

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

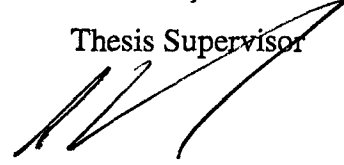
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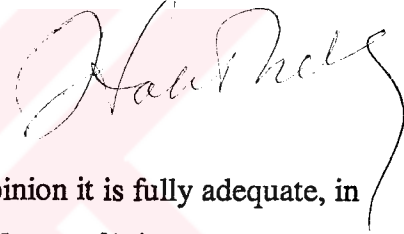
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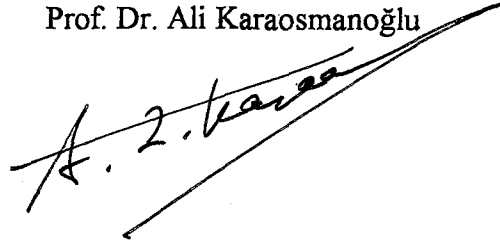
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ABSTRACT

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, Râtîb 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. Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi'nin *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi* adlı eseri üzerinde durularak bir Osmanlı elçisinin Fransız İhtilali sonrasında Habsburg İmparatorluğu ve Avrupa hakkındaki gözlemleri irdelenecektir. Râtîb Efendi'nin yaklaşık 500 sayfa büyüklüğündeki bu uzun eseri, Osmanlı'nın Avrupa'nın genel durumunu anlama iştîyâkına delalet etmektedir.

Bu çalışmada ilk olarak Râtîb Efendi (1749-1799)'nin hayatı ve eserleri üzerinde duracağız. Onun yaşam öyküsü, Osmanlı bürokrasisindeki elit-içi çatışmaya ışık tutacaktır. Râtîb 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, Râtîb Efendi tarafından açıklandığı şekliyle, Habsburg İmparatorluğu'ndaki askerî akademiler konusu üzerinde duracağız. Ayrıca, Râtîb 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, Râtîb Efendi'nin Avrupa politikası üzerindeki görüşleri de ayrıca incelenecektir.

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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.¹ 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.² 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 quality³, 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.⁴ 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 *lâyîhas* (memoranda), in which they would explain

¹ 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.

² *ibid.* p. 220.

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

⁴ 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.⁵ Ratib 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.⁶ 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.⁷ 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*.⁸ According to Shaw, also, this *lâyiha* was "the longest and most influential" among the others.⁹ 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.¹⁰ Both of them viewed the necessity of reform in a broader perspective. Interestingly, Abdullah Efendi gave examples from European

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kings, particularly Peter the Great.¹¹ 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.¹² 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 cyclism 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.¹³

¹¹ 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.

¹² "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 ganî ve Moskovlu bulundukları halden ziyâde müflis olacakları gâyet dakîk 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.

¹³ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Târîh-i Cevdet*, vol. 5, pp. 362-363.

Nevertheless, unlike Azmî Efendi, Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Sultanî law. As we shall point out, there were crucial similarities between the ideas of Râtîb 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.¹⁴ But Râtîb Efendi examined the problems of the Ottoman Empire in a broader perspective. As an Ottoman envoy in Vienna, which was in the centre of Europe¹⁵, 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

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

¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ His father, *Çilingir*¹⁷ *Ali Efendi*, was a *müderris* (professor) in a *medrese*, in *Tosya*. He got his primary education in *Tosya*, particularly from his father.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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*²⁰

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

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

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

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

²⁰ 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*²¹ 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

²¹ *Sipâh* units were the first section of the cavalry units of the Imperial Household (*kapıkulu süvârîleri*).

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

Râtîb 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*.²⁴ 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, Râtîb 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.²⁵ He gave the task of replying the letter of Louis XVI to Râtîb Efendi, and told him

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

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

²⁴ Enver Ziya Karal, "Ebu Bekir Râtîb Efendi'nin 'Nizam-ı Cedit' Islahatında Rolü", *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1960), p. 348.

²⁵ 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.²⁶

In his draft copy, Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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

²⁶ *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-ı hümayûn reîsi*, who acted as a deputy of *reîsülküttâb* in the Ottoman capital when *reîsülküttâb* took part in a campaign²⁷, 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 Râşid 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.²⁸ The Sultan forgave him and appointed Râtîb Efendi as *Yeniçeri Kâtibi*. Interestingly, the Sultan did not appoint him to a post in Istanbul, probably due to the opponents of Râtîb Efendi. Instead, he joined the army as *Yeniçeri kâtibi* in Silistria, on the Danube.

4- Râtîb 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 13th 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 Râtîb Efendi, in spite of Râtîb Efendi's inobedience to him two years ago. The Sultan appointed Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi knew European languages. Though it can be argued that Râtîb 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.²⁹

²⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", p. 680.

²⁸ BA (Başbakanlık Arşivi), HH 55381.

²⁹ Based on a document (BA, HH 6198), V. Sema Arıkan argues that Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi's knowledge of any foreign language in this letter. It is only written that Râtîb 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 Râtîb*

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.³⁰ 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 *Ruşuk* 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.

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

³⁰ 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 Râtîb 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.

Râtîb Efendi presented the *nâme-i hümayûn* 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.³¹ And Francis II, the eldest son of Leopold II, succeeded his father as the Habsburg Emperor. Râtîb 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 1792.³²

Râtîb 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.³³ 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 Râtîb Efendi. On the other hand, the

³¹ TSA, E. 5320.

³² According to Bernard Lewis, Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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.³⁴ 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 Râtîb 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.³⁵

Râtîb 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

³³ BA, HH 52516-C.

