

**EBÜBEKİR RÂTİB EFENDİ AS AN OTTOMAN ENVOY OF  
KNOWLEDGE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST**

**A THESIS PRESENTED BY FATİH BAYRAM  
TO  
THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY**

**BILKEN UNIVERSITY  
SEPTEMBER, 2000**

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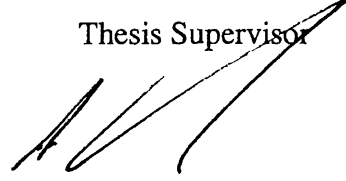
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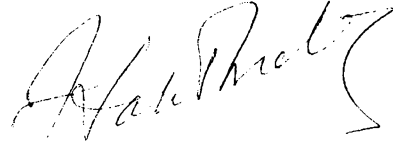
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Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık



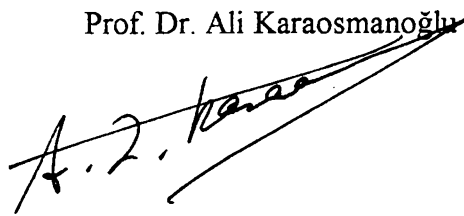
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Dr. Oktay Özel



Approved by The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences.

Prof. Dr. Ali Karaosmanoğlu



## ABSTRACT

The reports of the Ottoman ambassadors about the European states would give us crucial clues for understanding the difference between the world views of the Ottoman Empire and of the European states. Ottoman ambassadors' view of European culture, in general, shaped the picture of Europe in the eyes of the Ottomans. In this respect, Râtib Efendi's ambassadorial report, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* (1792), will be analyzed in terms of understanding how an Ottoman ambassador perceived the Habsburg Empire and Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Râtib Efendi's lengthy work, approximately 500 pages, implies the Ottomans' willingness to understand the state of affairs in Europe.

In this study, firstly we will explain Râtib Efendi (1749-1799)'s life and his works. His life story would shed light on the intra-elite conflict in the Ottoman bureaucracy. It seems that Râtib Efendi's observations on the military academies of the Habsburg Empire affected the educational policy of the New Order in the reign of Selim III (1789-1807). Hence, we will elaborate on the military academies in the Habsburg Empire as expressed by Râtib Efendi. We will also analyze his views on the decline of the Ottoman Empire. It will be point out that his views had crucial similarities with the ideas explained in the decline treatises. Also, his views on the European politics will be examined in order to understand the limits of an Ottoman ambassador's knowledge about the politics of Europe.

## ÖZET

Avrupa'ya gönderilen Osmanlı elçilerinin raporları, Osmanlı ve Avrupa dünya görüşleri arasındaki farkı anlama açısından bize önemli ip uçları sunmaktadır. Osmanlı elçilerinin Avrupa kültürünü algılayış tarzı, genelde, Osmanlı'nın gözündeki Avrupa tasvîrini şekillendirmiştir. Bu açıdan, Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi'nin *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* adlı eseri üzerinde durularak bir Osmanlı elçisinin Fransız İhtilali sonrasında Habsburg İmparatorluğu ve Avrupa hakkındaki gözlemleri irdelenecektir. Râtib Efendi'nin yaklaşık 500 sayfa büyüklüğündeki bu uzun eseri, Osmanlı'nın Avrupa'nın genel durumunu anlama iştiyâkına delalet etmektedir.

Bu çalışmada ilk olarak Râtib Efendi (1749-1799)'nin hayatı ve eserleri üzerinde duracağız. Onun yaşam öyküsü, Osmanlı bürokrasisindeki elit-içi çatışmaya ışık tutacaktır. Râtib Efendi'nin Habsburg İmparatorluğu'nda bulunan askerî akademiler konusundaki gözlemlerinin III. Selim (1789-1807) devrindeki *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* hareketinin eğitim politikasını etkilediği görülmektedir. Bu nedenle, Râtib Efendi tarafından açıklandığı şekliyle, Habsburg İmparatorluğu'ndaki askerî akademiler konusu üzerinde duracağız. Ayrıca, Râtib Efendi'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun gerileyişi konusundaki düşüncelerine yer vereceğiz. Bu bağlamda, onun fikirleriyle *nasihatnâme* yazarlarının fikirleri arasındaki benzerlikler belirtilecektir. Bir Osmanlı elçisinin Avrupa politikası konusundaki bilgisinin sınırlarını görmek açısından, Râtib Efendi'nin Avrupa politikası üzerindeki görüşleri de ayrıca incelenecektir.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I am particularly grateful to Selçuk Akşin Somel who gave me the courage to undertake the difficult task of examining the *Weltanschauung* of Râtib Efendi. He generously devoted his precious time to making corrections in my numerous drafts. I owe a great deal to his guidance and patience throughout the process of research and of writing. I am indebted to Oktay Özel who read the draft and made crucial contributions to my study. His criticisms helped me a great deal in improving the work. I would also like to express my gratitude to Mehmet Kalpaklı who helped me about the sources related to the work. I am also indebted to David Thornton who helped me about the methodological issues in the process of research and writing. I am also grateful to my professors at Bilkent University, History Department, Gülriz Büken, Necdet Gök, Slobodan İliç, Eugenia Kermeli, Paul Latimer, Cadoc Leighton, Russell Johnson and Ahmet Simin.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BA. Başbakanlık Arşivi (Prime Ministerial Archives)
- E. Evrak
- HH Hatt-ı Hümâyûn Catalogues
- TSA Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi (the Archive of the Topkapı Palace)

## Introduction

The history of Turkish modernization is a fascinating subject for the students of history of Turkey. In fact, the process of Turkish modernization still continues. Although there is no disagreement over the continuity of this phenomenon, the controversy over its beginning is still unsettled. Due to the great emphasis put by historians of Turkish modernity on the nineteenth century, the roots of the ideas of the Ottoman thinkers of the nineteenth century have largely been neglected in the literature on the history of Turkish modernization. The studies on the eighteenth century are limited in numbers, compared to those on the nineteenth century. Thus, most of the studies on the history of Turkish modernization has not been satisfactory in terms of both scope and of thoroughness.

On the other hand, apart from the lack of interest in some crucial periods of the Ottoman history, there has also been a lack of interest in some crucial countries of Europe in terms of their role in the Ottoman modernization. Thus, time and space dimension of the history of the Ottoman modernization has been narrowed by most of the historians. The role of France in the modernization of Turkey has been overemphasized in the literature on the Turkish reforms.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, the tendency to overemphasize the role of France perhaps derived from the tendency to overvalue the importance of the nineteenth century in Ottoman reforms. It is highly likely that a broader view of the Ottoman modernization would change the picture.

The reports of the Ottoman ambassadors, who were sent to the European powers have certainly served to a considerable extent, as transmitters of European ideas into the Ottoman Empire. Thus, they seemed to play a crucial role in the history of Turkish modernization. If we compare the number of ambassadors sent to Paris with those sent to Vienna in the eighteenth century, we would see that the latter was twice as many as the former. But those ambassadors, who were sent to France, -particularly Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (?-1732)- have been given more attention than those sent to the Habsburg Empire.<sup>2</sup> Even the lengthy work of Râtîb Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, does not serve as an exception to this fact. In spite of the fact that this work was exceptional in terms of both quantity and quality<sup>3</sup>, its influence on the “New Order” (*Nizâm-ı Cedîd*) has largely been neglected in the literature on the Ottoman modernization. The fact that this work still has not been published yet, can be seen as an evidence supporting this argument.<sup>4</sup> Thus, our aim in this work would be to try to examine the importance of Râtîb Efendi and of his works, particularly *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, for the history of the Ottoman modernization, particularly for the history of the *Nizâm-ı Cedîd*.

It would be wrong to assume that Selim III relied only to Râtîb Efendi's views in his reform program. In 1791, Selim III ordered some statesmen to prepare *lâyihâs* (memoranda), in which they would explain

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. Stein, "An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Ambassador Observes the West: Ebu Bekir Râtîb Efendi Reports on the Habsburg System of Roads and Posts", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vol. 10 (1985), p.224.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, "Ebu Bekir Râtîb Efendi'nin 'Nizam-ı Cedit' Islahatında Rolü", V. *Türk Tarih Kongresi, Tebliğler*, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> Though *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* has not been published, it has been transcribed into Latin script by V. Sema Arıkan, see V.Sema Arıkan, *Nizâm-ı Cedîd'in Kaynaklarından Ebubekir*

their reform proposals. As a consequence of this order, twenty-one Ottomans and two non-Muslims, one of them was D'Ohsson, presented their *lâyihas* to the Imperial Council to be discussed.<sup>5</sup> Râtib Efendi's ambassadorial report, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, was also discussed in this council. It seems that Selim III was impressed by Râtib Efendi's report and tried to implement it.<sup>6</sup> Although Râtib Efendi's work was not in origin a *lâyiha*, its content was similar to the content of the *lâyihas* presented to Selim III in many respects. Like Râtib Efendi, the authors of the *lâyihas* emphasized the need for military reform in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>7</sup> In spite of the importance of the other *lâyihas* in terms of understanding the Ottoman statesmen's view of reform, the *lâyiha* of Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi (1730-1797) needs special consideration here. According to Cevdet Paşa, the *lâyiha* of Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi is the most famous of these *lâyihas*.<sup>8</sup> According to Shaw, also, this *lâyiha* was "the longest and most influential" among the others.<sup>9</sup> This *lâyiha* is also crucial in terms of the similarities between the ideas of Abdullah Efendi and of Râtib Efendi. Like Râtib Efendi, Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi also believed in the utmost necessity of military reform.<sup>10</sup> Both of them viewed the necessity of reform in a broader perspective. Interestingly, Abdullah Efendi gave examples from European

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*Râtib Efendi'nin "Büyük Lâyiha"sı*, Ph. D. dissertation, (The Institute of the Social sciences, University of Istanbul, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Selim III, 1789-1808*, (Cambridge & Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal, 1964), p. 77.

<sup>7</sup> Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Selim III, 1789-1808*, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh-i Cevdet*, vol. 6, (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Osmâniye, 1309), p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> S. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Selim III, 1789-1808*, p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> "Cümleden ehemmi ve akdem ve derece-i vücûbda elzem olan tedârik, asâkir-i mu'alleme ve mürettebe husûsı olmağla..." see Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi, "Sultan Selîm-i Sâlis Devrinde Nizâm-ı Devlet Hakkında Mütâla'ât [III]", *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmû'ası*, VIII/43 (April 1917), p. 32.

kings, particularly Peter the Great.<sup>11</sup> Like Râtib Efendi, Abdullah Efendi also points out the protectionist policies in the European states and criticizes the Ottomans' indifference to the import of foreign products, particularly the Russian fur. For Abdullah Efendi, if the Ottoman Empire would pursue the policy of protecting the domestic industry, this would contribute a great deal to the well-being of the people.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Abdullah Efendi does not give a detailed account of the state of affairs in Europe. In some parts of his work, he briefly mentions the situation in Europe in order to criticize the Ottoman practices. His account on Europe is limited than Râtib Efendi's account, both in scope and in quality. One of the main strengths of the work of Râtib Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, was that it included Râtib Efendi's own observations on the state of affairs in Europe.

Râtib Efendi was aware of the growing challenge of European powers to the survival of the Ottoman Empire. He was not as optimistic as Ahmed Azmî Efendi, who was sent to Prussia as an Ottoman ambassador in 1791, about defeating the challenge of Europe. Though they were appointed as Ottoman envoys in the same year, their view of the rise of Europe was very different. Azmî Efendi bases his claim on the dynastic cyclicism of Ibn Haldun and argues that European states were living in the last phase of their rise. For him, in the near future, they would face the age of decline.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi, "Sultan Selîm-i Sâlis Devrinde Nizâm-ı Devlet Hakkında Mütâla'ât [I]", *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmû'ası*, VII/41 (December 1916), pp. 260-262.

<sup>12</sup> "Düvel-i Nasârâda âdet, kendü diyârlarında bir metâ'in ednâsı bulunur ise sâir diyârda ol metâ'in a'lâsından bulunana meyl ideni i'dâm iderler. Bu sûretde kürk maddesine bir nizâm virildiği sûretde Devlet-i Aliyye memâlikî ahâlîsi ğanî ve Moskovlu bulundukları halden ziyâde müflis olacakları ğâyet dakik bir ma'nâ olmağla..." See Tatarcık Abdullah Efendi, "Sultan Selîm-i Sâlis Devrinde Nizâm-ı Devlet Hakkında Mütâla'ât [II]", *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmû'ası*, VII/42 (December 1916), p. 346.

<sup>13</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh-i Cevdet*, vol. 5, pp. 362-363.

Nevertheless, unlike Azmî Efendi, Râtib Efendi did not believe that the challenge of Europe would come to an end in the near future. Conversely, it can be deduced from his writings that if the Ottoman Empire would not take the necessary measures, it would be very likely that the survival of the Ottoman Empire would be in danger.

Although Râtib Efendi believed in the necessity of reform in the Ottoman institutions, especially in the military institutions, it would be wrong to assume that his thought represented a rupture in the Ottoman political tradition. Conversely, like the authors of decline treatises, he had a longing for the age of *kânûn-ı kadîm*, i.e. the old Sultanic law. As we shall point out, there were crucial similarities between the ideas of Râtib Efendi and the ideas explained in the decline treatises. Nevertheless, as Mehmet Öz points out, one of the main weaknesses of the decline treatises, with the exception of the works of Akhisârî (d. 1616) and of İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745), was that they neglected the foreign affairs of the Ottoman Empire. They disregarded the developments in the world, particularly Europe, and their impact on the Ottoman Empire.<sup>14</sup> But Râtib Efendi examined the problems of the Ottoman Empire in a broader perspective. As an Ottoman envoy in Vienna, which was in the centre of Europe<sup>15</sup>, he made interesting observations on the Habsburg institutions, especially on the military academies. He also made conversations not only with the Austrians but also with the other Europeans in Vienna. His observations during his journey and

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<sup>14</sup> Mehmet Öz, *Osmanlı'da "Çözülme" ve Gelenekçi Yorumcuları*, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1997), p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> TSA, E. 6700/3 (1206/1792).

in Vienna and his conversations with the Europeans constituted the main source of information for Râtib Efendi's works.

Apart from the importance of Vienna as a place at the center of Europe, the time in which Râtib Efendi stayed in Vienna was also crucial in terms of observing the impact of the French Revolution on the Habsburg Empire. In his letters from Vienna to the Ottoman government, he explains in detail the effects of the French Revolution on Europe. It seems that his conversations with Mouradge D'Ohsson, who came from France to Vienna after the French revolution, constituted main source of information for Râtib Efendi. On the other hand, in his letters, Râtib Efendi also dwells on his own observations on the impact of the French Revolution on the Habsburg Empire. Râtib Efendi's view of the French Revolution is interesting in terms of understanding how an Ottoman bureaucrat perceived a revolution within Europe. Like his contemporaries, he saw the French Revolution as a chance to deal with the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire due to the conflict among the European powers. He was not aware of the possible effects of the French Revolution on the future of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that he was under the influence of the Habsburgs, with whom he conversed in Vienna. According to them, Râtib Efendi points out, the Ottoman Empire would be the most safe place in the near future. Nevertheless, the safety in the Ottoman lands lasted only six years, until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798.



## CHAPTER I

### Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi (1749-1799) and His Works

#### A- The Life of Râtib Efendi

##### 1- Râtib Efendi and the Âmedî Office

Ebûbekir Râtib Efendi was born in 1749 in *Tosya*, a town between the Black Sea and the Central Anatolia.<sup>16</sup> His father, *Çilingir*<sup>17</sup> *Ali Efendi*, was a *müderris* (professor) in a *medrese*, in *Tosya*. He got his primary education in *Tosya*, particularly from his father.<sup>18</sup> At the age of fifteen, he went to *Istanbul* in order to get a better education there since this city was the center of learning in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>19</sup> He preferred to enter the *kalemiyye* class, the Ottoman bureaucracy, rather than *‘ilmiyye* class, which was composed of religious scholars. Nevertheless, during the years he spent in the bureaucracy, Râtib Efendi continued his studies. He improved his Arabic and Persian in those years to the extent that he could write poems in these languages. We should bear in mind that the bureaucracy also served as a center for learning in the Ottoman Empire.

He entered the office of *Âmedî*, which was headed by *Edhem Efendi*, who became Râtib Efendi's tutor in the bureaucracy. After *Edhem Efendi*'s death in the year 1763 (H. 1177), he continued to work in the same office, which was now headed by *Hüseyin Efendi*. When *Halil Hamid Paşa*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Abdullah Uçman, *Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999), p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> His opponents in the government circles turned his father's nickname *Çilingir*, locksmith, to *Çingâne*, gypsy. (TSA (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi), E. 11388 [1215] )

<sup>18</sup> İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Ebubekir Râtib Efendi", *Belleten*, XXXIX (153), p. 49.

<sup>19</sup> See O. Nuri Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Eser Neşriyat, 1977), pp. 12-62.

<sup>20</sup> See İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Sadrâzam Halil Hamit Paşa", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 5 (1935).

replaced Hüseyin Efendi as *Âmedci*, the head of the *Âmedî* Office, Râtib Efendi continued to keep his position in this office.

It is known that there were factions in the Ottoman bureaucracy at that time. Râtib Efendi also belonged to a faction led by Halil Hamid Paşa (1737-1785), an influential reformer in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Râtib Efendi's stance towards the Ottoman Empire's problems were possibly influenced by Halil Hamid Paşa. When Halil Hamid Paşa was appointed as *Büyük Tezkireci* in May 1779 (*Cemâziyel-Efendi* became the head of the *Âmedî* Office in the same year. Also, when Halil Hamid Paşa served as the Grand Vizier in the years 1782-1785, he consolidated his position as the head of the *Âmedî* Office. In spite of the execution of Hamid Paşa in 1785, he remained in the same office until the year 1788. He was appointed as *sipâh kâtibi* (secretary of the *sipâh*<sup>21</sup> Office), a less influential position compared to the *Âmedci*, in 1788. He maintained his position as *sipâh kâtibi* for a short time and he took part in the campaign against Russia as *silahdar kâtibi*, the secretary of the second section of the cavalry units of the Imperial Household (*kapıkuku ocakları*).

The fact that Râtib Efendi kept his position as the head of the *Âmedî* office for a long time, seven years, probably made a crucial impact on his thought. This office was responsible for the preparation of the reports that the grand vizier would present to the sultan. More importantly, the office of *Âmedî* was also responsible for the preparation of the draft copies of letters to be sent by the Grand Vizier to the kings and high officials of the foreign states. . It was the secretarial department of the *reîsülküttab*, who was

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<sup>21</sup> *Sipâh* units were the first section of the cavalry units of the Imperial Household (*kapıkulu süvârleri*).

responsible for the foreign affairs of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>22</sup> The importance of Âmedî office can be derived from the fact that Halil Hâmid Paşa and Mustafa Reşid Paşa were appointed as *reisülküttâb* when they served as *Âmedci*.<sup>23</sup>

Râtib Efendi did not know any European language whereas he wrote in three Islamic languages (*elsine-i selâse*), Ottoman, Arabic and Persian, both in prose and verse. It is argued that he became acquainted with the Western thought and the European way of life through the translators in the office of the *reisülküttâb*.<sup>24</sup> He mentions the names of some Western thinkers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesqueu and Reinhold in his works. Nevertheless, his knowledge about them appears to have been rather superficial.

## 2- The correspondence of Şehzâde Selim with Louis XVI

Due to his skill in the *ta'lik* script, Râtib Efendi taught *Şehzade Selim* calligraphy. He also helped a great deal to Selim in composing his letters to Louis XVI, in the years 1786-87, when he was the head of the office of the *Âmedî*, which was responsible for the preparation of the letters to be sent to the rulers of the foreign states. In a letter, Louis XVI recommended that Selim should not wage a war without giving order to the Ottoman Army. This attitude of the French king annoyed Selim.<sup>25</sup> He gave the task of replying the letter of Louis XVI to Râtib Efendi, and told him

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<sup>22</sup> J. M. Stein, "An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Ambassador Observes the West: Ebu Bekir Râtib Efendi Reports on the Habsburg System of Roads and Posts", p. 222.

<sup>23</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, IX (1964), p. 675.

<sup>24</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, "Ebu Bekir Râtib Efendi'nin 'Nizam-ı Cedit' İslahatında Rolü", *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1960), p. 348.

<sup>25</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Hümayunları, Nizam-ı Cedit (1789-1807)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), p. 16.

that since he knows the rules of conduct between the states, he should him that he must not write in an entreating way, but boldly.<sup>26</sup>

In his draft copy, Râtib Efendi used a symbolic language, which could mean different things. He was very proud of his style of writing. He argued that the French king would deduce different meanings if he would examine the letter for a year. As usual, he exaggerated his skill. The reason for his usage of symbolic language was that the French high officials should realize the wiseness of Selim. For Râtib Efendi, they would conclude that Selim would surpass his predecessors, in terms of art of governing. On the other hand, he argues that these meanings were hidden in the symbols used in the text and that they could not be seen easily in the outward expressions of the text.

In a letter to Louis XVI, which was composed by Râtib Efendi, he asserted that enemies would not wait until the Ottoman Empire finishes the necessary reforms. He suggests another way to accomplish this difficult task. According to Râtib Efendi, the Ottoman Army had been powerful enough in the times of former sultans, particularly in the times of Orhan Han (1324-62), Murad II (1421-44, 1446-51), Mehmed II (1444-46, 1451-81), Selim I (1512-20) and Süleyman I (1520-66). For him, the territories conquered by these sultans were still in the hands of the Ottomans. At that time, the Europeans did not know the art of warfare and they lacked law and order. They learned the art of warfare from the Ottomans. Thus, he concludes, though in an implicit way, that if the contemporary Ottoman government would revise the *kânûns* of the Classical Age according to the

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<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* p. 17.

needs of the time, it would be possible to reach the former glory of the Ottoman Empire.

### 3- Selim III (1789-1807)'s accession to the Throne

Râtib Efendi's friendship with Selim gave its fruits when Selim ascended to the throne. Selim III (1789-1807), he appointed Râtib Efendi as *Tezkire-i Evvel* in 1789 (1203). After a short time, he appointed Râtib Efendi was appointed as *rikâb-i hümâyûn reîsi*, who acted as a deputy of *reîsülküttâb* in the Ottoman capital when *reîsülküttâb* took part in a campaign<sup>27</sup>, by dismissing Râşid Efendi from this office. This act shows the Sultan's confidence in Râtib Efendi in the matters of state. Thus, Sultan invited Râtib Efendi to the Palace to put on a robe of honor (*hil'at*). Nevertheless, Râtib Efendi said to the official sent by the Sultan that he wanted to come in a few days and he did not go the Palace. The reason for this behavior lies in his belief in the science of judicial astrology (*ilm-i nücûm*). He rejected to go to the Palace in that day on the grounds that the moon was on the Scorpio (*ay akrep burcunda*) on that day. But he had to pay the price for his disobedience to the Sultan's decree. The Sultan had already led to a criticism, though a silent one, among the Palace officials by his act of dismissing Raşid Efendi from the office. Moreover, Râtib Efendi's act left the Sultan in an uneasy situation. The angry Sultan ordered that Râtib Efendi return to his former position. After a short time, he sent Râtib Efendi to exile in Bozcaada, probably due to the intra-elite struggle in the Ottoman bureaucracy. During his stay in Bozcaada, Râtib Efendi sent a letter to the Sultan and asked for forgiveness from the Sultan. In his letter,

he complained that he suffered much for a year in Bozcaada and that his family was in a miserable condition. That is why, he asked for the Sultan's permission for him to visit his family, and, if possible, to serve in any post in the Army.<sup>28</sup> The Sultan forgave him and appointed Râtib Efendi as *Yeniçeri Kâtibi*. Interestingly, the Sultan did not appoint him to a post in Istanbul, probably due to the opponents of Râtib Efendi. Instead, he joined the army as *Yeniçeri kâtibi* in Silistria, on the Danube.

#### 4- Râtib Efendi as an Ottoman envoy, in Vienna

The war between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires came to an end with the treaty of Sistova in August 1791 (*Muharrem* 1206). According to the 13<sup>th</sup> article of this treaty, the two states would send ambassadors to each other in order to establish friendly relations among themselves. Selim III again showed his favor and confidence in Râtib Efendi, in spite of Râtib Efendi's inobedience to him two years ago. The Sultan appointed Râtib Efendi as an envoy (*orta elçi*) to the Habsburg Empire, with the rank (*pâye*) of the supreme accountant (*baş muhasebeci*). It has been claimed that Râtib Efendi knew European languages. Though it can be argued that Râtib Efendi was familiar with the European affairs due to his contact with the non-Muslims in the *Âmedî* Office, nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that he knew a European language.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", p. 680.

<sup>28</sup> BA (Başbakanlık Arşivi), HH 55381.

<sup>29</sup> Based on a document (BA, HH 6198 ), V. Sema Arıkan argues that Râtib Efendi knew foreign language (*dil bilen*). Nevertheless, this document was a copy of the letter sent to the Russian Field Marshall and there is no indication on Râtib Efendi's knowledge of any foreign language in this letter. It is only written that Râtib Efendi was appointed as *murahhas-ı sâlis* (third plenipotentiary) in the peace negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. See Sema Arıkan, *Nizâm-ı Cedîd'in Kaynaklarından Ebubekir Râtib*

According to the Ottoman tradition, the Ottoman ambassadors, if they were not in Istanbul, were coming to İstanbul to receive a *nâme-i hümayûn*, letter of the Ottoman Sultan to the rulers of the other state, and the gifts to be presented to the ruler and the high officials of the other state. Interestingly, Râtib Efendi did not come to Istanbul. Instead, Selim III ordered that the necessary things be sent to Silistrea. The reason for this was probably the Sultan's fear of any intrigue against Râtib Efendi in Istanbul due to the *intra-élite* conflict in the Ottoman bureaucracy.

Due to the news that the Austrian envoy (*orta elçi*), Baron von Herbert, was not bringing any gift to the Ottoman sultan, the gifts were taken back from Râtib Efendi before he left Silistria. He would present only the *nâme-i Hümayûn* to the Habsburg King. Thus, the Ottomans followed the principle of reciprocity in the face of such an event.<sup>30</sup> But , as we will point out later, Râtib Efendi was very upset by this event.

Râtib Efendi moved from *Şumnu* (Shumla), a town and fortress in Bulgaria, on 9 November 1791 (12 *Rebî'ül-evvel* 1206). He went to Vienna by following the route from *Ruşçuk* and Bucharest. During his journey, something noteworthy happened. When he was in Sibin, a city in the south Transylvania, he learned that there were two chancellors in the Habsburg Empire. The Ottoman statesmen did not know that there were two chancellors in the Habsburg empire. This example shows that the Ottoman statesmen were not interested much about the internal affairs of the Habsburg state.

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*Efendi'nin "Büyük Lâyiha"sı*, Ph. D. dissertation, (Istanbul University: The Institute of the Social Sciences, 1996), p. VII.

<sup>30</sup> Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1992), p. 155.

There was only one letter written by the Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Paşa to the Prince Kaunitz, co-chancellor of the Habsburg Empire with Prince Colloredo. That is why Râtib Efendi sent a man back to Istanbul to bring a second letter of the Grand Vizier to Prince Colloredo. But he did not reveal this development to the Habsburgs. Instead, he said to the Habsburg officials that he sent his man to bring some forgotten items from the military camp. As we will describe later, during his stay in Sibin, he made some interesting observations on the life of people living in Sibin.

Râtib Efendi presented the *nâme-i hümâyûn* to the Habsburg Emperor, Leopold II (1790-92), fifteen days after his arrival at Vienna. But Leopold II died on 1 March 1792, five days after receiving the Sultan's letter.<sup>31</sup> And Francis II, the eldest son of Leopold II, succeeded his father as the Habsburg Emperor. Râtib Efendi decided to meet the new king and he got the approval for his decision from the Ottoman government. Nevertheless, as we will point out later, he changed his mind and wanted to return to Istanbul without meeting the new Emperor. His stay in Vienna lasted 153 days. He left Vienna in June 1792.<sup>32</sup>

Râtib Efendi proudly wrote that the Habsburgs were showing respect and honor to him. He asserts that they did not show the same respect to his predecessors.<sup>33</sup> Again, he does not hesitate to highlight his skill in human relations. According to him, his wisely conducted attitude compelled them to behave in a favorable way towards Râtib Efendi. On the other hand, the

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<sup>31</sup> TSA, E. 5320.

<sup>32</sup> According to Bernard Lewis, Râtib Efendi returned to Istanbul in May 1792 (Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed., London & Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, 57). But this date should be wrong because Râtib Efendi himself writes that he stayed in Vienna 153 days (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 2b). If we take into consideration the fact that he came to Vienna in February 1792 (*The Archive of the Topkapı Palace*, E. 5320), he left Vienna in June 1792.



high officials of the Habsburg Empire felt hostile against the Ottoman Empire. They believed that the Ottoman Empire would be busy with the pleasures (*zevk ü sefâ*) of life in the peace time. For them, the Ottoman Empire would be unable to revive its former power.<sup>34</sup> Since the Janissaries and the cavalry army took control of the country, it would not be possible to cope with the current disorder in the Ottoman lands. In the light of the above-mentioned weaknesses of the current Ottoman order, it can be possibly argued that Râtib Efendi, though in an implicit way, was trying to draw the attention of the Sultan to the very problem of the Empire. The growing power of the Janissaries was posing a grave threat to the sultanic power. He was probably suggesting that the Ottoman Empire should try to cope with the vital problems the Empire. The peace time should not lead to the relaxation and pleasures but to an enormous zeal for the realization of the well-being of the state and society. The Sultan should make use of the opportunity in the peace time while European powers were preoccupied with the effects of the French Revolution on Europe.<sup>35</sup>

Râtib Efendi asserts that he finished his task in Vienna. He also explains what his task, explaining the current state of affairs in Europe. We understand from his writings that he wanted to return to Istanbul as soon as possible. He listed many reasons in order to justify his wish to return to Istanbul. As we will point out later, he pursued a policy of protecting the glory of the Ottoman Empire in the European lands. He wrote that he successfully pursued this policy. He states in his report (H. 1206/ 1792) that it is high time for dealing with the crucial problems of the Ottoman Empire

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<sup>33</sup> BA, HH 52516-C.

<sup>34</sup> BA, HH 52516-C.

while European states were busy with the effects of the French Revolution.

He also did not hesitate to add that he could also play a role in the reorganization of the Empire.<sup>36</sup>

### 5- Râtib Efendi's "Suffering" in Vienna

It seems that Râtib Efendi suffered much during the last months of his stay in Vienna. He even had a longing for his exile days in Bozcaada.<sup>37</sup> He writes that he served successfully to protect the glory of Islam and of the Ottoman Empire, due to his skillful pursuit of *politika* and *tedbîr*. As we will point out later, the word *tedbîr* occupies a crucial place in Râtib Efendi's thought. The reason for this may be sought in his experience in the Ottoman bureaucracy. According to Abdullah al-Bustânî, those scribes who helped the sultans in the affairs of state were called *kâtib-i tedbîr*. These scribes had to learn about the subjects, which attracted the attention of the sultans. They also had to be competent in the art of writing (*kitâbet*). Moreover, they also had to be knowledgeable in the subjects related to the other types of scribes.<sup>38</sup> If we compare these criteria with the qualities of Râtib Efendi, he can possibly be viewed as *kâtib-i tedbîr*. Firstly, he helped Selim III in the affairs of state. Râtib Efendi helped Selim in his correspondence with Louis XVI. Secondly, as we will explain later, Râtib Efendi was given the task of observing the Habsburg institutions, by the Sultan Selim III. Moreover, he was skilled in the *ta'lik* script and taught it to Selim in the early years of his career.

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<sup>35</sup> BA, HH 52516-C.

<sup>36</sup> "Kaldı ki, işte Avrupa'nın hâlini ifâde etdim. İş görecektir vakitdir. Lâkin kulunuzu bir sâ'at evvel bu taraftan çıkarın... Hamden li'llâhi Te'âlâ şimdiye dek muktezâ-yı diyânet ve şân ve şevket-i devleti icrâyâ sa'y olundu. Heman yüzümüzün ağ[k]ıyla bir sâ'at evvel şu taraftan 'avdet idüb Hâk-i Pâyilerine mülâkat itdikde katı vâfir mezâyâ ve esrâra kesb-i ittilâ' olunmuşdur, ifâde iderim. Her şeyin çâresi yine İstanbul'da olur... Temâm müzâyaka ve ıztırâbları vaktidir." BA, HH 52516-B.

<sup>37</sup> "Bozcaada'da kaşki birkaç mâh otura idim, ânı Cennet bildim". (BA, HH 52516-B).

<sup>38</sup> İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", p. 677.

Having carried out his duty in Vienna, he wanted to return to the Ottoman lands. Interestingly, he did not demand an imperial letter (*nâme-i Hümayûn*) for the new emperor, Francis II. He even writes that it was detrimental to send an imperial letter. He stresses that the Sultan should never send a *nâme-i Hümayûn* to the Habsburg Emperor. For him, there was also no need to send a congratulatory letter (*tebriknâme*) to the new Emperor, Francis II. He did not explain why it was detrimental to send an imperial letter to the new emperor. He suffices to say that the Sultan would know why it was not appropriate to write an imperial letter. He also adds that the new Habsburg Emperor would be busy with the crucial ceremonies at that time, which meant that he had to wait for a while in Vienna. Firstly, the emperor would assume the crown of Hungary. Then, he would go to Frankfurt to assume the title of “the Holy Roman Emperor”. Also, then, it was said that he would take part in the war against France. If the Sultan sends the imperial letter, Râtib Efendi had to wait for a long time to meet the Emperor.<sup>39</sup> He even wrote several times that if the Sultan had already sent an imperial letter, a courier (*tatar*) should immediately be sent to get back the letter. In fact, as we have mentioned above, formerly it was his own decision to meet the new emperor. Being aware of this fact, he takes into account the possibility that the letter had already been sent.

Râtib Efendi demanded only a letter of the Sultan, which would order his return to the Ottoman capital, to himself, not to the Habsburg Emperor. He also demanded a letter of the Grand Vizier to Prince Kaunitz, co-chancellor of the Habsburg Empire with the Prince Colloredo. Amazingly, he did not demand a letter of the Grand Vizier to the Prince Colloredo, who was superior to the Prince Kaunitz

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<sup>39</sup> “Kıral, Macar’a ve andan Frankfur’a gidecek ve andan Françe harbine gidecegi dahi söylenür. Sonra kulunuz çürür kalurum.” (BA, HH 14138 (H. 1206).

in terms of authority. He also explains the way, in which the letters should be written.

From Râtib Efendi's reports, we can get an insight into the intra-elite conflict in the Ottoman bureaucracy. He writes that the statesmen in Istanbul would insist on writing the imperial letter to the Habsburg Emperor. For Râtib Efendi, they would claim that in the time of Cânibî Ali Paşa<sup>40</sup>, the same thing happened. At that time, since the emperor died, an imperial letter was sent to the new emperor. On the other hand, he writes that he was carrying with him the history books written on the Ottoman Empire and that he could not find any evidence about this claim. He even further says that the Ottoman statesmen in Istanbul would argue that it would be a disgrace for the Ottoman Empire not to send the imperial letter. He rejects this possible argument by harshly criticizing the return of the gifts, which were to be sent to the Habsburg Emperor, to Istanbul before he began his travel. He writes that the return of the gifts was more shameful than the return of the imperial letter, if it had already been sent.<sup>41</sup>

Another criticism of Râtib Efendi to the Ottoman statesmen was that he got limited number of letters from the Ottoman government. He was also criticizing the style of explanations in the letters, which were sent by the Ottoman officials. He did not hesitate to add that the European states were sending letters to their ambassadors in Vienna, once in fifteen days. Due to the limited number of letters, he did not get enough information about the state of affairs in the Ottoman capital. As an indication for his preoccupation with the state of affairs in İstanbul, he explains that

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<sup>40</sup> Canibî Ali Paşa was appointed as an Ottoman ambassador to the Habsburg Empire after the Treaty of Belgrade (1739). In 1740, when Ali Paşa was at Vienna, the Habsburg Emperor Charles VI died.

<sup>41</sup> "Eger nâme-i Hümâyûn adamımız ile gönderilse bile yoldan i'âde olunsun. Eger ayb olur, dinürse hediyye-i Hümâyûn Ordu-yı Hümâyûn'a geldi, bütün düvel ve milel bildi. Nemçelü'ye hediyye gidecek diyü; ve gitdiği ve sonra ordudan iâde olunduğı cümleye

he heard bad news about the Ottoman capital, in Vienna. He bothered much about these information. Probably, he heard about the uprisings in the Ottoman lands. Although the Ottoman Empire made peace with the Habsburg Empire and Russia, he had difficulty in maintaining the internal peace at that time. For instance, the so-called "mountain rebels" expanded in the areas between the Danube and the Adriatic, in the years between 1787 and 1795.<sup>42</sup>

It seems that Râtib Efendi thought about every possibility in order to ensure that the process of his return would not go into any risk. He explains also which type of man should bring the letter of the Sultan to him and and letter of the Grand Vizier to Kaunitz. He writes that he sent his lackey Sâlih Efendi to İstanbul. For him, Sâlih Efendi was an appropriate person to bring the letters. If it would not be possible, the letters should be sent by a "wise and righteous" (*âkil ve reşîd*) *tatar*. He was afraid that an ordinary *tatar* would be misled by the tricks of spies on his road. He wrote that Leopold II spent four thousand purse (*kîse*) *akçes* for maintaining spies. Thus, Râtib Efendi was so cautious that he thought of every possibility in order to ensure that letters would reach their destinations. He also did not write some details in his letter due to the presence of spies on the road between Vienna and İstanbul.

