık kök hesaplarını nasıl ele aldığını bir bütün olarak konu edinmekte ve Farsçadan yaptığı bu tercümeyle konuyla ilgili Türkçe matematik metni üretimine yaptığı katkıyı belirlemeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu doğrultuda çalışmamız, *Terceme-i Miftah-ı Künûz*'un günümüze ulaşan tek ve tam yazma nüshası yardımıyla, eserin dokuz ve onuncu bölümlerindeki ilgili kısımlarını mercek altına almakta ve Edirnevî'nin sayısal analiz konularının Osmanlılarda benimsenmesindeki öncü konumunu ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmamız önce, yaklaşık kök bulma bağlamında kök alma metotlarına dair tarihsel bir arka plan, ardından söz konusu eserin tanıtımı ve daha sonra eserdeki söz konusu işlemlerin matematiksel analizi olmak üzere üç bölümden oluşmakta ve sonuç itibarıyla de Edirnevî'nin bu husustaki rolüne dair kısa bir değerlendirmeyi içermektedir. Eserin matematiksel çözümlenmesi yapılan kısımlarının transliterasyonları ekte mevcuttur.

1. Kök Alma Yöntemine Dair Tarihsel Arka Plan: Bakış Açılı ve Gelişmeler

Tüm bilim alanlarında olduğu gibi matematikte de kesinlik arayışı, beklenmedik gelişmelere hatta matematiğin tarihinde bunalımlara yol açmıştır. Ancak matematikteki bunalımlar, matematiği geçersiz veya işlevsiz kılmış olmayıp aksine geçici bir bocalama sonrasında yeni bir atılımın başlangıç koşullarını teşkil etmektedir. Matematikteki bunalımların ilki, rasyonel olmayan sayıların mevcudiyetinin fark edilmesiyle kendini göstermiştir. Antik Yunan uygarlığında, büyüklüklerin ölçü bakımından her zaman ortak olmaması, özellikle evrenin düzenini tam sayıların ilişkilerinde gören Pitagorasçıların (M. Ö. 5. yüzyıl) anlam dünyalarının çok ötesinde bir durumdur. Başka bir deyişle, kenarı bir birim olan bir karenin köşegeninin rasyonel bir sayı ile belirlenememesi onlar için akıl almaz bir olaydır. Yunan uygarlığı perspektifiyle, doğru parçalarından; ancak genel bir perspektifle, sayılardan daima rasyonel değer elde edilemeyeceği ile baş gösteren bu bunalım, aynı zamanda sayıların kökünü bulma serüveninden de pek çok izler taşımaktadır.⁸

Genel geçer bilgilere istinaden, Eudoxus'un (M. Ö. 4. yüzyıl) büyüklük ve orantı kuramı üzerindeki çalışmasıyla sorunların epey aşıldığı görülmektedir. Hatta Eudoxus'un ortak ölçüsüz büyüklüklere dair ulaştığı sonuç, Euclides'in (M. Ö. 3. yüzyıl) *Elementler*'inin beşinci kitabında da belirtilmiştir. Ancak, bu çabalar, Eski Yunan uygarlığında konuya olan ilginin sayısal kuramlardan ziyade geometriye evrilmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır.⁹ Ortaçağa gelindiğinde

7 Eserin ikinci dereceden kök alma tekniği daha evvel başka bir çalışmada işlendiği için burada tekrar ele alınmayacaktır. Çalışma için bkz. Tuba Oğuz, "Osmanlıların Klasik Dönem Muhasebecileri ve Telif Ettikleri Muhasebe-Matematik Eserleri", *Muhasebe ve Finans Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi (MUFTAV)*, sayı 15 (2018), s. 103-106.

8 Cemal Yıldırım, *Matematiksel Düşünme*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul 2012, s. 75-76.

9 Burada, aritmetik kitabıyla Pitagorasçı çizgiyi devam ettirmiş Nicomachus (M.S. 1.yüzyıl) ve kendisini takip eden Diophantus (M. S. 3. yüzyıl) istisna tutulabilir. Victor Joseph Katz, *A History of Mathematics: An Introduction*, Pearson/Adisson-Wesley, Boston 2009, s. 173-176.

ise Hint ve İslam Dünyası'nın aritmetik ve cebir kitaplarında, geometrinin geleneksel egemenliği sarsılarak sayısal ilişkiler ön plana çıkmıştır.¹⁰ Ancak sayısal analiz bağlamında atılan bu adımları sadece ortaçağ Hint ve İslam uygarlıkları ile sınırlandırmak doğru değildir. Sayısal hesap tekniklerini asırlar önce ustalıkla kullanan Mezopotamya uygarlığı katipleri, aslında cebirsel ve aritmetiksel bakış açılarının verdiği imkanlarla ve uzunluk veya alan gibi somut büyüklerden ziyade soyut bir yaklaşımla sayıyı ele almanın avantajıyla, sayıların tam köklerinin yanı sıra yaklaşık köklerini bulmada da çaba harcayarak sayısal analiz tekniklerinin öncüsü olmuştur. O halde oldukça kadim olan bu meselenin irrasyonel kökler bağlamındaki gelişmelerini sırasıyla aşağıdaki şekilde ele almakta yarar vardır.

1.1. Eskiçağdaki Bakış Açısı ve Gelişmeler

Mezopotamya matematiğinde, tam doğru ve yaklaşık sonuçlar arasındaki ayrıma oldukça önem verilmiş hatta bu farkı belirtmek için özel bir terim kullanılmıştır. Bu zihniyetin irrasyonel değerlerin keşfi için bir temel oluşturduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Kök hesapları için belirli bazı işlemlere dayanan metotlar kullandığı anlaşılan Mezopotamyalılar, üçüncü dereceden kök bulmaya dair malumata bile sahiptir. İkinci dereceden kök bulmadaki başarıları ise $\sqrt{2}$ nin yaklaşık değeri için ifade edilen sonuçta görülebilir.¹¹

Mezopotamyalılardan intikal eden kil tabletlerde $\sqrt{2}$ nin değeri, karenin bir kenarı ve köşegeni arasındaki oranı ifade etmek üzere verilmektedir. Pisagor teoremine, sadece özel durumlar için değil genel durumlar için de vakıf olan Mezopotamyalılar, $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$ bağıntısı mevcut olmak kaydıyla, c^2 nin karekökü olan c değeri için $a + \frac{b^2}{2a+b} < c < a + \frac{b^2}{2a}$ formülü yardımıyla yaklaşık değerlere ulaşmıştır.¹² Yaklaşma yöntemleri, ileriki satırlarda görüleceği gibi, ortaçağ ve yeniçağda defalarca ele alınacağından ötürü, Babil yöntemi olarak da bilinen bu temel prensip detaylandırılarak bir başka ifadeyle şöyle izah edilebilir: a kökü aranacak sayı olmak üzere, ilk olarak köke rastgele bir a_1 değeri, sonra da $b_1 = \frac{a}{a_1}$ olan bir b_1 değeri verildiğinde; a_1 çok büyükse b_1 çok küçük, a_1 çok küçükse b_1 çok büyük bir sonuç olur. Böylece $a_2 = \frac{1}{2} (a_1 + b_1)$ aritmetik ortalaması, bir sonraki varsayımın değeridir. Eğer a_2 çok büyükse bir sonraki tahmin olan $b_2 = \frac{a}{a_2}$ çok küçüktür. Dolayısıyla, $a_3 = \frac{1}{2} (a_2 + b_2)$ aritmetik ortalaması akla daha yatkındır. Bu işlem yinelenerek daha da yakın sonuçlar bulunabilir. $a_1 = a$ ve $b_1 = \frac{a^2+b}{a}$ yazıldığında ise $a_2 = \frac{1}{2} (a_1 + b_1) = a + \frac{b}{2a}$ şeklinde sonuca daha pratik şekilde ulaştırılacak formül bulunmuş olur.¹³

10 Yıldırım, *a.g.e.*, s. 76.

11 Aydın Sayılı, *Mısırlılarda ve Mezopotamyalılarda Matematik, Astronomi ve Tıp*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1991, s. 178-179.

12 Aynı yerde, s. 179-182.

13 Carl Boyer, *Matematiğin Tarihi*, çev. Saadet Bağcı, Doruk Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, s. 47.

Bu formülün aynı zamanda Yunan bilgini Archytas'a (M.Ö. 428-365) da ait olduğu, miladî ilk asırda ise İskenderiyeli Heron (M.S. 100)¹⁴ tarafından karekök bulmak için kullandığı, kaynaklarda geçmekte; hatta modern matematikte Newton-Raphson algoritmasıyla¹⁵ benzeştiği ifade edilmektedir.¹⁶ Bu da bize Mezopotamya matematiğinin Yunan matematiğine ilham verdiğini göstermektedir. Konumsal sayı sisteminin ve soyut temelli aritmetiğin verdiği imkanlarla asırlarca üstünlük sağlayan ve söz konusu imkanlarını bu hesaplarda da avantaja dönüştürdüğü anlaşılan Mezopotamyalılar,¹⁷ böylece sayısal analiz tekniklerinin öncü aşamalarını sergilemiş olmaktadır. Üstelik bu öncü aşamalarda $\sqrt{2}$ nin hesabı, tekrar yöntemleriyle sürekli kesir formuna dönüştürülerek günümüz kalkülüsündeki hesaplara¹⁸ benzer hale geldiği için pek de ibtidai sayılmaz.

Mezopotamyalıların yaklaşık değerlere dair gayretlerini, geometrik maksatlarda hassaten de irrasyonellerin en ünlü ve kadîm olanlarından π sayısının bulunmasında da görmek mümkündür.¹⁹ Ancak bu sayı, dairenin çevresi ve çapı arasındaki orandan ibaret olduğu için bununla ilgili gerek eskichağdaki gerekse de ardındaki gelişmelerin üzerinde durulmayacaktır. Mezopotamyalılardan sonra, Yunan uygarlığının meşhur matematikçisi Eudoxos, sayı kavramını irrasyonelleri de içine alacak şekilde genişletmeye ve içerik bakımından zenginleştirmeye çalışmıştır. Kök bulma işlemleri esnasında Pitagorasçıları rahatsız eden irrasyonel sayıların mevcudiyeti ise Euclides'in *Elementler*'inin 5 ve 6. kitabındaki genel

14 x yaklaşık sonuç ve $c = \sqrt{N}$ tahmini olmak üzere $x = \frac{1}{2} \times \left(c + \frac{N}{c} \right)$ denkleminde

$$c = a \text{ ve } N = a^2 + b \text{ yazıldığında } x = \sqrt{N} = a + \frac{b}{2a}$$

$$\sqrt{N} = \frac{1}{2} \times \left(\sqrt{N} + \frac{N}{\sqrt{N}} \right) \text{ sürekli kesrine dönüşür.}$$

Heron Mezopotamyalılarda da olduğu gibi, daha yaklaşık bir sonuç için bu şekilde denklemlerine devam eder. Bkz. Morris Kline, *Mathematical Thought From Ancient to Modern Times*, I, Oxford University Press, Newyork 1990. s. 135. Tüm bunlar günümüzde aşağıdaki ifadelere denk gelmektedir.

$$x_0 = \sqrt{N}, \quad \sqrt{N} = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} x_n$$

15 Newton'un (ö. 1727) flüksiyon metodu olarak bilinen metot kendisinin, ilk kez 1685'te John Wallis'in cebir kitabında anlatılan meşhur bir kübik denklem üzerinde çalışmasıyla nümerik denklemlerin köklerine yaklaşmayı sağladığı yöntemidir. 1690'da Royal Society üyelerinden Joseph Raphson'un (ö. 1715) aynı konuyla ilgili bulduğu yöntem de Newton'unkine çok benzemektedir. Farklı olarak, ara aşamalarda elde edilen değerleri, Newton köke yaklaşırken yeni bir denklemden çıkarsarken, Raphson bunları her defasında, orijinal denklemde yerine koyma tekniğiyle bulmaktadır. Modern matematik kitaplarındaki $x_1 = x_0 - \frac{f(x_0)}{f'(x_0)}$ ifadesi, Newton tarafından değil, Raphson tarafından, fonksiyonlar yerine polinomlar yazılarak kullanılmıştır. Dolayısıyla Newton'un yaklaşırma yöntemi veya Newton algoritması olarak anılan bu yolu Newton-Raphson yöntemi olarak adlandırmak tarihi gerçeklere daha uygun düşmektedir. Bkz. Florian Cajori, *Matematik Tarihi*, çev. Deniz İlalın, ODTÜ Yayınları, Ankara 2014, s. 238-239.

16 Boyer, *a.g.e.*, s. 47. Mezopotamyalıların, bulunacak yaklaşık değerini bir maksimum değeri minimum iki tam değer arasında olması gerektiği kanaatine varacak bir matematik seviyesine ulaşmaları, iki nehir arasında kurulmuş bir uygarlık olmasına dahi bağlanabilir. Bkz. Aynı yerde, s. 46.

17 Sayılı, *a.g.e.*, s. 179-182.

18 $\sqrt{2}$ için $x_{n+1} = \frac{1}{2} \times \left(x_n + \frac{2}{x_n} \right) = x_n - \frac{(x_n^2 - 2)}{2x_n} = x_n - \frac{f(x_n)}{f'(x_n)}$

19 Aynı yerde, s. 265, 270-271.

oranlar kuramında bahsedildiği²⁰ için sayısal olarak bir analizin dışında dahi olsa, en azından meşruiyet kazanmış, hatta matematik otoritesi olmuş yazılı kaynaklarda bu sayılar kendine yer edinebilmiştir.

1.2. Ortaçağdaki Bakış Açısı ve Gelişmeler

Ortaçağa gelindiğinde, Çin ve Hint uygarlıklarının kaydettiği gelişmeler ihmal edilmemelidir. Ancak, bilim tarihinde Yunan uygarlığının oynadığı gibi bir başrole sahip değillerdir. Bunun olası sebebi Aristoteles tarafından kesin kurallara dayanan formel mantığın bu uygarlıklarda mevcut olmamasıdır. Örnek olarak, Çinlilerin matematikle ‘matematik’ için uğraştıkları tartışmalıdır. Çin’deki matematik, belirli problemlerin çözümünden ibaret olup faydacı bir özellik taşımaktadır. Dolayısıyla ispat mantığının gelişmediği uygarlıklar, sonuç tespitinde başarı sağlasa dahi bu uygarlıkların daha öteye geçmede yetkinlikleri sınırlıdır.²¹ Ancak etkilerini inkâr etmek de mümkün değildir. Örnek olarak, 11-14. yüzyıl İslam dünyası matematikçileri ve 13. yüzyıl Çin matematikçileri karşılaştırıldığında özellikle üçüncü dereceden tam kök alma kurallarında büyük benzerlikler tespit edilmiştir.²² Yine bu çağlarda, Çin matematikçilerinin polinom denklemleri çözümünü kök alma metotlarıyla mümkün kılması ve bunların da 19. yüzyılda William Horner’in kullandığı metodu anımsatması taktire şayandır.²³ Ayrıca milattan önce 5. yüzyıl gibi erken bir dönemde ‘sulva-sutras’ metinlerinde $\sqrt{2}$ nin yaklaşık değerini²⁴ $1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3 \times 4} - \frac{1}{3 \times 4 \times 34}$ şeklinde, $\sqrt{3}$ ününü ise $1 + \frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{3 \times 5} - \frac{1}{3 \times 5 \times 52}$ şeklinde, bir kareyi küçük dikdörtgen ve çubuklara ayırmak suretiyle geometrik yollarla hesapladıkları tahmin edilen Hint matematikçilerinden²⁵ Aryabhata da (5. yüzyıl) yazdığı eserinde, ikinci ve üçüncü dereceden kök alma metotlarını işlemiştir. Burada 129778752 ’in küp kökü olan 235 ’in hesabında $(a + b)^3$ açılımından yani $(20 + 3)^3 = 20^3 + (3 \times 20^2 \times 3) + (3 \times 20 \times 3^2) + 3^3$ den yararlandığı görülmekte²⁶ ve bu girişimleri Bhaskara’nın *Siddhanta Siromani* kitabındaki (1150) ‘vija-ganita’ başlıklı kök alma bölümü takip etmektedir.²⁷ Görüldüğü üzere, Çin ve Hint uygarlıklarının geliştirdiği nümerik algoritmalar Yunanî perspektifin oldukça dışında olduğu gibi Babil metotlarından da epey farklıdır.

20 Sevim Tekeli-Esin Kahya-Melek Dosay-Remzi Demir-Hüseyin Gazi Topdemir-Yavuz Unat-Ayten Koç Aydın, *Bilim Tarihine Giriş*, Nobel Yayınları, Ankara 2007, s. 60. İçeriğinin ne olduğu bilinirse dahi Demokritos’un irrasyonel doğrularla ilgili bir eseri mevcuttur. Bkz., Aynı yerde, s. 35.

21 Colin Ronan, *Bilim Tarihi: Dünya Kültürlerinde Bilimin Tarihi ve Gelişmesi*, çev. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu-Feza Günergun, Tübitak Yayınları, Ankara 2005, s. 169.

22 Bo Göran Johansson, “Cube Root Extraction in Medieval Mathematics”, *Historia Mathematica*, sayı 38 (2011), s. 355.

23 Victor Joseph Katz, *A History of Mathematics: An Introduction*, Pearson/Adisson-Wesley, Boston 2009, s. 217.

24 Kline, *a.g.e.*, s. 183.

25 Samarendra Nath Sen, “Mathematics”, *A Concise History of Science in India*, ed. Debendra Mohen Bose, Universities Press (India) Private Limited, Hyderabad 2009, s. 193-195.

26 Katz, *a.g.e.*, s. 235.

27 Kline, *a.g.e.*, s. 189.

Yunanî geleneklerin, matematikte bıraktığı söz konusu geometrik izlerin aksine, ortaçağ İslam dünyasında matematiğin sembolik ve formel bir nitelik kazanması, matematiksel ifadelerin gerçeklikle/dış dünyayla irtibatı sağlaması hususunda öncelik arz etmiştir. Üstelik İslam dünyasında bu alanın öncülerinden Harizmî'nin (9. asır) hesap, cebir ve mesahada takip ettiği çizgi, hedeflenen bu öncelikler için oldukça elverişlidir. 13. yüzyıla gelindiğinde İbn Fellûs'un (ö. 1240) sayılar teorisi gibi bir alanı dahi Pitagoras etkilerini dikkate almaksızın yeniden inşa etmesi, sayı mistisizmine kapıları kapatarak nümerik matematiği garanti altına almış olmaktadır. 14. yüzyıl itibarıyla, Endülüs kökenli İbnü'l-Bennâ (ö. 1321) ve takipçilerinin aritmetiksel ve cebirsel notasyon sistemine veya kesirler ve üsler hesabına katkıları yine nümerik ilerlemelerin başında gelmektedir. 15. yüzyıl itibarıyla de Memlûklü matematikçilerden İbnü'l-Hâim (ö. 1421), İbnü'l-Mecdî (ö. 1447) ve Sibtü'l-Mardinî (ö. 1506) gerek on tabanlı Hindî hesabı gerekse de altmış tabanlı sittinî hesabı geliştirerek matematiği sayısal kanallarla beslemeye devam etmişlerdir.²⁸ Diğer yandan, İnan havzasında, önce Nizâmuddin Nîsâbü'rî (ö. 1329) sonra da Cemşid Kaşî (ö. 1429) veya Ali Kuşçu (ö. 1474) gibi temsilciler bu yapıyı güçlendirerek azami derecede matematiksel kesinliği sağlama gayesini gütmüşlerdir. Nitekim Cemşid Kaşî'nin π sayısını on altıncı basamağa kadar hesap etmesi bu durumun bazı göstergelerindedir. Hatta Ali Kuşçu'nun *Risâletü'l-Muhammediye fi'l-Hisâb*'ında 'sayı'nın tanımı için yepyeni bir teklifin görülmesi, bu çabaların kavramsal boyutlara dönüştüğüne işaret etmektedir.²⁹ Söz konusu matematiksel kesinlik anlayışından Osmanlı matematiği de nasiplenmiştir. Hatta temellerini büyük ölçüde İlhanlılardan alarak gelişen Osmanlı muhasebe dairesindeki katiplerle Osmanlı matematiği, oldukça pür ve pratik bir sahaya çekilmeye çalışılmıştır. Böylece 15. yüzyıl Osmanlı muhasebe matematikçileri, matematikte kesinlik ve dakiklik adına uygun bir zemin sağlamıştır. Ardından bu anlayış, 16. yüzyılda Takıyyüddin'in (ö. 1585) tüm bu birikimden yararlanarak ondalık kesirlerle hesabı çok daha farklı işlemlere teşmil etmesiyle zirveye ulaşmıştır.³⁰

Ortaçağ İslam dünyası ve Osmanlılardaki matematiksel ilerlemenin güdülerini değişik açılardan tartışılabilir. Ancak burada önemli olan, bu ilerlemeyi sağlayan matematiksel yönelimin geometrik bir perspektife alternatif olarak gelişen nümerik perspektif olduğudur. Unutulmamalıdır ki analitik geometriyi inşa eden Descartes'in matematiksel doğruluğu Tanrı'ya bağlama teşebbüsleri veya kalkülüsü icat eden Newton'un anıtsal yapıtında doğa felsefesi ve matematik ilkelerini birbiriyle irtibatlandırma hedefi, bu alternatif nümerik perspektiflerle gerçekleşmiştir. Dolayısıyla Batı Avrupa'dakine benzer devrimsel bir süreç gerçekleşme dahi, yukarıda betimlenen gelişmelerin Doğu'daki sonuçları, matematiğin kalkülatif bir araç haline getirilmesinde ve matematiksel kesinlikte oldukça anlamlı hale gelmektedir.³¹

28 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Derin Yapı*, Paparsense Yayınları, İstanbul 2018, s. 156-157.

29 Aynı yerde, s. 157-158, 160.

30 Aynı yerde, s. 158-159.

31 Aynı yerde, s. 164-165.

İşte bu alternatif nümerik perspektif sayesinde, sayısal analiz tekniklerinin başında gelen kök alma işlemlerine, özellikle irrasyonel kökler için bulunan yaklaşık çözümlere dair ortaçağ İslam dünyasındaki kalburüstü örneklerden bazıları aşağıdaki gibidir:

Harizmî'nin günümüze ulaşmayan Hindî hesapla ilgili eserinde, karekök bulmak için birden fazla yöntem mevcuttur. Ancak yöntemlerinden biri, sıfırlar eklemek suretiyle yürütülmüş ve yaklaşık değer, altmış tabanlı kesirler cinsinden ifade edilmiştir. Bu da aynı çağda Benû Musa tarafından n. dereceden yani yaklaşık kök alma metodunun genel bir formülü olarak güncellenmiştir.

Tam karekökü olmayan her N doğal sayısı $\sqrt{N} \cong \frac{1}{10^k} \sqrt{N \times 10^{2k}}$ şekline dönüşerek gerek on tabanlı gerekse de altmış tabanlı ifade edilebilir. Örn:

$$\sqrt{2} \cong \frac{1}{10^3} \sqrt{2 \times 10^{2 \times 3}} = \frac{2000000}{1000} = 1,414 = 1 + \frac{24}{60} + \frac{50}{60^2} + \frac{24}{60^3}$$

Benû Musa'nın genel kuralı ise: $m = 10$ veya 60 için $\sqrt[n]{N} \cong \frac{1}{m^k} \sqrt[n]{N \times m^{nk}}$ ³²

Harizmî'nin takip ettiği diğer yöntem ise $\sqrt{N} = \sqrt{a^2 + b} \cong a + \frac{b}{2a}$ formülü (I) olup, bu formül sonraki matematikçiler tarafından aşama aşama daha yaklaşık çözümler sağlayacak şekilde düzenlenmiştir. Örnek olarak Abdülkahir el-Bağdadî (ö. 1037) $\sqrt{N} = \sqrt{a^2 + b} \cong a + \frac{b}{2a+1}$ kuralını (II) önermiş ve $\sqrt{3}$ örneğini vermiştir. ³³

Ahmed b. İbrahim el-İklîdisî'nin (ö. 980) günümüze ulaşan Hindî hesapla ilgili eseri *Fusûl fi'l-Hisâbi'l-Hindî*'sinde ise hem Harizmî'nin hem de Bağdadî'nin ulaştığı sonuçların ortalama değeri teklif edilir. Zira herhangi bir sayının karekökü alınırken Harizmî'nin formülüyle fazla, Bağdadî'nin formülüyle eksik değerlere ulaşılabileceği için ikisinin ortalaması daha yaklaşık bir sonuçtur.

$$a + \frac{b}{2a+1} < \sqrt{N} < a + \frac{b}{2a} \text{ ise}$$

$$\sqrt{N} \cong \frac{1}{2} \times \left[\left(a + \frac{b}{2a} \right) + \left(a + \frac{b}{2a+1} \right) \right] \rightarrow \sqrt{N} \cong a + \frac{1}{2} \times \left(\frac{b}{2a} + \frac{b}{2a+1} \right) \text{ ³⁴}$$

Ünlü cebirci Kerecî ise (ö. ~1016) II'yi tercih etmekle beraber $a \geq b$ olduğunda I'in daha dakik olduğunu fark etmiştir. II'de ise ufak bir değişiklik yapmıştır:

32 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Aded ile Mikdâr*, Ketebe Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, s. 129.

$\sqrt{N} = \frac{1}{10^k} \sqrt{N \times 10^{2k}}$ ile 12. yüzyılda Sevellalı John, $\sqrt{26} = \frac{1}{100} \sqrt{260000} = 5^\circ 5' 24'''$ ile 13. yüzyılda Jordanus Nemorarius, $\sqrt{2} = 1^\circ 24' 50'' 24'''$ ile 14. yüzyılda Johannes de Muris ve $\sqrt{N} = \frac{1}{60^{2k}} \sqrt{N \times 60^{2k}}$ ile 15. yüzyılda Johann Von Gemunden, vermiş oldukları bu kural ve örneklerle ortaçağ İslam dünyasını takip etmişlerdir. Bkz. George Sarton, "The First Explanation of Decimal Fractions and Measures (1585). Together with a History of the Decimal Idea and a Facsimile (No. XVII) of Stevin's Disme", *Isis*, sayı 23 (1935), s. 169-170.

33 Fazlıoğlu, *Aded ile Mikdâr*, s. 133.

34 Aynı yerde, s. 134.

$$\sqrt{N} = \sqrt{a^2 + b} \cong a + \frac{N - a^2}{1 + 2a}^{35}$$

Batı İslam dünyasının meşhur matematikçisi Kalasâdî (ö. 1486) farklı olarak şu sonuca ulaşmıştır:

$$b > a \text{ ise } \sqrt{N} \cong a + \frac{b + 1}{2(a + 2)}$$

³⁶Bununla beraber, Kalasâdî'nin önkoşul olmaksızın şu yeni formülü çok daha dakik sonuçlar sağlamakla beraber, sürekli kesir anlayışından türetilmiş olasılığı itibariyle zikredilmeye değerdir.

$$\sqrt{N} = \sqrt{a^2 + b} \cong a + \frac{4a^3 + 3ab}{4a^2 + b}$$

³⁷Yaklaşık küp kök elde etmeye dair ilk teşebbüslerden Kuşyâr b. Lebbân Cîlî'nin (ö. 961) önerisi şöyledir:

$$\sqrt[3]{N} = \sqrt[3]{a^3 + b} \cong a + \frac{b}{3a^2 + 1}$$

Bağdadî'nin bu husustaki kuralı ise aşağıda görüleceği üzere daha dakik olup sonraki dönemlerde de tercih edilmiştir:

$$\sqrt[3]{N} = \sqrt[3]{a^3 + b} \cong a + \frac{b}{3a^2 + 3a + 1}^{38}$$

Kuralın olağan şekilde devam ettiği süreç içinde, irrasyonel kökün değerine bu şekilde yaklaşmaya da 'konvansiyonel yaklaşma' denilmiştir.³⁹

Bu çabaların doruk noktasına ulaştığı *Miftâhu'l-Hisâb* isimli mufassal eserin yazarı Cemşid Kaşî'den önce, n. dereceden kök çıkarmayla ilgilenen başka pek çok matematikçi olup, Ebu Reyhan el-Birûnî (ö. 1048), Ömer Hayyâm (ö. 1131), Nizâmeddin Nisâburî (ö. 1328) ve Nasreddin Tûsî (ö. 1274)⁴⁰ bunlardan bazılarıdır. Hatta ulaştıkları formüller, 19.

35 Aynı yerde, s. 134.

36 Aynı yerde, s. 134. İbnü'l-Bennâ da aynı kuralı takip etmiştir. Bkz. Ahmed Abbassi, "Root extraction by Nizam al-Din al-Nisaburi", *Kuwait Journal of Science*, 49/2 (2022), 11.

37 Fazlıoğlu, *Aded ile Mikdâr*, s. 135.

38 Aynı yerde, s. 136.

39 Roshdi Rashed, *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science; Mathematics and the Physical Sciences*, II, Routledge, London 1996, s. 383.

40 el-Beyrûnî ve Ömer Hayyâm'ın bu çalışmaları günümüze ulaşmış değildir. Bkz. Rashed, *a.g.e.*, s. 387; Abbassi, *a.g.m.*, s. 6, 14,15.

yüzyıl itibariyle Ruffini-Horner metodu⁴¹ olarak bilinen metottan çok farklı değildir.⁴² İlginç olan, İbn Heysem'in (ö. 1040) irrasyonel kökün yaklaşık değerinin tespitini aşağıdaki gibi gerekçeli olarak ifade etmesidir:

İkinci dereceden kök alma:

N bir tam sayının karesi ve kökü s de

$$s = s_0 + \dots + s_h \quad s_i = \sigma_i 10^{h-i} \quad 0 \leq i \leq h$$

Konvansiyonel yaklaşma ve binom formülleri bilindiğine göre:

$$N_i = N_{i-1} - \sum_{k=1}^n \binom{n}{k} (s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1})^{n-k} s_i^k$$

$i = 0$ için N 'de bulunduğu basamağa göre uygun bir karekök olarak σ_0 belirlenir:

$$\sigma_0^2 10^{2h} \leq N < (\sigma_0 + 1)^{2h} 10^{2h}$$

$$\sigma_i = \frac{N_i}{2(s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1})10^{h-i}}$$

$$s_i = 1 \rightarrow 2(s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1}), 1 \rightarrow [2(s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1})s_i + s_i^2] \\ \text{ve } i = h$$

$$N_{i-1} = \sum_{k=1}^n \binom{n}{k} (s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1})^{n-k} s_i^k$$

$$N_i = N_{i-1} - [2(s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1})s_i + s_i^2]$$

$$N_i = 0 \quad N_h = 0$$

$$\sqrt{N} = (s_0 + \dots + s_h) + \frac{N_h}{2(s_0 + \dots + s_h) + 1} = (s_0 + \dots + s_h)$$

N bir tam sayının karesi değilse, kökü de

$$N_i = N_{i-1} - [2(s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1})s_i + s_i^2]$$

$$2(s_0 + \dots + s_{i-1}), 1 \quad \text{ve } i = h$$

$$(s_0 + \dots + s_h) + \frac{N_h}{2(s_0 + \dots + s_h) + 1}$$

41 Ortaçağ Çin uygarlığında Ch'in Chiu-shao'nun (ö. 1261) *Su-shu Chiu-chang* adlı eserinde dördüncü dereceden bir denklemin kökünün nümerik olarak bulunması işlemi de ilkece Ruffini-Horner metoduna benzemektedir. Cajori, *a.g.e.*, s. 93. Hatta Ch'in Chiu-shao bu metodu muhtelif derecelerdeki pek çok denklemin yaklaşık kökünü bulmak için uygulamış olup Yang Hui (ö. 1275) da bu hususta Ch'in Chiu-shao'yu takip etmiştir. Boyer, *a.g.e.*, s. 236.

42 Rashed, *a.g.e.*, s. 383-386.

Benzer şekilde üçüncü dereceden yaklaşık kök:

$$(s_o + \dots + s_h) + \frac{N_h}{3(s_o + \dots + s_h)^2 + 3(s_o + \dots + s_h) + 1} \quad 43$$

Ancak, özellikle Pascal üçgeni ve binom formüllerinin sağladığı imkanlarla, 11. yüzyıl sonrası bazı matematikçiler arasından, daha yüksek dereceden kök bulunması için genel formülleri güncellemeye çalışanlar mevcuttur. Örnek olarak, Semew'el b. Yahya el-Mağribî (ö.~1175), Ruffini-Horner metodunu uygulayarak altmış tabanında bir tam sayının n. dereceden kökünü bulmakla kalmamış, yaklaşık değer kavramını da izah etmiştir. Semew'el'e göre bu işlem, n. dereceden irrasyonel kök ve rasyonel sayılar serisi arası mesafeyi belirlemekle açıklanabilir.⁴⁴ Kök çıkarma işleminin, önemini denklemler teorisiyle irtibatından aldığı, geometrik boyut ve ispatların sınırlamalarının aksine denklemlere analitik (sayısal) yaklaşımın cebire esas katkısı yaptığı ve Semew'el'in Kereci tarafından geliştirilmiş analitik cebir yaklaşımını⁴⁵ rasyonel sayılar kümesini dikkate alarak 'hesap'la ilişkilendiren etkin bir aktör olduğu düşünüldüğünde, bu safha çok da şaşırtıcı olmasa gerektir.⁴⁶

Nasreddin Tûsî'nin 1265 tarihli *Cevâmi' u'l-Hisâb bi'l-Taht ve'l-Turâb* isimli eserinde ise cümel rakamlarıyla ifade edilen altmış tabanlı 40,13,2,24,40,36,57,0,19 sayısının üçüncü dereceden yaklaşık kökü 52,30,33 olarak bulunmuştur. Tûsî aynı zamanda bu eserde yine altmış tabanlı bir başka sayının 4. dereceden kökünü elde etmiş, hatta işlemlerde Hindî rakamları kullanmıştır.⁴⁷ Tûsî'nin daha yüksek dereceli kök alma işlemlerine dair, $\sqrt[6]{244140626} \cong 25 + \frac{1}{26^6 - 25^6}$ örneği de mevcuttur. Bu da Tûsî'nin 11. yüzyıldaki astronomlara dayanarak verdiği şu yaklaşma metodunu sağlamaktadır:

$$\sqrt[m]{n^m + r} \cong n + \frac{r}{\left[\sum_{k=1}^{m-1} \binom{m}{k} n^{m-k} \right] + 1} = n + \frac{r}{(n+1)^m - n^m}$$

$$\sqrt[m]{n^m + r} \cong n + \mu \quad 0 \leq \mu < 1 \quad \mu = \frac{r}{\sum_{k=1}^{m-1} c_m^k n^k + 1} = \frac{r}{\left[\sum_{k=1}^{m-1} \binom{m}{k} n^{m-k} \right] + 1} \quad 48$$

43 Aynı yerde, s. 383-386.

44 Abbasi, a.g.m., s. 7.

Q=0; 0,0,2,33,43,3,43,36,48,8,16,52,30 örneğini kullanarak $f(x) = x^5 - Q = 0$ ile kök bulmuştur. Bkz. Rashed, a.g.e., s. 387, 389.

45 Melek Dosay, *Kereci'nin İle'l-Hesab el-Cebr ve'l-Mukabele Adlı Eseri*, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Ankara 1991, s. 78-79.

46 Elif Baga, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemde Cebir*, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Felsefe ve Din Bilimleri Ana Bilim Dalı, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul 2012, s. 32-128, 158.

47 Johansson, a.g.m., s. 353.

48 Abbasi, a.g.m., s. 13.

Bu eser, tahta (levha) hesabı⁴⁹ olduğunda dolayı, Tûsî işlem sürecindeki aşamaların hepsini göstermez, aradaki bazı adımları siler.⁵⁰

Tûsî'nin dayanak olarak kullandığı interpolasyon metotları rastlantı olmayıp, izleri daha da geriye doğru sürülebilir. Lineer polinomlar yardımıyla bilinen değerlerden yola çıkılarak, bu değerler arasında farklı bir yerdeki değeri tahmin etmeye yarayan lineer interpolasyondan, Batlamyus'un *Almagest*'inde giriş tabloları için daha kesin değerler elde etmek ve gök cisimleriyle ilgili hesaplardaki belirgin hataları telafi etmek amacıyla yararlanılmıştır.⁵¹ Ayrıca yine interpolasyon metotlarını içeren ortaçağ Hint astronomisinin en önemli kaynaklarından Brahmagupta'nın metinleri 8. yüzyıl gibi erken bir dönemde İslam dünyasında tercüme edildiğinden ötürü,⁵² İslam dünyasının 11. yüzyıl matematik bilimler külliyatında bu metotlar geliştirilerek yerini almış bulunmakta, Birünî gibi yüzyılın seçkin isimlerinin bunları kullandığı bilinmektedir.⁵³ Ancak Kaşî, kendisine kadar kullanılan yöntemleri hem altmış tabanlı hem de on tabanlı sistemde genelleştirmekle ön plana çıkmaktadır.⁵⁴ Ayrıca Kaşî $a^n - b^n$ nin hesabı için sunduğu kuralı genişleterek $(a + b)^n - b^n$ nin açılımını bulmada da kullanmıştır. Böylece n. dereceden yaklaşık kök hesapları için geliştirmiş olduğu formül şöyledir:

$$\sqrt[n]{N} = \sqrt[n]{a^n + b} \cong a + \frac{b}{(a+1)^n - a^n}$$
⁵⁵

O halde bu yaklaşık çözüm, aynı prensiplerle, ancak küçük ölçekli formuyla Semew'el öncesi matematikçiler tarafından da uygulanan ve konvansiyonel olarak nitelendirilen 'yaklaşma'nın daha genel halidir. Kereci'nin bulguları veya Pascal üçgenin avantajlarına

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- 49 Düz bir zemine (tahta, levha) toz, toprak veya kum serpilip, bunun üstünde ucu sivri bir çubukla işlemlerin gösterildiği hesap türüdür. Kağıt ve kalemle hesabın elverişli olmadığı koşullarda tercih edilmiştir. Parmakla hesap yapmaya alternatif olarak gelişmiş olup hem on tabanlı hem de altmış tabanlı hesap için uygun bir araç olmuştur. En eski örneği Hârizmî'nin günümüze Latincesi ulaşan aritmetik kitabı olsa da yaklaşık M.Ö 5. asırdan beri Hindistan coğrafyasında bulunduğu düşünülmektedir. Tûsî'nin *Cevâmi' u'l-Hisâb bi't-Taht ve'l-Turâb* 'ının tahta hesabı literatüründeki en kapsamlı ve en gelişmiş eser olduğu düşünülmektedir. Bkz. Elif Baga, *Hesap Biliminde Yeterlilik (Eminüddin Ebheri'nin Fusûlün Kâfiye fi Hisâbi't-Taht ve'l-Mil Adlı Eseri)*, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, İstanbul 2021, s. 26-30, 33.
- 50 Abbasi, a.g.m., s. 10, 15. Nisâbüri ise cetvel üstünde süreçteki tüm detayları işlemiş olmakla, paradigmatic bir değişikliği temsil etmiş ve Tûsî'den Kaşî'ye giden yollar arasında adeta köprü kurmuştur. Abbasi, a.g.m., s.10, 13, 15. Nisâbüri hesabı, tahta(levha) ile değil kağıt-kalem malzemeleriyle yapığundan dolayı, bu malzemeler uygun teknikleri eserinde işlemiş olup cetvelle anlatım tekniği de bunlardan biridir. Bkz. Baga, a.g.e., s. 26 (2. dipnot), 37.
- 51 Nathan Sidoli, "Mathematical Tables in Ptolemy's Almagest", *Historia Mathematica*, sayı 41 (2014), s. 32; Glen Van Brummelen, "Lunar and Planetary Interpolation Tables in Ptolemy's Almagest", *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, XXV/ 4 (1994), 310, 297-311.
- 52 Edward Stewart Kennedy, "Al-Biruni", *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, II, ed. Charles Gillispie-Frederic Holmes, Scribner, New York 1970, s. 154-155; Nabi Bakhsh Baloch, "Al-Beruni's Ghurra al-Zijaj", *Erdem*, 6/18 (1990), 766-769.
- 53 Edward Stewart Kennedy, "The Chinese-Uighur Calendar as Described in the Islamic Sources", *Isis*, sayı 55 (1964) s. 440-442.
- 54 Johansson, a.g.m., s. 340. Kökün tam kısmının cetvelle hesabı ve bunun çözümlemesi için bkz. John Lennart Berggren, *Episodes in the Mathematics of Medieval Islam*, Springer, Newyork 2003, s. 62.
- 55 Berggren, a.g.e., s. 62, Abbasi, a.g.m., s. 14.

entegre olmamış matematikçiler kendilerini iki veya üçüncü derece kuvvetle sınırlandırmış olurken, bu yeni safhada binom formülleri Horner metodunu karşılamaya yetmekte ve herhangi bir kuvvette de kural uygulanabilir hale gelmektedir. 12. yüzyıl itibariyle bu bağlamda, meşhur isimlere dair verilebilecek örnekler daha da çoğaltılabilir. Batı İslam dünyasında, yaklaşık çözümleri de dahil edecek şekilde, söz konusu kuralı genelleştiren, ispatlayan, hatta 5. dereceden kök almayı başaranlar mevcuttur. İlginç olan ise bu kuralın Semew'el'in eliyle, ondalık kesirlerin geliştirilmesi olarak da meyvesini vermiş olduğudur. Nihai formuna Kâşî ile kavuşan bu kural en genel haliyle, başka bir şekilde şöyle ifade edilebilir:

$$\sqrt[n]{N} = x' = x_0 + \frac{N - x_0^n}{\left[\sum_{k=1}^{n-1} \binom{n}{k} x_0^{n-k} \right] + 1}^{56}$$

Ortaçağ itibariyle kaydedilmiş bu gelişmelerin özünü temsil eden ve Ruffini-Horner olarak bahsedilen metot ise 19. yüzyılda yönteme ismini veren iki matematikçinin aynı zamanlarda aynı çalışmayı yapmasıyla modern şeklini almıştır. İtalya Bilim Topluluğu nümerik denklemlerin çözümünde yapılacak ilerlemeler için ödül koymuş ve ödülü 1804'te Paolo Ruffini'ye (ö. 1822) vermiştir. Zira Ruffini, analiz yardımıyla bir denklemi, belirli bir sabitle kökleri teker teker eksilterek başka bir denkleme dönüştürmede kolay bir kuram ortaya koymuştur. William George Horner'in (ö. 1837) konuyla ilgili makalesi ise Kraliyet Topluluğu huzurunda 1819'da okunmuş ve aynı yıl basılmıştır. Ancak Horner ve Ruffini'nin, yöntemlerinin 13. yüzyıl itibariyle bilindiği gerçeğinden haberleri olmamıştır. Her ikisi de bulgularını, önce yüksek analiz sonra da temel cebirle açıklamış ve sayıların kökünü bulmada eski sürecin yerine geçebilecek birer alternatif sunmuşlardır. Zaman içinde Ruffini'nin yazısı ihmal edilirken, Horner'in tespitleri, destek gördüğü etkili kişiler sayesinde ilgi görmüştür. Ruffini-Horner yöntemi Kıta Avrupa'sında seyrek kullanılsa da İngiltere ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde epey rağbet görmüştür. Fransa'da ise söz konusu yöntemin eşdeğeri sayılabilecek ve özü yine asırlar öncesinin sayısal analiz yöntemlerinde bulunan Newton-Raphson yöntemi hâkim konumda olmuştur.⁵⁷ Evvelki paragraflarda işaret edildiği üzere, 12. yüzyıl itibariyle atılmış ileri adımlar, matematikçileri dönemlerinin oldukça ötesine taşımış, yakınçağın sayısal analiz tarzına yaklaştırmıştır. Aynı zamanda, kısmen Osmanlıların kuruluş dönemine denk gelen bu anlayışların Osmanlı matematiğinde nasıl karşılık bulduğu ise ileriki satırlarda sunulmuştur.

1.3. Osmanlılardaki Gelişmeler

Osmanlı Devleti, klasik İslam medeniyetinin doğal bir devamı olduğundan, hesap alanında da bu medeniyetin birikimini devralmıştır. Bu nedenle, önce seleflerinin sayısal yönelimlerinin buradaki izlerini takip etmek ve ardından Osmanlıların sayısal analizdeki rollerini ele almak yerinde olacaktır.

56 Rashed, *a.g.e.*, s. 387, 389.

57 Cajori, *a.g.e.*, s. 310-311.

Başta Osmanlı olmak üzere birikimini Anadolu Beyliklerine devretmiş Anadolu Selçuklular, farklı sayısal yaklaşımlar bakımından temayüz etmiştir. Burada, devletin malî teşkilatının omurgası olan muhasebe ve finansın aritmetiğinde ondalık konumsal sayı sistemine dayalı Hindî hesap tercih edilirken; astronomi ve trigonometri için altmış tabanlı sayı sistemi canlı tutulmuştur. Hesap alanında pratik algoritmanın alabildiğine geliştiği Anadolu Selçuklular, cebirin de sayısallaştırılmasına sahne olmuştur. Bu husustaki girişimler, hem ondalık kesir bilincine ve hem de yaklaşık kök alma yöntemlerine yansyarak sayısal analizde kendini göstermiştir. Daha evvelden de bahsedildiği üzere Kerecî çizgisini takip ederek soyut bir cebir anlayışı taşıyan Semew'el, ondalık kesir fikrini Anadolu'da benimsemiş ve bu fikri yaklaşık kök hesaplamalarında kullanmaya çalışmıştır.⁵⁸

Ahmed b. İbrâhim İklîdisî veya İbnü'l-Heyssem gibi müelliflerin eserlerinin Osmanlı öncesi nüshalarındaki kayıtlarıyla Osmanlı döneminde nüshaları, bu eserlerin Osmanlılarda kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Bu isimlerin, yukarıda da bahsi geçtiği gibi yaklaşık kök almada yeni algoritmalar ve izahlar ileri sürmelerinden ötürü, eserleri vesilesiyle Osmanlılara ihmal edilemeyecek düzeyde etkiye bulunduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Merâğa Rasathanesi baş aktörü Nasreddin Tûsî'nin *Cevâmî 'u'l-Hisâb bi't-Taht ve't-Turâb*'ının da Osmanlıların önemli kaynaklarından olması,⁵⁹ içeriğindeki yüksek derecelerde kök alma tekniklerinin Osmanlılarda yankı bulma olasılığına işaret etmektedir.

Ayrıca yine yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere kök alma tekniklerinin; altmış tabanlı sistemden on tabanlı sisteme, tam köklerden yaklaşık köklere, özel çözümlerden yüksek derecelerde genel çözümlere teşmil edildiği Semerkant Rasathanesi baş aktörü Cemşid el-Kâşî'nin *Miftâhu'l-Hisâb*'ı, Osmanlı medreselerinde ileri seviye ders kitabı olarak okutulmak suretiyle Osmanlı matematiğinin kaynakları arasında yer almıştır. Eser aynı zamanda ondalık kesirlerin aritmetikte sistematik kullanımını veren ilk kitap olma özelliğini de taşımaktadır.⁶⁰ Doğu İslam dünyasında bu gelişmeler yaşanırken, Batı İslam dünyasında Osmanlıların cebirdeki tutumlarını belirleyen ve analitik temeller üzerinde yükselen bir cebir kurulmakta⁶¹ ve bu anlayışın mimarları pür sayısal bir çerçeve içinde matematikte derin izler bırakmaktadır. Örnek olarak, İbnü'l-Bennâ'nın çarpıcı özelliklerinden biri, yaklaşık karekök tespitinde kaydettiği başarıdır.⁶² *Telhîsü A'mâli'l-Hisâb* adlı eserinin Kahireli İbnü'l-Hâim (ö. 1412) tarafından ihtisar edilmesi ve bu muhtasarın Osmanlı âlimlerince yapılmış şerh ve istinsahları İbnü'l-Bennâ'nın yönlendirici etkisinin sürekliliğini sağlamıştır.⁶³

58 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Selçuklu Döneminde Anadolu'da Felsefe ve Bilim- Bir Giriş", *Cogito*, sayı 29 (2001), s. 161.

59 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Hesâb-ı Hindî", *DİA*, XVII, 262.

60 Aynı yerde, s. 263-264.

61 Elif Baga, *a.g.t.*, s. 44, 257.

62 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İbnü'l-Bennâ el-Merraküşî", *DİA*, XX, 532.

63 Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Hesâb-ı Hindî", s. 263.

Görüldüğü üzere, Osmanlılar gerek yakın gerek uzak geçmişlerindeki veya kendi dönemine ait farklı coğrafyalardaki muhtelif hesap gelenekleriyle ilgili kaynakları dayanak olarak seçmekten geri durmadığı için değişik vesilelerle sayısal analiz konularından da haberdar olmuş sayılmaktadır.

Bundan çok kısa bir süre sonra ise kendi matematikçileri sayesinde matematik üretimi gerçekleştirmiş Osmanlılarda, muhasebe kalemlerinde uygulanan muhasebe aritmetiğinin ve medreselerde okutulan temel aritmetiğin on tabanlı hesap sistemi olan Hindî hesabı esas almasından ötürü, resmî olarak Hindî hesabın kullanıldığı söylenebilir.⁶⁴ Örnek olarak, Ali Kuşçu'nun (ö. 1474) hesap kitapları, Bahâuddin Amilî'nin hesap kitabı (ö. 1622) ve bunun Abdürrahim Maraşî tarafından yapılan şerhi (1693), en gözde Hindî hesap kitapları olup tüm matematik çevrelerinin temel başvuru kaynağı haline gelmiştir.⁶⁵ Yine Fatih döneminde bir başka Hindî hesap eseri, çalışmamızın Farsça kaynağını telif eden ve Fatih'in hocası Hoca Hayreddin olduğu düşünülen Hayreddin Halil bin İbrahim'in muhasebecilere hitaben yazdığı *Miftâh-ı Künûz-ı Erbâbü'l-Kalem ve Misbâh-ı Rumûz-ı Ashâbü'r-Rakam* isimli aritmetik kitabıdır (1475). Kapsamı itibarıyla yaygın ve sürekli bir etkiye sahip olmuş ilk muhasebe-matematik metni ise Hacı Atmaca'nın Türkçe *Mecma'u'l-Kavâ'id*'i (1494) olup bu çabalar 16. yüzyılda mütakamil bir düzeye ulaşmıştır. Katip Alaeddin Yusuf'un *Mürşidü'l-Muhâsibîn*'inde (1511) bilinen niceliklerle hesabın, cebir veya orantı gibi bilinmeyen niceliklerle hesaptan ayrılarak mevcut kapsamın kavramsal derinliğiyle ele alınması, Garsuddin ibn Nakîb'in *Tezkiretü'l-Küttâb fî İlmi'l-Hisâb*'ının Türkçe şerh-tercümesinde (1574) mesaha konularının titizlikle incelenmesi,⁶⁶ Matrakçı Nasuh'un *Umdetü'l-Hisâb*'ında (1534) feraiz bahisleri yardımıyla aritmetik konularının zenginleştirilmesi ve Bursalı Yusuf bin Kemal'in *Cami'u'l-Hisâb*'ındaki (1528) ayrıntılı analitik cebir içeriği bunun en çarpıcı göstergelerindedir. 16. yüzyılda ayrıca Ali bin Veli bin Hamza el-Mağribî, yazdığı *Tuhfetu'l-A'dâd li-Zevî'r-Rüşd ve's-Sedâd*'ıyla (1591), Osmanlı matematiğine en detaylı Türkçe hesap kitabını kazandırmıştır. Bu eser aynı zamanda sembolik gösterimler taşıdığı için Endülüs matematik geleneği ve Osmanlı pratik matematiğinin ortak özelliklerini birleştirerek Osmanlı matematiğinin sayısal yöneliminde üstün bir konuma gelmiştir.⁶⁷ Bu yapı içerisinde kök hesaplarının genel hesap kitaplarında işlenmesi olağan hale gelmiştir. Örnek olarak, Mağribî veya Ali Kuşçu'nun eserlerinde bu hesaplara geniş yer verilmiş olup yüksek (dördüncü ve beşinci gibi) dereceli tam ve yaklaşık kök bulma formülleri ve örnekleri mevcuttur.⁶⁸ Sadece tam sayılarda değil, Nisaburî'nin verdiği

64 Aynı yerde, s. 262.

65 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Klasik Muhasebe Matematik Eserleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 1/1 (2003), 348.

66 Aynı yerde, s. 351, 354, 356, 357.

67 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Devletin Hesabını Tutmak", *Kutadgubilig Felsefe-Bilim Araştırmaları*, sayı 17 (2010), s. 170-172.

68 İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Hesap", *DİA*, XVII, 254; a. mlf., "Osmanlı Klasik Muhasebe Matematik Eserleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", s. 360.

$\sqrt[4]{2\frac{1}{2}}$ gibi bazı istisnaî örneklerin etkisiyle, rasyonel sayılarda da yüksek dereceden kökün bulunmasına aşinalık kazanmış Osmanlıların aslında, konudan çok yönlü fayda sağlamada, özellikle yöntemleri yüksek dereceli denklemlere uygulamada bazı sınırlıkları vardır. Ancak konu, denklemler teorisiyle çok sıkı bağlı olduğu için Osmanlıların cebir muhtevalı hesap kitaplarında müstakil başlıklar altında ele alınır.⁶⁹ Muhasebe matematiği eserleri arasından ise Hayreddin Halil bin İbrahim'in *Miftâh-ı Kûnûz*'ı ve bunun Edirnevî tarafından yapılan tercümesinde, tam sayılarda üç ve dördüncü dereceden tam ve yaklaşık kök almaya yer verilirken, *Mürşidü'l-Muhâsibîn*, *Umdetü'l-Hisâb* ve *Tezkiretü'l-Küttâb fî İlmi'l-Hisâb*'ın tercümesinde sadece ikinci dereceden kök bulma bahisleri mevcuttur.⁷⁰ *Cami'u'l-Hisâb* ise beşinci dereceye kadar kök çıkarma metotlarını işlemeyle Osmanlı muhasebe matematiğinin sayısal analizde zirvesi gibi görünmektedir. Zira, eserdeki denklemler teorisi Harizmî'nin altı denklem tipiyle sınırlı olsa da sayısal çözümlerden ödün verilmediği için burada orta ölçekte bir analitik cebir anlayışının inşa edildiği görülür.⁷¹ Ne var ki ikinci ve üçüncü dereceden kök alma işlemlerinde görülen yaklaşık kök hesapları, bu sınırlılığı olasılığı/dolayısı ile, dördüncü dereceden kök almada dahi mevcut değildir.⁷² Bu durumda Osmanlı muhasebe matematiğinin ilk örneklerinden olan *Miftâh-ı Kûnûz*'un aslı veya tercümesinin dördüncü dereceden yaklaşık kök bulmayı da içermesi, bunları Osmanlı matematiğinin kalburüstü eserleri haline getirmiştir. Bu eserler aynı zamanda, Osmanlılarda ondalık kesirlerin görüldüğü ilk örnekler olması dolayısıyla,⁷³ sayısal bakış açısının sergilendiği öncü metinlerdir. Bu bakış açısını devam ettirmekle kalmayıp aritmetik eseri sayesinde, Kaşî'nin bulgularını genişleterek Osmanlılarda konuyla ilgili en tafsilatlı teorik çalışmayı yapan hatta bunu zîclerinde astronomiye uygulayan isim, Takıyyüddin ibn Marûf er-Râsîd'dır.⁷⁴ Böylece Osmanlılarda kök alma metotları, yüksek dereceli denklemlerin çözümünde daimî ve garantör bir enstrüman olarak uygulanmasa da⁷⁵, ondalık kesirlerle işlemlerden denklemlerin analitik tasavvuruna kadar, farklı algoritmik ve cebirsel yönelimlerin bütünü içinde anlamlı bir yere sahiptir.

2. Müellif ve Eserin Tanıtımı

16. yüzyılın başında Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî tarafından ortaya konulan ve ilk sayfasında İlm-i Erkâm-ı Taksimât olarak tanıtılan bu eser, esasında daha evvel (1475)

69 Baga, *a.g.t.*, s. 65, 151, 158, 258.

70 Oğuz, "Osmanlıların Klasik Dönem Muhasebecileri ve Telif Ettikleri Muhasebe-Matematik Eserleri", s. 103, 117, 121, 135.

71 Tuba Oğuz, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Muhasıplerinin Cebirsel Problemlere Yaklaşımı: Câmî'u'l-Hisâb Örneği", *Kutadgubilig: Felsefe Bilim Araştırmaları*, sayı 36 (2017), s. 559.

72 Oğuz, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Matematiğinde Kök Çıkarma Teknikleri: Câmî'u'l-Hisâb Örneği", s. 167.

73 Oğuz, "Ondalık Kesirlerin Osmanlı Muhasebe Matematiği Eserlerindeki Yeri (15-17.Yüzyıl)", s. 447-448, 457-458, 461.

74 Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Hesap", s. 254.

75 Örnek olarak Ali Kuşçu'nun bu yöndeki gayretlerinin cebire yeterince yansımadağı ve cebirinin nisbeten yüzeysel kaldığına dair bkz. Baga, *a.g.t.*, s. 79-80.

Farsça yazılan *Miftâh-ı Künûz* isimli meşhur matematik metninin Türkçe tercümesidir. Gerek *Miftâh-ı Künûz* gerekse de tercümesinin, Osmanlılarda nakit dirhem as katlarının gösterimi sayesinde ondalık kesirlerin ortaya çıktığı ilk matematik eserlerinden olduğu düşünülmektedir.⁷⁶ Eserin aslı, Fatih Sultan Mehmed dönemi matematikçilerinden Hayrettin Halil b. İbrahim tarafından, divan teşkilatında çalışan muhasebecilerin faydalanması için yazılmıştır. Hatta eserin *Miftâh-ı Künûz-ı Erbâbü'l-Kalem ve Misbâh-ı Rumûz-ı Ashâbü'r-Rakam* ismini taşıması bile hedef kitesini izhar etmede yeterlidir. Eserin Türkiye ve yurt dışındaki muhtelif kütüphanelerdeki nüsha sayısının on'a varması, vaktiyle esere oldukça rağbet edildiğinin bir alametidir. Ancak önemli bir diğer alameti ise biri kısmî diğeri ise tam metin tercümesi olmak üzere eserin Türkçe'ye kazandırılma gayretidir.⁷⁷

Söz konusu bu tercümelerden birinin, yukarıda da belirtilen 15. yüzyılın ünlü ve kapsamlı muhasebe-matematik kitaplarından *Mecma'u'l-Kavâ'id*'in müellifi Hacı Atmaca'ya ait olduğu belirtilmektedir. Kaynaklarda, Hacı Atmaca'nın burada *Miftâh-ı Künûz'un* çift yanlış yöntemiyle ilgili olan on altıncı bölümünü, küçük bir risalede tercüme ettiği ifade edilmektedir.⁷⁸ Ancak nakledilen bu bilgileri tashih etmekte fayda vardır. Öncelikle *Miftâh-ı Künûz*, on bölümlük bir eser olduğu için eserin on altıncı bölümünde çift yanlış yönteminin işlenmesi ve bu kısmın Hacı Atmaca tarafından çevrilmesi mümkün olamaz. Ama Hacı Atmaca'nın *Mecma'u'l-Kavâ'id*'indeki ilk bölümün on altıncı alt bölümü, tarif edildiği gibi çift yanlış yöntemiyle ilgili olduğu ve ikisinde (hem risalede hem de eserde) de aynı problemler çözüldüğü için bu kısmî tercümenin aslında tercüme olmadığı, Hacı Atmaca'nın telif ettiği *Mecma'u'l-Kavâ'id*'den bir parçayı temsil ettiği anlaşılmaktadır. Üstelik risalenin herhangi bir girizgahı da yoktur. Bu parçanın müstakil olarak bir mecmuanın içinde yer alması, konunun önemine dayandırılabilir. *Mecma'u'l-Kavâ'id*'de ilgili konunun sonunda da çözülen ve *Miftâh-ı Künûz*'dan alındığı açıkça ifade edilen çözümlü problemin, kısmî tercüme olduğu rivayet edilen söz konusu risalenin sonuna denk gelmesi yanıltıcı olmuş ve yukarıda bahsedilen detayların gözden kaçmasına sebebiyet vermiştir. Üstelik Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî'nin tercümesi konu (çift yanlış yöntemi) özelinde incelendiğinde de rivayet edilen bu bilgilerin doğru olmadığı, yani Hacı Atmaca'nın *Miftâh-ı Künûz*'dan tercüme yapmayıp sadece buradaki bir problemten ilham aldığı görülmektedir.⁷⁹

Yukarıdaki bahisler yine de *Miftâh-ı Künûz*'ın değer ve etki alanından herhangi bir şey eksiltmemektedir. *Miftâh-ı Künûz*'ın günümüze ulaşan yegane ve tam çevirisini yapmış

76 Oğuz, "Ondalık Kesirlerin Osmanlı Muhasebe Matematiği Eserlerindeki Yeri (15-17.Yüzyıl)", s. 447, 448, 461.

77 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu-Ramazan Şeşen-Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi*, I, IRCICA, İstanbul 1999, s. 33-35.

