INTRODUCTION

This study aims at providing an assessment of the Ottoman Empire in the history of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha's period, based and depending solely on the knowledge and views provided by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha. In a sense, the study is a compilation of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha's assessments of and confessions with the empire. The framework of the study has been drawn on the basis of two volumes of A. Cevdet Pasha's history, which have been simplified in language. It is possible to argue that these two simplified volumes best reflect Ahmet Cevdet Pasha's History. Apart from that, there are also other books and works by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha. For example, Tüzük is one of the most important ones among these works. This short study is limited to his history.

Ahmet Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895) was one of the significant intellectuals of the Empire. He was a chief intellectual, scientist, jurist, historian, and statesman. He was actively in charge of state affairs, which can be counted as important. The most outstanding characteristic of Cevdet Pasha was that he was a native Ottoman intellectual, who suffered from the regression of the Ottoman Empire, analyzed the reasons of this regression and provided solutions. When compared to his contemporaries, who were educated in the West and to a great extent provided Westernized solutions, he had a very different personality. "Cevdet Pasha is a Muslim and an Ottoman. The reason of his superiority to his contemporary Tanzimat writers is perhaps because of this characteristic - that is, he was not Europeanized." It can be said that Cevdet Pasha, with this fundamental experience and personality, spent his life by searching for ways to stop the decline of the Empire. Moreover, it can be argued that he had faith in this. In the words of Ülgerner, "According to our historian each and every state goes through three phases: growth, stagnation, and decline. Finally, decline. However, this idea never reached Cevdet Pasha defenders in the face of determinism. On the contrary, he believed that the fearful end could be bypassed and pre-empted. The hope of refurbishing Dostoyevsky, which was in its old age..." This can be attributed either to Cevdet Pasha's need to make himself and his endeavors to believe that the empire, whose stagnation he witnessed, would have a longer life, or to the importance he ascribed to the performance worth of the statesmen as a requisite of the Tanzimat era in which he lived." In this respect, Cevdet Pasha is really a very significant Ottoman intellectual and he is worthy of emphasis. However, unfortunately, he has not been attributed with such significance or has not been analysed to the extent he deserves. The aim of this humble article is to recall this significance once more.

Cevdet Pasha was a historian reflecting on the concept of "state, focusing on the nation's existence and functions of the state. This study briefly analyzes his views on and approaches to these matters."
de. This is a period when the problems especially with Russia were on the rise. This is a period when the future of the state was almost determined. Thus, he wrote about this period with deep concern, enriched his work with social analysis, investigated problems and provided solutions. In this respect, Cevdet Pasha's history is a style of history-writing, which is to a great extent complex and rich. It analyses not only the period on which it is focused, but also the Empire's whole history starting from its foundation.

As known, there are various classifications of history, based on the style of history writing; or history is grouped into different classifications. To give an example, Topkapı specialises a fourfold classification of history, based on style of history writing.1

The first style is Hássaynî's history. It depends merely on recording the events, regardless of interpretation and assessment.

The second style is instructive history. It drives instructive morals from the events by drawing colourful schemes. It gives ample space especially to the life-stories of some elite by turning them into tales.

The third style is why and how history. It does not suffice with the recording of the events, but engages in causes and assessments. It answers the question related to the event, inquires about its social causes.

The fourth style is Social history. Its fundamental aim is to arrive at historical laws. Materialist historians generally use this style.

Which category does Cevdet Pasha's history fall into? According to the researchers who simplified Pasha's history, "Cevdet Pasha comes from a chroniclers' tradition. In this respect, he gave utmost importance to the accurate ordering of the events. However, he is not only a chronicler but a historian. At most instances, he diverges from dull event recording and focuses on the social and economic causes of the events.

In this way, he tries to form a philosophy of history. His deep performance at certain points in this philosophical outlook attracts attention.

He considers the birth, rise and decline of states as inevitable events; analyses the effect of economic circumstances and the consequences that arise out of the fatal errors of personalities who make up history.2

As stressed in this quotation, the accurate recording of events is the first principle in Cevdet Pasha's history. It is then that the interpretations and assessments of these events take the stage. He includes his personal judgements. He investigates the causes of events at length. In any case, he himself argues that "The main aim of the science of history is analysing the real reasons of events and deriving information for awareness and learning a lesson; the duty of the historian is to examine and clearly state the real causes of events, from which one can infer lessons. It is not composed of tales aiming at the display of arms or skill, or reporting." As known, history does not mean merely finding out that an event had occurred at a certain time.3

Cevdet Pasha is not a classical chronicler. According to Topkapı's classification his history falls into the why and how style of history. It can be argued that Cevdet Pasha's history is a social history in the real sense of the term. In any case, it is this characteristic, which renders his history different and valuable. Besides, over and above researching and analysing the causes of events, it is possible to hear and catch the author's cry. Thus, with this feature, Cevdet Pasha's History, is considered to be a significant source for assessing the Ottoman Empire.

Moreover, it can be argued that Cevdet Pasha's history with its interpreting, teaching, why and how style can be considered as similar to Köçü Bey's advice to Murad IV or Nazımihâne's advice to statesmen in his Sınavnuma, or Machiavelli's Prince.

While working on a social history, it is appropriate to focus on the interaction between history and sociology with a few sentences: Sociologists have generally pinpointed the differences between these two branches of science. Perhaps it is because of the very similarity of the two branches of science. Prayer finds the most outstanding difference between these two branches, in the individualism of history, and its focusing on a single event at a certain time and place; and in the generalising tendency of sociology and its reaching to general judgements out of these single events.4

We want to emphasise how these two important social science spheres should benefit from each other or how they do, in fact. From this perspective, as a general approach, history is regarded as a means, as a source of reaching to general judgements for sociology. Sociology has to depend on individual events started in history, in order to reach the said general judgements. "It is true that sociology is a systematic discipline that can be differentiated from social history; however its style of thought depends on graded generalisations, which ascend from concepts that had reached their satiety threshold in history to substances/nuâdder that describe pure ideal types."5 On the other hand, it would be wrong to evaluate events regardless of time. Event, which is analysed regardless of its age, loses its meaning.6 In this sense, sociology also has a historical dimension.

Sociologists, in general, argue in line with this thesis of means. Among them Max Weber ranks first in utilising history. According to Weber, sociology is oriented towards the general by selecting typical events from history.7 Sociologists point at the importance of time factor in all social actions.8

Ibn Khalduhn who had produced his massive work, Muqaddimah, was the one who made the best use of sociology-history interaction. In this respect, Muqaddimah can be considered as the first and perhaps the only work in its own field. It has been stated that Cevdet Pasha was most influenced from Ibn Khalduhn; that he took him as a model in his approach to history and events.9 It has been common among the explanations concerning the social history characteristic of Cevdet Pasha's History and Cevdet Pasha's general approach to state and civilization to employ this relation.

In any case, for a historian, knowledge of sociology is regarded as a requisite. This is especially meaningful for why and how historians, that is social historians. Hence, it is required to study the social causes of events, to conduct social analyses. "It is required to state that economy and sociology which come out of history are the inevitable assistants to those who are engaged in the science of history ... a historian who is unaware of sociology cannot understand and explain the types of structures of the societies about whose lives he is occupied to learn.10"

We can argue that Cevdet Pasha had succeeded to do so. Ibn Khalduhn's influence is important in this respect.

AHMED CEVDET PASHA'S CONCEPTION OF STATE

a. Concept of State in General

There are important assessments related to the Empire's state structure and functions in Cevdet Pasha's History. The historian offers theoretical arguments regarding the origin and nature of the state. It is proper to briefly evaluate Cevdet Pasha's views on this topic, which can be considered as abstract, with a view to his identity as a jurist, historian and to certain extent sociologist.

As known, significant views, arguments and theories on the concept of state, the origin and functions of state, conceptions of state, have emerged especially in the last two centuries. It is neither possible nor required to consider these views within the limits of this article. However, it is instrumental to point at these views briefly in order to evaluate Cevdet Pasha's approach to the Ottoman state.