³⁴ 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.³⁶

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.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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.

³⁵ BA, HH 52516-C.

³⁶ "Kaldı ki, işte Avrupa'nın hâlini ifâde etdim. İş görece 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 Pâyîlerine 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.

³⁷ "Bozcaada'da kaçki birkaç mâh otura idim, ânı Cennet bildim". (BA, HH 52516-B).

³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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

³⁹ “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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi, they would claim that in the time of Cânîbî Ali Paşa⁴⁰, 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.⁴¹

Another criticism of Râtîb 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

⁴⁰ Canîbî 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.

⁴¹ "Eger nâme-i Hümâyûn adamımız ile gönderilse bile yoldan i'âde olunsun. Eger ayb olur, dinürse hediye-i Hümâyûn Ordu-yı Hümâyûn'a geldi, bütûn düvel ve milal bildi. Nemçelü'ye hediye 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 1795.⁴²

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 a 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

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

⁴² 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.⁴³ In a letter to Kaunitz, Râtib Efendi expresses his wish to present the *nâme-i Hümayûn* to the Habsburg Emperor.⁴⁴ 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'Ohsson⁴⁵ and the son of Camondo, the Jewish financier.⁴⁶ He writes that D'Ohsson came from Paris

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ H. Tuncer, "Ratip Efendi'nin Viyana Mektupları", p. 102.

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

⁴⁶ 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 Râtîb Efendi.

Râtîb Efendi also mentions D'Ohsson's work on the Ottoman history. Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi, "due to the freedom of speech in the West"⁴⁷, they could openly praise the qualities of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna. Râtîb 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- Râtîb Efendi as Zahîre Nâzırı

After his return from Vienna, Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi as *zahire nâzırı* (superintendent of grain

and provisions). In his work, Râtîb 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.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, “feeding a giant city”⁴⁹ like Istanbul was not an easy task. It has been estimated that İstanbul’s grain consumption in the early eighteenth century was nearly 200 tons.⁵⁰ As Halil İncalcık points out, feeding İstanbul has been a primary concern of the Ottoman sultans throughout centuries.⁵¹ Selim III attached importance to this difficult task. He again showed his confidence in Râtîb Efendi’s skill in the administrative issues. When he was *zahîre nâzırı*, he

⁴⁷ “*Frengistân serbest olup herkes istedigini söylemekte mahzur olmadığından*”

⁴⁸ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 232a.

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

⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 180.

⁵¹ Halil İncalcık 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. İncalcık, “*Istanbul and the Imperial Economy*”, p. 179.

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

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*.⁵⁴ 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 ofîciyaller celbi*).⁵⁵ According to Enver Ziya Karal, foreign military experts were brought to the Ottoman Empire when Râtib Efendi served as *reîsülküttâb*.⁵⁶ Râtib Efendi demanded thirteen expert officers from the *Comté du Salut Public* (The Committee for Public Safety).⁵⁷ 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

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

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

⁵⁴ Halil İnalcık, "Reis-ül-küttâb", p. 682.

⁵⁵ TSA, E. 6700/3.

⁵⁶ E. Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Hümâyûnları, Nizâm-ı Cedîd, 1789-1807*, p. 73.

⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ 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 1768-1774.⁶⁰

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.⁶¹

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*).⁶² 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

⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 77.

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

⁶² 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.⁶³ 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"*⁶⁴

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

⁶³ İnalçık, "Reis-ül-küttab", p. 681.

⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ Hence, he wrote two books separately. His first work, which was known as *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*⁶⁶ (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 work⁶⁷. This work can be viewed as a part of the genre of *sefâretnâme*, ambassadorial reports, in the Ottoman

⁶⁵ 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'hûri, gelesi [Râtib Efendi] hasta olub yazı yazmağa kudreti olmadığı ve şimdilerde bir mikdâr sıhhat-yâb olmağa ma'lûmâtını cem' ve tensîk üzere olduğu...*" (HH 13396)

⁶⁶ 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).

⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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.⁶⁹ In that context, Râtib Efendi's observations in Sibin is worth mentioning. His

⁶⁸ Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefâretnameleri*, p. 45.

⁶⁹ Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefâretnameleri*, 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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ Since we have used the copy in

⁷⁰ A. Uçman, *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 49.

⁷¹ Uzunçarşılı calls Râtib Efendi's work on the Habsburg institutions as *Tuhfetü's-Sefare fî Ahval-i Asakiri'n-Nasara ve'l-Idare*, 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, *OsmanlıSefirleri 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*⁷², 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.⁷³ 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".⁷⁴ Perhaps the tables, which were

⁷² 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)

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

⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶ 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-aslû'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

⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁷

The second part (*el-aslû'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.⁷⁸ 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.

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

⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁸ 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".⁷⁹ 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".⁸⁰ 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

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

⁸⁰ *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.”⁸¹

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.”⁸² 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.⁸³

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

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

⁸² Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 6.

⁸³ *ibid.* p. 7.

⁸⁴ 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 Tayyazâde 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."*⁸⁵

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'".⁸⁶ They were also trained in the use of arms, and horsemanship.⁸⁷ 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

⁸⁵ Cited in Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 32.

engineer. The title of the *lâyiha*⁸⁸, 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ 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.

⁸⁶ *ibid.* p. 36.

⁸⁷ Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 76.

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

⁸⁹ Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 29.

⁹⁰ BA. HH 9783-B.