78 Aynı yerde, s. 34.

79 Hacı Atmaca, *Mecma'u'l-Kavâ'id*, Köprülü nr. 341, vr. 87a-100b; Halet Efendi, nr. 221/4, vr. 314b-317a; Oğuz-Ceyhan, *Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Matematiğinde Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî'nin 'Çift Yanlış' Metodu*", s. 167-173.

olma şerefi bu durumda Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî'ye ait olmaktadır. Bu tercümelere ait günümüze ulaşan üç nüshadan ikisi, eksik intikal etmiştir. Bir bütün olarak intikal eden nüshanın ise sonunda ayrıntılı bir ferağ kaydı olmadığından, tercüme ve istinsaha dair malumat açık değildir. Farklı kaynaklardan edinebileceğimiz sınırlı bilgiler doğrultusunda söylenebilecek olanlar ise Hayrettin Halil ve Edirnevî'nin hoca-talebe ilişkisi içinde olduğundan⁸⁰ ve eserdeki gümrük hesaplarıyla ilgili bir problemin Edirnevî'nin bu tercümeyle 1505 yılında yapmış olabileceğine⁸¹ işaret ettiğinden ibarettir. Ancak, eserin dibacesindeki “sene-i hurrem asâda vâki‘ olup tesvîd-i tâki vukû‘ bulmuş oldu”⁸² ifadesi ebced hesabı ile H. 840/M. 1437'ye denk geldiğinden dolayı, bu tarih Hayrettin Halil'in eseri Fatih'e sunması için erken olsa dahi, eserin müsveddesinin tamamlanması açısından manidardır.

Edirnevî'nin bu tercümesinde incelenecek olan ve günümüze ulaşan tek tam nüshası, nesih hatla ve 17'şer satırla yazılmış 83 yapraktan oluşmaktadır. İstinsahının ise 17. asırda olduğu söylenebilir.⁸³ *Miftâh-ı Künûz*'ın müellifi Hayrettin Halil'in, zamanın Pisagor'u olarak tanıtıldığı dibâcenin devamında aşağıdaki ifadeler göze çarpmaktadır:

“*Cemşidü'l-muhâsibîn el-muhtâc ilâ mağfîreti gufrâni'l-meliki'l-mu'in merhûm ve mağfûr Hayreddin tegammedehullâhü bi-gufrânihi ve enârallâhü burhâneh key bahşâyîş-i ilâhî ve rumûz-ı nâ-mütenâhiden bir mertebede muhâsib-i keşfi idi ki hisâb-ı kevâkib-i âsumân ânun habîb-i idrâkinde kadr-i aded-i kekb-i? kefeşi mesâbesinde değil idi. İmdi merhûmun resâ'ilinden Miftâh-ı Künûz-ı Erbâb-ı Kalem ve Misbâh-ı Rumûz-ı Ashâb-ı Rakam nâm risâlesin ki mübtedilere âsân olsun için bu ed'afü'l-ibâd ve enhafü'l-cesâd Pîr Mahmud el-Edirnevî el-müştehir bi's-Sıdkî ki giru merhûmun ednây-ı telâmizinden olup elden geldikçe zebân-ı Derî'den Türki'ye terceme olundu, ta kim tâlibü'l-ilm ve'l-kalem ve râğbü'l-hisâb ve'r-rakam müstefîd olup bu fakîr ve hakîri ve üstâdlarımızı duây-ı hayr-birle yâd ideler. Zirâ bu ilm-i hisâb bir ilm-i şerîf ve fenn-i latîfdir ki cümle-i âlem bu ilme muhtâclardır ve haber-i Resûl hükmünce -aleyhissalâtü vesselâm- ki buyurur: El-ilmü gılmân-ı? ilmü'l-ebdân ve ilmü'l-edyân. İmdi bu iki ilim dahi ilm-i hisâba muhtâclardır. Zirâ ilmül'l-ebdân ki ilm-i tabî'îdir ve onun binâsı hisâb üzerinedir. Tabâyî' ve havâs ve merâtib-i mîzâc ve takdirat-ı edviye ve eşribe gibi. Ve ilm-i edyân ki ilm-i şer'dir bilmeğe? ve sihâm-ı ferâiz ve vesâya istihrâcına. İmdi bu ilim, sâ'ir ulûm-ı cüz'iden şeriflerdir.”⁸⁴*

Bu ifadelerden şunları anlamak mümkündür: Muhasebecilerin ‘Cemşid’i (mucidi) Hayrettin, ilahî af ve merhametle muamele olunsun, hesapta öyle yetenekleri ve icatları vardı ki pek çok lakabından biri de ‘muhâsib-i keşfi’ idi ve gökyüzünde kaç tane yıldız olursa olsun, sayısı ne kadar tekrar ederse etsin, bunun hesabını kavramak ona zor değildi. Merhumunun *Miftâh-ı Künûz-ı Erbâb-ı Kalem ve Misbâh-ı Rumûz-ı Ashâb-ı Rakam* isimli

80 İhsanoğlu vd., *a.g.e.*, s. 34.

81 Halil Sahillioğlu, “Türk Para Tarihi Bakımından Eski Hesap Kitaplarının Değeri”, *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, sayı 7 (1968), s. 71.

82 Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî, *Terceme-i Miftâh-ı Künûz*, Şehid Ali Paşa, nr. 1973, vr. 3a, 3b.

83 İhsanoğlu vd., *a.g.e.*, s. 34.

84 Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî, *Terceme-i Miftâh-ı Künûz*, Şehid Ali Paşa, nr. 1973, vr. 2a-2b.

risalesi, bu ilme yeni sülûk edenlere kolaylık olması için merhumun öğrencilerinden Pîr Mahmud Sıdkı el-Edirnevî tarafından Farsça'dan Türkçe'ye çevrildi. Böylece, kalem ve rakam ilimleri taliplileri yarar sağlayabilir ve bu ilmin üstadlarını da hayır ve duayla anarlar. Hesap, hem üstün hem de hususî bir ilim olduğundan herkes ona muhtaçtır. Resûl aleyhissalâtü vesselâm, din ilimlerinin ve beden ilimlerinin hesaba bağlı olduğunu buyurur. Doğa ve canlılar biliminde, organik temel unsur ve özelliklerin, mizaçların, doğal içecek ve ilaçların değerlendirilmesi veya feraiz gibi dini ilimlerde mirastaki payların tespiti, hesap ile mümkündür. Dolayısıyla hesap, muhtelif diğer ilimlerden daha yücedir.

Dibâcenin devamında hesap ilminin önemini Gâşiye Süresi'nin 25-26. ayetleriyle vurgulayan, hatta nebilerin mucizeleri ve velilerin kerametlerini dahi hesap ilmine bağlayan müellif, bu seçkin ilmin zor, ancak çok itibarlı olduğunu belirtir. Ayrıca müellife göre, güçlü hafıza ve derin kavrayış sahibi kimseler; kesirler gibi bilinen nicelikler veya bilinmeyen niceliklerin bulunması, muhtelif problemlerin çözümü ve mühendislik ilkelerinin elde edilmesinin yolunu hesap ilminde görmekte ve bu kimseler bu ilmi yakından incelemeye başlamaktadırlar. Dolayısıyla müellif, kendisinin de böyle ilim ve lütuf sahibi kimselerin yardımı ve kendi idrak ettikleri doğrultusunda eseri kaleme aldığını ifade eder.⁸⁵

Eserin yazılma serüveniyle bazı detayları içermesi dolayısıyla, aşağıdaki şekilde bir alıntı sunmak uygun olacaktır:

"Bu nüsha-i pür-kusûr ve reşha-i ayn-ı küsûrun sehvi kalem ve hatâ-yı rakamlarına ki vâkıf olalar; ümîddir ki elden geldikçe kalem-i ıslâh-birle rakam ve şah çeküp beyne 'l-havâs ve 'l-avâm ve dâmen-i afv-birle setr idüp işâ-yı habtuna ikdâm olunmaya ve bu risâle-i pür-kavânîn a 'mâl-i selâtîn-i sevâd-ı a 'zam şehri-i Kostantîn 'de ve şehri-i şerîf-i a 'zam ve mâh-ı münîf ve ekrem Recebû 'l-mürecebi 'l-mükerrermin şühûr-ı sene-i hurrem âsada vâkı olup tesvîd-i tâkî vukû' bulmuş oldu. Ümîddir ki erbâb-ı kalem ve ashâb-ı rakam nazarları ile manzûr olup rûşen ve müberhen olmakla zuhur bulmuş ola, inşâ'ellâhü Te'âla. Ve bu risâle-i mütercem, bir mukaddime ve on fasıl ve hâtîme üzere mebnîdir."⁸⁶

Geleneksel metinlerde mutad olduğu üzere, burada da, her bilgi seviyesinden risâleyi ele alanların eğrisiyle doğrusuyla değerlendirme yapması, mevcut kusurları bağışlayarak görmezden gelmesi, hatta yazı ve rakamlardaki noksanları düzeltmesi umulur. Ve bu kurallar dolusu risâlenin müsveddesinin sultanlar şehri olmuş İstanbul'da ve 'hurrem' denilen senenin⁸⁷ Receb-i şerîfinde tamamlandığı ifade edilir. Eserin 'erbâb-ı kalem' ve 'ashâb-ı rakam' dediği kayıt tutan ve hesap yapan bürokratların nezdinde dolaşıma girerek şöhretinin yayılması ümit edilir. Ve bu tercüme edilmiş risale, on ana bölüm ve bir hatimededen oluşmaktadır.

85 Pir Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî, *Terceme-i Miftâh-ı Künûz*, Şehid Ali Paşa, nr. 1973, vr. 3b.

86 Pir Mahmud Sıdkı Edirnevî, *Terceme-i Miftâh-ı Künûz*, Şehid Ali Paşa, nr. 1973, vr. 3a-3b.

87 H. 840 olması olasıdır ve eserin Farsça versiyonuna atıf yapılıyor olsa gerektir.

Eserin içeriği tanıtılacak olursa, yine bu nüsha doğrultusunda tarafımızca yapılan bir fihrist aşağıdaki gibidir.

Tablo 1. Eserin İçeriği	
Konu Başlıkları	Sayfa No
Dibâce	1b-3b
Mukaddime	3b-21b
Nev-i Evvel: Kûsûr-ı direm	3b-4a
'Nev-i Sâni': Kûsûrat-ı zirâ	4a-5b
Nev-i Sâlis: Kûsûrat-ı müd	5b-6b
Nev-i Râbi': Kûsûr-ı kantâr	6b-7a
Nev-i Hâmis: Kûsûr-ı miskâl	7a-11a
Nev-i Sâdis: Mehâric	11a-12a
Nev-i Sâbi': İstihrâc-ı a'dâd-ı mütedâhile, a'dâd-ı mütevâfika ve a'dâd-ı mütebâyine	12a-12b
Nev-i Sâmîn: Mehâric-i kûsûr-ı tis'anın birbirine nisbeti ve muvâfakatı ve duhûlü ve cümle-i kûsûr-ı tis'aya mehâric bir mahrec istihrâc olunması	12b-14b
Nev-i Tâsi': Kûsûrun kûsûrda darb olunması	14b-15a
Nev-i Âşir: Kûsûrun kûsûra taksim olunması	15a-15b
Nev-i İhdâ Aşere: Kûsûrun kûsûr ile cem' olunması	15b
Nev-i İsnâ Aşere: Kûsûrun kûsûrdan tefrik olunması	15b
Nev-i Sâlis Aşere: Erba'a-i a'dâd-ı mütenâsibe	16a-21b
Fasl-ı Evvel: Darb-ı Kûsûr	21b-29a
Fasl- Sâni': Hesâb-ı zirâ ve onun aksâmı	29a-31a
Fasl-Sâlis: Emdâd ve onun aksâmı	31a-32a
Fasl-ı Râbi': Aksâm-ı mevzûnatın durûbu	32a-36a
Fasl-ı Hâmis: Kismet	36a-38b
Fasl-ı Sâdis: Kismet-i guremâ	38b-46a
Fasl-ı Sâbi': Kâ'ide-i hatâ'eyn	47b-53b
Fasl-ı Sâmîn: Cezr	53b-58b
Fasl-ı Tâsi': İstihrâc-ı dil'-i ka'b	58b-63a
Fasl-ı Dehomîn: Mâlû'l-mâl	63a-69b
Hâtime-i Kitâb: Mesâ'il-i müteferrika istihrâcı	70a-83a

Bu başlıklar bize göstermektedir ki Edirnevî'nin tercümesi, bir mukaddime, on fasıl ve bir hâtimeden oluşmaktadır. Mukaddime denilen giriş bölümü, muhasebecilerin öncelikle bilmesi gereken on üç bahisten müteşekkil olup bunlar da on üç ayrı başlık altında ele alınmaktadır. Burada ilk beş başlıkta, para, uzunluk, hacim ve ağırlık ölçüleri, as katlarıyla anlatılmaktadır. Ardındaki üç başlık altında kesirlerin paydaları, sayılarda kat (duhul veya mütedahil) veya ortak çarpan bulunup (mütevafık/muvafakat) bulunmamasına (mütebâyin) bağlı olarak incelenmiş ve bu ön bilgiler yardımıyla dokuz bayağı kesirde payda eşitlemeye dikkat çekilmiştir. Sonraki dört başlık altında ise bayağı kesirlerle dört işlem irdelenmiştir. Muhasebecilerin bilmesi gereken son bahiste ise günümüzde oran-orantı olarak bilinen orantılı dört sayı işlenmiştir.

Bundan sonra ise ilk fasıl başlamakta ve bunun dört alt başlığında kesirler ve tam sayılar arasındaki çarpma işlemi gösterilmektedir. Buradaki kesirler, nakit dirhemin as katlarına aittir. Bu kısımlarda yapılanların bir benzeri, ikinci, üçüncü ve dördüncü fasılda sırasıyla uzunluk, hacim ve ağırlık ölçüsü birimlerinde görülmektedir. Beşinci fasılda bölme işlemi anlatılmaktaysa da burada, evvelki dört fasılda olduğu gibi ölçü birimlerinin alt birimleriyle değil, bayağı kesirlerle işlem yapılmaktadır. Altıncı fasılda guremâ denilen bir bölme işleminden bahsedilmektedir. Ölenin mal varlığı borçlarını karşılamadığı durumda, ölenin bıraktığı malın alacak miktarlarına (miktarların oranlarına) göre alacaklılara pay edilmesi olan bu hesap, üç kısımda ele alınmaktadır. İşlemin esası, bölümün ilk kısmında tanıtılmakla beraber, diğer kısımlarda benzer işlemlerin yapılması dolayısıyla bazı benzer durumlar da bu bölümün kapsamına dahil edilmiştir. Örnek olarak, mirasın 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, vs. gibi farklı oranlarda taksim edilmesi ve farklı miktarda sermayeleri olup farklı sürelerle ortaklık yapan kişilerin bir yıl sonundaki kârlarının bulunması anlatılarak konu genişletilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Yedinci fasılda, varsayımlardan sonuç üretmeye dayalı özel bir hesap tekniği olan ve dönemin hemen hemen tüm hesap kitaplarında ihmal edilmeksizin işlenen çift yanlış yöntemi irdelenmektedir. Bundan sonraki tüm fasıllarda kök alma işlemleri tam kök ve yaklaşık kök çıkarma teknikleriyle anlatılmıştır. Sekizinci fasılda, ikinci dereceden; dokuzuncu fasılda üçüncü dereceden ve onuncu fasılda dördüncü dereceden kök alma işlemi analiz edilmektedir. Hatime denilen sonuç bölümünde ise muhtelif konularla ilgili çözümlü problemler mevcuttur.

3. Sayısal Analiz Teknikleri Bakımından Edirnevî'nin Hesap Kitabı

3.1. Üçüncü Dereceden Kök Alma Bahislerinin⁸⁸ Matematiksel Çözümü

$$N \text{ kökü alınacak sayı, } x_0 \text{ tam kök, } n \text{ derece olmak üzere}$$

$$\sqrt[n]{N} = \sqrt[3]{68} \quad N = 68 \quad n = 3$$

Önce tam kök yani x_0 için müellifin ifadesiyle 'kıyas' yapılır ve $x_0 = 4$ tahmin edilir.

Bu tahmin şu yönergelerle doğrulanır ki kökün yaklaşık kısmının hesabına hazırlık yapılmış olur:

Öncelikle, irrasyonel kökü bulunacak sayı yani asıl sayı 68'in 8'inin üstüne bir sıfır konulur ve ilk tahmin bu hizanın hem üstüne hem de altına yerleştirilir.

I. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kökün üstteki, müellifin ifadesiyle 'fevkanî' hali 4

II. satırdaki ifade: Asıl sayı 68

88 Bkz. Ek 1.

III. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kökün alttaki ve üstteki ifadelerinin çarpımı 16

IV. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kökün alttaki, müellifin deyimiyle ‘tahtanî’ hali 4

Son olarak III. satır ve I. satır çarpılarak asıl sayıya ulaşılmaya çalışılır.⁸⁹ Ancak 64 elde edildiği için tam bu esnada 64’ün ikinci satırdaki asıl sayıdan farkı alınarak işlemlerin devamı şöyle getirilir:

$$N = 68 \quad n = 3 \quad x_0 = 4 \text{ için yaklaşık kök:}$$

$$4 + \frac{68 - 4^3}{(4 + 1)^3 - 4^3} = 4 + \frac{68 - 64}{[3 \times 4 \times (4 + 1)] + 1} = 4 + \frac{4}{(5 \times 4 \times 3) + 1}$$

$$= 4 + \frac{4}{61}$$

Çok basamaklı bir sayı olmadığı için uygulamaların cetvelle desteklenmesine gerek duyulmamıştır. Ayrıca, kökün tam kısmı için defalarca ‘kalan’ sayı aranmayacağından ötürü, binom açılımı katsayılarına dayanan işlemlere gerek olmayıp, $N - (x_0)^3$ işlemini bir kere yapmak yeterlidir. Ancak işlem sırasının önemine istinaden bu sıranın takibi, yönergelerle işaret edilen satırların sırasıyla irtibatlandırılmıştır. Kökün yaklaşık kısmında işlemler, bazı aşamalar atlanmak suretiyle kısaltılmıştır.⁹⁰ Önce genel kuralın sonra örneğin verildiği görülen bu uygulamada $(4 \times 4 \times 4) + 4 = 68$ şeklinde sağlama işlemi de yapılmıştır.

3.2. Dördüncü Dereceden Kök Alma Bahislerinin⁹¹ Matematiksel Çözümlemesi

Burada da önce kural anlatılır. Kökü alınacak sayı, kök derecesi gereği dörder rakamlı gruplara ayrılmakta, ilk basamağının üstüne sıfır konularak, rasyonel ve irrasyonel köklerin geleceği basamakların ayırımına işaret edilmektedir. Ancak örnek olarak verilen sayı zaten dört basamaklı olduğu için bu işlem tekrar etmez. Kökün tam kısmı için bulunacak ve x_0 kuvvetlerinin konumları şöyle tarif edilir:

I. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kökün üstteki, müellifin ifadesiyle ‘fevkanî’ hali

II. satırdaki ifade: Asıl sayı (III. Satır ve kökün çarpımıyla arasındaki farka işaret edilir.)

89 Yönergelerdeki tüm bu terimlerin konumu sözel olarak açıklanmıştır.

90 İşlem aşamalarının tümü:

$$\sqrt[3]{68} \cong 4 + \frac{68 - 4^3}{(4 + 1)^3 - 4^3} = 4 + \frac{68 - 64}{[4^3 + (3 \times 4^2 \times 1) + (3 \times 4 \times 1) + 1^3] - 4^3}$$

$$= 4 + \frac{4}{(3 \times 4^2 \times 1) + (3 \times 4 \times 1) + 1^3} = 4 + \frac{4}{3 \times [(4^2 \times 1) + 4] + 1^3}$$

$$= 4 + \frac{4}{[3 \times 4 \times (4 + 1)] + 1} = 4 + \frac{4}{(5 \times 4 \times 3) + 1} = 4 + \frac{4}{61}$$

91 Bkz. Ek 1.

III. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kök ve IV. satırdaki ifadenin çarpımı

IV. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kökün alttaki ve üstteki ifadelerinin çarpımı

V. satırdaki ifade: Rasyonel kökün alttaki, müellifin deyimıyla 'tahtanî' hali

Bu aşamalar yaklaşık kökün kesirli kısmının payını bulmada isabetlidir. Ancak paydası için üçüncü satırdaki ifadenin seçilmesi, kuraldaki yanlışın kaynağı olup bu durum uygulamada da tekrar etmiştir.

Örneğe geçildiğinde ise

$$N \text{ kökü alınacak sayı, } n \text{ derece, } x_0 \text{ tam kök olmak üzere}$$

$$N = 6723 \quad n = 4 \quad x_0 = 9$$

kökün tam kısmı için bulunan $x_0 = 9$ itibariyle yaklaşık sonuç bulma şöyle anlatılır:

I. satırdaki ifade: 9

II. satırdaki ifade: $6723 (729 \times 9 = 6561 \text{ ile farkı, pay olarak seçilir.})$

III. satırdaki ifade: $81 \times 9 = 729 (6561 \text{ ile farkın oranlanacağı sayı olarak seçilir.})$

IV. satırdaki ifade: $9 \times 9 = 81$

V. satırdaki ifade: 9

$$\sqrt[4]{N} = 9 + \frac{6723 - 6561}{729} = 9 + \frac{162}{729}$$

Böylece uygulama, kural ve bunun arkasından verilen bir örnekle yapılmıştır. Hatta diğerinden farklı olarak yönergelerde işaret edilen satırlar açıkça yazılmış ve bu satırlardaki terimler, ilgili yerlerde konumlandırılmıştır. Ancak burada sağlama işlemi mevcut değildir. Ayrıca kökün tam kısmı için takip edilecek aşamalar diğeriyle benzese de yaklaşık kökün tespitinde bazı sınırlılıklar vardır. İşlemlerden görüldüğü üzere, kesrin payı için dördüncü dereceden kuvvetin bağlayıcı olduğu açıktır. Ancak paydanın ifadesi, başka bir terime bağlandığından ve bu da üçüncü derece kuvvette sona erdiğinden dolayı bulunan değer, beklenen yaklaşık değerden⁹² oldukça uzaktır. $\sqrt[4]{N} = \sqrt{\sqrt{N}}$ eşitliği onuncu asırdan beri bilinmesine,⁹³ hatta ikinci dereceden kök alma, bu eserde incelikleriyle işlenmesine rağmen,⁹⁴ Edirnevî varılan bu değerden itibaren yeni bir girişimde bulunmamıştır. Bu durumda

92 $9 + \frac{6723 - 9^4}{(9+1)^4 - 9^4} = 9 + \frac{162}{3439}$

93 Berggren, *a.g.e.*, s. 53.

94 Oğuz, "Osmanlıların Klasik Dönem Muhasebecileri ve Telif Ettikleri Muhasebe-Matematik Eserleri", s. 103-106.

Edirnevî, daha evvel kullandığı formülleri kökün yeni derecesine göre uyarlayamamış, Semew'el gibi 12. yüzyıl ve sonrası matematikçilerin ulaştıkları sonuçların avantajlarından faydalanamamıştır. Takip ettiği yöntemde, 12. yüzyıl öncesi konvansiyonel yaklaşma olarak bilinen formülün bileşenlerini devşirmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu da Edirnevî'nin kök alma'nın genel formülünü (n. derece olarak) uygulamadaki sınırlılığını gösterir.

Sonuç

Eskiçağ'dan bu yana, gerek tam gerek yaklaşık kök alma, dört işlem olarak bilinen hesaplara dahil edilmese de yaygın kullanımına istinaden temel aritmetiksel işlemlerden biri olmuştur. Özellikle sayının irrasyonel kökü, matematikçileri geçici olarak bocalamaya sürüklemekle beraber, farklı uygarlıklarda özgün ve hatta günümüzde kalkülüste veya nümerik analizde başvurulan teknikleri andıran ileri yöntemlerin ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır.

Algoritmaları hayranlık uyandıran bu yöntemlere nasıl ulaşıldığı ne matematik tarihinde kesinlik kazanmış ne de bunlara ilham veren ortak bir eksenden bahsetmek söz konusu olmuştur. Zira eskiçağ'da bazı uygarlıklar, yöntemlerini vücuda getiren geometrik tasarımlardan bütünüyle özgürleşmiş değildir. Ancak, ortaçağ'a gelindiğinde kök alma yöntemleri, sayısal çıkarımların içinde geçirdiği evrimler sayesinde sayısal analiz tekniklerinin bir parçası haline gelmiştir. Üstelik buna Hristiyan Avrupa, İslam, Çin ve Hint uygarlıklarının tümündeki gelişmeler dahil edilebilir. Yöntemlerin geneli ana hatlarıyla incelendiğinde, bunların 19. yüzyıl Avrupa'sında denklem çözümü için geliştirilen yeni yaklaşımlardan pek de farklı olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Ortaçağ İslam dünyası matematikçileri ise bu yöntemleri gerek on tabanlı gerek altmış tabanlı sayı sisteminde tam ve yaklaşık kökü tespit etmekle ve n. dereceden kök bulmayı sağlayacak genel kurallar önermekle ön plana çıkmaktadır. Binom formüllerine 11. yüzyıl itibariyle aşinalık kazanmak, elbette bu düzeye gelmek için bir avantaj olmuştur. Diğer yandan, yaklaşık kökün olabildiğince isabetli bulunmasında, astronomi gibi başka bir disiplindeki Yunanî veya Hindî mirasları da matematiğe uyarlayabilmek ciddi bir başarıdır. Bu başarının derecesi matematiği sayısal perspektife yöneltmekle orantılı, sonuçları ise matematiğin etkili ve işlevsel bir hesap aracı haline gelmesiyle irtibatlıdır. Çünkü bunlar, Batı Avrupa'da bilim devrimi sürecinde ortaya konulan başlıca kitapların da kaynağı ve yankısı olup farklı bilim alanları, nümerik dilin böyle inşa edilmesiyle modern statüsüne kavuşmuş olmaktadır.

İslam dünyasında ise devrimsel bu tecrübe birebir yaşanmış olmamasına rağmen, sayısal perspektifli bir matematik, aritmetik ve cebir anlayışlarının zenginleşmesini sağlamıştır. Bunlardan en önemlileri ondalık kesirlerle sistemli hesap ve yüksek dereceli denklemlerin analitik çözümleri olup kök alma yöntemleri her ikisi için merkezi bir konumda yer almaktadır. Bu durumda kök alma, sadece bilinen niceliklerle hesabın değil cebir gibi bilinmeyen niceliklerle hesabın sınırlarını da genişletmiş olmaktadır. Zaten, Semew'el bin Yahya veya

Cemşid Kaşî gibi, hem cebir tarihinde hem ondalık kesir tarihinde kırılma noktası teşkil eden ileri seviye hesap kitabı yazmış müellifler, rasyonel ve irrasyonel kök alma yöntemlerinde de özgün birer safhayı temsil etmektedirler.

Bu durumda, klasik matematiğe ortaçağ İslam dünyasının temel eserleri vasıtasıyla eklendiği bilinen Osmanlıların kök alma yöntemleri, sadece aritmetik tarihi için değil cebir tarihi açısından da anlam kazanmaktadır. Kurucu eserlerin 15. yüzyılda yazılmaya başlandığı düşünüldüğünde ve Edirnevî'nin Türkçe tercümesi (16. yüzyıl) bu telif zincirine Farsça aslı, yani Hayrettin Halil bin İbrahim'in metniyle (15. yüzyıl) bağlandığında, söz konusu eser bu asırlardan günümüze ulaşan genel hesap kitapları arasında öncü konumdadır. Hatta eser, Ali Kuşçu'nun hesap kitapları hariç tutulduğunda, kök alma bahislerine geniş yer vermesi itibarıyla yüksek dereceden kök alma işlemlerine dair ilk teşebbüsün Türkçe örneği haline gelir. Eserde rasyonel kök bulma işlemleri yeterince detay ihtiva ettiği için, irrasyonel köklerle ilgili örneklerde büyük sayılardan kaçınılmıştır. Böylece kökün tam kısmı, tek bir denemeye bulunduktan sonra yaklaşık kısmının hesabına dikkat çekilmiş olur. Bundan ötürü, Edirnevî'nin rasyonel köklerin elde edilme aşamalarını betimlediği cetvellere burada ihtiyacı olmamıştır. Ayrıca, üçüncü dereceden yaklaşık kök alma işlemlerinde İslam dünyası matematiğinde 'konvansiyonel yaklaşma' olarak adlandırılan kuralı takip ettiği anlaşılmaktadır. Fakat aynı şeyi dördüncü dereceden kök alma işlemleri için yaptığını söylemek mümkün değildir. Kökün tam kısmının tespitinde bir hata olmamasına rağmen, yaklaşık kısmında takip edilen yol, ortaçağ İslam dünyasında geliştirilen formüllerin oldukça dışındadır. Bulunan değer in ise yeterli yaklaşıktaki olduğu söylenemez. Ortaçağ İslam dünyası matematiğinde lineer interpolasyon bilinciyle daha dakik ve daha yaklaşık değerlerin elde edildiği bilindiğinden ötürü, bu husus Edirnevî'nin tercümesinin ciddi bir sınırlılığdır. Bununla beraber, eserin Osmanlı muhasebe bürosundaki katiplere hitap ettiği göz önüne alındığında, bu teşebbüsler muhasebe matematiği eserleri arasında öncü, hatta yegâne sayılabilir. Zira, üretimin zirve yaptığı ve en mükemmel eserlerin telif edildiği 16. yüzyılda dahi yüksek dereceli kök alma işlemlerine rastlamak nadir olup bu durumda bile yüksek dereceden yaklaşık kök alma işlemleri ihmal edilmiştir.

Neticede, yaklaşık çözümleriyle kök alma işlemleri, Osmanlı muhasebe matematiği eserlerinde en çabuk benimsenen konulardandır. Böylece, sayısal analiz metotları, Edirnevî'nin gayretiyle erken dönemde Türkçe'ye kazandırılarak, 16. yüzyılın hemen başında Türkçe matematik üretimine entegre edilmiş olmaktadır. Ayrıca, bayağı kesirlerin matematiksel işlemlerde ondalık kesirlere dönüştürülmesi, Edirnevî'nin sayısal anlamdaki diğer katkısı olarak bilindiğinden dolayı eser, tüm bu nümerik özellikleri olgun bir şekilde bir araya getirmektedir. Esasında Edirnevî'nin tercümesi aritmetik konularından ibaret olup cebire dair malumat veya çözümlü problem örneği içermemektedir. Ancak kök alma işlemleri denklemlerin analitik yoldan çözümünü de kolaylaştırdığı için Edirnevî'nin eseri,

cebir öğretiminde bile dikkate alınmayı gerektirecek bir konumdadır. Böylece eser çok yönlü özelliğiyle, ortaçağ İslam dünyasındaki sayısal analiz birikimini aratmayacak mesabede olup, bu geleneğin izlerini kendine has bir şekilde yansıtmaktadır.

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EK. 1. Varak no: 62a-63a.

Nev'-i sâni, ya'nî ikinci nev'i, istihrâc-ı ka'b beyânındadır. Ve bu amelde girü hemân tarîk-i istihrâc ka'b-ı muntak üzere vâki' olur, tefâvütü hemân cümle-i a'dâddan dıl'-ı sahîhi ahz olunduğundan sonra bir mikdâr 'aded-i bâkî, kûsûrdan vâki' olur. **Meselâ 68** 'adedin dıl'-ı sahîhi alınmak murâd olursa, ibtidâ meblağ-ı mezbûrun mertebe-i âhâdi üzere sıfır konulub ândan ol sıfır üzerine 'aded-i müka'ab ve ka'b-ı asamm-ı mezbûrun dıl'-ı sahîhi kıyâs olunub sebt olunub ol aded-i dıl'-ı fevkânîye girü aded-i satr-ı evvel ve aded-i asl, ka'b-ı asamm-ı mezbûra satr-ı sâni dinilüb aded-i dıl'-ı fevkânînin aynı girü ve ol dıl'ın tahtında ki makâm-ı satr-ı râbi' ola, sebt oluna. Ândan aded-i dıl'-ı fevkânî, aded-i aynı dıl'-ı tahtânîde ya'nî aded-i satr-ı evvel aded-i satr-ı râbi'de darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı aded-i satr-ı râbi'in fevkinde sebt olunub aded-i satr-ı sâlis deyi add oluna. Ândan girü aded-i dıl'-ı fevkânî aded-i satr-ı sâlisde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı aded-i satr-ı sâniiden ya'nî asl-ı mâldan ifrâz oluna. İmdi ol aded-i dıl' 4 vâki' olub 8 aded mertebe-i âhâdın hem fevkinde ve hem tahtında sebt olunub birbirinde darb oluna ya'nî 4 aded-i satr-ı evvel, aded-i satr-ı râbi'de ki aynı vâki' olmuş olur, darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı ki 16 aded vâki' olur, aded-i satr-ı râbi' üzerine sebt olunub aded-i satr-ı sâlis deyi tekrâr 4 aded-i dıl'de darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı ki 64 'aded olur. Cümle-i mâldan ki 68 adedir vaz' oluna ve mevzû'-ı minhden 4 aded, bâkî-i asam kalıb kûsûr-ı ka'bdan olıserdir ya'nî 4 aded ka'b-ı sahîhin üzerine bir dahî ziyâde olunub girü ka'b-ı sahîhinde darb oluna. Ya'nî 5 aded-i mazmûm 4 aded-i dıl'de darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı 20 aded vâki' olur. Aded-i hâsıl-ı darb-ı mezbûr hemîşe 3 adede darb oluna, hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâni-i mezbûr 60 aded olur. Aded-i mezbûrun üzerine bir dahi ziyâde oluncak 61 aded hâsıl olur. İmdi 68 aded-i mâlın ka'b-ı sahîhi 4 aded akçe ve bir akçenin 61 cüz'ünden 4 cüz'ü vâki' olmuş olur. Bâkileri dahî bu kıyâs üzere amel oluna deyi, amel-i kûsûr tahkîki olmayub takrîbi vâki' olmuş olur. Ammâ mîzân-ı ka'b oldur ki aded-i ka'b-ı sahîh nefsinde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı girü tekrâr aded-i ka'bın nefsinde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâni aynı mâl-ı müka'ab vâki' olur. Ya'nî bunda dahî aded-i ka'b ki 4 vâki' olmuşdur, girü kendü nefsinde ya'nî girü 4 adede ki darb oluna, hâsıl-ı darb-ı mezbûr 16 aded olub aded-i hâsıl-ı mezbûr girü 4 aded dıl'-ı ka'bda ki darb oluna, hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâni-i mezbûr 64 aded vâki' olur ki aded-i müka'ab-ı sahîhdır ve aded-i müka'ab-ı mezbûr üzere 4 aded-i bâkî ki zam oluna girü 68 aded-i mâl, ka'b-ı asamm-ı mezbûrun aynı vâki' olmuş olur.

EK. 2. Varak no: 68b-69b.

Tarîk-i istihrâc-ı mâlü'l-mâl-ı asam oldur ki bir mikdâr aded-i mâlü'l-mâl-ı asam ki vâki' ola bir yerde rakam olunub ibtidâsından girü birine muntak ve her üçüne asam dinildikten sonra hâne-i muntak âyeti üzerine bir mikdâr aded bulunub sebt oluna ki makâmın aded-i dıl'ı olmuş ola, ândan ol 'aded-i dıl, hâne-i muntakın hem fevkinde ve hem tahtında sebt oluna, ya'nî hem satr-ı evvelde ve hem makâm-ı hâmisde sebt oluna. Ândan ol iki aded birbirinde ya'nî aded-i dıl'-ı aynîde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı ne mikdâr vâki' olursa aded-i

satır-ı hâmisle fevkinde sebt olunub aded-i satır-ı râbi‘ dinile, ândan aded-i dıl‘-i fevkânî aded-i satır-ı râbi‘ tahtânide darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı aded-i satır-ı râbi‘in fevkinde sebt olunub, ânâ aded-i satır-ı sâlis [de]nile ândan girü aded-i dıl‘-i fevkânî aded-i satır-ı sâlisde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı, a‘dâd-ı satır-ı sânen, ya‘nî a‘dâd-ı mâlü‘l-mâldan ifrâz olunub mâ-bâkî ne mikdâr aded vâki‘ olursa, hânelü hâneleri? tahtında sebt olunalar, eğer cümle-i a‘dâd-ı mâlin hâne-i gayrî muntak vâki‘ olmayub hemân def‘a-i evvelde dıl‘ı ahz olunmağa temâm olursa, a‘dâd-ı bâkîsi kûsûrdan add olunub a‘dâd-ı satır-ı sâlise nisbet oluna. **Meselâ** eğer **6723** aded, mâlü‘l-mâl-ı asammmın dıl‘-ı sahîhi ahz olunmak murâd olursa, tarîk-i meşrûh üzere hâne-i evveli üzerine bir sıfır konulub muntak ve mâ-bâkî üç hâneleri üzerine konulmayub asam dinildikden sonra hâne-i muntakı üzerine bir mikdâr aded bulunub sebt oluna ki cümle-i a‘dâd-ı mezbûrenin tamâm-ı dıl‘-ı sahîhi olmuş ola. Ya‘nî ol aded kendü nefsinde darb olundukdan sonra hâsıl-ı darbı girü aded-i dıl‘ında darb olunub hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâni dahî girü aded-i dıl‘ında darb olunub hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâlis cümle-i mâldan ziyâde olmayub cümle-i karîb olmuş ola, tâ ki hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâlis cümle-i mâldan ifrâz olunub bâkîsi a‘dâd-ı satır-ı sâlise ya‘nî hâsıl-ı darb-ı sâlise nisbet oluna. İmdi ol aded-i dıl‘ **9** vâki‘ olmuşdur, eyle olsa aded-i dıl‘-ı mezbûr mertebe-i âhâd-ı mâlin fevkinde ve tahtında ya‘nî makâm-ı satır-ı evvel ile makâm-ı satır-ı hâmisde sebt olunub ândan birbirinde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı ki **81** aded olur. Pes aded-i hâsıl-ı mezbûr **9** aded, satır-ı hâmisin fevkinde sebt olunub aded-i satır-ı râbi‘ dinile, ândan girü **9** aded dıl‘-i fevkânî, aded-i satır-ı râbi‘-i mezbûrda darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı ki **729** aded vâki‘ olur aded-i satır-ı râbi‘in fevkinde sebt olunub aded-i satır-ı sâlis dinile, ândan girü **9** aded dıl‘-ı mezbûr, aded-i satır-ı sâlisde darb olunub hâsıl-ı darbı ki **[6561]**⁹⁵ aded vâki‘ olur. Ândan aded-i hâsıl-ı mezbûr cümle-i mâl-ı satır-ı sânen ki iskât oluna bâkî **162** aded vâki‘ olur. İmdi ma‘lûm oldu ki cümle mâlü‘l-mâl-ı asammm-ı mezbûrenin dıl‘-ı sahîhi **9** aded ve bir dıl‘-i sahîhin **729** cüz‘ünden ki aded-i satır-ı sâlisdir, **[162]**⁹⁶ cüz‘ü vâki‘ olmuş olur. Bu dahî takrîben olub tahkiken değil, bundan dahî bu kadar kifâyet ider. Bâkîleri dahî bu kıyâs üzere amel olunalar ve sûret-i amel, istihrâc-ı dıl‘-ı mâlü‘l-mâl-ı asammm-ı mezbûr bulurdur? ki tahrîr ve tasvîr olunur.

9	satır-ı evvel
6 7 2 3	satır-ı sâni
7 2 9	satır-ı sâlis
8 1	satır-ı râbi‘
9	satır-ı hâmis

95 Özgün metinde 6521 olarak yazılmıştır.

96 Özgün metinde 192 olarak yazılmıştır.



Bir 16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Âliminin Meslekî ve Şahsî İlişki Ağlarına Dair: Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'nin İlk Müderrisi Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi İçin Yazılmış Mahzarlar Üzerinden Bir İnceleme

On the Professional and Personal Networks of a 16th-Century Ottoman Scholar: A Study Based on the Reference Letters Written for Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi, the First Professor of Gazanfer Ağa's Madrasa

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Öz

Bu makalede Osmanlı tarihinin en meşhur harem ağalarından Kapuağası Gazanfer Ağa'nın (ö. 1603) İstanbul'da kurduğu ve bugün ismiyle anılan külliyesindeki medresesine ilk müderrisi olarak atanmış Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi (1562-1613) için yazılmış bir grup mahzar incelenmektedir. 1590'ların ilk yarısında inşa edilmiş Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi'nin açılışı, ilk müderrisinin tayini, devrin önde gelen ulemasının ve onlarca öğrencinin huzurunda Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi'nin ilk dersini vermesi ve bu vesilelerle medresede düzenlenen törenler ile ziyafetler, o yıllarda epeyce ses getirmiş olaylardandı. Nitekim bütün bu olaylar, Gazanfer Ağa'nın himayesinde eserler kaleme almış olan Şehnameci Seyyid Lokman tarafından uzun bir manzume şeklinde kayda geçirilmiştir. Burada ele aldığımız mahzarlar, Seyyid Lokman'ın bu manzumesinin daha önce tespit edilip yayınladığımız ikinci nüshasının baş tarafında bulunmaktadır. Söz konusu mahzarlar esasen şehâdetnâme tarzında yazılmış metinler olup, makalemizde göstermeye çalıştığımız üzere 16. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Osmanlı uleması arasındaki mesleki dayanışma dinamikleri ile bazı âlimlerin birbirleriyle kurdukları ailevi ve şahsî ilişki ağlarına dair diğer tarihsel kaynaklarda bulunmayan bazı önemli veriler barındırmaktadır. 16. yüzyılın önde gelen âlimlerinden Hamidi Seyfullah Efendi'nin (ö. 1601) oğlu olan Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi, Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'ne atanmasından önce ilmi vasıflarına şahitlik etmesi için hem babasının hem de kendisinin tanıdığı 19 üst-düzye âlimden şehâdetnâmeler almıştır. Bu şehâdetnâmeler devrin Osmanlı uleması arasındaki girift ilişki ağlarının mahiyetini ortaya çıkardığı gibi, edebî bir tür (*genre*) olarak da başlı başına değerlendirilmesi gereken metinler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu bağlamda bu makalenin ana gayesi, Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi için yazılmış mahzarları tanıtmak ve bu metinlerin ışığında bir 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı âliminin hayatına, ilmi kariyerine ve meslekî ilişki ağlarına dair bir ön çalışma sunmaktır. İncelenen mahzarlar bugüne kadar gözlerden kaçmış, bu sebeple erken modern dönem Osmanlı ilmiye teşkilatı ve uleması üzerine yapılmış çalışmalarında henüz kullanılmamıştır.



Bu sebeple bu önemli kaynak metinlerin kısmî transkripsiyonlarını makalemizde ek olarak sunarak 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı dünyasındaki farklı gruplar arasındaki meslekî dayanışma ve şahsî/ailevî ilişki ağlarına dair bundan sonra yapılacak çalışmalara katkıyı amaçladık.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gazanfer Ağa, Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi, ilmiye, müderris, mahzar

ABSTRACT

This article delves into a collection of reference letters penned for Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi (1562-1613), who assumed the role of the inaugural professor at the madrasa established by Gazanfer Agha, one of the most eminent chief eunuchs of the premodern Ottoman imperial court. The opening of the Gazanfer Agha Complex in the 1590s, alongside Ahmed Efendi's first lecture attended by notable scholar-bureaucrats, and the ensuing ceremonies and banquets held at the madrasa, constituted significant events that captured attention during that era. Indeed, these events were meticulously chronicled in a *manzume* by the court historiographer of the time, Şehnâmeçi Seyyid Lokman, who authored several works under Gazanfer Agha's patronage. The reference letters under scrutiny here are situated at the beginning of the second manuscript copy of Seyyid Lokman's *manzume*, which we have already identified and published. These letters essentially adopt the style of *şehâdetnâme* and, as we strive to demonstrate in our article, offer valuable insights into the dynamics of occupational solidarity among Ottoman scholars in the late 16th century, as well as the personal and familial networks that certain scholars established, details not readily available in other historical sources. Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi was the son of Seyfullah Efendi, who was a prominent scholar during the reigns of Murad III (1574-1595) and Mehmed III (1595-1603). Ahmed Efendi received reference letters from a total of 19 esteemed scholars, known to both his father and himself, attesting to his scholarly qualifications before assuming the professorship at Gazanfer Agha Madrasa. These reference letters unveil the intricate web of relationships among Ottoman scholars of the period, constituting a distinct literary genre deserving of further individual analysis. Within this framework, the primary aim of this article is to introduce these *mahzars/şehâdetnâmes* written for Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi and to offer a preliminary exploration of the life, scholarly career, and professional networks of an Ottoman scholar in the late 16th century. Despite their significance, the reference letters we discuss have been largely overlooked, thus remaining untapped in studies concerning the premodern Ottoman ulama. In this regard, we aspire to enrich future research on occupational solidarity and personal/familial networks within the premodern Ottoman world by presenting partial transcriptions of these crucial source texts as an appendix to our article.

Keywords: Gazanfer Agha, Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi, Ottoman ulama, mudarris, mahzar

Extended Abstract

This article examines a group of reference letters (*mahzars*) written for Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi, who was appointed as the first professor (*müderris*) of the madrasa complex founded by Kapuağası Gazanfer Agha in Istanbul in the early 1590s. The opening of the Gazanfer Agha Complex, the appointment of its first professor, the first lecture given by Ahmed Efendi in the presence of the prominent bureaucrat-scholars of the time and dozens of students, and the ceremonies and banquets organized on these occasions were among the events that made quite a stir in those years. All these events were meticulously recorded in a *manzume* by the court historiographer of the time, Seyyid Lokman, who wrote several works under the patronage of Gazanfer Agha. The reference letters we are dealing with here are found at the beginning of the second manuscript copy of Seyyid Lokman's *manzume* (Esad Efendi 3376), which we have already identified and published. These letters are essentially texts written in the style of *şehâdetnâme* and, as we have endeavored to show in our article, they provide critical insights into the dynamics of occupational solidarity among Ottoman bureaucrat-scholars in the last quarter of the 16th century, as well as the familial and personal relationship networks that some scholars established with each other, details not available in other historical sources.

Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi was the son of Seyfullah Efendi, a prominent scholar during the reigns of Murad III and Mehmed III. At an uncertain date (probably in the late 1580s), Ahmed Efendi was married with the daughter of Abdülmuhiyî Pasha, one of the chancellors under Murad III. By the mid-1590s, Ahmed Efendi collected *şehâdetnâmes* from 19 high-level ulama, known to both his father and himself, to testify to his scholarly qualifications before his appointment as the first *müderris* of Gazanfer Agha's newly founded madrasa. The statement, "Ahmed Efendi, son of Seyfullâh Efendi, who is still a professor in the madrasa of Sultan Süleyman Han" (Esad Efendi 3376, fol. 1a) suggests that the letters in question were copied between 1595 and 1600.

The letters appear to follow a certain order according to the official standing of their authors within the Ottoman *ilmiye* hierarchy, starting with the letters written by three chief jurists (*şeyhülislâms*) and one chief military judge (*kazasker*). The remaining letters belong to Seyfîzâde's teachers, classmates, and friends, revealing the scope of his professional, familial, and individual network of people. For example, in their letters, Molla Ahmed Efendi, Lütfî Beğzâde, Sinân Efendizâde, Râ'î Hasan Efendi, Kâfzâde Feyzî Efendi, Bahrî Hasan Efendi, and Selâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi, attest to knowing Ahmed Efendi personally and recognizing his scholarly prowess. All in all, these letters reveal a wide and intricate network that Ahmed Efendi and his father established with several prominent members of the Ottoman ulema in the last quarter of the 16th century.

Some of these *mahzars* were written by scholars who knew Ahmed Efendi personally. Molla Ahmed Efendi, who was Ahmed Efendi's teacher at the Sultaniyye Madrasa, mentions that Ahmed Efendi was capable of understanding subtle meanings, that he learnt many disciplines, and that with these disciplines he became famous like İmru'l-Kays, one of the famous poets of the Jahiliyya period. Sinan Efendizâde, who taught Ahmed Efendi at one of the Sahn Madrasas, refers to his proficiency in both rational and transmitted sciences, his worthiness of the sultan's favor, and the long years of service his father rendered as a preacher in Ayasofya Mosque. The information provided by Sinan Efendizâde and his reference letter are the longest and most detailed among the reference letters. Râ'î Hasan Efendi, Kâfzâde, and Selâmîzâde, who studied together with Ahmed Efendi, also attest to his scholarly competence and claim to have personally observed it.

Among these letters some were clearly used in the context of another appointment. Sinan Efendizâde, Ahmed Efendi's classmate, drew attention to this situation in his reference letter, stating that Ahmed Efendi collected signatures to obtain a certain position or title. The presence of the term '*azl*' in some reference letters also supports this situation.

The reference letters, which contain carefully chosen and eloquent expressions, demonstrate a meticulous attention to style, aiming to create a unity both in the praise of Ahmed Efendi,

the description of the reference letter, and in addressing the recipient. It is important to note that in some of the letters, instead of the word *mahzar*, authors use expressions such as *sahife*, *vesika*, *tomâr*, *varak*, *rıkk*, *ruk'a*, *defter*, and *cerîde*. These expressions seem to have been employed both to indicate the large number of signatures and to add a more rhetorical level of meaning to the sentences in the *mahzars*.

Overall, all these letters, indicative of dense and complex networks of personal connections, show that, by the late 16th century, the Ottoman ulema often acted together on various matters, with mutual interests at stake. In other words, these *şehâdetnâme*-style letters reveal the nature of the intricate networks of relations among the Ottoman scholars of the period, and as a literary genre, they are texts that should be analyzed in their own right. In this context, the main purpose of this study is to introduce the *mahzar/şehâdetnâmes* written for Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi and to provide a preliminary study of the life, scholarly career, and professional networks of an Ottoman scholar in the late 16th century. The *mahzars* we are dealing with have been overlooked until now, and thus have not yet been used in studies on the early modern Ottoman scholarly organization and ulema. In this respect, we would like to contribute to future studies on the occupational solidarity and personal/familial relationship networks among different groups in the early modern Ottoman world by presenting partial transcriptions of these important source texts as an appendix to the article.

Giriş

16. yüzyıl Osmanlı uleması hakkında bugüne kadar pek çok kitap ve makale yayınlanmış olsa da bu akademik literatür içinde -şeyhülislamı hariç tutulursa- sadece tek bir müderris ya da kadıya odaklanarak bu kişinin medresedeki öğrencilik yıllarından başlayarak Osmanlı ilmiye teşkilatındaki kariyeri boyunca kimlerle ne tür meslekî, ailevî ve şahsî ilişki ağları içinde bulunduğu ve bu ilişki ağlarının sözkonusu âlimin hayatına ve kariyerine nasıl etkileri olduğu sorularına cevap arayan çalışmaların azlığı dikkat çekicidir.¹ Bu durum, hiç kuşkusuz konuyla ilgili çağdaş tarihsel kaynakların hem sınırlı sayıda olması hem de sundukları biyografik verilerin nispeten yüzeysel kalması ile doğrudan ilişkilidir. Örneğin, Yasemin Beyazıt'ın işaret ettiği üzere, kazaskerlik dairelerinde tutulmuş ve bugün atama (hareket), mülâzım ve cihet ruznamçeleri olarak üç kategoride değerlendirilen defterlerde kimin ne zaman ilmiye zümresine katıldığı, mülâzemetini kimden aldığı, kazâ-iftâ-tedris görevlerinden hangisine ne zaman atandığı ve hangi mansıptan ne zaman ayrıldığı gibi soruların cevaplarını bulmak mümkündür. Ancak bu ruznamçelerden 16. yüzyıla ait sadece 10 civarında defter tespit edilebilmiştir. İlaveten, bilhassa atama ruznamçeleri dikkate alındığında bu defterlerin de tüm müderris ve kadı atamalarını içermedikleri görülür. Kezâ, yine Yasemin Beyazıt'ın tespitlerine göre, atama ruznamçelerinde yüksek dereceli ulemanın kayıtları bulunmaz, esasen kasaba kadıları ve alt derecedeki müderrislerin atamaları mevcuttur - ki bunlar da kaydedilirken ekseriyetle sadece isimleri zikredilmiştir, aile veya baba isimlerine yer verilmemiştir. Bu nedenlerle bazen aynı isimli âlimlerin birbirine karıştırılması veya kayıtlı kişinin kim olduğu sorusunun muğlakta kalması söz konusu olmaktadır.²

16. yüzyıl bağlamında tek bir müderrisin hayatı ve kariyerine odaklanan örnek bir çalışma için bkz. Yasemin Beyazıt, "Esaretten Mülazemete Üsküplü Alaeddin", İmparatorluğun Öteki Yüzleri: Toplumsal Hiyerarşi ve Düzen Karşısında Sıradan Hayatlar, haz. Fırat Yaşa, Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, s. 185-202. Bu sırada Osmanlı uleması arasında kurulmuş evlilik bağları ve şahsî ilişkilere dair ayrıntılı bir çalışma için bkz. Baki Tezcan, "The Law School of Mehmed II in the Last Quarter of the Sixteenth Century: A Glass Ceiling for the Less Connected Ottoman Ulema", Ottoman War and Peace: Studies in Honor of Virginia H. Aksan, ed. Frank Castiglione-Ethan Menchinger-Veyssel Şimşek, Brill, Leiden 2020, s. 237-282. 16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı uleması üzerine son dönemde önemli açılımlar getirmiş çalışmalar arasında bkz. Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017; a.mlf. "The Route to the Top in İlmiye Hierarchy of the Sixteenth Century," *Bulletin of SOAS*, 72/3 (2009), s. 489-512; ve Baki Tezcan, "The Ottoman Imperial Judiciary in the Former Mamluk Lands: A Prosopographical Study on the Chief Judges of Aleppo, Cairo, and Damascus, 1550-1655", 1516: The Year that Changed the Middle East and the World, haz. Abdul Rahim Abu-Husayn, American University of Beirut Press, Beirut 2021, s. 163-232.
- Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmiyye Mesleğinde İstihdam* (16. Yüzyıl), Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2014, s. 17-16 ve a.mlf., "Kadıasker Ruznâmçelerinde Tipoloji ve Yeterlilik", Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç'e Armağan, haz. Ümit Ekin (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2013), s. 97-112. Beyazıt'ın bu çalışmalarında işaret ettiği üzere, Osmanlı arşivlerindeki ruus ve tevcihat kayıtlarını havi defterlerin bilhassa üst-düzyer ulema atamalarını tespit etmek için ayrıntılı olarak incelenmesi gerektiği aşikardır. Bu defterlerin sağladığı veriler kazasker ruznamçe kayıtlarının eksikliklerini tamamlar niteliktedir. Bkz. Bilgin Aydın-Rıfat Günalan, "Ruus Defterlerine göre 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Müderrisleri", Osmanlı'nın İzinde: Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli Armağanı, haz. Feridun M. Emecen-İshak Keskin-Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu, I, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, s. 155-191.

Mezkûr arşiv kaynaklarındaki bu sınırlılıklar sebebiyle 16. ve 17. yüzyıllarda yazılmış tabakat tarzı biyografik eserler 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı ilmiye teşkilatı ve uleması üzerine yapılan araştırmalarda en sık başvurulan kaynaklar olagelmışlerdir. 1605-1635 yılları arasında müderrislik ve kadılık yapmış Nev'îzâde Atâyî'nin (1583-1636/37) *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik fi Tekmileti 'ş-Şakâ'ik*'i içerdiği yüzlerce ulema biyografisi ve anlatım zenginliği ile bu kaynak eserlerin en başında gelmektedir.³ Fakat *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik*'te yer alan biyografilerde de önemli bir sınırlılık mevcuttur. Atâyî, bir âlimin meslekî kariyeri çerçevesinde o kişinin aldığı eğitime, eğer bir müderris ise kimden mülâzım olduğuna, görev yerleri ile ulaştığı pâyelere, tayin ve varsa azil tarihlerine, kimlerin yerine göreve geldiğine dair mevcut bilgilerini aktarırken standart bir taslak izler ve daha fazla ayrıntıya girmez. Diğer bir deyişle, Atâyî'nin eserinde yer verdiği bir âlimin meslek hayatı boyunca kurduğu başka ilişkilere veya intisap ettiği farklı zümrelerden insanların kimler olduğuna dair malumat oldukça sınırlıdır. Velhasıl, 16. yüzyılda Osmanlı âlimlerinin birbirleriyle kurmuş olduğu meslekî ve şahsî ilişki ağlarına dair müstakilen her bir âlim hakkında farklı kaynakları bir arada kullanarak daha kapsamlı araştırmalar yapılması gerektiği aşikardır.

Öte yandan Baki Tezcan'ın bir makalesinde vurguladığı üzere, 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Osmanlı uleması bir yandan siyasî ve malî güçlerini arttırırken, diğer yandan bazı ulema ailelerinin birbirleriyle kurdukları evlilik bağları sayesinde ilmiye teşkilatı içindeki etkilerini ve mevcut konumlarını hızla tahkim ettikleri gözlenmektedir. Bu bağlamda bilhassa kazaskerlik ve müftülük gibi yüksek makamlara yapılan tayinlerde belirli ailelere mensup âlimlerin tercih edilmesinin altı çizilmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, Tanzimat öncesi devirlerde Osmanlı ilmiye teşkilatında bazı ailelerin bir tür “tekel” oluşturduğu bilinmekle beraber, Osmanlı uleması üzerine bugüne kadar yapılmış çalışmalarda sıklıkla vurgulanan bu ailevî ve şahsî bağlar, yine Tezcan'ın aynı çalışmasında işaret ettiği üzere, daha kapsamlı ve sistematik bir şekilde analiz edilmeyi beklemektedir.⁴

Biz bu makalemizde, 16. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde hızla yükselmiş bir Osmanlı âliminin meslekî kariyeri boyunca kurduğu ilişki ağlarına dair bir çalışma sunuyoruz. Çalışmamızın temel kaynağını Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'nin ilk müderrisi olarak tayin edilmiş Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi için yazılmış bir grup mahzar oluşturmaktadır. Söz konusu mahzarları Osmanlı tarihyazımında hızla yaygınlaşan dijital beşerî bilimler (digital humanities) ve tarihsel ağ araştırmaları (historical network research) araçlarını ve kaynak analizi metotlarını kullanarak daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelemeyi bir sonraki çalışmamızda yapmayı hedefliyoruz.⁵ Bu açılardan makalemizin kapsamı nispeten sınırlı olup, ilk planda henüz yayınlanmamış söz konusu mahzarların tanıtımı yapmayı ve tam metinleri yayınlamayı bir ön çalışma olacak şekilde tasarladık.

3 Nev'îzâde Atâyî, *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik fi Tekmileti 'ş-Şakâ'ik*, haz. Suat Donuk, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, II, İstanbul 2017.

4 Baki Tezcan, “The Ottoman Mevali as ‘Lords of the Law’”, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 20/3 (2009), s. 383-407.

5 Bkz. Yunus Uğur haz., *Dijital Beşerî Bilimler ve Osmanlı Çalışmaları*, Vakıfbank Yayınları, İstanbul 2023.

16. yüzyılda Osmanlı müderrislerinin tayininde sultanın arzusu/onayı, vakfiye esasları, yeni bir medrese olup olmadığı⁶ ve müderrislik kadrosunun açılması esas şartlar olarak belirlenmişti.⁷ Bu genel şartların yanı sıra bazı prestijli medreselere atanmalarının özel koşullara göre yapıldığı bilinmekle beraber, bu tayinlerde mülâzemet ve/veya akrabalık yoluyla Osmanlı ilmiyesinde yüksek bir rütbeye sahip bir âlimi tanıyan veya o âlime intisap etmiş bir müderrise öncelik verildiği de görülmekteydi. Bir müderrisliğe birden fazla adayın söz konusu olduğu durumlarda ise Rumeli ve Anadolu kazaskerlerinin huzurunda imtihanlar⁸ yapıldığı gibi bazı medreselere müderrisler doğrudan o medresenin bânisi tarafından seçilirdi.⁹ Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi de bânisinin siyasî statüsü ve prestiji sayesinde devrinin önemli ellilik medreseleri arasında yer almış; buraya atacak ilk müderris ve sonrasında görev alacak müderrisler için imtihanlar yapılmıştır.¹⁰ Nitekim Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi için mahzar imzalayan Zekeriyâ Efendi (ö. 1593) ile Molla Ahmed Efendi (ö. 1600) de, aşağıda görüleceği üzere, vaktiyle bir medreseye imtihan yapıldıktan sonra müderris olarak atanan kişiler arasındadır.