If we examine his style of writing, we may realize his self-confidence and courage. He does not hesitate to criticize openly the Ottoman practices about the ambassadors. Sometimes, he writes as if he was ordering something, even to the Sultan. Perhaps he was aware of the Sultan's respect and reliance on him. His

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*ma'lûm oldı. Bu andan eşna' olamaz. Anlar nâme-i Hümâyûn'u isrâr iderler. Lâkin müşâ'ade olunmasun.*" (BA, HH 14138/(1206).

<sup>42</sup> Stanford Shaw. *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Selim III, 1789-1808*, (Cambridge, 1971), p. 227.

frequent repetitions of his wish to return and his harsh criticisms against the Ottoman high officials can be viewed as an evidence of his closeness to the Sultan. On the other hand, he does not hesitate to use frequently the terms denoting his respect to the Sultan

It seems that Râtib Efendi's efforts to prevent the arrival of *nâme-i Hümayûn* to Vienna bore no fruit. In the light of his correspondence with the new Habsburg Emperor Francis II and with the Habsburg high officials, including Prince Kaunitz and Prince Colloredo, it becomes evident that Selim III sent *nâme-i Hümayûn* to Francis II.<sup>43</sup> In a letter to Kaunitz, Râtib Efendi expresses his wish to present the *nâme-i Hümayûn* to the Habsburg Emperor.<sup>44</sup> In fact, the Ottoman Empire followed the principles of international relations, according to which new imperial letter should be sent to the new emperor when the previous emperor died. It seems that Râtib Efendi neglected this tradition and tried to manipulate the course of events to his advantage.

## 6- Râtib Efendi and Mouradge D'Ohsson

We learn from Râtib Efendi's writings that he met two non-Muslim Ottomans in Vienna, one of them was Ignatius Mouradge D'Ohsson. Râtib Efendi praises the help of Ignatius Mouradge D'Ohsson<sup>45</sup> and the son of Camondo, the Jewish financier.<sup>46</sup> He writes that D'Ohsson came from Paris

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<sup>43</sup> When Râtib Efendi was in Vienna, there was exchange of letters between Râtib Efendi and the high officials of the Habsburg Empire. These letters are kept in the National Library of Vienna (manuscript no. 1127, MxT, 501). We used the published version of these letters by Hüner Tuncer. See H. Tuncer "Osmanlı Elçisi Ebubekir Ratip Efendi'nin Viyana mektupları (1792)", *Belleten*, 43 (169) (January 1979), pp. 73-105.

<sup>44</sup> H. Tuncer, "Ratip Efendi'nin Viyana Mektupları", p. 102.

<sup>45</sup> For more information about D'Ohsson, see Kemal Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradge D'Ohsson", *Tarih Dergisi*, XXXIV (1983-84), 247-314.

<sup>46</sup> C. V. Findley, "Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy Narrative", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Des Morgenlandes*, (Wien, 1995), p. 48.

to Vienna, due to the revolution in France. They were meeting once in two days. He did not hesitate to write that D'Ohsson helped him much in clarifying some points about the Habsburg and European institutions. Hence, it can be possibly argued that D'Ohsson served as a crucial source of information for Râtib Efendi.

Râtib Efendi also mentions D'Ohsson's work on the Ottoman history. Râtib Efendi writes that D'Ohsson gave his work on the Ottoman history, two volumes of which were published at that time, as a present to him. With the order of Râtib Efendi, his translator translated some parts of these two volumes, which were related to the praise on the Ottoman Empire. He states that these parts strengthened his belief in the loyalty of D'Ohsson to the Ottoman Empire. According to Râtib Efendi, "due to the freedom of speech in the West"<sup>47</sup>, they could openly praise the qualities of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna. Râtib Efendi did not forget to mention that he was unable to reward them. Perhaps, the Sultan would bestow his favor on them. Indeed, D'Ohsson came to Istanbul in October 1792 and took part in the reforms of Selim III.

### **7- Râtib Efendi as Zahîre Nâzırı**

After his return from Vienna, Râtib Efendi served in various posts in the bureaucracy. Firstly, he was appointed as *baş muhâsebeci* (chief accountant) in 1792, after a short time from his return to Istanbul. Then, he was appointed as *şikk-ı sâlis defterdarı* (treasurer of the Third Division) in May 1794 (*Şevval* 1208). Due to the problems of the state with the bakers, Selim III appointed Râtib Efendi as *zahire nâzırı* (superintendent of grain

and provisions). In his work, Râtib Efendi dealt with the issue of provisions (*zahire*) in the Ottoman Empire. He narrates his conversation with the Habsburg men who travelled in the Ottoman lands. They were curious about the shortage of provisions in the Ottoman capital in spite of the vast and productive lands the Ottoman Empire possessed. He even gives an example from a wealthy Habsburg tradesman who argued that he could easily solve the problem of provisions in the Ottoman Empire. He asserted that he could supply enough provisions for a year from Hungary and Transylvania to Istanbul by ships from the Danube. This man criticized the low quality and high price of the Ottoman bread. He asserted that if he would become the head of the bakers (*etmekçi başı*), he could produce high-quality bread without borrowing any loan from the state and he could pay two thousand purse *akçes* to the treasury, apart from his profit.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, “feeding a giant city”<sup>49</sup> like Istanbul was not an easy task. It has been estimated that Istanbul’s grain consumption in the early eighteenth century was nearly 200 tons.<sup>50</sup> As Halil İnalçık points out, feeding Istanbul has been a primary concern of the Ottoman sultans throughout centuries.<sup>51</sup> Selim III attached importance to this difficult task. He again showed his confidence in Râtib Efendi’s skill in the administrative issues. When he was *zahîre nâzırı*, he

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<sup>47</sup> “*Frengistân serbest olup herkes istedigini söylemekte mahzur olmadığından*”

<sup>48</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 232a.

<sup>49</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Istanbul and The Imperial Economy” in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalçık & Donald Quataert, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 179.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.* p. 180.

<sup>51</sup> Halil İnalçık writes as follows: “*Providing bread to the urban masses on a daily basis, at a reasonable price, became such a vital governmental task that one of the most important duties of the grand vizier was to go personally every week to the bazaar and inspect grain supplies, bakeries, and the price and quality of bread. In times of severe shortage, the sultan would visit the bazaar in disguise and inflict the severe punishments on those merchants found guilty of cheating the public...the sultan had to prove to the public that their daily bread was his personal concern.*” in H. İnalçık, “*Istanbul and the Imperial Economy*”, p. 179.



determined the price of bread according to its quality.<sup>52</sup> It seems that Selim III admired his policies during his service as *zahîre nâzırı*.<sup>53</sup>

### 7- Râtib Efendi as *Reîsülküttâb*

The rise of Râtib Efendi in the Ottoman bureaucracy with the favor of Selim III on him culminated in his appointment by Selim III as *reîsülküttâb* on 25 May 1795. The status of *reîsülküttâb* gained ascendancy in the eighteenth century due to increasing importance of diplomacy for the Ottoman Empire. The Grand Vizier delegated his power in conducting foreign affairs of the state to *reîsülküttâb*.<sup>54</sup> Thus, Selim III gave him a good opportunity to realize some of his ideas.

During his service as *reîsülküttâb*, Râtib Efendi tried to realize some of his ideas. In his writings, he was stressing the need to bring European experts (*Avrupa'dan ofîçiyaller celbi*).<sup>55</sup> According to Enver Ziya Karal, foreign military experts were brought to the Ottoman Empire when Râtib Efendi served as *reîsülküttâb*.<sup>56</sup> Râtib Efendi demanded thirteen expert officers from the *Comté du Salut Public* (The Committee for Public Safety).<sup>57</sup> Even Napoleon was one of those who applied for serving in the Ottoman Army. For Napoleon, it was necessary to modernize the Ottoman Army because a powerful Ottoman Army would serve well the French interests in the face of the rapprochement between Russia and the Habsburg

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<sup>52</sup> V. Sema Arıkan, *Nizâm-ı Cedit'in Kaynaklarından Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin "Büyük Lâyiha"sı*, Ph. D. Dissertation, (İstanbul University, The Institute of the Social Sciences, 1996), p. XII.

<sup>53</sup> Selim writes as follows: "Aferin Râtib'e güzel sa'y eyliyor, dahi gayret eylesün." (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi (TSA), E. 5026/10).

<sup>54</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", p. 682.

<sup>55</sup> TSA, E. 6700/3.

<sup>56</sup> E. Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Hümayûnları, Nizâm-ı Cedit, 1789-1807*, p. 73.

<sup>57</sup> B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 59.

Empire. According to Napoleon, who became famous for his skill in guarding artillery corps in Toulon, the Ottoman artillery needed to be modernized. He thought that he would bring eight officers. Nevertheless, he could not come to the Ottoman Empire due to his appointment to another office in France. Nevertheless, the *Comté du Salut Public* sent the military experts demanded by Râtib Efendi.

As we will see in the following pages, Râtib Efendi attached importance to the establishment of alliances between states.<sup>58</sup> For him, a state should establish alliances with those states, who were sharing common interests with it. In his service as a *reîsülküttab*, Râtib Efendi tried to establish a defensive alliance with France against Russia and the Habsburg Empire. We should bear in mind that France and the Ottoman Empire shared common interests at that time. Moreover, they also had a tradition of friendly relations until the sixteenth century.

In his conversation with the *reîsülküttab* Râtib Efendi, the French ambassador, Verninac, pointed out the common interests of the Ottoman Empire and France. He asserted that the officials who were serving the Ottoman Empire were as if they were serving France.<sup>59</sup> This conversation was crucial in the sense that Râtib Efendi explained the aim of the Sultan to the ambassador. For Râtib Efendi, Selim III followed the policy of his father, Mustafa III, in terms of modernizing the Ottoman Army in the

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<sup>58</sup> Râtib Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 2a; İsmail Soysal, *Fransız İhtilali ve Türk - Fransız Diplomasi Münasebetleri (1789-1802)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1964), p. 138.

<sup>59</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Hümayunları, Nizam-ı Cedit (1789-1807)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), p. 77.

European manner. He adds that Mustafa III employed Baron de Tott in the Ottoman –Russian War of 1768-1774.<sup>60</sup>

The conversations between reîsülküttâb Râtib Efendi and The French ambassador, Verninac, culminated in an agreement for a defensive alliance between the Ottoman Empire and France, on 3 May 1796. But it needed to be ratified by the Ottoman and French governments. On 19 May 1796, an Ottoman council headed by the Grand Vizier ratified the agreement. Nevertheless, the government of France did not ratify the agreement. According to Verninac, Râtib Efendi was dismissed from the office on 17 August due to the disapproval of the agreement by France. For him, Râtib Efendi guaranteed the Ottoman government that the agreement be ratified by the government of France.<sup>61</sup>

In a report, which he wrote from Vienna, he stated that European states did not hesitate to spend large amounts of money to their ambassadors due to the value of their reports. Perhaps, Râtib Efendi made an implicit criticism to the Grand Vizier, who complained that Râtib Efendi spent like an ambassador of the highest rank (*büyük elçi*).<sup>62</sup> Due to his belief that ambassadors should live in better conditions, he dealt with the problems of the ambassadors, particularly in the permanent embassies, in Europe. He remained in this office until 19 August 1796.

It seems to be that the widespread intrigues of the factions in the Ottoman government circles culminated in his exile to Rhodes. His opponents' influence upon the Sultan reached to the extent that he was

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<sup>60</sup> *ibid.* p. 77.

<sup>61</sup> İsmail Soysal, *Fransız İhtilali ve Türk -Fransız Diplomasi Münasebetleri (1789-1802)*, p. 144.

<sup>62</sup> BA, HH. 10018.

executed in 1799 in Rhodes. But what was his crime still remains as mystery. Nevertheless, the deceits of his rivals played a crucial role in his execution.<sup>63</sup> His head was brought to İstanbul and buried in the tomb of his sheikh belonging to the Nakşibendî order, Atâullah Efendi, in Kanlıca.

## **B- Râtib Efendi's works**

Râtib Efendi was given the task of observing the institutions of the Habsburg Empire, by Selim III. His report about the Habsburg Empire, which experienced a long period of reform under Maria Theresa and Joseph II for nearly fifty years, would serve as a model for the establishment of a new order (*nizâm-ı cedîd*) in the Ottoman Empire. The report of Ignaz Lorenz von Stürmer (1762-1829), who was a Court Secretary and Translator and served as Râtib Efendi's escort in Vienna, points out the mission of Râtib Efendi in Vienna:

*"It also seems from Râtib efendi's discourse that he was explicitly directed in his introductions to make enquiries as far as possible about all our civil as well as military establishments; and to note accurately those which may be applicable to the constitution of the Turkish Empire, and which could, with advantage, be taken as a goal in a new reform"*<sup>64</sup>

Râtib Efendi made interesting observations on "the civil and military establishments of the Habsburg Empire" during his stay in Vienna. He also recorded crucial events and observations during his travel. After his return from Vienna, the submission of his ambassadorial report was delayed due to his illness. Selim III ordered that he submit his travel to Vienna in a book and that his observations on the European states, particularly the Habsburg

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<sup>63</sup> İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", p. 681.

<sup>64</sup> Cited in J. M. Stein, "An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Ambassador Observes the West: Ebu Bekir Râtib Efendi Reports on the Habsburg System of Roads and Posts", p. 223 (footnote).

Empire, in another book.<sup>65</sup> Hence, he wrote two books separately. His first work, which was known as *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*<sup>66</sup> (approximately sixty pages), deals with his journey from Silistria to Vienna. The journey lasted more than two months, from November 9, 1791 to January 18, 1792. The other work of Râtib Efendi is *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, which is approximately 500 manuscript pages. This work is a detailed account of the military institutions of the Habsburg Empire. Here, we will deal with these works in separate headings. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that our primary source for this study is *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*.

### 1- Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi

As we have pointed out above, Râtib Efendi gives a detailed account of his journey to Vienna in his work entitled *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*. Due to its similarity with the travel works, Abdullah Uçman, who published this work in Latin script, gives two different names, "Nemçe Sefaretnâmesi" and "Nemçe Seyahatnâmesi" to the same work<sup>67</sup>. This work can be viewed as a part of the genre of *sefâretnâme*, ambassadorial reports, in the Ottoman

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<sup>65</sup> Findley writes as follows: "Even considering that he was accompanied by a staff of over one hundred, how Râtib compiled all this on the basis of a stay of 153 days in Vienna is a question worthy of consideration" (Findley, "Ebubekir Râtib's Vienna Embassy Narrative", p. 42). He supposed that Râtib Efendi compiled *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, during his stay in Vienna. But a document (BA, HH 13396 [1207] ) makes clear the fact Râtib Efendi compiled this work after he returned to Istanbul. Due to Râtib Efendi's illness, he submitted his work relatively late after his return. This is well expressed in this document: "*Sebeb-i te'hîri, gelesi [Râtib Efendi] hasta olub yazı yazmağa kudreti olmadığı ve şimdilerde bir mikdâr sıhhat-yâb olmağa ma'lûmâtını cem' ve tensik üzere olduğu...*" (HH 13396)

<sup>66</sup> The manuscripts of the *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi* are as follows:  
I-İstanbul University Library, TY., no. 6096,  
II-İstanbul University Library, TY. , no. 9596,  
III-The Archive of the Topkapı Palace, E. 6700/1.

This work was also published by Abdullah Uçman, *Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999).

<sup>67</sup> Abdullah Uçman, *Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999), and Abdullah Uçman, "Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Seyahatnamesi", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 12/69 (September 1989), 155-160.

tradition. Like the authors of other *sefâretnâmes*, Râtib Efendi also explains his experiences and observations during his journey, in Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi. Following the tradition of *sefâretnâme* literature, Râtib Efendi elaborates on the ceremonies in Vienna.

For the Ottoman government, *sefâretnâmes* were an essential source of information on the other states, particularly Europe. It is worth mentioning that there were also *sefâretnâmes* on the non-European powers, particularly Iran. Nevertheless, *sefâretnâmes*. Nevertheless, the ambassadorial reports on Europe were crucial in that they showed how an Ottoman perceived "the Other". These reports had crucial clues for understanding the nature of European civilization in the eyes of the Ottomans. Thus, they served as a crucial channel of information on Europe.<sup>68</sup>

The *sefâretnâmes* were also a valuable source of information for the social and cultural life of Europe. Nevertheless, they reflected personal judgements and views of the Ottoman ambassadors about the European way of life. It seems that some of the Ottoman ambassadors were interested in the European way of entertainment. For instance, Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, Mustafa Hattî Efendi and Ahmed Resmî Efendi made interesting observations about the European way of entertainment.<sup>69</sup> In that context, Râtib Efendi's observations in Sibin is worth mentioning. His

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<sup>68</sup> Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, p. 45.

<sup>69</sup> Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, p. 56; Ali İbrahim Savaş, Mustafa Hattî Efendi: *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), p. 35; Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, (Leiden & New York & Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), p. 59.

opinions about the European way of entertainment reflects how an Ottoman views the European culture, which was alien to the Ottomans at that time.

In *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, Râtib Efendi explains ball and dance gatherings in Sibin. Râtib Efendi, who joined these meetings, describes ball as the meeting of men and women in a particular place to dance together. He writes that a man dances with a woman to whom he liked. There were, he says, approximately from forty to sixty people in such meetings. The noble families met in their mansions whereas the ordinary people met in a particular place for them in the city. The balls for the ordinary people were more crowded than those for the upper class. He also writes that the Europeans acclaimed someone they liked. They acclaim their kings when he attended the ball. This was the sign of greeting and peace upon the sovereign. In Sibin, the Austrians also praised Râtib Efendi when he attended the ball. This event led him to write a poem.<sup>70</sup> Like most of the authors of the *sefâretnâmes*, Râtib Efendi also included poems in his work.

## 2- Viyana Sefâretnâmesi

There is confusion about naming the work of Râtib Efendi on the Habsburg institutions. The reason for this confusion emanates from the fact that the author does not name his work. Following the Ottoman tradition, he does not even give page numbers in his work. There is no common title for his treatise on the Habsburg institutions.<sup>71</sup> Since we have used the copy in

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<sup>70</sup> A. Uçman, *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 49.

<sup>71</sup> Uzunçarşılı calls Râtib Efendi's work on the Habsburg institutions as *Tuhfetü's-Sefare fi Ahval-i Asakiri'n-Nasara ve'l-İdare*, based on the manuscript of this work in the Library of the Topkapı Palace. On the other hand, Unat calls the same work as *Büyük Lâyiha* (Great Memorandum) due to the content of the work. See İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Ebubekir Râtib Efendi", p. 59; Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, p. 156.

the Süleymaniye Library (*Esad Efendi*, 2235), we will use the title as referred in the catalogues of the library, which is *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*<sup>72</sup>, in the catalogues of the library.

As we have pointed above, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, which is nearly 500 pages, is a lengthy work compared to the other *sefâretnâmes*. For instance, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's ambassadorial report on France (*Fransa Sefâretnâmesi*, 1720) is nearly forty pages. Mustafa Hattî Efendi's ambassadorial report on Vienna (1748) is 84 pages. Ahmed Resmî Efendi's ambassadorial report on Vienna (1757) is nearly twenty pages. Mustafa Râsih Paşa's ambassadorial report on Russia (*Rusya Sefâretnâmesi*, 1793-94) is about 130 pages. The voluminous character of Râtib Efendi's work leads to the question of how he was able to compile such a lengthy work on the Habsburg Empire even though he did not know the German language. The source of his information should be sought in order to evaluate the reliability of his work.

Râtib Efendi was accompanied by a staff of over hundred during his stay in Vienna.<sup>73</sup> Among them, there were "student interpreters who knew German, Hungarian, Serbian, and Bulgarian, and physicians who knew how to use the compass or draw up tables".<sup>74</sup> Perhaps the tables, which were

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<sup>72</sup> The manuscripts of *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* are as follows:

- 1- Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul), Esad Efendi, no. 2235.
- 2- Millet Library (Istanbul), no. 845.
- 3- Istanbul University, Yıldız no. 271, 3255.
- 4- Flügel (Vienna), Mxt 308, no. 1285.
- 5- Flügel (Vienna), Mxt 501, Flügel, 2 *Safer* 1127 . See Cahit Bilim, "Ebubekir Râtib Efendi, Nemçe Sefaretnamesi", *Belleten*, 54 (209) (1990), p. 261.

As we have pointed out above, although this lengthy work has not been published, it has been transcribed into Latin script by Sema Arıkan, see V. Sema Arıkan, *Nizâm-ı Cedîd'in Kaynaklarından Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin "Büyük Lâyiha"sı*, Ph. D. dissertation, (Istanbul University: The Institute of the Social sciences, 1996)

<sup>73</sup> J. M. Stein, "An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Ambassador Observes the West...", p. 223.

<sup>74</sup> C. V. Findley, "Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy Narrative...", p. 47.



included in the work, on the payment of officers in the Habsburg Army were drawn up by these physicians.

Râtib Efendi explains his source of information in compiling his work. According to him, since Vienna was the center of Europe, there were many merchants and visitors from other parts of Europe. He states that he talked with the knowledgeable men among them in political affairs.<sup>75</sup> As we have mentioned, D'Ohsson was one of these knowledgeable men. Seyyid Mehmed Emin Vâhid Efendi's observations about Vienna, in 1806, is also similar to Râtib Efendi's observations. According to Vâhid Efendi, since Vienna was the center of Europe, there were many Christian, Muslim and Jewish merchants in Vienna.<sup>76</sup> As we shall explain, Râtib Efendi conversed with some tradesmen in Vienna about the issue of trade in the Ottoman lands. In his work, he records these conversations in detail.

Viyana Sefâretnâmesi is divided into two main parts (*asıls*). These parts are also divided into many subheadings. Thus, the table of contents constitutes nine pages. In the first part (*el-aslı'l-evvel*) of the work, Râtib Efendi deals with military power (*kuvvetü'l-askeriyye*). In this long part, which constitutes nearly four-fifth of this work, Râtib Efendi elaborates on the Habsburg Army. He also briefly describes the armies of the other European states, namely Russia, Prussia and France. Nevertheless, the section on the armies of the European states does not occupy much space, compared to the section on the Habsburg Army, in the work. Although the second part of the work sounds more interesting than the first part, he gave much more space to the issue of military power. Perhaps he took into

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<sup>75</sup> TSA, E. 6700/3.

account the practical necessities of the Ottoman Empire at that time. Nevertheless, his own interest in military affairs may have played a crucial role in the scope of his work. The fact that he was interested in the issue of military power, which is the topic of the next chapter, became evident from the books he left. His books, which were bought by Mühendishâne (The Engineering School), were richer than the books in the library of this school, in terms of both quantity and quality.<sup>77</sup>

The second part (*el-aslü's-sânî*) of *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* is related to the internal and foreign affairs (*umûr-ı hâriciye ve dâhiliye*) and the sources of revenue for the treasury (*edevât-ı mîriyye*) in the Habsburg Empire. In this part, he dwells on social, economic and cultural aspects of the Habsburg Empire. Moreover, 'the Habsburg system of roads and posts' is also explained in the work.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of the title of the second part, the foreign affairs of the Habsburg Empire is largely neglected in the work. But Râtib Efendi's letters from Vienna sheds light on the foreign affairs of the Habsburg Empire. That is why we shall deal with this subject under a separate heading in the fourth chapter.

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<sup>76</sup> Yavuz Ercan, "Napoleon İstilası Sırasında Bir Türk Diplomatının Gözü ile Viyana Şehri", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, IV (1984), p. 273.

<sup>77</sup> Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776-1826)*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1995), p. 284. For the list of Râtib Efendi's books, see *Mühendishâne*, pp. 285-287.

<sup>78</sup> see J. M. Stein, "An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Ambassador Observes the West: Ebu Bekir Râtib Efendi Reports on the Habsburg System of Roads and Posts", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vol. 10 (1985), pp. 219-312.

## CHAPTER II

### MILITARY ACADEMIES IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

#### 1-The Education of the Elite in the Ottoman Empire

Ebubekir Râtib Efendi was concerned about why the Ottoman Empire was far away from the glory of the past. According to him, the cure for the illness in state apparatus lies in military reforms. This attitude has a pragmatic side. In *Viyana Sefaretnamesi*, there is an implicit belief that technical modernization without cultural modernization would be enough for the reform of the Empire. That is why he devotes the greater part of his work to military affairs in Europe, particularly the Habsburg Empire.

Râtib Efendi deals with the military academies in the Habsburg Empire, not for the sake of knowledge, but for practical reasons. His aim was to encourage the Sultan to found the similar institutions in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it would be possible to train the future officers of the Ottoman Empire in a European manner. Since the basic problem of the Empire was a military one, the model he explained was also related to the military. The Ottoman Empire suffered much from the lack of competent officers in the battles, especially in the eighteenth century. It failed in catching up with the growing challenge of the Western war technology. It could not maintain its former technical superiority in the war technology *vis-à-vis* the European powers.

In the Classical Age, the Ottoman Empire had more competent officers than Europe. The Ottomans also developed a similar model for training the officers in their childhood, like Europe of the eighteenth

century. This model was known as the Palace school (*Enderûn Mektebi*), the aim of which was to train the future officers and officials. It is not a coincidence that Râtib Efendi based the rise of European powers on the emergence of high-quality officers in Europe, like Montecuccoli. That's why he deals in detail with the military academies, the essential aim of which was to train high-quality commanders.

The Ottomans had a successful tradition of the educational institutions, the aim of which was to train civil and military officials. The Palace School occupied a central place in this tradition. According to Miller, the Palace School, or “great military school of state of the Grand Seraglio”, represented one of the most outstanding Ottoman institutions. It was also one of the most qualified educational institutions of that time, “indeed of any time”.<sup>79</sup> The Palace School was also admired by the contemporary foreign observers. For instance, in 1538, Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, asserted that “they [pages] are instructed in letters and arms in the same manner as the children of the sultan”.<sup>80</sup> Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire in the time of Süleyman the Magnificent, compares the attitude of the Ottomans towards the pages with the attitude of the Western Europe towards the animals:

*“The Turks rejoice greatly when they find an exceptional man, as though they had acquired a precious object, and they spare no labor or effort in cultivating him; especially if they discern that he is fit for war. Our plan (that is, in Western Europe) is very different; for it we find a good dog, hawk, or horse, we are greatly delighted, and we spare nothing to bring it to the greatest perfection of its kind... We receive much pleasure and many kinds of service from the well-trained horse, dog, and hawk; but the Turks much more from a well-educated man (ex homine*

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<sup>79</sup> Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 3.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.* p. 5.

*bonis moribus informato), in proportion as the nature of a man is more admirable and more excellent than that of the other animals.”<sup>81</sup>*

Even in the seventeenth century, the Palace School maintained its reputation in the eyes of Europeans. For instance, in 1624, Michel Baudier, official historiographer of France, wrote that “It is not astonishing that the Turkish nation prospers, since the Turks know so well how to choose the *élite* from great number of youths and how to give them the instruction and the discipline which makes them honest men, thus adjusting to the gifts of nature the perfections of nature.”<sup>82</sup> As we will see later in this chapter, discipline occupied a central place in the training of the military *élite*. Thus, the students were trained in conformity with the Ottoman official ideology. When they graduated, they would serve for the consolidation of this ideology in the Ottoman territory. The importance of the Palace School can be understood from the fact that the majority of high officials of state and the many officers of the army and navy were the graduates of the Palace School. For instance, during the two centuries after the organization of the Palace School by Mehmed II, forty-eight of the sixty grand vezirs were trained in the Palace School.<sup>83</sup>

The *Mekteb-i Enderûn* was established in the time of Murad II, in the Palace of Edirne.<sup>84</sup> After the conquest of Constantinople, it became an

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<sup>81</sup> Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 74.

<sup>82</sup> Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 6.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> According to B. Miller, The Palace School was founded by Mehmed II (1451-1481), see Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 4. But in another part of his book, he writes that “Under Muhammad’s enlightened direction the Palace School expanded and took on the definite character of a school of government” (*ibid.* p. 32). Although there is a contradiction on the date of establishment of the Palace School, it is probable that he meant by the Palace School the school founded in the Topkapı Palace.

urgent need for the new empire to have competent military and civil officials. The historian Tayyarzâde Ata Bey well expresses this need:

*“Impressed by the great loyalty of the pages and convinced that it would be impossible to find more faithful servants and friends to help him preserve his throne against the attacks of outside enemies and of the Janizaries, the sultan conceived the idea of rearing and educating in adequate numbers in a general school (mekteb-i umûmî) in his royal palace the type of valiant soldier and scholarly official which was so badly needed for all the functions of the empire.”*<sup>85</sup>

Mehmed II enlarged the Palace School and built a large library and a hospital for the staff of the Palace School. According to Ata Beg, the students took courses “in nomadic life and in civilization, in the science of utility, in diplomacy, in the art of war, and in the various ‘sciences’ and ‘arts’”.<sup>86</sup> They were also trained in the the use of arms, and horsemanship.<sup>87</sup> Thus, their education based not only on theory, but also on practice.

The decline of the empire in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries also affected the fate of the Palace School. Also, the decline in the slave system in the Ottoman government also led to the decline in the quality of the Palace School. Moreover, the fact that some pages participated in the political intrigues of the Palace in the seventeenth century culminated in the Palace School’s loss of its former prestige and reputation in the Ottoman government. Thus, the Ottoman Empire searched for the alternative ways of training the *élite*. Râtib Efendi was also preoccupied with that question and proposes an alternative way of training the future military and civil officials, based on discipline and loyalty.

In this chapter, we will also elaborate on a *lâyiha* presented by an Ottoman engineer to Selim III in order to see the similarities between the things explained in *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* and in the *lâyiha* of the Ottoman

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<sup>85</sup> Cited in Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 32.

engineer. The title of the *lâyiha*<sup>88</sup>, which is translated to the Ottoman language, implies that it was written by a foreigner. According to Kemal Beydilli, this *lâyiha* was presented by D'Ohsson.<sup>89</sup> The reason why we elaborate on this *lâyiha* is that the Sultan ordered the implementation of the principles and regulations explained in this *lâyiha*. Râtib Efendi was also responsible for the implementation of this task. The main theme of this *lâyiha* is the opening of a school for the study of military sciences (*fünûn-ı harbiyeye mahsus bir tâlimhâne tertibi*). Having read this memorandum, the Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) ordered that Reisülküttab discuss the matter with Reşid Mustafa Efendi and Râtib Efendi.<sup>90</sup> The fact that Râtib Efendi was one of those who took part in the discussion on the establishment of an engineering school can be possibly viewed as an evidence of his influence on the reform program of Selim III, which is known as the new order (*nizâm-ı cedid*). It is not a coincidence that he frequently uses the term *nizâm-ı cedid* in his work. On the other hand, his influence on the *Nizâm-ı Cedid* can be understood on two grounds, as a theoretician and as a practitioner. Firstly, he wrote a book on "the new order" in Europe. Secondly, he took part in the formation of the new order in the Ottoman lands. As we have pointed out above, the Sultan relied on Râtib Efendi in his reform program.

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<sup>86</sup> *ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>87</sup> Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 76.

<sup>88</sup> The title of the layiha is as follows: "*Fünûn-ı Harbiye Ta'limhanesine Dâir Tertib Olunan Lâyihanın Tercemesidir*" (BA, HH 9783 / H. 1208).

<sup>89</sup> Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 29.

<sup>90</sup> BA. HH 9783-B.

## 2- Military Power

As we have mentioned above, in the first part of *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtib Efendi deals with military power. In the introduction of that part, he adopts a theoretical approach to the issue of military power. He argues that there are four preconditions, which are related to military, economy, politics and society respectively, for the strength of a state according to the philosophers and those who are knowledgeable about the nature of states. He believes that the strength and order of an army is a precondition for the maintenance of the power of a state. Being aware of the disobedience of the Janissaries in the Army, he also mentions the importance of obedience in an army.<sup>91</sup>

According to Râtib Efendi, the second precondition for the strength of a state is the richness of the treasury. He is aware of the fact that economic power is indispensable for the maintenance of political power. The third precondition is the honesty (*istikâmet*), the maturity (*rüşd*), the righteousness (*sedâd*) and loyalty (*emânet*) of the statesmen. Fourthly, the well-being of the subjects is also essential for the maintenance of the state. In fact, these four conditions are reminiscent of tradition of *dâire-i adâlet*, the circle of justice, in the Middle Eastern political literature. It can possibly be argued that Râtib Efendi also took into account this tradition in his treatment of the preconditions for the power of a state. In his work entitled *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*, which seems to be closely read by Râtib Efendi, Kinalızâde expresses the so-called *dâire-i adâlet*:

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<sup>91</sup> *Avrupa memleketlerinde olan hukemâ ve feylesof ve ahvâl-i düvel ve mesâlih-i mülk ve milele âşina ve sâhib-i vukûf olanları beyninde bir devletin kemâl-i kuvvet ve miknet ve mezîd-i revnak ve behceti, asâkirin kesret ve tertîb ve nizâm ve itâ'ati ... ile müyesser ve ... mutasavver olmağla...*” (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 2b).



"There can be no royal authority without the military  
There can be no military without wealth  
The subjects produce the wealth  
Justice preserves the subjects' loyalty to the sovereign  
Justice requires harmony in the world  
The world is a garden, its walls are the state  
The Holy Law (shari'ah) orders the state  
There is no support for the shari'ah except through royal authority"<sup>92</sup>

According to Râtîb Efendi, after the above-mentioned four conditions were met, a state should go into the alliances with those states sharing common political interests with the Ottoman Empire. He does not neglect the importance of international relations. For him, external politics is inseparable from the internal politics. If we examine *Viyana Sefâretnamesi*, we can see that he dealt with these conditions in this his work. Nevertheless, he devoted much space to the military power. In his letters from Vienna, he also dealt with the international relations in Europe, on which we will elaborate later.

Having mentioned the preconditions for the establishment and maintenance of a powerful state, he deals with the first precondition, military power. In *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtîb Efendi adopts a theoretical approach to the problem of military power before he deals with the Habsburg Army. He states that according to the knowledgeable men about philosophy and politics, there are four preconditions for the military power: 1- great number of soldiers, 2- the organization of the army, 3- the quality of the commanders, 4- the obedience of the soldiers to their commanders.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Cited in Cornell Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and 'Ibn Khaldunism' in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Letters", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XVIII/ 3-4 (1983), 201.

For the text, see Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*, (Bulak, 1248), Book III, p. 49.

<sup>93</sup> "Vakt-i muhârebede asâkirin kuvveti ve hasmına gâlibiyeti dört vechle müyesser olur. Vech-i evvel, askerinin kesretinden; vech-i sâni, asâkirin tertibâtına ri'âyetinden; vech-i sâlis, asâkire serdâr ve serkerde ve sipehsalar ve başbuğ ve müdür olan rüesâ ve vüzerâ ve

He explains what he means by these four conditions. Firstly, the number of soldiers of a state should exceed the number of soldiers of its enemies in the peace time. Or, at least, it should be equal to their numbers. Moreover, it should have reserve soldiers, the number of which is to be forty or fifty thousand, in order to use them in the place of dead, captive, injured and ill soldiers in the war. The reserve soldiers should be trained in matters related to war and in the military sciences. He writes that this is the way pursued by the European states. Here is an implicit advice to the sultan. He does not hesitate to admire the European powers, even though they were non-Muslims. Secondly, the soldiers and officers and their supplies and equipment should be in good order. They should be equipped well to serve effectively for the attainment of victory. Thirdly, the officers should come from the military unit they direct and they should not be strangers to the soldiers. They should be chosen among the infantrymen or cavalrymen. They have to master the military sciences and know the tricks, artifices and intrigues of war. They must be equipped with the adequate knowledge of geometry, cartography, geography, the science of surveying, arithmetics and drawing. Fourthly, the obedience of the soldiers and their endurance and firmness in the battlefield is based upon the second and third conditions. They are interrelated to each other. If these conditions are met, the soldiers will obey their commanders and endure hardships in the battlefield. In that context, he mentions a saying of the Prophet Muhammad that “the war is

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*mîr-i mîrân ve sâir sağîr ve kebîr zâbitânın muhârebe ve cidâl ve desâyis ve hiyel-i harb ve kütâlde kemâl-i ihâta ve dirâyetinden; vech-i rabi' asâkirin zâbitâna itâ'at ve emr ü nehyine inkıyâd ve mûtâva'atından ibâret olmağla...*” see E. Râtib Efendi, *Viyana Sefaretnamesi*, p. 3a.

trick”<sup>94</sup> He highlights the importance of tricks in the art of war. This is the basic criterion in order to become a high-quality commander. The commanders should follow this principle in order to secure the loyalty of the soldiers. On the other hand, the scarcity of the equipment in the battlefield leads to complaint, disobedience and impatience on the part of soldiers.

### 3- Military Academies

Having dealt with the theoretical aspects of military power, he also deals with the current state of affairs in terms of military, in the Habsburg Empire. It seems that the section on the military academies constitutes the most crucial part of his account of the Habsburg military. That is why we will elaborate on this subject rather than explaining the minor details of the structure of the Habsburg Army.