2- Military Power

As we have mentioned above, in the first part of *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, Râtîb 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.⁹¹

According to Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Alâî*, which seems to be closely read by Râtîb Efendi, Kınalızâde expresses the so-called *dâire-i adâlet*:

⁹¹ *Avrupa memleketlerinde olan hukemâ ve feylesof ve ahvâl-i düvel ve mesâlih-i müлк ve milele âşina ve sâhib-i vukûf olanları beyrinde bir devletin kemâl-i kuvvet ve miknet ve mezîd-i revnak ve behcetî, asâkirin kesret ve tertîb ve nizâm ve itâ'atî ... 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"⁹²

According to Râtib 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*, Râtib 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.⁹³

⁹² 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.

⁹³ "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

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

trick”.⁹⁴ 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 Râtîb 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*, Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi, it is possible to see such kind of academies not only in the Habsburg Empire, but also in the other countries of Europe.⁹⁵

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

⁹⁵ “*Avrupa devletlerinin mecmûuunda cenk için mahsûs mektebler vardır. Akadimya militer, dirler. Akadimya, mekteb; militer asker manâsınadır. Ol mekteblerde san’at ve ilm ve mârifet gibi harbe müte’allik her ne kadar ilm ve fenn ve mârifet ve san’at var ise ânu*

The existence of war academies in Europe is also pointed out by D'Ohsson.⁹⁶ It may be argued that Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi.

Râtîb 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. Râtîb 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

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

⁹⁶ "Ulûm-ı riyâziyenin usûlüne riâyet, fevâid-i adîdeyi müstelzim olageldiği velhâsıl bir devletin akdem-i esbâb-ı kuvveti fûnûn-ı mezkûrenin taallûmünden ibâret idiği tecrübekârân-ı ahvâl-ı âlem indlerinde müselleme ve'l-hâletü hâzihî Avrupa devletlerinde bu makûle ta'lîmhânelerin nizâmları gâyet mertebede mültezim olmağla me'kûlât ve melbûsât ve sair ma'ûnetleri devletleri tarafından virilmek üzre..." (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."⁹⁷

According to Râtîb 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.⁹⁸ 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, Râtîb 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.⁹⁹ Râtîb Efendi points out that students also studied foreign language in the academies. Academies generally preferred to teach

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

⁹⁸ E. Râtîb Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 22b.

⁹⁹ "Velâkin cenk akadimiyalarında tertîb 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'rîfet olanlar dahi vakt-i tufûliyetlerinde duhûl ve ta'lîm-i ilm ve marîfetle terbiyet-i kubûl ve tehzîb-i ahlâk ve hasletle rütbe-i asâlete vüsûllerine binâden altı, yedi, sekiz sene akadimyalarda oldukdan sonra tekâmîl-i marîfet idûb 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.¹⁰⁰ 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*.¹⁰¹ 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).¹⁰² Like in the

¹⁰⁰ Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 51.

¹⁰¹ Beydilli, *Mühendishâne*, p. 29.

¹⁰² 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 Râtîb 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. Râtîb Efendi relates that he has seen this "great library"

(*mu'azzam kütüphane*). In this library, students were reading those books, which they liked. Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi, he looked at only the pictures of the books

and behaved in a way as if he was reading them.¹⁰³ 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".¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ They also studied French, Czech and

¹⁰³ *Viyana Sefaretnamesi*, p. 14b.

¹⁰⁴ Miller, *The Palace School*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁵ "Bu Akadimiya'da talim olunan ulûm ve fûnûn ve maârif dahî, ... tevârîh-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 (*fürûsiyyet*) 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

gösterirler... Ba'dehû harita çizmesini irâe iderler. Ba'dehû mehanika ilmini 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 Militärakademie*)

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 Râtîb 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.¹⁰⁶ 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

¹⁰⁶ *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, Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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*, Râtîb 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.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ 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

¹⁰⁷ "A'dâya mukâbele emsâliyle harekâta menûttur." (Vişana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 19b).

¹⁰⁸ 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 hafı olub lâkin müte'ahhirîn, zamân-ı asâr-ı ahlâfa adem-i raġbet ve fi yevminâ hâzâ Avrupa devletlerinde usûl-i hikmete tatbîk ile câri olan nizâmâtın menâfi'inden sarf-ı inzâr-ı ibret eylediklerine binâden sûret-i ahvâl-i hey'et olaylarından münkalib olmuştur." (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*).¹¹⁰ 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 Râtîb 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, Râtîb Efendi has been fascinated by the figures in a room of the Academy. The figures were the

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

¹¹⁰ "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 gazâ 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 ¹¹¹. 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

¹¹¹ *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 bağbân*). 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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ 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.

¹¹² *ibid.* p. 27a.

¹¹³ "Her devlet 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.¹¹⁴ 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.

râhata müşâbih ve mûmâsil 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.¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶

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

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 27a.

¹¹⁵ 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,

¹¹⁶ BA. H. H. 9783-A.

the supreme language in Europe.¹¹⁷ 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*).¹¹⁸

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

¹¹⁷ "Memâlik-i Mahrûse'ye hemcivâr olan düvel, Devlet-i Aliyye ile mu'ameleleri lâzım geldiginden Türkî lisânı te'allüm için otuz kırk talebeye mahsûs mektebler icâdına iktizâ iden mesârîfî ihtiyâr eyledikleri gibi Devlet-i Aliyye'nin dahi ekser Avrupa devletleriyle küllî münâsebeti derkâr olduğundan elsine-i Efrenciyyeyi ve hiç degil ise cemi'-i Avrupa'ya şümûlî ve şâyeste-i mütâla'a olacak katı vâfir müellefât-ı mu'teberesi cihetiyle sâir elsine-i Nasârâya tefevvukî zâhîr olan Fransız lisânını gerek Ehl-i İslâm'a ve gerek Rûm tâîfesine ta'lim idirilirse bu makûleler her dürlü hizmet-i Devlet-i Aliyye'de ve bi-tahsîsin (?) lâzîmü'l-mütâla'a olan ba'zı kütüb ve âsârın tercemesine medâr olacakları zâhîr olmağla lisân-ı mezkûrî ta'lim için Ta'limhânede başkaca muallimler dahi ta'yîn oluna." (BA, HH 9783).