Müderris atamalarında takip edilmiş şartlar ve teamüller itibariyle yukarıda bahsedilen dört genel hükme ek olarak tanınmış âlimlerden şehadetnâmeler almak da muhtemelen Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman devrinden (1520-1566) itibaren bir kural haline gelmiştir. Bu sebeple olsa gerek Gazanfer Ağa'nın saraydaki konumu hasebiyle bu medresenin ilk müderrisi atamak için aday müderristen, müderrisin kendi ilmî yönünü destekleyecek ve bir tür referans sayılabilecek şehadetnâmeler istenmiştir. Elimizdeki şehadetnâmelerde her ne kadar Gazanfer Ağa'dan bahsedilmese de bu mektuplarının 'örtük' maksadının hemen ağanın medresesine atanan ilk müderrisini övmek hem de Gazanfer Ağa'nın kurduğu irtibat ağlarının kapsamını ve önemini göstermek olduğu düşünülebilir.

16. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Gazanfer Ağa tarafından yaptırılan ve bugün Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi olarak bilinen vakıf medresesi dönemin en güzide mimarî yapıları içerisinde yer

6 Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1374.

7 Müderrislerin tayin ve terfileri konusunda bkz. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilatı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1998, 3. baskı, s. 55-63 ve Hasan Akgündüz, *Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Medrese Sistemi: Amaç-Yapı-İşleyiş*, Ulusal Yayınları, İstanbul 1997, s. 459-471.

8 Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1300, 1315, 1367, 1374, 1387, 1437, 1461, 1480, 1517, 1564, 1565, 1601, 1690. Müderrislik adaylarının girdikleri imtihanlara dair bkz. Ayşe Zişan Furat, "Fetih Sonrası Osmanlı Eğitim Anlayışının Şekillenışı: Klasik Dönem Müderrisleri İmtihanları", *Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası: İstanbul'un Fethinden Süleymaniye Medreselerinin Kuruluşuna Kadar*, ed. Ömer Mahir Alper-Müstakim Arıcı, Klasik Yayınları, İstanbul 2015, s. 19-29 ve Yasemin Beyazıt, "İcazetnâme ve Mansıb Peşinde: "Huzurda İmtihan Olmak", *XIX. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 3-7 Ekim 2022. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, III. Cilt, III. Kısım: Osmanlı Tarihi*, haz. Abdullah Kaymak-Selin Eren-Semiha Nurdan-Kübra Güney-Muhammed Özler, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2024, s. 89-122.

9 Günhan Börekçi-Uğur Öztürk, "Gazanfer Ağa Medresesinin Açılışı ve Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi'nin Müderris Atanmasına Dair Seyyid Lokman'ın Manzumesi: Yeni Nüsha ve Metin", *İslam Tetkikleri Mecmuası* 13/1 (Mart 2023), s. 1-62.

10 Furat, *a.g.m.*, s. 17-18.

almaktadır.¹¹ Tıpkı III. Murad döneminin güçlü harem ağalarından Habeşî Mehmed Ağa'nın (ö. 1590) yaptığı gibi, Gazanfer Ağa da siyasî kariyeri boyunca önemli mimarî eserlere imza atmış, birçok müellif ve şairi himaye etmiştir. Devrin uleması arasında Gazanfer Ağa'nın İstanbul'da kurduğu medresesine atanmak --özellikle ağaya yakın olmak adına-- büyük bir prestij olarak telakki edilmiştir. Aynı medresede sonradan görev yapmak isteyen müderrislerin bir tür "atışma" şeklinde mektuplaşmaları ise bu medresedeki rekabeti göstermesi bakımından ayrıca önemlidir.¹² Medresenin yapılış tarihinin bile bu prestijde etkili olduğu söylenebilir. Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi, Osmanlıların 1578'de Safevîlere karşı başlatılan ve 1590'a kadar süren uzun seferlerin bitmesinin hemen akabinde inşa edilmiş bir nevî zafer nişanesi olarak nitelendirilebilecek bir yapıdır.¹³ Şehnameci Seyyid Lokman'ın Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'nin açılışına dair kaleme aldığı bir manzumesinde bu seferleri ayrıntılı olarak anlatması böyle bir bağlantıya dikkat çekmektedir.

Yapımı, açılışı ve müderris atama törenleri ile devrinde oldukça ses getirmiş bu medrese için ilk müderrisin seçimi konusunda yazılmış şehadetnâmeler ise başlı başına önemli bir tarihsel kaynak teşkil etmektedir. 16. yüzyılın sonlarında Osmanlı uleması arasındaki himaye ilişkilerini ve dayanışma yöntemini gösteren bu şehadetnâmeler, Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi adına yazılmıştır ve aşağıda tanıttığımız manzumenin yeni nüshanın baş tarafında yer almaktadır.¹⁴

I. Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi

Seyyid Lokman'ın manzumesine ve sözkonusu mahzarlara geçmeden önce Gazanfer Ağa'nın medresesi için ilk müderris olarak tercih ettiği Ahmed Efendi'nin ailesine ve kariyerine kısaca değinelim. Seyfîzâde Vıhıvek Efendi adıyla meşhur olan Ahmed Efendi

- 11 Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu, "Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1994, III, 375-377; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 2000, s. 169-172; Semavi Eyice, "Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi", *DİA*, XIII, 432-433.
- 12 Niksârîzâde ve Ganîzâde'nin karşılıklı mektupları için bkz. Uğur Öztürk, "16. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı Uleması Arasındaki Tarafgirlik ve Rekabete Dair Bir Örnek: Niksârîzâde Mahmud Efendi ve Ganîzâde Nâdirî'nin Mektupları", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 34/1 (Haziran 2024), s. 467-493.
- 13 1578-1590 Osmanlı-Safevî savaşlarına dair bkz. Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran Siyasî Münasebetleri (1578-1612)*, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, İstanbul 1993.
- 14 Bu dönemde yazılmış benzer mahzarlar için bkz. Hüseyin Örs-Uğur Öztürk, "Masûmiyeti İspatlamak: Tırhala Kadısı Molla Mehmed Masûm'a Görevinin İfade Edilmesi İçin Yazılan Ulemâ Arzuhalleri", *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi Journal of Islamic Review*, 11/2 (2021), s. 773-828.

1562 civarında doğmuştur. Bir arşiv kaydına göre annesinin ismi Hatice'dir.¹⁵ Babası ise 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı âlim-bürokratları arasında müderrisliği ve tasavvufi kimliği ile tanınmış Hamidî Seyfullah Efendi'dir (ö. 1601).¹⁶

Ahmed Efendi'nin babasının mesleğinden giderek kariyer basamaklarında yükselmesinde, anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, hem mülâzemetini meşhur Hoca Sâdeddin Efendi'den (ö. 1599) almış olması, hem de (henüz tam tarihini bilemediğimiz bir yılda, muhtemelen 1580'lerde) Nişancı Abdülmuhyi Paşa'nın (ö. 1592) kızıyla evlenmiş olması etkili olmuştur.¹⁷ Ayrıca devrin Osmanlı yönetici eliti ve üst-düzyer uleması ile sağlam bir ilişki ağı kurduğu gözlenen Ahmed Efendi'nin özellikle Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'ne atanmasında tanıdığı şeyhülislam, müderrisler ve diğery âlim-bürokratlar tarafından yazılmış şehâdetnâmeler de önemli bir rol oynamış gözükmektedir.

Ahmed Efendi'nin mülâzemetini aldıktan sonra ilk görev yeri otuz akçelik Kestel Medresesi'dir. Bu görevinden sonra kırk akçe ile Tûtî Latîf Medresesi'ne müderris olmuş, Şubat 1587 tarihinde de hariç rütbesini elde etmiştir. Akabinde Ekim-Kasım 1590 tarihinde Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi, Haziran-Temmuz 1592'de Hâseki Medresesi ve Şubat-Mart 1594'te Sahn-ı Seman Medresesi'ne tayin edilmiştir. Ocak-Şubat 1595'te Şehzâde Mehmed Medresesi'ne geçen Ahmed Efendi, Nisan-Mayıs 1595'te Süleymaniye pâyesine ulaşmıştır. Babasının da ders verdiği Süleymaniye'de yaklaşık beş yıl çalıştıktan sonra, Ocak-Şubat 1600 tarihinde Hâkâniyye-i Vefâ, hemen ardından da Mayıs-Haziran 1601'de Vâlîde-i Cedîde Medresesi'nde görev yapmıştır. Daha sonra kadılık mesleğine geçmiş olan Ahmed Efendi, Kasım/Aralık 1603'te Edirne kadısı olduktan bir yıl sonra Haziran-Temmuz 1604'te azledilmiştir. Haziran-Temmuz 1606 tarihinde Bursa kadılığına atanmışken aynı yılın Aralık ayında Azmîzâde Hâletî'nin buraya tayin edilmesiyle uzun bir süre munfasıl kalmış, fakat sonra İstanbul kadısı yapılmıştır (Temmuz-Ağustos 1613). İstanbul kadılığı Ahmed Efendi'nin son görev yeri olmuş, aynı yılın Ramazan ayında [Ekim-Kasım] azledilmiş, kısa

15 T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri, d. 18155, 11: “*Ayasofya müderrisi iken vefât eyleyen Seyfullah Efendi'nin tekâ'üdü vazifesinden kırk akçesi hatunu Hadice'ye ve on beş akçesi oğlunun oğlu olan Mehmed'e verilmek buyuruldu*”. Hamidî Seyfullah Efendi vefat ettikten sonra oğlu Ahmed Efendi babası için babasının ve kendisinin tanıdığı birçok âlime mersiyeler yazdırdı. Bkz. Yasemin Karakuş, *Seyyid Nizamoğlu Mersiyelerini İçeren Bir Şiir Mecmuası: Mecmu'a-i Kasaid*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ana Bilim Dalı, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul 2014. Karakuş'un bu tezinde mersiyelerin Seyyid Nizamoğlu Seyfullah Efendi adına yazıldığı söylense de Seyyid Nizamoğlu ve Seyfullah Efendi farklı kişilerdir.

16 Seyfullah Efendi hakkında bkz. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1209-1210.

17 Sokollu Mehmed Paşa'nın (ö. 1579) yanında tezkirecilik yapmış Muhyî Mehmed, 1580'de reisülküttap, 1583'te Feridun Ahmed Bey'in vefatıyla nişancılık görevine getirilmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 734, 958, 959, 961, 1070; Muhyî mahlasıyla şiirler kaleme almış Paşa aynı zamanda III. Murad'a ait şiirlere de şerhler yazmıştır. Bkz. *Mir'âtü'l-Gaybi'l-Hâkânî Min Fuyûzâtî Sultân Murâd Hân b. Sultân Selîm Hân*, Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi Kütüphanesi 1901, vr. 221b-249a.

bir süre sonra da vefat etmiştir.¹⁸ “*Ser-i bâli şikest olunca didüm // Veyhek iy Vıhvıhek vefât itdün* [1613]” beyti ölümüne tarih olarak düşürülmüştür.¹⁹

Ayrıca belirtmek gerekir ki, Seyfullah Efendi'nin vefatından ardından oğlu Ahmed Efendi merhum babası için hem babasının hem de kendisinin tanıdığı, daha ziyade ilmiyeye mensup olan farklı meslek gruplarından 39 kişiye mersiyeler yazdırmıştır.²⁰ Bu mersiyelerde Seyfullah Efendi'yi tanıyanlar genel olarak onun ilmî ve tasavvufî yönüne övgüde bulunurken bazı şiirlerde oğlu Ahmed Efendi de metne dâhil edilmiş ve ona da ilmî yönden övgülerde bulunulmuştur. Bu yazım şekli, vefat eden şahsın dünyada yaptığı iyilikleri ve onun ahireti için edilen duaları kapsayan genel mersiye tanımının kısmen dışında kalmaktadır. Seyfullah Efendi için siparişe kaleme alınmış mersiyelerde yer yer Ahmed Efendi'ye yönelik destek cümlelerinin bulunması bu metinlere farklı bir boyut kazandırmaktadır.

Atâyî, Seyfullah Efendi maddesinde ondan övgüyle bahsederken tasavvuf ehli, iyi bir hâtip ve devrinde sevilen biri olduğunu değinir ve vefatı sonrasında oğlunun devrin şairlerinden “ibrâm/ısrar” ile mersiye yazdığını, hatta bunları kitap haline getirip padişaha arz ettiğini söyler.²¹ Ahmed Efendi'nin geniş bir zaman aralığında topladığı mahzarları Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'ne atanmak için kullandığı göz önüne alındığında, babası için yazdığını mersiyeleri de benzer şekilde kariyerinin daha sonraki aşamalarında kullandığı varsayılabilir. Diğer bir deyişle, farklı meslek gruplarına mensup ve devrinde önemli mevkiye bulunan kişilere mersiyeler sipariş etmesi böyle bir amacı olduğuna işaret etse gerek. Bu sebeple Seyfullah Efendi için yazılmış şiirlere sadece birer mersiye metni olarak bakmak yerine devrin Osmanlı yönetici eliti ve uleması arasında kurulmuş şahsî ve meslekî irtibatların yazılı örnekleri arasında sayılarak ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmelidir.

II. Mahzarların Bulunduğu Yazma Nüsha

Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'nin açılışına ve Ahmed Efendi'nin ilk müderrisi olarak atanmasına dair manzume yukarıda işaret ettiğimiz üzere devrin şehnamecisi Seyyid Lokman tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Aynı manzume içinde Seyfullah Efendi'den mülâzım olan Atûfî Mehmed Efendi'nin de III. Murad için yazdığı bir kaside bulunmaktadır. Seyyid Lokman'ın bu uzun manzumenin iki nüshası bulunmaktadır. İlk nüsha Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ayasofya 4787/1 numarada ve 1b-21b varakları arasında yer alır. Şubat-Mart 1591 tarihli olan bu nüsha tezhipli olup içinde medresenin açılışına dair eskizler de bulunmaktadır.

18 Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi'nin mezarı, Revnakoğlu'nun Pervititch haritasından aktardığına göre, bugün Fatih Darüşşafaka Caddesi'nde 9 ve 11 numaralı binaların bulunduğu eskiden Viran Türbe denilen yerdedir. Mustafa Koç, *Revnakoğlu'nun İstanbul'u: İstanbul'un İç Tarihi*, II, Fatih Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2021, s. 523.

19 Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1461-1462.

20 Bkz. yukarıda dipnot 15.

21 Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1210.

Manzumenin tam halinin yer aldığı ikinci nüsha ise Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Esad Efendi 3376 numarada müstakil bir eser şeklinde kayıtlıdır. Bu nüshada Ahmed Efendi için yazılmış mahzarlar bulunurken Ayasofya nüshasında bu metinler yoktur.²²

Mahzarların tam olarak hangi tarihte derlenip yazıya geçirildiği belli değildir. Öte yandan elimizdeki nüshanın ilk varağında yer alan “Seyfullâh Efendi’nün oğlu hâlâ Sultân Süleymân Hân *aleyhi’r-rahmetü ve’r-ırdvân* hazretlerinin medrese-i şerifelerinde müderris olan Ahmed Efendi’nün” ifadesi, bu metinlerin 1595-1600 tarihleri arasında yazıya geçirilmiş olduğu söylenebilir. Zirâ Ahmed Efendi bu yıllarda Süleymaniye müderrisleri arasında görev yapmaktadır.

III. Mahzarlar ve Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi’nin İlişki Ağlarına Dair

“Mahzar” kelimesi her ne kadar fikhî konularda şahitlik belgesi olarak kullanılsa da Osmanlı bürokrasisinde genellikle arzuhal/dilekçe amaçlı kullanılmıştır. Ahalinin belli bir konuda devleti yönetenlere yönelttiği şikâyet veya istek türünde eylemleri içeren mahzarlar, Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman devrinden itibaren ulema arası irtibatı ve yazışmaları kapsar hâle gelmiştir.²³ 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında ulema arasında belli bir makama atanma konusunda veya göreve iade için yazılmış birçok mahzar bulunmaktadır. Müderrislerin mansıp almak veya mazûliyetini gidermek için yüksek makamda bulunan bir âlimin himayesinde çevresindeki diğer âlimlere mahzar yazdırması bu dönemde gelenek haline gelmiştir. Bir müderris için mahzar yazan kişiler bu dönemde genellikle gruplar halinde hareket ederek başka bir âlim için de benzer mahzarlar yazmışlardır.²⁴

Mahzarlarda kullanılan ifadeler edebî açıdan gayet beliğ olmakla birlikte genellikle tavsiye niteliğinde ve bahsi geçen âlimin ilmî yönüne övgü şeklindeydi. Ahmed Efendi için atılan imzalarda mahzar kelimesi yerine bazen *sahife*, *vesika*, *tomâr*, *varak*, *rıkk*, *ruk’â*, *defter* ve *ceride* gibi ifadeler de kullanılmıştır. Bahsi geçen ifadeler hem imzaların çokluğunu göstermek hem de mahzarlardaki cümlelere daha beliğ bir anlam katmak için kullanılmış gözükmektedir.

Bu noktada Ahmed Efendi’yi bizzat tanıyan âlimlerin yazdıkları mahzarlar üzerinde durmak gerekir. Ahmed Efendi’nin Eyüp Sultan civarındaki Sultaniyye Medresesi’nde (muhtemelen İsmihan Sultan Medresesi) bir süre hocalığını yapan Molla Ahmed Efendi, onun ince manaları anlayacak kabiliyette olduğu, birçok ilmi talim ettiğini ve bu ilimlerle Cahiliye dönemi meşhur şairlerinden olan İmrü’l-Kays gibi şöhret bulduğunu söyler. Yine

22 Daha fazla ayrıntı için bkz. Börekçi-Öztürk, “Gazanfer Ağa Medresesinin Açılışı ve Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi’nin Müderris Atanmasına Dair Seyyid Lokman’ın Manzumesi”.

23 Mehmet İpşirli, “Diplomatik Açından Mahzar”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 75 (2021), s. 37-38.

24 Bkz. Örs-Öztürk, “Masûmiyeti İspatlamak”.

Sahn Medreselerinin birinde Ahmed Efendi'ye hocalık yapan Sinân Efendizâde onun aklı ve naklî ilimlere olan vukufiyetine, padişahın lütfuna layık olduğuna, babasının da Ayasofya vazîliğinde padişaha uzun yıllar hizmet ettiğine değinir. Sinân Efendizâde'nin verdiği bilgiler ve mahzarı mahzarlar içinde en uzun ve ayrıntılıdır. Ahmed Efendi'nin birlikte eğitim aldığı Râ'î Hasan Efendi, Kâfzâde ve Selâmizâde de yine onun ilmî vukufiyetine değinmiş ve bunu bizzat müşahede ettiklerini beyan etmişlerdir.

Ahmed Efendi'nin ilmiye içindeki kariyeri için geniş bir zaman dilimi kapsayacak şekilde ayarlanmış ve kariyeri boyunca kullanabileceği mahzarlara 19 âlim imza atmıştır. Bu imzalarda belli bir hiyerarşik düzen takip edilmiş, yazıya geçirilirken de muhtemelen bu düzen dikkate alınmıştır. Mahzar imzasında mahzar yazdıran kişinin eğer babası tanınmış bir âlim ise önce onun arkadaşları, ardından varsa aile bağı olan âlimler, sonrasında da sırasıyla kendi hocası ve sınıf arkadaşları şeklinde bir sıralama ve hiyerarşi gözetildiğini söyleyebiliriz (bkz. Tablo 1).

Tablo 1. Mazhar Yazarları ve Ahmed Efendi ile İrtibatları					
Sıra	Mahzar Sahibi	Mülâzemetini Aldığı Kişi	Mahzarın Muhtemel İmza Tarihi	Mazhar İmzalandığı Sıradaki Görev Yeri/ Makamı ²⁵	Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi ile İrtibatı
1	Şeyhülislam Bostanzâde Mehmed (ö. 1598)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Kasım 1592-Temmuz 1593	Rumeli Kazaskeri	Seyfullah Efendi mülâzemetini Bostanzâde'nin babasından almıştır.
2	Zekeriyya Efendi (ö. 1593)	Malûl Emîr Efendi	Mart-Nisan 1589'dan sonra	Rumeli Kazaskeri	Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'yi tanımıştır.
3	Çivizâde Mehmed Efendi (ö. 1587)	Abdurrahman Efendi	Aralık 1581-Mayıs 1587	Şeyhülislam (?) ²⁶	Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'yi tanımıştır.
4	Molla Ahmed Efendi (ö. 1600)	Şah Efendi	Haziran 1576-Eylül 1579	Ayasofya Müderrisi	Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır. Eyüp'teki Medrese-i Sultâniyye'de bir süre hocası olmuştur.

25 Bu tabloda belirtilen mahzar yazarlarının imza tarihlerindeki görev yerleri kimi âlimler için kesin değildir. Taradığımız kaynaklardan çıkarabildiğimiz kadarıyla bu belirsizlikleri gidermeye çalıştık. Soru işaretleri de bu sebeple konulmuştur. Dönemin medreselerinin ayrıntılı bir listesi için bkz. Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, II, İFAV Yayınları, İstanbul 2005; Atâyi, *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik fî Tekmilleti 'ş-Şakâ'ik*; Mehmet İpşirli, "Eğitim: XVI. Asır Sonlarında İstanbul Medreseleri", *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. İstanbul 2015, s. 47-49.

26 Çivizâde'nin mahzarını yazdığında hangi makamda olduğu kesin değildir. Metindeki "merhûm şeyhülislam" ifadesinden ve Çivizâde'nin ölüm tarihinden bir çıkarım yapmak gerekirse mahzar imzalarken şeyhülislam makamında bulunduğu düşünülebilir.

5	Bahâeddinzâde (ö. 1587)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Eylül 1584-Şubat 1587 arasında	Rumeli Kazaskeri	Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'yi tanımıştır.
6	Azmî Efendi (ö. 1582)	Kınalızâde Ali Efendi	Ağustos 1580-1582 tarihleri arasında	Sahn Müderrisi (?)	Şehzade Mehmed (III. Mehmed'in) hocası. Yazdığı mahzardan Ahmed Efendi'yi ve babasını tanıdığı anlaşılmaktadır.
7	Beğzâde Efendi (ö. 1596)	Bursevî Ahmed Çelebi	Haziran 1576-Eylül 1579 tarihleri arasında	Süleymaniye Müderrisi (?)	Ahmed Efendi'yi şahsen tanımıştır. Ahmed Efendi'nin Ali Paşa Medresesi'nde bir süreliğine hocası olmuştur.
8	Hasan Beğzâde (ö. 1587)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Aralık 1573-Şubat 1579 tarihleri arasında	Sahn Müderrisi	Yazdığı mahzarda Ahmed Paşa Medresesi'nde Ahmed Efendi ile ilmi müzakere yaptığını ve bu sebeple şahsen tanıdığını söyler.
9	Lütfî Beğzâde (ö. 1589)	Muhaşşî Sinân Efendi	Haziran 1577-Şubat 1579 tarihleri arasında	Sahn Müderrisi	Seyfullah Efendi ve oğlu Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır.
10	Gürz Seyyidzâde Efendi (ö. 1587)	Çivizâde	Aralık 1575-Mayıs 1579 tarihleri arasında	Süleymaniye Müderrisi (?)	Muhtemelen Ahmed Efendi'yi şahsen tanımıştır.
11	Sinânzâde Mehmed Efendi (ö. 1579)	Bostan Efendi	Aralık 1575-Mayıs 1579 tarihleri arasında	Süleymaniye Müderrisi	Hem Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'yi hem de Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır. Yazdığı mahzardan Sahn-ı Seman Medresesi'nde bir süreliğine Ahmed Efendi'nin hocası olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.
12	Râ'î Hasan Efendi (ö. 1585)	Mimârzâde	Haziran 1577-Eylül 1580 tarihleri arasında	Selanik ve Karaferye kadısı (?)	Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır. Ahmed Paşa Medresesi'nde Ahmed Efendi ile birlikte müderrislik yapmıştır.
13	Kâfzâde Feyzî Efendi (ö. 1611)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Şubat 1579-Kasım 1579 tarihleri arasında	Üsküdar Mihrümâh Sultan Müderrisi	Seyfizâde Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır. Ahmed Efendi le Edirnekapı'daki Medrese-i Sultâniyye'de birlikte müderrislik yapmıştır.

14	Bahrî Hasan Efendi (ö. 1586)	Ataullah Efendi	Mart 1583-Aralık 1583 tarihleri arasında	Zal Mahmud Paşa Müderrisi (?)	Hem Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'yi hem de Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır.
15	Hasan Kethüdâzâde Mehmed (ö. 1611)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Ekim 1584-Eylül 1587'dan sonra	Mihrimah Sultan Müderrisi (?)	Muhtemelen Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır. Arapçaya ve belli başlı kitaplara olan vukufuna şahitlik etmektedir.
16	Ebüs-suûdzâde Abdülvâsi Efendi (ö. 1582)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Ocak 1574-Nisan 1580 tarihleri arasında	Süleymaniye Müderrisi	Muhtemelen gençliğinden itibaren Ahmed Efendi'yi şahsen tanımıştır.
17	Sarıgürzâde Efendi (ö. 1582)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Aralık-Ocak 1578-1579– Temmuz-Ağustos 1579	Süleymaniye Müderrisi	Yazdığı mahzardan Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanıdığı anlaşılmaktadır.
18	Selâmîzâde Efendi (ö. 1589)	Ebüs-suûd Efendi	Eylül-Ekim 1585-Ağustos 1590	Eyüp İsmihan Sultan Müderrisi (?)	1576'da Beşiktaş Hayreddin Paşa Medresesi'nde görev aldıktan sonra Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanımıştır.
19	Bekâyî Efendi (ö. 1595)	İbrahim Efendi	Ekim 1580-Haziran 1581 tarihleri arasında	Sahn Müderrisi	Ahmed Efendi'yi şahsen tanımıştır.

Bu hiyerarşik düzende ayrıca makamlara göre kendi içinde bir sıralama söz konusudur ve atılan her imza aynı zamanda o kişinin ilişki ağlarını da göstermektedir. Örneğin, Seyfîzâde için yazılmış mahzarlarda Zekerîyyâ Efendi, Çivîzâde, Bahâ'eddînzâde, Sinân Efendîzâde ve Bahrî Hasan Efendi imzalarında müderris Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'yi tanıdıklarını ve onun ilmiyle bilinen biri olduğuna şahitlik ederken; Molla Ahmed Efendi, Lütfî Beğzâde, Sinân Efendîzâde, Râ'î Hasan Efendi, Kâfzâde Feyzî Efendi, Bahrî Hasan Efendi ve Selâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi mahzarlarında Ahmed Efendi'yi bizzat tanıdıklarını ve ilmiyle bilinen ehil biri olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bahsi geçen âlimlerin ilmiyede geçirdikleri yıllar dikkate alındığında imza sahiplerinden çoğunun Ahmed Efendi'nin babasının arkadaşları olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu imzalar ayrıca Ahmed Efendi ve babasının döneminde ulema arasındaki girift ilişkileri ve irtibat ağlarını göstermektedir.

Mahzarlarda dikkat çeken başka bir nokta ise imza sahibi âlimlerin Ahmed Efendi'nin akranları arasında seçkin olduğu ve ilmiyle ön plana çıktığını vurgulamalarıdır. Molla Ahmed, Azmî Efendi, Lütfî Beğzâde, Kâfzâde ve Bahrî Efendi bu konuya değinen âlimlerdir. Mahzara imza atan âlimlerin birçoğu bir önceki imzanın ne için alındığını ve genel olarak mahzar tomarının yapısının ne olduğu hakkında bilgi sahibiydi. Ahmed Efendi için mahzar yazan ulemanın imzalarında “mahzar-ı mergûb ve manzar-ı matlûb, sahîfe-i safâ-nazar ve vesîka-i vefâ-mahzar, tomâr-ı belâgat-şî'âr, varak-ı mastûr [ve] rikk-ı mesfûr, rikk-ı menşur,

kitâb-ı müstetâb-ı belâgat-mevsûm, sahîfe-i mergûb [ve] behcet-i mahsûb, sefer-i zâhir ve satr-ı fâhir, ruk 'a-i ânîfe, mahzar-ı şerîf ve manzar-ı latîf, cerîde-i şehâdet ü beyân, sahîfe-i şerîfe” şeklindeki kullandıkları ifadelerden kendi metinlerini imzalarken diğer mahzarları da gördükleri anlaşılmaktadır. Bu ifadeler aynı zamanda edebi dille yazılmış münşeatları anımsatmak beraber genellikle tasvirlerde sanatlı ve secîli bir ifade kullanılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Mahzarlar arasında bazı imzaların oldukça erken tarihli olması, atılan imzaların başka bir atama için kullanıldığını da göstermektedir. Ahmed Efendi'nin sınıf arkadaşı Sinân Efendizâde mahzarında bu duruma dikkat çekmiş, Ahmed Efendi'nin belli bir makam veya mansıp elde etmek için imzalar derlediğini söylemiştir. Bazı mahzarlarda 'azl' ifadesinin geçmesi de bu durumu desteklemektedir. Azmî Pîr Mehmed, Sinân Efendizâde, Kâfzâde, Sarı Gürzzâde, Selâmîzâde ve Bekâyî mahzarlarında “*zamân-ı azl, evân-ı 'azl, eyyâm-ı 'azl'*” ifadelerini kullanarak attıkları imzaların Ahmed Efendi'nin azli için olduğu bilgisini de vermişlerdir. Azmî Pîr Mehmed Efendi, Ebüssüüdîzâde Abdülvâsi Efendi, Sinân Efendizâde, Kâfzâde, Sarı Gürzzâde, Selâmîzâde ve Bekâyî'nin Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi'nin kurulmasından çok daha erken bir tarihte mahzar imzalamış olmalarının nedeni de bahsi geçen azillerdir. Bu kişiler aynı zaman da Ahmed Efendi'nin babası Seyfullah Efendi'nin irtibatta olduğu âlimlerdendi. Azmî Efendi, Ahmed Efendi'nin ailesini tanıyordu, ki Seyfullah Efendi öldüğünde onun için mersiye yazan ulema arasında Azmî Efendi'nin oğlu Hâletî de vardır.²⁷ Benzer bir durum Zekeriyya Efendi ve oğlu Yahyâ Efendi için de söz konusudur. Zekeriyya Efendi, Seyfullah Efendi'yi şahsen tanıırken, Ahmed Efendi de onun oğlu Yahyâ Efendi ile tanışıktır. Bundan dolayı Seyfullah Efendi vefat ettiğinde Yahyâ Efendi de Ahmed Efendi'nin isteği üzerine babası için bir mersiye kaleme almıştır.²⁸

Son olarak Ahmed Efendi için yazılan mahzarlarda onun ilmî yönüne dikkat çekmeye çalışan âlimler özellikle hocası Molla Ahmed, Azmî Efendi ve Hasan Kethüda'dır. Bu yazarlar Ahmed Efendi'nin dile olan yetkinliğine, belâgat ilmine ve Arapçaya olan hâkimiyetine değinirler. Mahzar yazarları övdükleri âlimin gönlünün yapılmasının ancak padişahın lütfu ile olacağını da belirtmişlerdir. Çivîzâde, Bahâ'eddînzâde, Sinân Efendizâde ve Bahrî Hasan Efendi özellikle bu duruma vurgu yapmış, ulemanın gönlünü yapmanın bir nevî sultanın kendi iktidarını güçlendirmeye yönelik önemine dikkat çekmişlerdir.

Sonuç Yerine

16. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Osmanlı sarayının en önemli siyâsî aktörlerinin başında gelen Gazanfer Ağa'nın “uzun” İran seferlerinin sona ermesinden hemen sonra 1590'larda kurduğu Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi ve Külliyesi devrinin en prestijli yapıları arasında yer

²⁷ Karakuş, *a.g.t.*, s. 88.

²⁸ Karakuş, *a.g.t.*, s. 88.

almıştır. Gazanfer Ağa'nın gerek saray içi gerekse saray dışına yayılmış geniş güç ve ilişki ağları sebebiyle bu kudretli ağanın himayesinde olmak isteyen birçok âlim ve şair, Gazanfer Ağa ile irtibat kurmaya çalışmıştır. Nitekim Gazanfer Ağa'nın bânisi olduğu medrese kısa sürede önemli ellilik medreselerinden biri sayılmış; bu medreseye atanacak ilk müderrisin seçimi, medresenin açılışı ve sonrasında yapılan tayin devrinde oldukça dikkat çekmiştir.

Bu medresenin açılışı şehnameci Seyyid Lokman tarafından --muhtemelen Gazanfer Ağa'nın emriyle-- ayrıntılı bir şekilde nazma çekilmiştir. Seyyid Lokman manzumesinin ilk nüshasının önüne medresede görev alacak olan ilk müderrisin (Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi) daha önce yazılmış ve onun ilmine delil sayılabilecek şehâdetnâmeler eklenmiştir. Aynı manzumenin ikinci nüshasında ise bahsi geçen şehâdetnâmeler çıkarılmıştır. Seyfîzâde için yazılan manzumelerde Gazanfer Ağa ve medresesinin ismi zikredilmezken müşâhid âlimlerin çoğu Seyfîzâde'nin ilmine yönelik şahitliklerin dile getirirler. İçerik olarak Seyfîzâde'nin kariyeri boyunca geniş zamanlı olarak kullanılmak üzere atılmış bu imzaların bir araya getirilmesi muhtemelen Gazanfer Ağa'nın talebi üzerine olmuştur. Çivîzâde Mehmed Efendi, Bostanzâde, Zekerîyya Efendi, Azmî Pîr Mehmed gibi önemli âlimlerin imza attığı şehâdetnâmeler hem müderris Ahmed Efendi hem de Gazanfer Ağa medresesi için bir itibar göstergesidir.

Nişancı Abdülmuhiyî Paşa'nın damadı ve devrin tanınmış âlimlerinden Hamidî Seyfullah Efendi'nin oğlu olan Ahmed Efendi imza toplamaya ilk önce babasının --muhtemelen de kayınpederinin-- tanıdığı kişilerle başlamış sonrasında kendi hocası ve sınıf arkadaşlarından imzalar almıştır. Belli bir hiyerarşik düzenin olduğu bu gruplama da kendi içinde bir düzene konulmuş ve sıralamada genellikle imza sahiplerinin makamları dikkate alınmıştır. Ahmed Efendi'nin mansıp talebiyle topladığı bu imzalara sınıf arkadaşları da değerli ve bunların bir makam elde etmek için derlendiğinden bahsetmişlerdir. Dil bakımından oldukça secîli ve belîğ ifadelerin yer aldığı şehâdetnâmelerde üsluba da çok dikkat edilmiş ve bu konuda hem Ahmed Efendi'nin övgüsünde hem mahzarın tasvirinde hem de hitap edilen kişi konusunda bir birlik oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Yoğun ve karmaşık irtibat ağlarının göstergesi olarak değerlendirebilecek bu imzalar 16. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde Osmanlı ulemasının birçok konuda beraber hareket ettiğini ve karşılıklı çıkarların söz konusu olduğunu göstermektedir. Belki de daha önemlisi, Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi için yazılmış bu mahzarlar 16. yüzyılda tutulmuş kazasker ruznamçeleri ve Atâyî'nin *Hadâ'iku'l-Hakâ'ik*'i gibi devrin Osmanlı uleması hakkında bilgiler veren kaynakların kapsamadığı birçok ayrıntıyı barındırmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, aşağıda tam metinlerini verdiğimiz bu mahzar grubu, bilhassa 16. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı ilmiye zümresine mensup kişilerin hem meslekî kariyerlerini hem de birbirleriyle kurdukları farklı ilişki ve intisap ağlarını daha ayrıntılı incelemek isteyen araştırmacılar için yeni ve önemli bir kaynak mahiyetindedir.

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Metin:

Seyfullâh Efendi'nün oğlu hâlâ Sultân Süleymân Hân *aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'r-rıdvân* hazretlerinin medrese-i şerîfelerinde müderris olan Ahmed Efendi'nün menâsıb-i 'âliyyeye istihkâkına hâlâ şeyhü'l-İslâm ve müftî'l-enâm hazretlerinin ve merhûm Şeyhü'l-İslâm Çivizâde Efendi'nün ve Zekeriyâ Efendi'nün ve sâir mevâlî-i 'izâmun yazdukları şehâdet-nâmenün sûretleridir.

[1b] Hâlâ²⁹ şeyhü'l-islâm ve müftî'l-enâm olan hazretlerinündür:

Lisânu rakîmi's-sıdkı bi'l-hakki nâtikun.

Mezâmînuhu'l-garrâu hakkan hakâiku.

Fe-sâhibuhû kehfû'l-fezâili fâikun.

Bi-fazli zevi'l-efzâli ve'l-lutfi lâikun.³⁰

Harrarahû efkaru'l-verâ Mehmed b. Mustafâ el-Kâdi bi'l-asâkiri'l-mansûra fi vilâyeti Rumeli 'ufiye 'anhümâ ve gufira lehümâ.

29 Bostanzâde Mehmed Efendi, 11 Temmuz 1593 tarihinde ikinci kez şeyhülislam olmuştur. Bu makama ilk atanma tarihi 3 Nisan 1589'dur. Elimizdeki metnin yazılış tarihi bu iki tarih arasında olması icab eder. Bkz. Mehmet İpşirli, "Bostanzâde Mehmed Efendi", *DİA*, VI, 311. 1535-36'da doğan Bostanzâde, Arapzâde Efendi, Kadızâde Efendi ve Gül Hoca Çelebi gibi devrinin önemli âlimlerinden ders almış, 1556'da mülâzım olmuştur. 40 akçe ile Eski İbrahim Paşa Medresesi'nde, daha sonra Sahn-ı Semân, Yavuz Sultan Selim, Süleymaniye ve Edirne Selimiye medreselerinde müderrislik yapmıştır. 1573 yılında Şam, 1575'te Bursa, kısa bir süre sonra Edirne, 1576'da İstanbul kadılığına tayin edilmiş, akabinde 1577'de Anadolu ve 1580'de Rumeli kazaskeri olmuştur. Kısa bir mazûliyetten sonra 1583'te Kahire kadılığına, 1587'de ikinci defa Rumeli kazaskerliğine getirilmiştir. 3 Nisan 1589'da ise şeyhülislâm olmuş ve bu görevi sırasında Bâkî ile aralarında gerçekleşen tartışma sebebiyle azledilmiştir. Hasan Bey-zâde Ahmed Paşa, *Hasan Bey-zâde Târîhi*, nşr. Şevki Nezihî Aykut, Türk Tarih Kurumu, II, Ankara 2004, s. 370-374. Bostanzâde azledildikten hemen sonra aynı yıl içinde Gazanfer Ağa'nın da desteğiyle üçüncü defa Kasım 1592'de Rumeli kazaskerliğine getirilmiş, 11 Temmuz 1593'te de Zekeriyâ Efendi'nin vefatı üzerine yeniden şeyhülislâm olmuştur. İkinci şeyhülislamlığı vefatına kadar sürmüştür ve 1 Nisan 1598'de vefat etmiştir. Bostanzâde mahzar imzası muhtemelen üçüncü kez Rumeli kazaskeri olduğu zamana aittir.

30 "Ashab-ı Rakîm'in hakikati söyleyen dili nâtiktir. Hakikatlerin iç yüzü ayan beyan ortaya çıkmıştır. Böylece faziletler mağarasının sakinleri üstün gelmiştir. Fazilet ve lütf sahibinin fazl u keremiyle buna layık görülmüşlerdir."

Sâbikan şeyhü'l-islâm olan merhûm Zekerıyyâ Efendi'nündür:³¹

Bizüm de şehâdetimüz şehâdet iden fuhûl-i i'tikâdlarına muvâfıkdur, vâlidı dahi ^[2a] ehl-i fazldur ve evliya'ullâhdandır. Her vechle ri'âyet olunmak lâzımdur.

Harrarahû ehvecü'l-enâm Zekerıyyâ el-fakîr 'ufıye 'anhu.

Merhûm Şeyhü'l-İslâm Çivizâde Efendi'nündür:³²

Bu mahzar-ı mergûb ve manzar-ı matlûbda evsâf-ı hamîde ile mevsûf ve ahlâk-ı pesendide ile ma'rûf olan Ahmed Çelebi dâ'ileri 'ulûm u ma'ârifde ser-efrâz ve fâ'ik-i mümtâz olup müstehıkk-i 'uluvv-i himmet ve lâıyk-ı sümuvv-i re'fet, ehl-i sekînet ü vakâr ve beyne'l-'ulemâ celilü'l-kadr ve'l-i'tibâr dâ'ileri olduğundan mâ'adâ vâlidı Seyfullâh Efendi cemî'î-i 'ulûm-ı zâhire vü bâtınada kâmil, âlim ü âmil, zühd ü vera' üzere bir fâzıl olup tatyîb-i hâtırları halifetu'llâhi'l-müte'âl hazretlerine ^[2b] lâzım ve vâcib dâ'ileridir.

31 1514 doğumlu olan Zekerıyyâ Efendi, Emîr Efendi'den mülâzım olmuştur. 30 akçe ile Bursa Çendik Medresesi, daha sonra 40 akçe ile Kaplıca Medresesi müderrisliğine tayin edilmiş, 1562-63'te bu görevden ayrılınca boşalan Atık Ali Paşa Medresesi müderrisliğine başvurmuştur. Kendisiyle birlikte altı aday daha olduğu için Şeyh Vefa Camii'nde 13 Aralık 1565'te Rumeli ve Anadolu kazaskerleri Hamîd ve Perviz Efendiler huzurunda Hidâye'nin "*Kitâbü'l-Cinâyât*" bahsi okutularak yapılan imtihanı kazanarak müderrisliğe atanmıştır. Nisan 1568'de Üç Şerefeli Medrese, Nisan 1570'de Sahn-ı Semân, Haziran-Temmuz 1572'de Yavuz Sultan Selim Medresesi'ne müderris olmuş sonrasında kadılık mesleğine geçerek Haziran 1573'te Halep kadılığına, Şubat-Mart 1575'te azledildiyse de iki yıl kadar sonra Bursa kadılığına tayin edilmiştir (Ekim-Kasım 1577). Bursa kadılığının ardından İstanbul kadılığına getirilmiştir (Ocak-Şubat 1581). Ocak 1582'de Anadolu kazaskeri olmuş, Nisan-Mayıs 1583'te emekliye ayrılmıştır. Beylerbeyi Vak'ası sırasında (Mart-Nisan 1589) Rumeli kazaskeri olmuştur. Bu görevde iken Sadrazam Koca Sinan Paşa ile yaşadığı anlaşmazlıklar sebebiyle azledilen Zekerıyyâ Efendi, görevinden azledilmiş, fakat kısa bir süre sonra ulemanın karşı çıkmasıyla tekrar bir yıl geçmeden tekrar Rumeli kazaskerliğine getirilmiştir (Mayıs 1591). Ardından yetmiş sekiz yaşında iken bir şikâyet üzerine olaylı bir şekilde görevinden alınmış ve Bostanzâde Mehmed Efendi'nin yerine şeyhülislâm olmuş (9-10 Mayıs 1592) ise de, kısa bir süre sonra 11 Temmuz 1593'te vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 933-937; Mehmet İpşirli, "Zekerıyyâ Efendi, Bayramzâde", *DİA*, XXXIV, 211-212. Zekerıyyâ Efendi mahzardaki imzasını Mart-Nisan 1589'da Rumeli kazaskeri olduktan sonra imzalamıştır.

32 1530-31 yılında İstanbul'da doğan Mehmed Efendi, Şeyhülislâm Çivizâde Muhyiddin Mehmed Efendi'nin oğludur. Perviz Efendi, Taşköprüzâde Ahmed Efendi, Karesili Hasan Efendi, Malûl Emîr Efendi'den ders almış, 1552 yılında Abdurrahman Efendi'den mülâzım olmuş Haziran 1557'de Kasımpaşa, Eylül 1558'de Mihrimah Sultan, Nisan 1561'de Sahn-ı Semân, Temmuz 1563'te Ayasofya, Ocak 1564'te Süleymaniye medreselerinde müderrislik yapmıştır. Bu görevinden sonra kadılık mesleğini seçen Çivizâde, Haziran 1569'da Şam, Ekim 1570'de Mısır, Ocak 1572'de Bursa, Mayıs 1573'te Edirne, Ekim 1575'te ise İstanbul kadısı aynı ay içerisinde Anadolu kazaskeri olan Çivizâde, Ekim 1577 Rumeli kazaskeri olmuştur. Mayıs 1579'da Edirne Selimiyesine tayin edilmiştir. Bu görevinden iki ay sonra istifa eden Çivizâde Mart 1581'de Bostanzâde yerine tekrar Rumeli kazaskeri, aynı yılın Aralık ayında Nakîb Efendi yerine şeyhülislâm olmuştur. Bu görevinde beş yıl üç ay kalan Çivizâde 6 Mayıs 1587'de vebadan ölmüştür. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 867-872; Mehmet İpşirli, "Çivizâde Mehmed Efendi", *DİA*, VIII, 347-348. Çivizâde mahzarını Aralık 1581-Mayıs 1587 tarihleri arasında yazmıştır.

Ketebühü'l-fakîr Mehmed 'ufiye 'anhu.

Sâbikan Rûmili kâdfaskeri olan Monlâ Ahmed Efendi'nündür.³³

İşbu sahîfe-i safâ-nazar ve vesika-i vefâ-mahzarda fezâ'il ve kemâlâtı mastûr u mezkûr olan ma'den-i 'ilm ve menba'-i 'irfân, pişvây-ı emâsil-devrân, belîğ-i bedî' ve 'azbû'l-beyân, fasîh-i 'arîb ve ratbû'l-lisân, hasîb-i nesîb, zü'l-menâkıb ve'l-mefâhir, râğıb-ı kemâlât-ı ünsiyye, sâhib-i melekât-ı kudsiyyeye, hâvî-i 'ulûm-ı vehbî ve câmi'-i fûnûn-ı müktebesi Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi bendeleri Hazret-i Ebû Eyyûb el-Ensârî 'aleyhi rahmetü'l-Bârî civârında vâki' olan Medrese-i Sultâniyye'de bu fakîr ü hakîr ile müddet-i medîd ve 'ahd-i ba'îd müzâkere-i 'ulûm-ı 'akliyye ve müfâkere-i fûnûn-ı nakliyye^[3a] itdûği zamândan ilâ hâze'l-ân 'ulûm-ı nâfi'âyı tamâm tahsîl ve fûnûn-ı mühimmeyi kemâ yenbagî tekmlî idüp vâkıf-ı hakâyık-ı me'ânî ve 'âlim-i dakâyık-i mebnî olup cümle 'ulûm u ma'ârif hâsıl-ı mertebe-i 'akl bi'l-fi'ile vâsıl olan dâ'ilerindendir ve aslâ tazyî'-i vakt itmeyüp 'amme-i müste'iddîn ve kâffe-i müstefidîne muhric olup ifâde ve istifâdeden bir ân hâlî olmamışdur. Ve'l-hâsıl merkûm bendeleri beyne'l-akrân fâ'ik ve ihsân-ı bî-kerâna lâyıık idûği şemsden azhar ve kâsîde-i İmru'ü'l-Kays'dan eşher olduğı ecilden hasb-i hâlî merci'-i châlî vü e'âlî savbına arz olındı.

33 Karabağ Genceli olan Ahmed Efendi, Şah Efendi'den mülâzım olmuştur. 1569'da Sokollu Mehmed Paşa'nın Bergos'taki medresesine kırk akçe ile tayin edilmiştir. Sonra sırasıyla Haziran 1572 İstanbul'daki Mehmed Paşa medresesine, Aralık-Ocak 1573-74'te İsmihan Sultan ve Ekim 1575'te Sahn'a müderris olmuştur. Haziran 1576'da Ayasofya, Eylül 1579'da Üsküdar Valide Sultan Medresesine tayin edilmiş, burada Sunullah Efendi ve Kınalızâde Hasan Çelebi'nin de bulunduğu mecliste imtihan edilmiştir. Haziran 1581'de Şam kadısı olmuştur. Nisan 1583'te Edirne, aynı yılın Aralık ayının başında İstanbul kadısı olurken, 2 Ekim 1584'te ise Anadolu kazaskeri olarak atanmıştır. Bu görevde iken yine ulemanın huzurunda dersler vermiştir. Temmuz 1586'da emekli olmuş, Aralık 1587'de Mısır Kahire'sinde görevlendirilmiştir. 1591 yılında ikinci kez Anadolu kazaskeri olmuş, aynı yılın Temmuz/Ağustos ayında bu sefer Rumeli kazaskerliğine getirilmiştir. Kasım 1592'de azledilince Vezirazam Koca Sinan Paşa'nın yaptırdığı dârülhâdis kendisine ihsan olunmuştur. Nisan 1596'da yine Kahire kadısı olmuş, fakat bu görevden de azledilince artık herhangi bir görev almamıştır. 24 Ağustos 1600'de vefat etmiştir. İlmiyle meşhur olan Ahmed Efendi'nin Beyzâvi tefsirine haşiyeleri, *Telvih, Mevâkıf ve Mifâh*'a talikâtı vardır. Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1192-1196. Ahmed Efendi mahzarını Haziran 1576-Eylül 1579 tarihleri arasında Ayasofya Medresesinde müderris iken yazmıştır.

Nemekahû ed‘afû ‘ibâdî’l-Bârî Ahmed el-Ensârî el-Müderris bi-Medreseti Ayâsofiyya.

[3b] **Sâbikan Rûmili kâdfaskeri olan Bahâ‘eddînzâde Efendi’nündür.**³⁴

Müstehikk-ı ‘inâyet-i ‘aliyye ve müste‘ehhil müte‘ehhil-i merhamet-i celiyye olup fazîlet-i merâtib-i sâmiyyeye istihkâkı beyne’n-nâs ma‘rûf u meşhûr ve kemâl-i ta‘ayyûn ve nihâyet-i zuhûr üzre olduğundan mâ‘adâ vâlid-i mâcidi olan Seyfullâh Efendi ‘ilm ü fazl u salâhı câmi‘ ve çehre-i fezâ‘il-i behresinde nûr-ı velâyet lâmi‘dür. Anların dahi hâtırların tatyîb itmege vesile-i takrîb olduğundan reyb ü gümân yokdur.

Zeberehü ‘l-fakîr Abdullâh eş-şehîr Bahâüddînzâde ce‘ale‘llâhu’t-takvâ zâdehu.

Sa‘âdetlü Pâdişâh-ı ‘âlem-penâh [4a] hazretlerinin hvâcesi olan ‘Azmi Efendi’nündür.³⁵

Bu tomâr-ı belâgat-şi‘ârda mehâsini mezkûr ve fezâ‘ili mastûr olan Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi bendeleri ³⁶«كالمشمس في الضحى كالبدن في الدجيه» hasebi zâhir ve nesebi tâhir, cevâhir-i zevâhir-i fezâ‘î ile ârâste ve hilye-i sedâd u istikâmet ile pîrâste, hâvî-i fezâ‘il-i vehbiyye ve câmi‘-i me‘ârif-i kesbiyye, edîb ü lebîb, nâsiye-i ahlâkında âsâr-ı necâbet tâbân ve çehre-i ahvâlinde kasabât-ı sebki hâ‘iz ve ‘ilm-i belâgatda derece-i ‘aliyyeye fâ‘iz fûnûn-ı şettâyı tahsîl ve nefis-i nâtıkası kemâlât ile tekmîl idüp ‘azlden perîşân-hâl iken cem‘iyyete müdâvim ve müzâkere-i ‘ulûm-ı ‘akliyyeye ^[4b] ve nakliyye mülâzım olup ifâde ve istifâdede bezl-i vüs‘-ı makdûr ve kavâbil-i zamâneye muhrec olmağla meşhûr olup akrâmı beyninde fâ‘ik ve ‘avâtıf-ı ‘aliyyeye lâyk olmağın hasb-i hâli talebi ile beyân olındı.

34 1533-34 tarihinde doğan Abdullah Efendi, Bayramiyye tarikatına mensup olan Bahaeddinzâde Lutfullah Çelebi’nin büyük oğludur. Taşköprizâde, Sahn müderrisi Abdülkerimzâde ve Ayasofya müderrisi Hasan Çelebi’den dersler almış, 1550-51’de Ebüssuûd Efendi’den mülâzım olmuştur. İlk görev yeri otuz akçelik Bursa’da Hançeriyye, ardından kırk akçeyle Yıldırım Han medresesine müderris olmuştur. 1563-64’te Rüstem Paşa harici sonrasında 1566’da Mihrümâh Sultan ve 1568-69’da Sahn-ı Semân, 1570’de I. Selim, 1572’de Süleymaniyye’ye terfi etmiş iki yıl sonra Galata, ardından Eyüp kadısı olmuştur. 1580-81’de Bursa sonrasında sırasıyla Edirne, İstanbul kadılıkları, ardından Anadolu kazaskeri olmuştur. Eylül 1584’te Rumeli kazaskeri, Temmuz 1586’da Anadolu kazaskeri, aynı yıl içinde Zilkade/Ekim-Kasım ayında İvaz Efendi yerine ikinci kez Rumeli kazaskeri olarak atanmıştır. Şubat 1587’de Mısır kadısı olmuş, Mirza Mahdum’un vefatıyla da Aralık 1587’de Mekke-i Mükerrreme kadısı olarak görev yapmış ve aynı yıl vefat etmiştir. Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 895-898. Bahaüddinzâde’nin imzasında sabıkan Rumeli kazaskeri ifadesi geçmektedir. İki kez kazaskerlik yapan Bahaüddinzâde’nin imzasının hangi tarihlere denk geldiği bilinmemektedir.

35 Kınalızâde’den mülâzım olan Pîr Mehmed Efendi, ilk önce 25 akçe ile Rusçuk’ta Rüstem Paşa Medresesi’nde, Kasım-Aralık 1560’da 40 akçe ile İstanbul’daki Rüstem Paşa Medresesi’nde müderrislik yapmıştır. Aynı yıl içinde Efdalzâde Medresesi’nde, daha sonra 50 akçe ile Beşiktaş’taki Sinan Paşa Medresesi’nde müderrislik vazifesinde bulunmuştur. Temmuz-Ağustos 1574’te Edirne Dârülhadisi’ne terfi etmiş, Temmuz-Ağustos 1576’da Semâniyye’den Karadeniz cihatındaki dördüncü medrese olan Ayakkurşunlu Medresesi’ne hoca olmuştur. Bu sıralarda fethedilmiş olan Kıbrıs’ı teftişe tayin edilmiş ve orada vergi yazma işinde çalışmıştır. 1579’da Süleymaniyye’den üçüncü medreseye müderris olmuştur. Pîr Mehmed, 27 Ağustos 1580 tarihinde Şehzade Mehmed’in muallimi Haydar Efendi’nin vefatı üzerine hatt-ı hümayunla adı geçen şehzadeye muallim tayin edilmiştir. Pîr Mehmed 1582’de vebadan vefat etmiştir. Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 812-814. Pîr Mehmed’nin mahzarını Sahn Medresesinde müderris iken imzalamıştır. Bu da imza tarihinin Temmuz-Ağustos 1576’dan sonra olduğunu göstermektedir.

36 “Kuşluk vaktindeki güneş gibi, karanlıktaki ay gibi.”

Zeberahü 'l-hakîr Pîr Mehmed b. Ahmed el-fakîr ile 'l-Meliki'-Mennân el-Müderri bi-ihda 'l-Medârisi's-Semân.

Edirne kâdîsı olan Beğzâde Efendi'nündür:³⁷

İşbu varak-ı mastûr [ve] rikk-ı mesfûr zımında mezkûr olan necübü't-arafeyn, nakîbü'l-ebeveyn, mecma'-i mefâhir-i vehbî ve menba'-ı mü'essir-i müktesebî Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi metta'ahullâhu bi-envâ'i'l-edeb bendeleri Medrese-i 'Alî Paşa'da bu mahlas-ı nâ-tüvândan telemmüz itdüğü andan beri tekmîl-i nefis-i nâtıkada ^[5a] bezl-i makdûr ve tahsil-i ma'ârif-i fâ'ikada sa'y-i bî-kusûr eyleyüp hadâ'ik-ı fezâ'ilün semâr-ı bî-şumârını müctenî ve dakâ'ik-mesâ'ilün nükât ve esrârını muktenî olmuştur. Bidâyet-i hâli necâbet-i nihâyetinden hâkî ve hilye-i selâmet-mi'yâr birle hâli olup ilâ yevminâ hâzâ ifâde ve istifâdeden bir ân hâli olmamıştır. Kemâlât-ı kesbiyesi sebebi ile şâyeste-i envâ'-ı ihsân ve kuvvet-i hadesiyesi hasbi birle sezâ-vâr-i eltâf-ı bî-kerân olmağın hasb-i hâli su'âli ile beyân olındı.

Ketebehü 'l-fakîr Mehmed eş-şehîr bi-Kemâl Beğzâde müderriken bi-ihda 'l-Medârisi's-Semân 'afâ 'anhu 'l-Melikü 'l-Mennân.

[5b] Sâbikan Şâm kâdîsı olan Hasan Beğzâde Efendi'nündür:³⁸

Bu rikk-ı menşûrda hilâl-i hamîdesi mastûr ve hisâl-i pesendîdesi mezkûr olan Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi bendeleri hiddet-i zekâ ile ma'rûf vücûdet-i fitnat ile mevsûf, 'ulûm-ı nâfi'a tahsilinde bezl-i makdûr ve fûnûn-ı mühimme tekmîlende sa'y-i meşkûr idüp ekser-i evkâtını iktibâs-i fevâ'ide hasr ve aaleb-i hâlâtı iktinâs-ı şevârda kasr idüp kavâbil-i zamân ile musâhebet-i 'ulûm-ı dîniyye ve mûmâreset-i fûnûn-ı yakîniyye ve mutârahât-ı 'akliyye ve münâzarât-ı nakliyyeden hâli olmayup her vechle lâyık-ı envâ'-ı ihsân ve müstehikk-ı eltâf-ı bî-kerân idüğü zâhir ü 'ayândur.

37 Kemâl Beğzâde diye meşhur olan Mehmed Efendi, ilmiyede kırk aççelik görevinden mazûl iken, Bursevî Emir Hasan Çelebi'nin kardeşi Ahmed Çelebi'den mülâzım olup, ardından aynı kişinin damadı olmuştur. Yeni İbrahim Paşa Medresesine kırk aççelik müderriken Kasım 1559'da mazûl olmuş, Haziran 1576'da Edirne Dârülhâdis'ine aynı yıl Sahn müderriğine getirilmiştir. Eylül 1579'da Ayasofya, Nisan 1580'de Süleymaniye'de müderrikenlik yapmıştır. Ocak 1585'te Halep kazasına tayin olunmuş, yine aynı yıl Medine kadılığı verilmişken kabul etmeyip, Haziran 1586'da Eyyüp kazasıyla birlikte Silivri ve Çatalca mevleviyetleri verilmiştir. Eylül 1590'da Molla Ahmed Efendi yerine Mısır Kahire'sine kadı olmuş, 1591'de azledilmiş, üç yıl sonra ise Edirne kazası ihsan olunmuştur. 1596'da Eyüp kazası verilmişken bir yıl sonra vefat etmiştir. Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1132-1133. Beğzâde Mehmed Şubat-Mart 1595'te ikinci kez Edirne kadısı olmuştur. Şubat-Mart 1596'da bu görevine son verilmiştir. Mahzarlar bu tarihler arasında yazılmış olsa gerek. Öte yandan Beğzâde'nin mahzarını ilk Edirne kadılığı sırasında yazmış olması da ihtimal dahilindedir.

38 Hasan Beğzâde Ahmed Efendi, 1552'de doğmuş, Ebüssuûd Efendi'den mülâzım olmuştur. 1569'da kırk aççe ile Kızılmsluk (Hadice Sultan) Medresesine, Haziran 1571'de Mehmed Paşa Medresesinde tayin olmuştur. Haziran 1572'de İsmihan Sultan, Aralık 1573'te Sahn, Şubat 1579'da I. Selim Medresesine, Aralık 1583'te Süleymaniye payesini almıştır. Eylül 1585'te Halep, Ağustos 1586'da Şam kazası verilmişken Eylül 1587'de vefat etmiştir. Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 878-880. Hasan Beğzâde, mahzarını Aralık 1573-Şubat 1579 tarihleri arasında Sahn müderrikeni iken imzalamıştır. Bu da Ahmed Çelebi için yazılan bazı mahzarların Gazanfer Ağa Medresesi kurulmadan çok önce yazıldığını göstermektedir.