It is known that the concept of "State" was first used in fifteenth century. As regards the legal and sociological reasons for the emergence of the state, first sociological explanations related to the need to live together, then explanations related to the phenomena of power were formulated. The main ones can be listed as follows: Theory of Family; according to this theory, society is the expansion and development of family that has started with Adam and Eve; state emerged out of its systematisation. Theory of Power; this is the Marxist explanation, state is the means for the dominance of the weak by the powerful and it emerged in due course. Organic Theory offers an explanation of the state by an approach, which starts from living beings; the state is born, the grows and dies. Social Contract Theory; argues that people end up with the state through a contract. This contract provides a transition from the state of nature to an ordered state of being. This is a tacit contract.11 In other words, according to this theory, state is not a natural being, instead it is formed by human reason and will. Individuals accept the existence of state by sacrificing some of their freedom.

As also stated above, the views mentioned above are the theories, which provide sociological explanations of
state. Positivist theorecticians, and primarily the jurist Kelsen, argue that rather than searching for the origins of the state, the state of organisation whereby state had gained a legal existence should be researched. State could come into being only by a fundamental organisation. State cannot exist without these organs. In other words, what is required is not to analyse the state of society, but the state of legal organisation.

It can be said that, to an extent all these arguments also contain the necessity of the state. It is proposed that most of these arguments freeze the state in a mould from the start, whereas state is in a process of constant development and that it evolves according to new requirements and ages.

In addition to these views related to the explanation of the origins of state, it is necessary to point out Aristotle's approach as a separate and important view. This view displays some difference. In fact, according to Aristotle, state is a natural being. Here the point is that Aristotle had found a spiritual aspect within the state. The moulding and freezing mentioned above is not observed in this case. According to Aristotle, 'every state is established for some kind of charity. That is because men always strive for achieving charity. Thus... state, which is the highest community and which contains all communities, that is the political community, tries to reach the highest level of charity.' 27 Aristotle, regards the state, which is in service of the dominant class, as decadent. According to him, state is a natural being that emerges out of both the social needs and sociological capacities of men. In other words, according to Aristotle, state emerged merely for use and service. The sociability of human psychology is an important factor. Men like to live together and in order. This is not just for interests. Even when they are not in need of each other they aspire for such a life. The peace and happiness of men lay the foundations of state. This is the spiritual aspect in the origin of state. 28

The theories of the origins of state also embody the raison d'être of state. They reflect what is expected from the state, to an extent. For example: according to social contract theory, this expectation is the maintenance of security. According to Aristotle, it is service. But, this co-

The conception of state that emerged and developed after Second World War can be expressed with a view to these principles. However, today the situation is more complex; these principles are not sufficient any more. Today, the conception of participatory state, whereby the citizen share everything, takes on responsibility, is gaining currency. In other words, today the state is characterised as an organization, which enables the smooth functioning of services.

b. Cevdet Paşa's Conception of State

We have mentioned above that Cevdet Paşa was influenced by sociologist Ibn Khaldun, who was a Scholar of Islam. 29 It is possible to observe this influence by paying attention to Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddimah and Cevdet's History. Because of this the concept of state in both display similarities. It can be argued that the main reason behind this similarity is the cultural characteristic that is common in both works.

Ibn Khaldun gives importance to social contract in his approach to the emergence of state. However, he departs from the defenders of this thesis by emphasizing askiya-yah. Need, living together and cooperation lay at the foundation of society. But in the transition to statehood the force that he calls as Asiyah-yah is decisive. 30 In this context, in Ibn Khaldun's approach there is a collective that predates state, and a state that develops by means of this Asiyah-yah. 31 The collectivity that predates state come together for mutual aid, while the state emerges for security. We observe social contract more in collectivity, and partly in the state. Nevertheless, there has not been an all-encompassing clarification of Ibn Khaldun's view on this point. Some thinkers include this natural formation in Ibn Khaldun's approach into natural formation theory. 32

It is possible to observe these phases in Cevdet Paşa's approach too. He considers theory of nature and social contract theory together in analysing the emergence of state and the collectivity that predates the state. However, while in Ibn Khaldun the theory of nature gains prominence, Cevdet Paşa gives priority to social contract theory. Moreover, in this case, a combination of Aristotle's and Ibn Khaldun's theories is observed. For him: "Because a human being is civilized by birth, he does not live isolated as animals, but at certain instances create societies for mutual aid." 33 Cooperation forms the basis of society. At the same time, this is a natural occurrence. Thus, these societies transform themselves from tribes living in tents, to villages, city, and to state. 34

The explanation of state by means of social contract can be observed more clearly in the following words of Cevdet Paşa: "... the desire to get rid of harm and to fulfill interest is inherent in human being, since sometimes many will join around a goal and in times of trouble tend to dominate each other and sometimes there occurs struggles and wars on a general issue, as it has used to be, between two societies, everyone, by entrusting his individual rights to the government, consents to its rule. Hence, they get the opportunity to achieve perfection." 35 Here, one observes another definition of Rousseau's social contract. Individuals, in order to secure themselves from malice, "... entrust their individual rights to the government..." In Cevdet Paşa's approach, as similar to Ibn Khaldun, individuals render the state a mean for a secure life.

Cevdet Paşa, in his conception of state, links the formation, origins of state to social contract theory. It is possible to reach such a generalisation.

On the other hand, it is observed that Cevdet Paşa adopted Organic Theory. This is a view, which endows the state with a course of life as other living beings. State, too, is born, she grows, and dies, in these phases it displays various features. In this respect, Cevdet Paşa, is again in line with Ibn Khaldun. In Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun spared considerable space for this issue. He even explained the features of various phases at great length. 37

For him, once the state is established and reinforced its foundations and legitimacy, the development, peace and welfare of the country ensue. At the zenith of this elevation, the state is in the phase of rise. Developments take place in the cultural sphere, too. In any case, in the period of the rise of states, as parallel to this rise other institutions also go through their brightest periods. We can give the Ottoman Empire as an example.
Until this period of rise, the generations of the rulers embody effort and resolution. Also under the conditions of rise, the rulers who are aware of the severity of this rise, try to preserve it. "However, this comfortable and secure life leads to a decadence in the generations of rulers." They start to concentrate on indulgence and comfort. At this point, the period of decadence begins.\textsuperscript{5} Subsequently, the period that leads to decline follows. In this period: "...this period is an era of extravagance and waste. In this epoch, the rulers engage in wasting all that was gathered by the rulers, who governed before them for the sake of desire, wants, indulgence; they spend the little times by extending their generosity to their close entourage, to the people they interact with and to their malicious friends, to those who were ill-trained. They spend from the money of military for their personal desires. Their close entourage is composed of flatterers. Real friends are left far away. "Thus, they destroy everything established by their predecessors; it is in this period that the state grows old.\textsuperscript{6}

Cevdet Paşa, too, accepts that each and every state, as a living being, has a natural course of life. Although he does not describe these stages at length, he gives advice about the precautions that shall be taken in these stages. For him, the state is in a process of constant change. "This change is in force in everything. For instance, just as each and every person displays a period of progress and regression both physically and in temperament, so each and every state sometimes gains force, and sometimes reaches a state of decline."\textsuperscript{7} "Each and every state passes through these stages at all costs. What is required is a search for remedies and cures. Such that, just as in every person there is an epoch of growth, of standout and an epoch of regression, so in every state one observes all these stages. Since each and every state resembles a human body, it is required that appropriate effort be spent under different circumstances.\textsuperscript{8} All states in history have inevitably evolved through these phases. But these phases can be short or long. There are cases when the problems can or cannot be handled. "Sometimes regression is so severe that it cannot be perceived; sometimes it is so overt that it is hard to care for. It is sometimes observed that when signs of high level decadence exist in a state, the state is rejuvenated and strengthened by ruling measures and efforts.\textsuperscript{9}

As for the functions of society, Cevdet Paşa accepts that the first society had been formed for cooperation. People had come together for protection from evil, living in security from danger, and cooperation. In any case, this is the philosophy of Social Contract theory. As for the state, the protective function had been delegated to a higher institution. "The high level societies are the stage of state and sultanate, and under the protection of state they live free of giving harm to each other and of fear of enemy. They try to fulfill their human needs, while at the same time reaching a humankind maturity."\textsuperscript{10} Here, it is noted that the task of state is to maintain security.