(1740-1780), who was “a pious Catholic of the traditional Habsburg kind”.¹¹⁹ 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.”¹²⁰

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.”*¹²¹

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

¹¹⁸ “Mühendisler beher hâl fi’l-cümle kitâbete âşinâ olmak lâzimededen olmağla zikrolunan beyrinde okuyub yazmağa âşinâ olmayanlara Lisân-ı Türkî’yi ta’lîm için başka mu’âllimler dahî tahsîs itdirile.” (BA, HH 9783).

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

¹²⁰ *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”.¹²² 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”.¹²³

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

¹²² Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p.76.

¹²³ *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’”¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ 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.

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

¹²⁵ *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".¹²⁶ Thus, they began to think about the causes of decline in the Ottoman Empire. It would not be wrong to assume that Râtîb 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.¹²⁷ Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi's thought.

Râtîb 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

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

¹²⁷ 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.¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹ For instance, the author of *Kitâb-ı Müstetâb*, whose name we do not know, uses the same proverb to explain the cause of

¹²⁸ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 4a.

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

disorder in the Ottoman polity.¹³⁰ 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.¹³¹

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

¹³⁰ "Atalardan dah± meşhur meseldir ki 'Balık başdan kokar' dimişler". 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 cavalrymen 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, Râtîb 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.

Râtîb 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

¹³¹ *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*).¹³² 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.¹³³ 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

¹³² *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 10b.

¹³³ *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*).¹³⁴

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"¹³⁵. 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

¹³⁴ Kâtip Çelebi, *Düsturu'l-Amel li-islâhi'l-halel*, in *Tasvir-i Efkar*, 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”¹³⁶

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

¹³⁵ *The Ancien Régime in Europe*, p. 254.

¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷ 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. Râtîb 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

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

gaining more knowledge, which was his primary concern¹³⁸. 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 (*asilzâdelər*) 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

¹³⁸ *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.¹³⁹

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

It seems that Râtîb 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.¹⁴⁰ 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"¹⁴¹. Following the Near-Eastern conception of state, Râtîb 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.¹⁴² 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 Râtîb Efendi, but he was a part of the tradition of Ottoman political thought. For instance, according to *Kâtîb Çelebi*, *re'âyâ*'s function in the state is similar to the function of black bile in

¹³⁹ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 13b

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

¹⁴¹ 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.¹⁴³ 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 Âlî pointed out the similar ideas in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In his work entitled *Nüshatü's-selâfîn, the Counsel for Sultans*, Mustafa Âlî states that one of the primary concerns of the rulers is "the well-being of the subjects".¹⁴⁴ For him, the first thing the rulers should mind is "to gain the love of their subjects".¹⁴⁵ Also, in the renowned 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.¹⁴⁶ 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

¹⁴² *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 199b.

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

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

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 41.

¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷ 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*)¹⁴⁸. 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.¹⁴⁹ 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

¹⁴⁷ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 200b.

¹⁴⁸ "Kasaba didikleri içinde ehl-i sanat ve marifet cemiyet iden mahallerdir ve anlara *burğazu* dirlir."

¹⁴⁹ "Avrupa devletlerinde kırılları tarafından verilen nizâm ve kavâ'id ve kavânin ve rûsûma a'lâ ve ednâ bir ferd lâyıki üzre ri'âyet ve virgülerini vakt ü zamanıyla edâya mübâderet etdikce kural ve ceneral ve ofîciyal 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 içir ve gider ve gezer ve biner ve iner. Bir ferd âna müdahaleye haddi yoktur." (*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*).¹⁵⁰ These records were kept in the cities, towns and even in the villages. In the cities, the officers (*zâbitân*) or retainers (*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

¹⁵⁰ "Zîrâ kark gün Allah içün 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 'alîl ve 'âciz ve pîr ve sakat ve 'amel-mânde olub hiç bir işe ve güce kâdir degil ise ânu fukarâ defterine kayd ider." (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 202a); "Fukarânın helâk olmayacak vechle medâr-ı te'ayyüşünü bu tarikle tanzîm iderler...Ve eli ayağı tutar bir ğarîb ve ac bir sâ'at feryâd eylese bir lokma nân ve bir fakâr ve muhtâc kark sâ'at arz-ı ihtiyâc ve istimdâd itse bir akçe ihsân itmeleri 'adîmü'l-imkândır. 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 zınnet ve kemâl-i denâet ve hissetletlerinden neş'et itdiği 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.¹⁵¹ 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

olmayub ancak ahâlî ve sâkkân-ı memleketi kesb ü kâr ve ticârete ülfet ve icbâra mübtenî bir maslahat olduğı bedîdârdır.” (Vişana 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.

¹⁵¹ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 230b.

4- Indifference of the Ottomans to Trade

The issue of capitulations¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ 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.¹⁵⁴

Râtib Efendi begins his discussion of trade by stating that every sultan (*Pâdişâh*)¹⁵⁵ 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”.¹⁵⁶ He also adds that the knowledgeable men explained

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

¹⁵³ 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.