Ketebehü'l-fakîr ila'llâhi sübhânehû el-müderriş bi-ihda'l-Medârisi's-Semân.[6a] **Fazîlet ile meşhûr Lutfî Beğzâde Efendi'nündür:**³⁹

Bu kitâb-ı müstetâb-ı belâgat-mevsûmda ahvâli merkûm u mersûm olan mahdûm-ı erşed-i es'ad Mevlânâ Ahmed mahmûdü'l-hisâl ve memdûhü'l-fi'âl, asnâf-ı 'ulûmla mevsûf ve envâ'-i ma'ârif ile ma'rûf şöhre-i dâr u diyâr ve «كالشمس في رابعة النهار»⁴⁰ tarz-ı 'acîbe sâlik ve tavr-ı garîbe mâlik mehâmid ve mehâsinde akrânına gâlib ü fâ'ik ve hasb-i hâli bu dürc-i 'âlfî-sâmide esâmisi derc olunan e'âlî şehâdetlerine muvâfik olup husûsâ zamân-ı azl ü infisâl ve evân-ı inkisâr u infi'âlde 'ale't-tevâlî ve'l-ittisâl kıyâsa muhâlif cem'-i talebe-i kemâl itmesine icmâ' u ittifâk ve ictimâ' u itbâk vâki' olmağın bu fakîr-i hakîr-i kesîrû't-taksîr dahi 'idâd-ı şuhûdda ma'dûd ve sa'âdet-i şehâdetle mes'ûd olmağı maksûd eyleyüp [6b] zikr olunan 'ulemâ-yı zevi'l-ihtidâ âsâr u mesâlikine iktidâ eyledi. ⁴¹ «وَأَنَا عَلَىٰ أَثَرِهِمْ مُّقْتَدُونَ»⁴²

Harrarahû ed'afû 'ibâdî'l-Meliki'l-Mennân Mehmed Lutfî el-müderriş bi-ihda'l-Medârisi's-Semân.**Sâbikan Medîne-i Münevvere kâdîsı olan Gürz Seyyidzâde Efendi'nündür:**⁴³

İşbu sahîfe-i mergûb [ve] behcet-i mahsûbda memdûh u mezkûr olan sülâletü's-sâlihîn Mevlânâ Şemseddîn Çelebi kemâl-i 'ilmle ârâste ve envâ'-ı ma'ârif ile pîrâste, mekârim-i ahlâk ile ma'rûf ve mehâsin-i evsâf ile mevsûf her vechle tebcîle ehil ve tekerrûme ni'me'l-mahall idüğü ke-nârin 'alâ 'alemin⁴⁴ müştehirdür.

39 Küçük Lutfî Beğzâde diye bilinen Mehmed Efendi, Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin danışmendi iken Muhaşşî Sinân Efendi'den mülâzım olmuştur. 25 akçe ile Bursa İsa Bey Medresesi, otuz akçe ile Çekmece Abdüsselâm Medresesi, kırk akçe ile Silivri Piri Paşa Medresesine müderriş olduktan sonra Mart 1571'de İznik Orhaniye Medresesine, Mart 1574'te Eski Ali Paşa, Ekim 1575'te Bursa Sultaniyye Medresesine tayin olunmuştur. Haziran 1577'de Sahn'de müderriş iken kadılık mesleğine geçmiş ve Şubat 1579'da İzmir kadısı olmuştur. Ağustos 1584'te Kefe kadısı iken bir yıl sonra azledilmiştir. Yaklaşık bir yıl mazûl olarak kaldıktan sonra Ekim 1586'da Yenişehir kadısı olmuştur. Bir yıl Yenişehir kadılığı yaptıktan sonra azledilen Mehmed Efendi, Mart 1589'da vefat etmiştir. Neylî mahlasıyla şiirler yazan Mehmed Efendi'nin *Kalemîyye Risâle* ile tanınmıştır. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 899-902. Küçük Lutfî Beğzâde Mehmed Efendi mahzarını Haziran 1577-Şubat 1579 tarihleri arasında Sahn'de müderriş olduktan sonra yazmıştır.

40 “Gün ortasındaki güneş gibi.”

41 “Elbette biz onların izlerinden giderek doğru yolu buluruz.” Zuhuf, 43/22.

42 “Biz onların izlerinden gitmekteyiz.” Zuhuf, 43/23.

43 Sultan I. Selim devri ulemasından Gürz Seyyidî Efendi oğlu olan Mehmed Efendi, Çivizâde'den mülâzım olduktan sonra kırk akçe ile Yıldırım Han Medresesinde göreve başlamıştır. Koca Nişancı olarak tanınan Celâlzâde Mustafa'ya damat olmuş, 1555'e Gebze Çoban Mustafa Paşa, Eylül 1563'te Edirne Dârülhadis payesini almıştır. Kasım 1566'da Sahn müderriş iken Ekim 1567'de kadı olarak Bağdad'a tayin edilmiştir. Mayıs 1573'te azledilmiş, iki yıl sonra 1575'te Medine-i Münevvere kadısı olmuştur. Haziran 1577'de emekli olmuş, Aralık 1587'de vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 889-890. Seyyidizâde mahzarı 1575'te Medine-i Münevvere kadısı olduktan sonra yazmıştır.

44 “Alem üzerindeki ateş gibi.”

Râkımuhû el-fakîr Mehmed eş-şehîr Mükerrer Seydîzâde ce'ale'llâhu'l-'ilme ve't-tukâ zâdehu.

[7a] **Fazîlet ile meşhûr Sinân Efendizâde Mehmed Efendi'nündür:**⁴⁵

'Ulemâ-i 'izâm-ı belâgat-nizâm kerremehumu'llâhu te'âlâ ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâm devât-ı ⁴⁶« ن وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ » ile cerîde-i şehâdet ve harîta-ı zirâ'atda fezâ'ilini imlâ ve şemâ'ilini inşâ itdükleri erşed ve emced Mevlânâ Ahmed cevdet-i hilkat ve fitnat-ı fitrat üzre 'akl-i derrâk ve idrâk-ı pâk sâhibi olduğundan mâ-'adâ evân-ı hadâsetinden zamân-ı şebâbetine dek kadem-i irtihâlî dâmen-i iştigâle ve pây-ı intikâlî zeyl-i i'timâle çeküp eyyâm-ı fursatını ictinâb ve zâ'il ile ictinâ-i fezâ'ile kasr u hengâm-ı ruhsatını iktisâb-ı fevâzil ile iktisâ-i hasâ'ile hasr idüp Sultân Mehmed Hân '*aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'r-ridvân* binâ eyledüğü medâris-i Semân'un birinde ^[7b] bu hakîr-i kesîr ile zamân-ı kesîr mutârahât-ı 'akliyye ve münâzarât-ı fünûn-ı nakliyye itmek ile tahsîl-i kemâlde bezl-i maddûr ve tekmîl-i fazl u ifdâlde sa'y-ı meşkûr idüp fezâ'il-i şettâ ile ârâste ve ma'ârif-i mâlâ-yuhsâ ile pîrâste olmuştur. El-ân 'ilmden ol kadar zevk-i kâmilî ve şugliden hazz-ı şâmilî vardur ki zamân-ı 'azl u infisâl evân-ı kesr u infî'âl iken hilâf-ı ma'hûd bezl-i mechûd idüp erbâb-ı iştigâl ve ashâb-ı i'timâlden talebe-i kirâm-ı fazîlet-nizâm cem'inde ihtimâm-ı tâm ile müzâreke-i 'ulûm-ı 'akliyye ve müdârese-i fünûn-ı nakliyye itdükden sonra eyyâm-ı ma'hûda ve evkât-ı mazbûtada sinen-i 'ulemâ-i kibâr ve sünen-i fuzelâ-i hiyâr üzre sûre-i En'âm-ı fazîlet-i in'âma meşgûl olup evvelâ bekâ-i devlet-i ebed-peyvend-i pâdişâhî ve sâniyen zevâl-i şevket-i a'dâ-yı şehinşâhî du'âsına ^[8a] mülâzım u müdâvimdür. Bu kadar hisâl-i hamîde ve fi'âl-i pesendîdesi olduğundan gayrı edîb ü erîb, hasîb ü nesîb olup bir cânibi Hazret-i Sıddîk-ı sadâkat-tahkîk ve bir cânibi Hazret-i 'Ömer-i ma'delet-eser olduğundan gayrı ecdâd-ı emcâdında sâhib-i menâkıb-ı 'uzmâ Hazret-i Mevlânâ olmağla aslı tâhir ve nesli fâhir olup mecma'-i hasâil-i 'aliyye ve mecma'-i şemâ'il-i hilyeye olmuştur. Lâkin vesâvis-i nizâm-ı ma'âş ve hevâcis-i intizâm-ı inti'âş mir'ât-ı hâtırî jengâr-i humûm ile fâtir ve âyîne-i dili gamâm-ı gumûm ile mestûr ve müstetir, kulûb-ı erbâb-ı 'ukûb cilve-ger ve ashâb-ı tîbâ'-fazîlet-güster mizmâr-ı tahsîl ve meydân-ı tekmîle ezme-i himmetini sarf ve e'inne-i fursatını 'atf itmege mâni' olması ehl-i 'ukûl katında hayyiz-i kabûle vusûl bulmağın 'ulemâ-yı dânişver ^[8b] ve fuzelâ-yı fazîlet-eser kıbelinden tezevvür ve hâme-i belâgat-irtisâm fezâ-yı tahrîr-i kelâm ve fenâ-yı takrîr-i merâma hizâm idüp inşâ-yı zirâ'atı imlâ-yı şehâdet sûretinde inhâ itdükleriyle recâ ve istid'â iderler ki zıkr olunan dâ'î-i dîrîne ve sâni-i kemterînelerini hâline münâsîb menâsıbdan biriyle behremend idüp dağdağa-i zucret-i ma'îşet ve vesvese-i hayret-i ümniyyetden tahlîs itmege ihsân buyurup 'ulemâ-i 'âmilîn ve

45 Muhaşşî Sinan Efendi'nin oğlu olan Mehmed Efendi, Şâh Efendi, Kâdîzâde ve Bostan Efendilerden eğitim almış en son Bostan Efendi'den mülâzım olmuştur. Mart 1564'te kırk akçe ile Davud Paşa Medresesinde müderrisliğe başlamış, Kasım 1568'de Hankah Medresesinde müderris olmuş, Haziran 1570'da Haseki payesini almıştır. Haziran 1572'de Sahn, Şubat 1575'te Şehzade, Aralık 1575'te Süleymaniye Medreselerinin birine müderris olmuştur. Mayıs 1579'da vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 790-791. Sinân Efendizâde mahzar metnini Aralık 1575-Mayıs 1579 tarihleri arasında Süleymaniye Medresesine müderris olduğunda imzalamıştır.

46 "Nun; kalem ve onunla yazılanlara and olsun ki" Kalem, 68/1.

fuzelâ-i kâmilinden olup rikâbı bî-gıll-ı rusûm-ı i'tibârla meşdûd ve kulûbı gıll-ı gufûl-i iğtirâr ile mesdûd olan tâ'ife-i ehl-i dünyâ gibi vaktini tekml-i devlet-i zâhire ve tahsîl-i lezzet-i kâsireye kasr itmeyüp ağrâz-ı dünyâdan i'râz ile târik-i dünyâ ve sâlik-i râh-ı fenâ olan meşâyih-i tarikat ve ekâbir-i hakikat hıdmetinde 'ubûdiyyet çehresin ^[9a] hıdmet-i turâbına hıdmet-i cebhesin 'ibâdet mihrabına urup ve tâyif-i evrâd u ezkâr ve şerâif-i i'zâr u istiğfârı yirine getüren vâlid-i mâcîdinün dahi du'â-i hayrına mahzar buyrıla.

Ketebüh'l-fakîr Mehmed el-hakîr el-müderriş bi-ihda'l-Medârisi'l-Hâkâniyyeti li's-Sultân Süleymân Hân 'aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'r-rıdvân.

Sâbıkan Edirne kâdîsı [olan] Hasan Efendi'nündür:⁴⁷

Bu sahîfe-i fesâhat-şî'âr ve belâgat-intişârda mevâlî-i 'izâm enârallâhu bürhânehum ilâ yevmi'l-kıyâm hazretleri Mevlânâ-yı müşârunileyh hakkında itdükleri şehâdet-i hak ve vâkî' ve muhakkakdur, fezâ'il ü me'ârîfi tahrîr u takrîrden ganî ve mekârim-i ahlâk ve mehâsin-i evsâf ile ittisâfı beyândan mustagnîdür. ^[9b] Bu hakîr ile merhûm Ahmed Paşa Medresesi'nde müderriş iken musâhabet-i 'ilmiyye olındığı zamândan vukûfimiz oldığı mertebelerine şehâdet taleb itdükleri ecilden hasb-i hâli 'alâ sebîli'l-icmâl beyân olındı.

Ketebüh'l-fakîr Hasen el-Mevlâ bi-mahrûseti Selânik ve Karaferye.

Sâbıkan Mısır kâdîsı [olan] Kâfzâde Efendi'nündür:⁴⁸

Bu mecelle-i latife ve sahîfe-i şerîfede ahvâli imlâ vü imlâl olınan dâ'î-i sâ'î, tekml-i kemâlât-ı 'aliyye ve râgıb-ı tahsîl-i fezâ'il-i seniyye ki mekârim-i ekârimle mahfûz ve mehâsin-i ehâsin ile mevsûf olup ezimme-i hem-ser dâ'imâ iktinâs-ı 'ulûm-i dîniyye ve iktinâ-i fûnûn-ı yakîniyyeye ma'tûf ve masrûf idüğü ma'rûfdur. Edirne Kapısı'nda Medrese-i Sultâniyye'de ^[10a] bu hakîr-i pür-kusûr ile müzâkere-i 'ilmiyyesi mürûr idelden beri ilâ

47 III. Murad'ın şehzadelîği sırasında Manisa'daki en yakın adamlarından olan Üveys Paşa'nın kardeşi olan [Râ'î] Hasan Efendi, şehzadenin tahta çıkmak üzere Manisa'dan İstanbul'a geldikten sonra Mimârzâde'den mülâzım olmuştur. İlk önce Bostan Efendi'ye, ardından Cendrecizâde'ye damat olmuş, Kasım 1566'da kırk akçe ile İstanbul Eski İbrahim Paşa, Nisan 1570'te Topkapı'da Ahmed Paşa, Ekim 1575'te Üç Şerefeli payesine ulaşmıştır. Temmuz 1576'da Sahn Medresesine dâhil olmuştur. Kadılık mesleğine geçerek Haziran 1577'de Selânik kadısı, Eylül 1580'de Medine-i Münnevvere kadısı iken Mart 1583'te görevinden azledilmiştir. Ağustos 1584'te Edirne kadılığında iken Şubat 1585'te vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 848-849. Râ'î Hasan Efendi mahzarını Haziran 1577- Eylül 1580 tarihleri arasında Selânik ve Karaferye kadısı olduğu sırada yazmıştır.

48 Kâfzâde Feyzî Efendi, Ebüssuûd Efendi'den mülâzemetini almıştır. 25 akçe ile Hacce Hâtûn Medresesinde müderrişliğe başlamış, otuzlu ve kırklı payelerinin aldıktan sonra, kırk beş akçe ile medreseden mazûl olmuştur. Şubat 1575'te Edirnekapı hârici, Mart 1576'da Rüstem Paşa, Şubat 1579'da Mihrûmâh Sultan ve aynı yılın Şevval/Kasım ayında Sahn Medresesine müderriş olmuştur. Aralık 1583'te Sultan I. Selim, Eylül 1586'da Süleymaniye rütbesine ulaşırken, Eylül 1590'da Halep Kadısı olmuştur. Bu görevinin ardından, Mekke-i Mükerrreme, Şam, Mısır Kahire'si, Edirne, Galata, İstanbul kadılığı, üç kez Anadolu ve bir kez de Rumeli kazaskerliği yapmıştır. Üçüncü kez Anadolu kazaskeri iken Temmuz 1611'de vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1400-1403. Kâfzâde Feyzî, mahzarını Şubat 1579-Kasım 1579 tarihleri arasında Üsküdar Mihrûmâh Sultan Medresesinde görevli iken imzalamıştır.

hâze'l-ân kesb-i fezâ'il-i rezâ'ili etemm-i merâm ve ehemm-i mehâmm idünüp câdde-i ifâde vü istifâde bâbında sünen-i hasene üzre cârfi ve gubâr-ı 'isârdan 'âridür, karîha-i vefâdesi ve 'arîka-i nakkâdesi fart-ı kiyâset ve zekâsı ve istikâmet-i efkâr ve ârâsı tahsîl-i ma'ârif-i ünsiyyede sa'y-i belîğ ve tekmîl-i 'avârif-i kudsiyyede cidd-i bî-dirîğ eyyâm-ı 'azlinde dahi talebe-i kirâm cem'inde ihtimâm-ı tamâmı ve bi'l-cümle mehâsin-i mevhub ve muktesib ve haseb ü nesebi hasbi birle akrânı beyninde fâ'ik ve himmet ü terbiyete lâyıq olmağın bihâr-ı 'avâtîf-i 'aliyye-i büzürg-vârı zehhâr ve sehâb-ı 'avârif-i seniyye-i kâmkârı medâr olup şevârik-ı envâr-ı lutf u ihsân tulû' ^[10b] ve bevârik-ı âsâr-ı kerem-i bî-kerân sûtû' idüp mahzar-ı eltâf ve mahall-i i'tâf olmağa istihkâk-ı tâmmı olmağın keyfiyyet-i hâli su'âli ile ketb olunup ketm olunmadı.

Ketebühü'l-fakîr Mustafâ el-müderri bi'l-Medreseti's-Sultâniyyeti fi Üsküdâr.

Sâbıkan Sahn müderrisi [olan] Bahrî Hasan Efendi'nündür:⁴⁹

Bu meşhed-i sâmiye merkûmü'l-esâmî olan cem'-i hatîr ve zümre-i girâmî zâ'âfullâhu kadrehüm en-nâmî şeref şânında ve eşrâf-ı mekânında şühûd olan ve kıbâle-i ikbâlinde kâbiliyyet bâli ve makbûliyyet hâli bu e'âlî-i ehâli kıbelinden meşhûd olan mahdûm-ı ma'hûd selilü'l-kirâm, nebilü'l-haseb, cemilü'l-hisâl, celilü'n-neseb nefsü'l-emrde ra'yân-ı 'ömrde bâlâ-yı kadri tezâ'if-i teşriflere lâyıq ve çemen-i serâvet ^[11a] servlerine fâyıq, eger hasebi şerefinden ve şerefi hasebinden garâret-i fazl u edebinden ve şerâfet-i nesl ü nesebinden 'akl-ı mevhub ve fazl-ı müktesebenden emsâlinde mümtâz ve ahvâlinde ser-efrâzdu. 'Ahd-ı mehd-i şehd-i cehdden 'irfân lezzetin alup ve 'asel-i keselde hırmân-ı zilletin bilüp sayf u şitâda fevkâ mâ-yümkin fi'l-'âde idâmet-i ikâmet-i merhem-i tedris ve levâzım-ı ifâde hakkın ifâda olup evkât-ı nasb u efzâli 'alâ mâ huve de'bû'l-ehâlî, sâhib-i tab' 'alâ talebe-i mâ hevlü'l-me'âlî cem' u sarfina masrûf olup eyyâm u leyâl meşâ'il-i envâr-ı zihniyye işti'âline ve meşâgil-i efkâr-ı 'ilmiyye iştigâline maş'ûf metâ'ib-i a'bâ-i ehl ü 'iyâli tahammüle me'nûs ve a'bâ-i metâ'ib-i fakr u aklâli iklâle me'lûkdu. Metâli'-i ahvâlinde sıdk u sadâkat-ı ^[11b] siddîki zâhir ve talâyi'-i hisâlinde re'y u rezânet-i fârûkî zâhir ve bi'l-cümle fazlî bâhir va 'urukî tâhirdür. Aslı fer'îyle ser-bülend ve fer'î aslından ercümenddür. Vâlid-i büzürg-vârı ki takvâ-şi'âr ve kerâmet-âsârdur, taraf-ı fezâ'ilden hâli ve fezâ'il-i tarafeyn birle hâli 'ilm ü 'amel ki feres-i rihândur kef-i râ'iz-i riyâzetinden ve sehl-i ilkitâd ve selisü'l-'inândur ve hilyetü's-sebâk fuzelâ-i zamânda bu ikisiyle fâris-i meydân ve sâbık-ı akrândur. Her du'âsı

49 III. Murad'ın ilk hocası olan İbrahim Efendi'nin kız kardeşi oğlu olan Bahrî Hasan Efendi, II. Selim'in hocası Ataullah Efendi'den mülâzım olmuştur. Ocak 1579'da Hayreddin Paşa Medresesine, Ocak 1580'de Zal Paşa Sultanisine, Mart 1583'te Sahn Medresesine müderrislik payesini almıştır. Bu görevinin ardından kadılık mesleğine geçmiş Aralık 1583'te Trablus-ı Şam, Haziran 1586'da Kuds-i Şerif kadılığına getirilmiştir. Bu görev için Kudüs'e giderken yolda eşkıyalar tarafından öldürülmüştür. Bahrî Efendi, III. Murad dönemi saray ağalarından Davud Ağa'ya ardından padişahın musahibi (Kara/Doğancı) Mehmed Ağa'ya hoca olmuştur. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 862- 863. Bahrî Efendi mahzarını Ocak 1580'de Zal Paşa Sultanisinde müderris iken imzalamıştır.

du'â-yı seyfi gibi feth-i garâ'im ve kat'-ı harâ'imde seyf-i sârim olup sipihrûn heft-çevşen-i heft-çevşen içerüdür. Gâh 'izzetde sadr-ı kabûle geçirürdür. Gerçi bu sahîfe-i şeref-ihtivâda sadr-ı 'unvân-ı izzet ü 'alâda mânend-i cevâhir-i kılâde olan mevâlî-i sâde ve ehâlî-i sü'âde kibelinden sebkât-i medh ü şehâdet-çereyânından ^[12a] sonra bu zerre-i bî-mikdâr gibi her hakîr-i bî-i'tibâr dahi ser-i kûy-ı hamûlde gubâr-ı hâk-sâr iken hevâ-yı ru'ûnet birle seng-bârlık idüp fuzûlluk yolında sâ'ir zeylinde cây-gîr olmak mahz-ı vikâhatdür, lâkin mezbûr hakkında senâ-kâr u mehâmid-güzâr olmakda hâtır bî-ihtiyâr ve dil bî-istibâr iken bu mahalde vasf-ı cemîlîleriyle nâtık olmağa iftirâh ve işâretleri lâhik olıcak cerîde-i hâllerinde sebt olan mehâmid-i hisâlerinde yesîrû min kesîr bu defterde tahrîr olmakdan nâ-gezend olmuştur.

Harrarahü'l-hakîrû'l-fakîr Hasan el-müderri bi'l-Medreseti's-Sultâniyye.

Şâm kâdîsı olan Hasan Kethudâzâde Efendi'nündür:⁵⁰

Kâbiran an-kâbir bu sefer-i zâhir ve satr-ı fâhirde mefâhir-i libâs ile cevâhir-i me'ânî ve zevâhir-i ^[12b] mesânî ilbâs iden 'ulemâ-i kerân egâsehümü'llâhu sübhânehû bi'l-izzî'l-kâsîr ve'l-hattî'l-vâfir erkâm-ı metîne ve aklâm-ı rasînelinde inşâd ve inkâd eyledükleri nu'ût-ı cüz' ile sâhibiye'll-evhadi'l-emced Ahmed Çelebi hıdmetleri hâ'iz-i 'ilm ü ebedî ve fâ'iz-i lisân-ı 'Arabî olup bâb-ı müdârisetün necbî ve kitâb-ı mûmâresetünün habîbî 'uyûn-ı a'yâna rûşen ve gusûn-ı âdemiyâna gülşen idüğü zâhir ve bâhirdür. Hâlâ celîlü'l-kadr ve cezilü's-sadr hazretlerinin nazar-ı 'ayn-ı 'inâyetleri bir zerre kadar mukadder olursa a'yûn-i nâsun ser-çeşmesi ve meydân-ı 'âlemiyâna 'âlem çekmesi akreb-i mes'ûl ve aaleb-i me'mûldür. 'Ammara'llâhu sübhânehu iyyâhu sa'îden ve kefâ bihî şehîden.

50 Hasan Efendi, Sultan I. Süleyman'ın veziriazamı İbrahim Paşa'nın kethüdâsı Hasan Kethüda'nın oğludur. Ebüssuûd Efendi'den mülâzemet almıştır. Ağustos 1576'da kırk akçe ile Eski İbrahim Paşa, Şubat 1579'da Rüstem Paşa Medresesinde müderrislik yaparken, aynı yılın Kasım ayında Mihrûmah Sultan payesine erişmiştir. Temmuz 1581'de Sahn-ı Semân, Ekim 1584'de Süleymaniye rütbesini almıştır. Eylül 1587'de Edirne Selimiye'sinde müderrisken kadılık mesleğine geçmiştir. Sonrasında sırasıyla; Halep, Şam, Selanik, Galata, Bursa, tekrar Galata, Üsküdar ve Gelibolu kadılıklarında bulunmuş, 1611'de vebadan ölmüştür. Atâyî, *a.g.e.*, II, s. 1403-1404. Hasan Kethüdâzâde mahzarını Kasım 1579'dan sonra görev aldığı Mihrûmah Sultan müderris iken imzalamıştır. Hasan Kethüdâzâde aynı zamanda III. Mehmed döneminde azledilen Molla Masûm Efendi için mahzar imzalayan kişiler arasındadır. Bkz. Örs-Öztürk, *a.g.m.*, s. 799-800.

Seferahü'l-fakîr ile'l-Ganiyyi'l-Kadîr eş-şehîr [bij-Bâb Hasan Kethudâ el-Müderriş bi'l-Medreseti's-Sultâniyye.

[13a] **Merhûm Ebüssuûdzâde 'Abdülvâsi' Efendi'nündür:**⁵¹

Bu ruk'a-i ânifede hısâl-i cemîle ve hılâl-i celîlesi mezkûre olan Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi dâ'îleri fezâ'il-i seniyye ve ma'ârif-i semiyye ile ârâste olup müberriz ve mümtâz ve fâ'ik-i bî-embâz ehl-i 'ilm idüğine vukuf-ı tâmmemüz olduğına binâ-i keyfiyyet-i hâl 'alâ sebîli'l-icmâl iş'âr olındı.

Ketebehü'l-fakîr 'Abdülvâsi'el-müderriş bi-ihdâ medârisi'l-merhûm es-Sultân Süleymân Hân.

Sâbıkan Haleb kâdîsı olan Sarı Gürzzâde Efendi'nündür:⁵²

Bu mahzar-ı şerîf ve manzar-ı latîfde hısâl-i cemîlesi ve ahlâk-ı pesendîdesi mastûr olan dâ'î-i mezkûrları nükâ-i fitrat ve safâ-i tıynet ile [13b] mevsûf ezimme-i 'azîmeti ictinâ-i fezâ'ile ma'tûf ve e'ine-i himmeti iftinâ-i ma'ârif masrûf olup zamân-ı 'azl ü infisâlinde dahi nice ezkiyâ ile 'ale'd-devâm dikkat ve ihtimâm-i tâm ile müzâkereyi iltizâm idüp fûnûn-ı mühimme ile münâsebet ve mümâreset idüp mu'âreke-i sı'âbide 'akl-ı derrâk ve fehmi-çalâk ve iz'ân-ı pâkî ile mesâlik-i dakîka ve menâhic-i sahîhaya sâlik ve nakz u ibrâma bî-bâk mâlik ve mehâfil-i fuhûlda netâyic-i efkârı ma'kûl u makbûl olduğü ma'lûm olmağın hasb-i hâli 'alâ mâ vaka'a mektûm olmakdan ictinâb olunup silk-i beyânda bi-kaderi'l-imbân beyân-ı aklâm ile intizâm buldı.

51 Ebüssuûd Efendi'nin oğlu olan Abdülvâsi Efendi, babasından mülâzım olmuştur. Haziran 1567'de Eyyüp, Nisan 1571'de Sahn-ı Semân, Haziran 1573'te I. Selim, Ocak 1574'te ise Süleymaniye Medresesine müderris olmuştur. Babası vefat ettikten sonra yedi yıl aynı medresede görev yapmış, Nisan 1580'de Edirne Selimiyesi'ne tayin olunmuştur. Mart 1582'de vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 811. Abdülvâsi Efendi'ni mahzardaki imzasını Ocak 1574-Nisan 1580 tarihleri arasında Süleymaniye Medresesinde müderris iken atmıştır.

52 Ebüssuûd Efendi'den mülâzım olan Sarı Gürzzâde Mehmed Efendi, 25 akçe ile İstanbul'daki Hacce Sultan Medresesine, 40 akçeyle Bursa Kaplıca Medresesine tayin edilmiştir. Mart 1569'da Davut Paşa, Eylül 1573'te Üçşerefeli, Ekim 1575'te ise Sahn Medresesine müderris olmuştur. Aynı yılın Aralık ayında Şehzade, Aralık-Ocak 1578-1579'da Süleymaniye müderrisliğine getirilmiştir. Temmuz-Ağustos 1579'da Edirne Selimiye'sinde müderris iken kadılık mesleğine geçerek Nisan 1580'de Medine-i Münevvere kadısı, bir ay sonra da Halep kadısı olmuştur. 1582 senesinin başında vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 808-810. Sarı Gürzzâde Mehmed Efendi mahzarını Aralık-Ocak 1578-1579-Temmuz-Ağustos 1579 tarihleri arasında Süleymaniye Müderrisi iken yazmıştır.

Ketebühü'l-fakîr Mehmed el-müderriş bi-ihdâ medârisi es-Sultân Süleymân Hân 'aleyhi'r-rahmetü ve'l-gufrân Sultân Süleymân Hân müderriş.

Sâbıkan merhûm Sultân Süleymân Hân müderriş olan Selâmîzâde Efendi'nündür:⁵³

[14a] Bu cerîde-i şehâdet ü beyânda hısâl-i sırrıyye ve hılâl-i 'abkariyyesi beyân olınan hasîb ü nesîb, fetân u lebîb, lekan ü ereb, nihâl-i bâğ-ı fezâ'il-i zekâ-i burc-ı zekâ Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi dâ'ileri bi'l-guduvvi ve'l-isâl ber-iştigâl ve şem'-i bâli hulûs-ı niyyet ve safâ-i taviyyet birle ber-iştigâl ve e'inne-i garâimin tahsîl-i 'âtf ve ezimme-i sarâ'imîn tekmiile, sârif-i sâ'î-i mesâ'î, kemâl-i sâlik-i mesâlik-i fazl u efdâl olup meydân-ı ifâdede iktinâs-ı suyûda bedâyi'-i me'ânî kusârâ-yı ârâb ve gâyb-i emânîsî olan talebe-i kirâm cem'î ile zamân-ı 'azl u infisâlinde bile takayyüd-i tâm itmekle beyne'l-'ulemâ şehîr ve engüşt-nümâ olmuştur. Bu hakîr-i pür-taksîr ile H'âce Hayreddîn Medresesinde [14b] müzâkere-i 'ulûm-ı 'akliyyesi mir'âtından suver-i kemâlât-ı seniyyesi müşâhede olınmağın lâ-cerem mahzar-ı eltâf-ı mahabbeti semâr-ı a'tâf olmağa lâyık idügi iltimâsî ile beyân olındı.

Ketebühü'l-fakîr Mehmed eş-şehîr Selâmîzâde el-müderriş bi'l-Medreseti's-Sultâniyye.

Sâbıkan Galata kâdîsı olan Bekâyi Efendi'nündür:⁵⁴

'Ulemâ-i kibâr ve fuzelâ-i diyâr kavvâhumu'llâhu te'âlâ ile'l-karâr hıdmetleri bu sahîfe-i şerîfede hasâil-i hamîdesini i'lâm u iş'âr itdükleri şems-i semâ-i fazl u ercümendî Mevlânâ Ahmed Çelebi ibn Seyfullâh Efendi'nün kemâl-i ehliyyeti ve mezîd-i fazîleti zamân-ı tedrîsinde [15a] fûnûn-ı şettâdan ifâdeye müdâvemeti ve evân-ı 'azlinde kemâ-kân cem'iyyet-i talebeye nasb-ı nefş idüp mülâzemeti rûz [u] şeb devâm-ı devlet-i pâdişâhî du'âlarına muvâzebet-i 'aliyyeye liyâkati muhakkak ve her vech ile esnâf-ı ri'âyet-i seniyyeye sezâ-vâr u elyak bir dâ'î-i kesîrû's-sâ'ileridür.

Ketebühü'l-fakîr ile'l-Meliki'l-Mennân Bekâyi el-müderriş bi-ihde's-Semân.

- 53 Ebüssüüd Efendi'den mülâzım olan Selâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi, Aralık 1573'te kırk akçe ile Sokollu Mehmed Paşa'nın Bergos'ta kurduğı medresede müderriş olmuştur. Şubat 1579'da İsmihan Sultan payesi alırken, Haziran 1581'de Sahn, Şubat 1585'te Şehzade Medresesine müderriş olmuştur. Aynı yılın Eylül-Ekim aylarında Süleymaniye Medresesine dâhil olmuştur. Ağustos 1590'da vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 917. Selâmîzâde Mehmed Efendi mahzarını Şubat 1579'da İsmihan Sultan Medresesinde müderriş iken yazmıştır.
- 54 Macuncuzâde diye bilinen Bekâyi Efendi, Hocaşâde Kurt Çelebi'den ders almış, 30 akçe aylıkla Manisa medreselerinden birine tayin edilmiştir. Manisa'da Şehzade (III.) Murad'ın hocası Birgili İbrahim Efendi'den dersler aldığı sırada şehzade ile irtibat kurmuştur. III. Murad'ın tahta çıkması ile ona sunduğı arzuhal sayesinde 40 akçe ile İstanbul'da Merdümüyye Medresesi'ne tayin edilmiş, akabinde 1576'da Beşiktaş Hayreddin Paşa, 1578'de Kızılmusluk (Hatic Sultan) ve Ekim 1580'de Sahn Medresesi'nde görevlendirilmiştir. Bu son görevinin ardından kadılık mesleğine geçen Bekâyi, Haziran 1581'de Selânik, ertesi yıl ise Galata kadısı olmuştur. 1583'te azledilmiş, iki yıl mazûl olarak kaldıktan sonra Ocak 1586'da Üsküdar kadısı olmuştur. Tekrar iki yıl mazûliyet yaşadıkdan sonra Haziran 1592'de aynı göreve iade edilmiş, 14 Ocak 1595'te ise vefat etmiştir. Atâyi, *a.g.e.*, I, s. 949-952; Hasan Aksoy, "Bekâyi", *DİA*, V, 360. Bekâyi mahzarını Ekim 1580-Haziran 1581 tarihleri arasında Sahn müderriş iken yazmıştır.

Ekler:

Seyfîzâde Ahmed Efendi için yazılan mahzarların giriş sayfaları.

Esad Efendi 3376, 1a-b.





Forest, Bandits, and State: Some Measures Taken against the Use of Forests as Illegal Activity Areas in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th centuries)*

Orman, Eşkiya ve Devlet: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ormanların Yasadışı Faaliyet Alanı Olarak Kullanılmasına Karşı Alınan Bazı Önlemler (16.-18. Yüzyıllar)

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ABSTRACT

The territories of the Ottoman Empire included extensive forested areas. These forests provided a rich source of timber and other materials essential for the maintenance of the empire's military establishments, including the Imperial Arsenal, the Imperial Armory, and the Imperial Arsenal of Ordinance and Artillery. Furthermore, the Ottoman people utilized these forests to meet their own needs, primarily for firewood. In addition to these, which consumed a certain level of the empire's forest resources, there were also bandits who used the vast wooded areas both as a hideout and as a base for their illegal activities. Bandits would conceal themselves behind trees situated along the routes traversing forested areas, which were also used for travel and trade. Despite the efforts of the central administration to guarantee the security of these areas through the deployment of personnel to the derbend organization, their success in this endeavor was not complete. In such cases, in order to ensure road safety, the central administration took certain measures to prevent bandits from using forest as an ambush site.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Forest, Bandits, Route Safety, Deforestation

ÖZ

Osmanlı Devleti'nin idaresi altındaki topraklarda ağaçlarla kaplı geniş ormanlık bölgeler bulunmaktaydı. Tersane-i Amire, Cebehane-i Amire, Tophane-i Amire gibi devlete ait askeri kurumların ahşap malzeme ve benzeri diğer ihtiyaçları bu ormanlardan rahatlıkla karşılanmaktaydı. Bunun yanı sıra Osmanlı halkı da bu ormanlardan başta yakacak odun olmak üzere kendi ihtiyaçlarını görmekteydiler. İmparatorluk coğrafyasındaki orman varlığını belli düzeyde tüketmeye yönelik bu kullanımların yanı sıra geniş ağaçlık alanları hem bir saklanma hem de yasa dışı faaliyetlerinin bir üssü olarak kullanan eşkiyalar vardı. Eşkiyalar, seyahat ve ticaret güzergâhlarının ormanlık bölgelerden geçtiği yerlerde yol kenarlarındaki ağaçlara saklanarak yolculara saldırmaktaydılar. Merkezi idare her ne kadar derbend teşkilatında görevli kimseler sayesinde bu tür yerlerin emniyetini tesis etmeye çalışsa da bu konuda tam bir başarı gösterilememekteydi. Böyle durumlarda yol emniyetini tesis etmek için merkezi idare eşkiyanın ormanı bir pusu yeri olarak kullanmasının önüne geçmeye yönelik bazı önlemler almaktaydı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Devleti, Orman, Eşkiya, Yol Güvenliği, Ağaçsızlaştırma



Introduction

The Ottoman Empire encompassed extensive forested regions, which were known as the ‘Sea of Trees’¹ in Anatolia and ‘Deliorman’² in Rumelia. For centuries, the Ottoman fleet depended on forests of the Anatolian coastline of the Black Sea for the supply of wood for shipbuilding³. This natural richness also influenced civil architecture, and wood was mostly preferred for the construction of dwellings in the capital and other cities⁴. The widespread use of wood in Turkish tradition suggests that the preservation of Turkish housing customs relies on the ongoing use of wood as a primary building material⁵.

Aside from being used for construction, forests also served as a significant source of fuel. The populace was free to procure their wood fuel from the places included in the concept of *cibâl-i mubâha*, which literally means an area that anyone could cut wood since it was not the property of any individual or entity⁶. In addition to the aforementioned usage of forests by state institutions and the public, there were additional forested regions referred to as *koruyî hümâyûn*. These were allotted for the sole use of the Ottoman palace and under the direct protection of state officials⁷.

In August 1840, a political decision regarding the empire’s forests in general was enacted. On this date, a Directorate of Forestry was established within the Ministry of Trade. The initial regulation implemented by this department regarding forests addressed the conservation of trees and controlled harvesting. Moreover, regulatory actions of the directorate

- 1 Resül Narin, “Osmanlı Devleti Zamanında Kocaeli Ormanları”, *Belleten*, LXXV/274 (December 2011), pp. 769-783; Resül Narin, “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Ağaç Denizi Kocaeli”, *Uluslararası Çoban Mustafa Paşa ve Kocaeli Tarihi-Kültürü Sempozyumu IV*, Kocaeli 2018, pp. 971-997.
- 2 S. S. Bobçev, “Deliorman Türklerinin Kökeni”, trans. M. Türker Acaroğlu, *Belleten*, LII/203 (August 1988), p. 699; Machiel Kiel, “Deliorman”, *DİA*, IX (1994), pp. 141-144.
- 3 İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilatı: 17. Yüzyılda Tersâne-i Âmire*, Ankara 1992, pp. 102-120; Yusuf Alperen Aydın, *Sultanın Kalyonları, Osmanlı Donanmasının Yelkenli Savaş Gemileri (1701-1770)*, İstanbul 2011, pp. 224-263; Tuncay Zorlu, *Osmanlı ve Modernleşme, III. Selim Dönemi Osmanlı Denizciliği*, İstanbul 2014, pp. 43-50.
- 4 For the use of wood in the 17th and 18th centuries see, Doğan Kuban, *Türk Ahşap Konut Mimarisi, 17.-19. Yüzyıllar*, İstanbul 2017. However, the use of wood in the civil construction caused conflagrations. It has been examined in the available literature. For an in-depth review, see Ahmet Tekin, *Ottoman Istanbul in Flames: City Conflagrations, Governance and Society in the Early Modern Period*, İstanbul 2020.
- 5 Doğan Kuban, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 6 Bekir Koç, “Osmanlı Devleti’ndeki Orman ve Koruların Tasarruf Yöntemleri ve İdarelerine Dair Bir Araştırma”, *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 10 (1999), pp. 142-143; Üstüner Birben, “Cibal-i Mübaha”, II. Ormanlıkta Sosyo-Ekonomik Sorunlar Kongresi, February 19-21, 2009, SDÜ, Isparta, pp. 395-404 (<https://ormanweb.isparta.edu.tr/ormis/bildiriler/39.pdf>); Sevim Erdem, Ahmet Başkan, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Orman ve Orman Alanlarının Kullanımı ve Buna Yönelik Hukuki Düzenlemeler”, *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, 42 (2016), p. 287.
- 7 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Saray Teşkilatı*, Ankara 1988, pp. 498-500; Ahmet Uzun, *İktisâdi ve Malî Yöneleriyile İstabl-ı Âmire (1500-1900)*, Ankara 2020, pp. 147-198.

alongside policies facilitated the commercial use of forests, generated substantial revenue⁸. Consequently, forests were regarded as state-owned natural assets that generated revenue for the treasury, thereby necessitating the formulation of regulations and the implementation of forest conservation measures.

The conservation of forests and the establishment of security in forested areas were consistently regarded as priorities by the Ottomans. Before the 19th century, since the earlier periods of the Ottoman Empire, the *derbend* organization was tasked with ensuring the security of areas beyond the confines of urban settlements. This organization was composed of *derbendcis*, who worked in return for certain taxes, as well as other officials referred to as *beldar*, *martolos*, and *pandor*⁹. The primary responsibility of these officials was to guarantee the maintenance of public order and security along the roads and passages, particularly in regard to the prevention of illicit activities perpetrated by bandits¹⁰.

In the first half of the 19th century, as forests emerged as a significant source of revenue, the security of the routes traversing these areas also became a priority. In the aftermath of the Tanzimat Edict (1839), a *zabtiye* organization was established in each province and sanjak with the objective of guaranteeing security and maintaining public order. The *derbend* organization, which had previously fulfilled this role, was placed under the authority of the newly established *zabtiye* administration¹¹. The Ministry of *Zabtiye*¹² established later in the 19th century would subsequently evolve into a structure that also fulfilled law enforcement duties in rural areas and became a prominent institution in the efforts to combat banditry¹³.

This paper will first address the ways in which the Ottomans utilized their forests. It will then move on to discuss briefly the methods employed to guarantee the security of the roads passing through these forested areas, the use of forests as a defense area by the people, and the means of struggle against bandits who mostly used forests as a base. Lastly, the strategies implemented by the Ottoman political center to address this matter, which pertains to internal security, will be examined.

About Forests and Bandits

In the long 19th century, forests came to be regarded as a valuable natural resource, generating revenue for the state. However, in preceding centuries, forests were more frequently

8 Özkan Keskin, *Orman ve Ma'âdin Nezâreti'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri*, (Unpublished PhD Diss., İstanbul University, 2005), pp. 9-11.

9 Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Derbend Teşkilâtı*, İstanbul 1990, pp. 83-100.

10 Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

11 Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-160.

12 Zekeriya Türkmen, "Jandarma", *DİA, EK-1. Cilt*, 2020, pp. 689-691.

13 Okan Cömert, "XIX. Yüzyılda Ege Bölgesinde Jandarmanın Eşkiya ile Mücadele Sorunsalı", *İzmir Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 11 (2019), pp. 33-49.

the sites of illegal activities, which the Ottoman authorities were obliged to address in order to reestablish control and order. On the other hand, in order to elucidate the rationale behind the preference of some individuals for using forests as their area of illegal activities, it seems significant to adopt an alternative perspective.

In this regard, Elias Canetti's characterization of forest as a crowd symbol provides a valuable perspective from which to consider forest as a phenomenon. Canetti argues that upon entering forest, an individual experiences a sense of shelter and protection from the surrounding trees, which create a "dome" overhead. Furthermore, Canetti highlights the plural immobility of a multitude of trees as a distinctive quality of forest. Given that tree roots are anchored in the soil, their resilience is unwavering, and they remain firmly rooted in the face of any threat. Consequently, he proposes that forest symbolizes an unyielding army that never retreats, maintains a fixed position, and must be vanquished by the last soldier in order to gain even a single inch of land¹⁴.

It is plausible that bandits who used forest as a base of their activities may have had such thoughts or feelings. In other words, upon entering forest, bandits felt that they were sheltering in a structure that protected them. After all, forests afforded bandits the opportunity to carry out their illegal activities. Perhaps a bandit would sincerely admit that forest provided a safe shelter because it was a place where ambushes could be set up and where the political authority could not easily enforce its rule¹⁵.

Bandits who, for personal or social reasons, desert a settlement and take shelter in forest, do not extend a welcoming gesture to travelers who pass through the area for different purposes. Indeed, it is their actions that led them to engage in illegal activities. In this sense, forest can be regarded as a passive and natural host to the actions of bandits¹⁶. One of the primary purposes of the *derbend* organization was to guarantee the security of travel and commercial routes against such actions. Besides, travelers also had armed companions for the protection of themselves and their belongings, and some of them were in possession of their own weapons. A case in point is that of Evliya Çelebi, the most travelled Ottoman of the 17th century¹⁷. Evliya Çelebi occasionally managed to defend himself and his companions from the threat of bandits, either through the actions of the officials he travelled with, his own men, or his own efforts. However, many other Ottoman travelers were not so fortunate.

14 Elias Canetti, *Kitle ve İktidar*, trans. Gülşat Aygen, İstanbul 2023, pp. 91-92.

15 Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Eşkîyalar*, trans. Osman Akınhay, İstanbul 2011, p. 8; Mehmet Başaran, Ali Özçelik, "XIX. Yüzyılda Aydın ve Çevresinde Eşkîyalık ve Güvenlik Sorunu", *XVIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler; Vol. III*, ed. S. Nurdan, M. Özler, Ankara 2022, p. 893.

16 For the relationality between banditry and geography, see also Sabri Yetkin, *Ege'de Eşkîyalar*, İstanbul 1996, p. 20.

17 Feridun M. Emecen, "Bir Seyyahın Güvenliđi: Silahlar", *Evliya Çelebi'nin Dünyası*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, İstanbul 2013, pp. 227-228.

It was the responsibility of the central authority to maintain order and ensure the safety of its subjects. This was achieved by apprehending and punishing the perpetrators of illegal acts which threatened the authority and stability. However, the pursuit and capture of bandits not only consumed time but also generated significant expenditures. The extent of this expenditure could also become unpredictable due to the actions of a particularly challenging bandit¹⁸. In such cases, authorities could decide based on the desired outcome in a relatively short period of time and choose to eliminate specific areas of forest that served as a refuge for bandits and a location for their illegal activities. The Ottoman central administration made similar decisions on numerous occasions.

Some Examples of Partial Deforestation against Banditry

In October 1731, Mahmud Pasha, the governor of the sanjaks of Alexandria and Dukakin, was honored by Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) with the words ‘may you be prosperous’ for the heads of bandits he sent to Istanbul. This was in recognition of his efforts to suppress banditry in the region. The Sultan expressed his satisfaction with the care and attention that the governor had demonstrated in protecting the lands and people under his administration. Additionally, he indicated that other bandits had attacked individuals on a road in his region, resulting in fatalities and the seizure of their belongings. Grand Vizier Osman Pasha (1731-1732)¹⁹ also noted that the area in question was characterized by dense forests on both sides and that bandits who obstructed the road had taken refuge there and perpetrated attacks against individuals traversing the route. Osman Pasha²⁰, who had previously been responsible for the security of such routes and crossings and had previously held a position of authority over the *pandors* and *martoloses*, recommended that the safety of travelers could be optimally ensured by issuing instructions to fell and burn the trees on both sides of the road, to level the swamps along the road, and to construct bridges where necessary. It was resolved that this work should consequently be initiated without delay. Furthermore, the governor of the Ohrid Sanjak was to provide assistance. The local population in the vicinity of the road was to be engaged in collective work in order to facilitate the completion of the aforementioned work²¹.

The residents of the Sanjak of Canik, consisting of eighteen *kazas*, demonstrated a lack of compliance with the orders of their pashas. Murtaza ties this to the geographical structure of Canik, a mountainous area which features numerous gorges and forests in the region. The beech trees in the forest of Canik grow so densely that it is very difficult for people to pass through. If a state official or administrator were to come upon them, the people

18 For further information on the possible financial implications of suppressing banditry, see Yetkin, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

19 About Grand Vizier Osman Pasha, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi, IV. Cilt, II. Bölüm, XVIII. Yüzyıl*, Ankara 1988, pp. 321-325.

20 Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

21 BOA, C DH 84/4165.

would pile up the trees in one or two parts of the gorge, which would make them capable of resisting a thousand people if only five of them were to be stationed behind. In such a case, it would not be feasible to reach them on horseback to bring them to their senses; they could only be captured by infantry, which never occurred. Murtaza was of the opinion that the people of the region had numerous pashas expelled in this manner over time. As there were no consequences for their actions, the perpetrators escaped punishment and subsequently became rebels²². In light of Murtaza's statements, it can be argued that the mountainous terrain and dense forest cover provided the people of Canik with a strategic advantage. One may speculate that this advantage enabled people of the region to defend themselves when necessary and to even challenge certain unjust practices of their pashas.

Historical records indicate that Canik's geography had provided refuge for those opposed to the existing order over the course of centuries. This "continuity" is documented over time, though a comprehensive analysis is not feasible within the constraints of this study. However, to cite one example, a decree written from Istanbul to Çerkes Beg, the Beg of Bozok Sanjak, in early 1583, indicates that the qadi of Samsun sent a letter to Istanbul stating that the *levend* group had made Canik Sanjak a base and settled there because it was mountainous and stony, and that they were causing harm to people. Additionally, he asserts that the inhabitants of the region were able to live their lives without fear during the previous year due to the presence of the *sipahis*, who had established security within the sanjak. However, when the *sipahis* were deployed on campaign, the sanjak was left unprotected, which will certainly result in an inevitable increase in attacks on the local population. Consequently, Çerkes Beg was tasked with the responsibility of protecting Canik with the *sipahis* under his command²³.

A review of historical records suggests a link between geographical features and instances of illegal activity. In that, it seems, as expected, that Canik was not the only case of people using the shelter and concealment opportunities provided by the geography to oppose the established order. The historical records also show that the Ottoman central government took measures against such people who were exploiting forests as a base for attacks on public order. For example, in late 1574, Kasım, the Beg of the Sanjak of Dukakin in Albania, was ordered to have the large forest opposite *Leş* (Lezhë), the harbor of the sanjak, where thieves and waylayers were hiding, cut down and burnt down by joint effort. The area was then to be cultivated so that the possibility of thieves and waylayers being able to lurk out there would be impossible²⁴.

22 Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş (ed.), *Arnavutluk'tan Basra'ya 18. Yüzyılda Kayserili Bir Kâtibin Seyahat Anıları*, İstanbul 2000, pp. 65-66.

23 BOA, MD 44, hk. 356.

24 BOA, MD 26, hk. 636.

Another example of deforestation is recorded in 1577. The qadi of Yenice-i Karasu stated that a forested area was located on the opposite bank of the river in the *kaza*. He further asserted that the outlaws and mischievous people, who were based there, were perpetrating attacks against individuals passing through the area. As a potential solution, the qadi proposed the establishment of a village in the area by cutting down forest and resettling the nomads. He further suggested that agriculture could be carried out in the newly created village. His proposal was accepted, and it was ordered that bandits be prevented from their misdeeds by making this place pleasant. Additionally, it was instructed that a report be provided on the progress of this work and the number of households that had settled in the newly established village²⁵.

In another example, deforestation was presented as a solution to the issue at hand as a result of the petitions sent to the center by the people of Cisir-i Ergene (Uzunköprü) rather than by the authority figures in the region. The complainants explained that bandits who were habitually gathered in forest near Çöpköy were responsible for harming travelers and people requested permission to cut down forest in order to ensure the safety of travelers. Consequently, in the decree sent to the *Nâib* of Cisir-i Ergene in June 1690, it was ordered that the people, in collaboration with their *subaşı*s (an official who ensured the security), cut down the trees where necessary and make these places clear of bandits²⁶.

A similar order, in April 1692, was sent to the qadis in the Nis and Belgrade regions to widen the road by clearing forests on both sides of the route leading to these regions. Furthermore, the order stated that the road should be widened to a sufficient width to prevent ambushes by bandits. In the previous year, bandits had harassed and damaged the wagons, merchants and travelers making use of this road. In order to address this issue, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the road were to work in shifts on the nearest road, and they were to be provided with a daily wage of ten asper per man, in addition to half *kıyye* of flour²⁷.

Another example of the measures taken to ensure road safety is related to the city of Amasya. A decree was written at the end of March 1698 to the qadi of Amasya in response to a letter he had previously sent to Istanbul²⁸. From the letter it seems that on some days, people who block the road were hiding in this forest area known as Ilıcak Boğazı near Amasya and harming the passersby. It was therefore imperative that the trees in this forest area be felled and removed (*kal' u kam'*)²⁹. Furthermore, this area constituted the route used by

25 BOA, MD 30, hk. 519.

26 BOA, MD 100, hk. 81. See also Meryem Kaçan Erdoğan, "Bozgun Yıllarında (1683-1699) Rumeli'de Eşkıyalık Faaliyetleri", *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 26 (2012), pp. 48-49.

27 BOA, AE. SAMD.II. 2/117.

28 BOA, MD 110, hk. 1493.

29 This notion referring to the removal (*kal' u kam'*) [of forest] was at the same time used against the enemy troops, thereby implying their annihilation: BOA, MD 5, hk. 98.

the inhabitants of Hakala and Akdag. Consequently, both Amasya and the residents of the aforementioned settlements were amenable to the occupation of the removal of forest (*kal' u kam*). The judgement was conveyed to the qadi of Amasya, indicating that their request had been granted.

A later example of bandits using forest areas near a bridge in a region for their illegal activities is related to the Pavlo (Pavli) Bridge. One may gain insight into this matter by examining the judicial decrees of Mustafa, the Nâib of Cisir-i Ergene, dated 19 Cemaziyelevvel 1166 (March 24, 1753)³⁰ and Hâfiz İbrahim, the Nâib of Hayrabolu, dated 20 Cemaziyelevvel 1166 (March 25, 1753)³¹. The two decrees exhibit a notable similarity in their content. In accordance with the preceding orders, the elimination of bandits operating in the Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ) region and at the Pavlo (Pavli) Bridge was assigned to Sirozî Elhâc Mustafa Agha³². Apparently, the issue in question remained unsolved. In Cisir-i Ergene and Hayrabolu, members of the religious community, the people, and the *a'yân* (local notables) proceeded to the courts in their respective *kazas* to voice their concerns and to seek resolutions. For several years, bandits and villains (*haramzâde*) had been occupying forest adjacent to the Pavlo Bridge as a place of refuge during the summer season. From their concealed position in the woods, they would fire bullets at horsemen, infantry, or wagons passing over the bridge, thereby seizing their belongings and property and hiding back in the woods.

This forest served as a wintering ground for camels belonging to the state³³. Therefore, authorization from the state was required to exploit this forest. The trees in this area were observed to be in close proximity to one another and exhibited a dense growth pattern up to the bridge. Forested area terminated at the boundaries of Hayrabolu, Baba-yı Atik (Babaeski), and Cisir-i Ergene. In order to ensure the safety of the bridge and the road through the consensus of the *a'yân* and the people of these *kazas*, as well as the involvement of Sirozî Mustafa Agha, permission was requested to clear a designated area by breaking down trees a little more than a bullet's range away. Ultimately, with the collaboration of the inhabitants of the nearby *kazas*, it was ordered that the trees in the woods within a two-bullet range from the bridge be dismantled and rendered accessible. Therefore, bandits would be deprived of an effective firing range from the ambush point in forest for those crossing the bridge. In other words, the safety of the travelers would be ensured not by capturing bandits but by removing the trees near the bridge.

30 BOA, C. DH 14/691-2.

31 BOA, C. DH 14/691-1.

32 For this person from the *a'yân* of Tekirdağ, see Fadimana Fidan, "18. Yüzyıl Tekirdağ'ında Sirozî Mustafa Ağa'nın Damadı Veli ve Kızı Hatice Örneğinde Statü-Servet Ediniminde Aile Bağlarının Rolü", *Cihannüma, Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VII/2 (December 2021), pp. 195-227.

33 For information on this issue, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 495-496.

In these examples, forested areas were described as potential hideouts for bandits due to their proximity to settlements or roads. It was therefore feasible to deforest these forested areas by organizing the local population. In Canik, however, forested areas offered the inhabitants the opportunity to protect themselves from the state forces. It can be argued that cutting down these forested areas as a form of struggle similar to those elsewhere did not occur to the administrators in Canik. However, there is another example of how such burdensome forests were not always cut down.

In 1803, the Austrian state requested the Ottoman state to cut down forests in three settlements on the Bosnian border (Ostrovica, Prijedor, and another settlement) as a precautionary measure against bandits encroaching on its territory. Yet, the Ottoman central administration took another measure. In the decree written to Ebubekir Pasha, the Governor of Bosnia, it was strictly ordered that the state officials in the vicinity of the relevant places should send *pandors* and soldiers to these troubled areas and ensure their protection. Accordingly, Austrian troops were prohibited from crossing the border and entering Ottoman territory on the pretext of retaliating against bandits based in the border forests. Those who disregarded these instructions were to be held accountable for failing to fulfill their obligation to safeguard the border³⁴.

In fact, in a possible war, the Austrian army could easily pass through these places if the trees on the border were cut down. However, forested areas on the border not only prevented the enemy army from crossing easily, but some measures could even be taken to make it even more difficult. For example, according to a decree written on June 4, 1571 to Sinan Beg, the Beg of Bosnia, some people from the villages within the Bosnia Sanjak were summoned to serve as *cerehor*, a term denoting the provision of rear services for the protection of the frontier. The specific task assigned to them was *kirındı kestirmek* (chopping down). It can be assumed that the purpose of chopping down was to impede the advancement of the enemy army by cutting tree branches and leaving them on the forest road.

Conclusion

One of the most persistent concerns of the Ottoman central administration was undoubtedly the issue of internal security. This was an understandable consequence of the vast expanse of the imperial geography. The most significant internal security concern pertained to the protection of transportation routes. In order to address this issue, the central authority had established local organizations. Furthermore, the deforestation of select forested areas, which provided bandits with advantageous locations for ambushes and attacks or allowed them to seek shelter and hide, was employed as a measure in the fight against bandits.

34 BOA, C. DH 62/3074.

If possible, some of these areas were designated for settlement, thus enlivening the region. However, if a forested area where banditry was based was on the enemy border, the Ottoman central administration took a pragmatic approach to the issue. For instance, in lieu of felling the trees in forested areas, which would serve as an impediment to a potential border incursion by an adversary, Ottoman decision-making opted to deploy a greater number of officials with the objective of enhancing security in the region. This reveals that deforestation was not the sole method employed to combat banditry.

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A Synthetic Approach in Maghribi and Ottoman Astronomical Traditions: The Example of an 18th-Century Ottoman Perpetual Calendar for the Latitude of Algiers*

Mağrib ve Osmanlı Astronomi Geleneğinde Sentetik Bir Yaklaşım: Cezayir Enlemi için Hazırlanan 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Daimî Takvim Örneği

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ABSTRACT

The lack of a systematic examination of the potential interactions between astronomical and maritime techniques in the Maghribi and Ottoman traditions has hindered the resolution of many issues in the history of science. In this context, an 18th-century Ottoman perpetual calendar prepared for the latitude of Algiers, which is the focus of this research, is significant in demonstrating the integration of the Maghribi-Andalusian astronomical tradition into Ottoman astronomy, particularly through the Magrib region. The critical data in the calendar provides information on astronomical applications on land and at sea, emphasizing the calendar maker's synthesis of sources from various cultures. Building on this foundation, our article aims to highlight the methodological and historical challenges in studying Ottoman perpetual calendars, as well as the importance and necessity of more in-depth research into the astronomy and maritime traditions among populations in the Maghrib and Ottoman regions.

Keywords: Ottoman astronomy, Algeria, perpetual calendar, nautical astronomy, astronomical instruments

ÖZ

Mağrib ve Osmanlı geleneğine ait astronomik ve denizcilik tekniklerindeki etkileşim olasılıklarının bugüne kadar sistematik olarak incelenmemiş olması, bilim tarihi açısından birçok sorunun çözülmesini zorlaştırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, araştırmanın odak noktası olan Cezayir enlemi için hazırlanmış 18. yüzyıla ait bir Osmanlı daimî takvimi, özellikle Mağrib üzerinden Osmanlı astronomisine entegre olan Mağrib-Endülüs astronomi geleneğinin önemli bir örneğini teşkil etmektedir. Takvimdeki kritik veriler, karada ve denizde yapılan astronomi uygulamaları hakkında bilgi sağlamakta ve takvim derleyicisinin farklı kültürlerden gelen kaynakları birleştirdiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu temel üzerine, makalemiz Osmanlı daimî takvimlerinin incelenmesindeki metodolojik ve tarihi zorlukları vurgulamanın yanı sıra, Mağrib ve Osmanlı bölgelerinde yaşayanların astronomi ve denizcilik geleneği bağlamında daha derinlemesine araştırmalarının önemini ve gerekliliğini ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı astronomisi, Cezayir, daimî takvim, deniz astronomisi, astronomi aletleri



1. Introduction

The discipline of the history of science, while shaped by a prevailing consensus on scientific rationality and confidence in scientific progress until the 1960s, encountered a strong wave of criticism from the 1990s onwards. These influential debates created an environment that challenged almost the entire traditional historiography, revitalizing richly textured research and leading to the emergence and redefinition of a series of common concepts and methods, as well as thematic changes. In this context, historians of science moved beyond standard comparisons with predecessors or successors to embrace an environment dominated by methodological pluralism, such as microhistory, macrohistory, contextualization, and digital humanities. This shift not only strengthened the interaction of the field of history of science with various disciplines in the humanities, but also spurred researchers to formulate questions in the process of historicizing scientific practices towards a more inclusive model and expanding the areas that could be considered as science. Today, these developments are reflected among historians of science with an emphasis on the term “new approach” as a sign of maturity within the field.¹ In this context, historians of science, researching not only theoretical but also intuitive and practical knowledge, are attempting to analyze mechanisms for the production of “local knowledge” in time and space; to understand key moments between knowledge holders and patrons ensuring the historical continuity of this knowledge; to examine the processes of legitimizing or rejecting “foreign knowledge”; and to define hybrid knowledge and how it is reconceptualized from one culture to another. However, due to the complex and multifaceted nature of interactions between cultures, more than a single set of reasons is required to explain contextual elements. Because of this complexity, researchers working on the issue of cross-cultural knowledge exchange require a wide range of historical, linguistic, and advanced technical expertise to organize and interpret textual documents.