Since Râtib Efendi attached more importance to the quality of the commanders, he deals firstly with the education of the future commanders in their childhood. Perhaps he believed that the first thing to be done in the Ottoman Empire was to train the future officers in the European manner. In *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtib Efendi frequently mentions the importance of study of military sciences (*fünûn-ı harb*). In fact, he provides the Sultan with a model to be pursued in his reforms. In these academies, students studied various branches of sciences and arts, which were related to warfare. According to Râtib Efendi, it is possible to see such kind of academies not only in the Habsburg Empire, but also in the other countries of Europe.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> “*El-harbu hud’atün*” (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 3b)

<sup>95</sup> “*Avrupa devletlerinin mecmûuunda cenk için mahsûs mektebler vardır. Akadimya militer, dîrler. Akadimya, mekteb; militer asker manâsınadır. Ol mekteblerde san’at ve ilm ve mârifet gibi harbe müte’allick her ne kadar ilm ve fenn ve ma’rifet ve san’at var ise ânı*

The existence of war academies in Europe is also pointed out by D'Ohsson.<sup>96</sup> It may be argued that Râtib Efendi's curiosity about the military academies might be aroused in his conversations with D'Ohsson in Vienna. As we have mentioned above, they were meeting once in two days to discuss the state of affairs in Europe. He possibly got the information about the military academies in Europe, particularly in the Habsburg Empire, from D'Ohsson. Otherwise, it would be very difficult for an Ottoman ambassador to give a lengthy study of military academies in the Habsburg Empire. Although the Habsburg officials permitted Râtib Efendi to visit the Engineering Academy and the Military Academy, they would possibly be reluctant to express all the details of the education and training in the military academies for Râtib Efendi.

Râtib Efendi deals with the origins of the military academies in the Habsburg Empire. He says that while there were qualified war academies in all states of Europe, the academies in the Habsburg Empire were in disorder. Râtib Efendi rightly points out that the establishment of the military academies in the Habsburg Empire was largely the work of the Quenn Maria Theresa (1740-1780). The intention of Maria Theresa, according to Rothenberg, was as follows:

*"Most of the aristocrats had little inclination to submit to military discipline and acquire technical proficiency by hard work. Therefore Maria Theresa opened her military academies, the Theresianische Militärakademie in Vienna-Neudstadt opened in 1752 and the Ingenieursakademie in Vienna, to sons of the impoverished minor nobility as well as to commoners, usually the sons of the*

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*talim iderler"* Râtib Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Süleymaniye Library (Esat Efendi 2235), p. 13b.

<sup>96</sup> "Ulûm-ı ri'yâziyenin usûlüne ri'âyet, fevâid-i adideyi müstelzim olageldiği velhâsıl bir devletin akdem-i esbâb-ı kuvveti fûnûn-ı mezkûrenin taallümünden ibâret idigi tecrübekârân-ı ahvâl-ı âlem indlerinde müselleme ve'l-hâletü hâzihi Avrupa devletlerinde bu makûle ta'lîmhâneelerin nizâmları gâyet mertebede mültezim olmağla me'kulât ve melbûsât ve sâir ma'ûnetleri devletleri tarafından virilmek üzere..." (BA, Hatt-ı Hümayun, 9783 (H. 1208)

*...serving officers and state officials. Future officers entered in their teens and after a four-year course in military subjects as well as polite accomplishments were commissioned in the cavalry or the infantry.*"<sup>97</sup>

According to Râtib Efendi, Maria Theresa ordered that the generals, field marshals and officers of this empire came together in order to discuss about the establishment of a military academy. They examined the orders and regulations of the war academies in Europe. Also, within the Habsburg Empire, there was a qualified war academy in the Duchy of Württemberg.<sup>98</sup> The committee also examined the order of this academy. They took this academy as a model in many respects. They also developed their own plans and designs concerning the order of the new academy. Thus, finally , they determined the structure and the principles of the new academy and submitted a memorandum to Maria Theresa. In his work, Râtib Efendi provides us the Ottoman translation of this memorandum. In the following pages, we will compare this memorandum with the *lâyiha* of D'Ohsson.

In these academies, students took courses on the military sciences. When they graduated from the academies, they were employed in various offices in the military.<sup>99</sup> Râtib Efendi points out that students also studied foreign language in the academies. Academies generally preferred to teach

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<sup>97</sup> Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon's Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*, (Spellmount: Staplehurst, 1995), p.27.

<sup>98</sup> E. Râtib Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 22b.

<sup>99</sup> "Velakin cenk akadimiyalarında tertib ve hendese ve coğrafya ve misâha ve hisâb ve resm ve harita ve tasvîr ve cerr-i eskâl ve istihkâmât ve binâ emsâli muharebeye müte'allik fînûnda sâhib-i hüner ve ma'rifet olanlar dahi vakt-i tufûliyetlerinde duhûl ve ta'lîm-i ilm ve marifetle terbiyet-i kubûl ve tehzîb-i ahlâk ve hasletle rütbe-i asâlete vüsûllerine binâen altı, yedi, sekiz sene akadimyalarda olduktan sonra tekmil-i marifet idüb müsta'iddlerini recimendlere irsâl ve bazılarını cenk dâirelerinde olan kalemlere isbâl ederler" (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 13b).

French language, the language of Western civilization at that time.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, there were also courses on the Italian and English languages in some academies.

Ebubekir Râtib Efendi elaborates on two military academies in the Habsburg Empire. In the first part, he examines the Engineering Academy (*Akadimiya Enjinur*), which was located in the suburbs of Vienna. In the second part, he deals with the Military Academy (*Akadimiya Militer*), which takes six hours from Vienna. He elaborates also on the curriculum of both academies. According to Beydilli, the Râtib Efendi's account of these academies affected the educational policy of the *Nizâm-ı Cedîd*.<sup>101</sup> Thus, it would be convenient to devote some space to the examination of both academies in the light of information given by Râtib Efendi. It seems that "student interpreters", who knew the German language, in the entourage of Râtib Efendi translated the rules and regulations of these academies. He gives the Ottoman translations of these regulations. Râtib Efendi's observations on these academies is also interesting for an Ottoman ambassador's view of such European institutions.

#### **4- The Engineering Academy (*Ingenieursakademie*)**

According to Râtib Efendi, the Engineering Academy was built probably sixty years ago. Nevertheless, it is known that the Engineering Academy was built in the time of Maria Theresa (1740-80).<sup>102</sup> Like in the

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<sup>100</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 51.

<sup>101</sup> Beydilli, *Mühendishâne*, p. 29.

<sup>102</sup> Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon's Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*, p.27.

date of the establishment of the Military Academy, he again gives a wrong date. According to Râtib Efendi, the Engineering Academy was connected with artillery units. The size of this academy was approximately equal to the size of the Old Palace (*Eski Saray*) in Istanbul. In this academy, geometry and fortifications (*istihkâmât-i kılâ', ve muhâsara ve müdâfaa*) and other sciences related to the mathematics were taught. At that time, there were a total of 131 students in the academy. Boys between the ages of nine and fifteen, could enter the institution. On the other hand, if a student, who was older than fifteen years, did take courses on mathematics before, he would be accepted to the academy. In the regulations of the Engineering Academy, it is pointed out that the boys exceeding the age of fifteen would face difficulties in learning mathematics.

The curriculum of the Engineering Academy was determined according to the summer days and the winter days. Some hours of the day were devoted to study of a particular branch of sciences related to the art of warfare. Moreover, during the week, one hour in every three days of a week was devoted to the reading of books in the library of the Academy. Like the Palace School of Mehmed II, the Engineering Academy had also a library. Râtib Efendi relates that he has seen this "great library" (*mu'azzam kütüphanesi*). In this library, students were reading those books, which they liked. Râtib Efendi writes that when he asked the Habsburg instructors about the famous military strategists such as Vauban and Montecuccoli, they became fascinated as to how an Ottoman could know the names of these European authors of the military sciences. When they gave these books to Râtib Efendi, he looked at only the pictures of the books

and behaved in a way as if he was reading them.<sup>103</sup> As we have said before, he was aware of the literature on the military sciences but he could not read them in their original language. Perhaps the translators in the *Âmedî* Office translated some of these books for Râtib Efendi. The fact that he had some French and German books on the military sciences in his library can be seen as an evidence for his knowledge on the literature on military art in Europe. As we have pointed out before, his knowledge on some famous European military strategists could possibly be attributed to the years he spent in the *Âmedî* office.

In the Engineering Academy, education was divided into three parts: etiquette (*edeb*), the study of sciences (*ulûm ve maârif*) and military training (*ta'limât-ı harbiyye*). *Edeb* is related to the good manners, which were necessary for a soldier. Related to etiquette (*edeb*), students were educated to obey the officers and to carry out their duties effectively and honestly. The *Enderun Mektebi*'s essential aim was also to produce "a man of letters and gentleman of polished speech, profound courtesy, and honest morals".<sup>104</sup> Secondly, the students were taking courses in various subjects, including the German language (*Nemçe lisânı*), its calligraphy, orthography and its terms (*ıstılâhât*) and took courses on mathematics, the principles of war (*kavâid-i harbiyye*), geometry, drawing, land survey (*misâha*), mechanics, physics, history, military history, geography, cartography, religious sciences, and law.<sup>105</sup> They also studied French, Czech and

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<sup>103</sup> *Viyana Sefaretnamesi*, p. 14b.

<sup>104</sup> Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 94.

<sup>105</sup> "Bu Akadimiya'da talim olunan ulûm ve fînûn ve maârif dahî, ... tevârih-i rûzgâr ve vakâyi-i edvâr ve ahbâr-ı hurûb u peykâr, ba'dehû coğrafya, badehû ulûm-ı dîniyye ve kavânîn-i mülkiyye ve kavâ'id-i harbiyyeden ibârettir. Badehû fenn-i binâya mukaddime olmak üzere resm-i ta'lim iderler. Ba'dehû ilm-i hisâb ve cebri mukâbele ve ilm-i misâha



Bulgarian languages and the terms, the calligraphy and orthography of these languages. In addition, students were taught some philosophy, which was based on the practice of wisdom, the refinement of ethics (*tehzîb-i ahlâk*) and theology (*ulûm-ı ilâhiyye*). Like in the Palace School, the students in the Engineering Academy studied theory and practice together. They also practice what they learned in the class, in the fields and in the mountains. They received training in the fortifications of the castles and the maneuver of the troops during the war. Thirdly, they were trained in military arts such as horsemanship (*fîrûsiyyet*) and dance (*raks*). Those who wanted to be trained in horsemanship had to cover the expenses. The reason for their practice of *raks* was its contribution to the development of speedy action, which was the main characteristic of a soldier.

The students were subjected to some rules according to the *Nizamnâme* (regulations) of the Academy. They were prohibited to go to the plays, comedies, tragedies, ballrooms, operas and pubs. It was forbidden to go out in the nights. Nevertheless, they were permitted to visit their friends and relatives only if their parents or a trustworthy person came to take them out. In that case, they had to leave the Academy at a certain time and had to return to the Academy in at a fixed time. They were definitely not permitted to go to the city alone.

If the students did not obey these rules, they became subjected to disciplinary measures and were not permitted to go to the city for a long time. On the other hand, there was no interference in students' religious beliefs and prayers as long as they did not resort to violence for religious

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*gösterirler... Ba'dehû harita çizmesini irâe iderler. Ba'dehû mehanika ilmîni bildirirler. Bu ilme lisân-ı Arabda ilm-i cerr-i eskâl dirler.* " (Viyana Sefaretnamesi, p. 16b).

and sectarian zeal. The students, who were not Catholics, but were Orthodox, Lutherans or Calvinists, had the right to pray in the churches of these religions if a trustworthy person came to take them for prayer in such places.

The students received the same education, irrespective of whether they were noble or not. There was also no religious discrimination. The Catholics, the Orthodox, the Calvinists and Lutherans all took the same courses. Nevertheless, there were two kinds of students in the Academy, according to their payment. The first type of students paid annually 400 florins. Their food and dress were provided by the Academy in return for their annual payment. Their meal included breakfast with half bread; lunch with bread, wine (*şarab*) and five kinds of food; dinner with bread, wine and three kinds of meal. The second type of students were those who pay 300 florins in a year. Their meals were as follows: breakfast with half bread, lunch with bread, wine and four kinds of food, dinner with only two kinds of food. Like the Palace School, the Engineering Academy also had a hospital. When the students became ill, they were treated without any payment in the hospital of the Academy. If they preferred to be treated by a private doctor, then they have to pay the cost of the treatment.

According to the regulations of the Engineering Academy, it was forbidden to use the jewelry, watch and ring, which are made up of golden and silver, because this could lead to the jealousy among those who could not afford to buy them. On the other hand, the handicapped, the rebellious, and obstinate and boys were not accepted to enter the Academy. If such boys were accepted by mistake, they had to leave the academy.

Since the objective of the Academy was the study of geometry and the sciences related to geometry, those who succeeded in the study of these science were appointed as engineers. They were sent as engineers to the regiments, the castles, and the artillery units. On the other hand, those who failed in the study of these sciences were given a document (*kağıt*) and sent to the War Office (*cenk kalemi*). Although the Academy did not promise to appoint them as engineers, they could find a suitable job in the War Office if their chance would permit.

##### **5- The Military Academy (*Theresianische Militäarakademie*)**

In the Military Academy (*Akadimiya Militer*), students came from noble families and they were the sons of officers and generals. The building of the Academy was formerly the Palace of the kings. According to Râtib Efendi, this Academy was founded by Maria Theresa in order to gain the support of the military class. She did not hesitate to give her palace to the Academy because the students of the noble families would be trained in a way that they would serve the official ideology of the state, like in the Palace School of the Ottoman Empire. But it was different from the Palace School in that the students of the Military Academy were noble in origin whereas the students of the Palace School were *devşirme* in origin and they were the servants of the Sultan. Like the *Enderûn Mektebi* of the Ottoman Empire, the Military Academy was also a palace school, with a difference. The former occupied a part, the inner part, of the Sultanic palace, whereas the other occupied the whole building of the former palace of the Habsburg monarchs. It shows to what extent Maria Theresa attached importance to

military affairs of the state. The Military Academy was established at Wiener Neustadt in 1752. He writes that this academy was established forty-nine years before. He says that he got this information from the Habsburg noblemen. In fact, he got a false information about the date of the establishment of the Military Academy. Thus, according to him, the Military Academy was established around 1742 or 1743. Based on this false information, he also came into conclusion that the issue of the order of the army and of the budget had not been settled yet until fifty years ago in the Habsburg Empire.<sup>106</sup> For him, it became possible only with the reforms of Maria Theresa and of Joseph II.

The regulations of the Academy originally stipulated that the number of students in the Academy to be four hundred. But the number of the students was four hundred and forty when Râtib Efendi visited the Academy. The reason for this is that King Leopold II (1790-1792) ordered the sending of the boys of the Polish noblemen in his palace to the Military Academy in order to educate them. Thus, the additional forty students were the boys of the Polish noblemen. Contrary to the Engineering Academy, students did not pay anything for their expenses, including food and shelter, in the Military Academy. The Military Academy accepted only the students who were between the ages of eight and of ten. The students could graduate from the Academy in six years. The maximum period of study was eight years. When they graduated, they were sent to the regiments as officers, like the graduates of the Engineering Academy.

Compared to the Engineering Academy, students began their studies at an earlier age in the Military Academy. The reason for this lies in the

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<sup>106</sup> *ibid.* p. 22a.

belief that children's minds are easily shaped in their early ages. It goes without saying that the Habsburg Empire attached much importance to the Military Academy. This argument becomes evident if we examine the composition of students, and their numbers and the financial policy of both academies. Moreover, the Military Academy was more homogeneous than the Engineering Academy due to the family affiliations and ages of the students involved in the military training.

In explaining the curriculum of the Military Academy, Râtib Efendi makes a distinction between the Ottoman conception of time and the Western conception of time. He writes that the Western clock was determined according to the middle of the day. The midday was accepted as 12 o'clock and it was the time of lunch for the Westerners. Since the season was spring when Râtib Efendi visited the Military Academy at Vienna, he gives the curriculum of the Academy in the spring season. Like in the Engineering Academy, the curriculum of the Military Academy was also determined according to the summer and winter days. The students studied particular sciences and arts in certain hours of the day.

There were ten special rooms for the study of sciences. Botany, drawing, geography, philosophy, physics, painting, and mathematics were taught in five rooms. The other rooms were devoted to the study of the general sciences (*ma'ârif-i külliye*). In some cases, the eleventh room was assigned for additional studies. When Râtib Efendi visited this Academy, there were classes in the eleventh room of the Academy. In each room, there were different courses. Also, there were various courses throughout the day in the same room. In *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtib Efendi explains the

curriculum of each room in six pages. Due to the limited scope of this paper, we will explain only the curriculum of the eleventh room in Sunday and Monday.

On Sundays and other holidays, the students were going to the Church in the Academy, in six o'clock. There they were walking around or playing in the garden of the Academy. They were reading various books in their rooms between 9 and 10 o'clock. Then, they read books related to their religious beliefs until 11 o'clock. After the lunch in 12 o'clock, they practiced drawing until 3 p.m. Then, they were free until 4 p.m. They would either read their favourite books or play in the garden. Then, they studied the German language until 6 o'clock.

The study of foreign language occupies a crucial place in the curriculum of the Military Academy. There were various instructors specializing in one language. There was a Latin instructor, who was chosen among the priests, for each room until the sixth room. There were two instructors of the French language and two lieutenants who taught the French language and the translation of the French texts. There were four instructors for the Bulgarian and the Czech languages and for translation of texts written in these languages. There was one instructor for the Italian language and one instructor for the English and one instructor for the Habsburg language. According to the regulations of the Military Academy, the instructors would be chosen among those persons who mastered the art of war, and the sciences related to war, such as geometry, mathematics, geography, painting, and fortifications. They were forbidden to engage in trade and related activities because such acts were seen as inferior things

contrary to the military spirit. Most of the instructors in the Academy were paid annually eight hundred florins. Some of them, who were lower in degree, got annually six hundred florins. They resided in the flats devoted for them in the Academy. If they were married, they also lived in these flats with their family. Even the head (*nâzır*) of the academy was staying in the academy with his family. The instructors did not pay anything for the firewood, coal and candle, which were paid by the Treasury. But they had to pay for their food, drinks and other needs.

Like in the Engineering Academy, there was a hospital for the students of the Academy. There were two doctors, a chemist and two surgeons in the hospital of the Military Academy. The Military Academy also had a library. When Râtib Efendi visited the library of the Military Academy, he asked the instructors of the Academy about the books, which were written in the Habsburg language, on the military order of the Habsburg Empire. Interestingly, one of the books, which he asked, was about "the new order" (*nizâm-ı cedîd*). They asked him that how he heard about this book, which was in manuscript form and which was kept secret. He replied that an officer who escaped from the Habsburg lands, published this secret book in three volumes in Frankfurt, which was a free (*serbest*) city. Râtib Efendi narrates such events in which he tries to show 'the depth of his knowledge' in some parts of his work. Also, he does not hesitate to add that his level of knowledge had surprised the Habsburg noblemen.

On the other hand, the instructors in the Academy said that the Ottoman statesmen, then, know about the books written on the military sciences in Europe, as they saw in the example of Râtib Efendi. Perhaps,

they said, some of these books were translated into the Ottoman language. Then they asked that why the Ottoman Empire was failing in giving order to its army and navy in spite of the fruitfulness of its vast lands and of ability, courage, zeal, intelligence and insight of its inhabitants. According to them, no other state in the world possessed these characteristics together. But the Ottomans were not using this potential effectively. They should develop the similar weapons with the Europeans in order to cope with its enemies.<sup>107</sup> For them, the Ottoman Army needed order and obedience. They did not hesitate to add that the Ottoman sultans were the first rulers, who gave an order to the soldiers.<sup>108</sup> In fact, their question can be considered as a politic question, which was raised against Râtib Efendi's deliberate questions to show his level of knowledge.

His answer to the question of the instructors of the Academy is also largely a politic answer. He says that the Ottoman sultan has "limitless countries and castles" and that he rules over a considerable part of three continents.<sup>109</sup> Thus, unlike the European powers, who were preoccupied with increasing their territories and maximizing their interests and trade facilities, the Ottoman Empire did not need to expand its territory and to increase the opportunities for trade. Nevertheless, in another part of the work, he criticizes negligence of trade by the Muslim Ottomans. Although

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<sup>107</sup> "A 'dâya mukâbele emsâliyle harekâta menûttur." (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 19b).

<sup>108</sup> In the lâyiha presented by D'Ohsson, the similar ideas can be observed: "Ve asâkir-i mürettebe nizâmı maddesi dahi fi'l-asl Cennet mekân Sultan Orhan Hân hazretlerinin zamân-ı saltanatlarında virilen Yeniçeri Ocağı nizâmından me'hûz idigi vakâyi'-nüvisân-ı Âlem ve tevârih-şinâsân-ı ahvâl-i ümem indlerinde ğayr-ı hafî olub lâkin müte'ahhirîn, zamân-ı asâr-ı ahlâfa adem-i raġbet ve fi yevminâ hâzâ Avrupa devletlerinde usûl-i hikmete tatbik ile câri olan nizâmâtın menâfi'inden sarf-ı inzâr-ı ibret eylediklerine binâen sûret-i ahvâl-i hey'et olaylarından münkalib olmuşdur." (BA, HH 9783).



he was aware of the importance of trade for the Ottoman Empire, he tried hard not to give any opportunity for the criticism of the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg authorities. Interestingly, in his reply, he describes the Ottoman Empire as a peace-loving state, which keeps its promises as opposed to the Europeans. For him, the Ottoman Empire did not wage a war if it was inconsistent with the principles of the *shari'a*. The Ottomans did not wage a war unless its enemies violated the terms of the treaty between the Ottoman Empire and them. War is possible only with the permission of *Imam* of the Muslims (*İmâm-ı Müslimîn*) and the order of the Sultan (*Pâdişâh-ı dîn*).<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, he knew well that the Ottoman Sultan possessed both of these titles. Interestingly, he uses the word *imam*, instead of *halîfe*. He mentions secondly the Sultan's order for fighting with the enemy. For him, the strength of the Islamic community emanates from Muslims' strong loyalty to the principles of *cihâd* and *gazâ*. If it was necessary, all the Muslims of the world (*ümme-i Muhammed*), even those who were exceeding the age of seven, would feel be obliged to fight against the non-Muslims. He did not hesitate to use such a hostile language in the face of the non-Muslim instructors in the Military Academy. Again, we see the self-confidence of Râtib Efendi, which has been said to prepare his end. He writes that they became regretful for their question.

In his visit to the Military Academy, Râtib Efendi has been fascinated by the figures in a room of the Academy. The figures were the

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<sup>109</sup> "Saltanat-ı Seniyye-i Ebediyyü'l-istimrârın kilâ' ve memâliki bî-hadd ü şümâr ve Avrupa ve Asya ve Afrika gibi üç iklim-i azîmden hissedâr oldukları bedîdâr ...olub" (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 20a).

<sup>110</sup> "A'dânın nakz-ı ahdi zuhûr ve izn ve icâzet-i İmâm-ı Müslimîn ve emr ve işâret-i Pâdişâh-ı dîn sudûr itdigi gibi cümle ümme-i Muhammediye ve belki iktizâ itdikde yedi yaşından yukarı millet-i İslâmiye üzerine cihâd ve ğazâ farz ve vâcib...olur." (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 20a).

pictures of the famous personalities (kings, generals, field marshalls and officers) for their knowledge and courage, in history. He says that he looked at these figures in detail and that he asked questions about each of them. The Academy's aim of putting these figures was to tempt the students to take lessons from the famous men, in their childhood. Thus, they would think that their names would not be forgotten if they would show the "loyalty and courage" (*sadâkat ve şecâ'at*) of their predecessors <sup>111</sup>. This example also indicates the general aim of the Academy, i.e. to train the future state officials and officers, in a loyal and courageous way.

Though the students withdrew from the society in which they lived, they did not withdraw themselves from the affairs of the world. In the tenth room, they read the local newspapers, the number of which was fifty (*elli mahallin gazete evrakı*) in order to become acquainted with the state of affairs in the world and to become aware of the lies written in the newspapers. In addition to the present state of affairs in the world, they also learnt about the state of affairs in the past through the study of history. Râtib Efendi mentions a book called *kominus*. This book entails the words, the terms and the phrases related to any art. It also depicts the devices and tools related to any art, with their name. According to Râtib efendi, the students also examined this work.

## **6- A memorandum for the necessity of opening a military academy**

As we have explained above, the Habsburg officers submitted a memorandum on the structure and principles of a new military academy, which would be established by the Empress Maria Theresa. The

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<sup>111</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 19a.

memorandum begins with a comparison between animals and human beings. It is written in the memorandum that life, movement and residence are the common things for the human beings and animals. Nevertheless, it is the education (*terbiyet*) which makes human beings different from the animals. Like the individuals who distinguish themselves from the others by gaining knowledge, skill and wisdom, the communities (*millet*) also make themselves different by gaining the knowledge and skills of warfare. For the Habsburg officers who wrote the memorandum, the states have to make necessary preparations for dealing with the tricks and the intrigues of their neighbors. In this context, the strength and order of an army becomes essential for the maintenance of the political stability. For them, the quality of officers and commanders occupies a central place for the order of an army. If the commanders and officers were not qualified in the knowledge and practice of the art of warfare, the soldiers could not contribute much to attain victory. Perhaps, the authors of the text were trying to say that the spending on the establishment of the military academy is not a waste of financial resources. Conversely, it rescues the state from the great financial losses by training the future commanders, who would master the art of warfare in the military academies. In his introduction to the *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtib Efendi also argues for the similar things about the order of an army. Thus, it can be possibly stated that his vision of military strategy is possibly affected by the writings of the Habsburg officers.

According to the Habsburg officers, a qualified officer is like a “master of the gardeners” (*üstâd-ı baġbân*). The owner of a garden should find a master of the gardeners in order to get the fruits of his garden. The gardener

takes care of the trees in the garden. If the owner of the garden thinks that it would be a waste of money to hire a master of gardeners, he will end up with great financial losses.<sup>112</sup> The ruler of the state can be compared to the owner of a garden. If he hesitates to pay some amount of money for training competent commanders, his financial loss in the face of failure in a war would not be comparable to the financial loss of the owner of a garden. It is for sure that he would suffer greater financial losses than the owner of a garden. He would even risk the future of the state by neglecting the development of the art of warfare in his realm.

For the Habsburg officers and generals, states and nations (*her millet ve devlet*) are similar to the human beings in many respects. Human beings suffer from the troubles and tiredness in the daytime and they get rid of the tiredness of the daytime by the sleep and the relaxation of the night time. The states or nations are similar to the human beings in the way that peace resembles the night time and that war resembles the daytime.<sup>113</sup> States and nations suffer from the hardships and troubles in war, like the individuals in the daytime. On the other hand, they are in repose and relaxation in the peace time. If a state wants to attain prosperity, relief, and comfort, it has to train qualified officers, who would master the art of warfare. For them, soldiers were the tools and the commanders were those who gave a shape to these tools. The commanders were, in a sense, the architects of the army. If a state possessed an orderly army under the guidance of high-quality commanders, its enemies would not have the courage to attack its territories.

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<sup>112</sup> *ibid.* p. 27a.

<sup>113</sup> "*Her devlet ve ve milletin insan gibi vücûdu olmağla gündüz çekdiği ta'b ve zahmeti gece hâb ü râhatla i'dâm itdiği gibi vakt-i hazar insanın hengâm-ı âsâyiş ve istirahatı olan hâb ü*

It is argued in the memorandum that the officers should be instructed in one academy instead of studying in various academies in different places within the country. If they study together in the same academy, they would compete for the attainment of higher ranks.<sup>114</sup> The importance of education in the childhood was also pointed out in the memorandum. The training of future officers in the early years of their life would yield expected fruits in the future since the mind of an individual is largely shaped in his childhood. Thus, the establishment of a military academy (*akadimiya militer*) is a crucial step for shaping the minds of the future generations, in conformity with the interests of the state.

Having examined the necessity of a military academy, the Habsburg officers began to explain the requirements of the academy. But due to the limited scope of this work, we will elaborate only on some crucial requirements of the academy. We will also compare some requirements of the military academy, which were proposed by the Habsburg officers, together with the *lâyiha* presented to the Sultan on the necessity of opening an engineering school in the Ottoman Empire.

Firstly, the Habsburg officers suggested that the Academy should be founded in a nice place. Both the weather and water of that place should be good. There should be one or two or three gardens and plains around the Academy. There should be also a stream, like river in order to serve as a resting place for the students. The gardens and plains were also needed for the practice of the military techniques such as horsemanship or the use of cannon fire. Similar ideas can also be observed in the *lâyiha* of D'Ohsson.

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*râhata müşâbih ve mümâsil ve harb ve sefer zamân-ı evân-ı metâ'ib ve meşakkat olan rûza mukâbil ve muâdil olmağla...*" (Râtib Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 27a).

For him, the right side (*sâhil-i yemini*) of Kağıthane was a suitable place for the engineering school with regard to its weather and water. He also asserted that Kağıthane was also an appropriate place for the practice of the military sciences due to the wide plains around it. On the other hand, he also took into consideration the danger of plague. In the case of a plague epidemic, students would be in safety, since Kağıthane is surrounded by large plains.<sup>115</sup> Due to the fear of fire, he also advised that the building not be made of wood, but of stone or brick (*kargir*).

The Habsburg officers advised that the place of the military academy be neither remote nor close to the city. If it would be close to the city, students would be tempted by the pleasures of the city. On the other hand, if it would be remote from the city, it would be difficult for the state to impose an order on the academy. Though D'Ohsson underlined that travel between Istanbul and Kağıthane would be easy, the Sultan rejected this proposition, arguing that *Sâdâbâd* (Kağıthane) was a remote place. For the Sultan, it would lead to heavy financial burden on the part of the students. Moreover, they would suffer from tiredness, if the engineering school would be built in Kağıthane. More importantly, some students would give up the idea of registering to the school due to the distance between their home and the school.<sup>116</sup>

In his work, Râtib Efendi gives a detailed account of the curriculum of the Engineering Academy and the Military Academy. The curriculum of the academies was largely based on the strict regulation of the students' actions. Nearly every hour of the day is devoted to a particular study or

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<sup>114</sup> *ibid.* p. 27a.

<sup>115</sup> BA. H.H. 9783.

activity. If we compare the conception of time in the military academies of the Habsburg empire and the similar schools in the Ottoman Empire, we can observe a basic difference between them. According to the *lâyiha*, the Ottoman students should begin their study with the rise of the sun, the time of which changes from day to day. Unlike the regulations of the military academies in the Habsburg Empire, there is no mention of specific hours for the program of the *ta'limhâne*. In this *lâyiha*, it is written that the students should take part in the courses conducted by the professors in the *tâlimhâne*, for five hours after the rise of the sun. Then, they should continue their studies in the afternoon, either in the school or in their homes. The students were not obliged to stay in the school in the evenings. Their time-table also gave more freedom to them. As we have seen, the Ottoman model of military training is less disciplined than the Habsburg one.

The importance of the foreign language is also emphasized in the memorandum. It is stated that the French language is an “elegant and esteemed language” in the eyes of the Europeans. There are many French works written on the various sciences and arts such as philosophy, politics, physics, mathematics and tactics. Thus, the students could fill the gaps and deficiencies of the courses of the Academy by examining the works written in the French language. In the *lâyiha* of D'Ohsson, the importance of the French language was also emphasized. According to D'Ohsson, due to the growing relations between the Ottoman Empire and the European states, it is necessary to learn the European languages. Since European states built schools, which were composed of thirty or forty students for the study of Turkish language. The students should at least learn the French language,

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<sup>116</sup> BA. H. H. 9783-A.

the supreme language in Europe.<sup>117</sup> Interestingly, the author states that not only the Muslim students, whose numbers should be forty-five, and the non-Muslim students, whose number should be fifteen, should also learn the French language. Thus, there should be instructors to teach the French language. In the future, those students who knew the French language could be used in the various services of the state, especially in translating some crucial European works. According to D'Ohsson, there should also be instructors of Turkish language for the illiterate students. The reason for this is that engineers should be familiar with the art of writing (*kitâbet*).<sup>118</sup>

The memorandum of the Austrian officers entails some parts related to the prayer of the students. It is written that students must go to the Church with the rise of the Sun. Interestingly, the time of prayer is determined according to the rise of the sun, not to a specific hour. Here, we can see a basic difference between the secular time and the religious time. The former is based on dividing up the day into hours and even minutes to organize the hours of the work whereas the latter is related to the movement of the Sun. They should firstly pray in the Church and then they would have their breakfast. The Habsburg officers did not mention whether there were non-Catholics, who wanted to go to their particular churches. This could be attributed to the state of affairs in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa

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<sup>117</sup> “*Memâlik-i Mahrûse'ye hemcivâr olan düvel, Devlet-i Aliyye ile mu'âmeleleri lâzım geldiginden Türkî lisânı te'allüm için otuz kırk talebeye mahsûs mektebler icâdına iktizâ iden mesârîfi ihtiyâr eyledikleri gibi Devlet-i Aliyye'nin dahi ekser Avrupa devletleriyle küllî münâsebeti derkâr olduğundan elsine-i Efrenciyyeyi ve hiç degil ise cemî'-i Avrupa'ya şümûli ve şâyeste-i mütâla'a olacak katı vâfir müellefât-ı mu'teberesi cihetiyle sâir elsine-i Nasârâya tefevvuka zâhir olan Fransız lisânını gerek Ehl-i İslâm'a ve gerek Rûm tâifesine ta'lîm itdirilirse bu makûleler her dürlü hizmet-i Devlet-i Aliyye'de ve bi-tahsisin (?) lâzîmü'l-mütâla'a olan ba'zı kütüb ve âsârın tercemesine medâr olacakları zâhir olmağla lisân-ı mezkûr-ı ta'lîm için Ta'limhânedede başkaca muallimler dahi ta'yîn oluna.” (BA, HH 9783).*



(1740-1780), who was “a pious Catholic of the traditional Habsburg kind”.<sup>119</sup> But the religious composition of the Military Academy was different when Râtib Efendi visited the Academy. There were Calvinist, Lutheran and Orthodox students in the Academy. This change was the result of Joseph II’s policy of religious toleration. He did not act in conformity with his mother’s belief that “without a ruling religion, tolerance and indifference are just the very means to undermine everything.”<sup>120</sup>

It is suggested in the memorandum of the Habsburg officers that the King or one of the great statesmen (*a’zam-ı ricâl*) should visit the Military Academy once a year. They should bring two or three military experts in order to examine the pupils. The King or his representative should give a medal or other kind of gift to the pupil who showed success in the examination. The appearance of the king once in a year and his honoring of the successful pupils by medals or other kinds of gifts would encourage other students to study more to take the gifts of the following years. Foucault cites a passage from C. Demia in order to explain the importance of reward in education:

*“The lazy being more encouraged by the desire to be rewarded in the same way as the diligent than by the fear of punishment ; that is why it will be very beneficial, when the teacher is obliged to use punishment, to win the heart of the child if he can before doing so.”*<sup>121</sup>

The similar advice was also made to the Ottoman sultan, by the author of the *lâyiha*. He suggested that it would be very good if the Sultan

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<sup>118</sup> “*Mühendisler beher hâl fi’l-cümle kitâbete âşinâ olmak lâzimedden olmağla zikrolunan beyninde okuyub yazmağa âşinâ olmayanlara Lisân-ı Türki’yi ta’lîm için başka mu’allimler dahî tahsîs itdirile.*” (BA, HH 9783).

<sup>119</sup> E. N. Williams, *The Ancien Régime in Europe : Government and Society in the Major States, 1648-1789*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 444.

<sup>120</sup> *ibid.* p. 445.

could come to the Academy in the time of major examination to be held once a year. If possible, he suggests, the Sultan should come to the Academy in the time of other examinations. He should present gifts to the competent and successful students, especially in the major examination. This can lead to the enthusiasm and zeal on the part of the students. In fact, the appearance of the Sultan before the students was not a new phenomenon in the Ottoman history. For instance, Süleyman the Magnificent “took especial delight in watching their [pages’] cavalry evolutions, and occasionally summoned a page who pleased him, conversed with him, and dismissed him with presents”.<sup>122</sup> It can be assumed that the author of *lâyiha* was, in a sense, suggesting the revival of the tradition of the rulers in the Classical Age.

Obedience occupies a central place in the military training. The obedience of the students to their instructors is essential for the maintenance of law and order in the Military Academy. Thus, it is written in the memorandum that those students who did not obey to their officers must be harshly punished. It is stressed that the disobedient students should not be forgiven in any way. The similar attitude towards disobedience on the part of the students can also be seen in the *lâyiha* of the Ottoman engineer. Nevertheless, there is no mention of severe punishment in the *lâyiha*. The author only says that those students who deserved to be punished must be disciplined and punished. In the Palace School, there was also severe discipline, but it was “kept in bounds”.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 180.

<sup>122</sup> Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p.76.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.* p. 77.

On the other hand, non-observance of the rules of the Academy or the inability to carry out the duties was also reasons for punishment. In some military organizations, these types of faults led to the severe punishment. For instance, according to the regulations of the Prussian infantry, “ a soldier who had not correctly learnt to handle his rifle should be punished with the ‘greatest severity’”<sup>124</sup> Sometimes, a soldier’s non-observance of the regulations paved way for his execution. According to the regulations for the Habsburg soldiers, a soldier, who drank wine, while he was standing on guard, must be subjected to death, without any hesitation.<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, we do not see any mention of death sentence in the regulations of the Academy. If the students fail in the first year, they must not be promoted to the second class. If they insist in their stupidity (*ğabâvet*), foolishness (*hamâkat*), laziness (*tekâsül*) and languor (*rehâvet*), they must be ousted from the Academy, and sent to their families for the good of the Academy. The reason for this is that their laziness could also affect other students in the Academy.

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<sup>124</sup>Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, p. 179.

<sup>125</sup>*Viyana Sefaretnâmesi*, p. 34b.