¹⁵⁴ “Bu şu’be [ticârete dâir] Avrupa devletlerinde kütüb-i müellefât bisyâr ve hıyel ve desâyis ve tedâbir ve tasarrufât bi-hadd ü şûmâr olmağla müddet-i ikâmetimizde bu fende tefennüni âşikâr ve ilm-i coğrafya ve arâzi-i Avrupa ve Asya’ya tekayyüni derkâr ve ticâretilerine vüfûka bedîdâr olanlar ile ülfet ve bu bâbda çok sohbet olunmağla...” (*Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 239a).

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

¹⁵⁶ 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*)"¹⁵⁷, 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.¹⁵⁸ The inequality in the customs duties culminated in the enrichment of the foreign merchants and the pauperization of the Ottoman merchants. For Râtîb 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, Râtîb Efendi also deals with the consumption of foreign products, and luxury in the Ottoman Empire, which

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 188.

¹⁵⁸ "Devlet-i Aliyye'nin fart-ı istiğnâ ve 'ulüvv-i cenâbından egerçi emr-i ticâreti istisgâr 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 Râtîb Efendi was primarily the Sultan. Thus, he had to use a cautious language.

Probably, Râtîb 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, Râtîb 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

ta'rifelerinde tahmin etdikleri bahâ ekall-ı kalîl olmağla resm-i gümrükleri vakt olur ki, yüzde 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.

Râtîb 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.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the import of cotton clothes from India led to a heavy burden on the Ottoman economy. Before Râtîb 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.¹⁶⁰

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

¹⁵⁹ "Hârîce muhtâc olmamak sûretlerini iktisâba bizzat mülk-ı izâm hazerâtı kendüleri dikkat buyurmaları lâzımdır" (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 227b).

¹⁶⁰ Halil İnalcık, "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.¹⁶¹

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 hümayûn*, 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.¹⁶²

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

¹⁶¹ “Bundan menâfi’ ve fevâid budur ki, emvâl-i devlet ecnebî memleketlere mûnteşir 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 erâcîfîn inkatâ’ına ve nice habâis ve kabâyihın indifâ’ına bâdî ve re’âyânın refâh-ı hâl ve âsâyış-i bâllerine müeddî olur” (Viyanâ Sefâretnâmesi, p. 227b).

¹⁶² E. Z. Karal, *Selim III’ün Hatt-ı Hümayunları*, 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 colotheres 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.¹⁶³

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.¹⁶⁴

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.”¹⁶⁵ 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.¹⁶⁶ 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.¹⁶⁷ It is interesting that Râtib Efendi's contemporary, Ahmed Azmî Efendi, admired Prussia in a similar way.

¹⁶³ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 229a.

¹⁶⁴ 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.

¹⁶⁵ *The Ancien Régime*, p. 385.

¹⁶⁶ “Prusya bilâd-ı bârideden olub ipek ve harîr yetiştirmek muhâlât-ı âdiyeden gibi görünürken tekellûfât-ı kesîre ve himmet-i vefîre ile Kırâ-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.¹⁶⁸

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.¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰

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

¹⁶⁸ "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.

¹⁶⁹ "İbret-nûmâ-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'rîfeti vâcib ve lâzım bir rehber-i hakikat-perver olduğu beyândan müstağnîdir" see Adil Şen, *İbrahim Müteferrika ve Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmî'l-Ümem*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), p. 43.

¹⁷⁰ B. Müller, *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.¹⁷¹

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

¹⁷¹ “*Delî Petro nâm pür-şûr (şevr) (?)’i unfüvân-ı civânîde tevârih-i sâlife 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.¹⁷²

¹⁷² *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 politics¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴ The word *tedbîr* comes from the verb *debbera*, which means "to make arrangements or preparations for, plan, manage well, design and engineer".¹⁷⁵ The word *tedbîr* also means "planning, organization and

¹⁷³ "Politika fenninin umûmî ta'rîfî her bir ferd taleb ittigi menfaate neyl ve vuslat ve me'mûl etdiği izz ü rif'at ve mertebete tahsîl-i istihkâk ve ehliyet zımında kâffe-i tavr ve hareket ve her hâlet ve keyfiyetde 'adl ve insâf ve hakkâniyete muvâfık olan sûreti temyîz ve tercih ve iltizâm ve tedbîr ve tasavvur ve ihtimâm eylemekten ibaretdir. (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 215a).

¹⁷⁴ "ne gûne politika ve tedbîre mûbâşeret itdikleri" (Viyana Sefâretnâmesi, p. 229b)

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

regulation, economy and economization”¹⁷⁶. In the Ottoman political thought, the word *tedbîr* was also used in different contexts. For instance, according to Ahmed Bin Hüsameddin Amâsî, the term *tedbîr* can be examined in two parts. Firstly, he deals with the *tedbîr-i menzil*, which means “housekeeping, [and] household management”.¹⁷⁷ Secondly, he mentions *siyâset-i müdüin* (the politics of cities) as a part of *tedbîr*.¹⁷⁸ Also, the third book of *Ahlâk-ı Alâî* of Kınalızâde is devoted to politics, the title of which is *ilm-i tedbîr-i medîne*.¹⁷⁹ 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

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

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 270.

¹⁷⁸ “*Tedbîr iki sınıfdır; evvel tedbîr-i menzildür ve ikinci siyâset-i müdüindür*”, see Mehmet Şakir Yılmaz, *Political Thought in the Beginning of the Ottoman Empire as Expressed in Ahmed bin Hüsameddin Amâsî’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.