However, in Cevdet Paşa's approach we do observe merely classical conception of state. Apart from security and protection of borders, that state is given numerous responsibilities related to the country and people. It is possible to infer these responsibilities from his judgements concerning the Ottoman state. Despite the general view above, the reason why Cevdet Paşa gives social tasks to the Ottoman state should be viewed in his conception of civilization. In many sections of his History, he blames Ottoman rulers for not fulfilling their social responsibilities. For him, the responsibility of state is not merely providing security. "The main issue is improving the living conditions of people and developing the country."\textsuperscript{11} "...the payment of these expenditures depends on the existence of an orderly, healthy, diligent and cultivated country and people."\textsuperscript{12} And these shall be provided by the state. At this point it is possible to observe the conception of social state in Cevdet Paşa's approach. He takes this as a responsibility for the Ottoman state, for the rulers.

Ahmet Cevdet Paşa also emphasises political regimes and state administration. It is known that in different periods through history, various political categorisation, and especially categorisations of ruling have been formulated. The categorisations and definitions such as monarchy, aristocracy, despotism, democracy, republic, which have been discussed since the time of Plato and Aristotle are well-known. Cevdet Paşa, generalising all these categorisations, formulates his own categorisation. He prefers to use the concept of "Government" to represent administration. He provides a threefold categorisation:

Religious Government: by this concept he means Papacy. In fact, he mentions it here. This expresses a state of spirituality, rather than originating from religion. It is a force over all worldly governments. He gives especially the state of Papacy in Middle Ages as an example. "Religious government, is the government of Pope in Catholicism, as the head of all Catholic priests and the Church who is accepted as the representative of Jesus. Pope's Spiritual government rules in all Catholic countries. In the past, the influence and power of the spiritual government in Europe was widespread. Since Latin rulers were oppressed by Popes to a great extent they gradually decreased the power of Papacy."\textsuperscript{13} This paragraph is sufficient to explain more clearly the author's conception of religious government. He means a totally spiritual government.

Material Government: This is divided into three parts: Absolutist Government: This is the government whereby only one person holds the rope.\textsuperscript{14} It corresponds to monarchy or oligarchy in other definitions. He gives the Russian state as an example. The absolute will of one person is the essence of the state. Constitutional Government: This is the government of the ruler, which complies with the vote of national assembly. This also has two types. The first type is general constitutional government whereby the people are equal, like the Prussian and Scandinavian states. The second type is class-based constitutional government; the nobility is privileged when compared to the people. The example is the English state whereby common people do not enjoy the privileges of nobility. They have a national assembly composed of elected members representing each and every district.\textsuperscript{15} In constitutional government, there is a ruler whose will is extensive, but there is also an assembly, which restricts him. The deputies have some responsibility towards this assembly. Republican government: There is no distinct ruler, a person is chosen temporarily, by the majority for the throne, as the leader of Nation. The example is the Republic of United States.\textsuperscript{16}

Cevdet Paşa does not include the Ottoman state into any one of these categorisations. He does not categorise it in Religious state, either. In contrast to Papacy, the religious identity of the Ottoman state does not have a spiritual character. He does not include it into the category of Material State, either. Then, it has a character that is different from both. Cevdet Paşa states that all these regimes have certain deficiencies. Then, to what kind of categorisation does the Ottoman state belong?

Islamic government is, thanks to God, far away from any dispute, since the sultan of Islam who had gathered caliphate and sultanate and who is the imam of all Muslims, is the protector of jihad.\textsuperscript{17} This is the Ottoman state administration. The Ottoman state is subjected to this special categorisation. It has its own specificities; it does not fit into other Western categorisations. It will be possible to observe Cevdet Paşa's judgement on Ottoman state administration in the next part.

OTTOMAN STATE IN CEVDET PASHA'S HISTORY

a. Identity of State

We have seen that Ahmet Cevdet Paşa did not include the Ottoman state in any of the categories in the general classification of state. He characterises it merely as Islamic government. By characterising the Ottoman state merely as an Islamic state, he has both freed it from formal classifications, and revealed its difference from the type of spiritual (religious) government, which means Papacy.

Moreover, Cevdet Paşa considers the Ottoman state as the reformer of an Islamic state. "Islamic government is, thanks to God, far away from any dispute, since the sultan of Islam who had combined caliphate and sultanate and who is the imam of all Muslims, is the protector of jihad. ... By the emergence of the Ottoman state an Islamic state was formed and reached its essential state of being."\textsuperscript{18} "Thanks to God, the Ottoman sultanate emerged with glory and grandeur and enlightened Islamic countries at a time when the Islamic state had been lost."\textsuperscript{19}
In fact, the Ottoman state was initially a small government. However, it was able to represent a proper support to unify Islamic countries, since it was an excellent community, which had combined the permanent best features that are specific to Turks and courage and Arabic religiosity.

Since the Ottoman nation was multi-linguistic and combined the best features of the best societies, by the emergence of this state, the Islamic nation was renewed and the weakness that had caught Muslims was replaced by peace.14

Cevdet Paşa perceives and evaluates the Ottoman state from this perspective. The weaknesses of the Ottoman state and the reasons of its fall are also read within the framework of this judgement. For him, various events and reasons that would support this conclusion. For example, Abdullah Hamid I, in a hikayet (imperial edict) to his newly appointed sadrazam (grand vizier), states the following: "...may you try to comply with your words and attitude with peais and to fulfill your responsibilities in the best possible way, and to engage in works that would reinforce my trust..." 15 As can be observed from these two short examples, one of the sultans of the last period of the Ottoman state orders to comply with peais in all deeds.

Cevdet Paşa strengthens this thesis by examples from the period of formation of the Ottoman state: 'The last testament of Osman Ghazi, the founder of the Ottoman sultans, to his son Orhan contains three requests. First of all you shall comply with peais in every issue and consult the experts in important issues.

Secondly, you shall be kind and generous to notable people and, respectful to scholars who are the pillars of Islam. Thirdly, you shall be zealous for ahad (religious war) in the way of God. Sultan Osman's children and grandchildren abided by these requests, and by abolishing oppression and bigotry in Islamic countries enacted legal regulations on the basis of real religiosity and perfect justice.' 16 Here again, Cevdet Paşa puts forth his own judgement.

It is possible to multiply such passages. Thus, despite different interpretations in practice, the Ottoman state had the character of an Islamic State. For assessing Cevdet Paşa's views on the Ottoman state, the first requisite was reaching to this conclusion. In the light of this conclusion, our assessment will be more simple and realistic.

b. The Strong and Weak Sides of State in the Ottoman Empire:

This part could also be titled as the Reasons of the Fall of the Ottoman state. The period that Cevdet Paşa summarizes in his history is a period when the state is rapidly approaching to fall. It is a period when deficits are increasing, riots are spreading all around the country. It can be argued that Cevdet Paşa, in his history, is explaining this period of fall from the start to the end with great pains. He includes his personal view and searches for causes and remedies. As stated in the beginning, it can be argued that he has formulated the philosophy of a history of fall. While explaining the reasons, he proposes solutions. It would be more useful to analyze this topic in several parts. It is required that this ordering shall be made according to the order of importance, inferred from history. It is necessary to cite many passages from the book. Or else it is impossible to convey the author's thought.

The Features of Statesman:

In his history Cevdet Paşa puts the greatest emphasis on the administrators in Ottoman state. Generally, he criticizes the administrators who rank below the sultan. He refers to the sultans with loyalty and respect. The reasons for this style can be researched, discussed.

According to the author, sultans are always good-intentioned, and ready to sacrifice for their country and people. It is the important statesmen who are corrupt and who lead to misuse of authority in governmental ranks. Nominations shall be conducted with great care and people shall be employed according to their merit. He invokes the motto of "entrust to the potent". He also suggests certain measures for this. He criticizes wrong appointments; and finds the reason for troubles, for the weaknesses of statesmen in these wrong, improper nominations. He vigorously criticizes the confusion of the military sphere with the sphere of statesmen, and endorsement of those who achieve success at war with governmental responsibility at state ranks. "State administration is in need of many dominating regulations and sophisticated knowledge... Ruling the country is different from displaying courage at war... Thus, confusing the state administration and military profession gives harm to both; it is a serious mistake; it is in total contrast to the command of - Entrust to the potent." 17 The infringing of this principle would bring about the crisis of statesman that will be stated in the next pages.

We have pointed that Cevdet Paşa argued that sultans were ready to sacrifice anything for the country and people. It is necessary to cite some of the examples that demonstrate this argument. The following event during the reign of Abdullah Hamid I is mentioned: "Abdullah Hamid Han was warning the viziers whom he had appointed to the post of prime ministry by this method, and was sending imperial edicts one after another in order to prevent them from putting off the preparations for war. However, those who were appointed to the post of prime ministry were ignoring these orders, which required immediate and total obedience; they were wasting the opportunity by thinking that "today is important, let us enjoy the time." It did not take a long time for sultan to notice this.