### CHAPTER III

#### **Causes of the Decline of the Ottoman Empire**

The transformation of the Ottoman state in the late sixteenth century led to the revival of the old tradition of *nasihatnâmes*, mirrors-for-princes. The Ottoman thinkers began to realize the difference "between the former Golden Age and the age of decline in which they lived".<sup>126</sup> Thus, they began to think about the causes of decline in the Ottoman Empire. It would not be wrong to assume that Râtib Efendi was under the influence of the genre of mirror for princes in the Middle Eastern political thought and of the decline literature in the Ottoman political tradition. It is known that the Ottoman political thinkers, in general, were influenced by Gazâlî, Farâbî, Nasreddin Tûsî, Dawânî and Ibn Haldun.<sup>127</sup> Râtib Efendi's references to *Hümâyunnâme*, the Ottoman translation of *Kelile ve Dimne*, *Ahlâk-ı Nâsirî* and *Mukaddime* in his work, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, can be viewed as an evidence for the impact of the Middle Eastern political thought on Râtib Efendi's thought.

Râtib Efendi writes that the Ottoman Empire was powerful enough to cope with the armies of Iran, the Habsburg Empire, Russia, Venice and Poland without any need for allies in the time of Mehmed IV (1648-87). At that time, the Ottoman Army was superior to the European armies in terms

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<sup>126</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Periods in Ottoman History", in *Essays in Ottoman History*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998), p. 16.

<sup>127</sup> H. İnalçık, "Periods in Ottoman History", pp. 16-17. For Ibn Haldun's impact on the decline treatises in the sixteenth century, see Cornell Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and 'Ibn Khaldunism' in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Letters", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XVIII/ 3-4 (1983), 198-220.

of equipment.<sup>128</sup> But it failed in pursuing the innovations in war technology. Although he does not deal with the causes of decline in the Ottoman Empire in a separate heading, his views on the decline of the Ottoman Empire can be deduced from a close reading of his work, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*. In different parts of this work, Râtib Efendi mentions the reasons for the decreasing power of the Ottoman Empire. We will deal with these factors in separate headings. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that they were interrelated to each other.

### 1- Weak Sultans

As we have mentioned above, the Ottoman political thinkers such as Selânikî and Mustafa Âlî began to bother about the decadence in the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the symptoms of decadence became more evident in the seventeenth century. The Ottoman political writers at that time were preoccupied with searching for the causes of decadence in the Ottoman order. According to Mehmet Öz, following an old Turkish proverb "*Balık başdan kokar*", the authors of decline treatises believed that the corruption in Ottoman order began from the highest authority in the state. Then, all the segments of society experienced the corruption. Nevertheless, some authors avoided mentioning the name of the Sultan in that context. Instead, they criticized the weakness of the Grand Vizier in that respect.<sup>129</sup> For instance, the author of *Kitâb-ı Müstetâb*, whose name we do not know, uses the same proverb to explain the cause of

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<sup>128</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 4a.

<sup>129</sup> Mehmet Öz, *Osmanlı'da "Çözülme" ve Gelenekçi Yorumcuları*, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1997), pp. 104-105.

disorder in the Ottoman polity.<sup>130</sup> But he avoids making an explicit criticism to the Sultan. According to the author, the main reason for the disorder in the Ottoman Empire was that the Ottoman Sultan did not appoint a competent Grand Vizier.

Râtib Efendi also follows the tradition of the Ottoman political thought. Interestingly, his view of decline is closely related to the military power of the state. According to Râtib Efendi, the Ottoman sultans were the first rulers who gave an order to the army. They were also the first to hold control over the soldiers. The order of the Ottoman army was maintained until the death of Süleyman I (1520-1566) because the Ottoman sultans did not hesitate to promulgate new laws according to the needs of the time. Consequently, the Ottoman Empire became the leading power in three continents -Asia, Europe and Africa-due to the open-mindedness of the former sultans.<sup>131</sup>

Nevertheless, for Râtib Efendi, after the death of Süleyman I, the sultans began to be proud of the vast lands conquered by their fathers. They failed in adopting new laws according to the needs of their age and they did not strengthen the essence of *kânûn-ı kadîm* (the old sultanic law). He argues that it should have been revised in changing circumstances without losing its essence. Since the sultans after Süleyman I, have become fixed to *kânûn-ı kadîm*, they could not cope with the new problems of their age. Thus, the order of the state, particularly army, was not maintained after the death of Süleyman the Lawgiver. According to Râtib Efendi, although the

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<sup>130</sup> "Atalardan daha meşhur meseldir ki 'Balık başdan kokar' demişler". See *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar: Kitâb-i Müstetâb, Kitâbu Mesâlihi'l-Müslimîn ve Menâfi'i'l-Mü'minîn, Hırzû'l-Mülûk*, Yaşar Yücel, ed., (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), p. 29.

name of the Janissaries, and of the infantrymen and cavalymen were still alive, they were far away from their former order. Favoritism, nepotism, and patronage replaced law and order.

After stating his views on the Ottoman political and military situation, Râtib Efendi discusses the situation in Europe in order to highlight the fact that the kings of European states contributed a great deal in the rise of Europe at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. According to him, Europe's experience in terms of military strength is in the opposite direction to the Ottoman Empire. Formerly, their military strategies were old-fashioned and under the influence of the Ancient Greek and Roman empires. Nevertheless, a few centuries before, they developed a new war technology based on the use of cannon, gun, granade (*humbara*), and cannon ball. In that context, he implicitly criticizes the Ottoman Empire by asserting that it would be very difficult to cope with the challenge of cannons by guns. Again, it would not be easy to deal with the galleys with three granaries by boats. He argues that there is an incessant struggle among the European powers to gain the supremacy in the military technology. They follow what their enemies produced and try to make more progress than these rivals. The Ottoman empire should also follow what their enemies have done.

Râtib Efendi explains the importance of military status in Europe. It can be possibly argued that he does not dwell on this issue not only for the sake of knowledge, but for making an advice to the Ottoman Sultan. For him, the subjects follow the deeds of their rulers. If the Ottoman Sultans did

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<sup>131</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, pp. 5b-6a.

not neglect their military duties, the Ottoman people would also follow their Sultans.

For Râtîb Efendi, there are two main rank systems in the European states. The first is the military rank system. The second system belongs to the realm of "reason and sense" (*akl ve şu'ûr*).<sup>132</sup> He does not elaborate on the second rank system. But he explains in detail the importance of the military title in Europe. The military status is so crucial that the kings themselves entered the military rank. They aimed at encouraging their subjects to take part in the military organization, which was the basis of power at that time. They have in their possession one or two or three regiments according to the size of the country and to the number of soldiers. Moreover, their sons and relatives enter the military rank. He gives the example of the contemporary Habsburg king. He writes that the Habsburg king was the general of three regiments. The king's brothers also had regiments but they gave them to other generals who would act as a proxy for them. The king's relatives enjoyed only the title of the general of these regiments. They do not involve in the commanding of the regiments and do not get any salary from the regiments. The commanding of the regiments is carried out by their proxies, who got annually 4,000 florins in return for their service in the regiments.<sup>133</sup> For him, since the European kings prefer the military status, the princes, the counts, the nobility (*kişizâde*) and even ministers enter the military rank. Perhaps his explanation of the importance attached to the military status in Europe is a deliberate advice to the sultan. It could be possibly argued that his ideal sultan is the commander-king. His

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<sup>132</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 10b.

<sup>133</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 11a.



frequent references to Frederick II may be seen as the evidence of his longing for the former sultans, who were both commanders and kings. Kâtip Çelebi's solution to the Ottoman Empire's problems was also similar to Râtib Efendi's opinion. Kâtip Çelebi asserted that the first and foremost solution to the Ottoman Empire's problems was the rise of a warrior-king (*sâhib-i seyf*).<sup>134</sup>

For Râtib Efendi, some generals and officers leave their fatherland in order to serve in other countries of Europe. They aim at gaining prestige and fame by means of their service in the practice of military art in another country. He argues that the success of Russia since the Peter the Great lies in the policy of bringing the famous officers into the service of Russia.

In the genre of *mir'ât-ı mülûk* (the mirror for princes), the examples were generally drawn from the ancient kings such as Alexander the Great, and Ânûşirevan. Although Râtib Efendi's work entails crucial similarities with this genre, he does not hesitate to admire the policies of the famous European rulers such as Peter the Great, Frederick II, and Catherine II. He admires their policy of bringing the famous military officers and scientists from other parts of Europe. For him, Catherine II was more successful than Peter the Great in bringing the famous men of Europe to Russia. She sent them letters and precious gifts in order to get their support for Russia. For E. N. Williams, Voltaire and the other western intellectuals were "eating out of her [Catherine II's] hand and pocketing her presents"<sup>135</sup>. Râtib Efendi writes that she managed to get the admiration of Voltaire by means of this policy even if he formerly did not like her. For Râtib Efendi, Voltaire's History is

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<sup>134</sup> Kâtip Çelebi, *Düsturu'l-Amel li-islâhi'l-halel*, in *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, no. 122 (Rebiülevvel 1280), p. 136.

an evidence of this fact. Indeed, his argument is supported by the fact that the war between Catherine II and Mustafa III, for Voltaire, was “a war between reason and fanaticism, civilization and backwardness”<sup>136</sup>

Also, the Habsburg Empire employed foreign experts and officers in order to modernize its army. For instance, Montecuccoli was Italian. He writes that France was neighbor of England and that the Habsburg Empire was neighbor of France and of Prussia. There were some hostilities among these neighbors. Nevertheless, the Habsburg Empire did not hesitate to employ the French and the Prussian officers. Râtib Efendi asked the Austrian experts about the possibility of disloyalty of these foreign experts. He is curious about whether the zeal of fatherland, religion and sect led to disloyalty. They replied that Europe suffered much from the religious and sectarian conflict in the time of the Ancient Greek and the Roman empires. According to them, religion or sect was an affair between God and His slave and everyone had the right to pray as he wishes. But it was forbidden to make pressure on others in order to convert them to any creed. This reply is, in a way, a definition of secularism.

The Habsburg experts' reply describes the degree of freedom for religious organization in Europe. They say that even if a Muslim group wanted to build a mosque in Europe, particularly in the Habsburg Empire, France, England, Prussia, the Netherlands, they would be given permission. Nevertheless, this was not possible in the former times. For instance, in the reign of Maria Theresa, only Catholics got the permission for the building of new churches. But after her death, her son Joseph II encouraged the growth

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<sup>135</sup> *The Ancien Régime in Europe*, p. 254.

<sup>136</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal, 1964), p. 64.

of trade in his realm because he was aware of the fact that trade is the essence (*rûh*) of the kingdom (*memleket*). He facilitated the immigration of the foreign people to his empire either for residence or for trade because the increasing commercial activity would contribute to the prosperity of the country. If they enjoyed freedom of religious organization, they would also contribute to the building of the country. Although it seems that they a little bit exaggerate the importance of religious freedom for the prosperity of the country, we should bear in mind that religion still occupied a crucial place in the lives of people in the late eighteenth century. But it would be wrong to attribute the toleration of Joseph II only to the economic reasons. His policy of toleration entailed a political maneuver. He aimed at preventing the possibility of intervention by an outside power in the domestic affairs of the Habsburg empire.<sup>137</sup> It is fascinating that the Calvinists, the Lutherans, the Orthodoxes enjoyed freedom to build churches or the high buildings. Although the Orthodox religion is contrary to the worship of the Catholicism, the Orthodox tradesmen built their church in Vienna, with the permission of the state. They also said that the rich merchants came from the Ottoman islands such as Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, and Kos. Ant they settled in Vienna. The reason for their immigration to Vienna was that the Ottomans did not give permission to repair the ruined and burned churches. This policy left them in a miserable condition (*perîşan*) and they were driven into the foreign countries due to the intolerance. Râtib Efendi did not object to these criticisms and remained silent. Nevertheless, he wrote that he could successfully object to these criticisms. But he did not want to stop the conversation because , he says, his objection would prevent him from

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<sup>137</sup> T. C. W. Blanning, *Joseph II*, (London & New York: Longman, 1994), p. 73.

gaining more knowledge, which was his primary concern<sup>138</sup>. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to write that every individual's respect and dignity is based on his care in religion and honor. Thus, in European states there was not any interference in the beliefs of the foreign officers and generals. Although he does not explicitly write that the Ottoman Sultan should pursue a policy of toleration to the foreign merchants, it can be deduced from his style of explanation in this part of *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*.

In the light of his conversations with the Habsburg notables, Râtib Efendi deals with the power and fame enjoyed by the nobility in Europe. He writes that the officers and generals in Europe were aware of the fact that they would gain more fame and prestige in the foreign countries than in their home countries if they would manifest their knowledge, skill and loyalty to the foreign state. They also knew that if they showed disloyalty to the state, to which they served, they would be harshly punished or executed. Even if they escaped from this state, their names would appear in newspapers all around Europe, which meant that they would lose the possibility of serving any other country in Europe according to the international law of Europe. Thus, the occurrence of disloyalty among the foreign officers was rare. Though it was rare, disloyalties were generally observed among the lower-degree officers. But there was no possibility of disloyalty among the higher degree officers due to the fact that they came from noble families. He writes that the noblemen (*asilzâdeleler*) were highly respected in European states. They served well in the offices, to which they were appointed, and they paid attention to the protection of their individual honor. That is why European governments employed them in both the

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<sup>138</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 12b.

military offices and civil offices. On the other hand, they avoided the employment of the lower classes (*esâfil*) in the government posts due to the vulnerability of them for disloyalty and dirty things, in their nature.<sup>139</sup>

## **2- The estrangement of Re'âyâ from the state:**

It seems that Râtib Efendi follows the tradition of "the circle of justice" in the *nasihat-nâme* literature while he was dealing with the issue of decline in the Ottoman Empire. In this literature, it is frequently emphasized that the power of the Sultan depends on the richness of the treasury, which also depends on the Sultan's adherence to justice in his realm.<sup>140</sup> If the Sultan fails to enforce justice in his realm, the well-being of the subjects would be endangered by the oppression of the state officials..

In the Middle Eastern state tradition, there was a preoccupation with increasing the revenues of the state "without impairing prosperity of the subjects"<sup>141</sup>. Following the Near-Eastern conception of state, Râtib Efendi highlights the fact that the well-being of *re'âyâ*, tax-paying subjects in the Ottoman Empire, is essential for the maintenance of the state. He writes that philosophers and those who have the knowledge of truth compared state with the human being.<sup>142</sup> Following the way pursued by philosophers, he resembles *re'âyâ* with the human body. The analogy between the *re'âyâ* and the human body was not unique to Râtib Efendi, but he was a part of the tradition of Ottoman political thought. For instance, according to *Kâtib Çelebi*, *re'âyâ*'s function in the state is similar to the function of black bile in

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<sup>139</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 13b

<sup>140</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Adâletnâmeler", *Belgeler*, II /3-4 (1965), p. 49.

<sup>141</sup> Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman Economic Mind and The Aspects of the Ottoman Economy", *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, M. A. Cook, ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 218.

the human organism. Like black bile's function in the face of an empty stomach, the *re'âya* are in a situation to deal with the empty treasury.<sup>143</sup> The unbearable taxes would lead to disorder among the *re'âya*. Like Kâtib Çelebi, Râtib Efendi writes that justice (*'adl*) resembles health of the body, injustice (*zulm ü bîdâd*) resembles the illness of the body. Thus, *re'âyâ* must be justly ruled for the healthy life of the state.

In the Ottoman political literature, Râtib Efendi was not new in pointing out the importance of *re'âya* for the survival of the state. We can see the similar concerns in the decline treatises. We see that Mustafa Âli pointed out the similar ideas in the latter half of the sixteenth century, In his work entitled *Nüshatü's-selâtin, the Counsel for Sultans*, Mustafa Âli states that one of the primary concerns of the rulers is "the well-being of the subjects".<sup>144</sup> For him, the first thing the rulers should mind is "to gain the love of their subjects".<sup>145</sup> Also, in the renown example of the decline treatises, *Koçi Bey Risâlesi*, it is argued that the *re'âyâ* is the source of tax for the state and that the subjects could not maintain their financial support for the state if they were exposed to injustice and arbitrary rule.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, Râtib Efendi's treatment of the problem differs from his predecessors, except İbrahim Müteferrika, in that he brought a new dimension to the issue: European dimension. He does not only take a theoretical stance towards the problem. He explains a model to be carried out. He writes that the European states struggled for the proliferation of

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<sup>142</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 199b.

<sup>143</sup> Kâtib Çelebi, *Düsturu'l-Amel li-islâhi'l-halel*, p. 126.

<sup>144</sup> *Mustafa Âli, Mustafa Âli's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, vol. 1., ed. and trans. Andreas Tietze, (Vienna, 1979),p. 19.

<sup>145</sup> *ibid.* p. 41.

<sup>146</sup> Koçi Bey, *Koçi Bey Risâlesi*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt, (Ankara: Ecdâd Yayınları, 1994), p. 65.

subjects in their realm. He also adds that they frequently made surveys to keep record of tax-paying people. For instance, these surveys were made once in two years in the Habsburg Empire.<sup>147</sup> Here is an implicit criticism to the inefficiency of the Ottoman taxation policy. He does not suffice himself to criticize the bad situation of the Ottoman *re'âya*. He also admires the well-being of the European people.

Râtib Efendi admires the material well-being of the people in the European countries, particularly in the Habsburg Empire. Râtib Efendi also expresses the city life in the Habsburg Empire as an example of the well-being of people in Europe. Interestingly, Râtib Efendi writes that the men of art and of knowledge, who were living in the city, were called as bourgeoisie (*burğazu*)<sup>148</sup>. In that context, he explains the basic idea of citizenship based on rights and duties. He writes that state did not interfere in the individual realm as long as the people carried out their duties.<sup>149</sup> They enjoyed the freedom to eat, and to drink, and to wear, and to express their ideas as they wish. He gives an example of a moneylender in Vienna. The summer resort of this man, for Râtib Efendi, was dearer than the Chancellor's summer resort. For him, the ruled have the right to be richer than the rulers in Europe.

From his writings, it appears that Râtib Efendi is keen on understanding the nature of European civilization. It is interesting that Râtib

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<sup>147</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 200b.

<sup>148</sup> "Kasaba didikleri içinde ehl-i sanat ve marifet cemiyet iden mahallerdir ve anlara burğazu dirler."

<sup>149</sup> "Avrupa devletlerinde kıralları tarafından verilen nizâm ve kavâ'id ve kavânin ve rûsûma a'lâ ve ednâ bir ferd lâyıku üzere ri'âyet ve virgülerini vakt ü zamânıyla edâya mübâderet etdikce kıral ve ceneral ve ofiçiyal ve zâbitân tarafından bir kimesne âna teaddî ve tasallut ve tekbîr idemez ve gözün ortasında kaşın var, diyemez. Kangı kumaşı isterse iktisâ ider ve ne isterse söyler, yir ve içer ve gider ve gezer ve biner ve iner. Bir ferd âna müdahaleye haddi yokdur." ( *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, pp. 200a-b)

Efendi's attention is toward agricultural conditions. For him, prosperity must have its basis in the countryside. He admires the richness of agricultural products of the Habsburg Empire, which he observed on his road to Vienna. He was also fascinated by the rise of trade and art in European cities. He argues that there is a close link between art and trade. The welfare of the people is also closely related to these two factors.

According to Râtib Efendi, there is no begging in Europe. He writes that the beggars do not get anything even if they beg for forty days. There is no compassion in Europe. Nevertheless, very weak and disabled and very old persons were registered in "the records of the poor" (*fukarâ defteri*).<sup>150</sup> These records were kept in the cities, towns and even in the villages. In the cities, the officers (*zâbitân*) or retainues (*hademe*) of these offices (*fukarâ kalemi*), collected alms with the help of priests from the rich for the poor, which were registered in the records, once in two or three months. On the other hand, in the towns and villages, the commissioner (*komiser*) of these offices, with the help of priests, collected alms for the poor registered in the records. The officials who collected these alms also kept records of the names of those who gave alms. The amount of the alms were also registered, with the signature of the persons who gave the alms. According to Râtib Efendi, the alms were inadequate for the poor. For him, the

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<sup>150</sup> "Zîrâ kırk gün Allah için diyü bir sâil feryâd itse bir akçe ve bir lokma kimesne virmez. Açlığundan helâk olsa kimesnenin umûru degildir. Kat'â terahhum yokdur. Bu cihetden Avrupa'da sâil olamaz. Eger pek 'alil ve 'âciz ve pîr ve sakat ve 'amel-mânde olub hiç bir işe ve güce kâdir degil ise ânı fukarâ defterine kayd ider." (Vişana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 202a); "Fukarânın helâk olmayacak vechle medâr-ı te'ayyüşünü bu tarikle tanzim iderler...Ve eli ayağı tutar bir ğarib ve ac bir sâ'at feryâd eylese bir lokma nân ve bir fakîr ve muhtâc kırk sâ'at arz-ı ihtiyâc ve istimdâd itse bir akçe ihsân itmeleri 'adîmü'l-imbkândır. Hakk Te'âlâ Devlet-i Aliyye'ye zevâl virmesün. Anların karallarının in'âmını ednâ bir bendesi dâimâ itmekdedir. Bu hâlet her ne kadar fart-ı buhl ve zînnat ve kemâl-i denâet ve hissetletlerinden neş'et itdigi âşikâr ise dahî bu bâbda murâdları ma'nâ-yı mezbûra mebnî



Ottoman Empire was more generous for the poor than the Habsburg Empire. He prays that the Ottoman Empire last forever. He even asserts that the grant of their kings is always given by the servants of the Sultan. Nevertheless, he admits the fact that this policy aims at the enforcement of the people to work or to engage in trade in order to earn their livings. Although Râtib Efendi admires the material well-being of the Western civilization, he criticizes its moral aspects. This criticism led him to the conclusion that the Ottoman state should survive in order to maintain human values such as generosity and devotion.

### 3- Unemployment

Râtib Efendi explicitly criticizes the inefficiency in the Ottoman lands.<sup>151</sup> He is curious about why the productive Ottoman lands remain uncultivated. He also stresses the fact that the Ottoman Empire has very rich mineral resources and that it does not benefit from this richness. Also, he argues that the Ottoman Empire is unique in terms of the richness of the agricultural and mineral resources. Nevertheless, for him, it did not effectively process these resources.

Râtib Efendi observed that there were some uncultivated lands between the Constantinople and Adrianople. On the other hand, He writes that he has never seen uncultivated land in the Habsburg lands. He explains in detail how the Habsburg Empire makes use of its limited agricultural and mineral resources compared to the Ottoman Empire. In fact, he draws the attention of the Sultan to the very problem of the State. For him, the price

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*olmayub ancak ahâli ve sükkân-ı memleketi kesb ü kâr ve ticârete ülfet ve icbâra mübtenî bir maslahat olduğı bedîdârdır.” (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, pp. 214a-b).*

for the indifference to the effective usage of the resources is to be paid by the large number of the unemployed and vagrant people. According to him, unemployment is an essential cause of disorder in the countryside. Moreover, apart from the problem of unemployment, the Ottoman Empire also suffered from spending large sums of money to import agricultural products and mines from outside.

Râtib Efendi was aware of the fact that if the Ottoman Empire would make use of its mineral resources, this would pave way for the new opportunities for employment, and more importantly for new revenues for the treasury. Thus, the Habsburg Empire serves an example for his purpose of arousing the Sultan's attention towards the problem. Râtib Efendi writes that the Habsburg Empire developed its mining industry and exported some mines to other countries, including the Ottoman Empire. This industry is a crucial source of income for the Habsburg Empire. For instance, the income coming from the gold and silver in Transylvania and Hungarian parts of the Habsburg Empire is approximately from six to ten million florins.

Râtib Efendi criticizes the moral side of Europe and admires this aspect of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, he did not hesitate to admire the material well-being of Europe and to criticize the impoverishment of the Ottoman subjects. In fact, he has an implicit belief that the Ottoman Empire has the potential to catch up with Europe but it does not use it effectively.

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<sup>151</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 230b.

#### 4- Indifference of the Ottomans to Trade

The issue of capitulations<sup>152</sup> bothered the Ottoman government in the eighteenth century because they led to the unfavorable conditions for the Muslim merchants in the Ottoman Empire. Râtib Efendi was also concerned with this issue. He points out that there is a rich literature on trade in Europe and that they, in a sense, developed a politics of trade, based on its tricks and precautions.<sup>153</sup> He also explains from whom he got his knowledge about trade in Europe. He writes that he conversed with those who were knowledgeable not only about trade, but also about geography, particularly the lands of Europe and Asia. Interestingly, he highlights the importance of geography for the art of trade.<sup>154</sup>

Râtib Efendi begins his discussion of trade by stating that every sultan (*Pâdişâh*)<sup>155</sup> should give the privilege of engaging in trade in his realm to its subjects. And, foreign merchants should be discouraged from engaging in trade in his realm. In fact, this was the policy pursued by the Sultans in the Classical Age, who “actively protected its own subjects in international trade”.<sup>156</sup> He also adds that the knowledgeable men explained

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<sup>152</sup> See Halil İnalçık, “İmtiyâzât”, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, the second edition, III (1971), pp. 1179-1189.

<sup>153</sup> In fact, Râtib Efendi does not use the word politics (or *politika*) here. Nevertheless, he uses the word *desâyis* (the plural form of *desîse*), which means tricks or intrigues. In a letter, which he wrote from Vienna, he defines politics as the tricks of the Europeans: “Avrupa'nın desâyisinden ibâret olan politika didikleri...” see *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi*, E. 6700/4.

<sup>154</sup> “Bu şu 'be [ticârete dâir] Avrupa devletlerinde kütüb-i müellefât bisyâr ve hıyel ve desâyis ve tedâbîr ve tasarrufât bî-hadd ü şumâr olmağla müddet-i ikâmetimizde bu fende tefennüni âşikâr ve ilm-i coğrafya ve arâzi-i Avrupa ve Asya'ya tekayyüni derkâr ve ticâretlerine vüfûkı bedidâr olanlar ile ülfet ve bu bâbda çok sohbet olunmağla...” (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 239a).

<sup>155</sup> Interestingly, he uses the word “Pâdişâh” rather than “Kıral” here. He perhaps tried to turn the Sultan's attention towards the problem.

<sup>156</sup> Halil İnalçık, “International Trade: General Conditions”, in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, p. 214.

the way to accomplish this task. For them, each state should decrease the customs duty for its subjects and it should increase it for the foreign merchants. But for them, the Ottoman case was in the opposite direction. Due to its magnanimity and contentment, The Ottoman Empire deemed little the value of trade and did not bother much about the issue of trade, in spite of the richness of its resources. The Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were paying five per cent customs duty. And the non-Muslim merchants in the Ottoman Empire paid ten per cent customs duty. On the other hand, foreign merchants (*müste'men*), who were given "the necessary guarantees for residence, travel and trade in the Ottoman territories under the Islamic principle of amnesty (*aman*)"<sup>157</sup>, paid three per cent customs. For them, this amount sometimes equals to two or one per cent because the amount stipulated in the former tariff regulations was lower than the real value of the commodities at that time.<sup>158</sup> The inequality in the customs duties culminated in the enrichment of the foreign merchants and the pauperization of the Ottoman merchants. For Râtib Efendi, this was one of the main reasons for the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Ottoman Empire should protect its merchants *vis-à-vis* the foreign merchants.

### **5- The consumption of foreign products and luxury**

Related to the topic of trade, Râtib Efendi also deals with the consumption of foreign products, and luxury in the Ottoman Empire, which

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<sup>157</sup> *ibid.* p. 188.

<sup>158</sup> "Devlet-i Aliyye'nin fart-ı istiğnâ ve 'ulüvv-i cenâbından egerçi emr-i ticâreti istisğâr ve istihkâr idüb ol tarafa sarf-ı ezhân ve eskâr itmediklerinden memâliklerinde vücûhla vüs'at derkâr ve her şeyde vefret ve bereket âşikâr iken re'âyâsı olan tüccâr eger müsliman ise yüzde beş ve eger ehl-i zimmet ve harac-güzâr ise yüzde on resm-i gümrük alub müste'menden sûret-i zâhirede egerçi yüzde üç resm-i gümrük alurlar. Lâkin anların eski

was also the primary concern of the authors of the decline treatises. On the other hand, he was also influenced by the protectionist policies of the European countries. We should bear in mind that he explains his conversations with the knowledgeable men about trade. Nevertheless, he did not object to their views on trade. Thus, it can safely be argued that he also shared the similar views about the Ottoman practices. We should take into account the fact that the audience of Râtib Efendi was primarily the Sultan. Thus, he had to use a cautious language.

Probably, Râtib Efendi was aware of the Mercantilism in Central Europe. He states that European countries generally consumed what they produced. They were unwilling to import foreign products. They avoided paying large amounts of money to foreign countries by means of importing foreign goods. Instead, they followed the policy of protecting their domestic industry. Thus, there emerged new factories, and in turn, new possibilities for employment and for further development of the country. That means the increase in state revenues due to the new sources of revenues to be taxed. In fact, he searches for the possible solutions for the essential problems of the Ottoman Empire: ignorance, unrest and unemployment. There is an implicit belief that the enhancement of the economic condition of the country is essential for the maintenance of the political stability.

Having stated the relationship between the employment facilities and stability in a country, Râtib Efendi writes that the unemployed and poor people were seeking refuge in other countries due to their bad economic condition. This tendency was a detrimental issue for the survival of the

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*ta'rifelerinde tahmin etdikleri bahâ ekall-ı kalil olmağla resm-i gümrükleri vakt olur ki, yûzde bir hesâbına gelür.” (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 227b).*

state. His writings on this subject may be seen as the harbinger of the independence movements in the nineteenth century, in the Ottoman Empire. The French Revolution sparked off the growing unrest among the minorities in the Ottoman Empire.

Râtib Efendi writes that the knowledgeable men about the art of trade criticized the trade policy of the Ottoman Empire. They were against the import of goods, which could be domestically produced, to the Ottoman lands. The Ottoman Empire was importing broadcloth (*çuka*) from Europe; and various clothes from India. They argued for the substitution of these commodities by the Ottoman ones. Although they particularly elaborated on the issue of the consumption of the foreign clothes in the Ottoman lands, they also pointed out that the Ottomans should produce themselves their need of food, clothes and other materials of living. The Ottomans should not be in need of the foreigners.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the import of cotton clothes from India led to a heavy burden on the Ottoman economy. Before Râtib Efendi, the similar ideas on the import of Indian clothes have already been stated by Nâimâ (d. 1716). Nâimâ was also preoccupied with the large sums of money paid for the Indian products. It is interesting that Nâimâ was arguing for a protectionist policy. For him, the Ottomans should use the domestic products in order to save the large amount of money within the borders.<sup>160</sup>

Formerly, we have pointed out the problem of unemployment as an essential cause of disorder in the countryside. In that context, Râtib Efendi

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<sup>159</sup> “*Hârice muhtâc olmamak sûretlerini iktisâba bizzat mülk-ı izâm hazerâtı kendüleri dikkat buyurmaları lâzımdır*” (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 227b).

<sup>160</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı Pamuklu Pazarı, Hindistan ve İngiltere: Pazar Rekabetinde Emek Maliyetinin Rolü”, *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, özel sayı (1979-80), p. 11.

again deals with the issue of unemployment. He wrote that if the Ottoman Sultan would build factories to produce what the Ottoman Empire needed, this would pave way for the new opportunities of employment. Thus, this policy would contribute to the well-being of the Ottoman *re'âyâ*. This would in turn increase the revenues of the state due to the new sources of taxes.<sup>161</sup>

In the light of his conversation with the knowledgeable men in Vienna, Râtib Efendi also deals particularly with the solution for the problem of consumption of the foreign clothes in the Ottoman Empire. The knowledgeable men also criticized the widespread luxury among the higher officials of the Empire. For them, the solution for this problem is an easy one. Firstly, the Sultan should take the lead in dealing with this issue. The Sultan should not wear the foreign clothes and should serve as an example to his subordinates. We see that Selim III behaved in conformity with this advice. He outlawed the wearing of the luxury clothes among the statesmen. He also encouraged to wear domestic clothes. In a *hatt-ı hümâyûn*, he wrote that he was wearing the clothes of İstanbul. He suggested his viziers that they gave up wearing the Indian clothes and that they should wear the domestic clothes.<sup>162</sup>

Then, he says, the Grand Vizier, the viziers and other statesmen should not wear the Indian clothes. Instead, they should wear the clothes of

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<sup>161</sup> “Bundan menâfi’ ve fevâid budur ki, emvâl-i devlet ecnebî memleketlere münteşir olmayub zimmet-i ra’iyyette ve derûn-ı vilâyetde kalmağla günden güne kâr ve kârhâneler mezdâd ve mevfûr ve ra’iyyet ve memleket ânen fe-ânen âbâdan ve ma’mûr olub kâr ü kisbin kesreti ve herkesin bir ‘amel-i san’ata iştiğâl ve müvâzabeti hasebiyle mesâvî ve erâcîfin inkitâ’ına ve nice habâis ve kabâyihın indifâ’ına bâdî ve re’âyânın refâh-ı hâl ve âsâyiş-i bâllerine müeddî olur” (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 227b).

<sup>162</sup> E. Z. Karal, *Selim III’ün Hatt-ı Hümâyunları*, Nizam-ı Cedit, 1789-1807, p. 136.

Aleppo, Damascus, Bursa and İstanbul. Also, the use of Indian clothes should be outlawed in Istanbul. Moreover, the imperial decrees abolishing the use of the Indian clothes should be sent to the countryside. For them, the re'âyâ would not wear the foreign clothes if the statesmen avoid wearing them. Râtib Efendi believes that the corruption in the Ottoman system begins with the corruption among the rulers. He is concerned with the indifference to the large sums of money spent on the import of foreign clothes in spite of the fact that cotton, and silk were available in the Ottoman Empire. Muslin, albeit in less quality than the Indian one, was also woven in the Ottoman lands. Perhaps, in the future, the Ottoman muslin would be in closer quality to the Indian one with the further establishment of the factories in the Ottoman Empire. He also makes similar advice for the substitution of the Russian fur and the European broadcloth.

Râtib Efendi stresses the fact that the export of the goods, which were domestically produced, was an essential source of revenue for the European states. The products produced in the Habsburg factories provide for the state an annual revenue of six million florins, which was equal to twelve thousand purses. On the other hand, the French merchants earned approximately an annual income of sixty thousand purses.<sup>163</sup>

After presenting the examples on a country basis on the importance of the consumption of domestic products, he dwells on the examples on a personal basis. The personality which serves a nice example for his views on this issue was Frederick the Great, who represented a new type of ideal ruler, not only for Râtib Efendi, but also for other Ottoman ambassadors. In his embassy report about Berlin (1763), Ahmed Resmî praised Frederick the



Great, who was “a man of perseverance and bravery” for him.<sup>164</sup>

Like Ahmed Resmî Efendi, Râtib Efendi also admired the perseverance of Frederick the Great. According to Râtib Efendi, Frederick the Great was concerned about the import of broadcloth from outside. Frederick was preoccupied with the large sums of money paid to the foreign powers. For him, this would harm the prosperity of Prussians. In fact, Râtib Efendi was right in saying that Frederick's basic aim was to enhance the prosperity of Prussia. Frederick said that “If Turks and heathens came and wanted to populate the country, we would build them mosques and churches.”<sup>165</sup> Râtib Efendi explains the policies pursued by Frederick in order to prevent the import of broadcloth. Frederick brought experts from other countries and established broadcloth factories with the help of these experts. Finally, Prussia became a broadcloth-exporting country thanks to the perseverance of its ruler. In spite of the fact that Prussia's climate was not much suitable for this task due to the cold weather, Prussians managed to develop its own silk industry due to the firm determination of its king.<sup>166</sup> Râtib Efendi believed that the Sultan should have perseverance to carry out the necessary reforms. According to Kınalızade, whose book was with Râtib Efendi in Vienna, one of the necessary qualities for the Sultan is to have determination, which is peculiar to the sultans (*azmü'l-mülûk*) in order to cope with the difficult tasks.<sup>167</sup> It is interesting that Râtib Efendi's contemporary, Ahmed Azmî Efendi, admired Prussia in a similar way.

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<sup>163</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 229a.

<sup>164</sup> Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*. (Leiden & New York & Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), p. 59.

<sup>165</sup> *The Ancien Régime*, p. 385.

<sup>166</sup> “Prusya bilâd-ı bârîdeden olub ipek ve harîr yetiştirmek muhâlât-ı âdiyeden gibi görünürken tekellûfât-ı kesîre ve himmet-i vefîre ile Kıral-ı mezbûr memâlikinde ipek ve harîr yetiştirmiştir.” (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 228a)

According to Azmî Efendi, the Ottoman ambassador sent to Prussia in 1791, since Prussian wanted to keep their money within the country, they tried to develop their own industry, as much as possible, without needing the import of foreign products.<sup>168</sup>

## 6- Neglect of the Study of History

In *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtib Efendi emphasizes the importance of history in terms of drawing lessons from the past. His pragmatic view of history is similar to Ibrahim Müteferrika's understanding of history. According to Müteferrika, history is very valuable science (*ilm-i celilü'l-kadr*) and it serves the function of drawing lessons from the past. Thus, for Müteferrika, the study of history is a crucial necessity for the statesmen.<sup>169</sup> Following Müteferrika, Râtib Efendi admired those statesmen and commanders, who examined history in order to realize their aims. Probably, Râtib Efendi was aware of the fact that the former Sultans in the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire studied history in detail. For instance, Mehmed II (1451-1481), who was one of the great sultans of the Ottoman sultans according to Râtib Efendi, was especially interested in history. He was inspired by the life stories of Alexander the Great and the Caesars, which made him a master of strategy.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Kınalızâde Ali Çelebi, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ'î*, (Bulak, 1248), p. 122 (second book).