Today, the exciting atmosphere provided by the field of the history of science opens the door to questions about the theoretical and practical history of knowledge shaped by the interaction of various cultures brought together by the Ottomans, paving the way for a potential reshaping of historiography. Strong evidence of this potential emerges in Ottoman astronomical history, as the Ottoman Empire served as a stage for diverse cultural interactions. These interactions, shaped by time and space, facilitated the convergence of various beliefs, traditions, and scientific understandings, enriching the empire’s multiethnic

1 In this context, it is beneficial to examine key studies within the existing literature. For just a few, see Sonja Brentjes-Alexander Fidora-Matthias M. Tischler, “Towards a New Approach to Medieval Cross-Cultural Exchanges”, *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies*, I/1 (2014), p. 9-50; Sonja Brentjes, “Narratives of Knowledge in Islamic Societies: What do They Tell Us about Scholars and Their Contexts?,” *Almagest*, IV/1 (2013), p. 75–95; Sonja Brentjes, “Research Foci in the History of Science in Past Islamicate Societies,” *Historie*, issue 2, (2022), p. 270–87.

and multicultural fabric. In this context, the diversity of cultures and intellectual traditions fostered environments conducive to knowledge exchange and the exploration of various experiences in cultural pluralism.² The role of social diversity in enhancing artistic and scientific productivity has garnered significant scholarly interest. However, understanding how new knowledge was integrated into established intellectual frameworks presents considerable challenges, unravelling deeper layers shaped by various social, political, and economic dynamics.

The absence of a comprehensive modelling approach to explain these intricate relationships remains a fundamental obstacle in research, hindering in-depth exploration of cultural interactions within Ottoman geography. This gap leads to missed opportunities for grasping the complexities of this rich historical legacy. Conducting micro-level examinations may generate valuable data that can serve as case studies, contributing to a more comprehensive view of the broader historical and cultural framework. Building on this, such examinations will also significantly enhance our understanding of cultural interactions within the Ottoman territory.

Taking this perspective into account, our study aims to initiate a discourse on the findings of a case study focusing on an 18th-century perpetual Ottoman calendar at 36° 40' latitude (Algeria). The analysis reveals that *Rūznāmah- i Jadīdah* (or simply *Rūznāmah*) reflects a rich tapestry of cultural interactions. Highlights of the distinctive features of this perpetual calendar as a significant historical artifact include its integration of the Maghribi astronomical tradition into Ottoman astronomy, its incorporation of crucial data concerning practical astronomy and the use of astronomical instruments on land and at sea, and its insights into the application of the Julian and Gregorian calendar systems. Besides, although the calendar was prepared according to the latitude of Algeria, the author's occasional emphasis on the Maghribi-Andalusian tradition implicitly reveals the relationship of astronomical practices with the Andalusian tradition. Moreover, it is noteworthy that, during its production period, the calendar's author adhered to certain preferences that originated in the Maghribi and

2 This cultural diversity can also be seen in the intellectual and knowledge exchanges between the Ottoman, Maghribi, and Andalusian traditions. In this framework, Khaled el-Rouayheb's *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century* is noteworthy for understanding how scholarly currents shaped the Ottoman Empire and the Maghrib in the 17th century. Additionally, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu's article, "Endülüs Menşeli Bazı Bilim Adamlarının Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları," provides insights into the scientific heritage of the Andalusian influence on the Ottoman tradition. Furthermore, Edward S. Kennedy and David A. King's article, "Indian Astronomy in Fourteenth Century Fez: The Versified Zij of al-Qusuntini," summarizes the astronomical tradition in the Maghrib and, occasionally drawing connections to Ottoman practices, offers valuable context for understanding the exchanges of astronomical knowledge pertinent to our research focus. For more detail, see Khaled el-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb*, Cambridge University Press, New York 2015, 399; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. "Endülüs Menşeli Bazı Bilim Adamlarının Osmanlı Bilimine Katkıları", *Belleten*, LVIII/223 (1994), p. 565-606; Edward S. Kennedy-David A. King, "Indian Astronomy in Fourteenth Century Fez: The Versified Zij of al-Qusuntini", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, VI (1982), p. 5-9.

Andalusian traditions rather than in Istanbul and Anatolia. For this reason, the *rūznāmah* is also important as an example of how these calendars interacted and how this interaction was reflected in practical applications.

On the other hand, the information on navigation in the calendar provides significant clues that astronomy was used in navigation techniques employed in the Mediterranean region in the 18th century. The description of how to determine latitude by measuring the altitude of the Sun above the horizon further strengthens this possibility. Furthermore, the notation that different instruments are recommended for use on land and at sea is noteworthy. Among the instruments commonly used on land that represent the Islamic tradition are the astrolabe, the sine quadrant, and the astrolabe quadrant, whereas the instrument recommended for use at sea is called a “*palastirilya*,” commonly known as a cross-staff, and more frequently used by European sailors. The calendar’s preparation according to the latitude of Algiers and its inclusion of various maritime information suitable as a navigational guide for Ottoman sailors in the southern Mediterranean raise critical questions regarding the influence of these regional traditions on Ottoman navigation. The discovery, particularly the combined use of the Julian and Gregorian calendar systems and the mention of the cross-staff, an instrument from European maritime traditions, raises important questions about the calendar’s connection to the Christian communities in the region.

Although a single example cannot fully encapsulate the broader processes of knowledge circulation, analyzing the specific astronomical concepts and instruments integrated within this calendar offers valuable insights into how these traditions may have been adapted within the Ottoman scientific framework. In this regard, our article highlights the methodological and historical challenges in studying Ottoman perpetual calendars, while also offering a preliminary exploration of how the integration of the Maghribi-Andalusian astronomical tradition may have influenced Ottoman practical applications and the transmission of knowledge through material objects. Additionally, it emphasizes the crucial need for deeper research into the astronomy and maritime traditions among populations in the Maghrib and Ottoman regions, as it raises important questions about their relevance in the context of Christian communities within the region.

2. General Features of ‘*Rūznāmah-i Jadīdah*’

Ottoman perpetual calendars represent a less explored type of calendar compared to annual calendars and merit special attention in historical studies. Comparative analyses of perpetual calendars from different periods reveal differences in their design and adaptation. The tables were updated according to the period of use, and occasionally, copiers inserted additional entries. When investigating Ottoman perpetual calendars, it is crucial to consider meticulously specific aspects such as the creators or copyists of these calendars, their

production dates, structures, applications, and methods of replication. This critical evaluation is particularly relevant to the *Rūznāmah*.

The original manuscript remains unidentified up to now; however, three existing copies are documented in the literature. One of these copies, titled *Rūz-nāme* (*Rūznāmah*) and numbered 138/2, is held in the History of Science Collection at the Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Research Institute Library (KOERIL). The other two copies are known as *Rūznāmah-i Jadīdah* (New Perpetual Calendar) and are located in the British Library (BL) and the National Library of Egypt (Ta‘lat, Felek-Turkî Collection, ENL). Our research primarily relies on the KOERIL manuscript, with occasional reference to the *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* and the OALT introduction.

The *Rūznāmah* at the KOERIL comprises an introduction, four chapters, a *ghurrah-nāmah* table for determining the starting day of Arabic months, and a calendar covering 12 months. In this manuscript, the circular forms traditionally found in *rūznāmah* attributed to Sheikh Vefa, such as *Nawrūz-ı Sultānī* cycle and *rijāl al-ghaib* (*men of the unseen*), are absent. Instead, the *ghurrah-nāmah* is presented as an extensive table distributed across multiple pages. In a marginal note on the calendar, it is explicitly stated that it was prepared in Algeria, and accordingly, the lengths of day and night in terms of hours and minutes were determined based on the latitude of 36° 40'.³

The calendar's sections are arranged according to the following topics:

1. *Miftāh-ı rūznāmah*: The first section provides information about the characteristics of the tables included in the calendar and their practical applications.
2. *‘Āmm-ı ‘Arabiyyah*: The second section contains information about the lunar year.
3. *‘Āmm-ı Shamsiyyah*: The third section contains information about the solar year.
4. *Mayl al-shams wa ‘urūd al-buldān*: The fourth section offers detailed instructions on how to determine the declination of the Sun and the latitude of a location, applicable both on land and at sea.

The approach used to estimate its production date was analyzing the *ghurrah-nāmah* tables included in the calendar, which are typically customized for the years they cover. The *ghurrah-nāmah* table in the KOERIL manuscript covers AH 1157-1212 (AD 1744-1798),⁴

3 Anonymus, *Rūz-nāme*, Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Research Institute Library, History of Science Collections, MS 138/2, copied AH. XII. century, fol. 60v.

4 Ibid., fols. 61r- 66v.

while in the BL copy, it covers AH 1186-1267 (AD 1772/73-1850/51).⁵ The copy in the ENL was transcribed around AH 1300 (AD 1882/1883).⁶ This situation exemplifies how the copies of perpetual calendars were adapted and updated for different periods. Thus, it can be suggested that the KOERIL manuscript is the oldest extant copy of the surviving three.⁷

Further insights can be gleaned from examples provided in the third and fourth sections of the KOERIL *Rūznāmah*. The third section states that the date needed to determine latitude during sea voyages should be calculated according to the *tārīh-i Masīh ibn Maryam* (Anno Domini, AD). Consequently, individuals seeking to determine latitude using a different date system, such as Hijri, must convert to the corresponding AD date. For instance, the author/copyist illustrates this with the example of AH 1141 or AD 1729.⁸ In the fourth section, the author/copyist uses the year AD 1732 as an example to elucidate methods for determining latitude. These examples, in conjunction with the *ghurrah-nāmah* tables, suggest that the original manuscript may have been compiled around the years AD 1729-1732. Subsequent copies were then adapted to suit the periods in which they were used, indicating potential updates made over the years.

3. Analysis and Evaluation of Sources Used in the Preparation of *Rūznāmah -i Jadīdah*

Time in Ottoman calendars is structured on theoretical foundations rooted in astronomical and mathematical principles. This theoretical framework has transformed over time into historical documents that mirror societal perceptions of time, particularly concerning daily routines like social events and religious practices. The content of these calendars varies, encompassing three main prominent types in Ottoman literature:⁹ *taqwīm-i sāl* (annual calendar/almanac), *aḥkām-i ṭālī -i sāl* (prognostications of the ascendant for a year), and *taqwīm-i dā'imī* (perpetual calendar).

Among these, *taqwīm-i sāl* and *aḥkām-i ṭālī -i sāl* stand out as the types for which we have the most information regarding the sources consulted during their preparation. Conversely, our knowledge of the sources used in Ottoman perpetual calendars is limited due to the lack

5 Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, The British Museum, London 1888, p. 123.

6 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu-Ramazan Şeşen-Cevat İzgi-Cemil Akpınar-İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, I, İstanbul 1997, p. 252-254.

7 *Rūz-nāme*, fols. 59r-60v.

8 *Ibid.*, fol. 56r.

9 For more details on Ottoman calendars see Ahmed Tunç Şen, *Astrology in the Service of The Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s-1550s*, The University of Chicago, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Chicago/Illinois 2016, p. 237-305; Gaye Danişan, "Osmanlı Takvimlerinin Analizinde Uygulanan Yöntemler ve Karşılaşılan Problemler Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *II. Uluslararası Prof. Dr. Fuat Sezgin İslam Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*, ed. M. Cüneyt Kaya, Gürsel Aksoy, Nihal Özdemir, İstanbul University Press, İstanbul 2023, p. 178-189.

of systematic research on this topic. Specifying and elucidating the sources consulted in *Rūznāmah-i Jadīdah* can illuminate diverse traditions in calendar preparation and provide a detailed narrative on the circulation of these works within the Maghribi tradition in the Ottoman context.

In the introduction of the KOERIL manuscript, it is noted that the principles and rules of Sheikh Vefā's and Ayn 'Ali Efendi's perpetual calendars were consulted. Additionally, references are made to Ulugh Beg's *Zij*, Sheikh 'Alī Dādisī al-Maghribī's treatise, Sheikh Ibn Sīnā's *Zij*, and Sheikh Abū Miqra's treatise. However, upon examining the catalogue information for the BL manuscript and the introduction of the ENL manuscript in the OALT, it becomes evident that different sources are referenced. While the BL manuscript does not mention Ibn Sīnā's *Zij*, it refers to Ibn al-Bannā's *Zij*; whereas the sources in the ENL manuscript include Sheikh 'Alī al-Maghribī and Ibn al-Bannā instead of Ibn Sīnā and Sheikh 'Alī Dādisī al-Maghribī. The reasons for these variations in sources are not entirely clear. Possible factors may include errors or omissions during the copying process or additions and alterations made by scribes based on the period in which they were copied.

3.1. Sheikh Vefā's and Ayn 'Ali Efendi's Perpetual Calendars and Ulugh Beg's *Zij*

In Ottoman literature, perpetual calendars known as *rūznāmah*,¹⁰ *taqwīm-i dā'imī* (lit. perpetual calendar), or *taqwīm-i devr-i dā'imī* (lit. calendar of perpetual motion) were designed for long-term use, often taking the form of a scroll or a booklet consisting of 10-15 pages. The earliest known work indicating the use of such calendars is *Rūznāmah-i Sheikh Vefā* by Muşliḥuddīn Muştafā b. Aḥmad b. Vefā al-Şadrī al-Konāvī, who was one of the sheikhs during the reign of Sultan Mehmet II and a founder of the Wafāiyya branch of the Zeyniyya Sūfī order.¹¹ The *rūznāmah* attributed to Sheikh Vefā, which enjoyed enduring popularity for several centuries in the Ottoman era and was extensively copied, represents a significant component of the Ottoman perpetual calendar tradition. It typically includes circular and/or tabular forms to determine dates for each year, such as the vernal equinox time when the day and night are equal, called "*Nawrūz-ı Sultānī*," and the first day of every lunar month, called "*ghurrah-nāmah*." Additionally, some of these calendars include tables related to the astronomical timekeeping (*'ilm al-mīqāt*) tradition and a circular diagram for the "men of unseen" (*rijāl al-ghaib*).¹² Finally, the calendar tables for 12 months are presented.

10 The term "*rūz-nāmah*" combines the Persian words "*rūz*" (day) and "*nāmah*" (writing or book). It has been used for various genres, including daily event notebooks, calendars, military expedition records, and daily accounts. For an example, see Mehmet Burak Çakın, "Klasik Edebiyatta çok bilinmeyen bir tür olarak ruz-nāme ve müellifi bilinmeyen bir örneği", *Selçuk Türkiyat*, issue 53, (December 2021), p. 207-229.

11 For more details on Sheikh Vefā see Reşat Öngören, "Muslihuddin Mustafa", *DİA*, XXXI, 2020, 269-271.

12 For more details on *Rijal Al-Ghaib* see Süleyman Uludağ, "Ricâlü'l-gayb", *DİA*, XXXV, 2008, 81-83.

Starting in the 17th century, the work of Ayn ‘Ali Efendi,¹³ an Ottoman scholar and the head of the imperial register, titled *Sharh-i Rūznāmah-i Sheikh Vefā* (Commentary of Sheikh Vefā’s *Rūznāmah*), became very famous. It was written at the request of Mehmed Pasha (d. 1619), the governor of Egypt, to explain the difficult and incomplete points in Sheikh Vefā’s *rūznāmah*. In this work, Ayn ‘Ali Efendi addressed eight challenges encountered in Sheikh Vefā’s perpetual calendar and provided tables starting from the year AH 1017 (AD 1608). This perpetual calendar was widely copied over time.¹⁴

We see a reflection of this process in the *Rūznāmah-i Jadīdah*, which forms the basis of our article. The principles laid down by Sheikh Vefā and the corrections made by Ayn ‘Ali with his commentary were taken into consideration while preparing the KOERIL calendar, emphasizing the importance of Sheikh Vefā’s principles in the calendar-making process and their practical applications and effects.¹⁵ Furthermore, the inclusion of these calendars in the preparation of the *Rūznāmah* underlines the unique features and techniques of the Ottoman perpetual calendar tradition and, shows how these techniques were effectively applied in the calendar-making process.

In contrast, among the sources, Ulugh Beg’s *Zīj* serves as a source for tables containing observational data on the movements of the Sun, the Moon, and planets, as well as the durations of day and night. These tables acted as guides for astronomers conducting astronomical calculations and predictions.¹⁶ Evidence from the Ottoman calendar tradition indicates that, with some exceptions, Ulugh Beg’s *Zīj* was an essential foundational source for calendars.¹⁷ Notably, it gained popularity in the 18th and 19th centuries, although there is no evidence to confirm its use in the Maghrib in the 17th century.¹⁸ While the reasons for the increased use of Ulugh Beg’s *Zīj* in the Maghrib are important, its inclusion in the context of this calendar is primarily due to its significance in Ottoman calendar preparation and its widespread use within the Ottoman astronomical tradition.

13 For more details on Ayn ‘Ali see Mehmet İpşirli, “Ayn Ali Efendi”, *DİA*, IV, 1991, 258-259.

14 Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu-Ramazan Şeşen-Cevat İzgi-Cemil Akpınar-İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Op. cit.*, p. 252-254.

15 *Rūz-nāme*, fol. 47r.

16 David King, Julio Samsó, “Astronomical Handbooks and Tables from the Islamic World (750-1900): An Interim Report,” *Suhayl*, II, (2001), p. 14-15.

17 An example of exceptional cases, see anonymous, *983 senesine mahsus zâyıçeli takvim*, Istanbul University Rare Books Library, MS. TY 2000, fol. 25v.

18 Julio Samsó discusses the historical context and significance of Ulugh Beg’s *Zīj* within the Maghribi tradition in the following article. For further details on its impact and usage in the region, see Julio Samsó, “An Outline of the History of Maghribī Zijes from the End of the Thirteenth Century”, *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, XXIX/ 2 (1998), p. 96-97.

3.2. Ibn Sīnā's *Zīj*

Another significant source referenced in the preface of the *rūznāmah* is Ibn Sīnā's *Zīj*. Renowned for his contributions to philosophy and medicine, Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) also made substantial advancements in astronomy and cosmology. He distinguished mathematical astronomy (*'ilm al-hay'a*; lit. science of the configuration of the entire universe) from astrology, considering the former integral to natural philosophy. His work played a pivotal role in redefining and categorizing astronomical knowledge.¹⁹

Ibn Sīnā's contributions included the calculation of *zīj*es (astronomical tables), the design of astronomical instruments, and the determination of the direction of Mecca.²⁰ Sally Ragep categorizes Ibn Sīnā's nine astronomical works into four subjects: summaries of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, works on instruments and observational astronomy, philosophical and cosmological texts, and miscellaneous works.²¹ Additionally, Ramesh Kapoor discusses Ibn Sīnā's engagement with observational astronomy in relation to contemporary *zīj*es, exploring whether he observed the transit of Venus in AD 1032 according to the Julian calendar.²²

While these studies illuminate various aspects of Ibn Sīnā's works, the reference to Ibn Sīnā's *Zīj* in the KOERIL manuscript remains ambiguous. It is unclear whether this refers to Ibn Sīnā's observational tables or a compilation of various *zīj*es. Does this ambiguity perhaps stem from a misattribution or misunderstanding? Questions also arise about how the compiler of the *rūznāmah* accessed the work attributed to Ibn Sīnā, shedding light on the transmission of astronomical knowledge during this period. Understanding these uncertainties is crucial for contextualizing Ibn Sīnā's influence on later Ottoman astronomy. However, this question is beyond the immediate focus of this study. Therefore, for now, interpreting the nature of the *zīj* attributed to Ibn Sīnā in this context requires caution, particularly regarding its potential impact on the understanding of astronomical knowledge within the Ottoman tradition. Future research may benefit from exploring this issue in greater depth.

3.3. Sheikh 'Alī Dādisī al-Maghribī and His Treatise

Another challenge arises in referencing the treatise of Sheikh 'Alī Dādisī al-Maghribī's (full name: Alī b. Muḥammad al-Dādisī al-Maghribī). Limited information is available about him: He

19 F. Jamil Ragep, Alī al-Qūshjī, "Freeing Astronomy from Philosophy: An Aspect of Islamic Influence on Science", *Osiris*, XVI, (2001), 52-59; Sally Ragep, "Ibn Sīnā: Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Sīnā" Hockey, T., et al. *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer, New York 2007, p. 570-572. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30400-7_694

20 Julio Samsó, *On both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar. Studies in the history of medieval astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib*, Brill, Leiden 2020, p. 497.

21 S.P. Ragep, Op. cit., p. 550-572.

22 Ramesh Kapoor, "Did Ibn Sīnā Observe the Transit of Venus 1032 AD?", *Indian Journal of History of Science*, XLVIII/3 (2013), p. 405-445; Samsó, *On both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar*, p. 497.

lived in the 17th century and is mentioned as a *muwaqqit* (timekeeper) and astronomer in the OALT. He is associated with three works related to timekeeping: *Bidāyat al-Ṭullāb fī ‘İlm Waqt al-Yawm bi al-Ḥisāb*, *al-Yawāqīt li Mubtagī Ma‘rifat al-Mawaqīt*, and *Fatḥ al-Muḳīt fī Sharḥ al-Yawākīt*.²³

It is pertinent to refer to the entry on ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Dādisī in the section on Andalusian and Maghribi authors in David King’s biobibliographical study of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts related to mathematics, astronomy, and astrology at the Egyptian National Library. His name is linked to the poem titled “*al-Yawāqīt li-mubtaghī ma‘rifat al-mawāqīt*,” which addresses timekeeping. Notably, three different copies of this poem contain variations of his name, including: ‘*Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad...*, *Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Dādisī*, and *Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Dādisī*.²⁴

Julio Samsó’s research on the copy of Ibn Abī l-Shukr al-Maghribī’s (d. 1283) work *Tāj al-azyāj* at the Department of Arabic Philology, University of Barcelona (AFBU) are quite significant. While the date of this manuscript is uncertain, it contains a series of marginal notes that differ from the scribe’s writing. Samsó analyzes these marginal notes, suggesting that the manuscript circulated particularly in regions like Tlemcen (Algeria) and Marrakesh (Morocco), and may have remained in use until the 19th century. Among the tables contained in the manuscript, reference is also made to Ibn al-Bannā al-Marrākushī’s work titled “*Minhāj al-ṭālib fī ta‘dīl al-kawākib*”. Notably, there is a note on the manuscript indicating that it belonged to the timekeeper ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣanhājī al-Dādisī in Marrakesh. Samsó notes that the handwriting of this note differs from that of the scribe and most of the marginal notes.²⁵

Subsequently, Carlos Dorce, in his article discussing the calculation methods in Ibn Abī l-Shukr al-Maghribī’s (d. 1283) treatise *Tāj al-azyāj*, again refers to the name ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣanhājī al-Dādisī found in the AFBU manuscript examined by Samsó. He also mentions David King’s suggestion that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Dādisī (d. 1683) could in fact be ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣanhājī al-Dādisī.²⁶

These findings may hold exciting implications for our study. However, due to the lack of access to the original manuscript of the *Rūznāmah* and the absence of a comparative analysis of the KOERIL copy and the aforementioned work, it remains ambiguous whether the Sheikh ‘Alī Dādisī al-Maghribī mentioned in our manuscript is the same individual that Samsó and Dorce refer to in their studies. Nevertheless, future studies could re-evaluate this possibility by considering the following issues:

23 İhsanoğlu-Şeşen-İzgi-Akpınar-Fazhoğlu, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 322-323.

24 David King, *A Survey of the Scientific Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake IN (Eisenbrauns/The American Research Center in Egypt), Indiana 1986, p. 142-143.

25 Julio Samsó, *Op. cit.*, p. 814-816.

26 Carlos Dorce, “The Tāj al-azyāj of Muhyī al-Dīn al-Maghribī (d. 1283): methods of computation”, *Suḥayl*, III (2003), p. 193-212.

1. According to Samsó's research, the manuscript in question circulated near Tlemcen and Marrakesh until the 19th century. Given that the *Rūznāmah* we examined was prepared based on the latitude of Algeria and the compiler consulted sources from the Andalusian and Maghribi traditions, it is plausible that one of the sources used could relate to the manuscript found at the University of Barcelona.
2. The absence of Sheikh 'Alī Dādisī's name in the ENL, where he is replaced by Sheikh 'Alī al-Maghribī among the sources, raises the possibility, albeit weak, that the two names may refer to the same scholar.

3.4. Sheikh Abū Miqra's treatise

The name Sheikh Abū Miqra' (or Muqrī') (fl.1320) mentioned among the sources in the *Rūznāmah* must have been a prominent figure in popular astronomy in the Maghrib during the 13th century. His teachings have been the subject of numerous commentaries, the most famous of which is summarized in a didactic poem titled "*al-Muqni' fī ikhtişār 'ilm Abī Muqrī'*," authored by the Moroccan astronomer Muhammad ibn Sa'īd al-Sūsī al-Marghīthī in the 17th century. Samsó studied some of the many commentaries, summarizing their content concerning the discussion on lunar and solar calendars, including materials related to lunar mansions, as follows:²⁷

1. Discussion on the birth dates of both the Prophets Mohammed and Christ;
2. Rules for calculating the day of the week corresponding to the beginning of each month in the Julian calendar;
3. Description of the lunar mansion occupied by the Sun throughout the year, along with monthly solar shadow diagrams for a gnomon of seven steps and the Indian rule for noon and afternoon prayers;²⁸
4. Calculation of the seasonal hour of the day from sunrise or earlier by the Sun, including an explanation of how lunar mansions are used to calculate hours during sunset and throughout the night;
5. Introduction to astrology and a calculation rule, with information on the illuminated portion of the lunar disk for each day of the lunar month.

27 Samsó, *Op. cit.*, p. 46-47.

28 For details, see David A. King, *In synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization, The Call of the Muezzin*, Leiden & Boston, Brill 2004, p. 496-497.

While these items provide the necessary background information to understand better Sheikh Abū Miqra‘’s contributions to astronomy, the elements discussed in points 2, 3, and 4 are particularly significant in the context of the *Rūznāmah*, as they directly relate to calendar issues. This connection may offer valuable insights into the interaction between the Miqra‘ tradition and the calendar practices reflected in the *Rūznāmah*. However, to assess fully the influence of the Miqra‘ tradition on the *Rūznāmah*, future studies will need to conduct comparative technical analyses of both works. This will involve not only a content analysis to identify thematic connections and differences, but also a thorough examination of the methodologies and calculations used in each tradition. Such an approach is essential to draw definitive conclusions regarding the interplay between the Miqra‘ tradition and the calendar practices reflected in the *Rūznāmah*. The content presented here lays the groundwork for further research.

3.5. Ibn al-Bannā’s *Zīj*

Ibn al-Bannā’ al-Marrākushī (d.1321) is mentioned among the sources in the introductions of the BL and ENL editions, although he is not mentioned in the KOERIL manuscript. Ibn al-Bannā specialized in mathematics and astronomy and alongside *Minhāj al-ṭālib fī ta’ dīl al-kawākib*, which was quite popular in the Maghrib and used until the 19th century, he wrote works such as *Risāla fī l-anwā’*, a book on pre-Islamic Arab calendar systems, and *Kitāb fī ‘ilm al-awqāt bi l-ḥisāb*, addressing the measurement of time for Islamic worship without instruments.²⁹ Several of his works may relate to the calendar we are examining, but it is unclear which specific work is referenced in the BL and ENL editions. It is also unclear why these references are absent in the KOERIL copy. However, if the scribes copied from the original manuscripts, it is possible that the scribe of the KOERIL copy omitted references or that other scribes made corrections and additions. Notably, as discussed above, a manuscript in the Arabic Philology Department at the University of Barcelona indicates that the *muwaqqit* ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣanhājī al-Dādīsī holds a copy of Ibn Abī l-Shukr al-Maghribī’s *Tāj al-azyāj* which included tables from Ibn al-Bannā’s *Minhāj Zīj*. Therefore, an in-depth study of Ibn al-Bannā’s works and their transmission is necessary not only to clarify these ambiguities, but also to advance scholarly discourse and foster innovative research models in this field.

3.6. A Short Examination of Abū Miqra‘’s and Ibn al-Bannā’s Traditions in Two Mediterranean Atlases

Before concluding the evaluation of the sources of the *Rūznāmah*, it is pertinent to highlight an intriguing example of the two traditions attributed to Abū Miqra‘ and Ibn al-

29 For details on his other works, see Julio Samsó, J., “Ibn al-Bannā’: Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Azdī al-Marrākushī”, ed. Hockey, T., et al. *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer, New York 2007, 551- 552. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30400-7_675

Bannā found in the Mediterranean atlases prepared by ‘Alī bin Aḥmad al Sharafī al-Şafāqusī (d. 1579). Al-Şafāqusī created these atlases, suitable for both land and sea use, in 1551 and 1571,³⁰ and referenced authorities such as Abū Miqra‘ and Ibn al-Bannā regarding the rules for reconciling the Julian calendar, a solar calendar, with the lunar calendar.

His atlases provide detailed insights into calendars. The atlas prepared in 1551 provides insights into the calendar table for lunar mansions (2v); the circular table for shadow lengths (7v); and the monthly calendar from January to June and July to December, annotated with Julian, Syriac, and Coptic names (7r-8v)³¹. In the atlas prepared by Al-Şafāqusī’s in 1571 added features include a *ghurrah-nāmah* calendar table (3r) to determine the day of the week at the start of Arabic months and years; a diagram for lunar phases (missing folio); a lunar mansion calendar (9r); a calendar to determine the day of the week at the start of Julian months and years (10v); a shadow length table (10r); and instructions for using the lunar mansions table and the Julian months/years week determination table (11r).³²

Although references to Abū Miqra‘ and Ibn al-Bannā appear in al-Şafāqusī’s atlases and Ottoman literature, the manner in which the author of the *Rūznāmah* incorporated these references into their sources remains unclear. Nonetheless, these atlases serve as significant primary sources for tracing the relationship between Ottoman and North African traditions, offering valuable insights into their usage and influence. These examples also highlight regional and traditional similarities, illuminating the connection of these sources within the context of the *Rūznāmah*.

4. The Content of the *Rūznāmah-i Jadīdah*

The second, third, and fourth sections of the calendar contain significant information pertaining not only to the practical application of the calendar but also to the contemporary tradition of applied astronomy. Evaluating these details alongside the sources provided in the author’s preface could facilitate a clearer understanding of the specific purposes for

30 For a detailed discussion of the atlases in the context of maritime astronomical techniques, see Gaye Danişan Polat, *16. Yüzyılda Osmanlılarda Deniz Astronomisi ve Astronomi Aletleri*, Istanbul University, Social Science Institute, Department of the History of Science, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Istanbul 2016, p. 212-219, p. 239-247. Also see Mónica Herrera-Casais, “The Nautical Atlases of ‘Ali al-Sharafi”, *Suhayl, International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation*, VIII (2008), p. 225- 226; Jeremy Francis Ledger, *Mapping Mediterranean Geographies: Geographic and Cartographic Encounters between the Islamic World and Europe, c. 1100-1600*, the University of Michigan, Unpublished PhD Thesis, USA 2016, p. 284-293.

31 For detailed information see Ahmed Shamima, *The Paris Copy of the Mediterranean Sea-Atlas of Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Muhammed al-Sharfi of Sfax, 958/ 1551*, Victoria University of Manchester, Unpublished Master Thesis, 1978.

32 For details see ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Sharfī Safāqīsī, *The Mediterranean Sea Atlas of ‘Ali Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al Sharfi Al Sfakasi: Dated H. 979, AD 1571 Held in the Bodleian Library the University of Oxford Ref. MS Marsh 294*, Ed. William C. Brice, Manchester 2003, p. 1-33.

which various works were consulted in future comparative textual analyses. This section underscores the focused examination of the data within the *Rūznāmah* toward this objective.

4.1. The Calendar's Key: Calendar Tables and Usage Instructions

The first section, called “*mißtāh-ı rūznāmah*” (perpetual calendar key), contains information about the formal characteristics and usage instructions for the two types of tables in the calendar. The description of the tables begins with the calendar tables and continues with the *ghurrah-nāmah*. However, this order does not correspond to the sequence of the tables.

The tables provided for the *ghurrah-nāmah* are called “*mißtāh-ı jadwal*” (table key).³³ While the first column of the *ghurrah-nāmah* table represents the years AH 1157-1212 (AD 1744-1798), the table is divided into four rows for each year. The first row provides information under the title “*ghurrah-ı shuhūr-ı rūmiyyah*” regarding which day of the week corresponds to the beginning of the Hijri month in the *Rūmi* calendar. The names of the 12 Arabic months are listed in the first row for each year, and the day of the week is given in Arabic alphanumeric (*abjad*) notation values from 1 to 7. In the second row (*shuhūr-ı rūmiyyah*), the names of the *Rūmi* months corresponding to the Hijri months are listed. The third row (*‘adad*) indicates which day of the *Rūmi* month corresponds with the beginning of the Hijri month, and the last row provides the day of the week corresponding to the beginning of the Hijri month. Arabic alphanumeric notation is used, and since calendars in the Middle East typically standardize Sunday as the start of the week, the days are listed as follows starting from Sunday:³⁴

∨ *Ehad*, ⊂ *isneyn*, ج *sülesâ*, ∂ *erbi‘â*, ♣ *hamîs*, ∫ *cum‘a*, ∫ *sebt*.

The calendar maker used Ulugh Beg’s *Zij* to indicate the days corresponding to the beginning of the Arabic months (*ghurrah*) and the Christian calendar (*sinîn-i îsâ*, lit. the years of Jesus).

An illustrative example to clarify the usage of this table is as follows: in the first table, the first day of the month of Muharram in the year AH 1157 corresponds to the third day of February. This correlation is derived from the listing of the name “*Felvar*” (February) under the month of Muharram, with the numeral “3” found in the row titled ‘*adad* (lit. number). Additionally, it is understood from the *ghurrah-ı shuhūr-ı rūmiyyah* row that it corresponds to ∂ (*yawm al-arba‘a*, Wednesday) and from the *ghurrah-ı shuhūr-ı arabîyyah* row that it corresponds to ∫ (*yawm al-cum‘a*, Friday).³⁵

33 *Rûz-nâme*, fol. 47r.

34 *Ibid.*, fols. 47r-48r.

35 *Ibid.*, fols. 47r-49r.

According to the author's statement, since the New Year in the Christian era begins in January, the corresponding year of the Christian era is written above each month of January (*Yanar*). It is a solar calendar that incorporates elements from both the Julian and Gregorian calendars, a feature that will be discussed in detail later. A leap year in this calendar is indicated by the symbol \Leftarrow (*kāf*). Similarly, the same symbol is used for leap years in the Hijri calendar as well. Additionally, the author has noted that if a Hijri month's *ghurrah* (beginning) does not fall within a month, the calendar repeats the month before it twice for that year, and subsequently skips the mentioned month to write the next one. For example, in the year AH 1160, the beginning of the month of January falls on *yawm al-khamis* (Thursday). January also ends on *yawm al-sabt* (Saturday), the 31st day. Therefore, in the year AH 1160, January and March are written twice, and February is omitted because there is no corresponding beginning of the Arabic month in that Gregorian month. Consequently, according to the calendar maker, anyone consulting the calendar should verify the year from the *ghurrah-nāmah* tables when performing related operations.³⁶

The image shows two pages of a handwritten calendar table, folios 61r and 62v. The pages are numbered 46 and 47 in the top left corner. Each page contains a grid of Arabic text and numbers, representing the days of the month and the corresponding Hijri months. The text is written in red and black ink on aged paper. The grid is organized into columns and rows, with the top row likely representing the days of the week and the subsequent rows representing the months. The numbers in the grid likely represent the day of the month or the day of the week. The text is written in a cursive script, and the overall layout is a complex grid of information.

Figure 1. The table of *ghurrah-nāmah*. (*Rûz-nâme [Ruznāmāh]*, Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Research Institute Library [KOERIL], MS. 138/2, folio: 61r-62v.)

36 Ibid., fols. 49r/61r.

The second set of tables represents the 12-month calendar, covering details on natural events, meteorology, nutrition, and health. These tables comprehensively address the correlations between months, the four seasons, and the four humors. Accordingly, spring was associated with blood, summer with yellow bile, autumn with black bile, and winter with phlegm.³⁷ However, unlike Ottoman perpetual calendars that typically begin in March, this calendar starts in January and ends in December.

Each month is written with its equivalents in the Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Hebrew, and Persian languages. However, in October, an additional month name is given under the title *īsā* (Jesus). Below the section where the months are written, other columns of the table are present. The first four columns consist of *ayyām al-rūmiyyah al-qadīmah* (Julian calendar days), *ayyām al-rūmiyyah al-jadīdah* (Gregorian calendar days), *ayyām al-qibtīyyah* (Coptic calendar days), and *darajat al-burj al-shams* (degree of the Sun's zodiac; longitude of the Sun).³⁸

In the solar calendar, the calculation according to Anno Domini is determined in two ways: one corresponds to the Julian calendar, known as *al-rūmiyyah al-qadīmah*, and the other to the Gregorian calendar, known as *al-rūmiyyah al-jadīdah*. (Table 1) The author has organized the tables to include these two pieces of information, but has provided detailed explanations about them in the third section titled “*‘Āmm-ı Shamsiyyah*.” In the third section, the author has provided the names of the nations that follow these two methods.³⁹

37 For details on Ottoman medical history studies in Ottoman calendars, see Gaye Danişan, “Osmanlı Tıp Tarihi Çalışmalarında Takvimlerin Kaynak Değeri Üzerine Tespitler (16.-17. Yüzyıl)”, ed. Elif Gültekin, *Türk-İslam Tıp Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kaynaklar, Türkiye Klinikleri, Ankara 2024*, p. 47-52.

38 *Rüz-nâme*, fols. 68r-73v.

39 “...ve dahi ehl-i İslâm ve Acem bi'l-cümle hisâb-ı kadîm üzre add iderler. Ve Kriks (قريق), Kazak ve Moskov ve Rus ve Leh ve Karaboğdan ve Dınmark ve İngiliz kefereleri bi'l-cümle hisâb-ı kadîm üzre add iderler. Amma Efrenc ve Fransız ve Tulyân ve İspanyol ve Portekiz ve Filemenk ve Dördeş ve Anberkiz ve Süveyd ve Ciniviz ve Venedik ve Nemse ve Sayvar ve Alagorniz ve Papa bi'l-cümle hisâb-ı cedid üzre add iderler.” *Ibid.*, fols. 57r-57v.

Table 1. An example of a calendar leaf for January (*Rûz-nâme[rûznâmah]*, KOERIL, MS. 138/2, folio. 67r.)

<p>Example: According to table, January 1 in <i>ayyām al-rūmiyyah al-qaḍīmah</i> (Julian calendar days), corresponds to January 12 in <i>ayyām al-rūmiyyah al-jadīdah</i> (Gregorian calendar days), and January 3 in <i>ayyām al-qibṭiyyah</i> (Coptic calendar days). In Capricorn, it is the 21st day. In the Arabic month, it is Sunday. At this time, the duration of day and night is as follows: 9 hours and 40 minutes of daylight, and 14 hours and 20 minutes of night.</p> <p>In addition, <i>ayyām al-usbū</i> ' consists of seven letters, each representing a day: 'ا, ب, ج, د, هـ, ز, ح.' This table does not include information regarding the year and week according to the <i>Rūmī</i> calendar; the author directs users to consult the <i>ghurrah-nāmah</i> for this purpose.</p>	

4.2. *Ghurrah-nāmah*: Methods of Determining the Beginning Day of Months in the Hijri Calendar

In Islamic astronomy, predicting the visibility of the new crescent moon on the evening following the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon in lunar calendars, based on lunar phases, holds special importance. However, there have been different approaches to determining this event, which marks the beginning of the new month. This topic is extensively discussed in the second part of the *Rūznāmah*.

In the *Āmm-ı 'Arabiyyah* section of the *Rūznāmah*, the calendar maker states that there are three different methods to determine the beginning of lunar months in the Hijri calendar. The first method refers to the phase when the Moon and the Sun are in conjunction, specifically during the new moon phase when the Moon is not visible. The second method refers to the crescent phase when the Moon begins to reflect sunlight after separating from the Sun following their conjunction. During this time, the crescent Moon is visible on the western horizon after sunset. The day following the sighting of the crescent Moon is considered the beginning of the month. Finally, the third method involves determining the beginning of the month through calculation, which is also known as *ru'yat al-'alamah*. According to this calculation method, the day when the Moon and the Sun separate from each other after conjunction is considered as the first day of the month. The author mentions that Christians (*Nasārā*), Western Europeans (*Efrence*), and Jews used the first method, where the new moon phase is accepted as the beginning of the month, while Islamic legal scholars may prefer the second or third

method. The author specifies that when preparing the *rūznāmah* tables, he relied on the third method.⁴⁰

The author also explains the difference between the lunar and the solar year in this section. It is noted that there is an eleven-day difference between the lunar year and the solar year, and every 33 years, the two calendar systems coincide. This means that every 33 years, there is a leap year. It is stated that the year AH 1157 represents this coincidence. The Arabic months from *Muharram* to *Dhu al-Hijjah* are designed with varying lengths: six months have 29 days and six months have 30 days. During a leap year, an additional day is added to *Dhu al-Hijjah*.⁴¹

4.3. ‘*Āmm-ı Şemsiyye*: Solar Year

This section of the *rūznāmah* provides information about operations related to the solar year. It is stated that there is a need for the solar year/calendar to stabilize the solar calculation, to determine the seasons, and to identify agricultural seasons for the benefit of vineyards, gardens, and orchards.⁴²

The solar year corresponds to 12 zodiac signs, with the Sun completing one circuit through each sign. For instance, the period from when the Sun starts at the first minute of Aries and returns to this sign is called “*āmm al-awwal*,” totaling 365 days and six hours. This period is named “*āmm al-thani*” when it totals 365 days and 12 hours, and “*āmm al-thālith*” when it amounts to 365 days and 18 hours in the subsequent years. The fourth year consists of 366 days, known as a leap year and referred to as “*āmm- al-kabisa*.” The calendar consists of 365 days annually, with every fourth year being a leap year, thereby totaling 366 days. This extra day is added to the month of *Felvar* (February). However, this practice varied across different traditions. According to the *rūznāmah*, in regions such as Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, India, Yemen, and Persia an additional day was added to the month of February. In contrast, in Africa and Andalusia, the extra day was added at the end of December in accordance with the solar year. Therefore, in the latter case, since December was considered to have 31 days, in years with an additional day, December would be counted as having 32 days.⁴³

Another important issue is the matter of the solar year’s starting day, which is detailed in the manuscript. Information regarding the regions where various calendars are used and the starting days of the year provided in the manuscript are summarized in Table 2. The author has provided detailed information, particularly related to the equivalents of *Tūt*, which

40 Ibid., fols. 50r-51v.

41 Ibid., fols. 52r-54r.

42 Ibid., fol. 56v.

43 Ibid., fols. 56v-57r.

is accepted as the first month of the Coptic calendar listed in the table, in the Julian and Gregorian calendars. The Coptic calendar divides a year into 12 months of 30 days each, totaling 365 days with an additional 5 days added at the end. Every fourth year, a leap day is added, typically in August. For example, if it is not a leap year when 360 days are completed on August 23, five days are added, making August 28 the last day of the year. Thus, the first day of the next year, corresponding to the first day of *Tūt*, would be August 29. If it is a leap year, this would be August 30 instead. Moreover, the Coptic New Year falls in September in the Gregorian calendar.⁴⁴

Another important feature of the *rūznāmah*, which distinguishes it from the Ottoman perpetual calendar tradition, is that the calendar tables are adjusted according to the *tārīh-i Masīh ibn Maryam*. Unlike the Ottoman perpetual calendar tradition, which usually begins in March, the *rūznāmah* prepared for the latitude of Algiers starts in January. Additionally, according to the author, various solar calendars were employed in different regions, each indicating the beginning of the year (Table 2).⁴⁵ What is more, according to the author, various solar calendars were employed in different regions, each indicating the beginning of the year (Table 2). This is evident in the inclusion of works popular in the Maghrib region among the calendar's sources, the preparation of the calendar tables according to the traditions of this region, and the adherence to the Maghribi and Andalusian traditions, despite also mentioning the Jalali calendar used in Istanbul and Anatolia for solar calendar applications. In light of this information, it is clear that the calendar in question diverges from the Istanbul-Anatolian tradition.⁴⁶

The clear indication that the calendar scales were adjusted according to the *tārīh-i Masīh ibn Maryam*. and the fact that the starting points of the year varied according to different traditions underscores the importance of this calendar as a critical source that can be used in future in-depth comparative studies focusing on Maghribi and Andalusian traditions. Moreover, given the region's complex social structure, we should broaden our perspective by considering this tradition in a context that also includes the possibilities of cultural interaction not only with the Maghribi and Andalusian traditions but also with the Christian communities in the Ottoman territory.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 For a general discussion on Ottoman calendrical tradition, Stephen P. Blake, *Time in Early Modern Islam: Calendar, Ceremony, and Chronology in the Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman Empires*, Cambridge University Press, USA 2013, p. 66-75.

Table 2. Solar calendars used in different regions and the starting times of the year in these calendars according to the author of *the rūznāmah*.

Regions where the solar calendar is used	Type of solar calendar	Beginning of the year according to the solar calendar
<i>Ahl al-mashriq</i>	<i>Tārīh-i İskender-i Rūmī</i>	<i>Tashrīn al-awwal</i>
Istanbul and Anatolia	<i>Tārīh-i Malik-Shāh Jalal al-Din Seljuki</i>	<i>ḥamel al-awwal; Nawrūz-ı Sultānī</i>
Persia, province of Ajem, Samarqand	<i>Tārīh-i Yazdegerd ibn Shahriyār</i>	<i>Hamel burcuna tahvili</i> (When the Sun enters the sign of Aries)
Egypt and Damascus	<i>Tārīh-i Dakyanīs / Tārīh-i qibtī</i>	* <i>Tūt</i>
Maghrib and Andalusia	<i>tārīh-i Masīh ibn Maryam</i>	<i>Yanar</i>

4.4. Methods for Determining Latitude on Land and Sea Using the Sun's Declination and Altitude

The fourth section (*Mayl al-shams wa 'urūd al-buldān*) of the examined *rūznāmah* provides comprehensive insights into the declination of the Sun (*mayl al-shams*) and detailed instructions on how latitude determination should be conducted accordingly. The latitude of a location can be determined using astronomical methods in two ways. In the Northern Hemisphere, an observer measures the altitude of the pole star above the horizon, which directly correlates with the latitude of the observer's position. Another method involves measuring the altitude of the Sun at noon above the horizon. This method also requires knowledge of the declination of the Sun, known as its declination (δ). Thus, the observer needs to know the Sun's position in the ecliptic plane, determining the specific day on which the Sun's altitude is measured, known as its longitude (λ). At this point, the solar calendar becomes relevant. The *rūznāmah* fulfils this requirement and explains this second method in this section. To achieve this, the observer must measure the Sun's culmination altitude (*al-ghāya*), which denotes the Sun's altitude when it reaches the meridian. Hence, altitude measurements are taken at noon. The author also discusses the instruments used to measure the altitude of the Sun on land and at sea. For measurements conducted on land, the instruments mentioned are the astrolabe, the sine quadrant, and the astrolabe quadrant. These instruments hold significant importance in Ottoman astronomical literature.⁴⁷ If this measurement is to be

47 For an example study on the use of these instruments, see Gaye Danişan, "16th Century Ottoman Compendium of Astronomical Instruments: Admiral Seydi Ali Reis's Mir'at-ı Kainat", *Scientific Instruments Between East and West*, Ed. Neil Brown-Silke Ackermann-Feza Günergun, Leiden, Brill 2019, p.1-16.

conducted at sea, it is noted that an instrument called the “*palastirilya*” should be used.⁴⁸ No information is provided about the instrument’s structure, making it unclear what it is. On the other hand, in an anonymous Ottoman treatise on navigation presumed to date back to the 19th century and written on maritime matters, this instrument is mentioned under the name “*palastire*.” In this work, along with information about the usage of the instrument, there is also information about its structure. Based on this, it has been determined that the instrument referred to is the cross-staff, commonly used among European sailors.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the resemblance of the term “*palastirilya*” to the Italian word “*balestiriligia*” has raised the possibility that this information may have entered Ottoman literature through Italian sources and/or sailors.⁵⁰

The author continues to discuss another important rule in determining latitude by measuring the Sun’s altitude at noon. This involves knowing on which day and month the altitude of the Sun is measured, and which degree of zodiac sign the Sun is located, i.e., knowing the solar longitude (*darajat [al-buruj] al-shams*) which is provided in the calendar tables prepared for the 12 months in the *rūznāmah*. From this column, the movement of the Sun along the ecliptic plane throughout the year is tracked, divided into 30° segments corresponding to each of the 12 zodiac signs. This relationship is associated with the days corresponding to the solar calendar. Thus, depending on the month and day of observation, the observer can easily access the Sun’s longitude information from the calendar. The details regarding the subject are clearly provided in the *rūznāmah*, supported by examples. Accordingly, there is no oblique when the Sun enters the signs of Aries and Libra because they coincide with the equinox times. After entering the sign of Aries, the Sun progresses through the signs of Taurus and Gemini, with the oblique increasing until it reaches the sign of Cancer. Then, the oblique begins to decrease as the Sun moves through the signs of Leo and Virgo, continuing this trend until it reaches Libra. According to the *rūznāmah*, the maximum value reached by the obliquity of the ecliptic is 23° 32’.⁵¹ The value given for the

48 *Rūz-nāme*, fols. 58v-59v. This research topic is being carried out within the framework of the project titled “Portable Astronomical Instruments: The Processes of Adaptation and Diffusion of Medieval Islamic and European Examples in the Ottoman Geography (1500-1700)” supported by the TÜBA-Outstanding Young Scientists Awards program.

49 The description of the instrument named “*palastire*” mentioned in the treatise *Kitābu’l-murūri’l-ubūr fi ilmi’l-berri ve’l-buhūr* aligns with the structures of the cross-staff and back-staff instruments. The author initially refers to these instruments collectively as “*palastire*” in the introduction section without differentiation, while later in the text providing a more detailed description, distinguishes them as “*yeke palastire*” for the cross-staff and “*çatal palastire*” for the back-staff. For more details, see Gaye Danişan Polat, “An Anonymous Ottoman Compendium on Nautical Instruments and Navigation: *Kitābu’l-murūri’l-ubūr fi ilmi’l-berri ve’l-buhūr*”, *Mediterranea-Ricerche Storiche*, issue 34, (August 2015), p. 379-381.

50 Crescenzo Bartolomeo Romano, *Nautica Mediterranea di Bartolomeo Crescentio Romano All’illustriss E Reverendiss. S. Card. Aldobrandino*, Italy 1602, p. 358; Broyner Willem Frederik Jacob Mörzer Bruyns, *The Cross-Staff: History and Development of a Navigational Instrument*, Walburg Press, Amsterdam 1994, p. 23.

51 *Rūz-nāme*, fol. 58r.

obliquity angle here is noteworthy because it is not commonly used. One of the astronomers in the Maghribi-Andalusian tradition who used this value is Ibn al-Raqqām (d.1315).⁵² We currently lack sufficient evidence to interpret this further, but it serves as a clue for future research on the topic.

Additionally, the *rūznāmah* specifies that on March 9, the Sun will enter the sign of Aries, and on September 12, it will enter the sign of Libra. This corresponds to the spring and autumnal equinoxes, according to the Julian calendar. Therefore, it appears that the author adopts the Julian calendar, despite specifying a column for the Gregorian calendar in the *rūznāmah* tables.

The signs from Aries to Libra are known as the northern signs. Afterwards, the obliquity begins to increase again through the signs of Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. When the Sun reaches the winter solstice in Capricorn, the obliquity reaches its maximum value (23° 32'). Then, it begins to decrease through the signs of Aquarius and Pisces, concluding the cycle in the sign of Aries. The signs of Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces are referred to as the southern signs.⁵³

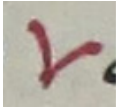
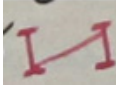
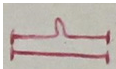
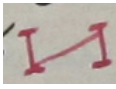
Following this information, the author explains the calculation necessary to determine the latitude of the location. If altitude measurements are taken on the equinox days, the obtained altitude value is subtracted from 90°, and the result value gives the latitude of the observer's location. In other cases, if there is an oblique and the Sun is in a northern constellation, the elevation value is subtracted from the zenith height and the remaining value is subtracted from 90°. If the Sun is in a southern constellation, the elevation value is added to the zenith height, and the result is subtracted from 90°. The resulting value gives the latitude of one's location. If the observer wishes to determine latitude at sea, certain special conditions and indicators must be considered. These are summarized based on the author's statements in Table 3.⁵⁴

52 An Andalusian astronomer, mathematician, and physician Ibn al-Raqqām's full name is as follows: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Mursī al-Andalusī al-Tūnisī al-Awsī ibn al-Raqqām. His works suggest he lived in Tunis and Bijāya (in Algeria), as astronomical tables in *al-Zīj al-qawīm* are calculated for Tunis, while *al-Zīj al-shāmil* contains tables for Bijāya. A copy of *al-Zīj al-shāmil* (1280) is housed at the Kandilli Observatory Library (MS 249). Ibn al-Raqqām notes in the introduction of *al-Zīj al-shāmil* that he created the *zīj* to correct existing ones. He used value for an obliquity of the ecliptic of 23;32,40'. For details see Julio Samso, *On both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar: Studies in the history of medieval astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib*, p. 65; Josep Casulleras, "Ibn al-Raqqām: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Mursī al-Andalusī al-Tūnisī al-Awsī ibn al-Raqqām", ed. Hockey, T., et al., *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, New York, Springer 2007, p. 563-564.

53 *Rūz-nāme*, fols. 58r-58v.

54 *Ibid.* fols. 58v-60r.

Table 3. Procedures and symbols used by mariners for latitude determination

Celestial Event	Date Range	Sign	The procedure for determining latitude	Example
The moment when the Sun enters the sign of Aries, commonly known as the vernal equinox.	March 9		The Sun's altitude at the culmination provides the latitude.	-
The path of the Sun through the Zodiac from the spring equinox to the autumnal equinox.	From March 9 to September 12		Add the Sun's altitude value to the oblique. The result obtained will be the latitude of the location.	On April 1, AD 1732, we found the Sun's altitude to be 20 degrees [°]. We found the inclination from the table for that day [from a calendar]. In the year AD 1732, at the beginning of April, we found the oblique to be 4 degrees [°] and 45 minutes [']. We added: $20^{\circ} + 4^{\circ} 45' = 24^{\circ} 45'$ This is the latitude.
The moment when the Sun enters the sign of Libra, is known as the autumnal equinox.	September 12		The Sun's altitude at the culmination in Libra provides the latitude.	-
The path of the Sun through the Zodiac from the autumnal equinox to the spring equinox.	From September 12 to March 9.		The Sun's culmination altitude is subtracted from its oblique value to determine the latitude. The remaining result indicates the latitude. If the minutes of the Sun's altitude angle lower than the inclination angle, one degree is subtracted from the altitude value and added to the minutes. However, it should be noted that 1 degree equals 60 minutes of altitude.	We measured the altitude on the first day of November in AD 1732. The result is 57 degrees 10 minutes and the inclination is 14 degrees and 37 minutes. Result: $56^{\circ} 70' - 14^{\circ} 37' = 42^{\circ} 33'$

5. Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire's cultural diversity was enriched by interactions influenced by temporal and spatial dynamics, alongside factors such as trade routes, political relations, and migrations. This contributed to the formation of a complex social fabric across the empire's vast geography. However, there is currently no single modelling approach to understand fully and analyze the process of incorporating new information into long-established knowledge repertoires. This complexity arises from the intricate structure of circulating channels, codes, and environments involved in the process. Therefore, theoretical approaches to understanding hybridization processes emphasize the significant role of case studies. In this context, our analysis of an 18th-century permanent calendar prepared according to the latitude of Algiers serves as such a case study. The findings highlight the integration of knowledge in fields such as navigation and astronomy by Ottoman and other Mediterranean inhabitants and offer significant insights into Ottoman approaches to measuring and organizing time.

The fact that the calendar was prepared in Ottoman Turkish, contains technical information related to navigation, and is tailored to the latitude of Algiers - thereby limiting its regional functionality - suggests that its primary audience was likely Ottoman residents of the Algiers region, particularly mariners. Additionally, the inclusion of works popular in the Maghrib region among the calendar's sources, the preparation of the calendar tables according to the traditions of this region, and the adherence to the Maghribi and Andalusian traditions, despite mentioning the Jalali calendar used in Istanbul and Anatolia for solar calendar applications, provide notable insights into the process of integrating the Maghribi-Andalusian astronomical tradition into Ottoman astronomy.

On the other hand, the content analysis of the *rūznāmah* has shown that traditional practices were combined with contemporary applications suitable for the conditions of the time. The best example of this is the preparation of the *ghurrah-nāmah* tables with two columns, corresponding to the Julian calendar as *al-rūmiyyah al-qadīmah* and the Gregorian calendar as *al-rūmiyyah al-jadīdah*. Furthermore, it has detailed which of these two calendars was preferred by specific European nations. This technical choice provides important insights into the calendar's user base and its widespread areas of use, while also reflecting the gathering of individuals from diverse cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds within Ottoman society to share knowledge and practices.

Another key point is the maritime information included in the calendar which has provided significant clues indicating the use of astronomy in navigation techniques employed in the Mediterranean region in the 18th century. Especially notable is the finding that the instrument used at sea, known as a *palastirilya*, is equivalent to the cross-staff commonly used by European sailors and its pronunciation is similar to the Italian nautical instrument *balestiriligia*.

On the other hand, the *rūznāmah*, aligned with Maghribi-Andalusian calendar traditions, functions as a practical guide rather than merely a theoretical treatise. Its composition in Ottoman Turkish suggests that its intended audience was the Ottoman people. Its content encourages us to consider the accessibility of foundational works of Ottoman astronomy to local populations in these regions, in light of the Ottoman Empire's presence in these areas. Although the calendar was prepared in Algeria from the Maghrib region, some points and sources regarding calendrical matters also reflect the Andalusian tradition and bear traces of cultural exchange within this geography. Furthermore, the presentation of information in the Julian and Gregorian calendar systems and knowledge about the cross-staff—widely used among European sailors—highlights the possibility that Christian communities in the region may have contributed to the Ottoman context alongside the Maghribi-Andalusian tradition. While these findings underscore the region's complex social structure, they also lead us to question how this information reached the Ottomans, both directly and indirectly, and what the processes of adaptation entailed.

Consequently, the following questions remain:

1. How did the complex social structure of the region impact the adaptation of astronomical traditions within the Ottoman context?
2. To what extent did local communities in the region contribute to the development and accessibility of foundational works of Ottoman astronomy alongside the established Maghribi-Andalusian traditions?
3. Did diverse maritime traditions across different regions influence Ottoman navigators?
4. To what extent did Ottoman sailors navigating the southern Mediterranean implement region-specific maritime techniques?
5. If region-specific techniques were indeed adopted, to what extent did nautical practices in the Maghrib shape Ottoman maritime practices?

The findings presented in this paper underscore the fact that various adaptations and updates of perpetual calendars were specifically adjusted to different periods. The data derived from the textual analysis, along with future comprehensive comparative studies and archival research, will enable a deeper understanding of the development, production, and adoption processes of Ottoman astronomical techniques.