As he was complying with the saying, Şah valet gazibir abrad (The condition requires urgency)

İ l halarda rezeye vay buda, (Alas, if it is left to the vizier)

he started to handle the situation on his own.18 The sultan is anxious all the time. Defeats worry him a lot. On the other hand, the others are concerned with their own indulgence, comfort. "The fall of Osi fortress was a stroke to the very heart of Abdullah Hamid I. Although the wise grand vizier comfortably stated that such things could happen, and that this was not the first time, that the fortress would be taken back; the patriotic sultan replied that he knew all these things, but that what worried him most was looseness in the state.19 And it was the sultan who suffered for the defeat. This caused the death of sultan.

Selim III is also under the same conditions. He complains to his hizmetkar: "You know the state income, expenditures, how and where it is spent, as I do. If you ask me to satisfy you with dry bread, I will. Whenever I intend to correct the disorder they say (your father was the same, what use did it have?). For God's sake, tell me, we are losing the state, after a time none of our efforts will work; you too, have a right in this state."20 Again, it is the sultan who is trying to find out a way. After a meeting, Selim III: "God knows what I am feeling, all that I said, were not for myself, but for the state. I would execute anyone who betrays religion and state; and find someone to fulfill his task; I would not protect even my child."21 But, tells the author, after Selim III finished his speech, they said 'Your majesty, do not get tired anymore; we are/warning as much as possible; let us gather in grand vizier's mansion and take the required measures immediately; they are/now/arbitrarily, took insignificant decisions; and did not put any one of them into practice.' sultans had never sacrificed the state and tasks related to the state for their own indulgence and comfort. They always held this responsibility.

The situation of the other statesmen are as mentioned above. They are also putting sultan as described. There is no statesman who is aware of the importance of the task and is ready to make sacrifice for state. There are no more viziers as Sokollu. Nominations are conducted for personal considerations and bribery. That is "Some statesmen [could] oppose just for the reason that Espan was not generous in donating slave and coinage.22 Impotent persons were nominated with enormous irresponsibility. "In the past, sending a vizier to a certain place was considered to be as serious as sending an army. Now, since those upstarts who had served for only two or three months were appointed as viziers, they could not make their envoys work what they say."23 Those who came with these nominations could not run the tasks.

There was no capacitated statesman. There was no administration with the command of foreign language...
who would represent the state abroad, either. Cevdet Paşa bitterly complained: “The Ottoman state was turned into a toy in the hands of ignorant (persons) and traitors in such a tumult and indecision.” He, himself, was feeling, taking over the pain of the irresponsibility of the statesmen, and conveying it to history. Cevdet Paşa writes: “There was no Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the state, foreign affairs were carried out by rezidâh-ı hümâyûn (chief of the clerics), but in fact who ran the talks were the translators of Divan-i hümâyûn (imperial council) who were selected from Greeks of Fener in Istanbul.”

According to the author, imeyya (religious scholars) class which was the main component of the Ottoman state was also corrupted. “…The primary task of state was to try to ensure justice, and prevent injustices. Those who were engaged with this task was the kadı, the âlima (religious scholars) class for that period. Ottomans always respected them so long as they were righteous and knowledgeable; treated them with great respect and honour. However, later, as the military were corrupted, they, too, degraded, and were penetrated by ignorant (people) and deceivers. Corruption of âlima was perhaps the most influential factor in the fall of the Empire. Because, it was âlima who also gave the fuse, which required deviations from state ideology.”

According to Cevdet Paşa, in this phase of the Ottoman state the human problem comes first. Statesman, scholar, diplomat… were all indifferent and irresponsible. The sultan’s efforts on his own did not resolve everything. This incapacitated, irresponsible, ignorant cadre of statesmen is the main reason for the fall. The characteristics, which, for Cevdet Paşa, should be possessed by statesmen can be driven from these points of criticism.

MILITARY

The army has been important for every state in every period. Especially in the period of the Ottoman Empire, army had a significant place in state structure. A strong state was that state which had a strong army.

The Ottoman state has had a strong army, in the real sense of the term, during the periods of growth and rise. The Janissary, which was developed by divan-i hümâyûn system, is a blessed military unit. Additionally, timar cavalries formed another corps. “Janissary corps which was formed during the reign of Sultan Orhan, was extended by Sultan Murat and was put under the discipline of soldier training by Yıldırım Bayazid, who was the inventor of soldier training and these regulations were compiled by Kanuni.” In the meantime, many timar cavalries were gathered and the janissaries reached the highest level in military science; they used the best weapons. Since European soldiers were not trained in this period, Ottoman armies continuously gained victories until 1800 (1856), and for example during the reign of Kanuni they captured 360 fortresses. In that period the Ottoman state was also superior in navy and apart from her absolute dominance in the Mediterranean, she was also powerful on the shores of Indian sea…”

“The military, civil order, land and naval forces, established by Yavuz reached the highest level during the reign of his son, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman… While the soldiers named as Janissary was first formed by Sultan Orhan, Kanuni reinforced its ordering… The power and fame of Ottoman armies composed of one hundred eighty thousand cavalries - sipahis - in addition to the trained janissary infantrymen used to horrify all countries. Having been extended to Rumelia, Ottoman state gave importance to navy and Ottoman navy was made more powerful than all other navies. Hayrettin Paşa, who was an overseas captain, gained victories over European navies more than once, spread terror throughout all Mediterranean shores.”

In the passages that we cited here, Cevdet Paşa explains the powerful times of the Ottoman army. When the army is strong and disciplined, the state is also strong. Especially, in those epochs of conquest, the state rises with the army. Both the power of state abroad and its socio-economic internal order are dependent on this. That is because the economy is partially a war economy. War revenues make up a considerable sum. Social order and domestic peace are dependent on superior victories.

After the siege of Vienna, which was the first defeat of the Ottoman state army, begins to get corrupted. This corruption evolves in such a rapid fashion that, the army, which once upgrading the state, now becomes the primary cause of its fall. For Cevdet Paşa, the army had a significant influence in the fall of the state; he states considerable place to this problem in his history. The defeats at the battlefield are because of the corruption in the military. Defeats deepen the decline of the state. The old, strong state does not exist anymore. Again, the internal revolts caused by the janissary render the state weak; at home; they disrupt the internal peace. In the same way, timar system was also corrupted; sipahîs could not be found anymore. The already incapacitated and irresponsible statesmen exploited the corruption of the janissary and used the janissaries for their own personal interests or grudges.

Cevdet Paşa has spared considerable space for the issue of janissary in his history. It is useful to cite some of his ideas and statements on this issue.

Military orders were destroyed, the army lost its significance and in a parallel fashion state lost its strength. This is the main view of Cevdet Paşa on the issue of army. “In the beginning of eleventh century military orders were weakened; although insignificant improvements were realised by the service of some people such as Girîniy Oğlu, during these turmoilous numerous worthless people gained prominence; numerous important people held the ropes; mortality was curtailed and the foundations of the state were weakened. Army, together with its soldier and commander, lost its significance. Commanders are no more capacitated persons who accept their responsibilities. He writes the following for the commanders: “… Yet in foreign histories it is written that a great number of Ottoman soldiers died due to the insistence of Turkish commanders who could not understand the fake retreat of Russian soldiers.” In any case, the situation was troubled from the beginning. So many hardships had been encountered, so many scandals had been experienced in Istanbul in order to gather the soldiers. Above all, at that time for Muslim soldiers going to war had the aim of plundering under the pretext of booy at the campaign.”

For Cevdet Paşa, now the janissary is the cause of all defeats. The janissary is a trouble for the state. The janissary is a herd of plunderers. “… However, victory, which appears and smiles to those who make sacrifice, display discipline and strength, could not be won by such plunderers.” The enemy is cautious, planned; our soldiers are indecisive, dispersed… Commanders are ignorant, soldier is plunderer. Ineptible roar, evident defeat was soon to come.”

The author welcomes the attempt of Selim III, who had understood the situation of the army, to establish a new army under the name of Nisan-i Câdi (New Order). This is a hope for the improvement of the army. He explains all the planes of this new army, and the way it was avoided.