¹⁷⁹ Kınalızâde, *Ahlâk-ı Alâ’î*, Book III, p. 2 .

striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state”¹⁸⁰. 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.¹⁸¹

Related to the topic of politics, Râtib Efendi explains his visit to the Oriental Academy (*Academiya Asya*)¹⁸², 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*)¹⁸³ about politics’? Then, he writes, they were ashamed of this question. He gave them some books , including

¹⁸⁰ 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.

¹⁸¹ Alfarabi, *the Enumeration of the Sciences*, p. 24.

¹⁸² 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.

¹⁸³ *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.¹⁸⁴ 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.¹⁸⁵ 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

¹⁸⁴ 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).

¹⁸⁵ 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*)¹⁸⁶ 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

¹⁸⁶ *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 241b.

opportunity for war.¹⁸⁷ 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 marshall 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.¹⁸⁸ He was very knowledgeable in the tricks and intrigues of war, and in the sciences related to the military.¹⁸⁹ 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

¹⁸⁷ “Kıral Françesko... şimdiki halde Prusya kralı ile dahî müttefik olduklarından me’âze ‘illâhî Te’âlâ fırsata müterakkib olurlar.” (BA. HH 52516-B).

¹⁸⁸ BA. HH. 52516-B.

¹⁸⁹ “Hile 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”.¹⁹⁰ 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 (*dâmâdım 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

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

Persian, Arab and Turcoman horses and that in Vienna, there was no horseman like him.¹⁹¹ 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.¹⁹² Râtib Efendi was proud of having his portrait in Europe (*Frengistân*).¹⁹³ 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.¹⁹⁴ 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

¹⁹¹ "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 fehmi 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).

¹⁹² "Siz feld mareşal olmalı imişsiniz didigimden ziyâde mahzûz olub efendi hazretlerinden pek hazz eyledim, tasvîrini yaptırayım. Dâimâ kendi odamda yanımda dursun, izin virirler mi, dinlerine bir zararı var mıdır, diyü istîzân itmekle iktizâsına göre cevâbı virilmekle musavver gelüb tasvîr etmişdir." (BA, HH 52516-B).

¹⁹³ "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.

¹⁹⁴ "Eslâfda gelen elçilerin rûsvaylıkları çok olmağla hattâ zarîfâne bir kaçını Prenc Kavinic letâfetle hikâyet idüb Râtib Efendi olsa böyle cevâb virmez ve böyle dimezdî, 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".¹⁹⁵

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

¹⁹⁵ 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 months¹⁹⁶. 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 reasons¹⁹⁷. 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

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

¹⁹⁷ *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 1791.¹⁹⁸ 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".¹⁹⁹ 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 Prussia²⁰⁰ 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.

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

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 20.

²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹ "The aggressive self-confidence of the revolutionaries" was one of the crucial reasons of the war between the European monarchies and France.²⁰² 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.

²⁰¹ TSA, E. 8530.

²⁰² 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"²⁰³. 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.²⁰⁴ 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

²⁰³ 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.²⁰⁵ 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 5,650,000.²⁰⁶ Moreover, they also aimed at neutralizing Russia and other German states.²⁰⁷ 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.²⁰⁸ They asserted that their fight would be against the King and his possessions, not

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

²⁰⁵ TSA, E. 6700/4.

²⁰⁶ G. E. Rothenberg, *Napoleon’s Great Adversary: Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792-1814*,
p. 19.

²⁰⁷ *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.²⁰⁹

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.²¹⁰ 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.²¹¹ Nevertheless, later the Ottoman attitude

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

²⁰⁹ TSA, E 6700/4.

²¹⁰ TSA, E. 6700/4.

²¹¹ İsmail Soysal, *Fransız İhtilali* ..., pp.103-104.

towards the French Revolution changed. In a *lâyiha* (1212)²¹² 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.²¹³ The French invasion of Egypt in 1798 showed to what extent Âtîf Efendi was right in predicting the real intention of Napoleon.

²¹² BA, HH 16130.

²¹³ Soysal, *Fransız İhtilali*, p. 207.

Conclusion

In his writings, Râtîb 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 Râtîb 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 Râtîb Efendi the preparation of a treatise on the state of affairs in Europe. As we have pointed above, Râtîb 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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- 2- HH 6196 (1205)
- 3- HH 6198 (1205)
- 4- HH 7345 (1206)
- 5- HH 9553 (1206)
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- 26- Ali Emîrî, III. Selim, 6634 (1209).

H. Himmayun 4221 (1214)

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
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الطاهرين

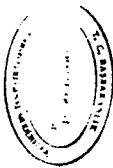
کرم انبیا جلی الا

عریفه شاد و پریش کز و اشعار او و بیانی او و زنده و است اونی بر مصلحت اعدا و از آله سی مظهرین ملوک ادهی هایدون طوفان
و ارد او و جوهر در مردم به تمام المعطی اونی موی لایله انبیا منه با قیوب نزل و سر مظهرین اوب بحال عیون انکون نانی
مقتول موی لایله اموال و انبای متروکم سی معرف شعله معرف اعلای معطی خودان قولی خبر ابدیکی اوزن مردم و ملاکی
تقریر ابدیکون بنفشه مقتول موکله حال ویت علیه بی اونی مدد رسیده انبای ضایع اولاقت اعلی اراده عده صد در بیست
معرف شیخ و جمله معقبه طریقه خبر اونی او و بیانی مردم معطی خودان صوب ثاوری کز و انبای انبیا کشف
محاط علم سابعی بیور لوق مقتول موی لایله انبیا منه با قیوب نزل و است اونی بر مصلحت اعدا و از آله سی مظهرین ملوک ادهی هایدون طوفان
فینین و ارمال بیور لوق معطی وای سابعی انبیا منه با قیوب نزل و است اونی بر مصلحت اعدا و از آله سی مظهرین ملوک ادهی هایدون طوفان