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Otherness Within the Otherness: Discrimination of Muslim Female Prisoners in the Prison System of Habsburg Bosnia*

Ötekilik İçinde Ötekilik: Habsburg Bosna'sının Hapishane Sistemi'nde Müslüman Kadın Mahkûmlara Yönelik Ayrımcılık

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ABSTRACT

The issues of the prison system of the Habsburg Monarchy and the treatment of its prisoners in the late 19th century have not been investigated in historiography. Historians did not pay attention to the treatment of female prisoners in Habsburg's penal practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Based on archival records, the article aims to fill this lacuna in the historiography of the Habsburg Monarchy in order to demonstrate how the Habsburg administration in Bosnia either failed to accomplish much-needed reforms within the prison system or at least failed to achieve them in full, even though Habsburg officials promised to implement the Irish progressive system, the golden standard of the time. The article illustrates that the modern approach to imprisonment and the treatment of prisoners in accordance with the latest belief that time spent in prison could rehabilitate the prisoner was not correctly applied to long-term female prisoners in Bosnia, especially Muslim ones.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarchy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, female prisoners, Muslims, prison reform

ÖZ

Habsburg Monarşisi'nin hapishane sistemi ve 19. yüzyılın sonlarında mahkûmlara yapılan muamelelere ilişkin meseleler mevcut literatürde henüz incelenmiş değildir. Tarihçiler, Habsburg'un 19. yüzyıl sonu ve 20. yüzyıl başındaki cezai uygulamalarında kadın mahkûmlara yönelik muameleler üzerinde durmamışlardır. Bu makale, arşiv kayıtlarına dayanarak, Habsburg Monarşisi tarih yazımındaki bu boşluğu doldurmayı ve Habsburg yetkililerinin dönemin altın standardı olan İrlanda ilerici sistemini uygulama sözü vermelerine rağmen, Bosna'daki Habsburg yönetiminin hapishane sisteminde çok ihtiyaç duyulan reformları gerçekleştirmediği ve başarısız olduklarını ya da en azından tam olarak gerçekleştirme girişiminin nasıl akamete uğradığını göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu makale, hapishanede geçirilen zamanın mahkûmu ıslah edeceğine dair son inanaşa uygun olarak hapsedmeye ve mahkûmlara muamele etmeye yönelik modern yaklaşımın, Bosna'daki uzun süreli kadın mahkûmlara, özellikle de Müslüman olanlara doğru yöntemle uygulanmadığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Habsburg Monarşisi, Bosna-Hersek, Kadın Mahkûmlar, Müslümanlar, Hapishane Reformu



Introduction

The prison system of the Habsburg Monarchy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has not been the subject of thorough evaluation in historiography for a long time. Apart from a few articles related to prisons in the early modern period and¹ the rare overview of Habsburg penal practices from the start of the 20th century², there is little archival-based research related to this issue. Only recently have historians from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia begun to examine the prison system and the treatment of prisoners within the Austro-Hungarian penal practices.³

The relative lack of studies on the penal history of the Habsburg Empire is surprising, considering that during the 19th century, imprisonment became a dominant form of punishment.⁴ As huge efforts had been made to enhance the conditions of prisons,⁵ these institutions were seen as indicators of the progress of society⁶ and hope for the individuals who had “strayed”. The Habsburg Empire began to follow trends in modernising prisons and penal strategies mid-century when it introduced a new Austrian Criminal Code (1852)⁷

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- 1 Jeremy Hugh Baron, “Folter Arzt: interrogation of prisons in Austria 1773”, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, C/6 (2007), p. 262-264; Stephan Steiner, *Combating the Hydra: Violence and Resistance in the Habsburg Empire, 1500–1900*, Purdue University Press, West Lafayette 2023. The section on Austria’s Penal Colonies (30–47) deals mostly with the early modern period or early 19th century and is related to the deportation question.
 - 2 Arthur G. F. Griffiths, *The History and Romance of Crime: German and Austrian Prisons, Prisons of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Austria-Hungary; the Fortresses of Magdeburg and Spielberg*, 2016 (first published in 1900), available at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/51065/51065-h/51065-h.htm>. Maynard Shipley, “Homicide and the Death Penalty in Austria-Hungary”, *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, XI/77 (1907), p. 253-259.
 - 3 Igor Josipović, *Funkcioniranje zatvorskog sustava u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća*, University of Zagreb Croatian Studies, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Zagreb 2018; available at <https://dr.nsk.hr/en/islandora/object/hrstud%3A1322>. Luka Pejić, *Kriminal i represivni sustav u Osijeku u okvirima modernizacijskih procesa (1868. - 1918.)*, University of Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Department of History, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Zagreb 2019 (not available online); Luka Pejić, “Žene kao zločinke i zatvorenice na području Banske Hrvatske na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće”, *Roblje. Rizici i resursi: rod i politika raspodjele*, ed. Ana Zbiljski, Zagreb 2023, p. 32-48; Amila Kasumović, “Promjena zatvorske paradigme: Tretman zatvorenica u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878–1914.”, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu*, issue 23 (2020), p. 15-41. Amila Kasumović, *Zatočene: Žene u zatvorskom sustavu Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1914.*, CeHIS, Sarajevo 2021.
 - 4 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, New York 1995.
 - 5 See Sinan Tankut Gülhan, “1872 London Congress and the Nineteenth Century Prison Reform Movement: An Inquiry into the Discourse of Punishment”, *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, XVI/4 (2016), p. 1148-1159.
 - 6 F. M. Dostoevsky believed that one could only see how civilised a certain society was by entering its prisons. Michael Cavadino-James Dignan, *The Penal System. An Introduction*, Sage, Los Angeles-London-New Delhi-Singapore-Washington D. C. 2007, p. 192.
 - 7 This code was also in force in Hungary until 1861. Kinga Beliznay, *Development of the Hungarian Criminal Law in the 19th Century*, Essays of Legal History, Publications of the Department for Hungarian State and Legal History, Budapest 1994, p. 2.

and the Irish system⁸ for prisons. After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878),⁹ Austro-Hungarian officials began to insist that the very poor conditions of prisons were a main characteristic of Ottoman penal practices in Bosnia,¹⁰ as well as the idea that Austria-Hungary would, guided by the concept of a “civilising mission”, accomplish the complete reorganisation of Bosnian penal structures. Introducing the Irish system into the Bosnian penal institutions was the main goal as it was not only the best “theoretical approach” but also the way through which the “gradual method of execution of sentence would give the best results according to the character of South Slavs”.¹¹

The idea of modernising Bosnian society, including the prisons, was very important in creating the public image of the Habsburg Monarchy in Europe. As the European powers gave the mandate to the Habsburg Monarchy, at the Congress of Berlin (1878), to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian administration¹² was obliged to justify the trusted mandate. However, this article suggests that the promised reforms of the penal system in the occupied territory were implemented only for the male prisoners, while the treatment of female convicts was not thoroughly and continuously considered. Regarding the prisons as places and institutions built for males by males, the new officials had limited opportunity to reflect on the special needs of female prisoners. However, it is important to emphasise that while the female prisoners became the Other within the prison population, one group was especially discriminated against: Muslim female prisoners. This article aims to show how the Austro-Hungarian administration systematically neglected the religious beliefs and customs of Muslim female convicts as well as their right to avail of proper school and work programmes during imprisonment. The religious rights of such convicts were

8 The Irish system consisted of three phases: “a period of solitary confinement; a period of congregate work (...) and, finally, a period in intermediate prisons with minimal supervision, (...)” Release was conditional, and for some authors, this was the fourth stage of the execution of the sentence. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Irish-system>. Walter Crofton, the chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, was the “father” of the Irish system, which was established during the 1860s. Gerry McNally, “James P. Organ, the ‘Irish System’ and the Origins of Parole”, *Irish Probation Journal*, issue 16 (2019), p. 46.

9 The Ottoman sultan remained the sovereign of Bosnia, but Austria-Hungary managed to establish its administration there in full capacity. About the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, see László Bençe, *The Occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878*, Social Science Monographs/Atlantic Research and Publications, New York 2005; Karl Gabriel, *Bosnien-Herzegowina 1878: Der Aufbau Der Verwaltung Unter Fzm Herzog Wilhelm V. Wuerttemberg Und Dessen Biographie*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2003. Also, see *Die Occupation Bosniens und der Hercegovina durch k. k. Truppen im Jahre 1878*, Abteilung für Kriegsgeschichte des k. k. Kriegs-Archivs, Wien 1879.

10 There is not a single study on the Ottoman penal and prison system in late 19th-century Bosnia in Bosnian historiography. For the Ottoman prisons in general, one can see Kent Schull, *Prisons in the Late Ottoman Empire: Microcosms of Modernity*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2014. Also see Gültekin Yıldız, *Mapusane: Osmanlı Hapishanelerinin Kuruluş Serüveni (1839-1908)*, KİTABEVİ Yayınları, İstanbul 2012.

11 *Izveštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906*, Zajedničko ministarstvo financija, Zagreb 1906, p. 491.

12 The administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina was entrusted to the Joint Ministry of Finance in Vienna in 1879. Its power was executed through the Provincial Government in Sarajevo, constituted by the high-ranking officials from the different parts of the Monarchy. *Izveštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine 1906*, p. 17.

particularly violated during their stay in the Female penitentiary in Zagreb,¹³ while their rights to undergo all phases of the Irish system were completely negated when the Provincial Government in Sarajevo decided to incarcerate them only in Kreis¹⁴ prisons in Bosnia, which did not have the appropriate facilities for longer-term imprisonment.

Creating the Other: General Characteristics of the Bosnian Prison System after 1878

In the Habsburg Empire, convicts with short sentences were sent to prisons located alongside Kreis and district courtrooms. And housing convicted criminals, Kreis and district prisons were used to house suspects who were under investigation. In contrast, long-term prisoners were sent to the penitentiary.¹⁵

After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878), Austro-Hungarian officials decided to clean, adapt, and use the old Ottoman prisons as well as the Kreis and district courtrooms.¹⁶ Up to the start of the 20th century, there were six Kreis for 54 districts in Bosnia. Adapting small district prisons was a relatively easy task for the Austro-Hungarian administration, as they comprised a single room. The real challenge for the new administrators was the reorganisation of the Kreis prisons, which were much larger than the district ones. During the late 1880s, Austro-Hungarian authorities began building new Kreis prisons in Tuzla, Travnik, Banja Luka and Mostar, excluding the prisons in Sarajevo and Bihać because of financial problems. However, there was no penitentiary in Bosnia¹⁷, and this was the main obstacle to introducing the Irish system, which could be applied only in specially built institutions where prisoners were placed in a different part of the penitentiary for every phase

13 It was built in 1877. L. Pejić, “Žene kao zločinke i zatvorenice na području Banske Hrvatske na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće”, *Roblje. Rizici i resursi: rod i politika raspodjele*, ed. Ana Zbiljski, Zagreb 2023, p. 40. Also see Ana Jura, “Ženska kaznionica u Požezi za vrijeme Nezavisne Države Hrvatske (1941.–1944.)”, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, issue 3 (2013), p. 486-488.

14 “Generally, where the Ottoman administrative structure was considered workable it was kept in place and merely AustroHungarianized in name and personnel: the sandžaks were renamed ‘Kreise’ (regions), and their subdivisions, the kazas or kadiluks, ‘Bezirke’ (districts), (...)”. Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History*, NYU Press, New York, 1994, p. 138.

15 Igor Josipović, *ibid.*, p. 152.

16 *Izveštaj o upravi BiH 1906*, p. 489.

17 The old building in Rača, with a capacity for more than 300 prisoners, was not evaluated as convenient due to the financial burden and bad position of the institution. Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABH), Joint Ministry of Finance/Zajedničko ministarstvo financija (ZMF), 1879, No. 6386. Benjamin von Kállay, joint minister of finance, consulted by Emil Tauffer, the head of the penitentiary for male prisoners in Lepoglava, believed that the Irish system could be effective only in institutions with capacity for 600-625 prisoners. ABH, Provincial Government/Zemaljska vlada (ZV), 1890, 110/38. At the same time, the Austrian part of the Monarchy had 14 male and 6 female penitentiaries. Franz Holtzendorf-Eugen Jagemann, *Handbuch des Gefängniswesens*, I, Verlag von J. F. Richter, Hamburg 1888, p. 251.

of their punishment.¹⁸

Although Habsburg officials were very critical of the existing prisons and while thorough reforms were assured, nothing specific happened in the first few years after the occupation. Having no penitentiary in an occupied country, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo, supported by the Joint Ministry of Finance in Vienna,¹⁹ began to negotiate with the Croatian authorities about the possibility of sending long-term Bosnian prisoners to Lepoglava or, in the case of female convicts sentenced to more than a year's imprisonment, to Zagreb.²⁰ These negotiations were completed by the spring of 1880, when the Provincial Government ordered long-term male and female prisoners to be sent to penal institutions in Croatia.²¹

Discrimination against Muslim female convicts began to emerge even at the very start of negotiations between the Provincial Government in Sarajevo and other authorities within the Habsburg Monarchy in 1879. For example, throughout the discussion regarding the terms for sending female prisoners to the penitentiary in Vigaun,²² the Austrian minister-president emphasised his concerns about the linguistic obstacles that might arise, as well as the fact that some female prisoners were Muslims and Orthodox. This meant that the Austrian authorities were not prepared to consider Bosnian female prisoners.²³ However, Hungarian officials were willing to accommodate Bosnian prisoners in Hungarian penitentiaries, but as these institutions were far from Bosnia, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo opted for Croatian ones.

This solution was compounded by the fact that female prisoners would have to leave their homeland and could not stay in touch with their families as most of them were illiterate.²⁴ In addition, the Bosnian and Croatian authorities ignored the specific religious customs of the Muslim female convicts: not a single thought about this important subject was highlighted during the negotiations between Sarajevo and Zagreb. The fact that the Female penitentiary in Zagreb was administered by nuns was ignored and never mentioned by any official. There

18 The Bosnian Penal Code (1879) distinguished criminal offenses and misdemeanours. Punishments for the criminal offense (murder, manslaughter, rape, etc.) were death or prison (from six months up to 20 years, dependent on type of crime). For misdemeanours were determined different punishments: detention, monetary penalty, deprivation of some rights, requisition of belongings, and deportation. Strafgesetz über Verbrechen und Vergehen, § 18 and 19, in: *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880*, II, Wien 1881, p. 85.

19 The Joint Ministry of Finance, as a supreme body in charge for the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had the final word in all matters considering the Bosnian administration.

20 Negotiations occurred in the fall of 1879. ABH, ZMF, 1879, No. 5440. See Eduard Eichler, *Das Justizwesen Bosniens und der Hercegovina*, Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina, Wien 1889, p. 168.

21 Circularerlass der Landesregierung in Sarajevo vom 6. April 1880, Nr. 6678, Just. 1517, betreffend die Abgabe von Sträflingen in croatische Strahäuser, in: *Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878–1880*, II, Wien 1881, p. 174.

22 Today, Begunje on Gorenjskem in Slovenia.

23 ABH, ZMF, 1879, No. 5574 (Letter of Austrian Minister President, October 26, 1879).

24 The female population in the Zagreb penitentiary in 1899 was structured as follows: 55% peasants, 15% maidservants, 10% farmers, 4% day-laborers, etc. L. Pejić, "Žene kao zločinke", p. 41.

is no information in the archival records to show that the Bosnian Government instructed the Zagreb penitentiary management on the matter of Muslim female convicts: the need to provide contact between the prisoners and Islamic spiritual personnel (imams), a special space for the ordinances (five times per day), and a diet without pork and other products forbidden to Muslims. However, this question was raised in 1880 for male Muslim convicts sent to the Lepoglava penitentiary, when the Supreme Sharia Court for Bosnia and Herzegovina instructed the Bosnian Government regarding the omission of working duties for Muslim prisoners during Eid and Ramadan. In addition, it referred to the significance of prayer five times per day.²⁵

A further aspect of discrimination against Muslim female prisoners that needs to be highlighted is the fact that when these women were conveyed from Sarajevo to Zagreb, they were escorted by gendarmes – exclusively male officers.²⁶ In general, this practice was problematic as they could abuse their power once they were alone with the female convicts. Also, Muslim communities in Bosnia were very patriarchal, and Muslim women were not accustomed to the company of men from outside the family. The practice was introduced promptly after the negotiations with Zagreb were concluded and was confirmed again in 1883 in the document that specified the treatment of the convicts in the Kreis and district prisons.²⁷ The gendarmes were obliged to keep logbooks that had been sent to the Provincial Government after their return from Zagreb.²⁸

Apart from the financial obligations related to costs for food and accommodation for Bosnian prisoners, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo had nothing to do with the progress of the convicts and their *journey* through imprisonment. Apart from short financial reports sent from Zagreb to the Provincial Government in Sarajevo concerning the monthly cost of Bosnian prisoners, there is no record, overview or report investigating the mental and physical state of female convicts or their moral improvement. This relates to female prisoners only since the Bosnian Government, in 1884, began to make plans to build a Central Penitentiary for male prisoners in Zenica. This project was completed four years later, in line

25 ABH, Supreme Sharia Court for Bosnia and Herzegovina/Vrhovni šerijatski sud za BiH, 1880, A-3. No. 199. Ahmed-aga Čanović Nikšić was the first appointed imam for the Bosnian Muslim prisoners in Lepoglava. *Sarajevski list*, 14. 4. 1882, 1. I am not familiar with the similar instructions of the Supreme Sharia Court in Bosnia and Herzegovina for Muslim female prisoners. This can be explained by the fact that the Muslim female prisoners were a minority within the prison population, so their treatment was not the focus of any authority.

26 See Kristian Jerić, “Žandarmerija u Ugarskoj do Prvog svetskog rata: teritorijalna organizacija, lični sastav i oficirski kor”, *Diplomatija i bezbednost*, issue 2 (2021), p. 95-114.

27 Naputak glede službenih dužnosti u okružnim i kotarskim uzama i glede postupanja sa uznicima (uhapšenecima). Document available at <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=lbh&datum=18839004&seite=00000478>.

28 For example, officer Babić escorted Pemba Huselić (a Muslim) and Anica Barać (a Catholic) to Zagreb in 1889. ABH, ZV, 1889, 110-7/14. Regarding the route from Mostar to Zagreb, they usually went via Metković, Split, and Rijeka. ABH, ZV, 1889, 110-7/19.

with the standards of the time, so the Irish system could be fully implemented.²⁹ The head of this institution was Emil Tauffer.³⁰ A similar institution for female convicts was not part of the plan, with no mention of female prisoners in the detailed study on Bosnian prisons in 1890.³¹

However, as the Habsburg authorities in Bosnia never built a penitentiary for female convicts, we can conclude that the welfare of long-term female prisoners was not envisaged by the officials in Sarajevo and Vienna when carrying out reforms to the Bosnian prison system. Female Bosnian convicts were under the care of the Female penitentiary in Zagreb, and the Provincial Government in Sarajevo simply administered the financial aspects of their stay in Zagreb. However, the actual mental and physical states of these women were not discussed.

Glimpses of the Muslim Female Prisoners' Status in the Female Penitentiary in Zagreb

Almost nine years after the transfer of the first group of Bosnian female convicts to the Zagreb penitentiary, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo received disturbing news shedding light on possible discrimination against Muslim female prisoners in the Habsburg prison system. Namely, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo was informed that Muslim prisoner Đula Garić, sentenced for infanticide,³² had died in the Zagreb penitentiary on 2 December 1888.³³ The fact that her new name appeared in the obituary as Anna was unexpected for the Bosnian authorities and therefore a huge shock as there had been no intimation that Đula had changed her religion. The Provincial Government in Zagreb issued the obituary from which the religious conversion had occurred.³⁴

The Provincial Government in Sarajevo reported this case in January 1889 to the Joint Ministry of Finance on the grounds that the circumstances of the religious conversion of Đula Garić were not known to Bosnian authorities, especially as there was no evidence regarding the background to the conversion: was this act voluntary or not? The Provincial Government in Sarajevo was concerned for two issues: (1) four other Muslim female prisoners were also imprisoned in the Zagreb penitentiary and;³⁵ and (2) these convicts, once released, might talk

29 *Izveštaj o upravi BiH 1906*, p. 491-503.

30 F. Holtzendorf-E. Jagemann, *ibid.*, p. 264.

31 ABH, ZV, 1890, 110/38.

32 This was generally the most common crime among the female prison population from Bosnia, regardless of their religious affiliation. Just a few of them committed other crimes like murder, defamation, endangering public order, etc.

33 The Provincial Government received information about her death a month later. ABH, ZV, 1889, 110-7/5.

34 ABH, ZMF/Pr., 1889, No. 74.

35 In 1889, beside Đula Garić, Džefsa Sadiković, Nefa Prdovac, Hopa Zorkić, and Almara Alispahić were also imprisoned in the Zagreb penitentiary (there is the possibility that some names were not correctly noted). ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 2955.

about the case of Đula Garić on return to their homeland. The latter issue was potentially very dangerous for the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia as there was a certain antagonism against it, especially among the Muslim and Orthodox communities. Therefore, the Bosnian authorities wanted Kállay to react and contact the Provincial Government in Zagreb.³⁶ We can conclude from this small glimpse of information that the Bosnian authorities knew nothing about the everyday lives of Muslim female convicts in Zagreb. The fact that important questions such as the religious conversion were not noted by the Habsburg administration in Sarajevo indicates its indifference toward these female prisoners.

However, the Joint Ministry of Finance shared the concern of the Bosnian authorities in Garić's case. The Ministry informed the Croatian *banus* Khuen-Héderváry³⁷ about this urgent matter, pointing out the danger of confessional conflicts in Bosnia – the land that was hardly pacified after 1878—if the details of Garić's conversion to the Catholic faith were to become public knowledge. Therefore, the Ministry requested an inquiry into the case and an undertaking of measures that would prevent similar *accidents* in the future.³⁸

From the letter of the Joint Ministry of Finance, it is evident that the issue was potentially very problematic in terms of the trust violation between the Habsburg authorities and different confessional communities in Bosnia. Khuen-Héderváry had the same view as he undertook the investigation even before receiving the letter from the Ministry. He demanded a statement from the management of the Female penitentiary in Zagreb about the case of Đula / Anna Garić. While the penitentiary management showed evidence that Đula voluntarily accepted the Catholic faith, the *banus* made a point, highlighting article 172 of the Order from 18 February 1878 (No. 1609) that forbade religious conversion during imprisonment.³⁹

The Joint Ministry of Finance was not completely satisfied with the measures carried out by the *banus* and ordered the Provincial Government in Sarajevo to investigate the state of the Kreis prisons in Bosnia. The intention of the investigation is not clear from the official correspondence between Vienna and Sarajevo, but we can assume that the Ministry had considered the possibility of removing Muslim female convicts from Zagreb and placing them in one of the Kreis prisons in Bosnia.⁴⁰

The Provincial Government in Sarajevo fulfilled the request of the Ministry and instructed the administration of the Kreis courts that the Kreis prisons could be used for long-term

36 ABH, ZMF/Pr., 1889, No. 74.

37 See Ladislav Heka, "Grof Karlo (Károly) Khuen-Héderváry i Hrvati", *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Rijeci*, XXXVII/3 (2016), p. 1065-110.

38 ABH, ZMF/Pr., 1889, No. 114.

39 ABH, ZMF/Pr., 1889, No. 114.

40 ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 2955.

female prisoners in the future, although it did not specifically refer to Muslim convicts.⁴¹ The Bosnian authorities also provided very detailed statistics about (a) Bosnian female prisoners in Zagreb, (b) female prisoners in the Kreis prisons, (c) those who were under investigation, (d) the total number of female convicts in the previous years, and (e) the total number of females under investigation over the previous ten years. While the Kreis prisons were deemed not to be overcrowded, the Provincial Government suggested the building of a special department in the Sarajevo Kreis prison with a capacity for 50 female convicts.⁴²

Notwithstanding these efforts, nothing changed in the short term and, as can be seen from the archival records, Muslim female prisoners were still sent to Zagreb. Three such convicts were sent to Zagreb during the second half of 1889, which is confusing as both the highest administrative bodies for Bosnia – the Provincial Government in Sarajevo and the Joint Ministry – had expressed their concern about the possible consequences of Garić's case.⁴³

Five years later, another problem occurred. Though the religious conversion of Đula Garić aroused disturbances and caused debates on the status of Muslim female convicts in Habsburg penal structures, there was no proof in the archival records that the Provincial Government tried to inform themselves about these women after the 1889 incident. However, in 1894, the Provincial Government requested imam Salih Dizdarević, an employee of the Central Penal Institution in Zenica, to visit the Muslim female convicts in Zagreb while in Croatia.⁴⁴

Dizdarević did this during the Ramadan of 1895, and his report about the visit was even more disturbing. He pointed out a few issues and practices to which female convicts from Bosnia were exposed and that were incompatible with Islamic views: Muslim prisoners attended a Catholic Mass; they kissed the hand of the Catholic priest; and they had to eat food prepared with lard. He immediately reacted to the first two problems and while he was assured that the Muslim convicts would not attend Mass again, the lard issue remained unsettled as the Provincial Government in Sarajevo allegedly had a deal with the Zagreb authorities regarding this question.⁴⁵ We can conclude from this that the Bosnian authorities were aware that food prepared with lard was given to the Muslims. Therefore, the question can be raised: did the Government approve this practice on the grounds that it lacked knowledge about Islam? Or was this considered a more practical (and cheaper) solution?

41 ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 5940.

42 ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 2955.

43 ABH, ZV, 1889, 110-7/26.

44 ABH, ZMF, 1894, 7560. Allegedly, from the end of 1893, the Provincial Government insisted on regular visits (once a year) of Muslim female convicts by imam Dizdarević.

45 ABH, ZMF, 1895, 11.017.

When Dizdarević's report was completed, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo understood the implications of this case and immediately requested the Provincial Government in Zagreb to solve all the issues mentioned in the imam's report. Although the response of the Croatian authorities was very positive, the Bosnian Government was afraid that the Muslim community in Bosnia would find out about these issues and express discontent. Furthermore, this Government had believed that the new problem would occur in the future as the management of the Female penitentiary in Zagreb was not secular. It was decided not to send Muslim female prisoners to Zagreb because they could be placed in the Kreis prisons in Mostar, Banja Luka, and Donja Tuzla. This decision was endorsed by the Joint Ministry, and after 1895, Muslim female offenders were no longer required to serve custodial sentences outside Bosnia.⁴⁶

It took 15 years for the Bosnian Government to understand the scope of discrimination against the Muslim female convicts in Zagreb. Once they finally realised this, the Bosnian authorities were not concerned not so much about the violated rights of these women, but about how Dizdarević's report might be interpreted by the Muslim political elite in Bosnia. The decision to place Muslim female prisoners in the Kreis prisons had minimal success, as new aspects of discrimination against this specific group emerged: the impossibility of parole and the lack of education and vocational training (programmes) in the Kreis prisons in Bosnia.

Release on License: Why Didn't It Apply to Muslim Female Convicts?

The release on license, or parole, was the last phase of the Irish system.⁴⁷ If the prisoner successfully passed the intermediate prison phase, he or she could apply for the last stage of imprisonment, whereby he or she could be conditionally released and supervised outside the jail. However, for the first nine years after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the issue of parole was not properly determined for Bosnian prisoners in Croatian penal institutions in general.⁴⁸ After the Central Penal Penitentiary in Zenica had been built, this was no longer a problem for male prisoners, as special provisions were published dealing with the phases of imprisonment in the Zenica institution.⁴⁹

46 *Izveštaj o upravi 1906*, p. 490. Also see ABH, ZMF, 1895, 11.017. At the same time, Muslim male prisoners did not have this kind of problem since the Central Penal Penitentiary in Zenica was established in 1888. About the history of this institution, see Salih Jalimam et al., *Kazniona. Knjiga o zeničkom zatvoru*, Vrijeme – NAM, Zenica – Tuzla 2011.

47 For the early release in the 19th century, see Frieder Dünkel, "Early Release from Prison", *Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, ed. Gerben Bruinsma-David Weisburd, 2014, 1256-1271. Also see Snježana Maloić-Neven Ricijaš-Saša Rajić, "Povijesni razvoj i modeli ranijeg otpusta zatvorenika: značaj za aktualnu Hrvatsku kaznenopravnu praksu", *Kriminologija i socijalna integracija*, issue 2 (2012), p. 31-32.

48 The Provincial Government in Zagreb stated in December 1879 that the conditional release could not have been applied to the Bosnian prisoner (male or female), as the Penal Code for Bosnia did not have an article defining this question. ABH, ZV, 1890, 110-38.

49 Naredba zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu od 5. novembra 1887, br. 63.777/III, u kojoj se sadržavaju načelne odredbe o upravi centralne kaznionice u Zenici i o vršenju kazne u istoj, *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Sarajevo 1887, p. 319.

However, nothing was determined for female convicts in Zagreb. The first problem relating to the issue of parole for female prisoners in Zagreb occurred in 1889, when ten prisoners submitted a request for conditional release. The Provincial Government in Zagreb changed its view on this question after 1887 and was willing to apply the provisions on serving a prison sentence in the Zenica penitentiary to Bosnian female prisoners in Zagreb. The Provincial Government in Sarajevo shared this point of view and advocated the implementation of the same rules for female convicts in Zagreb.⁵⁰ At first, the Joint Ministry of Finance accepted this kind of argumentation but only in one out of ten requests (convicts who served three-quarters of their sentence). The real problem emerged when the decision was made to stop sending Muslim female prisoners to Zagreb. The question was raised as to what would happen with the parole of these women (long-term prisoners placed in the Kreis prisons) and whether they would have the right to be released before serving a complete sentence.⁵¹

The Bosnian Government advocated the principle of equality: if parole was possible for female convicts in Zagreb, then it should be feasible for Muslim female prisoners in the Kreis prisons. This was particularly important for convicts who spent some time in the Female penitentiary in Zagreb and had to be transferred to Sarajevo after Dizdarević's alarming report on the treatment of Muslim female prisoners in Zagreb. These convicts were aware of their right to submit a request for parole in Zagreb and would not be content to lose this right from being transferred to Sarajevo. Also, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo pointed out in his letter to the Joint Ministry that Muslim female prisoners being treated differently from others would stir up serious trouble in Bosnian society, and this Government always counted on Muslim elites when Bosnia's political situation was in question.⁵²

The Provincial Government in Sarajevo insisted that the right to parole upheld with male prisoners in Zenica, and then applied to female convicts in Zagreb, should also be applied to Muslim female prisoners in the Kreis prisons. This was a very simple and manageable solution and indicated that, at least this time, the Bosnian Government had reconsidered the marginalised position of Muslim women in the Habsburg prison system. Nevertheless, the answer of the Joint Ministry of Finance was negative: the fourth phase of the Irish system was impossible to implement in Kreis prisons,⁵³ as these institutions had no compulsory conditions for conditional

50 ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 7212. The conditional release of female prisoners was possible after three-quarters of the sentence had been served. Ten female prisoners from Bosnia who submitted a request for conditional release were not all Muslims.

51 ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 7212.

52 ABH, ZMF, 1895, No. 11.017.

53 The president of the Kreis Court in Mostar wanted to buy land where the female prisoners could do fieldwork (this could be seen as an intermediate prison and the basis for parole), but the lack of financial support and the patriarchal character of the surroundings prevailed, and the plan was aborted. *Stenogramski izvještaji o jedinicama b-h Sabora* 1912/1913, III, Sarajevo 1913, p. 142.

release: the space structure in these types of prison, which had just several rooms, was adequate only for the first two stages of the Irish system: a period of solitary confinement and a period of group incarceration. The lack of an intermediate prison prevented the introduction of parole in the Bosnian prison system.⁵⁴ The Joint Ministry had a point, but it is surprising that the Ministry failed to offer a solution in terms of parole for Muslim female prisoners or to show concern for the possible implications if this issue remained unresolved.

The debate continued the following year. The Provincial Government in Sarajevo tried to explain to the Joint Ministry that the Female penitentiary in Zagreb did not have a classical, intermediate prison, but it had more substitution for it: nuns were taking the prisoners out of the building for fieldwork, and still the Joint Ministry was willing to accept and implement the same rules that had been introduced to the Central Penitentiary in Zenica as those applied to Bosnian convicts in Zagreb. The Bosnian Government also stated that the connection between intermediate prison and parole should not be considered necessary: for example, in Croatia, parole was introduced before the Irish system.⁵⁵ Also, England and Switzerland had a three-stage penal system at the time, without intermediate prison, and in Ireland the third phase of imprisonment was sometimes omitted. Thus, from this it is clear that the Bosnian Government did some research, was well prepared for the debate, and still supported the opinion that parole could and should be implemented in the Kreis prisons for long-term Muslim female convicts, especially considering the fact, as the Government stated, that the female prisoners were better⁵⁶ than male convicts. The Government insisted that the inequality for treating male and female convicts in Bosnia was not acceptable.⁵⁷ From the Government's letter, it is evident that the problem could have been solved: (1) by the implementation of the same provisions for the imprisonment of male convicts in Zenica in the Kreis prisons or (2) by building a new penitentiary for female Bosnian prisoners. For the Joint Ministry, none of these solutions were acceptable, and it is difficult to understand what the reason was for this kind of attitude. One can assume that the new penitentiary was not plausible on financial grounds, but the first solution was, as already highlighted in the paper, very simple and practical.⁵⁸

The authorities of the Kreis courts in Donja Tuzla, Mostar, and Banja Luka, where Muslim female convicts had been placed since 1895, also expressed some hesitation regarding parole for these women and emphasised the need for additional work in Kreis prison buildings, as

54 ABH, ZMF, 1895, No. 11.017.

55 The first was introduced in 1875, and the Irish system in 1877 (but fully adapted only in 1879). According to the law from 1875, parole was also possible for the Kreis prisons. ABH, ZMF, 1896, No. 9122.

56 This means that they were well behaved.

57 ABH, ZMF, 1896, No. 9122.

58 Obviously, the Joint Ministry needed some time and insisted on the competent opinion of the board of the Kreis courts in Mostar, Donja Tuzla, and Banja Luka, where long-term Muslim female prisoners were transferred from Zagreb. ABH, ZMF, 1896, No. 9122.

well as the fact that the intermediate prison implies outdoor activities, which could be seen as problematic within the Muslim community in Bosnia: Muslim women were more connected to the private (domestic) space.⁵⁹ The Bosnian Government proposed three possible ways of dealing with the issue in the future: (1) Kreis court authorities should keep looking for a solution for the right of parole applicable to Muslim female convicts; (2) Bosnian prison reform should be considered; and (3) the Kreis prison in Donja Tuzla could be converted, at no additional expense, to a prison exclusive to Muslim female prisoners, so that all phases of the Irish system could be introduced.⁶⁰

Although it is not clear why, after 1897, the debate about parole for long-term Muslim female convicts ended and was not revived until 1905. As the arguments for both sides, the Bosnian Government and the Joint Ministry of Finance, were the same as before,⁶¹ nothing changed, and the parole issue was still open. At the same time, Bosnian female prisoners in Zagreb benefitted from the right of parole and were conditionally released from the Zagreb penitentiary.⁶² What happened to long-term Muslim prisoners and their rights to equal treatment is difficult to say, due to a lack of archival records. Only one case of a long-term Muslim female convict attracted the attention of the Habsburg authorities, namely that of Džefsa Sadiković, who murdered her husband in 1883 and was sentenced to death. However, she was subsequently pardoned and sentenced to 18 years imprisonment in the Zagreb penitentiary, until 1895, when she was transferred to the Kreis prison in Donja Tuzla.⁶³ Sadiković submitted a request for a pardon for the rest of her sentence in 1895, while still in Zagreb, but this was declined by the Supreme Court in Sarajevo as groundless. It can be assumed that the rejection of her request was because she had not completed three-quarters of her sentence in prison. Her second petition (1897), when she had spent enough time in prison, was different: this was for a pardon or parole, and highlighted her age and health condition. The Supreme Court once again declined her petition, as parole was not possible for long-term female convicts in Kreis prisons.⁶⁴ Although the Joint Ministry shared the same view as the Supreme Court, it was clear that the case of Džefsa Sadiković finally produced some empathy and the Joint Ministry was ready to advocate a pardon for the remainder of her sentence.⁶⁵ Her case was closed with the Emperor's pardon in November 1897.⁶⁶

59 ABH, ZMF, 1987, No. 8640.

60 ABH, ZMF, 1987, No. 8640.

61 ABH, ZMF, 1905, No. 3697.

62 ABH, ZMF, 1896, No. 5757 (The case of Anđa Elpez). ABH, ZMF, 1896, No. 1578 (The case of Anna Kolaček). ABH, ZMF, 1905, No. 880 and 4730 (The case of Ivka Barač. At first, the Joint Ministry declined her request for parole, but was informed by the Bosnian Government that the prisoner was seriously ill. After a while, the Ministry was ready to approve the parole, but not before a thorough investigation of her health condition was carried out).

63 ABH, ZMF, 1884, No. 732 and 1001. Also see ABH, ZMF, 1897, No. 7676.

64 ABH, ZMF, 1897, No. 7676.

65 ABH, ZMF, 1897, No. 8640.

66 ABH, ZMF, 1897, No. 12.185.

We can therefore conclude that the Bosnian Government and the Joint Ministry of Finance had different strategies toward the treatment of long-term Muslim female convicts. The Bosnian Government was constantly seeking the best solution for applying parole to Bosnian female prisoners. While this was easier to accomplish regarding Bosnian female convicts in Zagreb, Muslim female convicts in the Kreis prisons in Bosnia were lost without this right, as these prisons were unable to support intermediate prison and then parole. The Joint Ministry failed to endorse the suggestions of the Provincial Government in Sarajevo concerning the question of conditional release for long-term Muslim female prisoners in Bosnia. Nor did it do anything to resolve it. Although the authorities in Sarajevo repeatedly pointed out that the Muslim female prisoners were discriminated against, the Ministry paid inadequate attention to this issue and offered no explanation for its demeanour. For some Muslim female prisoners, the only solution was a pardon of the rest of their sentence, but the general provisions regarding parole for these convicts were not adopted until the end of Habsburg rule in Bosnia (1918).

No School and Working Programmes: How to Rehabilitate *Fallen Angels*?

Towards the end of the 19th century, European societies developed the belief that the penal institutions could *fix* and rehabilitate offenders and criminals. However, it is important to highlight the prevailing view that the main tools for a person's rehabilitation were school and working programmes.⁶⁷ Apart from the fact that such training was very helpful in terms of adapting to prison conditions, learning new skills and acquiring knowledge also prepared convicts for a new chapter in their lives after imprisonment, as well as reducing the possibility of recidivism and providing discipline within the prison population.⁶⁸

The long-term Bosnian female prisoners who were sent to the Zagreb penitentiary participated in the school and working programmes. When the Bosnian Government suggested the transfer of Muslim female convicts from Zagreb to the Kreis prisons in Mostar, Donja Tuzla, and Banja Luka, it became clear that these prisons did not run such programmes. The Government emphasised this to the Joint Ministry, stating that the penal goal was illusive in the Kreis prisons, with no educational training, spiritual experiences or proper labour.⁶⁹ The penal institutions for female offenders and criminals in the Habsburg Empire had different

67 Mary Gibson-Ilaria Poerio, "Modern Europe, 1750–1950", *A Global History of Convicts and Penal Colonies*, ed. Clare Anderson, Bloomsbury Academic, London 2018, p. 337.

68 See *Prisons: Today and Tomorrow*, eds. Ashley G. Blackburn-Shannon K. Fowler-Joycelyn M. Pollock, Jones & Bartlett Learning, Burlington 2006. Also see Joanna Felczak, "Employment as a Part of Rehabilitation: A Review of Similarities and Differences between Female and Male Criminals", *Studia Iuridica Lublinensia*, XXXII/5 (2023), p. 77-104.

69 ABH, ZMF, 1905, 8032. The same conclusion was made back in 1879, but nothing changed after that. ABH, ZMF, 1879, No. 5163.

working activities for their inmates, but Muslim female convicts in Bosnia had only two options: doing laundry and knitting socks. As the female prisoners were familiar with these activities in everyday life before prison, they were of no particular benefit to them.⁷⁰ The only solution that the Bosnian Government could offer was to build a penitentiary for female prisoners. However, as the Joint Ministry of Finance had no other solution, Muslim female prisoners were once again left without the potential to use their right to work and acquire new skills during imprisonment.

According to the archival records used in this research, Muslim female prisoners did not undertake educational training in the Kreis prisons either, at least not from 1895, when they were initially placed in the Kreis prisons, until 1906, when the first plan regarding their schooling began to be considered. In 1906, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo consulted the Directorate of the Central Penitentiary in Zenica about educational programmes for the long-term prisoners in the Kreis prisons.⁷¹ The Directorate elaborated on this issue, pointing out the need for education in the prison environment for the sake of humanity and because it was enforced in modern penology. It also emphasised the moral enhancement of the convicts and their ability to use new skills after imprisonment.

The elaboration abounded with various stereotypes, including a statement about the beliefs of Muslim people, regarded as something between superstition and faith. Thus, the conclusion was that in terms of Muslim prisoners, religious education was to take priority, and that they should be taught by a religious teacher.⁷² Secular education could be conducted, as suggested by the Directorate of the Central Penitentiary in Zenica, in three phases: (a) learning to read and write; calculating numbers up to 100; (b) *logical reading*, calculating numbers up to 1,000 and basic knowledge regarding geometry, geography, history and hygiene; and (c) repeating acquired information and deepening their knowledge. For this task, the best solution was a female teacher who could be seen as an authority and a role model for female prisoners. It was highlighted that a Muslim female teacher would be ideal for such a position, but it was also pointed out that this could be a problem, as the administration of the Kreis prisons was mostly (sometimes exclusively) constituted by male officials, and the interaction of a young, female Muslim teacher with so many male clerks could be problematic for the Muslim community in Bosnia.⁷³ Apart from this, the teacher had to be educated in basics regarding imprisonment, penal goals, and carrying out a sentence.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of archival records, we do not know what became of the report that was made by the Directorate of Central Penitentiary in Zenica; there is no evidence

70 ABH, ZMF, 1905, 8032.

71 ABH, ZV, 1906, 323-45.

72 ABH, ZV, 1906, 323-45.

73 ABH, ZV, 1906, 323-45.

that educational training became part of the daily routine for Muslim female convicts in Bosnian prisons. Nor do we know the opinion of the Joint Ministry regarding the issue of the convict's education.

A new penitentiary for female prisoners in Bosnia?

There was one solution for all types of discrimination against Muslim female prisoners on which the Bosnian Government insisted: building a special prison near the Sarajevo Kreis Court, or a special department for female convicts within the Central Penitentiary in Zenica, or a completely separate penal institution for female convicts.⁷⁴ Several times, the Government suggested to the Joint Ministry of Finance the possibility of building a penitentiary for female offenders and criminals, and these suggestions were based on the idea that true prison reform and equal treatment of male and female convicts could only be achieved in this way. This matter was mentioned in correspondence from 1889, 1896, and 1897, but the Ministry's answer was always the same: the project of building such an institution was not financially justified.⁷⁵

The matter of this project was raised again by the Bosnian Government in 1906 after the administrators of the Female Penitentiary in Zagreb informed this Government that the Bosnian female convicts could no longer be accepted as that penal institution was overcrowded.⁷⁶ Alternative institutions in Vigaun and Maria Nosztra were just part of the solution, and the idea of a Bosnian female penitentiary was offered again.⁷⁷ Without waiting for the approval of the Joint Ministry, the Bosnian Government formed a commission in 1907 with the task of finding a plot of land to build a penitentiary for female prisoners.⁷⁸ Though the Joint Ministry did not consider the project as an emergent one, the plan was not aborted either.⁷⁹ However, it was projected on account of the need for thorough preparation and investigation. Finally, in 1913, the Law on Building the Penitentiary for Female Prisoners was published.⁸⁰ As the First World War broke out in 1914, this project was never accomplished; therefore, the discrimination against Muslim female convicts was never eradicated.

74 ABH, ZMF, 1889, No. 2955 and No. 5490.

75 ABH, ZMF, 1905, No. 8032.

76 ABH, ZMF, 1906, No. 822.

77 ABH, ZMF, 1906, No. 9117.

78 ABH, ZMF, 1907, No. 1762.

79 ABH, ZMF, 1907, No. 8174. The first draft of the report on the penitentiary for female convicts was declined in 1909, as the plan considered building this institution close to the male penitentiary in Zenica. ABH, ZMF, ABH, ZMF, 1909, No. 11.763.

80 *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1913*, Sarajevo 1913, p. 47. See also *Bericht über Verwaltung Bosnien und der Hercegovina 1913*, Wien 1914, p. 33.

Conclusion

The discrimination of Bosnian long-term female prisoners in general, and Muslim female convicts in particular, was evident in Bosnian society during the 40 years of Habsburg rule. This was manifest through the systematic neglect of female prisoners' rights and needs. First, Muslim female convicts were sent to the penitentiary in Zagreb, which was run by the Catholic nuns and was far away from their home. They were isolated in this institution, felt depressed, and were alone. Their Islamic beliefs and customs were not respected: food made with lard was served to them; they attended Catholic Mass and communicated with Catholic priests. This was not discovered until 1895, even if the case of Đula Garić (in 1889), who converted to Catholicism, alarmed the Bosnian Government. After the dramatic report of imam Salih Dizdarević was submitted in 1895, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo decided to hold long-term Muslim female prisoners in the Kreis prisons in Mostar, Donja Tuzla, and Banja Luka. Though this solution was better than sending them to Zagreb, new types of discrimination against these convicts emerged: as the Kreis prisons had not been adapted to the Irish system, Muslim female prisoners could not apply for parole and had to serve a full sentence. Furthermore, they did not attend any kind of educational or working training, which was crucial for their rehabilitation, as work and learning were deemed to be good for a convict's moral elevation, discipline, adaptation to the prison conditions, and socialisation after imprisonment. All the abovementioned problems could have been solved by building a special penitentiary for female convicts in Bosnia. This was the proposal of the Bosnian Government, but the Joint Ministry of Finance did not see this as an urgent issue and was unwilling to spend some money on the project (even though the Bosnian administration was self-financing). The Bosnian Government managed to obtain a plan for a new penitentiary for female prisoners in 1913, but the First World War broke out the following year and all the plans were forgotten, as were the rights and needs of Muslim female convicts.

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French Foreign Policy and Financial Institutions in the Process of the Consolidation of Ottoman Foreign Debts*

Osmanlı Dış Borçlarının Birleştirilmesi Sürecinde Fransız Diplomasisi ve Finans Kurumları

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* This paper has been produced through the reassessment of a section in my PhD dissertation, defended in 2024, entitled "The Consolidation of Ottoman Foreign Debts: Tevhid-i Düyün (1901-1903)".

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine some of the issues discussed in the literature on international foreign debt contracts within the framework of the Consolidation of Ottoman Foreign Debts Project (Tevhid-i Düyün). At the early years of the twentieth century, when the compliance of external debt contracts with the rules of international law was being debated, one of the issues questioned was the situation between states and their citizens who were creditors of another state. The main problematics under examination are as follows: the conditions under which states could intervene in contracts, the expectations of bondholders from their governments, and the points where the interests of the two sides conflicted and met. The answers to these questions will be sought in France's influence on the restructuring of the Ottoman foreign debt and its relationship with French bondholders.

Keywords: Debt contracts, diplomacy, bondholders, France

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, uluslararası dış borç sözleşmeleri literatüründe tartışılan bazı konuları, 1903 Osmanlı dış borçlarının yeniden yapılandırılması projesi çerçevesinde incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Dış borç sözleşmelerinin uluslararası hukukun kurallarına uyumu tartışmalarının devam ettiği yirminci yüzyılın başında sorgulanan konulardan bir tanesi de devletlerin başka bir devletten alacaklı olan vatandaşları ile arasındaki ilişki olmuştur. İncelenen temel problemler, devletlerin sözleşmelere hangi koşullar altında müdahale edebilecekleri, tahvil sahiplerinin hükümetlerinden beklentilerinin neler olabileceği ve iki tarafın çıkarlarının çatıştığı ve birleştiği noktalarıdır. Bu soruların cevapları, Fransız diplomasisinin Osmanlı dış borçlarının yeniden yapılandırılması sürecindeki etkisi ve tahvil sahipleriyle olan ilişkisi üzerinden analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Borç Sözleşmeleri, diplomasi, tahvil sahipleri, Fransa



Introduction

At the very outset of the twentieth century, nearly twenty years after the 1881 Muharrem Decree, the Ottoman government and the representatives of bondholders came back to the table for a financial operation that envisaged several adjustments to the 1881 Decree. For the Ottoman Empire, a previously defaulting state, the project was expected to reduce the financial oppression, which had been decided at an international congress and had undermined its sovereignty. In line with this, Ottoman decision-making will have sought to overcome the post-bankruptcy dispute with its creditors through negotiations and have demanded a reduction in the total amount of debt. After nearly two years of planning, it was decided with the Tevhîd-i Düyûn Decree dated September 14, 1903, which was prepared as an addendum to the Muharrem Decree, to merge the B, C and D series of bonds (since the payment of the A series was completed at this date), to make a significant reduction in the capital of the debt, and to increase the interest income of bondholders from 1% to 4% in return.¹

One of the reforms introduced by the 1903 Decree was that the Ottoman state was entitled to 75% of the annual revenue surplus of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. By obtaining this revenue as a guarantee to cover the state's urgent borrowing needs, a source of financing for railway investments was found. Specifically, this source was to provide the mileage guarantee for the Baghdad Railway Project.² This development, which was planned at a time when France was uncomfortable with the superiority of the Germans in the capital share of the Baghdad Railway Company, not only made the Consolidation Project a multilayered financial operation but also served as a platform provoking the involvement of political and diplomatic issues. Thus, the project created a new area of conflict in terms of the interests of Germany and France on the Ottoman Empire and brought back to the agenda the evaluation of the Ottoman foreign debts within the framework of the contemporary international politics

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and rivalry. In other words, the Consolidation Project emerged as a case mirroring the impact of states on foreign debt contracts in line with their political and economic interests.

In the project of the consolidation of the Ottoman external debt, France had some advantages that privileged it over other states. The financial credibility of the Ottoman Empire was determined in France, as it was one of the great powers of the time, one of the most important financial centres in the world, and the holder of most of Ottoman debt bonds.³ As a result of the accounting made during the consolidation of debts, France had Ottoman bonds with a financial value of 42,746,340 liras. In Belgium, which was in second place in terms of the volume of Ottoman bonds elsewhere, Ottoman bonds with a financial value of 8.872.420 liras were in circulation in the market.⁴ The reasons that led the Ottomans to consult with French financiers and institutions to prepare the debt consolidation project should be reviewed in this light. Accordingly, Maurice Rouvier, a Frenchman with influence in European financial circles, was contracted to prepare and negotiate the project. It is self-evident that the principal reason for the Ottoman Empire's preference for Rouvier, apart from his proximity to financial circles, was to create sympathy for the project in France, which had the largest number of Ottoman bonds, and to facilitate the negotiations with French bondholders.⁵ Even after Rouvier withdrew from the project in 1902 because of his becoming French Minister of Finance, the Ottoman state continued the negotiations with a consortium of French banks.⁶

From the beginning of the negotiations onward, French diplomacy, through the leading role of its financial institutions and individuals, aimed to ensure that the project would provide the conditions that would preserve its political and economic interests in the Ottoman Empire. The fact that the mileage guarantee of the Baghdad Railway Project, which was the most important item on the agenda of the rivalry between Germany and France in this period, was to be financed by the surplus revenue that would be generated as a result of the consolidation of debts, enabled the two projects to be evaluated together. For this reason, French diplomacy, which was in pursuit of preventing a result that would serve German interests in the debt consolidation project, attempted to deploy several coercive arguments. In this respect, the goals of our research are twofold. The first is to investigate both the convergence and divergence of France's political interests and the expectations of French

3 Darina Martykanova, "Public Debt After a Defeat: Negotiating the French Image of the Ottoman Empire as Debtor in the Aftermath of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878", *Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 48, No.2, 2019, p. 59.

4 *Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)*, Y.A.HUS, 468/93.

5 BOA, HR.İD, 293/39.

6 The consortium consisted of the Ottoman Bank, Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris and Banque Française pour le Commerce et l'industrie. Referring to Rouvier's recommendation, the consortium informed the Ottoman Embassy in Paris on 24 December 1902 that they wished to continue negotiations on the unification of debt. After this date, negotiations on the project continued through the consortium. BOA, HR.İD, 1995/19.

bondholders. The second is to throw light on the impact of states on the issues arising from international debt agreements in terms of the arguments that French diplomacy attempted to deploy in the process of the Ottoman debt consolidation project.

Conflicts Arising out of External Debt Contracts

In the 19th century, European markets witnessed two large-scale periods of sovereign default. The first one started in 1822 when Latin American countries resorted to heavy borrowing to finance their military expenditures. This was followed by the suspension of contracts by states without further delay.⁷ The second period of default was triggered by rapid lending that flowed into Latin America, Egypt and Turkey from 1860 onwards. The Great Depression of 1873 brought this cycle of lending to an abrupt halt and defaults began once again.⁸ The default of sovereigns in the last quarter of the 19th century was one of the worst periods in the history of finance until that time. Especially since 1890, countries in Argentina, Brazil, Latin America and Southern Europe experienced bankruptcies that caused significant losses to their investors.⁹

States that had suspended their payments announced plans to restructure them in order to avoid bankruptcy. In the process of restructuring credit agreements, unilateral transactions implemented at the debtor's own will were rejected as a practice that should not be possible without the consent of the creditor.¹⁰ For creditors confronted with this situation, the question has been raised as to what sanctions can be imposed by the contract. Considering the means of restraint available to holders of defaulted debt securities in order to compel the debtor state to comply with the contract, the first idea was the intervention of the judicial power. However, since the courts of a state were an integral component of its internal sovereignty, it was not possible to subject other states to them.¹¹ For a creditor, this situation was bilateral. For example, any French bondholder who was unable to secure a favourable outcome from the Ottoman courts in the event of a dispute found that the door to justice was closed in his own country as well. As a matter of fact, European courts generally refused to exercise their jurisdiction in cases involving citizens holding debt securities of a foreign state.

Where the judiciary has been ineffective, organised bondholders have opted for the path of taking over customs and tax revenues in the defaulting countries, usually through agreements with the defaulting states. In cases of excessive indebtedness, foreign bondholders also

7 Vinod K. Aggarwal, *Debt Games: Strategic Interaction in International Debt Rescheduling*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 19.

8 Aggarwal, p. 27.

9 Juan Flores Zendejas, "Crying on Lombard Street, Fixing Sovereign Defaults in the 1890s", *European Review of History*, 19 (6), 2012, pp. 979-997.

10 Nicolas Politis, *Les emprunts d'État en droit international*, Paris 1894, pp. 164-165.

11 Politis, pp. 210-216.

have taken over the administration of tax and customs revenues. For example, following the defaults of the 1870s, the administration of customs and tax revenues was taken over in Turkey and subsequently in Greece. In some cases, the bondholder organisations have made recommendations on economic policies and have set conditions. Such recommendations and conditions were aimed at improving fiscal sustainability, the capacity of the borrowing country to repay its foreign creditors, and the opportunity for investors to monitor developments in the borrowing country.¹²

When negotiations between the bondholder organisations and the defaulting states failed to reach a compromise, the first method used was the creation of an international arbitral tribunal or the involvement of mediators. For example, Lord Rothschild helped mediate between bondholders and the Brazilian government regarding the Ituana railway debt. However, these methods did not always work in favour of bondholders. In the Venezuelan case, the total claim of bondholders was approximately £10 million, which the arbitrators ordered to be reduced to £1.84 million.¹³

Another method used by the bondholder organisations has been punitive methods. In the first place, the defaulting state could face the denial of access to capital markets. For example, a new bond issue by the Guatemalan government was prevented in 1873 because of its “false promises” to repay old loans. In another example, in 1875, bondholders declared that Colombia “could not appeal for foreign capital” until an agreement was reached on its outstanding debt. A similar approach has been used successfully in the Turkish and Austrian cases. This prevention was usually pursued in co-ordination with other stock exchange markets.¹⁴ In another method of punitive action, bondholders also resorted to harsher measures, invoking their governments’ support for diplomatic action and even military intervention. In this case, creditors demanded the intervention of their own governments as the most powerful means of enforcing their rights.¹⁵

Periods of default and subsequent negotiations by the holders of creditor debt securities led to developments that prepared the way for state intervention in debt contract disputes or restructuring processes. As mentioned above, the intervention of states in the restructuring of foreign debt contracts has mostly occurred when creditors, who were their subjects, sought their assistance because of the illegality inflicted by the debtor state. In some cases, creditors sought the support of their states in order to conclude negotiations in a more favourable way. In this relationship, the expectations of bondholders from their states varied according to the

12 Paolo Mauro, Yishay Yafeh, *The Corporation of Foreign Bondholders*, IMF Working Papers, Issue 107, 2003, pp. 24-25.

13 Mauro, p. 22.

14 Mauro, p. 23.

15 Politis, pp. 217-219.

course of their negotiations with the debtor states. In both cases, however, the relationship between bondholders and the state of which they were subjects was characterised not only by financial considerations but also by political and diplomatic issues.

State Intervention in External Debt Contracts

In the half-century period before the First World War, the so-called first era of financial globalisation, international debt contracts lacked institutional and legal foundations. Most importantly, as mentioned above, the liabilities between debtor states and bondholders were not clearly defined. Therefore, one of the primary objectives in this period was to harmonise the demands of both borrowers and lenders and to provide an institutional basis for international debt agreements.¹⁶ One of the uncertainties in this process was the authority of foreign states to intervene in disputes arising from the non-fulfilment of their citizens' debt contracts by borrower states and the conditions under which this could take place. This issue was particularly discussed at the turn of the 20th century.

According to opponents of the idea of intervention, it was a concept that rarely brings desirable results and should be used only in cases of absolute necessity.¹⁷ It has become a general view that intervention would be a clear breach of international law in protecting the financial transactions of individuals. Sovereignty and independence of both weak and strong states were considered to be the basis of international law and a state should abide by the rule of non-intervention in all disputes that might arise between its subjects and a foreign state.¹⁸ This is because the act of a foreign state's participation in a public debt was not deemed to be in the nature of an international agreement that would allow the intervention of states.¹⁹

According to the idea of non-intervention, foreign borrowing through the sharing of bonds was carried out with the participation of citizens of different states. Bonds were passed from hand to hand, from nation to nation, payable to the holder. Particularly unstable countries with weak economies offered their bonds at undervalued prices and at high interest rates. The bondholder took full advantage of this profitable situation by capitalising on the urgent need of the borrowing state. However, it was widely recognised that the issuance of bonds was an act of sovereignty, that the debt could be repudiated or reduced, that ordinary remedies were forbidden, and that the debtor state was independent in its payments. The investor therefore

16 Rui Pedro Esteves, "Quis Custodiet Quem? Sovereign Debt And Bondholders' Protection Before 1914", *Economic Series Working Papers*, University of Oxford, Department of Economics, No. 323, 2007, p. 1.

17 M. S. Kebedgy, "De la protection des créanciers d'un état étranger", *Journal du Droit International Privé*, Vol. XXI, p. 60.

18 Kebedgy, p. 63; John Westlake, *International Law*, Cambridge University Press, Second Edition, London 1910, p. 332.

19 Edwin Borchard, "Contractual Claims in International Law", *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 13, No. 6, 1913, p. 478.

bought with full knowledge and assumption of the risks and weighed the possibility of large profits against the danger of loss.²⁰ Foreigners could not complain about a situation in which they had no serious security other than the laws of the debtor state. According to Kebedgy, who analysed the impact of this situation on state intervention, intervention could occur if certain creditors were systematically favoured in the payment of debts to the detriment of others, and if among them there were only subjects of one single state. Even this type of intervention had to be determined by rules and limitations.²¹

While intervention is not considered illegitimate in principle, it is recognised that certain exceptional circumstances based on the regulations of international law may exist.²² As stated by Rivier, who agreed with this view, the wealth of individuals constituted an element of the wealth and prosperity of the state itself. If this wealth was jeopardised by the action of a foreign state that mismanaged its finances, violated the confidence of investors and breached its commitments in relation to these matters, the state claiming the right to intervene was expressly authorised to protect its interests.²³ It was agreed that only diplomatic intervention could be justified if the loan, whose commitments were not fulfilled, was guaranteed by other powers. It was the guarantee clause in the contract that legitimised intervention. Thus, it was thought that disagreements between bondholders and the borrowing state could be resolved by claiming the inadequacy of foreign courts.²⁴ The use of armed force to claim unpaid public debts was considered an excessive intervention.²⁵

In practice, Lord Palmerston's memorandum of January 1848 set out a policy course to be followed in dealing with the defaulting states. At a time when there was public pressure on the British government to intervene with a foreign government for the receivables of its citizens, Palmerston formally declared that the British government had no legal obligation to defend the interests of its subjects in relation to a foreign state. To put it differently, when individuals entrusted their capital to foreign governments, they were acting strictly for profit and had entered into a financial or commercial transaction by participating in their loans or buying their bonds on the stock exchange. Indeed, they were aware of the risks associated with such transactions. Lord Palmerston's statement has been recognized as a doctrine supporting the

20 Borchard, pp. 481-482.

21 Kebedgy, p. 63.

22 Kebedgy, p. 60; *L'Épargne Française et la défense des porteurs de valeurs étrangères*, *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Tome XX, 1899, pp. 237-238; Politis, pp. 225-227.

23 Alphonse Rivier, *Principes du droit des gens*, I, Paris 1896, p. 272.

24 Politis, p. 219-225; Phillimore, Robert, *Commentaries Upon International Law*, c. III, T. & J. W. Johnson, Philadelphia 1857, p. 8-12; G.F. de Martens, *Précis du droit des gens*, Paris 1864, p. 298-110; *L'Épargne Française et la défense des porteurs de valeurs étrangères*, pp. 237-238.