However, first those who benefit from the existence of the janissaries and their corruption did not want this new army. They provoke the janissaries against the new army. A great struggle against the new army starts. After a long struggle, which ends with the murdering of Selim III, Nisan-i Câdi is eradicated, all the soldiers are killed. Now, no one can oppose the janissary. The author most criticises the administrators, who make use of this situation. Explorers are using the janissary. “In short ja- nissary turned out to be a dull name. This name - this rep- karâr - was used in order to challenge the state.”

It was as if the state’s own army was against her. In the words of Kisâtik, “The janissary who, on the top of the fortress exhibiting the head of the prince, which he cut, on the tip of the lance, would shout - that is the end of the boy who did not keep his word - and who was so obedient to the state’s ideal and morality that he would leave the cost of the victories to its bottom, later on would fall from infinite nobility to infinite degeneration and this is just because it had lost the light of Islam.”

Kisâtik agrees with Cevdet Paşa. This janissary is the one who kills Gence Osman. He denounces Selim III. He initiates Kabakçı uprising. He almost rules the state.

According to Cevdet Paşa, this army is one of the primary causes of the fall. Although he interprets the corruption of the army in various respects, he links it to the abandoning of divan-i hümâyûn system and conscription of na- tive soldiers to the army, and to permitting the janissary to marry. These led to the breakdown of discipline. Now even the grocer, the butcher are janissaries. That is because there is no obligation to stay at the headquarters. Just the title is there. All have their houses, professions. In
this case, there will be no discipline; the war would be waged with difficulty.

Cevdet Paşa relates the corruption of the cavalry to the corruption of timar system. Timar is now endowed for personal considerations or in return of bribes. There is no more supervision. Even, there is no soldier under the command of timar bey. He uses timar for his own benefit. In case of war, timar bey exaggerates the number of his soldiers. In fact, even one tenth of the recorded number does not participate in war. This cannot be supervised, either. The number of the soldiers appears to be more due to this reason; however it does not correspond to the actual amount. Boys are deceiving the state. Everything is completely corrupted. In any case, once corruption starts it is reflected in all institutions; it cannot be pre-empted.

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

As also stated beforehand, the period that Cevdet Paşa thematizes is the period of defeat. The author, models on the period of rise of Ottoman Empire. At certain instances he mentions about that period. He makes the comparison on the basis of that period and searches for the causes of the corruption in the period about which he writes in this respect.

Corruption of the administrators, governmental ranks and army is also reflected in other institutions.

Defeats both increase expenditure and lead to financial hardships due to the lack of booty. Bounties have a significant place in the Ottoman economy. State starts to pay great amount of war expenditures and peace redemption. Thus, the poverty of state starts. In the domestic sphere, taxes stop to fall due to defeat and uprisings. Financial depression has grown in all respects.

The author explains a war condition under the reign of Abdülhamid I as follows: “Because of war, the cost of everything, including food, drinks, had increased; moreover although you might consent to buy at higher prices, it was not easy to find your needs. Since everyone was distressed and depressed, ways of subsistence as cheating and putting off each other was on the rise. Those who were acting as the proxy of senators were concerned with extracting material gains, stealing wherever is in sight as much and as quickly as possible, since they knew that their tasks were temporary and their responsibilities were vague.”

The inhabitants of Istanbul were tired of and fed up with shortage, expensiveness, and those living in provinces were in the same condition because of oppression.

There had never been such a financial hardship in Ottoman state, beforehand. “Even the half of the forecasted amount of tax could not be extracted from any place. The great Ottoman land had turned out to be a land of disorder, shortages, and robberies.” For a brief period of time the remedy had been searched in the foundations and their materialists; however this did not work, either.

And the formula of foreign debts is considered for the first time, in this period. “Borrowing from foreign states or from the subjects of those states, from the rich merchants, was considered for the first time since the foundation of the Ottoman state; it was thought that this should be decided in an enormous, extensively authorized Diwan, since it required overwhelming responsibility and this was a curious remedy which would be tried for the first time.” Thus, borrowing is considered for the first time in such an interpretation and understanding. It is considered as a curious remedy. It is required that it be negotiated in an enormous, extensively authorized Diwan. What does asking for debt from a foreign state or merchant mean for Ottoman state. The great Ottoman state is understood more clearly from this perspective.

Parallel to the corruption of state, bribery, which is a social ill, has increased in the ranks of all officials to a great extent. Unrest and weakness in social body reveal this internal disease, and then all theseills further destroy, corrupt the whole body. In any case, bribery and patronage do not remain asills in themselves, but turn out to be the primary cause of the decadence of other institutions. They cause the degeneration in the level of statesmen, appointment of incapacitated, imposters to administrative ranks. As soon as two ills penetrate the body of the nation, unanswerfulness, injustice, irresponsibility at all ranks, shall be expected. Thereforth no one can prevent the decline of the state. Cevdet Paşa also refers to this ill, and states its influence in the fall of the state. “Since it was understood that senior statesmen and administrators, having been deceived by such fashions as dressing more stylishly, showing around their family in a dressed up manner, furnishing their houses in a more conspicuous fashion, were concerned with wasting the money they earned and thus living off debts or bribes, it was decided to prevent such wastes and extravagances.”

But the real trouble... bribery and patronage came first. No one was appointed to a position because he was qualified, but because he was privileged for the concerned post since he was a relative and/or friend of someone, or because he bribed someone. What is required was to pre-empt this in order that everyone could ensure a task by his prosperity for service, his use for the people and loyalty to the state.”

These are some examples from other institutions; other examples can also be cited. Everything was speeding up the fall. Every deficiency was opening the way for the other. Social structure was in such unfitness and deadlocks.

POLITICAL SITUATION

In the period that is characterized in Cevdet Paşa’s History, the internal situation of the Ottoman state is explained in its general contours in this way. In this part, the relations among the states and the disposition and attitude of the Ottoman state will be dwelled upon.

Cevdet Paşa characterizes the period of the rise of the Ottoman state as the exemplary and powerful period in relation to this aspect, too. In times when statesmen were skillful, responsible persons, when the army was strong, the state was also strong, superior in inter-state relations. The prestige of the state was well placed. The Ottoman state ensured the world balance; the other states were asking for help from her. But, once internal structure is destroyed, the defeat of the army at the battlefield start, signs of decline are observed in state and external balance begins to be disrupted.

There are various factors, which lead to the disruption of external balance to the disadvantage of the Ottoman state. Among these, one important factor is the human problem. There is not even a statesman with strong character, who would represent the state in foreign co-

untries and meetings. In a world incident, such as Vienna Congress, one cannot see the Ottoman Empire on stage, because there is no statesman with command over language and who is able to comprehend the world politics at that time. There was even no one who knew the situation of the state. The traitors in Moldavia and Wallachia are the Greeks who were employed as translators within the state. “At that time, there was no administrator in the Ottoman state who would be aware of the developments in Europe and of the dangers not far away, but those that were really close. Enemies were stealing and selling the state, he was standing still. Because this state for which we wished a life until the end of the world, had been established not far away as Bulana and Semeerkand, but on a geographical location, which can at most be considered as its centre. Especially because the centre of the state was at the intersections of the straits of Black Sea and Mediterranean, it was the most important passage of the world maritime trade. It had to reach an agreement and join, not only with its neighbours, but also with all European states. It was required to know the ambitious, program of all these states, and then act accordingly.” But, since no one in the state had been informed about foreign affairs, the state was left alone and was damaged because of this.”

The author argues that there should be attempts for alloying with some of the foreign states. He states that the Ottoman state was disadvantaged, because it was left alone; Catherine the Great benefited because she complied with this principle, she did not oppose all the states, the formed alliances with some of them. And he adds: “It should be known that no matter how strong the state is, in any case it needs at least two friends.

For example, in the concerned Crimean issue, when Catherine’s taking charge of the Austrian Emperor on the one hand, and attempting to deceive other European states is considered, our impotence and state of carelessness clearly confirms that our argument is very appropriate.”