HH 4221 (1214)



بنم سعدانو مکملو موزدلو قریز شاعر و کرم سلطانم خیزدلی
 روسیه لویله اعاده صلح و صلح ضمنی تدارک عقد اولدی بجهندن مذکره مواد مصالحه ایچون نویسیل
 مرخص اول واحد و صفا قدی مرخص ناک و تعلق ادا و سجای ایله نجه مصالحه سی ترین خنام
 اولوق مدیسه به نوبن مرخص تانی عصمت ابراهیم بلک افندی مرخص تانی تعیین اولماری موافق
 ادا و شاهانه اولدی صودن دختنامه دن موی ابراهیم اسملریه کوده تحریر و نظیر و بالادری
 خط هایون ایله توشیح و تزیین ایندیلوب بوجانبه اریال و نغنی شامل تحریق خالصانه مزدگار
 کامیل خروانه به لدی الغرض شرف آفری صدور اولو خط هایون شوکتور شاهانه موجب
 بویله بدو توسط عقد اوله کدون متارکه و مصالحه لده مرخص لده خضنامه اعطای افضایم
 بارک خط هایون ایله طرفزه و یریدون دخت شاهانه کافی اولدی و ذکر ارضان خط هایون
 بناقنه وق شکیبوی افزده مرخص لده و یریل ایچون طرفزدن دختنامه تحریر و مویله و صفا قدی
 شمرده دن مرخص نصب و انشا ایسه برینه آخرینک تعیین اولماری نقضای ادا و هابو ایدوک
 باینده دخت کامله منزل نقضای اجرا اولنه وق دولت عینه به خبرلو و تانلو مصالحه دن کون
 اول عقد نه اقدام اولماری متعاقب و دود ایدون کی طاق تحریق شریفه رنج دوج و بیان بولش
 اولقدن ناتواشوماه دی الحجه الشریفه دن بکرمی و دودخی کونی روسیه قدر مشای بونکین جنرال
 طرفدن سرحد ایله وارد اولون کاغذ ترجمه سن و مودل تقریر لسانتین مرخص لری بر حاضر
 اینک جانب دولت عینه دن تعیین اولنه حق مرخص دن دخی تعیین وسم و دینه لری کند و طرفزه
 انصار اولماری دوج و تبیین اولدی جهندن بوم مقوم مویله حق بلک مرخص اول و نقض
 ادا و هایون اوزده مویله و صفا قدی مرخص لده اختیار اولموب حاله درگاه عالی بکریل
 کاتبی ابوبکر راش افندی مرخص ثالث نصب و افضایدن خلعت لری الباس اولماری اولماری بشفه
 مویله عصمت بلک افندی دخی زسوی جانندن اددوی هایون کلاک اوزده برانکی دفعه کلاک
 یازلش اولماری بمنه تعالی و دودن اولدی مرخص تانی نصب و افضایدن خلعت الباس اولماری
 جهندن کیفیت بدو جمله جنرال مسومه تحریر و انلک دخی مرخص لری کیملر ایدونکنک انصار نظیر
 ... اولماری مسومه جواد اوله وق جنرال مسومک وارد اولون مکتوب روسیه دولتی طرف
 ... طاق مکتوبه اوزده



اول عقد بنه اقدم انمسی متعاقبا درود ایدن ای طاقم محرقات سربله درج و بیاس برود
 اولفقدن ناسی ابو ماه ذی الحجه الشریفه ناک بکری درود بخونی دوسه قدمشالی بونکین جنرال
 طرفدن سرجه ایله وارد اولون کاغد ترجمه منق و برصه نقره ناسی بنسج مرخصی برضا
 ابدن جانب دولت عینه دن تعیین اولنه جن مرخصی دخی تعیین دسم و دینه دخی کند و
 اشعار انمسی درج و متین اولدنی جهن بوم مرثوم مومایه حق بک مرخص اول و مقفا
 اراده همایون اوزده مومایه واصفا دخی مرخصه اختیار و بموجب حاله درگاه عالی بکری
 کاتبی ابوبکر دنا دخی مرخص ثالث نصب واقضا ایدن خلعتی الباس انمسی اولدنی بنسج
 مومایه عمت بک اذنی دخی زسوی جانندن اردوی همایونه کک اوزده براتی دفعه
 باز لش اولفله بمنه تعالی و درود دخی اولدنی مرخص ثانی نصب واقضا ایدن خلعتی الباس اولدنی
 جهن کیفیت بود جمله جنرال مرصومه تحریر و انک دخی مرخصی کیم ایدر و کک اشعاری نظیر
 و تذکیر انمسی اولدنی حبیبه جلال اوله دخی جنرال مرصوم وارد اولون مکتوب دوسه دولتی
 حاله دوسه ایضا طریقه سیک شامی و سناد دوت قنک میری و دخی طرق معتبره فیه
 قولیری مکتوب بیوشان جنرال مرخص اول وکی و نمانک آیرال قوندانی و نجه طرق معتبره
 قولیری و بیاس مایور جنرال مرخص ثانی و سناد دوت دوسه و قولیری سرحد برقرار و مرخص
 نصب و تعیین اولدنی و بالذکره قراولون بغداد قطعه سندن خوش فصبه ایکی طرفه مت
 و سیه سروت و لغا چون محکم الحاله تخصیص اولدنی محرو و مذکور اولوب طرفین مرخصی و محرم
 بود جمله معلوم اولدنی صکره و درود ایدن تحریرات دستور بلیز جن حاله دوت عینه ده بریک کتاب
 و نجه مصالحه سنده مرخص اول اولوب زسوی جانندن اولون سید عبدالله افندینک نجه مصالحه سته
 دروغا اولون صداقت و غیرتی قریب بسند شاهانه اولدنی سیه افندی مومایه حق بک مرخص اولدنی مصالحه سته
 دخی مرخص اول نصب انمسی اراده خسروانه بولمقدن ناسی نصد بقنامه لربا اوله سندن صکره و
 حرکت و بوجانبه و درود سیه و عت ایسی ضنده صوب و سواد بلیز جن تحریرات ارال اولدنی اشعار اولدنی
 اولفله مخلصدن دخی قراول مقصود مومایه عبدالله افندینک مرخص اول اولدنی ایکی
 نصد بقنامه رک با اوله ای ضنده افندی مومایه ناکیری ایجاب ایدنی و دوسه لومصالحه سته
 مرخصی تعیین نجل اولدنی جهن مومایه حق بک ضروری مرخص اول نصب اولدنی بود دفعه اول
 عبدالله افندینک مقصود مصالحه سته دخی مرخص اول نصب و تخصیصه اراده همایون نعلی انمسی عین اص
 و کرامت و مقصود صیدر الیاسیه هانه بکشف اولش قیدن اولفقدن ناسی طبق اراده همایون
 اوزده افندی مومایه مرخص اول نصب و بموجب بران اقدم بوجانبه و درود سیه و عت ایسی ضنده کزویه
 مومایه عمت بک اذنی دخی سیدیه رک زسوی جن حرکت اتمکی مدحظه سیه بر ساعت اقدم و بران مقدم