<sup>168</sup> "Prusya memleketi bilâd-ı bârîdede-i şimâliyeden olub...akçeleri derûn-ı memlekette kalmak için...memleketlerinde bulunmayan şeyleri tekellûf ile nev-be-nev tedârîke sa'y ve ikdâm idüb" cited in

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh-i Cevdet*, vol. 5, p. 362.

<sup>169</sup> "İbret-nümâ-yı 'âlem ve basîret-fezâ-yı benî-Âdem olan ilm-i tevârih hadd-i zâtında bir 'ilm-i refî'u'l-kadr ve celilü'l-i'tibâr ve müdebbirân-ı devlete 'ilm ü ma'rifeti vâcib ve lâzım bir rehber-i hakikat-perver olduğı beyândan müstağnidir" see Adil Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmî'l-Ümem*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), p. 43.

<sup>170</sup> B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, pp. 26-27.

Although he does not elaborate on history in a separate heading, he mentions frequently the importance of history in different contexts. In *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, in the chapter on the military academies in the Habsburg Empire, history has been frequently mentioned as an indispensable part of the curriculum of the military academies. More importantly, according to Râtib Efendi, the outstanding monarchs of Europe were usually those who attached importance to the study of history. For instance, one of the reasons for the success of Peter the Great is that he attached importance to the study of history.<sup>171</sup>

Râtib Efendi also deals with the rise of some commanders in Europe in *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*. According to him, one of the reasons for their success in the military field derives from the fact that they examined closely the strategies and tactics pursued by the former commanders. He mentions Montecuccoli (1609-1680) in that context and sees him as a turning point in terms of the rise of the Western supremacy in the field of warfare. He emphasizes the fact that Montecuccoli was knowledgeable in history and that he mastered the history of states, especially the Ancient Rome and the Ancient Greece. Eventually, he has become aware of their strengths and weaknesses in the military field. He writes that Montecuccoli became field marshal, the highest rank in the Habsburg Army, when Mehmed IV (1648-1687) was on the throne in the Ottoman Empire. He gave a new order to the Habsburg Army based on the principles of geometry . Eventually, he has

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<sup>171</sup> “*Deli Petro nâm pür-şûr (şevr) (?)-i unşuvân-ı civânide tevârîh-i sâlifê mütâla’asına ibtidâr...*” (*Viyana Sefârenâmesi*, p. 189b).

become famous in Europe and his books has been widely read by those interested in the art of warfare.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, pp. 5a-b.

## CHAPTER IV

### EUROPEAN POLITICS

#### 1- The Rise of Politics in Europe

In *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtib Efendi dwells on the increasing curiosity about politics in Europe. He writes that there are many treatises, books and articles on politics, in Europe. And also, there are ongoing studies to publish the new ones. For him, European states were conduct the art of governing in line with the principles of politics. In the light of Râtib Efendi's writings on politics, we can argue that he talks about power politics rather than ideal politics, in Europe. As usual, his primary concern here is the Habsburg Empire. As we will explain later, he elaborates on the statesmen of the Habsburg Empire. He also deals with the effects of French revolution on the Habsburg Empire.

Interestingly, Râtib Efendi calls politics as an art (*fenn*), not as a science (*ilm*). His definition of politics<sup>173</sup> was under the influence of the Middle Eastern and European political traditions. The word *tedbîr* occupies a central place in his definition of politics because he uses this word in line with politics.<sup>174</sup> The word *tedbîr* comes from the verb *debbera*, which means "to make arrangements or preparations for, plan, manage well, design and engineer".<sup>175</sup> The word *tedbîr* also means "planning, organization and

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<sup>173</sup> "Politika fenninin umûmî ta'rîfi her bir ferd taleb ittigi menfaate neyl ve vuslat ve me'mûl etdigi izz ü rif'at ve mertebete tahsil-i istihkâk ve ehliyet zımında kâffe-i tavr ve hareket ve her hâlet ve keyfiyetde 'adl ve insâf ve hakkâniyete muvâfik olan sûreti temyiz ve tercih ve iltizâm ve tedbîr ve tasavvur ve ihtimâm eylemekten ibaretdir. (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 215a).

<sup>174</sup> "ne gûne politika ve tedbîre mübâşeret itdikleri" (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 229b)

<sup>175</sup> Rohi Baalbaki, *Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary*, (Beirut: Dar el-İlm Lilmalayin, 1995), p. 536.

regulation, economy and economization”<sup>176</sup>. In the Ottoman political thought, the word *tedbîr* was also used in different contexts. For instance, according to Ahmed Bin Hüsâmeddin Amâsî, the term *tedbîr* can be examined in two parts. Firstly, he deals with the *tedbîr-i menzil*, which means “housekeeping, [and] household management”.<sup>177</sup> Secondly, he mentions *siyâset-i müdüin* (the politics of cities) as a part of *tedbîr*.<sup>178</sup> Also, the third book of *Ahlâk-ı Alâi* of Kınalızâde is devoted to politics, the title of which is *ilm-i tedbîr-i medîne*.<sup>179</sup> It can be safely argued that Kınalızâde, whose book was given as a gift to the library of the Oriental Academy by Râtib Efendi, was one of the Ottoman thinkers, who influenced Râtib Efendi’s thought. As we have mentioned above, the word *tedbîr* (*kâtib-i tedbîr*) also occupied a crucial place in the Ottoman bureaucracy.

Râtib Efendi admits the fact that every individual has his own interests and pursuits. Thus, politics is indispensable for the pursuit of the individual interests. For him, politics is a fierce struggle for the attainment of fame, prestige and rank. The individual uses every possible means (*kâffe-i tavr ve hareket*) to realize his end. This part of the definition is reminiscent of the Machiavellian understanding of politics, which postulates that end justifies means. In the Machiavellian tradition, power occupies a central place to attain one’s goal. Weber’s definition of politics follows also the similar approach. For Weber, politics means “striving to share power or

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<sup>176</sup> Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, (Beirut: Librairie du Liban; London: Macdonald & Evans Ltd., 1980), p. 270.

<sup>177</sup> *ibid.* p. 270.

<sup>178</sup> “*Tedbîr iki sınıftır; evvel tedbîr-i menzildür ve ikinci siyâset-i müdüdür*”, see Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, *Political Thought in the Beginning of the Ottoman Empire as Expressed in Ahmed bin Hüsâmeddin Amâsi’s Kitâb-ı Mir’at-ı Mülûk (1406)*, (unpublished master thesis), (Bilkent University, The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences, Department of History, August 1998), p. 116.

<sup>179</sup> Kınalızâde, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ’i*, Book III, p. 2 .

striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state”<sup>180</sup>. Râtib Efendi also adds individual dimension to politics. He writes that there is politics also for the individuals and that politics serves as the means to seek the individual goals. Nevertheless, Râtib Efendi limits the individual’s action to promote his interests by saying that the individual should choose the way conforming to justice and equity. In fact, in that part of his definition of politics, he is under the influence of the Islamic political tradition in which there is a close link between power and justice. In the Islamic political theory, power should serve justice. For instance, Farabi argues that politics (*siyâset*) teaches the way to attain true happiness and this is possible only by a rulership (*riyâset*) which pursues a virtuous order in the world.<sup>181</sup>

Related to the topic of politics, Râtib Efendi explains his visit to the Oriental Academy (*Academiya Asya*)<sup>182</sup>, which was founded by Maria Theresia in 1753 for the study of Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages in Vienna. He writes that they talked about politics in this academy. At that time, students were reading the book called *Hümâyunnâme*. The instructors in the Academy asked Râtib Efendi about why there was no study of politics in the Ottoman Empire. Then, he replied this question by asking that ‘was not this book (*Hümâyunnâme*)<sup>183</sup> about politics’? Then, he writes, they were ashamed of this question. He gave them some books , including

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<sup>180</sup> Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation”, in *From Max Weber*, ed. H. H. Gerth, c. Wright Mills, Routledge and Kegan Paul, paperback edition, 1970, pp. 77-78.

<sup>181</sup> Alfarabi, *the Enumeration of the Sciences*, p. 24.

<sup>182</sup> One of the students who studied in this Academy was Joseph von Hammer (1774-1856). Râtib Efendi met Hammer in this academy and praised his qualities, see Hüner Tuncer, “Osmanlı Elçisi Ebubekir Ratip Efendi’nin Viyana mektupları (1792)”, p. 73.

<sup>183</sup> *Hümâyunnâme* is known as the Turkish translation of *Kelile ve Dimne* by Ali Çelebi. see Ferit Develioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*, (Ankara: Aydın Kitabevi Yayınları, 1996), p. 390.

*Mukaddime*, *Ahlâk-ı Alâi*, *Ahlâk-ı Nâsiri* of Nasreddin Tûsî, as a gift.<sup>184</sup> He writes that although they knew about *Mukaddime* of Ibn Haldun, they did not know about the other books on ethics, particularly *Ahlâk-ı Alâi*.

For Râtib Efendi, there are six subjects (*mebâhis-i sitte*) in politics. He argues that this classification is not his own, but it is the way pursued by the knowledgeable men. Nevertheless, he does not mention who were among these knowledgeable men. Perhaps, he means Ibn Haldun, Nasreddin Tusi, or Kınalızâde. But it is not clear whether he takes into account the European understanding of politics in that context.

Firstly, politics deals with government and its principles and conditions. Secondly, it deals with giving an order to the polity (*millet*) and to save it from the evils. The similar task is given to politics by Farabi. For Farabi, political science explains the various ways to restore the ignorant cities to their previously virtuous state.<sup>185</sup> Thirdly, it examines the possible means for the attainment of the security and well-being of the subjects and their religious life. Fourthly, it deals with the health, soundness and livelihood of the subjects. Fifthly, it examines the various measures to facilitate trade to contribute to the welfare of the subjects. Finally, it deals with the incessant struggle for increasing the power of state in order to frighten the neighbouring countries. Although the five subjects are related to internal politics, the last subject is related to the international politics. Râtib

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<sup>184</sup> See Ibn Haldun, *The Mukaddimah*, tr. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. , (Princeton, 1967); Nasreddin Tûsî, *The Nasirean Ethics (Ahlâk-ı Nâsiri)*, tr. G. M. Wickens, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1964); Kınalızâde, *Ahlâk-ı Alai*, (Bulak, 1248).

*Pancatantra*, the Indian book written in the genre of "mirror for princes", is known as *Kelile ve Dimne* in the Middle Eastern political literature. See M. Şakir Yılmaz, *Political Thought in the Beginning of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 39; *Pancatantra Masalları*, ed. Kemal Çağdaş, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1962).

<sup>185</sup> Farabi, the Enumeration of the Sciences. p. 26.



Efendi admits the fact that the practice of these principles can vary from one country to the other. There are various particularities of these general principles. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw general rules by means of studying various books, particularly historical works, which were written in various countries. He adds that *Mukaddima, Hümâyunnâme and Ahlâk-ı Alâi* should be examined closely to get a true understanding of politics.

Having dealt with the theoretical aspects of politics, Râtib Efendi explains the contemporary understanding of politics in Europe, particularly in the Habsburg Empire. In Europe, politics is perceived as a means to the attainment of the rich treasury. Thus, there is a close link between economics and politics in Europe. In that respect, Râtib Efendi writes that the Habsburg Empire follows a successful policy (*politika*)<sup>186</sup> to solve the problem of unemployment and, more importantly to secure the security and welfare of the people. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire lagged behind the Habsburg Empire in terms of economic prosperity.

## **2- The Internal Politics of the Habsburg Empire**

Râtib Efendi describes the nature of some Habsburg kings and high officials. According to Râtib Efendi, King Leopold was a peace-loving ruler and lacked firmness and endurance. On the other hand, the new king, Francis II, was like his uncle, Joseph II, in that both of them were inclined towards war in order to gain reputation and fame. Now that he was in alliance with the King of Prussia, he was looking for –“God forbids”- a new

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<sup>186</sup> *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 241b.

opportunity for war.<sup>187</sup> He feared that this alliance between Prussia and the Habsburg Empire may turn against the Ottoman Empire.

The Habsburg Empire generally did not possess wise and far-sighted ministers and generals, though with rare exceptions. Nevertheless, he praises field marshal Franz Moritz Count Lacy (1725-1801), who was an exception to this fact. Râtib Efendi writes that Count Lacy did not visit him but he saw Lacy while Lacy was speaking with Kaunitz.<sup>188</sup> He was very knowledgeable in the tricks and intrigues of war, and in the sciences related to the military.<sup>189</sup> Nevertheless, he lacked the same skill in practicing his knowledge.

According to Râtib Efendi, Prince Kaunitz was a “haughty” (*mütekebbir*) and “ignorant” (*câhil*) person. Nevertheless, he served as chancellor for nearly fifty years. Thus, he gained experience and foresight in conducting the matters of state. Interestingly, Râtib Efendi uses both words “ignorant” (*câhil*) and “reasonable” (*âkıl*) for Kaunitz. He writes that Kaunitz was not getting up in the presence of the king and the members of the royal family, and also in the presence of Prince Colloredo, who was in a higher position than Kaunitz. To everyone’s surprise, he was getting up for Râtib Efendi, who heard that Kaunitz esteemed his righteousness and wise manners.

Râtib Efendi explains some part of the time-table of Kaunitz during summer months. Kaunitz got up at nine o’clock in the morning. Then, his valet (*haftancı*) prepared his hair for an hour. After wearing his clothes, he

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<sup>187</sup> “Kıral Fransısko... şimdiki halde Prusya kralı ile dahî mütefik olduklarından me’âze ‘İlâhü Te’âlâ fırsata müterakkıb olurlar.” (BA. HH 52516-B).

<sup>188</sup> BA. HH. 52516-B.

<sup>189</sup> “Hîle ve hud’anın hannâsı olub” TSA, E.. 6700/3.

would ride to his summer resort, which took half an hour from his palace. There were his horses in this summer resort. He was riding one or two horses for half an hour or for one hour. He was fond of horsemanship. If someone came to watch him while he was riding horses, he became very happy as if he got a thousand purses of money. If someone would call him as a skilful horseman, he would become happier than if he would be called as “a chancellor like Plato”.<sup>190</sup> He writes that a few ambassadors of the friendly states towards the Ottoman Empire and some friends informed him about the summer house of Kaunitz, which had pictures, which were worth of 500 purses and nice gardens. They told Râtib Efendi that it would please Kaunitz if he would visit the summer resort of Kaunitz. He went, with very few men and with Râtib Efendi’s son-in-law (*dâmâdim bendeleriyle*), in disguise. He liked this place and viewed the pictures in the palace and in the garden. Surprisingly, *Mirâhûr* (the Master of the Horse) of Kaunitz informed secretly to Kaunitz, about the arrival of Râtib Efendi to the summer palace. As usual, Kaunitz wanted to show his skill in horsemanship. He asked Râtib Efendi whether he had seen his horses. Then, upon his question whether he liked his horsemanship, Râtib Efendi gave a politic answer to that question. He replied that ‘our friend Kaunitz should have become a field marshall and that the Ottomans called such horsemen as *sâhib-i dizgin*’. Kaunitz became very happy with Râtib Efendi’s answer and told to a Habsburg near him that how the Ottomans understood well the art of horsemanship. Then, he began to praise Râtib Efendi by saying that he was very wise man. Then, he turned to Râtib Efendi and said that he trained

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<sup>190</sup> “*Ve eger bir adam âna fârisü 'l-hayl dirse Eflâtun gibi bir başvekildir dimekten ziyâde hazz ider*” (BA, 52516-B).

Persian, Arab and Turcoman horses and that in Vienna, there was no horseman like him.<sup>191</sup> Râtib Efendi writes that there were much things to say but he limits himself by stating that Kaunitz told his praise of Kaunitz's horsemanship to many statesmen and ambassadors for five or six days. He states that this example would suffice to understand the general personality of Kaunitz.

His reply that Kaunitz should have become a field marshal made Kaunitz so glad that he wanted to have a portrait of Râtib Efendi to keep it in his room, if it was not contrary to the Islamic religion. Râtib Efendi permitted a painter to draw his portrait.<sup>192</sup> Râtib Efendi was proud of having his portrait in Europe (*Frengistân*).<sup>193</sup> Being proud of his knowledge and behaviors, Râtib Efendi criticizes the former ambassadors to Vienna in the light of the information given by Kaunitz, who told Râtib Efendi that he would not have behaved in the same way as the former ambassadors.<sup>194</sup> Being happy with the opinion of Kaunitz, he did not feel any necessity for investigating the reliability of the stories told by Kaunitz. His style of narrating the events in Vienna can give us a clue for understanding his

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<sup>191</sup> “*Prenc Kavinic dostumuz feldmareşal olmalı imiş. Bizde bu misillü fûrûsiyyete sâhib-i dizgin dirler. Mâ şâellah pek fârisligi var, diyü istihsân sûretini beyân eyledigimde ziyâdesiyle hurrem ve handân olub anda olan cenerale didi ki, ‘Gördünüz mü, Osmanlu nasıl fârisü’l-hayli fehm ider? Pek âkal adamdır, pek canım hazz itdi, tavrı pek memdûhdur’, diyü bizi âna senâya başlayub sonra bize dahi hitâb idüb ‘Ben Acemî, Arab ve Türkmen atlarını kendim ta’lim iderim, bu şehirde benim gibi fâris yokdur, diyü iftihâra başladı.’* (BA, HH 52516-B).

<sup>192</sup> “*Siz feld mareşal olmalı imişsiniz didigimden ziyâde mahzûz olub efendi hazretlerinden pek hazz eyledim, tasvîrini yapıdırayım. Dâimâ kendi odamda yanımda dursun, izin virirler mi, dinlerine bir zararı var mıdır, diyü istizân itmekle iktizâsına göre cevâbi virilmekle musavver gelüb tasvîr etmişdir.*” (BA, HH 52516-B).

<sup>193</sup> “*Frengistân’a nakş virdik*” (BA, HH 52516-B); C.V. Findley supposed that the portrait of Râtib Efendi was sent to France because he wrongly translated the word “*Frengistân*” as France ( See Findley, p. 65). In the Ottoman usage, *Frengistân* could also mean Europe.

<sup>194</sup> “*Eslâfda gelen elçilerin rûsvaylıkları çok olmağla hattâ zarîfâne bir kaçını Prenc Kavinic letâfetle hikâyet idüb Râtib Efendi olsa böyle cevâb virmez ve böyle dimezdi, didi.*” (BA, HH 52516-B).

personality, a proud and critical one, and for understanding why there emerged a powerful opposition to Râtib Efendi in the Ottoman bureaucracy.

According to Râtib Efendi, Prince Colloredo, who was responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the empire, was an ignorant and inexperienced man. Since Kaunitz was old, there was a man, who was appointed as Kaunitz's deputy, Count Cobenzl. Râtib Efendi also admired Cobenzl. Nevertheless, he was not respected by the Emperor and other high officials. Like Râtib Efendi, Kaunitz also respected his deputy. Although Râtib Efendi admired Cobenzl, Kaunitz was more talented and experienced than Cobenzl in supervising the matters of the state. According to Râtib Efendi, the young statesmen, including Cobenzl, were giving wrong decisions due to their lack of experience. He gives an example from Cobenzl to prove his argument. In a council (*meşveret*), the Habsburg high officials debated on declaring war against France. In that council, Cobenzl opposed the idea of declaring war against France on the grounds that France would seduce the Habsburg soldiers not to fight against France, when the soldiers reached the borders. He also added that the Habsburg soldiers would join the French troops.

### **3- The External Politics of the Hasburg Empire**

In his letters from Vienna, Râtib Efendi writes that the Habsburgs were not happy with the peace treaty signed with the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the Habsburg statesmen asked themselves about what they gained from the peace treaty signed with the Ottoman Empire, although their soldiers suffered much in the war. It seemed difficult for them to accept to

give back some lands including Belgrade and *Adakale*, which they captured during the war, to the Ottoman Empire. The war led to heavy financial burden on the Habsburg treasury. They, in a sense, fell victim to the French Revolution. They had to make peace with the Ottoman Empire in order to concentrate on the French question. On the other hand, Râtib Efendi added that the Habsburg people, especially the Magyars were very happy with the Ottoman-Habsburg peace treaty because war meant further taxes for them. At that time, According to Rothenberg, for the Habsburg people, "inflation and rising prices made higher taxes undesirable".<sup>195</sup>

Râtib Efendi asserts that the Habsburg statesmen were aware of the fact that he was studying thoroughly the Habsburg institutions. Thus, he writes, they tried hard not to offend him because they were afraid that he would turn the Ottoman government against the Habsburg Empire. They avoided causing any hostility with the Ottoman Empire. Although they founded an alliance with Prussia against France, they did not rely much on the sincerity of the Prussians. Thus, they attached importance to maintain friendly relations with the Ottomans.

Râtib Efendi also dealt with the issue of the French Revolution during his stay in Vienna, in 1792. It seems that his main source of information about the French Revolution was D'Ohsson, who was in France when revolution took place. In his letter to the Ottoman government, Râtib Efendi argues that Europe will be in turmoil in a short time due to the antagonism of France towards the European states, particularly the Habsburg

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<sup>195</sup> Gunther E. Rothenberg. *Napoleon's Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*, p.20.

Empire. In fact, he exaggerates the effects of the French Revolution to the extent that Europe would go into complete disorder, *herc ü merc*, in two or three months<sup>196</sup>. But it was true that Europe saw numerous wars, which were fought in order to cope with the French question, until the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Moreover, the ideas of the French Revolution changed the map of Europe in the nineteenth century, to the advantage of nations which were minorities in the eighteenth century. Like the other empires in Europe, the Ottoman Empire was also affected by the ideas of the French Revolution. The minorities such as Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire fought for the zeal of nation in the nineteenth century.

Although Râtîb Efendi was pessimistic about the future of Europe, he was optimistic about the future of the Ottoman Empire. He writes that the knowledgeable men in Vienna wanted to come with him to the Ottoman lands due to the security reasons<sup>197</sup>. Deliberately or not, he ignores the possible effects of the French Revolution on the Ottoman Empire. He seems to be unaware of the fact that the ideal of freedom (*serbestiyet*) was a crucial challenge to the unity of the Ottoman Empire. He fails in realizing the similarity between the two empires, the Habsburg and the Ottoman empires, in terms of the impact of the French revolution on them.

In his letters from Vienna, Râtîb Efendi deals with the strengths and weaknesses of France and of the Habsburg Empire. According to Râtîb Efendi, those who were knowledgeable about politics asserted that there were some drawbacks for the Habsburg Empire in the face an attack from

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<sup>196</sup> *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi* (The Archive of the Topkapı Palace) , E. 8530, (April 18, 1792; H. 25 Şaban 1206)

<sup>197</sup> *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi*, E. 6700/3.

France. Firstly, the Habsburg Empire was enduring financial problems at that time. The Emperor borrowed twelve thousand purses from Holland. As Rothenberg points out, the numerous wars fought by the Habsburgs necessitated foreign loans. The budget deficit was 27 million florins in 1790 and 23 million in 1791.<sup>198</sup> Secondly, the Habsburg Empire feared that a revolution similar to the French one would take place in its lands. There were already uprisings in Transylvania and Hungary. Especially, Hungary was the most serious internal problem of the Habsburg Empire. As Rothenberg points out, "the nobles often were able to rally the peasantry to the cause of 'Hungarian rights'".<sup>199</sup> Thirdly, for Râtib Efendi, the officers and the generals of the Habsburg Army were not qualified as before. Fourthly, they were afraid of the influence of the French Revolution on the soldiers. Fifthly, they were not relying on Prussia<sup>200</sup> There was the clash of interests, which led to costly wars, between the Habsburg Empire and Prussia.

On the other hand, the knowledgeable men about politics asserted that the French people were unified in terms of language, sect and their national roots in spite of the current disorder. Thus, it was likely that they would reach their former power in the future. If we think these criteria, which are above-mentioned, the Ottoman Empire is closer to the Habsburg Empire. The Ottoman Empire would face the similar drawbacks of the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>198</sup> Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon's Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*, p.20.

<sup>199</sup> *ibid.* p. 20.

<sup>200</sup> TSA, E. 8530.



Râtib Efendi states that another crucial drawback of the Habsburg Empire was the lack of competent statesmen, except Prince Kaunitz. Nevertheless, Râtib Efendi adds, Prince Kaunitz was very old, eighty-five according to the Islamic calendar and eighty-two according to the European calendar. He compares the state of affairs in the Habsburg Empire to the orderly functioning of a clock. If the clock would break, there would be no man to repair the ill-functioning clock in the Habsburg Empire. Likewise, if the order of the Habsburg Empire would break down, there were no competent generals and statesmen to reestablish the order.

Râtib Efendi states that the insults of the French revolutionaries to the monarchs of Europe, particularly the Habsburg Emperor, were very disturbing. The Habsburgs were very upset by these insults to their emperor and to their chancellor, Count Kaunitz, and by the false rumors, which were published about them in newspapers.<sup>201</sup> “The aggressive self-confidence of the revolutionaries” was one of the crucial reasons of the war between the European monarchies and France.<sup>202</sup> He stresses that although there were factions in the French society, they would unite in the face of an attack from outside. He also expresses what the factions were. Those who supported the King were the nobility and the clergy. On the other hand, the lower class (*esâfil ve erâzil*) supported the revolution and enjoyed freedom (*serbestiyet*). The revolutionaries fought either for the ideal of freedom or for the gaining of fame and prestige.

Although Râtib Efendi made interesting observations on European politics, he did not elaborate much on the real causes of the political events.

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<sup>201</sup> TSA, E. 8530.

<sup>202</sup> David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1982), p. 14.

The reader would suppose that the main cause of the war between France and the Habsburg Empire was the insults made against the Habsburg Emperor. Râtib Efendi did not ask why the revolutionaries behaved in a rude way against the Habsburg Emperor. Jacques Pierre Bissot, the leader of the Left in the Legislative Assembly, asserted that the French people “after twelve centuries of slavery have won liberty”<sup>203</sup>. Indeed, the revolutionaries wanted to make war in order to liberate the European people from the oppression of the *Ancien Régime*. Nevertheless, they wanted to base their fight on a reasonable cause. Firstly, the Legislative Assembly asked Leopold II to disperse the concentrations of the emigrant French aristocrats along the Rhine. Thus, Leopold II dispersed them. Then, they demanded that the Habsburg Empire declare whether the Austro-French alliance of 1756 was still valid or not, in January 1792. The response of Leopold II to this demand became the signing of a treaty with Prussia in order to cooperate in the matters concerning France and Poland, on 7 February 1792. The alliance between the Habsburg Empire and Prussia, who were enemies for nearly fifty years angered the French revolutionaries.<sup>204</sup> The Habsburg Empire became the target of its revolutionary neighbor.

Râtib Efendi also deals with the issue of the Austro-Prussian alliance and its effects on the French revolutionaries. He writes that France demanded that the Habsburg Empire annul the treaties signed against France. The revolutionaries also demanded the limitation of the number of

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<sup>203</sup> Albert Sorel. *Europe and the French Revolution, The Political Traditions of the Old Régime*, tr. & ed. Alfred Cobban & J. W. Hunt, (London : Collins, 1969), p. 17.

soldiers, and withdrawal of troops from the borders between the Habsburg Empire and France. The new emperor, Francis II, responded these demands with sending of a threatening letter to France. Thus, the revolutionaries found a legitimate cause to go to war against the Habsburg Empire. According to Râtib Efendi, the strange thing was that France declared war only against “the King of Hungary and Bohemia” whereas there were other powers, which signed the alliance treaty against France.<sup>205</sup> Interestingly, the French revolutionaries declared war against “the King of Hungary and Bohemia” and they did not mention “the King of Austria”. They possibly thought of exploiting the weakness of the Habsburg Empire and aimed at arousing national sentiments among the Hungarians and Czechs, the largest minorities in the Habsburg Empire. The population of Magyars was nearly 3,360,000 and of the Czechs were 2,550,000, in the last decade of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the German population in the Habsburg lands was 5,650,000.<sup>206</sup> Moreover, they also aimed at neutralizing Russia and other German states.<sup>207</sup> They avoided increasing the number of allied forces against them.

In his reports, Râtib Efendi sometimes points out the crucial ideas of the French revolutionaries. While explaining the French revolutionaries’ declaration of war against “the King of Magyars and of the Czechs” on April 20 1792, he calls attention to the claims of the revolutionaries.<sup>208</sup> They asserted that their fight would be against the King and his possessions, not

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<sup>204</sup> Gunther E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon’s Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*, p.17.

<sup>205</sup> TSA, E. 6700/4.

<sup>206</sup> G. E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon’s Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*,

p. 19.

<sup>207</sup> *ibid.* p. 18.

against the ordinary people, including tradesmen and craftsmen and artisans. They declared that those people who were like them in terms of status and living standards would be freed from the oppression of the King and that their properties would be protected by them. Râtib Efendi did not hesitate to highlight the importance of this statement.<sup>209</sup> .

Having realized the challenge of the ideas of the French Revolution, most of the European powers cooperated in order to maintain the *Ancien Régime* in Europe. Also for Râtib Efendi, the reason for their alliance against France was their fear from “the new order” (*nizâm-ı cedîd*) in France.<sup>210</sup> He again uses the same term *nizâm-ı cedîd*. Nevertheless, this new order was largely political, rather than military. The new order explained by Râtib Efendi in his *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, would be taken as a model by the Ottoman Empire. But it seems that he was not aware of the possible effects of the new order in France on the fate of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, his view of the French Revolution was in line with the general outlook of the Ottoman statesmen at that time. For instance, according to Ahmed Efendi, who was *sır kâtibi* (confidential secretary) of Selim III, Russia and the Habsburg Empire had to end their war with the Ottoman Empire in order to deal with the French question. For him, the French Revolution would lead to the internal strife in the enemies of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, for him, the French Revolution would produce good results for the Ottoman Empire.<sup>211</sup> Nevertheless, later the Ottoman attitude

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<sup>208</sup> “*Bu dekâyık ziyâde dikkat olunacak mevâddandır*” see TSA, E 6700/4

<sup>209</sup> TSA, E 6700/4.

<sup>210</sup> TSA, E. 6700/4.

<sup>211</sup> İsmail Soysal, *Fransız İhtilali ...*, pp.103-104.

towards the French Revolution changed. In a *lâyiha* (1212)<sup>212</sup> written by *Reisülküttâb* Âtîf Efendi, the Ottoman Empire's policy of neutrality in Europe was questioned. According to Âtîf Efendi, the real intention of the French revolutionaries was to abolish all the religions. For him, although France was the old friend of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman Empire should not trust its friendship at that time. He adds that Napoleon's invasion of *Yediada* and of the shores of Albania would shed light on his intentions. He argued for the Ottoman participation in the coalition among the European powers against France. For him, the Ottoman Empire should not hesitate to make an alliance with Russia and the Habsburg Empire, the arch enemies of the Ottoman Empire, against France because the state of affairs at that time necessitated this policy. The Ottoman government adopted the policy suggested by Âtîf Efendi.<sup>213</sup> The French invasion of Egypt in 1798 showed to what extent Âtîf Efendi was right in predicting the real intention of Napoleon.

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<sup>212</sup> BA, HH 16130.

<sup>213</sup> Soysal, *Fransız İhtilali*, p. 207.

## Conclusion

In his writings, Râtib Efendi takes the stance of a classical Ottoman who is proud of his identity. He has never questioned the truth of the Ottoman world-view. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to criticize the prevailing practices in the Ottoman state. On the other hand, he admired the policies of monarchs and strategies and tactics of commanders in Europe. It goes without saying that he was aware of the Western superiority in the fields of science and military technology. For that reason, he explains in detail the military academies in the Habsburg Empire. As we have pointed above, the Military Academy and the Engineering Academy, which were introduced to the Sultan by Râtib Efendi, influenced the educational policy of *Nizâm-ı Cedîd*. He was aware of the fact that the Ottoman Empire lagged behind its Western rivals. Nevertheless, this backwardness was the result of the ignorance of the modern techniques of warfare. He explains how the great number of the Ottoman soldiers were humiliated in the face of a few enemy soldiers. For him, it was necessary to follow modern developments in the art of warfare in order to catch up with the Ottoman Empire's rivals. It can be possibly argued that his ideas might have played a crucial role in the establishment of *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* Army in the reign of Selim III, who ordered Râtib Efendi the preparation of a treatise on the state of affairs in Europe. As we have pointed above, Râtib Efendi was one of those statesmen, on whom the Sultan relied in his reform program.

Apart from innovations in the military technology, the Ottoman Empire should also attach more importance to diplomacy. That is why he wrote about the necessity of founding alliances with the states, which have

common interests with the Ottoman Empire. In his letters from Vienna, he explained the importance of ambassadors in Europe. He stated that European states did not hesitate to pay large amounts of money to their ambassadors in foreign states due to the value of information given by them about the foreign states. If we take into account the impact of Râtib Efendi's views on Selim III, we can probably argue that he also played an undeniable role in the establishment and consolidation of the permanent embassies in Europe. It was not a coincidence that Selim III appointed as the head of diplomatic affairs of the Ottoman Empire, *reîsülküttâb*, in 1795. In the literature on Râtib Efendi, in general, his dismissal from the office of *reîsülküttâb* is explained by the domestic politics of the Ottoman Empire. The influence of the international politics on the end of his career has largely been neglected in the literature. In a sense, it can be assumed that he fell victim to the diplomacy of the Ottoman Empire at that time. The fact that he failed in his attempts to establish an alliance between the Ottoman Empire and France may have played a crucial role in his dismissal from the office. Also, the changing attitude of the Ottoman Empire towards France might have also played a crucial role in his dismissal from the office.

Being aware of the close link between diplomacy and war as a means to the end, he did not only engage in diplomatic activities when he served as *reîsülküttâb*. He also tried to develop long-term plans for the modernization of the Ottoman Army. When he was *reîsülküttâb*, his efforts to bring military experts from Europe served to this end. Although we do not have much information about his policies when he was *reîsülküttâb*, it would not be a mistake to infer that he tried to change the course of events

in the conduct of Ottoman diplomacy. For him, diplomacy was more than ceremonies. More importantly, an effective diplomacy is largely based on the power of deterrence. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire needed a skillful pursuit of diplomacy in the short term in order to avoid engaging in a war because the consolidation of reforms needed peace. On the other hand, it needed to make long-term plans in order to modernize its army to the extent that it would challenge the armies of great powers of Europe. That is why Râtîb Efendi attached importance to the establishment of military academies and to bringing foreign military experts.

It seems that Râtîb Efendi was inclined towards Westernization in material terms. Nevertheless, he proudly admired moral strength of the Ottomans compared to the Europeans. According to him, though Europe was rich in terms of material standards, it was poor in terms of moral aspects. Nevertheless, his admiration of the superiority of the Ottoman morals compared to the European morals did not prevent him from criticizing the corruption in the Ottoman order. In that respect, he largely follows the ideas explained in the decline treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As we have mentioned, there have been crucial similarities between the ideas of the authors of these treatises and the ideas of Râtîb Efendi. Nevertheless, Râtîb Efendi adopted a comparative outlook in analyzing the problems of the Empire. Unlike the works written in the genre of *mir'ât-ı mülûk* (the mirror for princes) and in the decline treatises, in which examples were generally drawn from an ideal past, Râtîb Efendi has a tendency to draw examples from the contemporary European rulers. Even if he deals with former Ottoman sultans such as Mehmed II, Selim I



and Süleyman the Magnificent, he does not elaborate on them much. Nevertheless, we can observe that the names of famous European monarchs such as Peter the Great, Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great have been given more attention than the former Ottoman sultans, in *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*.

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## APPENDICES

### The List of the Documents

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- 25- Ali Emîrî, III. Selim, 6625 (1209)
- 26- Ali Emîrî, III. Selim, 6634 (1209).