The period when Cevdet Paşa’s History was written, was a period of disagreement with the Russians, from the start to the end. Ample space is reserved for Russian-Ottoman relations. In this period the Russian
captured Crimea by means of trickery, and put many of our citizens there to the sword. The Russians were taking advantage of any opportunity due to the decline of the Ottoman state. Russia is a deceitful state. She is not trustworthy in her agreements. It has been a source of uneasiness for our state. In response to this disposition of Russians Cevdet Pasha proposes the following principle: "Agreements between states are the same. The two states, especially the stronger and fiercer one, wishes to cut the ties, and go beyond the opportunities and privileges that she had obtained beforehand. Since she is aware of the difficulties that would come out from the other side would cause trouble if she attempts to achieve what she wants, she seems as if she has left everything take its course and wait for the convenient time. Either when she is strengthened or when the other side is weakened, the makes use of the opportunity and immediately breaks the agreement. While the weak side prefers to stay silent until she recovers, strong one becomes more pushing, attempts to turn out to be right side in mutual communication. Even if who is right is barely clear, the seeds of the powerful is covered, since the band of judge is the sword hill. The sword disputes what is written by pen, sword is longer than pen, it writes more quickly and stably. Then, the task of the state is waiting no time by extravagance during peacetime, and taking advantage of each and every moment for preparation for future wars, secretly, increasing their strength and completing their preparation."

The second and more important issue in the disruption of external balance is the corruption of army. The fact that inter-state balance can only be achieved by power, the stronger one will be the right one, and that the band of judge is the sword hill are among these significant conclusions. Since the Ottoman state lost her strength, she has also lost its rightfulness aforetime. Even those states, which had asked for her help in the past when she had been powerful, are now asking for land.

"The survival of the state depends on the existence of regular and organized armies, which in turn depends on high expenditures the payment of which depends on the existence of orderly, healthy and industries and developed country and people." This will also render the army strong.

In fact, the disruption of domestic order, financial depression, uprisings, impotence of administrators has functionally weakened the state abroad.

To conclude with, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha is a distinguished man, an intellectual who carries the values of his state and society, and who suffers for the negativities. Throughout his life, he has served the state in various spheres. In this great work which we tried to evaluate in a short article he offers almost a philosophy of state. This is a source, which should not be ignored if one wishes to understand the Ottoman Empire.

APPENDIX:

BIOGRAPHY OF AHMET CEVDET PASA

A short biography of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, collected from various sources is provided below:

He was born in Istanbul, Bulgaria, in 1822. His father was Ismail Agha, member of the Leja administrative assembly, his mother was Arye Stumbul woman who came from Topanything family, well-known in the town. His other ancestor, referred in the documents was Vakifkran Ahmet Agha, who is a "sentury" from Kuuklaert. After participating in Paat war he settled in Istanbul. Afterwards his entire lineage remained there.

Cevdet Pasha was a generalissimo, Ali Efendii, played an important role in his education. He was an enlightened person.

Cevdet Pasha completed his primary education in Leja. At the same time, he was taking courses from the ulama of the town. Because he was very intelligent and industrious, when he was 17, he was sent to Istanbul for madrasa education. He explains the life in madrasa at length. Here, he gets education of Islamic lore, geometry and mathematics. He has also taken courses outside the madrasa. He has read Modarres, Ketab Practical, started to write poems. In the meantime, he is also making the works of foreign and native authors on various subjects. His views about history have been moulded in this period. He has read Ibn Khaldun in these days and was influenced by him. Additionally, he has read the works of historians, Michelot, A. Toiser, J.V. Hammer, Buckle, Macaulay. He has learnt French. He has received madrasa diploma in 1841-1845. In 1845, he is appointed as nukher as Istanbul naibul.

His engagement with administrative and political spheres starts in these years. When Rejti Pasha is appointed as grand vizier, he asks for someone who is knowledgeable about, pvi (religious) issues. They send him Ahmet Cevdet Pasha. He stays in his entourage. He also gets closer to Ali and Fazil Pasha. His 15 years long stay in the entourage of Rejti Pasha is the period of maturation; he encounters several political developments. In 1850, he is appointed as the director of Dibartuzmii. He starts writing history in 1852. In this period he is both recording official chronicles, and writing his History. In this respect, it can be understood that Cevdet Pasha’s official historiography is different from his history. Thus, personal views and interpretations are frequent in his History. Apart from that, in his Traktir he writes the political events of the period, events, which are important for his personal life.

He is nominated as Galata Malia, in 1836. He becomes a member of Mudi-i Ali Tawfiq (Higher Commission of Taxation) in 1857. Thus, he starts working in the most important judicial works of the state. In this period, he works on criminal code, land registration code, and land code.

Ibn Khaldun has significant influence over Cevdet Pasha. In the period when he was writing history, he has read Ibn Khaldun in order to strengthen his view of history. Moreover, in 1850, he translates and publishes Mushakhaddah, which was left incomplete by Pir-i Zade Sahib. This is a very important development for Cevdet Pasha’s approach to history.

At the same time, he continued to serve at important administrative posts: Inspectorate, head of Court of Chamber, governorship.

In the meantime, in 1868, drafting a civil code comes to the agenda. A group supports the direct translation of French Code Civil. Cevdet Pasha opposes this. He gets a drafting of a law on the basis of Islamic Law, Hanefi canonical jurisprudence, accepted. In this discussion the jurisdiction, disagreements over this issue of east-west emerge. Westernian, taking everything from the West has started at that time. The disposition of Cevdet Pasha, his statements in discussions serve as a means to reveal his Islamic perspective more clearly. A society of law is founded and studies on Mudalle are conducted by the participation of the greatest Islamic jurist, Cevdet Pasha is the head of this commission. Mudalle is a magnificient work even in contemporary times. It is a collection of the principles based totally on Islamic sources.

In this respect, Cevdet Pasha seems as if he is against the constitutional regime. This can be accepted as an accurate judgement. It is clearly observed that he could not come into terms with Mustafa Pasha (Beslimen Mehmed Kerim, Selim Sahab, [The Last Grand Vizier], Istanbul, 1940). In the same work, it is cited that in the letter of Abdülhamit II to Paris embassy, Mustafa Pasha, quoting from Cevdet Pasha states that "State cannot be permanent; schools shall be reformed and a Christian government shall be instituted." Encyclopedia of Islam, stating that the author was Islamist and opposed the constitutional regime, considers this a stain on his reputation. This is important for getting to know the identity of Cevdet Pasha.

After 1882, faca few years she stays out of state service and writes Kisa-i Tarih. He finishes Tarihi-i Cevdet. In 1890, Abdülhamit Han II appoints him to Medine Aliye. He spends the rest of his life with scholarly works. He dies in Beshik in 1895. He is buried in Paris cemeteries. As can be observed, Cevdet Pasha is a multi-dimensional person. He is a historian, jurist, statesman, and poet. He is an intellectual who loves his nation and fatherland. Every moment of his life has been spent with consideration. He is a worthy person in Turkish history, who should be analyzed and researched. 1

2 The biography and works of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha are listed in the last section.
3 Ulama Misir Hikayesi, Cevdet Pasa ibn Topangh, a Doğru Gidip (Ankara: İtesad: Istanbul Yayınlari, 1992). (This book is an important and fundamental work, which analyses Cevdet Pasha’s views of Ottoman State from a sociological perspective.)
6 C. P. Qarat, Tarih, Vol. 2, Petroc, p. XXII.
7 C. P. Qarat, Tarih, Vol. 2, p. 35.
9 H. Bayat, Jadid älaleza, Tii, Nermousl, 3, 1934, pp. 61, 64, 65.
10 ibid., p. 45.
11 ibid.
GEOGRAPHY IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

PROF. DR. RAMAZAN ŞEŞEN
MİMAR SINAN UNIVERSITY, FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES / İSTANBUL - TURKEY

Geography, in Ottoman life, was first studied by people from Muslim theological schools for a literary purpose, rather than with a scientific aim, and started with the Acâbî el-madhabîh translation, which were written as legends. These translations were formed by including some geographic information, taken from other Islamic geographers’ works of the time, in the loose translations of the books Acâbî el-madhabîh of Zekeriyya el-Karimî (d.1283) and Harizel el-acâbî of Ibn el-Veriî (d.1349). The aim of these books was to entertain the reader, rather than to provide geographic information. The number of this type of Acâbî el-madhabîh translations is more than twelve. The first one belongs to Ali b. Abdullahîman (died around 800), and the last book is the Tekfîl-ı tâbiîn-ı Acâbî el-madhabîh of Redjîn-zade (d. 1701). The most famous of these translations are the ones by Ahmedî b. Bicân (d.1454), Sarruri (d.1562) and Ma’mûn b. Hâshî el-Râmî (alive in 1563). Many hand-written copies of these translations have survived until today. Among this kind of works, the work of Ahmedî b. Bicân, called “Dârî-ı Mehân” was in demand. The translation and copying of the Acâbî el-madhabîh manuscripts continued until the middle of the 18th century.