25 Edwin M. Borchard, *The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad, The Law of International Claims*, New York 1925, p. 312; Edwin M. Borchard, William K. Jackson, Ernest H. Feilchenfeld, "International Loans and International Law", *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law at Its Annual Meeting (1921-1969)*, Vol. 26, 1932, p. 157.

non-intervention argument in addressing the question of the legitimacy of intervention for the protection of individuals' financial affairs.²⁶

On the other hand, Edwin Bouchard, who opposed this view, pointed out that the declaration did not actually contain the idea of avoiding intervention. According to him, Palmerston's declaration pointed out that it was entirely up to the discretion of the British government whether to deal with the issue through diplomatic negotiations if debtor states defaulted on their loans. At the same time, he emphasized that it might become Britain's duty to negotiate diplomatically, considering the great damage that its citizens would suffer because of the non-payment of their loans to foreign states. Bouchard therefore stated that this British practice was a political matter and that it would be wrong to interpret it as a doctrine defined as a principle of international law.²⁷ As evidence of this, he pointed to the fact that despite Britain's involvement in interventions against Mexico in 1861, Egypt in 1880 and Venezuela in 1902, the issue was always seen by statesmen as a matter of state policy.²⁸ In a similar vein, H. Feis stated that the British, who were the largest creditors in the world at the time of the declaration, reserved their rights to intervene and did not hesitate to use it when their political and financial concerns were overriding. As an example of this, he pointed out that what appeared to be Britain's intervention in a state in default in Egypt was in fact an imperial policy manoeuvre to control the Suez Canal.²⁹

Even though Palmerston's declaration was evaluated differently in terms of the possibility of intervention, the same disagreement was also seen in practice with states adopting different approaches to the analogous cases. First, states considered non-intervention at their own discretion. France's attitude towards the suspension of payments in Portugal in the autumn of 1891 is an example of this approach. Foreign Minister Ribot explained what France's attitude should be in the matter discussed in the French Senate. Accordingly, as far as the question itself is concerned, there was no legitimate need for intervention. It was anticipated that a mutually acceptable resolution could be achieved through constructive engagement with the Portuguese government and a willingness to consider concessions from its creditors. If the negotiations were unsuccessful, the French government would adjust its approach to align with the evolving circumstances. Thus, in principle, the French government did not recognize its own right or duty to intervene for the protection of French creditors in Portugal.³⁰ Nevertheless, in some cases, they intervened in various ways to secure the repayment of public loans due to their subjects.

26 Henri Marc Imbert, *Les emprunts d'États étrangers*, Paris 1905, pp. 63-64; Kebedgy, p. 62, Politis, p. 221; Borchard, Jackson, Feilchenfeld, p. 158-159.

27 Borchard, *The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad*, p. 314.

28 Borchard, p. 315.

29 H. Feis, *Europe, The World's Banker, 1870-1914*, Yale University Press, 1931, p. 105.

30 Kebedgy, pp. 67-68.

They approved financial control arrangements between banks, bondholders' organizations, and debtor states, as in the case of Turkey (1881) and Serbia (1904). Sometimes they established a joint intervention undertaking fiscal control, as in Tunisia (1868), Greece (1897) and Egypt (1880).³¹

In some other cases, states directly intervened by resorting to the use of military force. In 1861 in Mexico and in 1880 in Egypt, the most important example of such intervention was the blockade of Venezuela by Germany, Britain and Italy in 1902.³² The direct intervention of states in Venezuela in the form of a naval blockade ended with the Washington Protocol with the mediation of the USA and the matter was transferred to the international arbitration court. The use of force in the collection of receivables arising from the contractual obligations of states made the USA concerned and led it to bring the issue to the agenda at the Second Hague Conference.³³ The statement of Dr. Luis Drago, the Argentine Foreign Minister, against the use of armed force in the collection of public debts on 29 December 1902, following the common intervention of the United Kingdom, Italy and Germany against Venezuela, created a doctrine in international law in this sense.³⁴ As a matter of fact, the original title of the conference, "Limitations of the Employment of Force for the Recovery of Contractual Debts," prohibited the use of force by states in the collection of receivables, except for the refusal of the debtor state to arbitrate.³⁵

It is noteworthy that whatever the form of the interventions implemented by states due to the receivables of their subjects, they were always used against weaker states. This situation was also expressed by some statesmen and writers. According to Mr Pradier-Fodéré, a counsellor of the Cour d'appel de Lyon, the direct intervention was a violation of independence and was the result of abuse, since such intervention had never been used against powerful states.³⁶ Nicolas Politis emphasized this point, stating that, in practice, states intervene with varying degrees of ease and precision, contingent upon whether they are operating within a context of a weak government or a strong government. Politis therefore characterizes the attitude of the great powers in this respect as discriminatory.³⁷ Bouchard underlines that there was no intervention when Spain, Italy and Austria suspended their similar obligations by not fulfilling them and supports the view that intervention is applied against weak states.

31 Borchard, pp. 312-313.

32 Borchard, *Contractual Claims in International Law*, p. 486.

33 "Germany, Great Britain and Italy v. Venezuela et al. 1908", *The American Journal of International Law*, II/4, 1908, pp. 902-911.

34 Luis M. Drago, H. Edward Nettles, "The Drago Doctrine in International Law and Politics", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No.2, 1928, pp. 204-223.

35 George Winfield Scott, "Hague Convention Restricting the Use of Force to Recover on Contract Claims", *The American Journal of International Law*, II/1, 1908, p. 78-94.

36 Kebedgy, p. 65.

37 Politis, p. 219.

Therefore, he stated that intervention against indebted states is a matter of power and politics rather than the rule of law.³⁸

Control Over the Markets: Paris Stock Exchange

State control over markets has been practised since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the first foreign borrowings started to be made in the Amsterdam market. The Dutch government, which did not want rival countries to benefit from borrowing due to its own political concerns, banned the distribution of foreign loans without permission with a decision dated April 7, 1700. This decision of the Dutch government was subsequently implemented by England and France.³⁹ This attitude continued in the 19th century, and states were in an approach against international capital flight. In fact, in 1848, Lord Palmerston, in the continuation of his famous speech, emphasised that the Great Britain governments did not approve of their citizens investing their capital in the debts of foreign states instead of using it at home. The strongest opposition to the outward flow of savings and the transfer of financial resources deemed necessary for the country's industry was experienced in France.⁴⁰

Towards the end of the century, the intensifying competition in world politics and the expansion of interest objectives resulted in the frequent exercise of official authority over capital flows. This triggered a markedly less favourable attitude toward foreign investment. Control, restriction, and the notion of transforming every loan into a tangible advantage became the prevailing attitudes among policymakers. The increase in the volume of foreign borrowing, which began in the 1890s, was considered disturbing and governments tightened their controls in this respect. In 1909, Prime Minister Aristide Briand revealed the prevailing view in France in stating, "French gold has spread all over the world. Our regret and concern are that this gold does not stay within the country." French investors and banks generally submitted to this governmental control.⁴¹

During the period when governments did not favour capital exports, they steered the planned foreign loans in accordance with their own political expectations. Generally, each case was assessed in its particular circumstances and various methods were used to discourage or prevent the granting of unapproved loans.⁴² The implementation of direct governmental interventions in the markets has occurred through a variety of means. These can be listed as follows: preventing the distribution of loans to foreign countries or encouraging financial

38 Bouchard, *The Diplomatic Protection of Citizens Abroad*, p. 314.

39 George W. Edwards, "Government Control of Foreign Investments", *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 18, Issue 4 (Decembre 1928), pp. 684-685.

40 Jacob Viner, "Political Aspects of International Finance", *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago*, Vol. 1, No.2, 1978, p. 145.

41 Feis, p. 123-124.

42 Viner, p. 157-158.

institutions to extend loans; guaranteeing the interest and principal payments of the loan; conducting loan transactions under the governmental control; and preventing the trading of the objected loan on the stock exchange.⁴³

Three different methods of intervention were used to harmonise and steer French lending towards France's political interests. First, the government prevented the granting of loans to countries whose political actions were seen as hostile or whose interests conflicted with those of France. Second, the government used its links with the financial community and its influence over public opinion and the press to facilitate loans from allied states or to obtain political advantages in return. Third, the acceptance of the listing of a loan on the Paris Stock Exchange is made conditional on certain guarantees or indemnities in France's interests.⁴⁴ As will be seen later on, the argument that France wanted to use in the Consolidation Project was to prevent the listing on the Paris Stock Exchange. For this reason, the following section will present a critical examination of the fundamental premises of the argument under discussion.

Russia	7.0
Türkiye	2.0
Spain ve Portugal	4.5
Austria-Hungaria	2.5
Balkan States	0.7
Italy	1.7
Switzerland, Belgium and Netherlands	1.0
H. Feis, <i>Europe, The World's Banker, 1870-1914</i> , Yale University Press, 1931, p. 51.	

Before the First World War, Paris was recognised as the world's largest market for government bonds. From 1875 onwards, the Paris Stock Exchange rivalled London in terms of the volume of capital outsourced for the next half century. This capital capacity, supported by stability and low interest rates, made Paris a centre of attraction. From 1875 to 1914, the rate of discount in Paris never rose to 4% and was generally kept at 3%. By the end of the nineteenth century, this rate had fallen to 2%. These were also the lowest rates in the world.⁴⁵ Under these circumstances, other governments made Paris the focal point of their financial plans. They turned to French investors for loans that they could not obtain from their domestic markets and for deficits that they could not cover. Russia provided financial support for the construction of its infrastructure, while the Austro-Hungarian Empire received investment in railways, industry, and banking. Similarly, Italy benefited from French capital in the initial stages of its unification. French banks and syndicates directed French savings to the

43 Hüseyin Al, *Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Ülke Riski, Finansal Politik, İngiliz Tahvil Sahipleri ve Babıalı*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, PhD thesis, İstanbul 2005, p. 54.

44 Feis, p. 134.

45 Feis, p. 33.

territories of states which were unable to build their own industrial organisations. Railways, bridges, ports, gas and power plants were built in Russia, Turkey and Latin America. They have also made sudden fortunes by acquiring shares in investments such as the South African gold mine, the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company or the Canadian Pacific Railway.⁴⁶

A brief history of the state's control over foreign loans through the stock exchange in France shows that from 1785 to 1823, when this method was first applied, foreign loans approved by France were granted to its politically recognised allies or vassals. These loans were granted to the King of Saxony in 1811, to the Kingdom of Naples in 1818 and to Sicily in 1821. The legal foundations for the official control that the French government could exercise over foreign loans were laid at this time and were later extended. A royal edict of May 29, 1816, gave the minister of finance supervisory powers over the Paris Stock Exchange. The decree of November 12, 1823, authorised the official listing of foreign government bonds on the Paris Stock Exchange, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance (economic considerations) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (political considerations). In 1858, the listing privileges were extended to foreign railway securities and in 1859 to foreign corporate securities in general, in each case subject to ministerial approval. A decree of December 15, 1875, gave the Minister of Finance the right to prohibit the public offering in France of a foreign loan other than that of a sovereign state, regardless of whether listing privileges were sought.⁴⁷

After that, in France, the control through the 'official listing list' on the Paris Stock Exchange, which provided the government control over foreign loans, was primarily provided by the *Chambre Syndicale des Agents de Change* under certain headings. Through this organisation, the French government was informed before a loan; thus, according to its decision, the listing of securities on the stock exchange could be prevented.⁴⁸ The decree of February 6, 1880, provided for the official listing of all foreign securities. By decrees of October 7, 1890, August 12, 1896, and June 22, 1898, the *Chambre Syndicale des Agents de Change* was given the right to refuse listing without referring to the Minister of Finance alone. However, the Minister of Finance reserved the right to prohibit the negotiation of a foreign security in France in any case.⁴⁹

An official listing on the Paris Stock Exchange was not always vital but important for the successful listing of a large state loan in France. For a foreign government, the public offering of a loan in France after being denied official listing would signify serious loss

46 Feis, p. 37-38.

47 Henri Becker, *Les emprunts d'États étrangers*, Paris 1880, pp. 24-28; Viner, p. 158-159.

48 M. Georges Guichard, *De la protection de l'épargne nationale et des syndicats de Porteurs de valeurs étrangères*, Paris 1901, pp. 40-44.

49 Guichard, p. 38.

of prestige and devaluation of its credit. The official veto power over official listing was therefore an effective means of control over foreign credit fluctuations in pre-war France.⁵⁰ This intervention method was intensively applied in France from the last quarter of the 19th century until the First World War. In this way, many loans contrary to France's political interests were prevented. For example, Japan's request for a loan from the Paris market in 1901 was blocked due to the growing partnership between Russia and the French government during this period.⁵¹ In another example, when Argentina decided to use the German firm Krupp instead of the French firm Schneider for the purchase of artillery in 1908, it was threatened that its new loan with an interest rate of 5% would not be listed on the Paris Stock Exchange.⁵²

Table 2. Distribution of Series Bonds by Country Before and After The Conversion

Country	January 1902		February 1905	
	Approximate Amount (Turkish Lira)	Percentage	Approximate Amount (Turkish Lira)	Percentage
France	35.000.000	44,9	20.116.740	67,70
Belgium	14.000.000	17,9	2.111.160	7,10
Germany	9.500.000	12,8	2.705.500	9,10
England	8.500.000	10,9	2.819.640	9,49
Türkiye	5.000.000	6,4	881.060	2,96
Netherlands	3.500.000	4,8	435.240	1,46
Austria – Hungary	1.500.000	1,9	22.960	0,07
Italy	1.000.000	1,2	618.020	2,08
Total	78.000.000		29.710.320	

Archives du Monde du Travail (ANMT), Association nationale des porteurs Français de valeurs mobilières, 65/AQ/A/43.

Due to the close relationship between international politics and finance in France, France's influence was more pronounced in the context of the Paris Stock Exchange than in the realms of military conflicts or diplomatic relations.⁵³ According to Jacob Viner, France's blockade of foreign credit access to the Paris Stock Exchange, especially through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was a quiet but energetic argument of pressure. It was the Ministry's usual task to keep a close eye on the activities of the big banks in international finance and to communicate the government's wishes.⁵⁴ However, state intervention in money markets, as in the case of the use of the Paris Stock Exchange, was seen as an argument to prevent the emergence of disputes arising from debt contracts. Scholars of jurisprudence posit that a state, recognising its obligation to defend all financial transactions of its subjects, could intervene

50 Viner, pp. 159-160.

51 Edwards, p. 689.

52 Edwards, p. 689.

53 Edwards, p. 688.

54 Viner, p. 162.

to exclude from the market all financial transactions which, albeit carried out on behalf of a foreign government, were not sufficiently secure and whose execution was not sufficiently guaranteed by the solvency of the debtor. In this way, the parties concerned would be warned in advance and a much more prudent and practical behaviour would be adopted than state intervention.⁵⁵

The Prospects of French Bondholders During the Consolidation Project

The right to represent French foreign bondholders was under the control of the major French bankers and stockbrokers at the time when the Muharram Decree was promulgated. The representation consisted of the *Banque de Paris et des Pays-Pas*, *Crédit Lyonnais*, *Comptoir National d'Escompte*, *Société Générale*, and the Ottoman Bank (*Syndicat de Banques et d'Etablissements de Credit*), which formed the committee in Paris.⁵⁶ The establishment of an organisation to represent bondholders in France, as in the United Kingdom, came later in 1898. The *Association Nationale des Porteurs Français de Valeurs Étrangères* was supported by the state in order to protect France from any intervention contrary to its policies in case of a dispute with a foreign state over French investors.⁵⁷

However, the involvement of stockbrokers under the supervision of a commission reporting to the Minister of Finance was criticised on the grounds that decisions were taken in favour of stockbrokers and against the interests of bondholders. Bondholders reacted against the submission to the political objectives of the French government.⁵⁸ An example of this was seen during the conversion of Spanish external debt in 1900. The organisation was accused of being indecisive in its dealings with the Spanish government and other national bondholder organisations, subject to manipulation and bowing to political pressure from the French Minister of Finance. The accusations mainly centred on the fact that the Caillaux administration had encouraged bondholders to accept the terms offered by Spain in order to appease the banking institutions in Paris.⁵⁹ A similar situation arose at the very beginning of the process of the consolidation of the Ottoman external debt. On June 13, 1902, in a telegram to Constans, the French Ambassador in Istanbul, Foreign Minister Delcassé was of the opinion that whatever the consequences of the project for bondholders, they should be directed in the general interests of France.

55 Kebedgy, p. 64.

56 Charles Morawitz, *Türkiye Maliyesi*, Maliye Bakanlığı Tetkik Kurulu Yayınları, 1979, p. 185.

57 Feis, p. 154.

58 Esteves, p. 50.

59 Eugene Lacombe, "La défense des porteurs de valeurs étrangères", *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Tome XXVI, 1900, p. 242; For more information on the case; G. Manchez, "La rente extérieure espagnole et le projet de Convenio", *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, October, 1900.

Thus, it was clear that the interests of bondholders would be overshadowed by the political interests of France, just as in the case of Spain.⁶⁰

In their communiqué to the French Ministry of Finance dated March 3, 1902, the bondholders' organisation, wishing to avoid political pressure, emphasised the quality of representing the holders by protecting their rights and underlined that the project could not be carried out without consulting them as the representatives of the holders in the process of the consolidation of the Ottoman debts. Bondholders recalled the assurance that they had received from the Ministry at the beginning of the negotiations. Thanks to this assurance, the organisation had informed both the holders of Ottoman bonds and the banks and credit institutions carrying out the operation that they were the competent authority on behalf of the holders. At the same time, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Delcassé, agreed with the assurance of the Ministry of Finance.⁶¹

In this way, bondholders aimed to preclude the financial institutions representing the holders from prioritising their own interests and to prevent their rights from being ignored for the sake of the political interests of the French government. To this end, they assumed direct representation. They argued that full independence should be ensured and their representation capability should be strengthened; otherwise, the confidence in them would be undermined.⁶² For this reason, the French Ottoman bondholders' committee wanted the French government to recognise that they had the right to represent the holders. In the communiqué they sent to Delcassé, it was reminded that bondholders had been granted the right of representation by the royal decree dated Muharrem 28, 1299 (December 20, 1881) and that they had the right to give their consent to any changes that might be made in the future.⁶³

The main purpose of representation was to determine a board of creditors for each nation. This representation was manifested in different ways in different countries. In England, the Council of Foreign Bondholders was a special organisation to represent the holders. In France, where no such organisation existed at that time, representation was entrusted to the

60 *Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (ADMAE)*, Archives diplomatiques, Nouvelle Série, Turquie, Vol. 355, No. 161; In this period when the French politicised all forms of debtor-creditor relations, the Lorando-Tubini Creditor Affair of 1901 can be presented as a good example in terms of its consequences. In this case, approximately two months before Rouvier presented his project, the French navy arrived on Lesbos Island after Ambassador Constans had left Istanbul, claiming that the Ottoman Empire was delaying the payment of the debts of two French families. France found the solution to this issue, which led to a diplomatic crisis between the two countries, in the use of force. As a result of the increasing tension, along with the payment of the receivables, the proposal including the recognition and improvement of France's cultural and charitable institutions in the Ottoman lands was accepted. Metin Ünver, Murat Hulkiender, *II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı Fransız İlişkilerinde Krizler ve Çatışmalar, 1901 Hadisesi, Lorando-Tubini Meselesi*, İlgü Kültür Sanat Yayınevi, İstanbul 2018.

61 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 32-36; ANMT, 65/AQ/A/43.

62 Lacombe, p. 259.

63 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 116-120; ANMT, 65/AQ/A/43.

Association of Banks. It was clear that if the French Bondholders' Organisation had existed in 1881, it would have been regarded as the direct representative of the holders, as was done for the Council of Foreign Bondholders, which was a private organisation. The bondholders' organisation therefore informed the French government that it was perfectly reasonable for it to be entrusted with representing the holders in order to consent to any change in the existing situation.⁶⁴

The Committee considered that the legitimacy of the Syndicate of Financial Institutions, which had the right of representation available under the Decree, was no longer valid. First of all, at the time the Decree was made, the syndicate of organisations regulating it no longer existed as before. Following the closure of *Le Comptoir d'Escompte*, *La Société Des Depots et Comptes Courants*, and *La Banque d'Escompte*, the holders represented by these organisations were deprived of representation. Secondly, the credit institutions had a fictitious representation with which the holders could communicate directly and which was not capable of taking official decisions and defending their interests as in England.⁶⁵

On May 23, 1902, the organisation contacted the *Syndicat des Etablissements Financiers* mentioned in the Muharram Decree and their representative in the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, Leon Berger. In their reply, the *Syndicat des Etablissements Financiers* stated that they would consider the bondholders' organisation as a priority. Berger referred to this reply from the Syndicate of Financial Institutions and stated that he would comply. Subsequently, the banks managing the project were notified that, in the opinion of the Ministry of Finance, the organisation was the appropriate body to bring the holders together and gather their views. After nearly a year, despite the changing course of the negotiations, it appears that the assurance that they would be addressed remained invalid. For February 12, 1903, the organisation felt that the role of the organisation needed to be redefined as the direction of the negotiations had changed. Machart, Chairman of the Committee of Ottoman Bondholders, asked Rouvier that if he felt that Ottoman bondholders had a right to follow the negotiations and express their views, the organisation should be informed of the negotiations and given the opportunity to present its views before a final decree was made. This would be done by the Ministry formally presenting the decision to the credit institutions and their representative Berger in Istanbul. However, the British and German shareholders had already set up special committees to reach an agreement, while the French owners were deprived of any direct representation outside the consortium.⁶⁶

The organisation contacted the banks involved in the Consortium and Léon Berger, the French representative at the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. The banks involved in the

64 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 116-120; ANMT, 65/AQ/A/43.

65 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 116-120; ANMT, 65/AQ/A/43.

66 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 32-36; ANMT, 65/AQ/A/43.

Consortium had indicated that they would give priority consideration to the bondholders' association. Berger, referring to this reply from the Consortium, stated that he would abide by this decision. Subsequently, the French Ministry of Finance notified the banks that the association was the most appropriate organisation to bring the holders together and gather their views.⁶⁷ Thereafter, the association would negotiate and vote on behalf of French bondholders.

Another demand of bondholders was the provision of diplomatic protection by the French government. In the meeting held on June 29, 1903, reference was made to the Muharrem Decree and it was pointed out that the decree was also a diplomatic agreement.⁶⁸ French bondholders expected the French government to officially recognise the new decree by their state. In this way, it was hoped that diplomatic protection would also be provided. In this regard, it is necessary to remind the relevant feature of the Muharrem Decree. Although the Muharrem Decree was perceived as a directive issued by the Ottoman Empire, it possessed a distinctive attribute that ensured the protection of interstate law, thereby distinguishing it from other similar decrees. The fact that the negotiations commenced with the Ottoman side's pledge during the Congress, and that the decree was presented to other states in Article 21, lends further support to this assertion.⁶⁹

On November 3, 1903, on behalf of French bondholders who wished to maintain the aforementioned feature of the Muharrem Decree in the new supplementary decree, Leon Berger, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Ottoman Empire, informed Constans of his views on the official sharing of the new decree with the major states. Berger, who shared copies of the decree with the embassy, reminded that in accordance with Article 21 of the Muharrem Decree, the decree had previously been sent to the Ottoman state's representative offices in Europe to share it with governments. Since it was not known at the time whether the new fiscal administration had any chance of stabilisation, the great powers did not consider it necessary to receive official notification. After 22 years, conditions were not the same as before. The Ottoman government had fulfilled its obligations, thereby eliminating the rationale that had previously justified the conservative stance of the powers. It was therefore necessary to formally recognise the new decree for the holders of Turkish funds and especially for French savings, which were heavily involved in Turkish affairs. Berger put forth a recommendation based on the rationale he had previously outlined that the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs should officially accept the supplementary decree from the Embassy in Paris.⁷⁰

67 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 32-36; ANMT, 65/AQ/A/43.

68 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 93.

69 Morawitz, p. 189; They, p. 39.

70 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 195.

Following the insistence of bondholders, Constans replied on December 7, 1903, that he had been notified by Münir Pasha of the Decree for official approval.⁷¹ Mr. Delcassé asked Mr. Rouvier's views on the issue of formal approval. Rouvier reminded that the French government was already aware of the entire negotiation process and that French bondholders had unanimously approved the project. Rouvier recommended that the official notification be made, stating that "taking into account an agreement between the Ottoman government and its creditors, we have the opportunity to intervene more effectively in case the arrangements made are not fulfilled."⁷² Delcassé then informed İstanbul that the Decree communicated by Münir Bey would be accepted and recognised as a voucher. The French officially adopted the Annex Decree on February 22, 1904.⁷³

Expectations of French Diplomacy from the Project

In the last quarter of the 19th century, due to the competition in world politics, especially interventions by England, Germany and France in the markets have increased. From this period onwards, they have endeavoured to direct financial issues in line with the political needs and interests of states.⁷⁴ This situation became more evident at the beginning of the twentieth century, when France's rivalry with Germany in the Ottoman territories intensified.

At the beginning of the 20th century, France sought to expand its interests in the Ottoman Empire in two key regions: Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean (Levant). This expansion led to competition with other states due to the geostrategic potentials these regions held. The increasing influence of Germany in the Ottoman Empire led France to adopt a more active political attitude, especially since 1898.⁷⁵ The most serious threat to France's interests was the Baghdad Railway Project, which would ensure Germany's presence and expansion in the regions it held. From the end of the 19th century onwards, German companies and banks were engaged in activities to exploit the wealth of the Ottoman Empire. German investors were particularly interested in the wealth of Anatolia and Mesopotamia. However, in order to increase investments, it was also necessary to develop transport activities. The Baghdad Railway Project was conceived to serve this purpose.⁷⁶

71 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 216.

72 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 218.

73 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 201.

74 Miles Kahler, "Politics and International Debt: Explaining the Crisis", *International Organization*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Summer 1985), p. 362.

75 L. Bruce Fulton, "France and the End of the Empire", *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*, Ed. Marian Kendt, Frank Cass, London 1996, p. 137.

76 İlber Ortaylı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu, Kronik Kitap, İstanbul 2018, p. 111. Kemal Beydilli, "Bağdat Demiryolu", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C. 4, 1991, pp. 443-444; Another development that increased Germany's political pressure on the project was the appointment of Marschall von Bieberstein as the German Ambassador to İstanbul on 15 February 1897. With his arrival, the idea of extending the line was strengthened. Marschall, who endeavoured to increase Germany's influence in the Ottoman lands during his 15-year stay in İstanbul, was one of the strongest supporters of Wilhelm II's weltpolitik ideal. Murat Özyüksel, *The Berlin-Baghdad Railway and the Ottoman Empire, Industrialization, Imperial Germany and the Middle East*, I.B. Tauris, 2016, pp. 46-47.

In this direction, the granting of a concession to the Anatolian Railways Company, which was to be established with German capital, stimulated French diplomacy. In 1888, Alfred Kaula received the concession for the construction of the Izmit-Ankara railway and the French supported and completed the construction of certain lines in Syria and Lebanon within a ten-year period. The railway projects of the Germans were concentrated on Anatolian lands, that is, in areas where French investments were dominant.⁷⁷ During the visit of Wilhelm II to Istanbul in 1899, it was agreed to extend the line from Konya to Baghdad-Basra.⁷⁸ On January 21, 1902, a concession agreement was signed for the project and on March 21, 1903, a contract was signed for the financing of the first 250 km Konya-Ereğli line. On March 5, 1903, the Baghdad Railway Company (*Société Impériale Ottomane du Chemin de Fer de Bagdad*) was officially established. This company was dominated by German capital, while French capital was kept at 30 percent.⁷⁹

Even though the bureaucratic steps for the construction of the line seemed to have been completed, the problem of financing the line always remained topical. From the outset, those with a financial interest in the Baghdad railways were aware that self-financing was not a viable option. Therefore, they tried to take some measures to safeguard their interests. However, the solution found by the Ottoman government to convince them that their capital would be repaid was the mileage guarantee, which had been applied before. In order to provide reassurance to foreign capital, the Ottoman government agreed to offer the company a specified sum per kilometre, taking into account the political and administrative advantages it planned to provide. From 1888 onwards, this system was included in the railway concessions granted in the Ottoman territories and was seen as a *sine qua non* by the investors for the realisation and maintenance of the projects.⁸⁰ In order to overcome this problem, Germany desired to utilise the surplus income of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, which was proposed by Rouvier with the project of the consolidation of debts.

77 Alexandre Ilitch, *Le Chemin de fer de Bagdad au point de vue politique, économique et financier, ou l'expansion de l'Allemagne en Orient*, Misch & Thron, Michigan 1913, p. 33.

78 Ilitch, pp. 35-36; Özyüksel, p. 65.

79 Kemal Beydilli, pp. 443-444; The company's board of directors consisted of 11 Germans, 8 French, 4 Ottomans, 2 Swiss, 1 Austrian and 1 Italian. The general manager of the company was Von Gwinner, one of the leading statesmen of Prussia, and Deutsche Bank had a significant influence in the company. Ilitch, pp. 115-117.

80 André Chéradame, *La question d'Orient, La Macédoine, Le Chemin de fer de Bagdad*, Plon Nourrit, Paris, 1903, pp. 149-150; Özyüksel, p. 80.

Table 3. Sharing the Revenues and Surpluses of Ottoman Public Debt Administration (Turkish lira)

Year	Revenue	Surpluses	Share of the Ottoman Government (75%)	Share of the Administration (25%)
1903-1904 (6 Months)	2.971.983,81	517.83	338,37	129,46
1904-5	3.046.725,64	336.101,17	252.075,88	84.025,29
1905-6	3.221.528,56	500.181,60	375.136,20	125.045,40
1906-7	3.225.911,66	495.834,58	371.875,93	123.958,65
1907-8	3.919.002,29	1.151.039,72	863.317,29	287.772,43
1908-9	87,.4.191.689	1.401.085,80	1.050.814,35	350.271,45
1909-10	4.543.838,51	1.748.923,40	1.311.692,55	437.230,85
1910-11	4.779.748,74	1.908.936,62	1.431.702,47	477.234,15
1911-12	5.061.335,55	1.969.223,21	1.476.917,41	492.305,80
1912-13	4.536.604,80	1.585.959,04	1.189.469,28	396.489,76
1913-14	5.382.472,16	2.228.538,81	1.671.404,11	557.134,70
Total	44.881.494	13.326.391,78	9.994.793,84	3.331.597,94

Sait Aba, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Dış Borlanması, Vadi Yayınları, Ankara 2004, p. 131.

In this period, France's main concern seemed to be the prevention of German capital, which was heavily represented in the Baghdad Railway Project. France's Charge d'Affaires in Istanbul, Edmond Bapst, who expressed his discomfort to Paris on this issue, also mentioned the increasing role of Germany. According to him, the capital represented by the Anatolian Railway Company and Deutsche Bank was developing directly against French capital. This had a direct impact on France's prestige.⁸¹ At this juncture, the Consolidation Project presented the French with an opportunity that aligned with their objectives. As a matter of fact, Rouvier, who explained the requirements of the project to Foreign Minister Delcassé prior to the start of the unification of the debt negotiations, stated that it would be formed within a template that would serve France's interests in the East. Thus, Rouvier initiated a process that coincided with the aims of French diplomacy.⁸²

In his assessment of the issue, Constans emphasised that the majority of Ottoman foreign debt bonds were held by French bondholders and questioned the political gains for France. Constans argued that even though it was known that the majority of the debt had been provided by securities offered by the French since 1881, this did not bring any significant political benefits to France.⁸³ Constans described the project in stating, "I consider that the consolidation of the Ottoman debts, prepared in France and carried out by Rouvier, will have a great effect, very favourable to our interests in this country." By using it, the project would make it much easier to resolve many long pending issues of interest to France. The

81 ADMAE, *Politique Étrangère, Dossier Général Relations avec les Puissances, Question d'Orient Panislamisme*, Vol. 175, pp. 28-46, (Septembre 1902).

82 *Document Diplomatiques Français (DDF)*, Série II, Tome II, 1901-1911, pp. 35-36.

83 ADMAE, Archives diplomatiques, Politiques extérieures, Vol. 337, No. 105-108.

project would also bring about a rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and the French government.⁸⁴

Proposal for the Use of the Paris Stock Exchange

Whether the French government would ignore the expectations of bondholders depended on the developments that emerged during the project process. Seeking ways to save the Baghdad Railway Project from the negative impact it would have on French interests, the French government turned to the views pointed out by Constans during the debt consolidation operation. Constans stated that it would not be possible for the Ottoman Empire to undertake a new stabilisation; therefore, it needed the revenues to be obtained from the unification of debts project and that this was essential for the Baghdad Railway Project. The German group was also aware that the realisation of the Baghdad Railway Project was almost impossible without the Consolidation Project. Even if the railway line extended to the Taurus Mountains, the project was likely to come to a halt as the cost would increase after that point. Constans drew attention to French assistance by saying “that is why they need us.” However, they presumed that they would be able to undertake a project that could not be completed without the French financial market, without sharing the benefits with them. France had a pivotal role in the unification process, a fact that was widely acknowledged by the Germans.⁸⁵

Constans held the view that the consolidation of debts should be contingent upon France’s representation on the Baghdad railroad line to a degree commensurate with that of Germany. France’s political position in Turkey could thus be improved by the implementation of a project from a French financier.⁸⁶ The demands that could be presented as a condition for France’s support in the operation of the consolidation of Ottoman debts were as follows:⁸⁷

1. Equal participation of the French group with the German group in the Baghdad Railway Company,
2. Permission to extend the Izmir-Kasaba railway line by Abdülhamid II,
3. Arrangements with the French on matters concerning the Istanbul Docks Company,
4. Guarantee for the extension of the Damascus, Haasan and Maghreb line from Caiffa.

While this was being discussed at the French Palace in Constantinople, a report sent by the Policy Department to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, commenting on

84 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 122-124.

85 DDF, *Sérié II*, Tome III, No. 303; ADMAE, *Nouvelle Sérié, Turquie, Chemin de fer de Bagdad*, Vol. 336, p. 131-133.

86 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 162.

87 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 156.

Constans' recent telegram, fully sets out the French approach to the matter. The financial operation in question involved, from a technical point of view, the modification of the interest and amortisation of various Turkish debts, and questions which each of the shareholders' unions and the Ministry of Finance had to consider in this context. At this point, it would not directly concern the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was the political consequences of the project to which the Foreign Office had to pay particular attention. First and foremost, the project would enable Germany to hold most Ottoman bondholders and guarantee its place in the administration, from which it had hitherto been excluded. At the same time, it would add a few more Ottoman delegates, allowing the Ottoman government to impose its opinions.⁸⁸

The report emphasised that France had always maintained that the Muharrem Decree was not a unilateral act of the sultan but had a real international value. As a matter of fact, the statement in the note given by Russia to the Ottoman government in December 1896 as a measure for the implementation of Article 18 of the Treaty of Berlin, declaring that in case of violation of the Muharrem Decree, "creditors will recover all their former rights" was an important proof of this. Under these circumstances, any development affecting the organisation of the Ottoman public debt could lead to the intervention of foreign powers and had to be scrutinised with great care. It was therefore advisable for French interests to ensure, as Constans had requested, a perfect harmony between Mr. Rouvier's ideas and the attitude of the Embassy. For this reason, the Policy Department indicated to Foreign Minister Delcassé, in favour of the views of Constans, that the attitude to be adopted concerning the negotiations should be as described above.⁸⁹

Delcassé thought that a road map could be followed based on Constans' views. Indeed, he agreed to determine to what extent France's means of action could be preserved and what benefits could be derived from them, both against the German syndicate in the case of the Baghdad railways and for the consolidation of debts in other matters.⁹⁰ Accordingly, on July 11, 1902, Delcassé contacted Rouvier after receiving news that the Ottoman government had accepted Rouvier's project. Stating that the Baghdad railway negotiations had been postponed due to the pending unification of debts, he asked Maurice Rouvier not to offer any incentives or make any decisions regarding the unification of debts without the acceptance of France's demands in the Baghdad railway line negotiations.⁹¹

French diplomacy tried to gain time by preparing sanctions to be imposed on the Ottoman government if its proposals were not accepted. Constans soon advised that the project should not receive the support the Ottoman Empire had hoped for and that the Paris Stock Exchange

88 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 153-154.

89 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 355, No. 153-154.

90 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 83.

91 DDF, *Série II*, Tome II, p. 334.

should not list new Ottoman bonds without concessions in favour of France.⁹² In his reply, Delcassé stated that the new railway lines to be built based on the capital of other states would negatively affect French interests and emphasised some issues in particular. Accordingly, if the line extending from Konya to the Persian Gulf in the Baghdad project reached Aleppo with a section towards the extreme point of the Gulf of Alexandria, the Syrian railways with French capital would become insignificant. It was therefore necessary to take precautions against the foreseen dangers. This measure was, as Constans stated, the rejection of newly issued Ottoman bonds on the Paris Stock Exchange unless France was provided with the guarantees it wanted during the consolidation of debts.⁹³ However, in order to achieve the harmonisation recommended by the Policy Department of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was necessary to convince Rouvier that it was in France's interests to intervene in the debt consolidation negotiations.

Rouvier's Resistance to the Use of the Stock Exchange as an Element of Repression

Delcassé informed Rouvier that Constans had recommended that the new bonds be rejected in the consolidation of debts unless the necessary conditions for equal rights and privileges over the Baghdad railway could be arranged between the French and German groups. Delcassé emphasised that the French government was free to take whatever decisions it deemed necessary to protect its general interests (*liberté d'action*). Therefore, he asserted that he would not endorse any project for the consolidation of Ottoman debts until a consensus had been reached on the structure and operational framework of the company and on all matters pertaining to the construction and operation of the line. These stipulations demanded absolute equality between the elements with no room for ambiguity. He therefore expressed his belief that the consolidation operation should be suspended until France's wishes were satisfied. Otherwise, the resources obtained from the consolidation of debts would fall into the Sultan's hands and France would lose its instrument of sanction. Delcassé informed him that he would soon send some instructions to Constans on the subject and that he was curious about Rouvier's thoughts before doing so.⁹⁴

Rouvier agreed that the Ottoman government should be asked to provide a fair settlement of the difficulties caused to French companies, but he believed that bondholders, not the Turkish government, would be the ones to take the hit if the operation to consolidate Ottoman debts was blocked.⁹⁵ According to Rouvier, the Consolidation Project depended on the decision of the holders of Ottoman bonds and was in their interests. Constans' suggestion to

92 DDF, *Sérié II*, Tome II, p. 246.

93 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 87-88.

94 DDF, *Sérié II*, Tome III, No. 347; ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 336, No. 175-180.

95 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol.336, No. 158.

block the new bonds to be issued in the Stock Exchange in case France's demands were not fulfilled was not totally feasible because this blocking could only be valid when a new bond was introduced to the market. However, *Tevhîd-i Düyûn* bonds would replace the already valid bonds. This situation, which would not harm the Ottoman government, would be more detrimental to bondholders whose bonds were not accepted by the Istanbul Stock Exchange. The right timing for Constans' proposal would have been when the Ottoman government was seeking the admission of bonds for a new loan for the construction of the Baghdad railway to the Paris Stock Exchange. Rouvier indicated that France concurred with the view that it should have equal rights in the Baghdad railway project. However, he also noted that it would be disadvantageous for France to assume responsibility for preventing the unification of debts.⁹⁶

Rouvier seemed to have tried to defend his ideas here and to get them adopted. Therefore, he stated that he would be pleased to explain the consequences of France's decision not to accept the new Ottoman bonds to the Paris Stock Exchange as a trump card. Rouvier first addressed the debate on the admission of the new Ottoman bonds to the Paris Stock Exchange. Accordingly, if a government wanted to have its new securities issued in Paris, the threat of the French government's refusal to accept them could become a means of pressure. If the French holders of these foreign securities had bought them knowing that they would not be admitted to the stock exchange, they could blame themselves. But the situation was quite different when it came to the admission of a foreign security amounting to more than one billion francs, which had been traded on the Paris Stock Exchange for more than 20 years, to the stock exchange after its conversion. Such a reaction would indirectly affect the government which had issued it and which, moreover, was the holder of bonds that were popular in different parts of Europe. On the other hand, since the bonds owned by the French would immediately lose value, they would be the losers here. Thus, the rejection of the offering to the stock exchange would have meant the withdrawal of a right granted to the French holders. According to Rouvier, this was not a matter of introducing a new batch of bonds into the French market, but in fact meant deleting the Ottoman debt from the French Stock Exchange. While France wanted to put pressure on the sultan for its demands, at the same time it should not harm the French bondholders.⁹⁷

Delcassé was cautious about Rouvier's views. For this reason, he was afraid that the unification of debts project would be realised as a *fait accompli* without the demands of France for the Baghdad railway. In this way, he thought that France's hands would be tied. "I shall therefore be obliged to instruct the financial institutions to be warned by your Ministry not to participate in this matter without our approval. In a problem of this kind, the action

96 DDF, Série II, Tome III, p. 361; ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 336, No. 193-195.

97 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 336, No. 231-232; ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 137-138.

of the government should be applied in France as it is applied in England and Germany.” Delcassé directly stated that the French government would effectively control the matter.⁹⁸

Delcassé tried to allay Rouvier’s concerns and stated that his policies would be successful if all departments of the government acted in concert. Delcassé stated that France was not considering measures to de-list Ottoman bonds from the stock exchange in the process of consolidation of Ottoman debts, only a possible postponement. Delcassé elucidated that, in consideration of the prevailing financial circumstances of the Ottoman Empire, the prospect of a loan integrated into the debt consolidation operation afforded the consortium the opportunity to utilize it as a potential instrument of action against the Sultan. Additionally, it appeared that this same process could also be employed as a means of action against Deutsche Bank.⁹⁹

Delcassé listed France’s conditions for the Baghdad railway project as follows:¹⁰⁰

1. The capital of the company to be divided into 45% French, 45% German and 10% other participation shares,
2. The management of the company to be divided between French and German delegates,
3. The members of the company’s board of directors to be equally distributed between the French and the Germans,
4. An official declaration that there would be no secret agreements with the Ottoman government other than the agreement between the French group and the German group.

After the negotiations, despite Rouvier’s opposition, Delcassé informed Constans that he saw no objection to a prudent intervention in the matter of debt consolidation. Constans, on the other hand, experienced some developments that changed his thoughts. Constans was informed by Gaston Auboyneau, the head of the Consortium, that Rouvier had stated that he could not continue to be part of a government that would refuse bonds in a project of which he was the author and which would favour French bondholders. Stating that this claim, rightly or wrongly, had become entrenched, Constans declared that the idea of closing the French market to an operation called the ‘Rouvier Merger’ did not prevent the Ottoman government, the Ottoman Bank or the Ottoman Public Debt Administration from continuing negotiations and therefore would refrain from any intervention unless otherwise stated. “I

98 DDF, Série II, Tome III, No. 374; ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 336, No. 219-228.

99 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 336, No. 233-234.

100 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 337, No.2.

accept that it is impossible at the present time to gain any advantage from the financial transaction in order to solve some of our problems with the Ottoman government,” Constans said, but drew attention to the process that would occur for the new borrowing of £2,500,000 that was planned after the merger. Constans postulated that the government’s decision to borrow by pledging its surplus revenue as collateral would introduce complications into the process; however, it was precisely this process that he might utilize to resolve the outstanding issues between the Ottomans and the French government.¹⁰¹

During the negotiations, the French Foreign Office proposed that France offer its support to the project in exchange for certain demands, but in the face of Rouvier’s opposition, the Policy Department realised that it was impossible to insist.¹⁰² On the other hand, Rouvier’s opposition led to assessments in financial circles in France that he was collaborating with the Germans. The fact that the private bank operated by Rouvier was in contact with German financial institutions supported this view. According to the allegations, Rouvier was involved in the project of consolidation of Ottoman debts in agreement with the Deutsche Bank. Since this project was integrated into the Baghdad Railway Project, the German Embassy in Istanbul supported Rouvier’s proposals. According to André Chéradame, French and foreign diplomats in Istanbul also saw Rouvier as Germany’s collaborator in the project.¹⁰³ In support of this view, J. E. Favre drew attention to the shares of German companies in the Banque Rouvier and stated that it was no wonder that Rouvier was one of the most dedicated architects of the realisation of the Baghdad railway.¹⁰⁴ This issue was also brought up in the Paris daily *La Liberté*. The newspaper reported that the operation of the consolidation of Ottoman debts, which should have been carried out in favour of bondholders in Europe, was completely adapted to the interests of the Baghdad Railways Project, and that Rouvier was serving German interests.¹⁰⁵

While the debate between Rouvier and Delcassé continued in Paris, in October 1903, the French capitalists, with support from the Quai d’Orsay, received the best participation offer they could get from Berlin. With the agreement signed on October 1 in Brussels, the French group’s share was reduced to 30%, but 10% was given to the Izmir-Kasaba Railway Company, taking into account the share given to the Anatolian Railway Company. Rouvier, together with Constans, wanted the offer to be accepted. However, Delcassé opposed this. He deliberately brought the matter to a session of the Council of Ministers, which Rouvier did not attend, and the Council decided to reject Germany’s conditions.¹⁰⁶ In the justification,

101 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 163-164.

102 ADMAE, *Turquie*, Vol. 356, No. 192.

103 Chéradame, p. 276-277.

104 J. E. Favre, *La capital français au service de l'étranger*, Paris 1917, p. 28-29.

105 Chéradame, p. 275.

106 DDF, *Série II*, Tome IV, 1901-1911, p. 19.

the failure to ensure full equality was explained by the fact that the presidency was given to the Germans. In order to solve this problem, it was suggested that either a rotating presidency or a dual presidency system should be introduced. With the German refusal to accept this offer, the listing of the Series 1 bonds of the Baghdad railway on the Paris Stock Exchange was prevented. Thus, the battle for the Baghdad railway in France was won by Quai d'Orsay. The French syndicate renounced the concessions it had won in October 1903 and disbanded. Rouvier and his partners announced that they would wait for Delcassé's dismissal before they could re-initiate.¹⁰⁷

The closure of the Paris Stock Exchange to new bonds weakened the hand of the Ottoman Bank, which included French capitalists, and on November 14, 1903, a deal was agreed where Deutsche Bank held a 40% share and the Ottoman Bank 30%. To finance the construction of the line, 100,000 Baghdad railway bonds of 4% interest rate, each worth 500 francs, were placed on the market in Berlin. The transaction was successful, and the process was completed with the opening of the first section of the line on October 24, 1904.¹⁰⁸ While the opposition of the Foreign Office was successful in the case of the Baghdad railway bonds, Rouvier's thesis prevailed in the listing of the Tevhîd-i Düyûn bonds.

Conclusion

The 1903 Tevhîd-i Düyûn Decree provides an illustrative case study for examining the expectations and attitudes of bondholders' associations and states during the restructuring of international foreign debt contracts at the beginning of the 20th century. In this instance, France assumed a leading role, given its dominant presence in the Ottoman bond market and the fact that its project was formulated by its own economists and financial institutions. Furthermore, the project process afforded an opportunity to observe the representativeness of French bondholders, who had formed their association a mere three years prior to the decree's drafting, and their relationship with their government.

Before the commencement of negotiations pertaining to the project, the French bondholders' association articulated their expectations to the French government in a series of distinct categories. The initial category pertained to the transfer of the power of representation from the association of banks, which had previously represented bondholders during the 1881 Muharram Decree, to the aforementioned association. In accordance with the aforementioned request of the association, the developments from February 1902, when Maurice Rouvier commenced negotiations with the Ottoman government, were shared. Subsequently, they participated in the process in a manner that ensured their representation

107 André Autheman, *Bank-ı Osmani-i Şahane*, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, İstanbul 2002, p. 188.

108 Autheman, p. 189.

of bondholders and the incorporation of their perspectives into the decision-making process. Indeed, this situation was met with approval by French bondholders.

Another demand of the association from the French government was the application of France's diplomatic protection on the contract in the same manner as in the Muharram Decree. During this period, the rights of states to intervene in foreign debt contracts were not exercised through the application of force, but rather through diplomatic intervention. However, in practice, such intervention was typically directed against weaker states, largely in accordance with political considerations. This judgement was in line with the view of French diplomacy, which was in close competition with Germany to protect and develop its interests in the Ottoman territories at the beginning of the 20th century. French interests should be considered first, regardless of the interests of bondholders.

In order to leverage its position in the project in a favourable manner, the French Foreign Office devised a strategy to impede the advancement of the Baghdad Railways Project, thereby ensuring that its interests would not be diluted by the involvement of the Germans. In order to achieve this objective, an argument that had been previously employed in analogous proceedings was advanced with the intention of preventing the bonds from being listed on the Paris Stock Exchange. Nevertheless, the implementation of this plan was precluded by the adamant opposition of Maurice Rouvier, the Minister of Finance, who asserted that it would inflict harm upon the interests of bondholders. As a result of Rouvier's stance, the bondholders' interests were safeguarded. Furthermore, the French Foreign Ministry's formal endorsement of the Tevhîd-i Düyûn Decree, akin to the Muharrem Decree, served to reinforce this position.

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Democracy or Stability: The US Policy Towards Turkish Experiment in Democracy 1945-1980

Demokrasi ya da İstikrar: ABD'nin Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Deneyimine Yönelik Politikası 1945-1980

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ABSTRACT

The concept of democracy plays an important role in the US foreign policy. American Presidents use democracy as a motivating force for their policies worldwide. This study examines the policies of the American administrations concerning the democratic developments and coups in the Republic of Türkiye between 1945 and 1983. The influence of the US administration, as the most important proponent of liberal democracy, on Türkiye's transition to multi-party rule and its approach to the coups of May 27, September 12, and the March 12 memorandum will be discussed based on the American sources in the present study. In addition to the American National Archives, Congressional Records, Official Publications, the American newspapers of the period, and the memoirs of diplomats who served in Türkiye were used as the primary sources of the study. These sources enabled the evaluation of the development of Turkish democracy from the American perspective. The US attitude towards Turkish democracy will also reveal whether democracy is a goal or a tool of the US foreign policy towards Türkiye.

Keywords: Democracy, Coup, Military Intervention, USA

Öz

Demokrasi kavramı ABD dış politikasında önemli bir role sahiptir. Amerikan Başkanları demokrasiyi dünya genelindeki politikalarının motive edici gücü olarak kullanmaktadır. Bu araştırma, 1945-1980 yılları arasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde yaşanan demokratik gelişmelere ve darbelere ilişkin Amerikan yönetimlerinin politikalarını incelemektedir. Liberal demokrasinin en önemli savunucusu olan ABD yönetiminin Türkiye'nin çok partili hayata geçişi üzerindeki etkisi, Türkiye'de gerçekleşen 27 Mayıs, 12 Eylül darbesine ve 12 Mart muhtırasına yaklaşımları Amerikan kaynaklarına dayanarak ele alınacaktır. Amerikan Ulusal Arşivinin yanında Kongre Tutanakları, Resmi Yayınlar, döneme ait basın ve Türkiye'de görev yapmış diplomatların hatıraları araştırmada birincil kaynaklar olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu kaynaklar, Türk demokrasinin gelişim sürecinin Amerikan perspektifinden değerlendirilmesine imkân sağlamıştır. ABD'nin Türk demokrasisi karşısındaki tutumu, demokrasinin ABD'nin Türkiye'ye yönelik dış politikasının bir hedefi mi yoksa aracı mı olduğunu da ortaya koyacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demokrasi, ABD, Darbe, Askeri Müdahale



Introduction

The US regularly criticized Turkish democracy after Joe Biden won the US presidential election on November 3, 2020. An international organization called “Turkish Democracy Project” was founded in Washington in June 2021. “Steering Türkiye towards more democratic policies that protect democratic institutions and human rights” is the stated mission of organization on its webpage. Six months after the establishment of the organization, Türkiye was not invited to the Democracy Summit convened by the US President Biden in Washington, and the US administration’s critical discourse against Turkish democracy became more and more intense. This approach, prominent in the US policy towards Türkiye, should not be considered a simple discourse. Founded in 2006 in Washington, the “Middle East Democracy Project” was instrumental in the process that started in Tunisia in 2010 and plunged many Arab states into chaos. Therefore, it is necessary to examine meticulously what concepts such as democracy and human rights mean in international politics. A historical perspective will give the most accurate answer to the issue of whether the idea of democracy is a means or an end for the U.S. To evaluate the recent attitude of the US, it is necessary to consider the position of the US in Türkiye’s democracy adventure from a historical perspective.

In this study, the US approach to Turkish democracy is analyzed holistically within the historical process. The prominent developments in the history of democracy in Türkiye after the establishment of the Republic are analyzed based on the documents in the American National Archives and the American Press. After the Second World War, significant changes occurred in the international balance of power. As a superpower, the US began to shape world politics, which, in turn, increased the importance of the US for Türkiye. Simultaneously, the USSR’s post-war demands for territory and military bases in the Straits from Türkiye revealed the power struggle between the US and the USSR. In this struggle, the US claimed to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern countries. At this point, promoting political and economic liberalism was the most effective method to achieve the US interests.

The U.S. support for democracy overseas is a common theme. However, few studies have examined whether it is an instrument of American foreign policy. This study attempts to answer the following questions; is democracy a tool for the US policymakers? What was the impact of American aid during and after World War II on Türkiye’s transition to multi-party rule? Why were the regime changes after the interventions in Türkiye accepted by the US? Did the US intervene in the coups that occurred in Türkiye? Or did it prefer to work only with the strong and winning side? Was the US aware of the military interventions before they took place? If so, what was their reaction? In addition, the question of which direction the administration takes when the liberal democratic goals of the US conflict with its security

goals in foreign policy will be answered by looking at the military intervention processes in Türkiye.

Transition to Democracy in Türkiye and the US Policy

Türkiye has adopted democracy as a political system since the foundation of the Republic. However, this system could not be put into practice until the 1946 elections. The “freedom to choose”, one of the basic principles of democracy, was offered to the Turks at the level of general elections only in the 1946 elections. During the single-party period, general elections were held at regular intervals. However, when the elections held before 1950 are examined, it can easily be seen that these elections were far from being democratic. Before the establishment of the Democrat Party, only the ruling party entered the elections as a single party, and the voters naturally did not have a right to choose.

However, the Allied victory in the Second World War forced İnönü to take steps towards democratization.¹ The end of single-party governments in Italy and Germany, Türkiye’s signing of the United Nations Charter, and its rapprochement with the democratic countries of the West weakened the single-party regime in Türkiye. In particular, as Türkiye’s relations with the USSR became tense, democracy emerged as a more attractive form of government. Türkiye was determined to counter the USSR’s policies. Thus, the Western alliance was the only source of hope. İnönü’s choice could be interpreted as stemming from distinct foreign policy objectives. That is to say, Türkiye aimed to join the Western alliance, requiring significant democratic reforms. However, it is challenging to conclusively demonstrate that the situation was this straightforward.²

In the new world order that emerged after the war, the US led the Western alliance as the biggest military and economic power. For this reason, the Turkish rulers, who wanted to balance the USSR threat with the US alliance, stated that “the closer the US navy is to us, the better it is for us”.³ Especially when the Soviets raised their demands against Türkiye in 1945, it signaled a new period of pressure on Türkiye. Following the announcement of these demands, a tense and isolated period that would last until the spring of 1946 began for Türkiye.

At a time when Türkiye was isolated abroad and the regime was discredited at home, political, military, and economic support from the US provided a favorable atmosphere for Türkiye to change its shell. However, the Turkish-American rapprochement that coincided

1 Kemal Karpat, *Turkey’s Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1959, p. 140.

2 William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774*, Routledge, New York 2013, p. 79.

3 Şuhnaz Yılmaz, *From Stranger to Allies*, Princeton University, The Department of Near Eastern Studies, Unpublished Phd Thesis, New Jersey 2000, p. 187.

with Türkiye's democratization was not the driving force of this transformation. At least for the American administration, Türkiye's regime or democratization has not been the decisive force in relations. The US supported Türkiye against the Russians in 1945-1946, but the U.S. did not urge her to democratize.⁴ The main concern of the US was to keep Türkiye in the Western camp and thus protect American interests in the Middle East at a time when the world was rapidly evolving towards two poles. The idea of democracy and human rights, which were frequently voiced by American administrators, were also used to build public opinion against the USSR. A closer look at the US approach to Türkiye's democratization process reveals that rhetoric and practice do not always coincide.

The transition to a multiparty period marked an important break in Türkiye's political system. However, the US was one of the deaf countries to least these changes. Even Radio Moscow, in its May 19 message, stated that the youth had important duties for establishing democratic principles, while the US remained silent.⁵ When we look at the process of the establishment of the Democrat Party, it is seen that the US was again not very much interested. While rumors were circulating that Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü had been expelled from the RPP (Republican People's Party) and that a new party would be founded, US Ambassador to Ankara Wilson, in a telegram sent to Washington on October 19, 1945, stated in a telegram that it was risky to move forward on the path of political democracy considering the relations with Russia and that it was not recommended for the time being.⁶

As Türkiye progressed in its path to democracy, the US interest in Türkiye began to grow. However, the source of this interest was not the changes in Türkiye's political structure, but the political and economic interests of the US. After the victory against Germany, a conflict of interests between the US, Britain, and the USSR was inevitable, spanning Europe, Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans, and the Straits. In the words of a military attaché in Moscow, "Seeking cooperation between Communism and Capitalism is like climbing a tree to catch fish."⁷

This conflict also led to a change in the cautious policies of the parties during the war. Türkiye, with its position in the region and its military forces, was the only regional power

4 Efe Sıvış, *ABD Dışişleri Belgeleri Işığında Türkiye'de Çok Partili Hayata Geçiş*, Istanbul University Social Sciences Institute Department of Political Science and International Relations, Unpublished Phd Thesis, Istanbul 2018, p. 52.

5 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Record Group (RG) 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegraph From AmEmbassy Ankara to SecState Washington, Subject: Moscow Radio Broadcasts Friendly Greeting to Turkish Youth, May 23, 1945, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 1, Confidential.

6 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegram From AmEmbassy Ankara to SecState Washington, October 19, 1945, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 1, Secret.

7 Digital National Security Archive (DNSA) Collection, *National Security Agency Organization and Operations, 1945-2009*, Intelligence Summary – Red, No:68, December 21, 1945, Top Secret "U" (Online, October, 23 2023).

that could prevent the USSR from penetrating the Middle East. For the US Administration responsible for the Middle East at that time, the Soviet Union and its Balkan allies were probing for weakness in Türkiye, Iran, and Greece. They would also attempt to penetrate the weak, new Arab states.⁸ In the words of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, it is “like a stopper in the neck of the bottle, the most important factor to prevent Soviet influence from flowing into the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East”.⁹

It was the first three months of 1946 when the US-USSR conflict came to the surface. The conflict of interests in the Middle East region manifested itself in two main events: the first was the issue of the evacuation of Iran, which was occupied by the Allies during the war, and the second was the debate over the regime of the Turkish straits, i.e. amendment of the Montreux Straits Convention.

This situation, which threatened the interests of the US and Britain in the Middle East, increased Türkiye’s importance. Britain did not have the power to determine the fate of the region in the post-war period. Churchill, who had asked for US help to save Britain from Hitler during the Second World War, called on America to protect the British empire against Russian communism in his speech at Fulton in March 1946.¹⁰ On February 24, 1947, British Minister John Balfour told Washington that military-economic aid to Greece and Türkiye could no longer be provided, and he asked whether the US would take up the burden starting April 1, 1947.¹¹ This power vacuum not only facilitated the influence of the US in the region but also increased the importance of regional allies. In addition to this, Türkiye was facing increasing pressure from the USSR, which helped the US administration to ally with Türkiye.

The report sent by Washington to the Ankara Embassy on October 21, 1946, with the classification of “top secret” is important in showing the post-war US policy towards Türkiye. The report, prepared by the Near East Office of the US State Department, provides concrete justifications since it is largely based on the report prepared by the US General Staff on August 24. According to the report, the developments in 1946 increased Türkiye’s importance in the international arena. Türkiye was one of the few states close to the Soviet Union but not under its control. According to Washington, the USSR’s failure to renew the Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression of 1925, its territorial demands from Türkiye, and the USSR’s move towards a bilateral agreement with Türkiye on the Straits were clear signs of its efforts to

8 George McGhee, *The US-Turkish-NATO Middle East Connection*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 1990, p. 5

9 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegram From SecState Washington to AmEmbassy Ankara, Subject:Memorandum on Turkey, October 21, 1946, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 1, Top Secret.

10 “Anglo-American Pact Urged as British Visitor Warns Against Russia’s Ascendancy”, *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1946, p. 8.