کرم اشیا جلی الیها  
عریضه ثنا و ربین  
تحریر و اشعار اولدغنی اوزره راتب اذی برهولم اعدام و ازاله سی خوضنه ملورا ارهی همایون طریقت  
وارد اولد جو قرار مرقوم بقضام المصلحه اقدی موی البرک اشیا منه باقیوب نزل و سر مقطوعنی الوج عجماله عودت انمکن ناشی  
مقتول موی البرک اموال و اشیا ی متروک سنی معرف شرعه غریب اعلمی مصطفی قنودان قولری تخریر بلدینی ارمز مرقوم قولری  
تقریر بلدینک بنسقه مقتول موی کیم حال ویت علیه دن اولوق ملایب سبله اشیا ی ضایع اولمان ایچن اراده علیه صدور ایچیم  
معرف شرع و جمله معرفتله طرفدن تخریر اوتمش اولدغنی مرقوم مصطفی قنودان صوب ثنا وری به تخریر و اشعار نیکله کیفیت  
مخاط علم سامدی بوردون مقتول موی البرک رهسک سوجرد اولد اشیا ی متروک سنلک جانب بیدن ضمیمه برین لری  
تعیین و ادرال بوردون منط رای سامدی ای مقله اولد برع فرمان حقوق سن له الامر کورد (۱۳۰۳) ع

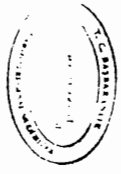
قنودان باشا اولدغنیک بنسقه سیدر مقول موی کیم راتب اقدی برهولم اعدام و ازاله سی خوضنه ملورا ارهی همایون طریقت  
اولون خید قطعه مقاطعاتک فزاده وری اولدو اشیا سنلک بوردون اولدو اراده سنی ناشی  
بنسقه اولدو اولدو اشیا سنلک بوردون اولدو اراده سنی ناشی  
ملوکازری بوردون اولدو اراده سنی ناشی



HH 4221 (1214)

بمساعدتو مکرملو موزلو قرزاش اعز واکرم سلطانم حضرتی

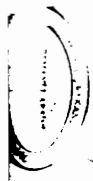
روسیه لوبله اعاده صلح و صلح ضمنی تارک عقد اولدیغی جهنن مذکره مواد مصالحه ایچون <sup>خوش</sup> توشی مکر  
 مرخص اول و احمد و اصفانندی مرخص نالت و تعلق ادا ده سجانی ایله نجه مصالحه سی تریز خنام  
 اولونوب سیه توشوب مرخص تانی عصمت ابرهیم بک افندی مرخص تانی تعیین اولماری موافق  
 ادا ده شاهانه اولدیغی صورتی دختنامه لرک موالی ابراهیم اسمارینه کوده تخریر و تیطیر و بابا لاری  
 خط هما یون ایله توشیح و تزیین ایندی یولوب بوجانبه ارال اولمشی شامل تخریر قی خالصانه مزرکا  
 کابله خروانه به لری العوض شرف ارای صدور اولدی خط هما یون شوکتور شاهانه مورجیه  
 بوبله بلونوسط عقداونک صون تارکه و مصالحه لده مرخص لده دختنامه عطاشی افضا ایتمی  
 بارک خط هما یون ایله طرفزه و بریدون دخت شاهانه کافی اولدیغی و ذکر این خط هما لره  
 بناقنه رفیق سوتی اذوه مرخص لده و برک ایچون طرفزون دختنامه تخریر و موالیه اصفانندی  
 شمه ده دن مرخص نصب اولما شرایسه برینه افرینک تعیین اولمشی تفضای ادا ده هما یون ایدوک  
 باینده دخت کامله مزک تفضای اجرا اولنه دق دولت عینه به خیرلو و نالو مصالحه نل برون  
 اول عقده نده اقدام اولمشی متعاقباً و دو و ایدون کی طاق تخریر قی شریفه لرک دوج و بیان بولوش  
 اولمقدن تاشی ایسوماه ذی الحججه الشریفه نل بکرمی و دوشی کوفی روسیه فدی مرشالی بونکین جنرال  
 طرفزون سرحد ایله وارد اولون کاغد ترجمه سنک و سولک تقریر لسانین مرخص لری بز حاضر  
 اینک جانب دولت عینه دن تعیین اولنه حق مرخص لری دخی تعیین وسم و دینه لری کند و طرفزه  
 اعمار اولمشی دوج و تثبیت اولدیغی جهنن بوم مرفوع موالیه حق بک مرخص اول و تفضای  
 ادا ده هما یون اوزره موالیه و اصفانندی مرخص لده اختیار اولوب حاله درگاه عالی کجولدی  
 کاتبی بوبکر تاش افندی مرخص نالت نصب و افضا ایدون خلقلری ایسرا و لمترا و لر فزون بنه  
 موالیه عصمت بک افندی دخی زسوی جا بندن اردوی هما یونه کلک اوزره برکی دفعه  
 یازلش اولغلا بتمه تعالی و دو و نون اولدیغی مرخص تانی نصب و افضا ایدون خلعتی ایسرا و لمترا  
 جهنن کیفیت بوم جمله جنرال مسویه تخریر و انلک دخی مرخص لری کیم ایدون کلک اعماری تطیر  
 اکت اولونوب سیه جدا اوله دق جنرال مسویل وارد اولون مکنونین روسیه دولتی طرفون  
 بلک  
 ف طوق معنه اوزره



اول عقد بنه اقدام اولی متعاقباً درود ابرون ای طاق محرقات سربسته رسد درج و بیاس بر در  
 اولفقدن ناسی بسوماه ذی الحجۃ الشریفه نیک بگری درود می کونی روسیه فندمرسانی یونیکین جنرال  
 طرفدن سرجه ایله وارد اولون کاغذ ترجمه سن و مسعودن تقریر لسانتین مرخصی بزه حاضر  
 ایندک جانب دولت عینه دن تعیین اولنه جن مرخصی دخی تعیین واسم و دینه لری کند و اولفقدن  
 اسعار اولیسی درج و متباین اولدنی جهنن بوم مرقوم مومالیه حقوقی بک مرخص اول و منفصل  
 اراده همایون اوزره مومالیه واصفا فدی مرخصله اختیار اولموب حاله درگاه عالی بویور  
 کابخی ابوبکر رانبا فدی مرخص ثالث نصب واقضایدن خلغلی الباس اولمش اولفقدن بغه  
 مومالیه عمت بک افدی دخی زسوی جانندن ادری همایونه کلک اوزره براتی دفعه اولفقدن  
 باز لش اولغله بمنه تعالی درودن اولدنی مرخص ثانی نصب واقضایدن خلغلی الباس اولمش  
 جهنن کیفیت بووجهله جنرال مسومه تحریر و اندک دخی مرخصی کیملر ایدر کلک اسعاری نظیر  
 و تزکیه اولمش اولمش حسیبه جدا اولدنی جنرال میوزک وارد اولون کسوزن روسیه دولتی طرفدن  
 حاله روسیه امپراطور بجه سنک سامبدنی و سناداره دولت کلک مدیری دخی طرف معبره فیره  
 قولیری صومبولوف لیوتان جنرال مرخص اول و لکی دونانک آمیرال قومندانی دخی طرف معبره  
 قولیری بیاس مایور جنرال مرخص ثانی و سناداره دولت روسیه و قولیر سرجه یوزقار و مرخص  
 نصب و تعیین اولدنی و بالذکره فراد بوزون بغداد قطعه سندن خوش نصیبه ای لکی طرفه سمن  
 و بسنه سهولت اولمش بچون محکم کماله تحصیل اولدنی حمرد و زکود اولوب طرفین مرخصی و محرم  
 بووجه معلوم اولدندن صکره درود ابرون تحریرات دستور بلرنن حاله دولت عینه ده زین کتاب  
 دخی مصالحه سنده مرخص اول اولوب زسوی جاننن اولون سید عبدالله افدینک بجه مصالحه سنه  
 دروغا اولون صداقت و غیرتی قرین بسند ساها نه اولمش بوسه ایله افدی مومالیه کسولو مصالحه سنه  
 دخی مرخص اول نصب اولمش اراده خسروانه بو اولمش ناسی تصدیق نامه لربا اوله سنون صکره زسوی  
 حرکت و بوجاننه درود مساعت ایسی ضمنده صوب و سوز بلرنن تحریرات ارسال اولدنی اسعار اولمش  
 اولغله مخلص کلک دخی فی اصل مقصود مز مومالیه عبدالله افدینک مرخص اول اولمش ایبری انجق  
 تصدیق نامه لک با اولمش ضمنده افدی مومالیه ناخیری ایجا بایتدی روسیه لومصالحه سنه  
 مرخصی تعیین نیج اولدنی جهنن مومالیه حقوقی ضروری مرخص اول نصب اولمش بوردغه مومالیه  
 عبدالله افدینک کسولو مصالحه سنه دخی مرخص اول نصب و تخصیصه اراده همایون تعلق اولمش عین اصنا  
 و کرامت و تصدیق صیر ضمیمه استیلا هانه به کشف اولمش قیود اولمش ناسی طبق اراده همایون  
 اوزره افدی مومالیه مرخص اول نصب اولمش بوجاننه درود مساعت ایسی ضمنده کسوزیه  
 مومالیه عمت بک افدی دخی شمدره دن زسوزن حرکت تمدنی ملاحظه بیه براسعت اقدام و بران مقوم



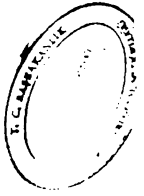
عنیت الینی حاوی اکادمی بشقه طرفزدن کاغذ تحریر و نسیب اولند بگذردن غیر کیفیت بوجہ ال  
 رسوبه دخی افاده اولندی و جزال مسولک سالف الذکر سرجو ایله کلون کاغذی و ترجمه سی  
 طرفزدن جواب اوله دق تحریر افغان مکتوبک صودنی نظور اولتقا ایچون ابشور قیمة مولودن  
 موضوعاً صوبه صواب انماک دستوریلرینه ابعات اولندی و مومالیها عبدالله افندی و عهتبل افندی  
 وارد اولدق خلغلری اباس ایله اردوی هما یونج اولون مرخص ثالث مومالیه ابوبکر رانسر  
 دخی بانلرینه زریق و همان ابرائیه امراد اولنه جعی و نقضای و خست انفق اولدوره سن  
 و عهله مرخصله طرفزدن و خضنامه را عطاسی کافی ایروکی اگرجه اسعاد بوردنش لکن مقدا  
 مرحوم محسن زاده نیک اولان صداتق طرفزدن مرخصله و خضنامه رابله بر قطع او امر عینه  
 اصدار و عطاسی و نیک نکلکی ایله مصححک ایجابدن ناسی اولوب الحاقه هق سفولوا ایله سوز  
 نثار که عقد اولوب مصالحه نیک قریباً حصولی ما مولایسه دخی سعت وقت حسینیه مرخصله وزیر  
 خلد هما یون ایله موخ و خضنامه را ایسی نقضی اید و کی معلوم دستوریلری بیوردق کیفیت  
 حضور فین مؤعد خسر و انه به عرض و نفیم ایله مرخص مومالیهم بر لرین بولنق اوزره خطلک  
 شاهانه ایله فرین و خضنامه لرک اول طرفق نظیر بر له بحال صوبه بجانانه مزه نسیری امرینه هت  
 بوردلری بیا قنق قائمه مؤ معلومه تحریر و فرساده صوبه سعاد تمهیری قلمند در ان الله تعالی  
 لدی الوصول بر وجه شروع حرکت هت بوردلری ما مولود ۸۱ هجری



HH 6198 (1205)

جانب حضرت صدر بنما هیدن روسیه دولتی عسکری اوزدینہ فلد مرئالا اولون برنج بوتکایں جنرال طرفه نخر بر افغان مکتوب  
عمالیک صورتید

۱۶۷



دولت عظیمین بنین عمده ساله و مصافق فتمده مذکره مواد مصالحه ایچون جات دولت عیدہ دن ناسر فتمده  
اتعاری حیادی بود فعه سننار دولت روسیه سرحد سقاروف و ساطینده ارسال افغان مکتوب دولتی اسلوب  
واصل اولوب کون مفهوم مکتوب کجه درک مسولک نفر لسانیننه اطلوعمن حاصل و ساطینده لطفه اظہار افغان  
انار صفت و مولد نخر و خصوصیه بامر جنرال سرعاً تشیننه خواهس و عتکر باعث محظوظین اولدیغی  
تعریفدن شفق اولقدن نامی حال دیوان سیدالورد کار حسروانده دولتی اولون سعادتلر محمد حق بک افندی  
مرخص اول . و درگاه عالی بجز بلی کاخی عزتلو ابوبکر ران افندی دخی مرخص ناک تعیین و خلعتی بکون  
الباس اولوب برنج کون طرفدن محل مطالعه ناک تخصیصه قدر برائیده امر اولدیغی و مرخص نامی تخصیص  
افغان مولی عظامدن سابقاً مکره و حال اولدیغی قاضی اولوب زنتی جانندن کلده اولوب  
فضیلو ابراهیم عصمت بک افندی دخی برفاج کون دیک اردوی همایونه و رودن خلعتی الباس برله اولدی  
ارسال اولدیغی معلوم کور اولدوق جناب دوستی ما بجز دخی طرف کوزون اقتضا ایرن مرخصلرک تعیینله کیلا  
و محل مطالعه ناک تخصیصی طرف مجانه مره اتعاری کور سیاقن مکتوب و راد مصحح نخر و رسول صوب  
صفت صبر کور قنمدر اتعاری و حصولن کیفیت معلوم کور اولدوق بروجه محرد صرکنه سار عتکر و سببه  
ناکید صفت و مولد اولدیغی باریتا بورد والدم عویس اتعاری

HH 7345 (1206)

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بیم سعادتانو مکرملو موزنلو فرزندانو کرم سلطانم مفرینری  
 بوژن افیجه اراده شاهانه متعلق اولدیغی وجهله اردوی همايونی کلائی  
 اولان ابوبکر راتب افندیگ نجبه یه ایچی نصب ودر سعادت ارسال ویاخوردبو  
 صوب نامورینه ارسال ونجه لوبه جانب تلفت سینه دن ترتیب وابعانی  
 لازم کلا هدایانک دفتری اخراج انسی ونجه ایچسی هر برنگ مقبول  
 مصالحه سنده توسطی ویاخورد همان دوک عبده مرخصی معیندن ترتیب  
 مکالمه ده بونسی ضمنده فرانجه ایچسی طرفدن بازیرن مکتوبک کم ایچما  
 رایجه محول اولدیغی بودفعه وارد اولان تحریرات منبر بلرزه دخی درج  
 و بیان بوردنش مرسوم هر برت دخی طرفدن اورطه ایچی اولدوق نامور  
 اولدیغنه بنا موی الیه زای آدی دخی اورطه ایچی اولدوق تعیین وضعیت  
 اباسر اولوب بو طرفدن اسانه سعادت ارسال اولسه اندن دخی صوب نامورینه  
 عربنی وقته محتاج اولقدن ناشی تقویت زماندن احذازا مانرینه تنظیم  
 برله اردوی همايون ابعاظ اومتق اوزده تصویب اولوب مطلوب اولون  
 دفتری شمعی اردوسن توقیف اولدیغندن شمعی جانبه علی العجله تاتاریت  
 دفتر مذکور قبولدن اخراج و جانب دستور بلرینه ارسال اولقدن  
 شمیر دک وصولی محفوظ اولدیغندن بشفه مرسوم هر برنگ دخی مقبول  
 مصالحه سی ضمنده توسطی مقبول طرفدن قبول اولدوغی ظاهرا اولدیغی  
 و مرخصی اقد بلر معیندن بونسی دخی مناسب اولدیغی چند روز مفرجه  
 علی التفصیل صوب سعادت بلرینه تحریر اومتق اولوب مرسوم هر برت جانب  
 نجبه یه ایچی نصب اولدوق کندونک دخی زشتیرن اسانه سعادت  
 حالده کنه بنا بوی



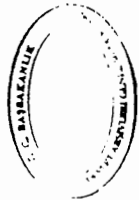


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برله اردوی ہمایون ابعاث التوق اور ذرا تصور اولوب بطور اولاد  
 دفعی شمی اردوسن توقیف اولدیفندن شمی جانیه علی العجله تا تاریخ  
 دفتر مذکور قبولندن اخراج و جانب دستور بلربنه ارسال اولمقدن  
 شمیر دك وصولی ملحوظ اولدیفندن بشفه مرسوم هر برنگ دفعی مقو  
 مصالحہ شمی ضمنده توسطی مقولوطرفدن قبول اولمقبه جفی ظاہر اولدی  
 و مرضہ اقدیلر معیندن بومنی دفعی مناسب اولدی جندوز مقدمہ  
 علی تفصیل صوبہ عارنلربنه تحریر اولمق اولوب و مرسوم هر برنگ جانب  
 نجه یہ ایچی نصب اولدوق کندونک دفعی زشتوبدن اسنانہ سعادتہ  
 عزیزیمون کبفت اشعار اولمقنی مرضہ اقدیلر بلردن رجا ایچیکہ بنا  
 راب اقدیلر نجه یہ ایچی نصب اولدی مرضہ اقدیلر فلزلدن مرسوم  
 هر برنگ تحریر اولمق اولدیفنه بنا غالبطن مرسوم هر برنگ بوندن صکرہ جہ  
 زشتوبدن حرکت و اسنانہ سعادتہ عزیزیت ابدہ کی و طرفین ایچیلری  
 راس محدودہ مولات اتمک راب درین اولوب کمن مرسوم اورطہ  
 اولدیفندن بوتکلف بر طرف اولدی مرضہ اقدیلر افادہ کندون  
 مومی ابلہ راب اقدی دفعی اورطہ ایچی اعتبار اولمقبه همان ارسال  
 اولدی و تصدیق اقصا ابلہ نامہ ہمایونک دفعی مقدمہ ایچی  
 اولدیفندن دکاب ہمایونک تحریر اولمق اورطہ مدراجہ سبلہ بالمقابیلہ  
 راجہ التسخ روسیہ لوبہ کوندر بول نامہ ہمایونک صورتی جانیا عمارت  
 سیر اولمق ابلہ دفعی الحاله ہنہ نجه لوبہ اورطہ ایچی اولدوق مومی ابلہ  
 راب اقدی بو طرفدن کوندر بول تصویب اولمق مدراجہ سبلہ نامہ ہمایونک



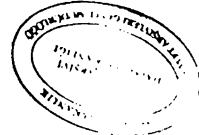
دخی بو طرفدن تصدیقینه ابدار اولدیغی واقعی مومی ایزه عاریت و بیج  
 دریمی مقضی اولون خیمه ساز اولموقله مالزمه اردوی همایون مؤنک  
 و برملک اوزوه تصویب اولوب لکن قصور ویر برملک مجبورات  
 و ایشانک کوندر برن دفتر میهنجه و عادتین اسی لازمه دن ایدرک  
 معلوم مشیر بلی بیورلوقه مومی ایزه ایزه بر موجب دفن کرک نجبه  
 جاسارینه کوندر برملک هدایانک و کرک کندوب و برملک ایچون  
 در سعادتن ارسالی اقسضا ایدن مالزمه نلک بکون اول تدارک  
 و تهیه بله سریعاً بو طرفه ارسالی اوقعی ایزه مبادرت بیورلوقه  
 سیاقین قاعده مؤتعمومه تحریر و فرستاده صوب سعادت بلی قلمشدر  
 ان شاننه تعالی لدی الوصول کتبت معلوم سعادت بلی بیورلوقه بر رجه  
 حرکت همت بیور بلی مامولدر ۱۹۱۶



ایتم سعادتلو مکنلو مودتلو فرزند ایزه و کرم سلطانم حرم بلی  
 الواکی و نسوزار بیلرین نجبه به کوندر بیلون ایچیلره و کبود بر سنه سنه  
 اسیانه به نامور و اصفا ایزی به و بر بیلون مجبورات و سائر ایشانک باسن  
 فرج ابع قطعه دفتر بلی و بود فوه مومی ایزه رات ایزی به و بر اقسضا ایزه  
 مجبورات واق طاقملر نلک بوسله می شود رقیه مجبانه مزه موضوعاً ابعاً  
 اولغله نکلور سعادت بلی بیورلوقه ذکر اوقان بوسله ده مسطور مجبورات  
 واق طاقملری اندرون همایونون و خاصراً خودون عادت و جریه  
 اعطا اولدوق ماعدا اقسضا ایزه طاقمل مکن اولدی ایزی همایونون  
 و بر بیلوب بر مفادوی وضو ایزی مومی ایزه تدارک ایزه بلی معلوم سعادت بلی  
 بود لقا ایچون اسارت اولدی

فون حربیه تعلیمیانه سنه دایر زینب اولنان لوجیه نیک ترجمه سیدرز

سیدرز



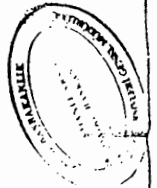
449783  
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اولان  
دولت عبیه ابدی الدوام جنود و عساکرن زینب تعلیمی نه درجه ده سوار واجیه الا عنان ابروکی آینه الهام ربانی  
ضمیمه کارم محمد حضرت اولیای نعیم مجلی و رؤس اولغنه بو بایع اطنا و تفصیل حاصلی تحصیل قیلدن اوله دره بوجوم بالکله  
اشبام اهل وجوده کوز مسجون استحضاری لوزم کلاؤ رسائل و اسباب علی طریقه الاختصار بسط و تزکاره مبادون قلدو  
اسباب مذکوره ایکی ماده دن عبارتد که بری او و با جابندن شمد بک قدر کفایه او فوجیان جلی و ایکی جیبی فون حربیه به  
مخصوصی تعلیمیانه ترتیبدر **حقیقیه نیک بر او و جاز اید قوتنه وسیله اوله من حالانک ایفا عنه بذل مگردن اهل بوجون**  
استخدام اوله من او فوجیان لردن بشقه فون حربیه نیک علمی عملینی افاده و تعلیم صمننن دخی قدر کفایه معلم جلی اولن لوزدن  
ابروکی بی اشتباه اولوب **الغاله هذه ما نحن فیهم تعلیم ماده سی اولغنه بالکله بوکا و از سر کلاؤ ابدن ارنن اقتضا ایدر**

حیی محاربه ده قوت و سکت کوزن عساکره موقوف اولوب فن و صنعت و نظام اوزده حرکت اولدوغی حالده جنگ و جداله سهولت  
درکار و آثار غایبت نمودار اولغنه علوم در باضیه نیک اصولنه رعایت قولاؤد عدبره بی سنلر اوله کلدیگی  
و الحاصل بر دولتی اقدام اسباب قونی فون مذکوره نیک تعلیم عبارت ابرکی تجربه کاران احوال عالم عندلرنن مسلم و الحاله  
اوروپا دوللر نه بوقوله تعلیمیانه لری نظامی غایت مرتبه دولتمرد اولغنه ماکولات و ملبوسات و ساز معونلری  
دولندی طرفدن بر لایق اوزده اوچر و درج و بشر بوز طلبیه به مخصوصی تعلیمیانه لرا ایجاد و پیدا و فون مذکوره به تحصیل بضاعه  
ایرند امور حربیک روحی مشایسنن عداولنه ره اولبارده عظیم ذقت و اغنا اولنه کلدیکنن ایوم دننه کماله و اهل اولشدر  
دولت عبیه ده دخی بوماده نلی تنظیمه کزده بعد اخری اراده عبیه تعلق بود بلوب صدر اسبق رحوم محمد خلیل پاشانک  
زمان صدارتنن دخی صرف کل همت اولمشبکی دوام و استقراری میسر اولماسی طلبیه نیک عدم استعداد و فابلینرینه منجی  
اولوب احداث اولنان تعلیمیانه نلی اصول نظامیه سنه اطرافلیجه ذقت اولنه مدبغندن نشات ایشلنن دخی ظاهر دور  
فی الاصل کافه علوم و فنونک منشأ و مبدائی زب ساریه هما پاریا حضرت ظل اللہین آسوده ممالک فسیحه المسالک خاقانیه ده  
و تخصیص آید کزده واقع مداین و بداندزه موجود اوله کلدیگی علوم آینه و عابیه نیک زیاده مجلی الملری اوزدن بر اولدو عربیه  
مخصوصی اولغنه اوروپا اهلیمی علوم فککیه و ریاضیه بی بشپوز سنه دن بجاوز اسپانیا اراضینه نشر آثار عدل و ادب  
انت و اجدالمرت محمدیه دن اخذ ایشلنن اولغری حتی چالور ساعتک اعمای ملل اثر نیجه ده مجهول ایکن تاریخ هجرتک بوز کسان  
سکزی سنه شش خلفای عباسیه دن هارون الرشید طرفدن شادمان نام فرایجه قرانله هدیه اوله ره بر قطعه چالور  
ساعت ارسال اولنه بدن بروقن مذکوره نوعه ماشرن ابد کلدی

و عساکر مرتبه نظامی ماده سی دخی فی الاصل جنمک سلطان اورخان خان حضرت نیک زمان سلطنتلر نه و برینک بکچری اولغی  
نظامندن تاخوز ابرکی وقایع نویسان عالم و تواریخ شناسان احوال امم عندلرنن غیر ضعی اولوب لکن متأخرین زمان  
انار اخلافه عم رغبت و فی بوسا هذا اوروپا دوللر نه اصول حکمته تطبیق اینه جاری اولان نظاماتک مناخندن فی انتظار حیرت  
۱۱۰۰ ک. ا. ا. ۱۱۰۰ ع. ۱۱۰۰ م. لوکھ مفاد نجه هر ملتلی

HH 9753

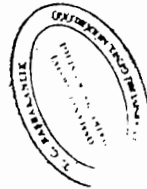


زمان صدورش و در صورتی که هفت او شش دوم و سراسر ... نشأت اینش از بی نظیر است  
 اولیوب احداث اولان تعلیمخانه نیکو اصول نظامیه سنه اطرافلیجه وقت اولنه مدفنند نشأت اینش از بی نظیر است  
 فی الاصل کافه علوم و فنونک منشأ و مبدائی زب سائیه هما با بر حضرت علی القلیب آسوده ممالک فسیحه المسالک خافایه در  
 و تخصصی آفک زده واقع مدین و بداند موجود اوله کردگی علوم آیه و عابیه نیک زباده مجید اولدی اوزدن بر اولو و عربیه  
 مخصوصی اینده اوردوبه اهلبسی علوم فکلیه و با ضمیمه بی بسوز سنه دن بخا اوز اسپانیا اراضیه نشأ انا اریل و اریل  
 انت واجب الخیرت محمدیه دن اخذ اینش از فنری حتی چارور ساعتک اعمای ملل از نخبه ده مجهول کن تاریخ هجر نیک بوز کسان  
 سگز سنه نشأ خلفای عباسیه دن هارون از تشدید طرفند شادمان نام فرایحه فرانسه هدیه اوله دن بر قطعه چار  
 ساعت اوله اوله بدن برونق مذکوره نوعه با شرف ابد کلدی

و عساکر مرتبه نظامی ماده سی و فی الاصل جنتمک سلطان اورخان خان حضرت نیک زمان سلطنت نوره و بر بزرگ بکجری و حاجی  
 نظامندن ناخو ابرکی و فایع نویسان عالم و تواریخ شناسان احوال امم عند لرین غیر ضعی اولوب لکن مشاخرین زمان  
 انار اخلا فیه عدم رغبت و فی پوسنا هذا اوردوبه دوله نوره اصول حکمته تطبیق اینه جاری اوله نظاماتک منافعدن صرف انتقاد عیبت  
 ابد کلرینه بناء صورت احوال هیئت او ایلر نرن منقلب اولشدر قالدیکه الناس علی بن ملوکم مفاد نجه هر ملتای  
 مسکن و شعاری اولی الامم اراده لرینه توقف اولغله بو اوان میامن افزانه ملت بضای عثمانیه نیک شهرت قدیمه لری تجدید  
 او نوعه اوله ابتدای امره مارا لکر تکلم قون خصوصه صرف همت بوریلور ایسه عهد قدیمه هم علم معرفت و هم نظام در رابطه  
 جنبه کافه امم و ملکه فایق اوله جغی جای اشتباه کلدر محصل الکلام بو اراده نیک حصول قون حربیه بخصوص تعلیمخانه نیک  
 احداثه مشو اولغله تعلیمخانه مذکوره نیک دوام و استقرارنی موجب بر رابطه قویه اینه نظیمی سیر اولور ایسه مصارف جسمه و بعضا  
 مشاق و محن عظیمه اختیار به اوردوبه جابج بندن حلیی مطلوب اوله او فوجیا لدره فیما بعد اصباح اولیه سفند و طمع نظر نیجه نوجیه فوایه لوی  
 در کار و با خصوص علی لادام جانب لطف سینه به غیبت و صداقه مربوط و از استعداد کسه لر فون مذکوره تحصیل مهارت ابریه  
 رونمای هما بون و عساکر نصرت نمون خدمت نرنه و فایع خافایه نیک استقامی کسفن و نمای هما بونک انشاسی لویب اعمالی و عساکر  
 تعلیمی خصوص لرینه و الحاصل دوام از شوکت حرف ابرمزه مدار اوله چه کافه اسوده مدار کئی اوله جغدی لشکر اولغله بورنقه تعلیمخانه  
 احداثه و موجب دوامی اوله جوسای استحصالی اینه بر رابطه قویه اینه تنظیمه اراده علیه تعلق بوردی نظام ملل و دوله عن قریب  
 احیاسته فال خیر اتخا ز اولغله ان شا الله تعالی هم کوه انرا حضرت شهنشاهی اینه بویه برانز جنبه کثیر الفواید و  
 وجود کسبی میرزا اولور ایسه زمان ایهت عنوان جنان ادری نخبه اعصار و ادوار و ایوم سرکار ده اولون و کلوی سلطنت سینه  
 الی انشاء الزمان موجب بقای نام و اشتهار اینه وسیله افتخار اینه جغی وارسته قید کانر

تعلیمخانه مذکوره در تنظیمی بر قاج ماده به محتاج اولغله زبرده بکای بکان بسط و بیان اولو

اوله تعلیمخانه بر مناسب موقع احداث اوله کا غذخانه نیک ساحل بمینی اختیار اولنسه هم آب و هوا جغی و هم ایاب و زهابیه  
 تقریباً ایه اهور اولدغندن بشقه حفظ الله تعالی علت و با طهوری هتکا مندو فی الجمله مامون و معون اولغلی و اطرافه واقع کور  
 کسعی جسمیه مساحه و هندسه نیک عملیاتی مستوف عسکره تعلیماتی اجزا اولنه بیه کئی بر برار اولغله محل مرخوم اهور و حسن  
 و بنای مذکور احشای اولیوب کار کبر اوله و درونش اوردوبدن جلب اولنه جوی معلم و او فوجیا لدره قدر کفایه طالبدن افا مندر بویست  
 بشقه بشقه اولطه لر انشا اولنه ثاباً اهلا سلامک قون بشق نفر و دروم طائفه سنن اون بشق نفر طلیه جمه سی اون بشق نفر  
 بر می نش با شنده اولو اولغله نخبه و در تخصص اوله و بوندرن کلولری لهور نره بر لری خانی فایلی به بر حال بشقه لری تعلیمی اوله دن مقدار  
 زنی و نقصان قبول انجیه نائناً تعلیمخانه مذکوره علم حساب و الجبر و ساعه و فن انشاسی سفن و فن دریا و فلکیات و فن رسم  
 و زینب عسک و معاری و هندسه بشقه بشقه تعلیم بندر به فالدیه مندر سل بر حال فی الجمله کتابه آشنا اوله لازمه دن اولغله زکرایان  
 طبعه جینق اوقوب باز منغه آشنا اولمیلاندره لسان ترکی بی تعلیم همچون بشق نفر مقلدره فی تخصصی بندر به ممالک محروسه خافایه به مجور اولو



HH9783

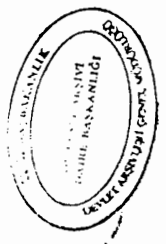
دولت عینه ایله معامله لری نوزم کدی کیزن ترکی لسانی نعمت ایچون اونوز فزون طلیه به مخصوص مکتبلر ایجا دینه انقضا ایدن مصارفی اختیار  
ایله کلامی کبی حقیقته نلک دخی اکتز او دو باد و نلدیه کلی مناسبتی درکار اولد بقدن السنه افرنجیه بی وهیج دکل ایسه جمیع اوروپا به شوی  
و شایسته مطالعه اوله جو فنی و افرسولفات مغیره سی جنبه سائر السنه؛ نصاریه نفوقی ظاهر اولان فرانسه لسانی کرک اهل اسلامه  
و کرک روم طائفه سنه تعلیم ایندرسه بوقوله لر هر درلو خدمت دولت عینه ده و تخصیصی نوزم مطالعه اولان بعضی کتب و آثار کبی  
ترجمه سنه مدار اوله جعفری ظاهر ایشله لسان مذکور تعلیم ایچون تعلیم خانده بشقه جه معلم دخی تعیین اوله  
دایماً تعلیم خانده کافه، سواحل و بحار و ممالک و بلادک بشقه بشقه خریده لری و بجه لرو سمل و ذریع و استحکامات متنوعه نمونه لری  
لایون هندسه وقون مذکورده دایز ترکی و فرانسه کتابلدی موجود اوله نوزم ایشله بر ساعت اول مالومه مذکورده بی ندرت  
و مباحثه صغره و تعلیم خانه فاضلی اقدی و قریبی تقدیم ایله فالدیگر افلاطون و ارسطو و سقراط کبی فلسفه منفذ سنبلدی  
اخلاق و اعتقادی مطالعه، علوم و وقون و تجارب کونا کون ایله ون وقت بجه آثار جدیده استخراجده دسترس اولوب مرور اوار  
دکرو رهورد و اعصار ایله رفقه رفقه مذاهب منفذ میندن اعدا اوله دن هر بر علی کانه ایصال و مؤلفان عدیده انشائیه سی بهرک  
ایله کلمه سنی بونلر دایز مشرقیله آثار جدیده لری ترجمه اولسه هم تعلیم خانده تعیین اوله جو طلیه به تحصیل معارفه  
مورد بکورد هوسکار و دین و حقیقته به حدیسی کرمایه، افتخار عدا ایدن سائر سنه لره افغ و ارضی دیوبند ایسه بوقوله کتب  
و رسالات بعد از ترجمه هر بر ندرت نشر و ایشله بونلر ایچون طبع ایندرجه خامساً سعادت نوزم کتب اقدی  
تعلیم خانده نلک مدبطلقی اولوب لکن کل بوم نظامت مخصوصه به نامور اوله دن اصحاب درایت و تجربت و ارباب صدقه و استقامت  
تعیین اوله شو بیکه باش معلم و درت نفر خلفا و لسان ترکی به مخصوصی وچ نفر معلم و فرانسه لسان ایچون دیگر اوج نفر معلم دخی  
ناظر موی ابراهیم زبازاده سنه اوله لر سادماً طلیه نلک در کلمه متعلق کافه؛ امور خصوصی نلک ناظر اقدی ایله طائفه؛  
افرنجین باش معلم تعیین اوله جو کسه با ندرت کره تنظیم ایدر سابعاً طلیه نلک انتخابی خصوصی ناظر اقدی نلک بدست اوله نفوق  
اوله اقدی موی ایله بو باده صدقه نام موی او کلام ایله بند کل وقت ایله و طلیه نلک ضبط و ضبطی و در سلبیه عدم مداومت  
و با خود خلاف رضا وضع هر کندر یعنی مستحق نادیب اولدک ترجمه زبازاده لری رئیس اقدی حضرتلرینه با کسب ایدر موی  
ناظر اقدی مرتبه ابراهیم مرهوزک قابل اصلاح و ترجمه اولیاندر و تعلیم فونه استعدادون بی بهره اولدن تعلیم ایدون دفع و تبعید  
کذلک بعد از سندان اقدی موی ابراهیم رایحه نفوقی اوله ناماً طلیه نلک کل بوم و در سلبیه مداومت لری از زودن اوله طایع  
موسی تعلیم ایدر جمع اولوب بشر ساعت قدر علی النواقی معتمدون بعد از سنفا ده کدو خانه لزمه و با خودرینه تعلیم ایدر هر بری دینی مطالعه به مشغول  
با کذب جمعه و بازار کوندری تعطیل در سن اوله ناماً تعلیم ایدر نلک زبازاده سکر ماد مرور نلک هر ای با طلیه طلیه نلک استماله ایندکدری  
وقن و لسانک استماله اوله قاعده دن اولوب بوم امتحانه اصحاب معارفن هر کسک تعلیم ایدر به کلنه خصت و بریده لکن هم تحصیل معارفه  
مشغول اولده نازیله شوق و غیرت وهم متاع علم و هنر بو زمان سیاسی عوانده ندرجه ده رایج ایدر یعنی همه به اعلا زویه وقت اولی اورد  
ارایه اراوق ایام امتحانه اولوبی لکنم حضرت ایلک دخی تعلیم ایدر بی مشرفی ممکن اولد ایسه بوازه جمیلک استفرارینه سبب قوی ایدر  
طلیه نلک تحصیل معارفه کسب امتیاز ایندر سنه ده بر کده ترتیب اوله جو بیون امتحانه قدر مهارت لری کورد کتاب و خریده اولد  
هندسه بهاسی اوله ده عطیه لرا احسانه همت بورلور ایسه بکدره سببه شوق و غیرت ایدر یعنی هویدارد عاشراً تعلیم ایدر ده خیرت  
ایرنده بشر نفوق سنوی معاشد زبانی اوز هر ایشله ناظر اقدی به بش بیک و باش معلقه اوج بیک بشوز و درت نفر خلفا به اینکدر بیک بشر بوز غرض  
اون بیک و ایشله نفر السنه معتمد لری بیک اوج بوز غرضون بری بیک سکر بوز و ایشله نفر طلیه به اینکدر بوزون اون ایچ بیک اوج نفر خسته  
بشوز معاشد دن بشر حطب و کورد به باشوز و کاغد و مرکب و رسم ایچون اولان سابعه سنه بر بوز جمعاً افرق بیک عرکوش تعیین اولوب  
دکرا اولان معاشد ناظر اقدی معرفتیه بر بوزینه نوزم تقسیم اوله شو بیکه ناظر موی ایله همراه خاصه اوج بیک اوج بوز اوج هر وحش  
حواله بوریده جو محکم تعیین جو و عدل اوندی هر برینه بعد از عطا برتن نفوقی سنوی ایدر ایله احد عشر؛ تعلیم ایدر نلک نفوقی  
صواله بوریده جو محکم تعیین جو و عدل اوندی هر برینه بعد از عطا برتن نفوقی سنوی ایدر ایله احد عشر؛ تعلیم ایدر نلک نفوقی