Ottoman geographers did not make translations from the classical Islamic geographers, like el-Harezmi (d. 847), Ibn Hawalî (died after 977), el-Madsî (died after 988) and el-Ishshî (d. 1165). They only made quotations from these men who were real scientists. An exception, the work of Sipahi-zade (d. 1580), Arzub el-madâhîh, is mostly based on the work of Bu’lî Fida (d. 1331), called Tekfîl el-bâlûn. Sipahi-zade added to the information he had taken from Tekfîl el-bâlûn some information taken from the classical geography books and some contemporary geographic information he had collected. The book Manazir el-arâmîn of Arzub Muhammadî b. Ômer (alive in 1613) is also partly a fictional work, with some geography. However, there is valuable information in his work, especially about the Ottoman Rumelia geography of his period. While some people claim that this book was the last one written in the old style in the Ottoman period, this claim is wrong. Geography books of the old style containing fictional information were written until the middle of the 19th century. Again, partly historical and partly fictional geography books that described the geography of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus and Egypt, and travel books, mostly about the pilgrimage stages, were written by scientists from the theological schools. These were to some extent autobiographical works written by the pilgrims. Among these travel books, the Bayan el-Mansâz el-Seyyir-i ıkhbânî of Ma’rûf Nanî (d. 1564) about the Baghdad and Iraq campaigns are of exceptional importance. Besides the beautiful and detailed descriptions, they include very well drawn illustrations of the cities that constituted the stages of the pilgrimage. These illustrations, of high artistic value, gave us information about the castle architecture and town planning styles of that period. This work was published among the publications of the Turkish Historical Society by Hüseyin Yurdudan in Ankara, in 1976.

Moreover, besides the geography books written by the scientists from Muslim theological schools, there were some scientists in the Ottoman Empire who re-
The Great
Ottoman - Turkish
Civilisation
The Great
Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation

3

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE AND INSTITUTIONS

Editor-in-chief
PROF. KEMAL ÇÎÇEK

Co-editors
PROF. ERCÎMÈNT KURAN
PROF. NEJAT GÔYÎNCÎ
PROF. ÍLBER ORTAYLÎ

Executive editor
GÎLER EREN

YENÎ TÜRKÎYE
The Great Ottoman - Turkish Civilization

CHIEF OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD
PROF. DR. HALİL İNALÇIK
CHICAGO UNIVERSITY / STUDENT UNIVERSITY

EDITORIAL BOARD
PROF. DR. NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ
İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY

PROF. DR. YUSUF HALAÇOĞLU
PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH HISTORY SOCIETY

PROF. DR. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE RESEARCH CENTRE FOR ISLAMIC, HISTORY ART AND CULTURE

PROF. DR. ERCÜMEN KURAN
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY

PROF. DR. MUBAHAT S. KÜTÜKOĞLU
İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY

PROF. DR. JACOB M. LANDAU
HEBREW UNIVERSITY

PROF. DR. AHMET YAŞAR OCAK
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY

PROF. DR. İLBER ORTAYLI
ANKARA UNIVERSITY

PROF. DR. STANFORD SHAW
CALIFORNIA UNIVERSITY / Bilkent University

PROF. DR. BAHAFEDDİN YEŞİYILDIZ
HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY

TYPE SETTING
ALİ TAŞTEPE / Ö. FARUK TAŞTEPE / ADEM TEMİZKÖK
ALİ ŞİMŞİR / EMRE TAŞTEPE / EMINE GÜRLEK
HAMZA GÖRER

PROOF READING
ÖZLEM DİLME / HALİT ÜNSAL / MERIC ÖNDER
AHMET KARAÇAVUŞ / BANU ULLI / ÇAĞLAYAN ENGİNAY
ALİ OMURBAY / AYTEŞ İNÇ İDAL / ERSİ ÖZYURT
NURKANAT ABDURRAZAKOV / DUYGU ULLI
HASAN MUTLU / SEMİH NART

GRAPHIC DESIGN
GÖKÇEN TEKNİK / SEMİH OFSET

PRINTED AT
SEMİH OFSET

ROUNDING HOUSE
BALKAN ÇİLTEVI

ISBN 975-6782-17-X (TKNO)
975-6782-20-X (VOL. 3)

ANKARA 2000

UNIV.
LEIDEN
BIBL.
The incredible fact that the Ottoman frontier beylik became an Empire over such a short period of time has attracted many Western researchers and scholars to delve into the history of the Ottoman State. It could be argued that there are miscellaneous determinants and dimensions that actually created the possibility for such an incredible feat to be accomplished. This volume has been edited with the aim of focusing on the main factors that gave rise to such a great civilisation. In the first place, the institutional character of the Ottoman State is of utmost importance. In order to understand the basis of Ottoman civilisation, the different patterns of its institutions should be studied, as the comprehensive analysis of the institutional structure of the Ottoman Empire might enable us to conceive how a small beylik was able to turn into one of the greatest Empires in the world. In this volume, the administrative, judiciary and military institutions of the Empire are set out as the main subject titles. In addition, there are various subjects which have been analysed, under such subtopics as bureaucracy, religion and law, shedding light on the main characteristics of Ottoman institutions.

In appreciation of the highly developed institutional structure of the Ottoman Empire, the ideational and philosophical sources cannot be underrated. Unless these sources are taken into consideration, it is impossible to grasp the various dynamics of Ottoman institutions. Therefore, this volume is entitled “Philosophy, Science and Institutions”, due to the close correlation and importance of these subjects to one another.

Contrary to conventional Euro-centric and Orientalist assumptions, which hold “science” as the peculiar praxis of the Renaissance and Enlightenment in
the West, in this volume it is generally argued that the Ottomans had a number of successes in scientific activities (İlmüfen). The Ottoman State not only promoted the development of science within the borders of the Empire, but also facilitated several interactions with scientific activities outside of its territories. During this interaction, it both benefited from and contributed to the scientific improvements made in Europe.

Additionally, this volume dedicates an important place to the development of philosophy and thought in the Ottoman Empire; although in the Ottoman Empire such major philosophical ideas as developed in Europe were not formed, rather the Ottomans focused mainly on Islamic philosophy. Yet this situation does not arise from the fact that the Ottomans lagged behind in speculative matters. On the contrary, they were not interested in philosophical issues that were outside the realm of Islamic tradition. From their point of view, Islam encompassed all ontological and epistemological matters, making any other philosophical concern dysfunctional.

Yeni Türkiye

CONTENTS

volume 3

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE AND INSTITUTIONS

PART I: PHILOSOPHY

Ottoman Thought Of World Domination

ottoman thought in the classical age


early reforms

AN UNKNOWN ENLIGHTENMENT MOVEMENT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE / ASSOC. PROF. DR. KAZIM SARAĞCAYAK / 77 ■ MÜTEFİKKİRİTS PRINTING PRESS: SOME OBSERVATIONS / DR. HİDAYET NURULLA / 83 ■ SULTAN MAHMUD II AND THE FEZ REVOLUTION / MEHMET LALE / 91

tanzimat: breaking with the tradition


from absolutist monarchy to meşrutiyet

From “Osmanlı” To National Identity
emergence of pan-islamism, pan-turkism and
turkish nationalism

THE OTTOMANS AND THE CALIPHATE / ASSOC. PROF. DR. AZMI ÖZCAN / 181
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL
PAN-TURKISM / PROF. DR. JAKOB LANDAU / 192
THE EMERGENCE OF TURKISH NATIONALISM
UNDER THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE / ASSISTANT PROF. DR. YUSUF SARIYAY / 196
ILLEGAL YOUNG TURKS
PUBLIC LECTURES (LATE 19TH-EARLY 20TH CENTURIES) / PROF. DR. YURI A. PETROSYAN / 207