11 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegram From Near East Affairs-Mr. Henderson to SecState, Office Memorandum, February 24, 1947, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 2, Top Secret

make Turkiye a Soviet satellite. The American government thought that the USSR aimed to use Turkiye as a springboard to the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Near East.¹² As a result, it was underlined that Turkiye should not come under the USSR's dominance or control since it would be extremely detrimental to the American national security interests.¹³

The US State Department and the US Joint Chiefs of Staff have taken action in the face of these developments in the Middle East, which they see as a threat to American interests, and have updated their policies towards Turkiye. This new policy has 4 main pillars. These are categorized as diplomatic, economic, military, and moral. While taking Turkiye's side against the USSR's territorial demands and changes in the Straits regime constituted the diplomatic side of this policy, financial loans constituted the economic pillar. In military terms, the main priority was to provide Turkiye with the materials she needed. If the UK could not send the weapons and military supplies that Turkiye needed, the US would directly provide them and deliver them to Turkiye. Another aspect of the policy towards Turkiye is based on moral values. This is basically to convince the American public to accept the policy of supporting Turkiye. The American government needed to explain the political, strategic, and moral reasons for this policy to the American public. Meanwhile, the Turkish government had to prove that it was committed to the principles enshrined in the United Nations charter.¹⁴

The moral dimension of the policy towards Turkiye was of key importance. The American public must be convinced of this policy, which aimed to establish a sphere of influence in Turkiye before the USSR. In the persuasion process, it was necessary to show that Turkiye was a country on the democratic front and to emphasize that a Turkiye under the influence of the USSR would be detrimental to the US interests in the region. At this point, Turkiye's democracy journey was crucial for the US. American administrators tried to create public sympathy by praising Turkish democracy, especially in the US.

The most important development indicating the growing US interest in the region was the American military and economic aid provided for Turkiye. It was March 12, 1947, when this support to Turkiye was given. The US President Truman stated that every nation must choose between alternative forms of life. One of these alternatives is based on the will of the majority, free institutions, free elections, protection of individual rights, freedom of expression, and political freedoms. The other is based on the imposed will of the minority

12 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegram From SecState Washington to AmEmbassy Ankara, Subject:Memorandum on Turkey, October 21, 1946, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 1, Top Secret.

13 Ekavi Athanassopoulou, "Western Defence Developments and Turkey's Search for Security in 1948", *Middle Eastern Studies*, XXXII/2 (1996), p. 101.

14 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegraph From SecState Washington to AmEmbassy Ankara, Subject:Memorandum on Turkey, October 21, 1946, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 1, Top Secret.

on the majority, terror, fear, a controlled press, and the suppression of personal freedoms.¹⁵ With these words, President Truman asked each nation to choose a path for itself, or more accurately, to choose one of these paths. Truman received authorization from Congress on May 22, 1947, for this policy that would go down in history as the Truman Doctrine. On July 12, 1947, an aid agreement was signed between Türkiye and the US.

The preface of the July 12 Agreement states that Türkiye asked the US for help to protect its independence and freedom, and that the US accepted this request to open an auspicious phase in relations and strengthen the ties between the two nations. When we look at the background of Truman's policy towards Türkiye, we see that it was based on economic interests rather than freedom, democracy, and human rights. Exactly one year before President Truman uttered the words that would become known as the "Truman Doctrine", the US General Staff prepared a detailed report on American interests in Türkiye. According to this report dated March 13, 1946, the USSR's demand for military bases in the Turkish Straits would cause the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean to come under the influence of the USSR. Thanks to its strategic location, Türkiye would be an obstacle to the USSR's access to rich oil deposits.¹⁶

When we look at the debates that took place in the American Congress during the days when the planned aid to Türkiye was being discussed, we see that it was not Türkiye's democracy that was being discussed, but rather the "vital interests" of the US. On March 31-April 1, 1947, the Congress debated the issue of aid to Türkiye and Greece. In his speech on April 1, 1947, Representative Holifield stated that aid to Greece was not based on humanitarian grounds, just as aid to Türkiye was not because the Turkish people were hungry or semi-democratic.¹⁷ Holifield stated that the US interests in the Middle East region were in jeopardy and that Bahrain Petroleum Co. and Arabian-American Oil Co. in Saudi Arabia were wholly owned by Americans, while Iraq Petroleum Co. and Quawait Oil Co. in Iraq and Kuwait were 23.75% and 50% owned by Americans respectively. Holifield continues as follows;

*"Let us be frank and admit that the Turkish portion of the loan has two great reasons behind it. First, preservation of the status quo in regard to the Dardanelles, and second, the protection of American, Dutch, French, and British chestnuts in the oil deposits of the Middle East. The subject of oil, therefore, cannot be divorced from our consideration of the Greek-Turkish aid bill and we should openly acknowledge its involvement."*¹⁸

15 "Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine. March 12, 1947." ProQuest. (Online March 27, 2023).

16 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegraph From The Joint Chiefs of Staff to Secretary of State March 13, 1946, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 19. Top Secret.

17 Mr. Holifield, "The Greco-Turkish Aid Proposal", *Congressional Record*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, XCIII/III, (April 1, 1947), p. 2996.

18 Ibid.

When the content of the American aid to Türkiye is analyzed, it appears that the main purpose of this aid was to increase Türkiye's military power. In the report of the State Department's Committee on Aid to Greece and Türkiye dated April 24, 1947, it was emphasized that the aid would be military in nature and that economic aid would be provided for projects directly related to the military program.¹⁹ For this reason, the committee that would organize the aid was largely composed of military personnel.

Similarly, a CIA report prepared in 1948 stated that Türkiye siding with the US would secure oil resources and strategic communication facilities in the Near and Middle East.²⁰ The report pointed out that the U.S. support for Türkiye was economically important and as the Turkish economy developed, new market opportunities for the U.S. goods and services would emerge. The report also emphasizes Türkiye's military importance, noting that a pro-Western Türkiye is not only essential for the Near and Middle East but also for Europe. According to the report, attacks on vital USSR targets could be launched from air bases in Türkiye, and Türkiye would give its allies precious time to activate other bases while Türkiye was countering a possible Soviet attack.²¹ In other words, by being the first country to respond to a Soviet attack, Türkiye would minimize the possible damage to its allies.

Like the American legislative branch, the executive branch also considers democracy as a tool. The US State Department's report dated May 5, 1949 stated that Türkiye's efforts in the transition to democracy should be supported by appropriate means.²² According to the State Department, Türkiye's independent, stable, and pro-Western democratic stance ensures the security of US interests in the region.²³

It was a prominent emphasis in the American press that democratization was useful to prevent Soviet expansionism.²⁴ Washington Post columnist Stewart Alsop argued that the policy towards Türkiye was based directly and solely on America's vital interests in the face of Soviet expansionist ambitions. According to Alsop, it is a grave mistake to portray the US as "*a brave white knight fighting for a strange Middle Eastern version of democracy*".

19 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Departmental Interim Greece-Turkey Assistance Committee, April 24, 1947, Subject: Nature of U.S. Program of Aid to Turkey, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 2. Secret.

20 CIA Report Situation Report-1/1, 22.12.1948, Subject: Turkey, CIA-RDP78-01617A001400020001-3 <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/> (Online April 1, 2023)

21 Ibid.

22 NARA, RG 59, *1945-1949 Central Decimal Files*, Department of State Policy Statement, May 5, 1949, Box 3392, Secret.

23 Ibid.

24 Stewart Alsop, "Our Fine Aims Amuse the East", *The Washington Post*, April 27, 1947, p. B5.

Mr. Taylor, "Aid to Greece and Turkey", *Congressional Record*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, XCIII/3, (March 31, 1947), p. 2868.

Mr. Bender, "Loans to Greece", *Congressional Record*, 80th Congress, 1st Session, XCIII/3, (March 31, 1947), p. 2930.

The only way to serve the American interests in the region is to promote a certain degree of democracy and raise people's living standards.²⁵ Another article in the *Pittsburgh Courier* argued that democracy is the most effective way to kill communism. Benjamin Mays wrote that Türkiye and Greece did not receive aid because they were or would become democracies, but because of the struggle for influence between the US and the USSR.²⁶ Among this news in the American press, Walter Lippmann's article published in the *Boston Globe* is short but important in terms of giving the essence of the issue. Lippmann wrote that the Truman Doctrine was not a law to establish democracy in Türkiye and Greece, but a law to make the US effective in the Middle East.²⁷ Lippmann argued that Congress had no choice but to approve Truman Aid in order to become the heir to the empire that the British had liquidated in the Middle East.²⁸

When the economic, military and administrative support provided by the Truman administration to Türkiye is evaluated as a whole, it is not very different from the policies implemented by the USSR in countries such as Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. Although there was no prospect of imminent war, the US managed to exploit the existing tensions for its own interests. Various reports of the US General Staff and the State Department state that the USSR did not attempt to attack Türkiye, that it did not have the economic power to wage such a war, and that the USSR could not afford a new war since the US was the only power with atomic bombs.²⁹

Although Truman did not take a step that would mean interfering in Türkiye's internal affairs, he tried to hide his struggle for influence against the USSR in this geography behind phrases such as democracy, free elections and self-governance. The direct involvement of the US administration instead of the United Nations, an organization established to ensure world peace, is important in terms of understanding the purpose of the American administration. The fact that the US helped Türkiye and Greece by ignoring the UN presented a heavy blow to the prestige of the UN. Further, President Truman, who underlined preventing the USSR's expansion into the Middle East, did not mention America's expansion into this region.

Considering the US approach to the democratization of Türkiye between 1945 and 1950, we see that this process was supported by the US while Türkiye was trying to get used to multi-party life. However, the US did not push for democratization, nor was this

25 Stewart Alsop, "Our Fine Aims Amuse the East", *The Washington Post*, April 27, 1947, p. B5.

26 Benjamin Mays, "Communism: In Greece, Turkey and U.S." *The Pittsburgh Courier*, April 26, 1947, p. 7

27 Walter Lippmann, "Congress Must Support the Greek-Turkish Bill", *The Boston Globe*, April 22, 1947, p. 14.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

29 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegram From War Department to Secretary of State, Subject: Military Assistance to Turkey, March 13, 1947, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 2. Top Secret.

NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1945-1949*, Telegram From AmEmbassy Ankara to Secretary of State, March 5, 1947, Microfilm M 1292, Roll 2. Secret.

issue a determining factor in bilateral relations. Among the State Department documents in the American archive on Turkiye's bilateral relations with the US between the years 1945 and 1950, there is not a single document indicating pressure for political transformation or democratization. Likewise, in the telegrams sent from Turkish missions to Washington, Turkiye's democratization or transition to a multi-party system was not a priority agenda. Communist activities and relations with the USSR were the issues that were carefully monitored. The expansion or contraction of democratic freedoms did not have a significant impact on Washington's decision to support Turkiye. The US support was not the locomotive of this transformation, nor was its primary objective to democratize Turkiye.

Following the establishment of the multi-party-political system in Turkiye, Turkish democracy was subjected to military interventions four more times in 1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997. On May 27, 1960, a military junta overthrew the government and seized power, citing the authoritarian policies of the DP. In March 1971, in an atmosphere of chaos caused by the growing anti-Americanism in the country, the military forced the government to resign under the threat of intervention. On September 12, 1980, under the shadow of political and economic instability, the soldiers reappeared on the political scene, overthrew the government and established an absolute rule by shutting down all political parties.

Of the military interventions included in this research, the period of the May 27, 1960 coup d'état and the March 12, 1971 memorandum are available for research in the US National Archives. Records from 1980 are also partially accessible. The post-1980 period is not declassified. In addition, in many cases, it is not possible to explain the relationship between the US and coups and memorandums in Turkiye or other countries based on documents. Like all states, the US avoids making documents available in the archives that would cause severe criticism of its foreign policy. However, it is still possible to see the attitude and perception of the US administration towards the military interventions in Turkiye.

Military Coups in Turkiye and the U.S. Policy Towards the Coups

For a coup to succeed, overthrowing the current administration is not enough. Rather, the coup should be recognized by other international actors. Without this, the new government would be vulnerable, lacking political and economic support. At this point, the US approach to the coups is of vital importance, ensuring the continuity of the coup regimes. For this reason, the US policy towards the military interventions of 1960, 1971 and 1980 in Turkiye and the military-economic aid provided to military governments are worth analyzing.

The overthrow of Menderes government on May 27, 1960, with a military coup is one of the most important ruptures in Turkish political history. The May 27, 1960 coup not only overthrew the government but also revived an old Ottoman tradition as the first coup d'état

in the Republic of Türkiye. Türkiye established a multi-party political life with a rare calm in the world. However, with the May 27 coup, she left an unforgettable stain on the history of Turkish democracy.

The May 27 coup was the last in the history of the Republic that was carried out outside the chain of command and was “successful”.³⁰ The real reasons for the May 27 coup should be sought in the period between 1945 and 1960. What is meant by “looking for reasons” here is not to legitimize or justify the coup, but to reveal the background of a historical phenomenon.

DP’s inflationary policies, the authoritarian tendency of Menderes after 1957 elections, erosion of the prestige that soldiers enjoyed were some of the reasons behind May 27 coup d’état. From the establishment of the Republic until the 1950 elections, Türkiye was ruled by the leading generals of the Independence War. However this administration was not an absolute military rule. In October 1923, immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, a decision was taken requiring soldiers involved in politics to leave their active duties. Soldiers who preferred politics took off their uniforms, but the influence of well-known generals such as Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü remained unchallenged on the army. During this period, soldiers were prevented from getting involved in politics and were even banned from reading newspapers.³¹ During the period before 1945, when the one-party government was in power, the interest of the soldiers in politics continuously decreased.

On the other hand, 1945 -1960 was a period in which the Turkish military underwent a structural, technological, and mental transformation the military experienced multi-party life on the one hand and felt the power of the alliance with the US on the other. The visits of young officers within NATO, the training they received, and the knowledge and experience they gained increased their interest in politics. The deterioration of the internal political situation led Menderes to seek external support.

With the changes they made in the high rankings of the army, the Democrats aimed to keep the military away from any intervention against them. With some retired generals joining the DP, the impression that the army was in the same line with the government was created.³² However, these steps were not enough to prevent the formation of a junta within the army. On the morning of May 27, 1960, a 37-member junta, namely the Committee of National Unity (CNU), composed of young officers, overthrew the government and seized control of the country.

30 Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London and Newyork: Routledge 2002. p. 121.

31 Ibid., p. 9.

32 Ibid., p.10.

It is impossible to say that the May 27 coup was a surprise for the US. In the spring of 1960, anyone who read the news in the American press could easily see that the possibility of a coup in Turkiye was not far away. Several newspaper reports suggested that the army was uncomfortable with the situation in Turkiye and, that the army might abandon neutrality and intervene in politics³³.

Likewise, it is impossible to say that the US State Department was unprepared for the coup. The State Department's Near East division warned the Operations Coordination Board (OCR), which had taken an unusually keen interest in the growing tensions in Turkiye's internal political situation, not to take sides in the relationship between Menderes and his opponents. The OCR should be advised that taking sides in the growing tensions in Turkiye could jeopardize US strategic interests, such as access to bases.³⁴

The economic crisis in Turkiye and the withdrawal of support from the US led the Democratic Party to diversify its foreign policy with other countries, especially the USSR.³⁵ The US and NATO were concerned about Menderes' proposal to negotiate with the USSR, as he wanted to maintain control of the country at all costs.³⁶ At a meeting of the US National Security Council on April 28, 1960 Allen Dulles from the CIA stated that the situation in Turkiye was critical and that if constitutional processes were not followed properly, a situation similar to that in Korea would emerge.³⁷ The Central Intelligence Bulletin of January 16, 1960 stated that "...some army officers have been highly critical of the oppressive tactics used against Inonu and other opposition politicians..." and adds if the government tries to rig the election, forceful action against the government may follow.³⁸ Another CIA report dated as April 20, 1960 clearly states that irritation is high military cycles against government and that the present situation contains new and potentially dangerous implications for Turkish Democracy and the security of the state.³⁹

33 "Turks Jostle, Boo Menderes; Want him Out", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 6, 1960, p. 10.

Jay Walz, "Role of Military Debated By Turks", *The New York Times*, May 8, 1960, p. 2.

34 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Turkish Affairs Desk 1958-1963*, Telegram From NEA – Parker T. Hart to G – Mr. Hare, Subject: Discussion of Turkish Political Situation at OCB Luncheon Meeting, April 26, 1960, Box 3, Secret.

35 Murat Kasapsaraçoğlu, "Soğuk Savaş Döneminde Türkiye'de Yapılan Askeri Darbeler ve ABD", *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, XIX/3 (2020), p. 1347.

36 Christopher Gunn, "The 1960 Coup in Turkey: A U.S. Intelligence Failure or a Successful Intervention?" *Journal of Cold War Studies*, XVII/2 (2015), p. 137.

37 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Memorandum of Discussion, X, p. 833.

38 Central Intelligence Bulletin, January 16, 1960, Document Number: C03031263, *Central Intelligence Bulletin Collection*. Top Secret. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/03031263> (Online April 1, 2023)

39 Central Intelligence Bulletin, April 20, 1960, Document Number: CIA-RDP79T00975A005000440001-7, *Central Intelligence Bulletin Collection*. Top Secret. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/03031263> (Online April 1, 2023)

The US National Security Council Reports, State Department documents and CIA reports prepared before the 1960 coup in Türkiye indicate that Türkiye was in crisis and that the military might intervene. Regarding the US approach to the crisis in this difficult situation of Turkish democracy, we see that American interests were the main concern rather than democracy. According to the Department of State, the best U.S. posture for that time was to regard recent developments in Türkiye as an internal political affair and stay out.⁴⁰ Protecting the strategic interest of the US and the continued use of military bases has always been the main objective of policymakers.

When we look at the post-May 27 US approach to the coup, we see that the US did not make a discourse against the coup. The essence of Turkish-American relations remained unchanged because of the extent and quality of the political, economic, and military collaboration that the Turkish military strongly supported.⁴¹ Although the April 4, 1949, NATO treaty aimed to protect the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, the US refrained from criticizing the coup, even though all of these principles were violated in Türkiye. The US welcomed the coup in Türkiye. Only one day after the coup, on May 28, 1960, Warren, the US Ambassador to Ankara, visited Cemal Gürsel in his office in the General Staff building. During this meeting, the coup in Türkiye was discussed. Warren stated that he had witnessed many coups while he was working in Latin America, but this was by far the most precise, most efficient and most rapid coup d'état that he had ever witnessed.⁴² In his talk to Gürsel, Warren named the coup as “revolutionary movement” and added his attitude would be helping Gürsel’s endeavors, the junta, and succeeding governments’ problems.⁴³

On 11 July, 1960 in his letter to Gürsel, President Eisenhower expressed his satisfaction with Türkiye’s enduring ties with the West. Eisenhower also wished success in realizing the goals of the military junta in Türkiye.⁴⁴ President Dwight Eisenhower of the US evaluated the coup leaders’ pro-American stances rather than attempting to save the democratically elected Menderes administration. Washington recognized the new government a few days later, satisfied with the goals of the new military administration.⁴⁵ Only three days after the coup the US Department of State announced the elevation of Izmir Consulate to the rank of consulate general.⁴⁶ This is a sign of developing relations in the region and more

40 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Telegram From the Department of State to Secretary of State Herter, May 1, 1960, X, p. 837.

41 Çağrı Erhan and Efe Sivış. “Determinants of Turkish-American Relations and Prospects for the Future.” *Insight Turkey*, XIX/1 (2017), p. 93.

42 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Telegram From the Embassy in Turkey to the Department of State, May 28, 1960, X, p. 845. *Ibid.*, p. 846.

44 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Letter From President Eisenhower to President Gürsel, June 11, 1960, X, p. 850.

45 Çağrı Erhan and Efe Sivış. “Determinants of Turkish-American Relations and Prospects for the Future.” *Insight Turkey*, XIX/1 (2017), p. 94.

46 *The Department of State Bulletin*, Press Release 292 dated May 31, “Consulate at Izmir, Raised to Consulate General”, XLII/1095 (June 1960), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 1973, p. 1010.

importantly a sign of trust that the US government attached to the new military government. A report prepared for the U.S. on June 23rd, about a month after the coup, stated that after the bloodless coup in Türkiye, the military was calmly in control of the country, that the Turks remained committed to NATO and CENTO, and that there was no change in Turkish foreign policy.⁴⁷ The report also outlined the objectives of American policy towards military-ruled Türkiye. The political and economic objectives of the US were to ensure a stable government in Türkiye, to keep communist party activities under control, and to provide an economy capable of resisting communist occupation and protecting the independence and territorial integrity of the country. On the military side, keeping the Turkish army as a part of the allied defense forces, making Türkiye's resources and military bases available to the US, and increasing Türkiye's share in defense expenditures were put forward as the goals of American foreign policy.⁴⁸

To achieve these objectives and maintain the existing military and political positions, special attention was paid to meet the demands of the CNU. The American administration increased its aid from 46.4 million dollars for 1961 to 90 million dollars by adding 43.6 million dollars.⁴⁹ The US even paid the financial burdens of the junta's decision to retire a large group of generals. Gürsel asked for 100 Million Turkish Liras to implement his plan for the early retirement of generals. After consultations, the Department of State decided to make a payment to CNU.⁵⁰ The legal bar to use U.S. aid funds was bypassed by providing financing for other parts of the Turkish budget, instead of a retirement plan.⁵¹ Ambassador Warren reported to Washington that to protect the interests of the US and the Western World, the US should be as considerate and helpful to the Gürsel Government as possible.⁵² Another report to the US Department of Defense by the Near East Division of the State Department dated November 17, 1960, mentioned the benefits of a close relationship with Gürsel and stated that it would be beneficial for bilateral relations if Gürsel was provided with the L-23 aircraft that he requested for his travels in Türkiye.⁵³

After the coup, Turkish-American relations continued to be close and friendly. In the meetings of the American Ambassadors with the Turkish Foreign Minister Sarper and the President of the CNU Cemal Gürsel, the close relations between Türkiye and the US were

47 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Turkish Affairs Desk 1958-1963*, Suggestions for NSC Planning Board, June 23, 1960, Box 1, Confidential.

48 Ibid.

49 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Turkish Affairs Desk 1958-1963*, FY 61 Defense Support for Turkey, August 30, 1960, Box 2, Secret.

50 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Memorandum of Conversation, August 2, 1960, X, p. 866.

51 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Memorandum of Conversation, August 2, 1960, X, p. 868.

52 *FRUS 1958-1960*, Letter From the Ambassador to Turkey to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, August 11, 1960, X, p. 878.

53 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Turkish Affairs Desk 1958-1963*, Request for L-3 Aircraft by General Cemal Gürsel, November 16, 1960, Box 1, Confidential.

emphasized. It was also stated that the US would continue collaborating closely with Türkiye in world politics.⁵⁴

The US policies towards Türkiye were effective in spreading the anti-Americanism that had been slowly developing since the 1960s. Events such as the Cuban missile crisis, the Johnson letter, and the poppy problem increased anti-Americanism in Türkiye. This opposition began to manifest itself in protests against American individuals and institutions in Türkiye from 1970 onwards. At the peak of the crisis, the Turkish army again intervened in politics on March 12, 1971. Under the threat of a coup, the government was forced to resign and a new technocratic cabinet was formed under the strict observation of the army.

Even if March 12 was not a coup in the classical sense, it resulted in the fall of an elected government through military intervention. For this reason, the US approach to this intervention is noteworthy. Interestingly, the US approach, which was not visible in other coups, was quite evident for March 12. The telephone conversation between National Security Advisor Kissinger and President Nixon on the morning of March 13 shows the US approach to the military involvement in Türkiye. In this phone conversation, Henry Kissinger informed the President that the military has thrown out the Turkish Prime Minister and that they are trying to form a new government. In response to President Nixon's "Is it on our side?" question, Kissinger answered "yes".⁵⁵ The position of the US towards the military ultimatum that led to the resignation of the Demirel cabinet in Türkiye is best expressed in these words. The events that followed the ultimatum revealed that March 12 was, in fact, on the US side.⁵⁶

The US policy towards the "friendly" intervention of the Turkish military was again supportive. In a telegram sent to Washington on March 13, 1971, the US Ambassador to Ankara Handley warned the Department of State to be cautious in commenting on the developments in Türkiye. According to Handley, "Any public comment on the developments should be confined to an expression of gratification that Türkiye is attempting to form a new government..."⁵⁷ This approach of the Turkish Ambassador indicates that the US will not take a position against the memorandum in Türkiye.

The Intelligence brief of the Department of State dated March 12, 1971, evaluates the military ultimatum and clarifies the US position vis-à-vis the military intervention

54 NARA, RG 59, *Records of the Turkish Affairs Desk 1958-1963*, Ninth Cento Ministerial Council Session Ankara Background Paper, April 17, 1961, Box 4 Secret.

55 DNSA, *Kissinger Telephone Conversations*, United States Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 13.03.1971, <http://www.proquest.com> (Online, June 9, 2023)

56 For the detailed account of US gains from March 12, 1971 memorandum see Özata M. "Türkiye deki Askeri Müdahaleler ve ABD Kazanımları 12 Mart ve 12 Eylül Örneği", *Demokrasi Darbeler ve Tepkiler*, Ed. Betül Karagöz Yerdelen et al, Divan Kitap, Ankara 2016, pp. 683-703

57 NARA, RG59, *Subject Numeric Files 1970-1973*, Telegram From AmEmbassy in Ankara to The Secretary of State, 13.03.1971, Box 2637, Secret.

in Turkiye. The briefing excluded any details about the forced resignation of the democratically elected government. The US's position was to overcome the discontent of Americans living in Turkiye. As stated in the intelligence report, the main concern was the transition to a government that would crack down on a group of a few hundred people involved in violence.⁵⁸ As the Political Counselor of the American Embassy Myles Greene put it some thirty years later "*on the political side we were not too concerned about the overthrow of Demirel but we liked Erim. We liked somebody trying to crack down leftist students...*"⁵⁹

Before the 12 March Memorandum anti-Americanism was a major problem for the US in its relations with Turkiye. The military supervised the Erim government and was bitter enough to curb leftist activities rapidly. The martial law regime suppressed anti-American sentiment in the country and allowed the Sixth Fleet of the US Navy to visit Istanbul in peace in 1972. Under the strict control of the army, the Erim government did not hesitate to increase its relations with the US. Turkiye's relations with the US were said to have been restored under the Erim government, according to a telegram sent from Istanbul to Washington at the beginning of 1972. The cable also states that the US should exercise caution and refrain from abruptly stepping up its presence in the nation.⁶⁰

Another indication of US support for March 12 is the financial aid it allocated to Turkiye during this period. Shortly after the Erim government took office, US President Nixon approved a \$40 million aid package for Turkiye.⁶¹ This aid was important for the survival of the Erim government, which was not very popular at home but was trying to fix the problems in relations with the US. It is also stated that the US Government wants to get off to a good start with Prime Minister Erim, who has reaffirmed Turkiye's strong ties to NATO.

After the election held in October 1973, Turkiye resumed civilian rule. The second half of the 1970s witnessed short-lived and weak governments in the political arena. The first government formed after the election was the RPP-NSP (National Salvation Party) coalition with Ecevit as the Prime Minister. Ecevit achieved gaining the appreciation of the masses with his decisions on issues such as Cyprus and the poppy problem. He wanted to crown this success with early elections and a single-party government. However, although he increased his votes, he did not have the majority in the parliament to form a government on his own.

58 NARA, RG59, *Subject Numeric Files 1970-1973*, Director of Intelligence and Research, Intelligence Brief From INR (Ray S. Cline) To The Secretary, 12.03.1971, Box 2637, Secret / No Foreign Dissem.

59 Frontline Diplomacy: The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, Interview With Myles Greene, 22.02.2002, *ADST, Library of Congress*, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. (Online <https://www.loc.gov/item/mfdipbib000451/>, March 26, 2023)

60 NARA, RG59, *Subject Numeric Files 1970-1973*, Department of State Airgram From Amconsul Istanbul to Department of State, January 26, 1972, Box 2637, Confidential.

61 *FRUS 1969-1976*, Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon, 26.04.1971, XXIX, p. 1090.

Taking advantage of this, right-wing parties came together and formed a series of coalition governments called as *Milliyetçi Cephe* (Nationalist Front).

Between 1975 and 1978 the Nationalist Front Governments aimed to prevent the RPP from returning to power, which they saw as an imminent danger to the rising leftist politics in Türkiye. It did not take long for this polarization in politics to be reflected on the streets. An economic crisis accompanied by conflict between the right and left groups paved the way for a new political crisis in Türkiye. The violence that began to escalate in the second half of the 1970s took on the appearance of a civil war by 1979, with dozens of people being killed every day. Despite the powers given to the Turkish army by the Demirel government to suppress the violence, the events continued unabated. The political and economic crisis deepened with the failure to elect a new president to replace the outgoing President Fahri Korutürk.

Türkiye could not be a stable ally for the US due to its weak governments during this period. The major problems for the US, such as the Iranian Revolution and the invasion of Afghanistan, increased the importance of Türkiye. In this turmoil, the Turkish army intervened again and overthrew the government. The code name of the coup was Bayrak Operation.

On September 12, the Turkish military carried out a long-planned move and staged a coup against Demirel government. Up until the November 1983 general elections, the nation was governed by the National Security Council (NSC), which consisted of the Chief of Staff and the four commanders in chief of the armed forces. By a decree of the NSC, the constitution was suspended, the parliament was dissolved, political parties were shut down, trade union activities were stopped, and military personnel were appointed to the positions of mayor and governor, referring to the military's total control over the country.

As in May 27th, in the September 12th coup, the US was well aware of the coup that was about to occur. Before the coup, reports from both the intelligence services and diplomatic missions warned of an impending coup in Türkiye. The US, the stronghold of democracy, turned a blind eye to a democracy's step-by-step descent into a coup d'état.

An intelligence memorandum prepared by the CIA on March 9, 1980, states that political, economic, and internal security problems have impelled military leaders to become more involved in the political process.⁶² In a telegram dated July 19, 1979, US Ambassador to Ankara Spiers stated that if the political and economic situation continued to deteriorate, the military could seize power for the third time. Spiers added the failure of Türkiye's politicians to find solutions to deep-seated economic and social problems has created dissatisfaction

62 *FRUS 1977-1980, Short Term Prospects for Turkey, March 09, 1980, XXI, pp. 453-454*

among senior military officers.⁶³ His successor, Spain, also had the same idea. Three months before the coup, the US Ambassador to Ankara Spain, mentioned that a coup in Türkiye was inevitable.⁶⁴ Ambassador Spain was also aware of the impending coup. An American officer informed Spain about the coup on September 11, as Ambassador Spain wrote in his memoirs.⁶⁵ Similarly, Alfred Joseph White, who worked in the U.S. Embassy's in Ankara, noted that on September 12, the officials at the embassy called his home before the coup had taken place and told him not to come to work.⁶⁶ These events show that although the US knew the coup was coming, it did not interrupt it because the coup was not a threat to US interests.⁶⁷

On the same day, September 12, US National Security Council member Paul Henze wrote a memorandum for Brzezinski and argued that the coup was a positive development, it had nothing to do with anti-American/NATO sentiment, and the US should not publicly criticize the takeover.⁶⁸ The first US official statement, issued only hours after the takeover, was carefully couched in understanding tones as Secretary of State Cristopher stated in his telegraph to Ankara.⁶⁹ In his first statement on the coup, the US State Department spokesperson John Trattner announced that the troops, led by the Chief of Staff, had taken control of the country, the situation in the country was calm, and the American citizens and property were not in danger. As a spokesman, Trattner did not hesitate to say that the Turkish military had intervened to restore a functioning democratic government. Trattner added “*Türkiye’s other NATO allies and friends, have provided significant levels of assistance to help stabilize its economy and provide for the common defense. This assistance will continue.*”⁷⁰ A two-paragraph statement not only recognized the coup regime in Türkiye but also justified the reasons for the coup and highlighted that aid would continue. Christopher thinks that this quick action of the US muted possible adverse public reactions in some capitals. The US also

63 *FRUS 1977-1980*, Prospects for Military Intervention, 19.07.1979, XXI, p. 434

64 James W. Spain, *American Diplomacy in Turkey : Memoirs of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*, Praeger Publishers, New York 1984, p. 26

65 *Ibid.*, p.17.

66 Frontline Diplomacy: The Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection, Interview With Alfred Joseph White, 17.09.1997, *ADST, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division*, Washington, D.C., Digital ID: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mfdip.2004whi01> (Online, 16 March, 2023).

US Ambassador to Ankara, James W. Spain, also wrote that he received a call around 3 a.m. from General Dick Boehm, who was on the Military Assistance and Training Commission. (James W. Spain, *American Diplomacy in Turkey : Memoirs of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*, Praeger Publishers, New York 1984, p.18).

67 Mehmet Akif Okur, “Türkiye-ABD İlişkilerinin 12 Eylül Kavşağı: Amerikan Belgeleri Darbe Hakkında Ne Anlatıyor?”, *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika*, X/40 (2014), p. 86

68 *Carter Library, National Security Affairs, Brzezinski Material*, Country File, Box 75, Turkey: 9/80–1/81.

69 *FRUS 1977-1980*, Telegram From Department of State to the Embassy in Turkey, September 20, 1980, XXI, p. 474.

70 *The Department of State Bulletin*, LXXX/2044, (November 1980) U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1980, p.5.

put a lot of effort in NATO to prevent the cancelation of the “Anvil Express” exercise and to back Türkiye’s stance at the Military Committee meeting in Türkiye, which was originally planned for September 15.⁷¹

After the initial support and statements of recognition, the US administration constantly reminded the military regime of its support through high-level visits to Ankara. In his visit to Ankara, Senator John G. Tower expressed the need for more American military and economic aid for Türkiye. Tower was The Chairman of the US Senate Armed Services Committee, and the words of support came as a welcome buttress to the military leadership, which has come under attack by the Council of Europe for alleged abuses of human rights.⁷² Likewise, the Secretary of Defense, Caspar W. Weinberger, visited Türkiye as the first senior of the Reagan administration. Weinberger’s visit was seen as a welcome support for the military regime, which was having severe tensions with its European allies.⁷³ The visit of the US Secretary of State followed Weinberger’s visit. Alexander M. Haig visited Ankara and his visit is seen as a move by the US to strike a new and close relationship beyond the existing good ties within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.⁷⁴ With these high-level visits, the US restored relations with its forgotten ally. The 1979 Iranian Revolution and the USSR invasion of Afghanistan reminded Türkiye’s importance in the defense of the West. For this reason, despite the September 12 coup in Türkiye, the US signed a DECA (Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement) with Türkiye and put it into effect.⁷⁵ With these diplomatic steps, the US constantly emphasized its confidence in the regime and helped to break the military regime’s isolation in the international arena.

Military rule was also supported economically by the US. Türkiye’s foreign debt payments were postponed and restructured on favorable terms. Only about one month later the coup, the US rescheduled Turkish debts. The \$350 million debts owed by Türkiye were postponed with an agreement between the US and Türkiye, Türkiye was given a five-year grace period, after which it had 10 years to repay debts. ⁷⁶ Apparently, the US constantly emphasized its confidence in the regime through high-level visits and official statements. The US was also determined to provide economic aid to Türkiye. As the US Secretary of State underlined, “the restrained and supportive attitude of the U.S. toward the new Turkish government speaks for

71 *FRUS 1977-1980*, Telegram From Department of State to the Embassy in Turkey ,September 20,1980, XXI, p. 474.

72 Marvine Howe, “Senator Tower Favors More Assistance for the Turkish Junta”, *The New York Times*, February 13,1981, p. 8.

73 Marvine Howe, “Turks Reassured by Weinberger’s Visit”, *The New York Times*, Dec 5, 1981, p. 3.

74 Marvine Howe, “Haig Ankara Visit Encourages Turks”, *The New York Times*, December 13, 1982, p. 17.

75 Aylin Güney. “Anti-Americanism in Turkey: Past and Present.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, XLIV/3 (2008), p. 476.

76 “Around the World”, *The New York Times*, Oct 26,1980, p. 5

itself".⁷⁷ The political and economic support of the US to the September 12 regime enabled the dictatorial regime in Turkiye to continue on its way with confidence for more than 3 years. The US Ambassador to Ankara James Spain, made it clear that they supported the economic policies of the military government regardless of what was happening politically in Turkiye during this period.⁷⁸

The US, which defends democracy and the parliamentary system at every opportunity, welcomed the coup in Turkiye with sympathy. The statements emphasized the soldiers' belief in democracy and their plans to end anarchy and restore peace to the country rather than the dismissal of the elected Prime Minister of Turkiye. After September 12, many reports prepared for the US Congress implied that the coup in Turkiye was necessary due to the political and economic crisis in the country. In all of these reports, the coup in Turkiye was referred to as a "military intervention" and the military's commitment to democracy was emphasized.

Conclusion

This study focused on the US policy towards the Turkish experiment with democracy between the years 1945 and 1980. Based on the Department of State documents in the US archive, it is seen that the US did not play an active role in the transition to multi-party life in Turkiye. The main reason for the increased US interest in Turkiye was not Turkiye's democratization but its strategic position. The growing tension between the US and the USSR after the Second World War increased Turkiye's importance. American military experts believe that Turkiye was the only country that could prevent Soviet influence from pouring into the Middle East. This strategic importance of Turkiye was the main reason behind the US support in the post-war period. Examining the congressional debates on aid to Turkiye, it is obvious that the US was trying to get closer to Turkiye for its strategic interests. With regards to American documents and the American press, the US did not pursue a policy of democratization in Turkiye. Instead, as the Truman administration emphasized, the discourse of democracy was used to protect US interests in the Middle East region; thus, the US Congress passed a resolution to provide aid to Turkiye.

After the establishment of multi-party life in Turkiye, Turkish democracy was interrupted by military coups in 1960, 1971, and 1980. In general, once the military takeover succeeds in one country, the next crucial step is to obtain the support of external actors. In the Cold War period, the most important external actor was either the US or the USSR depending on

77 *FRUS 1977-1980*, Telegram From Secretary of State Muskie to the Department of State, September 27, 1980, XXI, p. 477.

78 James W. Spain, *American Diplomacy in Turkey: Memoirs of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*, Praeger Publishers, New York 1984, p. 73.

the side on which a country stands. In the example of coups in Türkiye, the most important actor was the US. The US support for the coups can be seen clearly through some indicators. First, the US government named the coup as a *military intervention* in Türkiye and continued providing political support as well as the military and economic aid. The US's supportive policy towards the coups in Türkiye is also a crystal clear example of the priority of stability. That is, stability is more important than democracy in American foreign policy.

The US, the most important defender of liberal democracy, remained silent against the overthrow of elected governments through military coups. The US support for military governments started with the naming of the coup and continued with the recognition of the new administration. In their statements, the US presidents and government spokespersons used the terms "military intervention" or "military action" instead of coup d'état. The US administration established close relations with the military governments and increased its military and economic aid.

Examining the historical approach of the US, which nowadays criticizes democracy and human rights in Türkiye, we see a clear contradiction. The US has not contributed to Türkiye's democratization and has been the biggest supporter of the military overthrowing civilian governments. According to the official records of the American Information Agency, the US provided the most assistance to Türkiye during the period when the military governments were in office. Increased military and economic aid facilitated the internal stabilization of the military governments. The declared purpose of US foreign aid is to promote democracy and protect and strengthen human rights. However, contrary to what is stated, what the US is paying for is the US national interest. As clearly seen in the democratic experience of Türkiye, US national security interests in the region often trump democracy or human rights concerns for policymakers. Promoting democracy and fostering human rights are useful instruments for American foreign policymakers. Records, telegrams, and reports from the US National Archives show that US interests have come before democratic ideals. It is more important for the US whether a government is cooperative than whether it is democratically elected.

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TANIM

Tarih Dergisi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi tarafından 1949'dan beri yayımlanan Türkiye'nin en eski ve köklü akademik tarih dergilerinden biridir. Çift-kör hakemli, açık erişimli bilimsel yayın organıdır. Dergi Şubat, Haziran ve Ekim aylarında olmak üzere, yılda üç sayı olarak yayımlanır. Araştırma ve derleme makalelerinin yanı sıra derginin yayın kapsamına uygun kitapların tanıtım yazılarını yayımlar. Dergide eleştiri ve değerlendirme yazılarına yer verilir. Yayın dili Türkçe ve İngilizcedir.

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- Araştırma bağımsızlığıyla ilgili açık ve net olunmalı; çıkar çatışması varsa belirtilmelidir.
- Deneysel çalışmalarda, araştırmaya katılmaya karar veren katılımcıların yazılı bilgilendirilmiş onayı alınmalıdır. Çocukların ve vesayet altındakilerin veya tasdiklenmiş akıl hastalığı bulunanların yasal vasisinin onayı alınmalıdır.
- Çalışma herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluşta gerçekleştirilecekse bu kurum ya da kuruluşta çalışma yapılacağına dair onay alınmalıdır.
- İnsan ögesi bulunan çalışmalarda, “yöntem” bölümünde katılımcılardan “bilgilendirilmiş onam” alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığı belirtilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telifle bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları

ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir.

Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda “yazar” yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise, makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve / veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını **Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda** imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar.

Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler “teşekkür / bilgiler” kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir.

Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler.

Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör ve Hakem Sorumlulukları

Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti eder. Baş editör içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludur. Gereğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır.

Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar.

Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin gizli bilgi olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

HAKEM SÜRECİ

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Gönderilen ve ön kontrolü geçen makaleler iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak intihal için taranır. İntihal kontrolünden sonra, uygun olan makaleler baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir.

Baş Editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyuğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar.

Seçilen makaleler en az iki ulusal/uluslararası hakeme değerlendirmeye gönderilir; yayın kararı, hakemlerin talepleri doğrultusunda yazarların gerçekleştirdiği düzenlemelerin ve hakem sürecinin sonrasında baş editör tarafından verilir.

Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri objektif olmalıdır. Hakem süreci sırasında hakemlerin aşağıdaki hususları dikkate alarak değerlendirmelerini yapmaları beklenir.

- Makale yeni ve önemli bir bilgi içeriyor mu?
- Öz, makalenin içeriğini net ve düzgün bir şekilde tanımlıyor mu?
- Yöntem bütünlüklü ve anlaşılır şekilde tanımlanmış mı?
- Yapılan yorum ve varılan sonuçlar bulgularla kanıtlanıyor mu?
- Alandaki diğer çalışmalara yeterli referans verilmiş mi?
- Dil kalitesi yeterli mi?

Hakemler, gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdır.

Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın

kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir.

YAZILARIN HAZIRLANMASI

Dil

Dergide Türkçe ve İngilizce makaleler yayınlanır. Gönderilen makalelerde makale dilinde öz, İngilizce öz olmalıdır.

Yazıların Hazırlanması ve Gönderimi

Makaleler sadece <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iutarih> adresinde yer alan derginin online makale yükleme ve değerlendirme sistemi üzerinden gönderilebilir. Diğer mecralardan gönderilen makaleler değerlendirilmeye alınmayacaktır.

Gönderilen makalelerin dergi yazım kurallarına uygunluğu ilk olarak Editoryal Ofis tarafından kontrol edilecek, dergi yazım kurallarına uygun hazırlanmamış makaleler teknik düzeltme talepleri ile birlikte yazarlarına geri gönderilecektir.

Yazarların; **Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu**'nu ilk gönderim sırasında online makale sistemine yüklemeleri gerekmektedir.

Tarih Dergisi'ne gönderilen tüm yazılar, A4 boyutunda MS Word uyumlu programda Times New Roman yazı karakterinde 11 punto olarak yazılmalıdır.

Türkçe hazırlanan makalelerde TDK yazım kılavuzu esas alınır.

Kapak sayfası: Gönderilen tüm makalelerle birlikte ayrı bir kapak sayfası da gönderilmelidir. Bu sayfa;

- Makalenin başlığını ve 50 karakteri geçmeyen kısa başlığını,
- Yazarların isimlerini, kurumlarını ve eğitim derecelerini,
- Yazarların ORCID numaralarını
- Finansal destek bilgisi ve diğer destek kaynakları hakkında detaylı bilgiyi,
- Sorumlu yazarın ismi, adresi, telefonu (cep telefonu dahil), faks numarası ve e-posta adresini,
- Makale hazırlama sürecine katkıda bulunan ama yazarlık kriterlerini karşılamayan bireylerle ilgili bilgileri
- Makale daha önceden bir bilimsel toplantıda sunulduysa, ilgili bilimsel toplantının detaylı bilgilerini içermelidir.

Öz: Özgün araştırma makalelerinde 80-100 kelime Türkçe ve İngilizce özet bulunmalıdır. Özet bölümü alt başlık içermeyecek şekilde hazırlanmalıdır.

İngilizce genişletilmiş özet: Türkçe yazılan makalelerin uluslararası platformda görünürlüğü ve atf oranını arttırmak amacıyla, yalnızca araştırma makaleleri için 800-1000 kelimelik İngilizce geniş özet hazırlanıp sisteme yüklenmelidir. İngilizce geniş özet makalenin hipotezini, çıkarımlarını ve yorumların

kapsamlı bir biçimde özetleyecek şekilde hazırlanmalıdır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Araştırma makaleleri en az 3 en fazla 6 anahtar kelimeyle birlikte gönderilmelidir. Anahtar kelimeler İngilizce ve Türkçe olarak hazırlanıp ilgili özetin altına yazılmalıdır.

Makale Türleri

Araştırma Makalesi: Ana metin, araştırmanın konusuna uygun şekilde alt başlıklara ayrılmalıdır. Alt başlıklar konusunda yazarlar serbest bırakılmışlardır.

Çeviri: Çeviri türündeki yazılarda, orijinal makalenin yazarından alınan izin ile orijinal makalenin bir kopyası ve asıl metnin tam bibliyografik künye bilgilerini içeren dosyalar da online makale sistemine yüklenmelidir.

Tablolar

Tablolar ana dosyaya eklenmeli, kaynak listesi sonrasında sunulmalı, ana metin içerisindeki geçiş sıralarına uygun olarak numaralandırılmazdır. Tabloların üzerinde tanımlayıcı bir başlık yer almalı ve tablo içerisinde geçen kısaltmaların açıklamaları tablo altına tanımlanmalıdır. Tablolar Microsoft Office Word dosyası içinde “Tablo Ekle” komutu kullanılarak hazırlanmalı ve kolay okunabilir şekilde düzenlenmelidir. Tablolarda sunulan veriler ana metinde sunulan verilerin tekrarı olmamalı; ana metindeki verileri destekleyici nitelikte olmalıdır.

Resim ve Resim Altyazıları

Resimler, grafikler ve fotoğraflar (TIFF ya da JPEG formatında) ayrı dosyalar halinde sisteme yüklenmelidir. Görseller bir Word dosyası dokümanı ya da ana doküman içerisinde sunulmamalıdır. Alt birimlere ayrılan görseller olduğunda, alt birimler tek bir görsel içerisinde verilmemelidir. Her bir alt birim sisteme ayrı bir dosya olarak yüklenmelidir. Resimler alt birimleri belli etme amacıyla etiketlenmemelidir (a, b, c vb.). Resimlerde altyazıları desteklemek için kalın ve ince oklar, ok başları, yıldızlar, asteriksler ve benzer işaretler kullanılabilir. Makalenin geri kalanında olduğu gibi resimler de kör olmalıdır. Bu sebeple, resimlerde yer alan kişi ve kurum bilgileri de körleştirilmelidir. Görsellerin minimum çözünürlüğü 300DPI olmalıdır. Değerlendirme sürecindeki aksaklıkları önlemek için gönderilen bütün görsellerin çözünürlüğü net ve boyutu büyük (minimum boyutlar 100x100 mm) olmalıdır. Resim altyazıları ana metnin sonunda yer almalıdır.

Makale içerisinde geçen tüm kısaltmalar, ana metin ve özette ayrı ayrı olmak üzere ilk kez kullanıldıkları yerde tanımlanarak kısaltma tanımının ardından parantez içerisinde verilmelidir.

Tüm kaynaklar, tablolar ve resimlere ana metin içinde uygun olan yerlerde sırayla numara verilerek atf yapılmalıdır.

Revizyonlar

Yazarlar makalelerinin revizyon dosyalarını gönderirken, hakemlerin istediği düzeltmeleri ve

hakemlerin sorularına yanıtlarını ana metin içerisinde renklendirerek belirtmelidir. Revize makaleler karar mektubunu takip eden 30 gün içerisinde dergiye gönderilmelidir. Makalenin revize versiyonu belirtilen süre içerisinde yüklenmezse, revizyon seçeneği iptal olabilir. Yazarların revizyon için ek süreye ihtiyaç duymaları durumunda uzatma taleplerini ilk 30 gün sona ermeden dergiye iletmeleri gerekmektedir.

Yayına kabul edilen makaleler dil bilgisi, noktalama ve biçim açısından kontrol edilir. Yayın süreci tamamlanan makaleler, yayın planına dahil edildikleri sayıyla birlikte yayınlanmadan önce erken çevrimiçi formatında dergi web sitesinde yayına alınır. Kabul edilen makalelerin baskıya hazır PDF dosyaları sorumlu yazarlara iletilir ve yayın onaylarının 2 gün içerisinde dergiye iletilmesi istenir.

Referans Stili ve Formatı

Yayınlara atıf yapılırken en son, en güncel yayınlar tercih edilmelidir. Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Referanslar dip not sistemine uygun olarak belirtilmelidir. Metin içi referansları ve kaynakça bölümü için dikkat edilmesi gereken detaylar aşağıda belirtilmiştir.

Metin içi referanslar üst simge ile 1'den başlayarak gösterilmelidir. Dipnotlar, Times New Roman yazı karakterinde, 9 punto tek aralık yazılmalıdır. Tüm noktalama işaretlerinden sonra bir boşluk bırakılmalı ve tüm dipnotların sonuna, mutlaka nokta konulmalıdır. Metin içindeki atıflar sayfa altına dipnot şeklinde 1'den başlayarak numaralandırılmalıdır. Bunun dışında metin içinde atıf yapılmamalıdır. Dipnotlarda kaynaklar verilirken, kitap ve dergi ismi italik olmalı, makale isimleri tırnak içerisinde düz olarak verilmelidir. Dipnotlarda, ilk geçtiği yerde yazar ismi ve kaynak künyesi tam olarak verilmeli, daha sonra sadece yazar soyadı ve a.g.e., a.g.m., veya a.g.t. gibi yazarın belirlediği kısaltmalarla yazılmalıdır. Bir yazarın birden fazla kitap ve makalesi kullanılıyorsa ikinci eserin ilk kullanımından sonra, yazarın soyadı, sonra kitap veya makalenin kısaltılmış adı verilmelidir. Çok yazarlı kaynakların ilk geçtiği yerde yazarların tümü yazılmalı, daha sonrakilerde kısaltılarak verilmelidir. Dipnotlarda makale, kitap içinde bölüm veya ansiklopedi maddesinin tamamına yönelik bir atıf mevcutsa, başlangıç ve bitiş sayfaları gösterilmelidir.

Örnekler:

Kitap:

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2010, s. 115. Sonraki atıflarda: Kütükoğlu, *a.g.e.*, s. 123 ya da Kütükoğlu, s. 123.

Bir yazarın birden fazla yayınına atıf yapılacak ise, ilk atıfta tam künye verilmeli; daha sonra yine kullanılacaksa nasıl kısaltılacağı parantez içerisinde gösterilmelidir:

Arzu Terzi, *Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2000, s. 98 (Terzi, Hazine-i Hassa).

Eserin cildine işaret etmek için (cilt ya da c. yazılmadan) sadece Romen rakamıyla cilt sayısı yazılmalıdır:

Hoca Sa'adeddin Efendi, *Tâcü'î-tevârih*, I, İstanbul 1279, 25.

Tayyâr-zâde Atâ, *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi Târih-i Enderûn*, haz. Mehmet Arslan, Kitabevi, III, İstanbul 2010, 138.

Çeviri eserler:

Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, çev. Teoman Tunçdoğan, İstanbul 2009, s. 51.

Ansiklopedi maddeleri:

Feridun M. Emecen, “Başmukataa Kalemî”, *DİA*, V, 135.

Bir yazarın iki ayrı çalışması aynı dipnotta peş peşe gösterilecekse:

Mustafa Akdağ, *Celali İsyancıları, 1550-1603*, Anlara 1963, s. 110; keza büyük kaçgunluk için bk. ayn. yzr. ya da ayn.mlf., “Celâlî İsyancılarından Büyük Kaçgunluk, 1603-1606”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, II/2-3 (Ankara 1964), 1-50.

Birden çok yazarlı bir eser kullanılacaksa:

Robert Anhegger-Halil İnalçık, *Kânünnâme-i Sultânî Ber Müceb-i 'Örf-i 'Osmânî, II. Mehmed ve II. Bayezid Devirlerine Ait Yasaknâme ve Kânünnâmeler*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2000, s. 25. Aynı eser daha sonraki kullanımlarda sadece yazar soyadlarına yer verilmelidir: Anhegger-İnalçık, a.g.e., s. 36.

Makale:

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Osmanlıdan Günümüze Yer Adları”, *Belleten*, LXXVI/275 (2012), 149.

Bekir Kütükoğlu, “Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Ma'rûzât”, *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, sayı 10-11, İstanbul 1983, s. 251.

Mücteba İlgürel, “Şer'iyeye Sicillerinin Toplu Kataloğuna Doğru”, *Tarih Dergisi*, sayı 28-29 (1975), s. 164.

Sempozyum Tebliğleri:

İdris Bostan, “Kuyûd-ı Mühimmat Defterlerinin Osmanlı Teşkilât Tarihi Bakımından Önemi”, *Osmanlı-Türk Diplomatîği Semineri, 30-31 Mayıs 1994*, İstanbul 1995, s. 145.

Birden çok yazarlı bir makale:

Kayhan Orbay-Hatice Oruç, “Sultan II. Murad'ın Edirne Câmî-i Şerîf ve Dârü'l-hadis Vakfî (1592-1607)”, *Tarih Dergisi*, sayı 56 (2012/2), İstanbul 2013, s. 10. Aynı makalenin daha sonraki kullanımlarında sadece yazar soyadlarına yer verilmelidir: Orbay-Oruç, a.g.m., s. 15.

Çeviri yazıları:

Géza Dávid, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Habsburg Mücadelesinin Bir Kaynağı Olarak Mühimme Defterleri”, çev. Özgür Kolçak, *Tarih Dergisi*, sayı 53 (2011/1), İstanbul 2012, s. 295-349.

Aynı soyadlı iki yazarın makalelerinin gösterilmesi:

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Osmanlıdan Günümüze Yer Adları”, *Belleten*, LXXVI/275 (2012), 149.

Bekir Kütükoğlu, “Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Ma'rûzât”, *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, sayı 10-11, İstanbul 1983, s. 251.

Daha sonraki kullanımlarda:

M. S. Kütükoğlu, a.g.m., s. 160 ya da B. Kütükoğlu, a.g.m., s. 250.

Tez atıflarında; tezi yapan, tez adı (italik), kurum ismi sırasıyla verilmelidir:

Sinem Serin, *Yıldız Çini/Porselen Fabrikası*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Osmanlı Müesseseleri ve Medeniyeti Tarihi Bilim Dalı, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul 2009, s. 146.

Arşiv Belgelerinin Kullanımı:

Arşiv belgeleri dipnotta kullanılırken öncelikle arşivin adı, sonra tasnifin adı, dosya ve evrak numarasına sırasıyla yer verilecektir. Tasnif için arşivlerin kullandıkları kısaltmalar kullanılabilir. Kaynakçada bunların açılımı yapılmalıdır.

Mesela:

BOA, A.MKT, nr. 145/629.

Arşivden defter tasnifinden bir bilgi kullanılacaksa:

BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD)*, nr. 9146, s. 200.

BOA, *Mühimme Defteri*, nr. 120, s. 103, h. 250.

Kaynakça:

Makalelerde kullanılan kaynak ve araştırmalar makale sonunda bu başlık altında gösterilmelidir. Kaynakça, bu başlık altında yeni bir sayfadan başlamalı ve 11 punto yazılmalıdır. Sadece dipnotlarda kullanılan kaynaklar yer almalı ve yazarların soyadına göre alfabetik olarak düzenlenmelidir.

Kütükoğlu, Mübahat S., *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2010.

Hoca Sa'deddin Efendi, *Tâcü't-tevârih*, I-II, İstanbul 1279-80.

Birden çok yazarlı bir esere yer verilecekse:

Anhegger, Robert -Halil İnalçık, *Kânünnâme-i Sultânî Ber Müceb-i 'Örf-i 'Osmânî, II. Mehmed ve II. Bayezid Devirlerine Ait Yasaknâme ve Kânünnâmeler*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2000.

Sadece editör veya yayına hazırlayanlar var ise bu isimler kitap adından sonra yer almalıdır:

Osmanlı Uygarlığı, yay. haz. Halil İnalçık-Günsel Renda, Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., I-II, Ankara 20093.

Kitap içinde bölüm olarak geçen makaleler:

Terzi, Arzu, "II. Abdülhamid'in Emlakı ve Irak Petrolleri", *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Dönemi*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, İstanbul 2014, s. 181-188.

Çeviri eserler:

Fresne-Canaye, Philippe du, *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, çev. Teoman Tunçdoğan, İstanbul 2009.

Kitabın kaçınıcı baskısı olduğunu belirtmek üzere basım tarihinin üzerine üst simge şeklinde basım sayısı yazılmalıdır:

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Kaynakçada yer alan makalelerde makalenin başlangıç ve bitiş sayfalarına yer verilmelidir:

Kütükoğlu, Mübahat S., "Osmanlıdan Günümüze Yer Adları", *Bellekten*, LXXVI/275 (2012), 147-165.

Sempozyum Tebliği:

Bostan, İdris, "Kuyûd-ı Mühimmat Defterlerinin Osmanlı Teşkilât Tarihi Bakımından Önemi", *Osmanlı-Türk Diplomatığı Semineri, 30-31 Mayıs 1994*, İstanbul 1995, s. 143-163.

Ansiklopedi maddeleri:

Emecen, Feridun M., "Başmukataa Kalemî", *DİA*, V, 135.

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Makale dipnotlarında kullanılacak kısaltmalar

Türkçe makaleler için:

çev. : çeviren

trc. : tercüme eden

yay. : yayınlayan

haz. : hazırlayan

sad. : sadeleştiren

nşr. : neşreden

ed. : editör

a.g.e. : adı geçen eser

a.g.m. : adı geçen makale ya da madde

a.g.t. : adı geçen tez

ayn.yzr. : aynı yazar

ayn.mlf. : aynı müellif

Yabancı Dildeki makaleler için:

id. : aynı yazar

ibid., loc.cit, op.cit. : aynı yerde

a.g.e., s. 27; a.g.m., s. 28; a.g.t., s. 29 şeklinde kullanılmalıdır.

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Book Translations:

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Editor(s) or compiler(s) as authors:

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Terzi, Arzu, “II. Abdülhamid’in Emlakı ve Irak Petrolleri”, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Dönemi*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, İstanbul 2014, s. 181-188.

Journal Article:

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Osmanlıdan Günümüze Yer Adları”, *Belleten*, LXXVI/275 (2012), p.149.

Bekir Kütükoğlu, “Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Ma‘rûzât”, *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, issue 10-11, İstanbul 1983, p. 251.

Mücteba İlgürel, “Şer‘iyye Sicillerinin Toplu Kataloğuna Doğru”, *Tarih Dergisi*, issue 28-29 (1975), p. 164.

Journal article with multiple authors:

Kayhan Orbay-Hatice Oruç, “Sultan II. Murad’ın Edirne Câmi‘-i Şerîf ve Dârü‘l-hadîs Vakfı (1592-1607)”, *Tarih Dergisi*, issue 56 (2012/2), İstanbul 2013, p. 10. For the following citations of the same book: Orbay-Oruç, *ibid*, p. 15.

Journal Translations:

Géza Dávid, “XVI. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Habsburg Mücadelesinin Bir Kaynağı Olarak Mühimme Defterleri”, tran. Özgür Kolçak, *Tarih Dergisi*, issue 53 (2011/1), İstanbul 2012, pp. 295-349.

Articles of the authors with the same surname:

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Osmanlıdan Günümüze Yer Adları”, *Belleten*, LXXVI/275 (2012), 149.

Bekir Kütükoğlu, “Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Ma‘rûzât”, *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, issue

10-11, İstanbul 1983, p. 251.

For the following citations of the same authors:

M. S. Kütükoğlu, *ibid*, p. 160 or B. Kütükoğlu, *ibid*, p. 250.

Thesis:

Sinem Serin, *Yıldız Çini/Porselen Fabrikası*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı Osmanlı Müesseseleri ve Medeniyeti Tarihi Bilim Dalı, Unpublished Master Thesis, İstanbul 2009, p. 146.

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- BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD)*, nr. 9146, s. 200.
- BOA, *Mühimme Defteri*, nr. 120, s. 103, h. 250.

Bibliography

All sources that are cited in the footnotes should be stated in alphabetically by the surnames of the authors under Bibliography heading.

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Menteşe Sancağı 1830 (Nüfus ve Toplum Yapısı)*, TTK Yay., Ankara 2010.

Hoca Sa'eddin Efendi, *Tâcü'l-tevârih*, I-II, İstanbul 1279-80.

Translated texts:

Fresne-Canaye, Philippe du, *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, tran. Teoman Tunçdoğan, İstanbul 2009.

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