مهندس خانه ترتیبه و بر مناسب محله مهندس خانه انشائه و از مهندسان عرض اید کی بومی سی منظور همی  
 حضرت جهانداری بیورد قدده کاغذ خانه ده اولمز و بو خط هایون شود کمفزون شد فیا فته صدود اولفده  
 فی نفس الامر مسافه بیده ده اولسه شاکر و انک ایاب و ذها بارزده مصارفه محتاج اولد قلندن غیری  
 مشقتی موجب اولد یغنه نیاز هو اهشکر اولمید بقاری ظاهرا اولوب قریب بر محله اولسه خطره کیمه  
 بعضی کسغه لری مداومت ایتمری محفوظ اولد یغندن بجه قیوسنه قریب سلطان حمامی فاشوشونده فقیضو  
 عاشر اند نیک عرضی فروخت اولد <sup>اولفده سیمی</sup> بر کاغذ اخراج اولنوب و از کار کبر اولد ری  
 موجود اولفده ما بعد احسابدن و بوا بخانه و طلب اولد ری انشا اولد قدده و کنا بخانه یا بقی ایچون نوب  
 ایدر چی گوشه باشنده کار کبر اولد ری <sup>دو یو ایزی طوعه درج بود و سیم و سقلمی</sup> دخی التیق ممکن اولور ایسه هم مهندسخانه و هم بصمه خانه بر محله اولد  
 و هله اولدی ده بصمه خانه انشا اولنوب ارزده مباشرت اولنوب صدورنی و فی خطره کابور اکر بو و هر اولد  
 عمده لری نفاق ایدر ایسه آخر کمنه ره فروخت ایتمزون مقدم مابعه سنه مباشرت اولنوب انقضا ایدر کی  
 معلوم و قطری بیورد قدده امر و فایان و قضا و ساء و تاو سلطانم حضرت لری کندر

استاد سعادنده بر مهندس خان ايجاد اولمخنه دار مهندس اولمخنه تقديم ايلديكي تقريري زكاب هم ايدونه عرض اولمخنه  
 بوداي كوزل شيدور رئيس افندي شمس مصطفي افندي و راتب افندي ايله سيشسون بوني بايزوق موزمرد  
 سعاد اباده اولمخنه بو خط همايون شوكتقرون شرفيافته صيدور اولدنيغه ناز موسي ايرهم قونلري جمع و باوه  
 مرقومه بي مذاكره ايدكارين في نفس او مر بعض خصوصه استخدا ام ايجون اطرافدن مهندس جنب اولمخنه  
 و وضع عيبه وه بر مهندس خان و دورونده طبع خان ترسيده مهندس يمشد بروب اقتضا ايدن خدمانده استخدا  
 اولمخنه هر چه كه منسوب اولدني و شيدور مهندس خان مسافه بعينه وه يعني كاغد خان وه اولور ايسه اشد  
 ايدجكه شاكردانك مصارف كتيبه به و عقب و شفته ميند اولمخنه و بودجه قدر عارض اولوب نك  
 ايتارينه سبب اولوب و عيبه نك بر مناسب محنده انشا اولور ايسه هم شاكردان موجب سهولت وهم سهولت  
 زياده اولمخنه باعث اولمخني و مهندس خان انشائنده صنف اولمخنه لروخي انشا اولوب شاكردان  
 بيتوته طالب اولمخنه صنف اولمخنه لرويه بيتوت ايتاري و سازلري اقربا و متعلقا نك خان لرينه كيدوب  
 جمعه ايله بازارون ماعد اهر يوم سوي كللري و مهندس خان نك عين انشا و كميته ناظر رسا رمد بر  
 نعيان اولور ايجق مهندس خان انشائنده اراد و عيبه تعلق ايدور ايسه شمديدن بعض كتابلر ترجمه نك  
 روم طائفه سندن لسان آشنا بعض كنه لر نعيان و امر بنا خزان و ك بعض لزوم كتاب ترجمه و طبع اولمخنه  
 اقتضا ايدو هكي و فن حساب و هندسه نك عملي و تخمينده و انشا قعه و اعمال سفان و فنون حربه و سا  
 فنونده ما هر استاد لري و فن حربه شمديدن مياشت اولمخنه لزوم كده هكي بر بوماده ر اصول اولوب  
 مهندس خان و طبع خان ايجيسي بر محده انشا ايدور اولوب مهندس اولمخنه كوده بعض موده ر و نظام اخذ  
 روسا و استاد لري و شاكردان ترتيب اولمخنه صكده اقتضا نك كوده و در بيان اولمخنه معلوم عما ايلري بيور  
 اولمخنه اولوقت فرو عاينه رابطه و بر ملاك مناسب ايدو كي و در بيان اولمخنه معلوم عما ايلري بيور  
 نوب اولمخنه لري تعلق ايدور ايسه امر و فرمان و قوا سعادتاو سلطان حضرت ايدور







H. H. 10002 (1206)

کامی

(1206)

نظره ما در این امر اولی است بر حسب تکالیف انجمن

اعطای نخبه از آن برآمده در صورتی که این صورتی شود و کارهای  
بسیار است که در این صورتی اولی است و این کار

الحاقه هذه بجهه ايمراطورينه ارسالى لازم كلون نامه هابونك اقتضايك صورتى ابعات اولى بجهه بولتوانم طرف قائمى استعاره است  
دخلى هنوز ورود نمى كند ذكر اولان نامه نك اردو هابون و با خود ركا ب مستطاب دن اصدارى داده بيوريلو رايه بركون اول استعاره  
دارد اولان تحريات حرفت قائمى استعاره نخبه به سفير يقين اولان دانبا فدى او و طه ايجي اولوب ايمراطور مشا رايه كوند رايه  
هديه و كذوبه و بريده جك مالزبه اردوى هابونده كوند رايه اوزره اولد فنگ نامه هابونك دخلى اردوى هابوندن نصيرى راي  
اولن فنگ ناي اصدار اولن اوزره اولوب بر قطعه صورتى اخراج و در سعادته ارسال اولن فنگه اقتضا ايد رايه حضور هابونده عرض اولم  
ركا ب مستطاب ديوان هابون فتنه قيد اولنسن و دولو صدق اذ فرخ نخبه ايد

سابق الذكر نامه هابونك  
صورتى  
قطعه







HH 10335

و اعجم بنده اولفته ناز قدوم بعد ...  
مغنی به محتاج ایردکن

بیزده اضم بقارنله اسپانه کین اوصاف اذی خاص اضم قزیه سنن ان کیر  
و اوزون هایدن قزیه سنن بزیه مجریسف و مجریسفی و کیر طاس خاتم  
طاف اذی و اذی عدد مجریسفی و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
و اذی عدد مجریسفی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
کین اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
اگرچه مجریسفی اولفته اگرچه اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
صحت اعطای اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
اقله لزوم کلدایه شکل اولفته ناز بزرگ مجریسفی اذی اذی اذی  
صورتی بعدن نالی عددن بد تصور نسیم قزیه: هایدن اذی اذی

قالیکه آورداده باغی بفرنگک خانه سنده طعام اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
شان و کوره دون علیه اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
در بعد سیم آصفی و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
کندیم لرزی اولفدن ناشی اگر بزرگ عارت طریقه قزیه: هایدن اذی اذی  
غایت آخر فوره و سرت مقده لری مومالی کندی نازک اذی اذی  
ذکر اولنان اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
کلدایه رشده بر اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
طلب اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
اذا کله اول اول وقت استفاله کیری و ذک و صحت مع فایده باین و اذی اذی  
مادون اولفته ناز اول وقت استفاله کیری و ذک و صحت مع فایده باین و اذی اذی  
باین و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی

و ریب ...  
مهازاره و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
اولفته مجار و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی

مومالی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
در کار اولفته اگرچه بر ناز لری اسفاره بوزی اولیب کین اذی اذی  
کلبه بوزم رسانده و کین اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
کیرین زیاده هفتده بر غنائک اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
عدونه اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی

مقدما سفازم مجریسفی کین رسمی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
کیرین کلکلی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
ذکر اولنان رسالارک مطالعه سنه محتاج اولفته رسالار نازک و کندی اذی  
اولنسن و اول اوردیاده اولفته اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
سازره و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی  
ذکر اولنان رسالارک بجزه دهن مومالی محتاج ایردکن مجریسفی اذی اذی  
و اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی اذی

و اذی ایر

بادشاهم

HH 13347

مجلس عالی  
تعمیر و  
تعمیرات  
مجلس عالی  
تعمیرات  
مجلس عالی  
تعمیرات

شوکلو کونلو مهاپاد قورتار ولی نعمت اقم

HH 13347 (1206)

نجه الجبناك مهور تقويم ايلديكي تقيرين ايمراطورك دفاتي داغلي يرينه قعدو ايديكناك جنري ماه شعبانك اولون برنجي  
 كونده وارد اولق مودبسه يله تعينات سابقه سنك قطع اولونيندن بختله روزره تعينات واجاره خانرها و نفلات  
 براهه تطبيقاً بوردومه مجدداً تعينات ترتيب و تنظيم اولموني استعا ايديكينه نياز دفتر دارا فوي قوللرني هولم اولورده سابقه  
 قياساً تعينات بهاسيله فانه اجاره سي يوزالي غوش و يريله كلديكي ديونون اقرجه خلاه ايلونلرني بناؤ ايكوز اولور غوش  
 بها دالي غوش اجاره خانم ترتيب اولمش اولغله بوسورتره ايجي مودرايه شعبانك اولون برنجي كوندن اعتبار ايله تعينات  
 واجاره خانم ترتيب اولمشه يكمي برنجي كونه دكهن اولون بركونه اوج بياك كسان غوش زياده افذا لميش اولم غبنه بناؤ  
 تعينات مذكوره قطي كوندن اعتبار ايله تمش طفور تارنجنده اولريني شلاو يوزالي غوش ديرملك ديا خود خله هاي اولور  
 ديرليكي شلاو ايكوز كسان غوش تخفيض الامت شقاري اراده عيتيم متوقف اولريني مودرايه قولاري برقطعه تقير ايله انزا  
 اتمكين عتبه يبارينه عرض اولدي منظور و معلوم هاي اولورلي بويرلورده نوجهله اراده عيتيم بوير بوير ايسه فطان شوكلو كورتار  
 مهاپاد قورتار ولی نعمت اقم بادشاهم هر تيرين

بارشاهم

HH 13353 (1206)

وزارت جنگ  
 کلاکده و عدالت  
 شریک طوری  
 کلاکده و عدالت  
 وزارت جنگ  
 کلاکده و عدالت

نوکلو کراسلو مرانیلو قدرتو و طاعت اقدم  
 نوجوانانه خارده مامور رانبا ایدی فولرند منصب نوجبیه اولسه اولز مرد بو مبارک خط هارون کورنی  
 خا بنبره صدور اولغور هر حاله اولغور اقدرت و قدرت مومما به فولرندک حین مامور بنوع اوزون کیموری  
 کتابی یونقی عوزون ضبط اعلک اوزره بانس حاجیه جیلک موقه نوجبیه اولغور اولغور نندی و فرخ بود حق  
 انبره ایدن مقدم عودو انجمن اوله یان کجاسه بی ضبط اعلک ابقنا ایدی انجی عودو اتمدکته بار کجاسه کورنی  
 کله حاله نورهارن ضبط اعلک لوزم کلکله نندی آفر منصب نوجبیه اراده یوریلور فر اوجسید سواری مفاد سیمی کورنی  
 کتابی مللو ضامیدن برنگ نورمندی عی هیز برنگه بو صورت اولدی و نه دن تنزلی موجب اوله نوجی هر  
 اولغور نوجی کیفیت تمام علم عاندی بر رنده مومما به مطلق نوجبیه نوجبیه اراده بر رنده نوجی نوجی نوجی  
 تین انجاسی انجمن برلک نوجی نوجی کل تعلیمی راسی سامی سیدور هر نوجی اراده سیامدی نوجی اراده اولغور نوجی نوجی  
 مرانیلو قدرتو و طاعت اقدم بارشاهم حدیث کورنی







وفاغله بده نواز

زاینه نونک اعلان بحار سی بوجهه دکر فزنی مسانک اون سرتی کوفی اصحابه اولون دکلر زال سرانه کیدو  
نیزودن کلون تقویات و بجهه فی الجمله اولون مورصافی درصمان و هیکل مناخ فزنی و عیله بینه اولون دولتی  
مفسد و سکا نونی بیان اولوب زاینه راملین لیم و اهار و ضیاری ایما و اناه ایتا یله هفتد و ادر حبل زینجده  
مجنور و صعوبت و دکار ارب هقی بجهنده نفسنه حضرت زینت اشکارا و سفله کلا تارنه ماماشات اظهار ایله ایشی  
کوفی اصحابه فی یه زینته خیر شیار و باران کون فزنده یارم ساعت صدق اصحابه کله جکی اخبار ایروب  
نسانک برسی اولون بوم بر بورده اصحابه محب کما وجهه ترلی اوزرینه اعلان بحار لوزر کلانلی اخبار ایله  
نسیانک اصحابه فی حر دعوت و ناله فی مناسبت اورد ایشی و زو فزی یا زلسنی اشارت الی حبل علی ترالک  
بر حالند اظهار تحفظیت ایروب در حال زار در بر ایله امر بجزر و حد و دره اولون جنرال فی طرفه نسبیرون فزنده

بسانک یکی فنوزنده توره ستمده زاینه لودن درت بیلن نوزسکره بجهه لوصا و فایروب بحار بیلن  
بحار دن سکده زاینه عسار نونک فراری ایرونی کون اون درت بیلن فزنده عسکرله بیرون نام جنرال  
موضع شهری اوزرینه هجوم ایدکره علمی محافظ اولون برینام جنرال مقابله ایروب اولون عسکرله  
جنرال بیروی و درودون ایله ادرودن شهر دن بیرون ایلدکلن زاینه عسکر دن ایگوز تزار ایروب بجهه لوزر  
تبعیت و باقی عسار سلاحی اترق و ادره عبادت ایتا یله طفوز عذر طولوبنی صفت ایلدکلن بجهه لوزر  
و در بواجی بحار صحنی حال بجهه اشاعت اولمشدر ایشی صورتی و فزنده نقل و ایغله فی الجمله  
نونک در ادر فزمت ارش ابر رخی شیومی کوفی اولدکلن ظاهر و خلق تحفظ و اوماغله هوسه و باحقوس  
عسکر شوق اولوب اچون برسیسه اولدکلن با هر در

زادوتان و زو فز اول مال و خلاصه سی بودرک زاینه ملتی نظام حربه مسانک ایدکره برقع و مملکت و ادانی  
و ابات صفت و فزنی بخی ایله بحار به شرع ایتدکلن مشوا ایتدکلن بیلینه و فا ایروب ایشی کما وجهه  
ترلی سکده فی تقریره دول سازه ایله فزنده علمینه ایشی انقافدن فراغت و یونما فزنده عسکر ترب و حنودره  
نسب و توارکات حربه به شغولشدن ترالک نیت ایتدکلن و الفاض ایلدکره اولون بکلرک دعوتی فکجه بیدار  
وزاری اولدکره سادعه صورتی اظهار ایله فزنده نونک کلوشنه نونن درعما ایشی افساده سخی بکلرک بجهه  
خودر کلرکن نسقیه مابینه ایدکره فالمدنیغله ضالمه ایله اسلوب امانتینه نانا ایشی سر بسینکلر  
بحاقظ ملاحظه سیله ادرنه فک اولدکلن و یونکل برسیست ملته بزوالن ناحیه تروضندن صیانتیه مینی  
ایغله کزی زما شردن عبادتکلر ایله مالک اموال و ارزاق و ایشی سانه رود لوزر و خسارت  
ایلماسنه اهتمام ایله بکلرک و فقط یونکل ایله راملی غدار و ظله دن ترالک باشنه قصد ایدکلن  
و کزی برسیبتی بحاقظ سیون بر اظاریه داخل اولدکلن شمردن قبول ایروب مدارعا سارنه کافل و کانی  
و مال و جان فزنده حامی اولدکلن نسیانک اصحابه بیان و بحار وجهه ترلی اوزرینه بحار فی اعلان ایروب  
یا زلسدر

ما بسک اکیسند و آلسین طرفه بجهه عساری برعقد و فزاینه لوزر مصادق ایروب بحار به ایدار ایتدکلن  
زاینه نونک کلکل برصدنی ایروب بجهه تبعیت ایدکلن و باقی عسار کون فزاری و جاد و فزنده رخی  
و نسجه شالریک و برسیلون نقد و برسیلون جسمه کاغذ ایشی صفت ایلدکلن بجهه لوزر ایروب اولدکره نقل  
و طرفه بر همانی جنر و پرور کویا بروکل طرفین صفت اولوب بوشرا ایله ادره عیش و نوش صفا و درونما  
ایر بکلر و ایشی یا بان اهالیسنه افغان ایروب طرفینه جلب ایلدکلن ایشی دو اوجه روایت ایدکره  
و بجهه بعضی بر قاع کلکل دخی بر کونده طرفه ایشی اولوب هوری و کونک نقل ایتدکلن برصدنی ایروب  
انک الخفا و باقی فزنده اصلی بودرک و بجهه بر قاع کون سور میوب ادری سلسله غالباً جملک و سالیس  
قیصدنر

HH 14065  
(1206)

اوجه بوحوا ایلر دول طرفدن اشاعت اولغله بجهه اصلی بودرک و نوزر سه دخی و بجهه سار و تواع اولدکلن  
کوفی اولدکلن ایشی بودرک فزایات مقول سی اولوب فقط عسکریتی تشویق و خلقی ترغیبه مینی برسیبت  
بر ایتا ادره بجهه بونک بجهه عوادت بسیار اولوب حتی فزاینه لوزر ایشی اوشدکره شهر و اسکلاری و مؤلفین شهرتی  
صفت ایدکره دیوسولدی و بجهه اصلی بودرک و بجهه فنوزنده سز هر فزندن هجوم ایدکره ایشی دیوسولدی  
تصحیح اولدکلن

زاینه خصوضه متفق اولون دول فقط بحار وجهه ترلی اولوب و روسیا ترلی بوجی تشویق و ترغیب و تحریک  
و تقویه عمله مقدم ایشی فزایات بودرک در کما صلا فزندن یا زلمون و فزنده نوزده و طبع اولونان فزنده نوزده  
برسیان دولتی و دول سازه و ایدکره بوسکلر و بجهه کزی قطعاً لسانه و قال و فکله اولوب اعلان بحار به  
بحار وجهه ترلی اوزرینه اولدکلن تفریح و رعایا نونک همت و صیانت و اموال و ایشیا و املاک کلک بحاقظ  
و رعایا سنه دقت خصوصی توضیح ایشی زیاده دقت اولدکلن بجهه موزدرنر

و ایتا ادره بجهه برا حوادت دخی اشاعه ایدکره کما بار سده و ایلک نفسی بحاقظ بر مخصوص بیلن ایگوز  
نوز عاری و فزنده عسکرله اصحابه نسیانک طرفدن رب النیق بیلن غاری نسیانک عسکران ایشی  
اتفاق ایروب اصحابه فزندن روگردان و حنودره زاینه نونک همتی ایشی بجهه کما فزایات اطاعت  
و عبودیت صورتی اعلان و هر کوم کمال اولدکره انفاذ ایزده بکلرک بیان صورتیه بر ایشی ایشی  
سویبرک بودرک بایشی اوج و کله ایشی سلسله کذب اولدکلن ظاهر اولدکره و صوره ادری ایشی

بر دسیان ترلی اولدکلن ایله بار بالذات بحار به عمت ایلدکره جکر دیو اوجه بودرک شهرت بولمشدر لکن  
قاعده دول اوزره هفتد بوجهه بیان اولغله دسیان دولر ایتا و سفا ظر و صیل ملله ایشیا اولدکلن ایشی  
نونک اشاعه سی بولیشم بیلدن اولدکلن اوزره مظاهر ایروب عیبتی تجویز ایتا یله بجهه انتظار و نهایت  
و عاقبت صرف اتفاق ایلدکره



بر طرفین فزنی ما بسک بجهه برسیسته زال بودرک کیدوب بحار تاجینی ایتا ایلدکره جله ایشیله فزاینه بجهه زاینه  
ایدکره بوسکلر کیدوب و بازر اولدکلن و بر قاع بودرک و زال دخی ایلدکره بولنجنی مقرر ایشیله ایلدکره ایدکره بولمشدر  
بکلرک و زال دخی نفسنه مشهوریم ایلدکره بجهه بولمشدر و حقی مارشال لاشی به خیر فزنده روس  
خان تاز خدمت و صدق فزندن ممنون و مستحکم ببله و انفقوره کیدوب دخی زیاده محفوظ اولدکره بکلرک مارشال  
لوشی دخی اظهار اطاعت و عبودیت صورتی ایدکره ایدکره ایلدکلن ترالک دخی یا نسیبتی استدلال ایلدکره و باقی  
بون تارک تیه اولدکلن سی بولمشدر ایشی اسرار و بجزر اولدکره بولیشم بجهه ایلدکره جکی تجویز ایتدکره  
و بجهه دسیان ترلی فی حقیقت نفسنه خدومی کیدوب سه بودرک بیدر بیز

فزاینه نونک اعلان بحار سی بوجهه دکر فزنی مسانک اون سرتی کوفی اصحابه اولون دکلر زال سرانه کیدو  
نیزودن کلون تقویات و بجهه فی الجمله اولون مورصافی درصمان و هیکل مناخ فزنی و عیله بینه اولون دولتی  
مفسد و سکا نونی بیان اولوب زاینه راملین لیم و اهار و ضیاری ایما و اناه ایتا یله هفتد و ادر حبل زینجده  
مجنور و صعوبت و دکار ارب هقی بجهنده نفسنه حضرت زینت اشکارا و سفله کلا تارنه ماماشات اظهار ایله ایشی  
کوفی اصحابه فی یه زینته خیر شیار و باران کون فزنده یارم ساعت صدق اصحابه کله جکی اخبار ایروب  
نسانک برسی اولون بوم بر بورده اصحابه محب کما وجهه ترلی اوزرینه اعلان بحار لوزر کلانلی اخبار ایله  
نسیانک اصحابه فی حر دعوت و ناله فی مناسبت اورد ایشی و زو فزی یا زلسنی اشارت الی حبل علی ترالک  
بر حالند اظهار تحفظیت ایروب در حال زار در بر ایله امر بجزر و حد و دره اولون جنرال فی طرفه نسبیرون فزنده





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ولي النعم بنده نوازا

نچ لو بو مصالحه دن بر در لو محظوظ د کدر اجنح رعایا سی و مجارستان بلک ممنوندر بزم بو قدر معلوم  
 عسکر خسته لکن و جنگه اسیر و قتل اولدنیفیدن معذوم اولدی و بو قدر رعایا مزاسیر و کویلیز  
 فراب و فونه زانلوف اولدی بلغزاد و اطه قلمه رینی و سایر الدیغز قلع و بیلودی استرداد ایلدک  
 بزم بونه نه کارزا اولدی دیوغریت اولور و داتما طار قلمه وسیله ارارلر که چه بر در لو عریح  
 استرلر و عرب قدر تلمی بو قدر و ویرکوی رعایا ویره جلی اولغله بر در لو دولت علیه سوغنی رعایا  
 استر قیل و قال و نزاع و جداله باعث اولور اجنح قوللی بو طرفه هر اسرارینه دقت و امعات  
 و هر بر حال و کردار و اطوارینه صرف اذعان ایلدیکم کندوره نمایان اولغله بزنی تغلیط و اسرار زنی  
 کتم صورتده کویا بزنی طار لتمام ایچ اگر طار بیلور ایستی اشته بروسیانی دخی اتفاقه جلب ایتدک ایشلر  
 بشقم اولور شکلی ارا نه ایتدک استرلر و هودنجه احوال و کیفیاتینه داتر و ویریکم تقریر اتمه اعتبار  
 اولغاص صورتنی تحصیل بر سر رسته ارارلر زیر انچه و مجارلر کافه حقایق و دقائق و کیفیاتنه  
 و عساکرینه و نظامنه و ایراد اتلرینه و اداره ممالکینه و بام تلرینه بعون الله تعالی تحصیل و توف  
 و اطلاع اولمشدر بوجهتدن غایت فوکلزون احتراز ایدرلر شوکتلو کرامتلو قدرتلو عظمتلو ولی نعمت  
 سلطان سلیم افندزلیک نظام ملک و مملکت و انتظام امور دولت و فطیحت و اهتمام و هودرلو  
 شجاعت و اقدامی و حاله سنندارای صدارت عظمی دولتو عنایتلو بوسف پاشا افندزلیک دخی  
 بویابده زیاده تقید تاتی و عبور و جسوز و نظام عسکر و ملت دقت و صرف محبتله مشهور  
 بهادر و دلیر و وزیر در دیوهر خصوصده سعی مالکلو می اور و پادده و با حضور بو طرفه مذکور  
 اولغله فوکلزون عودتده هو خصوصیتینه و قوتمه اعتمادی وسیله بغایت اندیشه ایدوب رعایت  
 اول غودتی و در سعادتده تقریرمه اعتبار اولغاص صورتلرینه سر رسته تحصیلنی ارارلر بصورت  
 قولرینه زیاده اعتبار و عورت ایدرلر لکم درونی اولیوب جناب ربه القوتلیک فضل و کرم و عنایت  
 انا افندزلیک نظر عاطفت و رافت و حسره همی ایله موافق

HH 14138 (1206)













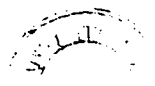




HH 52516-a  
(21/C/1296)

اسلامی ادارہ سیکرٹری جنرل  
تفویض عارضہ ملحق صورتیاد  
ڈی ووئیٹنگ سکرہ کی وی بی ڈی

اشیو خدمت جلیلہ بہ ما موریتاہ کلورکم بسنتہ شہرنہ و صولزده بوسنہ اہالیسندن ویکوی زمرہ سندن اللہی جماعتک  
یولداشلندن بوسنہ سرائی ایچندہ طوغوف بیومہ حمزہ اوغلی ابراہیم بیٹہ نام کمنہ اثنای سفردہ بوکوردن اغا ای طرفندن  
مکتوب ایلہ بلغرادہ کونزریلوب جو ایلہ عودت ایدرکم خلول راہدہ نیچہ عسارینہ تضادف ایدوب قیدامره کرفار  
وہاوسولتات زمرہ سنہ ادخال اولندیزیقی انہا و تنضیر ایتیموب دین اسلام اوزرہ ایدوکنی ایتا غولن حکم نہ اخبار  
وانبا ایتکلمہ بر موجب شروط عہدنامہ ہایون اسیر زبور ضابطلندن طلب اولندقدہ میانہ دہ بعض جواب و سوال ہایون  
صکرہ اسرامادہ سی بچہ فصل اولنوخ اوزرہ نظام وقاعدہ مزدن اولغلا بمنہ تعالی بچہ و ضولکزدہ افادہ و طرفزہ  
ویرملک شرطیلہ امانتہ اسیر زبور ہی منہ تسلیم ایدہ زر دیملیلہ شرط زبور ایلہ امانتہ اسیر زبور طرفزہ ویریلوب بچہ واصل  
اولدقدہ دولت ایچرا طورہ طرفندن بر موجب عہدنامہ ہایون طلب اولندقدہ مخالفت اولغیوب بیزمہ تسلیم وسیلی  
تخلیم اولندیزیقی اشبو توفیر فر ایلہ افادہ و بیان اولنور ۱۲۱۲ھ



HH 52516-6 (1206)

و خانها بنده نوازا

بجای و یقیناً معلوم عالمی بود لکن اغوستر ما خاندانک ضمیمی دولت علیه طرفه صمیمی  
 صفوت و کلدی اردل و بخارک رجال و بخارینک درونری دولت عثمانیه طرفه مجذب  
 و منصف و اغوستر ما خاندانک مجتنب و منصرف و لکن بیون اغوستر مانک رجال  
 و بیج و جنرالای برودلو بوضیون محفوظ اولیوب چکه بودار بزم بودر عساکر و رعایا  
 کیمی منته مکن و کیمی مجار و رعایا ترن انوف و بیج و خا و مهمات و فرائض اصراف  
 اولدی استیلا اینکین فادع و بلاد بروسیه بلا سیله بنه استرداد اولغله بزم موسوفه  
 بریاد اولدی قالدی دیو ایرادیه دن برودلو هضم اینتر و درونلریون جعفر همان ادنی  
 بروضه بقدر فوت اولان امپراطورک منجربلک اولدیغدن و کزوده منات و نبات  
 بولدیغدن برسی محفوظ دکل ایلی و لکن شمعی اولان قال فرائض حقو تمام عیسی بوزیک  
 عینی اولوب خوب و قتال مائل و تحصیل نام و نشان طالب اولغله شمیکجا لده بروسیا  
 زانی ابله دخی شفق اولدیغدن معاذ الله مقالی و ضنه منقب اولور

و لکن بیج دولنده تبریر آموزه قادر عاقل و رشید و دوریایم و مدتی و مدبر بر منستری  
 و برقدار شال و جنرال یوقدر مارشال لاسیدن ماعدا سنی ایله کوروشن صحت ایندن  
 مارشال لوسی و مارشال و الیس زیادته کلیدر لکن مارشال و الیس ایله بیج فایضین ضیافت  
 کونی کورشم و صحبت ایتم بلک عقل و رشاد و تدبیر و استعداد فهم ایدم مارشال  
 لوسی براری ادمر صو کزیدر کم اولدی فایض کلیدی کوردم اشنالعه ایندی و لکن صحبت  
 اولندی انی بلک ماعدا جنرال و مارشال لریون بجه موجود اولدی کوردم اولیبا نری  
 تصحیح ایتم بر لیکنده این یوقدر مارشال لوسی بلک عاقل اولم اوزره سوبلیور

قالدی ایچر بومورینی رویته باش و کل اولان بیج قولوره دو منکر و مدعی و جاهل و دقایق  
 دول و عقایق ملدن غافل بر بچون لایعقل در انک قلنده رئیس مقامده اولوباروت  
 خورکس بر ساکم و نازک ادمرز و لکن تبریه قادر اولدیغدن اعتباری یوقدر اصلزاده در  
 و کالده  
 و لکن بیج فایض اوجه منکر و جاهلدر اینج جوق وقت خردنده والی سینه ریب باش  
 بولغله جوق زمان کوروش و خضوب جسمه و امور عظیمه ده بولمش بوجیه امور اینج  
 بر بر ساخوره اولوب عاقبت بزم و قدر دان و عاقلدر قومه و ایمانه زیادته کبر ایدر  
 فزایزه ره و زمانه علیه قیام اینتر و کورنوز ساعت طغوزه دن دو شکر قانقر کندی  
 تران سزانه کلور و رشرد دو بکر و زور و قرا کلدی دیونکنی بوز زینه وقتی بزمانت  
 اسهانی استدیکی زمانه و خندنه قانقار و ترالیش اوغلی و تران شاری یانه کلدره  
 ... .. و کلدی کادری قیام اینتر و لکن

و هم اختیار دخی خورشیدر محفوظ اولور دیمایله بند بلامینه برایکی دم الوب دامادم نزه لیم  
 بر اینکشمیدم و اضنا فرج افزا بر محل اولغله بیج و سراینده اولون رضا وری نماشا ادر اینک  
 میرا خوری محنتی خبر کوروشی در عقب هفتون سوارا نوب کلدی و زیاده سرور و نشاط  
 و محظوظیت و انبساط اظهار ایدر بزم اینکرمی کوردمی دیو سوال و نری کندی اینک  
 یانه کور و روب انزه ایله شکر و ربوب اوخشیای رق اوستی او بولون تخمینا بوزار شون  
 طوبی و یکری ارشون عیسی بر صوفای کیمی مخصوص و محظوظ بر بری اولغله انزه اولردن  
 ایکی اوچنه بشر او زدیقه نوب کوریا فارسلک ایندی برایکی جنرال دخی انزه ایدی  
 صکره کیمیل ایروب با نزه کلوب بزم فارسکی بکدی کورمی دیو سوال اینکله مزاج و طبیعت  
 منوم اولدیغدن و داره مادمت فی داره مضمونه عمل ایروب مسافرتله بوزره  
 بولدیغدن بلک بر صحت و رشردیو جلب قلبی اینچون بیج فایض دوستم فلدا مارشال اولور  
 ایتم بوزره بومثلوز سینه صاب و بزیکم بریزر ما مشاء الله بلک فارسکی وار دیو  
 استحسان صورتی بیان ایلی کیده زیاده سیله فرم و خندان اولوب انزه اولوت  
 جنرال دیمیک کوردمی عثمانی فضل فارس الخلی قرا ایدر بلک عاقل ادمر بلک  
 جانم حفظ ایندی ضوری بلک ممد و حدر دیونری اکا تیار بشو نوب صکره نزه دخی  
 خطاب ایروب بر بیجی عرب و ترکان اناری کدم تعلیم ایدرم بوشهرده بزم کیمی فارس  
 یوقدر دیو اختیاره باشدی سوز جوق و لکن تقصیل بقدر اشته بولنک بیج  
 اطواری و ادر کم عه کور و ب جوق کیمی اولدیغتی اشعار ایدره شینان عجمان هما  
 ابرو من بیج شیخ یقینی و صبیق تیشین بزم کزدنک فارسکی بکدی کورمی و اتم  
 بنری کیمی کوردمی بش النی کون کلان و کدن رجال و نشا و ایلچیده حکایت ایروب  
 اختیار ایدردی اشته هر حال بونن استدلال اولور و رشرد مارشال اولوب اینجی مرکز  
 دیدم کون زیاده محفوظ اولوب اندی حضرتلارن بلک حفظ ایلمر قصورینی با بیره هم مانغا  
 کندی اوشمه مده یا عنده طورسون اذن و بر رری ذنبلرینه بر ضرری واریدر دیو استندان  
 اینکله اقتضای کورده جوابی و بر لکله مصور کلوب تصور اینتر و نکستانه نقش و بر دن  
 اسلوقده کلان ایلچیلرک رسوایقاری بلک جوق اولغله حتی ظریفانه بواجبی بیج  
 فایض لقا قلنه حکایت ایروب راتب اندی اولم بولم جواب بریزر بولیده دیزدی  
 دیری

خدا صنه کلور بیج فایضون ماعدا بیج دولته سنس کلار مال اشنا و قدر دان  
 بر ادم کوردمر بزم منستریلر زیاده کلیدر جوق بیج فایض اختیار اولغله  
 برینه بر قیام و کیمی نصب اولمش قومه قوچیل دیور بر ادمر وارد و قوچون  
 صدر انی بکدم کتم قال و سائر لکن یانه معتبر کلدر فقط فایض اعتبار ایدر  
 ... .. مثله شه بیج فایض قلنده رئیس کارون و کلدی

بولند یعنی بر بنی محظوظ دهل ابرام و ستم عدس در ...  
عینی اولوب عرب و قائله مائل و تحصیل نام و شانه طالب و غفله شهر کجایله بروسیا  
زانی ابله دخی شفق اولدقن سعاد الله تعالی و ضنه مترقب اولور

HH 52516-6  
(1206)

ولکم نجه دولنده تبریر اموره قادر عاقل ورشید و دو بریم و مدتی و مدبر بر منستی  
و برقله مارشال و جنرال یوقدر مارشال لوسیدن ماعداسی ایله کورشدن صحبت ایتدی  
مارشال لوسی و مارشال والیس زیارت کلدیلر لکم مارشال والیس ایله برنج قاونچیلر صحبت  
کونی کورشدن و صحبت ایتدی بلک عقل ورشاد و تبریر و استفاد قهر ایدم هم مارشال  
لوسی براری امدد صوره بزیکر لکم اولدغی قاونچیلدی کوردم اشتیاقه ایتدی ولکم صحبت  
اولنددی اتی لکم ماعدا جنرال و مارشال لوزن بجه موجود اولدغی کوردم اولیمناظر  
تصحیح ایتدی بر یکنده ایتی یوقدر مارشال لوسی بلک عاقل اولم اولور سولینور

قالدی ایمر بو امرینی رؤیته باش و کل اولان برنج قولوره دو منکر و مدتی و جاهل و دفاق  
قول و عفاقی ملدن عاقل برنجون لوب عقل در انک قلنده رئیس مقانده اولوب اوردن  
خورکس برماکم و نازل امدد ولکم تبریر قادر اولد یکندن اعتباری یوقدر اصلزاده در  
ولکده  
ولکم برنج قاونچ ارجه منکر و جاهلدر ایتدی جوق وقت فرتمده و الی سنه بر قریب باش  
بولمغله جوق زمان کورشدن و غلوب جسمه و امور عظیمه ده بولمغش برنجینه امور ایتدی  
بر برسا خورده اولوب عاقبت بیم و قورردان و عاقلدر قومنه و اربانه زیاده کبر ایدر  
قازاده ره و قواله سله قیام ایتدی و کونور و ساعت طقوزه زان دو شکر قانق کندی  
قزالی سرانه کلور و طشده ده بکلر و فزور قزالی کلدی دیونکنی بوزرینه و حتی زمامت  
ایس جاتی استدیکی زمان ده و شکرده قانقار و زلال اوغلی و قرقر استری یا نه کلدکه  
و برنج قولوره دخی ازان و بیام سی اذن زیاده باش و کلدرا کادغی قیام ایتدی و کنت  
قولوره یا نه وار دیمده و یا ندن کدیگره قیام ایتدی که هکنس نجبا اربوب صوره بزه خبر  
و بریدیلر طوری بلک عاقلانه در کامل ورشید در دیو الجیله و قومنه بزم ایچون مع  
و شاده اولدغی اخبار ایتدی ولکم سنه شمشه ایله باشی سکسان اوج و سنه قریبه  
ایله سکسان یئتی میجا و اولوب همان عتقه کورشدن و هر جوق کی اولمشدر