Ottoman Legacy and The Turkish Republic
ottoman legacy

THE OTTOMAN ROOTS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC / PROF. DR. BERNARD LEWIS / 221
MODERN TURKEY
AND THE OTTOMAN LEGACY / PROF. DR. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU / 229
THE BALKANS AND THE
OTTOMAN INHERITANCE / PROF. DR. İLBER ORTAYLI / 241
OTTOMAN LEGACY IN TURKEY
/ PROF. DR. ERCİMEYER KURAN / 246
THE MOST IMPORTANT OTTOMAN INHERITANCE: TURKISH SOCIETY / PROF. DR. BAHASEN YAVUZCÜoğlu / 258
THE ANATOMY OF AN ECONOMIC HERITAGE FROM
THE OTTOMAN STATE TO THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY / PROF. DR. AHMET GÜNER-SAYAR / 253
ISLAM, THE
PROBLEMSOME HERITAGE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (A TRIAL OF A PROBAMATIC APPROACH)
/ PROF. Dr. AHMET YAŞAR OĞÇAK / 259
THE SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE OTTOMANS IN THE PERIOD OF
RECESSION AND COLLAPSE / DR. VEYNI BEĞİN / 271

present historiography on the ottoman state

THE PLACE OF THE OTTOMANS IN WORLD HISTORY: METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS AND A REINTERPRETA-
TION OF OTTOMAN HISTORY / PROF. DR. AHMET DAVUTOĞLU / 281
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
OTTOMANS IN EGYPTIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY DURING THE OTTOMAN RULE / PROF. DR. MICHAEL WINTERS / 290
THE OTTOMAN HERITAGE AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE BALKAN HISTORIOGRAPHIES (FORMA-
TION OF MUSLIM BALKAN COMMUNITIES) / ASSOC. PROF. DR. ANTONINA ZHILYAŽKOVA / 298

PART II: SCIENCE

An Overview of Ottoman History of Science

AN OVERVIEW OF OTTOMAN SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES / PROF. DR. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU / 305
THE
EVOLUTION OF THE GEOCULTURAL SPACE OF OTTOMAN SCIENCE (ITS EXTENSION, DIFFERENTIATION, AND
CO-LOCALIZATION) / DR. NIVER MILODI / 329
THE OTTOMAN ULUMA / PROF. DR. MEHMET İŞİR / 339
MATRAŞI NASÜI: THE FAMOUS KNIGHT, SCIENTIST AND ARTIST OF THE PERIOD OF SÜLEYMAN
THE MAGNIFICENT / PROF. DR. İHSEYIN GAZİ YEŞİLDAYAN / 348
ISLAMIC SCHOLARSHIP BETWEEN IMPE-
RIAL CENTER AND PROVINCES IN THE 18TH CENTURY: THE CASE OF MURADİYE AL-ZABID (D.1200/1789) AND
HIS OTTOMAN CONTACTS / PROF. DR. STEFAN REICHMUTH / 357

Historiography and Geography

THE OTTOMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY / PROF. DR. MEHMET İŞİR / 369
ON OTTOMAN HISTORY TEXT-
BOOKS AND REFORM (1858-1918) / DR. BETÜL BAŞARA-ALPŞAN / 379
OTTOMAN STATE AND
AHMET ÇEYİD PASHA’S HISTORY / PROF. DR. BEŞİR AKALAY / 389
GEOPGRAPHY IN
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE / PROF. DR. RAMAZAN ŞİŞEK / 405

Mathematics, Astronomy, Biology

MATHEMATICS IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE / PROF. DR. MEHMET T. ÖZBAY / 413
DECIMAL TRIGONOMETRIC
TABLES IN THE WORK OF KAYHİYEDE, “ČERİ YIL-DÜER VE HABIR EL-ÝÈLE” (PREPARATION AND USE) / ASSOC. PROF. DR. REMİ ZDEMİR / 419
THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN
BOTANY IN THE OTTOMAN TURKEY / PROF. DR. AŞKAN BAYTOP / 431

Medical Sciences

THE PLACE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MİSİR ÇARŞISI (SPICE BAZAAR) IN OTTOMAN-TURKISH MEDICINE / PROF. DR. AYŞEGÜL D. KADİR / 447
THE OTTOMAN – TURKISH DENTISTRY / PROF. DR. ILKER ÜZEL / 455
THE IMPORTANCE OF PHARMACY AND THE FREE DISPENSATION OF MEDICINES TO THE PUBLIC
WITHIN THE OTTOMAN HEALTH SYSTEM / PROF. DR. MAHMUT ÇUBUKÇU / 451

Technology

THREE SCIENCES, THREE OPTIONS FOR THE KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER IN THE LATE OTTOMAN TURKEY:
ZOOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, GEOGRAPHY / PROF. DR. KLAUS KREUSER / 481
THE MERICAN SYSTEM IN TURKEY / PROF. DR. PEZA GÜRCÜN / 487

PART III: INSTITUTIONS

Ottoman Administrative History
ottoman central administration

FROM THE DIVAN-I HÜMAYUN (IMPERIAL COUNCIL) TO THE MECLİS-I MEHSAU (HOUSE OF DEPUTIES)
LEGISLATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE / ASSISTANT PROF. DR. MEHMET V. SEYİRDAÞİLOĞLU / 509
THE INSTITUTION OF THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL (DIVAN-I HÜMAYUN) / DR. RECEP AHŞAL / 506

ottoman peripheral organisation

PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE TURKISH EMPIRE PERIOD / PROF. DR. MEHMET GÖYÜNÇ / 519
THE ANATOLIAN PROVINCE GENERAL: THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE HISTORICAL
EVOLUTION / PROF. DR. M. ÇETİN VURAL / 533
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USE OF “KUÞİYÎS” AS A
GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION AND THE INCORPORATION OF THIS REGION INTO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
IN THE 16TH CENTURY / BAKİR TEZCAN / 548
THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WEAKENING OF CENTRALIZED
STATE STRUCTURE: AVÂLÂNUK SYSTEM AND GİRİŞ DYNASTIES / PROF. DR. YÜCEL ÖZKAYA / 554
THE AGE
OF AYANS IN THE HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN STATE / PROF. DR. ÖZCAN MERDİ / 565
administrative reforms in the Tanzimat period

Tanzimat / PROF. DR. AYŞA ÇAĞIRCI / 573 • Municipal Services in the Ottoman Empire Before the Period of Tanzimat (Reforms) / ASSOC. PROF. DR. İLHAN YERILKAYA / 590

the bureaucracy in the Ottoman state

The Ottoman Administration and the Problem of Interpreters / PROF. DR. GILLES VEINSTAIN / 607 • A Brief Comparison of the Roman and the Ottoman Administrative Organisation and the Hierarchy of Officials / ASS. PROF. DR. HATICE PALAZ-ERDEMİR / 616 • Is Teşkilat-ı Mahsuma the Beginning of Modern Turkish Intelligence? / ASS. PROF. DR. HAMİT PEHLİVANLI / 623

Ottoman Legal System

an overview of Ottoman legal system

The Functioning of the Judiciary in the Ottoman Empire / ASSOC. PROF. DR. ABDÜL AZİZ BAYINDIR / 659 • The “Kâni Name” of Mehmed II: A Different Perspective / BARİ TECAN / 659 • The Secularist Preference in the Ottoman Jurisprudence / PROF. DR. HAYRETİN KAHRAMAN / 666 • The Judicial Privileges of Foreigners in the Ottoman Empire / ASSOC. PROF. DR. YASEMIN SANER GÖREN / 676

Ottoman Law and its Transformation


Ottoman Military

ottoman military organization, arms, war industry and technology

Ottoman Military Organization / PROF. DR. ABDÜL KADİR İÇCAN / 710 • Fire Arms in the Ottoman State / PROF. DR. MÜCERİNE İLGÜREL / 727 • Ottoman Maritime Arsenais and Ship-Building Technology in the 16th and 17th Centuries / PROF. DR. İDRİS BOSTAN / 735 • Mehmed the Conqueror and Fire-Arms Technology / DR. SALIM AYDIN / 745 • The Janissary Corps in the Late 16th and Early 17th Century: The First Attempt at Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire / DR. BİNA PETROVAN / 750

Ottoman Wakf System

Turkish Wakfs or Turkish System of Charities in the Ottoman Era / PROF. DR. BAHAR ÖZTÜRK / 763 • The Wakf in the Ottoman Period. A Social Policy Perspective / ASSOC. PROF. DR. NİZİF getürk / 790 • Wakf Institutions in Bursian Sancak Until the Beginning of the 17th Century / ASSOC. PROF. DR. AHMET MAKAL / 801

PHILOSOPHY

PART I