بیکر دلازل شتی و راهیم و کجی اولوب از جمله ساعت طقوزه کونور و ایتدی قانقار  
در ساعت قفنا کجی صاجتی یار جمده کینوب و قوشا قریب سرانه یارم ساعت محله بر  
صیفه سی اولغله اکا کدوب بر ساعت مقداری ایزه اتلی اولغله بر ایلکسه سوز اولوب  
بعفنا یارم ساعت بر ساعت انرا ایله کلنور و هکنم اول صیفه بر واروب انک  
اسبه سوار اولدغی سیرا بر سه بلک کسب ایتدی بر مالک اولش کجی محظوظ اولور و کوردم  
اکا فارس الخیل دیرسه افوضون کی بر باش و کلدرد و کدن زیاده خط ایدر دوست اولان  
دول الجیلدن بر قاجی و بعضی دوستلری اخبار ایدوب ساعت طقوزه قاونچیلر صیفه  
ایزه کورمک کلان

بولند یعنی بلک بر صلحت و و شرور جلد علی ایچون برنج و اوج دو و سدر  
ایتم بزه بوشلور و سینه صاحب بزیکر در مارشال الله بلک فارسلی وار دیو  
استحسان سورتی بیان ایلدی که زیاده سیله فرخ و خندان اولوب ایزه اولان  
جنرال دیرکی کوردم خیمه عثمانلور فضل فارس الخیل قلم ایدر بلک عاقل امدد بلک  
جانم حفظ ایتدی طوری بلک ممد و حردر دیونری اکا تیار بشو نوب صوره بزه دخی  
خطاب ایدوب بن عجمی عرب و ترکان انلری لکم تعلیم ایدرم بوشه زده بنم کی فارس  
یوقدر دیو افتخاره یا شلدی سوز جوق ولکم تفصیلی تصدیق اشته بولمک کجی نجه  
المواری واردر که عتقه کوروب جو جوق کی اولدغی اشته ایدر سه شینان ایچان هما  
ایزدین خ شیخ یصیتی و صیتی بنشین و بزیم کوزنک فاولسکی کجی کوزی وانه  
بندیکی کوردم کوزی نیش اتی کون کلان و کدن رجال و نسوا و الجیله حکایت ایدوب  
افتخار ایدردی اشته هر جالی بوند استدلال اولور و شرفلدر مارشال اولموش کوز  
دیدکدن زیاده محظوظ اولوب ایتدی حضرتلرین بلک خط ایلدم تصویب بی یا دیره بر واما  
کندی اولم مده یا عده طورسون اذن و بر دردی دینلرینه بر فرزدی وار دیر دیو استبدان  
ایتمکله اقصانه کوره جوایی و بر لکله مصور کلوب تصویق ایتدی و نکستانه نقش و بر دن  
اسلافه کلان الجیلدر رسوالقاری بلک جوق اولغله حتی طریفانه بر قاجی برنج  
قاونچ نطقله حکایت ایدوب رابت ایتدی اولم بویه جواب و بر ز دیوله دیردی  
دیردی

خوصنه کلام برنج قاونچون ماعدای نجه دولنده سنس کلار مال آشنا و قورردان  
بر ادم کوردم جمده منسته بلر زیارتره کلدیلر چونک برنج قاونچ اختیار اولغله  
برینه بر افتخار ایدر و کجی نصب اولمش خورنه قونچیل دیر بر ادم واردر قاونچون  
صوره اتی کجیم لکم قزالی و ساتر لک یا نه معتبر کلدرد فقط قاونچ اعتبار ایدر  
و بلک جیلان اذن زیاده تذکره جیلان مثلونه برنج قاونچ قلنده بر کجی ارون و دیما  
دیردر حیلله کار و باماسی و کجی ساقلدن بر ادم ایتم اوغلی قلم کوروب صوره  
بر قریب بی بولوب کسب شهرت و اعتبار ایتدی که چه حیلوت ظاهره ناطقه سی دکار  
و بریره سی اشکارا اولوب ولکم ذهنده استقامت و رانیزه اصابت و عقلمده  
مقنات و طعمنده سلامت اولدغی بر قاج و دفعه کده و ایله صحبت و لغته حق  
و تحقیق اولمشدر لکم ناطقه سی زیاده و جسور جاهل اولغله منستلر ده بلک  
معتدرو نجه لوزنک اعتباری اکا در و لکم قونقورنه قونچیل کجی ن ایتدی بولدی  
نیشه رجالدن اولغله تجربه امیر احمد کلرین بولر تبریر و مشورت لده اکثر خطا  
ایدوب بلک اصابت ایتدی حتی مشورت لده قاونچ لوزن و زرنینه اعلان عجم در  
صحت در میان اولدغه حدوده واردر که عسکری قاونچ نواضار ایدر جنک ایتدی و لکم  
قاونچ لوزن کجی در دیو منقشدر زانت اولور بر دیو

فی حد ذاته مارون سلیمان بوسوزی واردر زرا فرایده و ایون عمل حلقان نراچی بر سببیت  
اکتدر کجی حکمو اولمکی استبد کجی ن سببیت اولور دینولکم جنک ایتدی و زونچ لوزنی فساد  
حال جنکی طبیعتله ایجا ساید

بوزن پنج اشقیای کندی حال در نه ترک اولنوز کندی سر بسیندن لذت الوب و هر نفس کندی  
مال و جان و عرضی صیانت ایچون انزه محاشاته مجبور اولوب متهتم اولمغله بر حال باشه  
جیقلم دیو چکله قدام ایدرز هر کس بو تهمنه بولا شمدن دخی اوقچه جنگ اولم خیر لود کلیدر  
جنگ لوزم کلنگه عاقل بویله فکر ایله بومقوله خطب جیمی ترک ایدری

زاجنه ده جمعیت ایدرن جمهور اشقیای ننگ هوری دها تریز بر ملا و داهیه عظمی اولوب  
هر کون مشورتلر نه بر حیلله تیریر و دنا جمعیتلر نه نیجه بیلک مکان دو ساس و زور  
اختراع ایروب اولگون نصحته اندر بوب طرف طرف اول بصیرتی قشرا یله بیله الناس  
نیجه اراییف ایدر و خلقک سامعه زینه نیجه مفاسد القادر خالی اولما یلیله اورپا  
دولت لر ننگ مجموعنده البته البته اتق حوب و قتال اشتعال بولماسی محالده

نصرتا ل اصاملیاده بزور اتق قومیریه سنی بوزر نیجه بو عباد اللهی اسیر لکن خلاص  
ایده میوز بر آدم کندی عرض و ادب یله مقید اولدیغی حالده اولر انزه نیچون ظلم ایستوت  
حکم ایستون انزه دخی بزم کی آدم دکلیدر انلی پادشاه بزایده ز ای عباد الله وای  
قرن اشرار نزم جنگ و دعوا قرال و منسیره طرایله در و اتحقق قورشون و طوب و تقفلن  
و جنگ انزلک تو قایرینه در برضا طلال نزه تسلط لندی در انزه دخی سرک کی آدم دکلیدر  
دیور لود لوصفا اولنقرو اشاعه ایله خلقی تحریک و افساد و تشویق ایدرز

ایمپراطورن وفاقی انزلک تعییننه نسبت اولمغله شدکی اسوج قرالی کیفیتنه دخی  
انزلک الی وارد رد بوسو اولن ایدرز حال اولان قرال دخی بری قوتدن مکره  
و سوسه ده ایکم اوجه اسوج و انزلک بو حاله بیلک سرور ایستیلر و تکمینه انزه دخی  
سوا ظن ایتمیله چکنسه حقوق طاری اولدی

حال و روسا قرالنه دخی اون اوچ دفعه ملا هر و امضا مکتوب بر قفسله مضمونه بنم قرالم  
صافوب سر بست طهره ده کره سرز داغما کند و کی محافظه ایده سرز زرا سکا سوا قصد  
ایده جلدر من بعد کند و کی محافظه به اهتمام ایلیس مکره سکا قیروز و اعدام ایدرز  
دیو یازیش

حال اولر ننگ اشالی هر کون اورپا و یاده نیجه دسایس و جیل دهشت آمیز و وسواس  
و هواجس و ظل حیرت انیزه ظهور ایملک در

اشته بر قفسله تریز و آدم حال او و یار بر دقیقه به بقا ربون هر طرفه هر مقام  
اولور و هر طرفه جنگ ظهور ایدر البته کونسه بو ایستل اولر جقدر و دولتهو هنایلو

قا حتمام یا تا اندر ننگ اسراماد و یچون بر او تمام ری وارد اولدی و سزا ننگ  
دخی بو آتارده و رود ایدر عنا بنام ری هامشده اسراماده سی اشارت اولمش  
بر طرفه بلک قرال ای اسیر اولم یلیله و بلک بوز یلیله اولم و لکم اوجا بلک برودن مطافی

اندر من زیاده رحا ایدرم و دولتیونخدا بلن اندره و صیال یازدم اندرن دخی  
بنا ز ایدرم کوندر دیکم اوراق مکتوبی اوسط سنه خلاصه به کتمون بویونه خلاصه

بوصحه بزبونه مسافر ایشی صیغی طو ستم بکار تازه سوزر کیم حالنی افاده ایده کم  
والله العظیم بویزه بر اچ لک ایش کورن انلرزه احکام و تجر و استیکار ایدرز  
و اعتصامه قصه سی معلوم ایچ بنم فریاده کیم بنشور اصلدن لسانه کلدیم معلوم  
عایلیدر شدی بر دخی لسانه محله نم صده فصل فور نیله نم جانم منت بر ایش کوره  
بلیم و لکم بو قدر آرام ایدرز والله العظیم اتق او ز رفله ای بر دقیقه حضور و راحتم  
یوقدر اسراماده یچون یاز دخی و خلل راهره چکدی کی اراوشنیق او فور سکر  
قونکره رحمت ایدر سکر خلاصه بر ایش کوره جنگ حال بو قدر عرفقار من منتقل  
همان اوست تنگه در بویزه بر آزماده و ما بو انجمنده کیم نوز صراطه کاشکی  
بر قاج ماه او توره ایدم دیوانی جنت بدم ایستلر ملاحظه اولدیغی کی دکدر  
استدیح وقت استانوز ادم کونوره مح استانبول ادم بو طرفدن او حیووز خوش  
ایله واره فر و هادیم کوندر یلم مز بویله دخی براتی اچارر جلاور و جالدیوزر  
هر بقیلر زدن زیاده احتراز ایدرز اسراماره واقف اکتوسم دیو هر کون بر کلم  
ضیافت و دعوتله و مسیره و گنا جان (ه کونور کلمه اراصلر بونیم عیار بدر  
بازر کاندک و ایچیلرک واسطه بیلد دخی مکتوب کتمنی مشطر عالی بن افاده ایچکم  
اندر نیتمه و جهلم یازر اقدر لر کونجیور

قالدی اشته تمام اورپا ننگ حائنی افاده ادم ایش کوره جنگ و قدر لسن  
توکری بر ساعت اول بو طرفدن جیقلم دن زبیر بویزه اولدیغی تطبیقات ظهور ایدر  
اسراماده سنه زبیر طرفدن بو کوندر ملن داب دولته دکنر صله بر ایشیه ماده ایچون دخی  
توقور و در ایستلر ایشی او ز اتق مقبولور حمد الله تعالی شمیه دن مقضای ممانت  
و شان و شوکت دولتی اجرام سنی اولدی همان بوز ننگ اغیله بر ساعت اولر  
شور طرفدن عودت ایروب خاکجا یلرینه ملاقات ایستکه تقی و او ز ایا و امراره  
کسب ملاحظه اولمشدر افاده ایدرم هر شینک چاره نیه استابولره اولور  
لکم در املرینه مساعده ده قانی و تدبیر اولنشم تمام مضایقه و اضطرار لری  
و تدبیر

اندر من زیاده رحا ایدرم و دولتیونخدا بلن اندره و صیال یازدم اندرن دخی  
بنا ز ایدرم کوندر دیکم اوراق مکتوبی اوسط سنه خلاصه به کتمون بویونه خلاصه

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نصرتنا اهل بیاده بر سر...  
ایده میوز برادرم کنده عرض وادبیه مقیده اولدنی خالده زالله نزه نچون ظلم ایلسو  
مکم بیسون اولدنی بزم کی ادم دکبیر املی بادشاه بزیره دوز ای عباد الله وای  
زنداشل بزم جنک و دعوا فر زالله و منضمتر طریقه در واته جنی قورشون وطوب و تفنک  
وجنک انزلک قواقرینه در بوظا مللک نزه تسلطی در انلاذی سزک کی ادم دکبیر  
دیور بودر لوفساد و نشر و اشاعه ایله خلقی خربک و اضداد و تشوین ایراز

ایمراضون وفاقی انزلک تسمینه نسبت اولغله شمعی اسوج قرانی کیفیتده دخی  
انزلک الی وارد در دیوسو، ظن ایراز حال اولون قرال دخی بری قوتدن سیکره  
وسوسه ده ایچم ارجه اسوج والذک بو حالنه بلک سرور ایندیله و لکم نیه انله دخی  
سواظن ایندیله بکشمه خوت طاری اولدی

حال و بر صا قرالنه دخی اون اوچ دفعه بلاه و امضا مکتوب برافضل معصومه بنم قرالم  
صافقون سرکست طفره ده کز فیسز داغما کز و کزی محافظه ایده سز زرا سکا سوه قصد  
ایده کلدر سن بعد کندی محافظه به اهتمام ایلیس سکه سکا فیز و اعدام ایراز  
دیور یازلیش  
حال و بر بلک اشالی هر کون اور و یاده نیچم دسایس و جیل دهشت آمیز و دسواس  
وهوا جنس و خلل حیرت انکیز ظهور ایچکده در

اشته بو تفصیلاتن برادرم حال و یار بر دیقچه به بقا ربون هر طرفه عرب قائم  
اولور و هر طرفه جنک ظهور ایراز و البته بکشمه بو اینقل اول جقدر و دکنو غنا تلو  
قائمقام باشا آندوزلک اسراماده بچون برافنامه ری وارد اولدی و سز آندوزلک  
دخی بو اینتا ده ورور ایدن غنا بقینا مری هامشده اسراماده سنی اشارت اولمشق  
بو طرفه بلک قرالی اسیر اولد ببله و لکم یوز ببله اولم و لکم اولجک بر دور اولما کافی  
بو قدر قاچور در و جنرا انملک شقی بو قدر و جنس ایه میج دیسلک مملکتی اضداد  
ایده بور دیور شراره جقدر بیسته شهره بر اصیر قاچوب کندی مطبخه و دو شمسیکن  
نزه نه اذیت ایندیله تفصیلا حاکما بلرینه افاده ایتم او قود قره معلوم عالیله

بوردیلور بزم قشلا فری بصوب دور ایله بزدن اسیر المور سکه کوردیلور الله العظیم  
عاقلا نه و حکمانه و مدققا حرکت ایتم بو حسب بعظیم تضاد اولوردی قره قوللجی  
وسا ترا بتاع ایامه قانقدی و بر میوزدی (بونلر هر حال استر زدیور و اسیری نزه  
نه شرطه تسلیم ایندیله و بر تقویور و بر دیور بونی دولت کوندر طن شرطه و بر زدیور  
اسیری قبول ایتمس فنا و جوه شقی ایله و تقویور قبول ایتمس بلک بو بر تقویور قبول  
نه و طیفه بلک دیور انفعال ایراز و کوردنی شودر شقی اعظام ایتمی بجزدی  
دیورسز بونلرین شمعی بشق اشته اور و یافلک صحیح احوالی علی وجه تحقیق نزه  
یازدم تمام ایق کوره جلیک و یام ملنه دهم جن زماندر زبیر و ایچم ماده بو یام ایچ  
نیچ لوفلک هر قدر اسر و صا و در ایسه دخی و یق دیو جلیک حاللی بو قدر بونی بوجه  
مظالمه ایروب استانبولده هر ایچی و امن اوزره ایلمشدیروب نظامی ویرد سز

اسد بجم و س...  
ایله واره فر و هوادم کوندر بزم بولده کجی براتی آچارر جیلور و جاندیور  
هر یقلزدن زیاده احتراز ایراز اسراماره واقف اهلوسه دیور هوکون برخله  
ضیافت و دعوتله و مسیره و کنا جانانه کونر لکله ارا مری بونلر عبادتدر  
بازر کاندک و ایچیلرک و اصغه سبله دخی مکتوب کتشی منظر عالمی بن افاده ایچم  
اندر نیچم و جهلم یازر اقدیر ز کوجیور

قالدی ایشته عام اور و ما بلک حاکمی افاده ایتم ایق کوره جلیک و قدر لکن  
قوکزی بر ساعت اول بو طرفدن حیقا دلک بزیر بولده اولدنی تطبیقات ظهور ایراز  
اسراماده سنده بزم طرفدن تقویور کوندر ملن و اب دولت و کز صله بر باشقم ماده و بچون دخی  
تقویور ایراز ایلمشق اولد و اسق مقدا اولور حمد الله تعالی شمعی نزه مقتضای دیانت  
و شان و شوکت دولتی اجراء سنی اولدی همان بوز قران اغله بر ساعت اولور  
شور طرفدن عودت ایروب حاکما بلرینه ملاقات ایترکه قتی و اوزر ایا و اسراماره  
کسب مطلاع اولغشدر افاده ایراز هر شینک جاوه نیه استانبولده اولور  
لکم و املرینه مساعده ده تائی و تدبیر اولمشق تمام مضایقه و اضطرار املی  
و حیدر

اقدیدن زیاده رحا ایراز و دوللو کفد بلک افندره و صحال یازدم انزدن دخی  
بنا ز ایراز کوندر دیک اوراق مکتوبی و طرسته خلاصه به کتسون بولده خلاصه  
اولدنی جن ماده بو قدر بکشمه بر دیقچه و لکم واردر یا خود امدی اقدی  
بند ری کندی و سی خلاصه یقون بزیر بونلر ایچم مملکتی قارشیره بور دیور  
سکه نزه بر شر اقادار و طوبال دسته دن کتم اولنه لکم اسراماده سنی افاده  
ایر سز ایچنی دو هتوزدن بلک تشکر ایراز دیو طوبال دسته به سویلم سز  
و بیخ قاونج و بیخ قولوره دو دعوت و ضیافت اینقل طرفه تشکر یازدیور  
نیچم ترجمانه افاده ایده سز کم بنیم طرفلرین هوشنود اولدی دخی هر قدر کتم ایچم دخی  
حق ایراز بزیر ایزی تطبیق بود استنده زوز ایچم مجرد دعوت و ضیافت ایله  
ایچم قوللر زیاده سبله علو جناب و غنا، قلب صورتلر کونتر و بر هیچ بر شقی نظیره  
و نظر اولدی بلک رعنا فرم ایندیله شمعی مخصوص ادم کوندر دم انلا ستانه ده  
بر حال جنس ایراز و صرف مبالغ ایراز ایچنی کعدن سر شقم انور ایله بو طرفه  
لک زحمت و کدر ایچم فوت اولان ایچم طور کون عینون کونن مجامده جلیک خودت ایچم  
درت بیک کسب ایچم صفا ایتمی زنی جقدر بقلک و و یاده بولمه شینه نقد ایچم هر ز اولور

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وفاقیما بندہ نواز مرعطارا  
 دولت عنہ فرقتہ بحجہ لونگ بنتی صفوت دگلدر هرطور واداری حضور تلبی اشعار ایدر اگر چه  
 قولرته اکر ام وتوقیر واحترامی الله تعالی بیلور که اسد فرمه اولما مشدر انجی زبور رن قولر  
 اکر امی اللهک عنایتی وافذیلر فرک حسن همتی ایله جلب قلوب بادی اولون اطوار حکمای و عوالات  
 هوشیارانیه کمال رعایتدن وغنا قلب وعلو جناب وعدم ارتکاب دقایقنه فرط دقتدن  
 امری مجبور ایشدر والله العظیم بالله العزیم سرکارده اولکلیتک دعوائی بشقه در دولت علم  
 بردخی داورانه فر شمدی صلح اولدی ذوق و صفای مشغول اولور عساکر زنه و فرقه زنه و رعایا  
 و قصبات و زارنه نظام و رفیر زاره زر و مهم و مراد ایشرا و ایشمه ردخی قدر لری بوقدر  
 کجوی و سپاهی مانکلینی احاطه ایشدر نظام لینی تغییر و تبدیل و افزوناه تحویل امکانده دگلدر اعتقاد  
 اولور

سابقا اسوج ترجمانی مرادجه معلوم دوتکه در فرایح ده اولون ایشمول سبیلله بارسدن قالیق  
 شمدی بجه اقامت ایشکله ایکی کونره برکت طوب کیم و کونره وزده کوریشور علم الله تعالی دولت  
 علمتک بر مرتبه غیر تنده در که بزدن زیاده دینم کلاومره کاذب اولم بحجہ لونگ بو اعتقادینه  
 دنا کند و لایله معارضنه و مناقشه ده در دولت علمت حقیقه بایر یعنی تاریخن ایکی جدی  
 طبع اولمغله قولرینه هدیه و مرشدر دولت علمت حقیقه تاریخ زبور ده اولون مدح و تناسی  
 محلا ترجمانی ترجمه ایدر بلکه صادق و غیر تکش دولت علمتک بندره اولوبقنه و جبه شتی  
 ایله از عارده اولمشدر انک واسطه سبیلله جوق شی تصحیح اولمغده در وبعض کتب تدارک  
 و نظام محالک و عساره دایر قوانیم و قواعد تصحیح اولبور بوظرفه زیاده ایشمه باراشدر

و مقدماتیکه یا شا صدر ایشده قضای زده اولون صراف قمانده و هووی دخی تر بیسته ده ساکن  
 اولوب اولمغلی محضون بجه کوندر مکله کون بحجہ مالکی و کون بر و سبیا و انظره و فلنک  
 طرفلنک احوالنه واقف و هورنون و دشوکی بیلوب هرایشلک ستمنه و تحقیقنه عارف  
 اولوب هر بقدر دولت طرفدن مکرر اولمشرا ایدر دخی بر خصوص کندی قصور زنه حمل ایله  
 بر مرتبه دولت علمتک غیرت و صداقتده در که و کستان سربت اولوب هر کین استدیکنی  
 سوبلکده مجزور اولمغیندن دولت علمتک طرفنه مناسب و طیان محبتی ایدر ایله معارضه  
 و از ام بکده در اوره سی نوزم دلی انجی قولرلنک بک جوق ایشمه باراشدر  
 مرادجه ایله قمانده و ملک اوغنی هورننک قولرینه ایدر کوی صداقت و ضد ملک عطا فانه  
 بر دلو بنم بوقدر مکر افذیلر فرک عنایت لری اولم





تجدیداً کتب کهنه و کجاست

HH 57362 (1205)

سوتلو کراندو مهاندر قدرند ولی نعمت اقدم  
 سفارتله نمجه کیه جک رات اقدی قولدن بودغه نواردا برن نمجراتره اظهارشان رسکوه دولت علیه همچون مقدم کردن  
 ایچیره قیاس ایله علم طریقه العایه وافری مطلوب ابر اقدی: مومی البهک مطلوب اولون شیلردن اکثری شورقه  
 مندی اشبادن اولغله شری آنلرک کذب لریمی اولدی اکرجه افضا سنه کوره طرفه اشعار اولنه فقید کن  
 مقدمه عاریت و جهه طرفه کوزریدون اشیا ده مجهه فنیجان طرفی ایچی معجون فقعی بر اولغله بر طرف ایله معجون  
 دفعی ضم الرضی مروضه اولمیشی بودغه بر معجون فقعیله فنیجان طرفی و بر عدد دفعی کوزریدون امردون همایون  
 قرینه سندن و مقدم اعطای اولشان دن طاقم اب رفتندن ماعدا مکن ایسه بودغه بر طاقم دفعی سیم اب  
 طاقم اعطای خور قرینه سندن افاز و اقدی: مومی ایله ارسال الرضی اظهارشان سلفت سنیه ایچون نوزم کی کوزریدون  
 بهر زره اسبای مذکوره دن بر عدد معجون فقعی و بر عدد معجون طرفی و بر عدد دفعی بر کشله امردون همایون  
 قرینه سندن اعطای قرینه کنی ای اغا قوزینه و بر طاقم سیم اب رخصک دفعی خاص اصف قرینه سندن اعطای مراضد  
 اول اغای لینه بنیه شاهه لینه توفیق ابرک معلوم شاهه لری بر لوقه فرمان سوتلو کراندو مهاندر قدرند  
 ولی نعمت اقدم پادشاهم صفیرتید

بحر سفیدک اناطولی طرفیند باندرمه ولایسکی و بیضا و میخالیج و اولخوسون تجار موقبله صظم مبابه دفنات  
مفطره ایله انبار عماره به تسلیم اولمنه اراده علیه نعلق ایکندن ناشی حوالی: مرفوم ده زبیر کندی  
دقیان تجارلرین معلوم اوسامی شرکالریک اولدی زفره مبابه و جمع ایکنده اولوب ایچی کندوره  
زفره: زفروری مبابه سده مدار اولن ایچون بودغه دخی سرمایه اولدی زفره ایچمه سندن اولوز بئویک  
عوض اعطا بوردنی استععا و بربرینه تکفل ایله مهور ایچی قطعه تمسک تقدیم ایلدی کلای و تمکلای دخی بده  
طرف عالیله تقدیم و موقوفانه قید اولدنی معلوم سامیله بوردلر قده مبلغ زبورن و برلسیون فائمه سی  
اعطا بوردن مبابه اولد فرمان دوللو عنایتلو سلطانم حضرت شکر

حضرت سلطانم حضرت شکر  
موقوفه ایچمه سندن  
اولوز بئویک

عوضی بون لر بیدکه

ذخیره ناظری عزتلو ابوبکر داتب آدی قولدنیلک ایچمه زفری مرفومون بحر سفیدک اناطولی طرفده واقع باندرمه  
ولایسکی و بیضا و میخالیج و سارا اولخالیک قیای موقوفه ایچمه سندن اراده علیه نعلق ایکندن  
خطیبی زبیر کندی سندن و قیای تجارلرین معلوم اوسامی شرکالریک اولدی مبابه و جمع ایکنده اولوب ایچی  
زفره مذکورده نلک مبابه سندن مدار ایچون کندوره سرمایه اولدی بودغه دخی زفره ایچمه سندن اولوز بئویک عوض  
اعطا بوردنی استععا و بربرینه تکفل ایکنده و بربرکلای ایچی قطعه مهور ایچمه سندن بده تقدیم اولدنی حقیقی بیان بدم  
مبلغ زبورن اعطا اولدنی تجر و استععا ایچمه معلوم اولدی بوردلر قده ایچمه سندن موقوفانه قید و مبلغ  
موقوفون فائمه سی اعطا ایچی بایزم اولد فرمان دوللو سلطانم حضرت شکر

حضرت سلطانم حضرت شکر  
موقوفه ایچمه سندن  
اولوز بئویک

Ali Emiri, III. Selim 6625 (1209).

تجارک خدیج قسطنطنیه دن مباحه ایروب انبار عامره به ورد کلری حنطه و مستانند انان  
حنطه ایچون علی الحساب بود فعه دخی التمش بیلک غرض اعطاسی باینده اروزمان دوقلو  
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ایمان

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عظایلو افندم سلطانم حضرتلر تکدر  
تجارک خدیج قسطنطنیه دن مباحه ایروب انبار عامره به ورد کلری حنطه و مستانند انان حنطه ناله بیکه بکونیا  
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عزیزه قریبہ  
نقیضہ  
نقیضہ  
نقیضہ

دینسلر کندی و قبان تجاری نزدیکانہ احضار ایله افلاق و بغدادین مرتب حنطه وارزنگ استانه سعادتہ نقلی مخصوصی تجار  
ایله مذاکره واستفسار اولمغیم هرکس نوبتیه مبیعات میری نقله راضی و خدمات خاقانیه بی نوبتی کلدکره ادایه وقت  
واجبه ذمتی اولدیغی بیری اولوب لکن اوتون برو تجارت سفینه لی طونه سوا حلی اسکله زین اوج سفایتملی مقور و نادر  
زیاده سی بیله بیشتر الجفلا اسکله زینک بعضیسندن اوج بعضیسندن درت سفر ودغی زیاده سی چیز وقوعه جاوه کرایکن  
بکلمه الله تعالی بوسنه مبارکده بعضی زینک بو وقت دن سفینه سی بر سو بیله ایدر میوب الحاله هزه ابرائیل و قلاص اسکله زینه  
بعضی زینک سفینه لی ایکی ماه و بعضی لی اوج ماهدن برو ودغی زیاده مکت و اقامت اوزره اولدیغی درکار و مصارفم بسیار  
و منافع و کارزار اولدیغی اشکار و محصول جدیدن صکره طونه دن اکثر یا بر سو فون زیاده اولمیه جفی بریدار اولمغله مخصوص اولرق  
سفاین تجار استیجار اولنسه بیری ذخایری نقله مأمور اولان سفینه صاحبلی کدوب مخصوص تجارت و کارندن دور و میری  
ذخیره کتور میا نلر کندی تجا ذلیله مسرور اولمغنه بناؤ حالا قلاص و ابرائیلده یوز االی قطع دن تجا ذلی صیفدر و کیر سفاین  
اولمغله بش بیلک کبله عمودی تخمیل سفینه بی بیلک کبله و اوج بیلک کبلک سفینه بیش و الیوز کبله و اون بیلک کبلک سفینه بی  
ایکی بیلک کبله و ودغی زیاده جه تخمیل ایدر دن بو قیاس اوزره هر بیزینک سفینه زینه توزیع اولنرق تخمیل و نقل و تسبیل  
اولنور ایله بعنایه الله تعالی هم تجار قولری کندی تجا زیندن قائم جقلری و هم بیری ذخیره ودغی بو وجهه سفاینه توزیع اولنرق  
خدمات میری ادا اولن جفی ظاهرو عیان و کچن سنه نلک اوله ارنه ودغی قلاص و ابرائیلده اولان ذخایر میری ودغی بو صورت ایله  
استانه سعادتہ نقل اولدیغی نزدیک اولای نهمده نمایان اولمغله افلاق و بغدادین ترتیباً تندن ابرائیل و قلاص بوسنه تنزیل اولنات  
حنطه وارزن ودغی بو وجهه ابرائیل و قلاص اسکله زینه موجود اولان سفینه زینه تخمیل کوره توزیع و تخمیل اولنرق استانه عظیم  
انبار عامه بی نقل و تسبیل اولمیشیون امر عالی اصدار بیورلسون نزدیک اوزره اولان شرکا و یازیکیلرزه اوزره مکتوبی تحریر  
ولستیار ایدر زدی بو عهدین ایها و بر قطع طرفلندن اوزره مکتوبی یازوب طرف جا کرا نه اعطا ایلدکن صکره بالارده ذکر  
اولدیغی اوزره ایچلرزه بعضی زینک اوج درت ماهدن برو سفینه زین قلاص و ابرائیلده مکت ایدوب حصول تخمیل ایدر مدیکدن  
افلاق و بغدادین عموم تدارکنه انتظار ایله مصارف کثیره بی ابتلا زور کار و اقدیلر زینک مرتقلینه احتیاج اشکار اولمغله  
فقط بوسنه و بوسنوره طونه بی مخصوص اولم اوزره قلاص و ابرائیلدن نقل ایدر جکیم میری حنطه وارزنگ هر کبله سنه  
ایکینجا و چاره ضمنه مساعده علی لری درکار بیوریلور ایس برای ایجا و حقوزده لطف و مرحمتین ایجا بیوردر اوسته  
ایتملیله واقعا بوسنه مبارکده کون طونه و کون الجفلا طرفلندن تجار کون کار و تجارتلرزه بر مال اولمیب شایان رحمت  
اولر قلینه بناؤ افراسکله لری و افرسنه لری نولونلری قناتنه سربت ایتمک و امثال و درکنار اولمادج اوزره فقط  
بوسنه و بوسنوره نولونلری قنات سابقه اوزره اون باره اوزرینه ایکی باره ضمنی تسهیل مصیحت اولم ملاحظه سیله طرفینه  
و عد اولنوب ابرائیل و قلاص اسکله زینه اولان بیری ذخایری بو وجهه سفاینه توزیع اولنرق نقل اولنم اوزره تور نزدیکانله  
امر عالی اصدار و تجار کون اوزره مکتوبیلیم ابرائیل و قلاصده اولان ذخیره بلشینه تسبیل اولنم جیری ذخایر و بریدکی  
نظام اوزره توارده باشلومغله بوزین صکره ابرائیل و قلاصدن کله جلی بیری ذخیره نلک فقط بوسنه بی و بوسنوه و بو اسکله  
مخصوص اولم و سنه ایته و سائر سنه ره امثال و قیاس و درکنار اولموشر طبله هر کبل استانبولسی رحما الحالم اولن  
باره دن حساب اولنم اوزره موقوفات قید و بو وجهه ذخیره سرمای سنه اچم اعطاسی موافق رأی سایدلی ایس اردو زمان  
نه اولر حضرتلر نکر

Handwritten title and signature in Ottoman Turkish script, including the name 'Ali Emiri' and 'Selim'.

ذخیره ناظری و شیخ ثالث دفتر داری اذنی بند لرینک بله عایدینه تقدیم ایدکی تقریری مفهومی بوزن اوزم افلاک و بغداد  
رتب اولجا ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرنه تنزل افضان خطه وارزنگ مستان. عادت نفی نهضتی ناظر موی ایه تجار ایله  
لدی المذکره هرکس نوستله مبیعات میری بی نقله راضی و خلیف مهله بی نوبتی کدکده ادایه وقت واجبه ذوق اولدی تکی  
اوت دهره تجارک سفینه لی طونه سواحلی مصلحه لرینک اوج سفار ایدی مقدر و نادر ازیاده بیه سیرالنج حکمة اللہ علی  
بوسنه مبارکده بعضی لرینک بو وقت دن سفینه بر سفر بیه این صوبه. الحاله هذه ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرنه بعضی لرینک  
سفینه لی ایکی ماه و بعضی اوج ماه دهره مکنه واقامت اوزده اولدی درکار و مصادقاری بسیار و منافع و کار لر  
اولدی بی مشکار اولغنه مخصوص اولدی سفای تجار مستجار اولته بیزی ذقاری نقله نامور اولدی سفینه مصلحه کوزیه  
موضوع تجارت و کارتون تور میری ذخیره کور میان لر کندی تجارت لریه سرور اولغنه بناه سواصل نه طونه ده نوزالی  
قطعه دن مجاوز صغیر و کبر سفای موجود اولغنی نامن بل بلک کله عموله بی عمل سفینه بی بلک کله و اوج بلک کله بلک  
سفینه بی بش و الیوز کله و اوج بلک کله لک سفینه بی ایکی بلک کله و دخی زیاده جه تحمیل ایره دن هر لرینک سفینه بی  
توزیع و تحمیل و نقل و تسبیل اوزده بعنایة الله تعالی هم تجار کندی تجارتون قالمیچ. و هر میری ذخیره نلک دخی  
بو وجهله سفایه توزیع ایله نقلی آسان اولدی بی ظاهر و عیان و کجی سنه اوله ایزده دخی قدوس و ابراشده اولدی  
ذخائر میری بوضو ایله مستان. عادت جی اولغنه بودغه دخی ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرنه موجود اولدی تجار  
سفینه لرنه ذخائر میری دن تحمیل کوره توزیع و تحمیل اولدی بی مستان. عادت ابار عامه بی نقل و تسبیل اولغنی ارمالی  
اولغنی انما و ایملرنه بعضی لرینک اوج دخی ماه دهره سفینه لری قدوس و ابراشده مکنه ایله عموله تحمیل این مرکزکده معارف  
کوزیه ابتولری سبیله فقط بوسنه و بودرده طونه مخصوص اولدی اوزده قدوس و ابراشده نقل این جملگی میری خطه  
وارزنگ بریکله سنه و بریلو کلک نولرنه ایشیز اوجر باره ضمه مناعده اولغنی مستان ایدک لرنه بوسنه تجارک کار  
و تجارت لرنه بر فائذ اولغنی. شایان رحمت اولد لرنه بناه افر مصلحه لرن نولری فنانته سرات اتمام و اتمام اولغنی  
اوزده فقط بوسنه و بودرده بریکله سنه و بریلو کلک اوزیاده اوزدیه ایکی باره ضمی تسبیل مصلحت اوج مدخله سبیل  
ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرنه اولدی میری ذخائر بی بودجه سفایه توزیع اولدی دن نقل اولغنی اوزده ارمالی اصد  
و ابراش و قدوسه اولدی ذخیره مبلترینه سیار اولغنی و ذخائر میری نوزده سنلده یعنی بیان برله دغما الحاکم بریک  
استانبولی اوج ایشیز باره بی حاکم اولدی اوزده موقوفات قید و ذخیره سرمای سنه اجه اعطای نهضتی تقریر و انما  
ایتمله واقعا بوسنه مبارکده تجارک سفای بی قی و آق طونه سواصلده مکنه واقماری سبیله مصادق کوزیه ببتور  
ظواهر اولغنه بینا بعد افر مصلحه لرن و بریلو کلک نولرنه اتمام اولغنی و سنه آتیه بی سرات اتمام و شدیم دن  
ابار عامه بی تسلیم اوج اوزیاده بی نولری اخذ اینک رؤسای اوزده مکنه نوزی اوجا و مطالبه ایمانک شرطه  
فقط بوسنه و عادت نقل و ترسانه عامه ابار لرنه تسلیم ایدک لری ذخائر هر بریکله سنه افری، موی لرنه تقریری  
موضوع برجه اعانه ایشیز باره ضمی ایله اوج ایشیز باره بی حاکم و اولوجه اعطای اولغنی اوزده موقوفات قید ایله  
تظلم نهضتی نوزده حد بوانه لرن دخی استصوابه و مستحان بویلدیر اوزده مکنه حضور سادات و سلطان حضرت شد