عزیمت ایلی حاوی اکادفی بنفخه طرفزدن کاغذ در تحریر و نیز او ندر یفندن غیری کیفیت بر وجه
 رسیده دخی افاده او ندر دخی و جزال مسمولک سالف الذکر سر جوابیله کلون کاغذی و ترجمه سی
 و طرفزدن جواب اوله دق تحریر اوضان مکتوبک صورتی نظور اولق ایچون اشو دقمه مولودن
 موضوعاً صوب جواب انمای دستور یلرینه ابعاد او ندر دخی و موی ایها عبدالله افندی و صحت بل افندی
 وادرا و درق خلقلری اباس ایله اردوی هابونک اولون مرخص ثالث موی ایله ابوجک رانبر
 دخی بانلرینه ترفیق و همان ابرائیه امراد اولنه جفی و نقضای دخت انقلاولر او زده سن
 و صوبله مرخصله طرفزدن رخصنامه لاعطاسی کافی ایدوکی اگرچه اسعاد بوردش لکن مقدما
 مجموع محسن زاده نلک اون صدارت طرفزدن مرخصله رخصنامه رایله بر قطع او امر عینه
 اصدار واعطاسی و قلک نکلکی ایله مصلحت ایجابدن ناسی اولوب الخاته هنر مسلولو ایله سکون
 نادرکه عقد اولوب مصالحه نلک قبیلاً حصول مامولایسه دخی سوت وقت حبسیه مرخصله مرزیر
 خط هابون ایله موصح رخصنامه لراسی تقاضی ایدوکی معلوم دستور یلری بیوردن کیفیت
 حضور دخی مفود خسروانه یه عرض و تفهیم ایله مرخص موی الیم بر رن بر لوق او زده خط و کلام
 سا هانه ایله ضرب رخصنامه لک اول طرفظ تطبیق برله عجانة صوب بجانانه مرز سیری امرینه هت
 بیورملری یاقنق قائمه مؤلفه مسمول تحریر و فرستاده صوب سعادت صهری قنقدور ان الله عالمی
 لری الوصول بر وجه شروع حرکت هت بیورملری مامولود ۸۱۸۱۸۱



HH 6198 (1205)

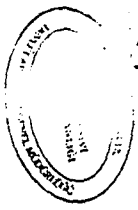
جانب حضرت صدر بنهادن روسیه دولتی عسکری اوزدینه فلد مرئال اولان برنج بوتکاین جهزار طرفه خراب افغان مکتوب
عالیک منوریند



دولتیر عظیمین بنید عقد مساله و مصافق فتنده مذکره مواد مصالحه بحون جات دولت عیدیه دن نامور فتنه
اشعارتی حاوی بود فتنه ستار دولت روسیه سرحد سقاروف و ساطینه ارسال افغان مکتوب و سنی اسلحه
اصل اولوب کون مفهوم مکتوبه و کون مکتوب نفیر ساینه اطلاع حاصل و ساطینه اطلاع افغان
افغان صفوق و مولانک و خصوصیه بومر خیرک سریقاً فتنه خدشت و عینک باغ محظوظین اولدغی
تعریفن مستغنی اولقدن فتنه حالو دیوان مسید اولو کاد خسر وانه ده توفی اونیون معادلو محمد حق بل افغان
مرخص اول و درگاه عالی کجری کانی عزتو ابوبکر ران افغانی و مرخص نالت تعین و خلعتی بونکون
الباس اولوب برنج کون طرفن محل مکالمه نلک تخصیصه قدر ابرائیه امرار اولنه فنی و مرخص نانی فتنه
افغان مولی عظامدن سابقاً مکته مکته و حالو ادوی همایون فتنی اولوب زشوی جانندن مکته اولوب
فضیلو ابراهیم عصمت بل افغانی و فوج بر فاج کون وک ادوی همایونه و رودنر خلعتی الباس بر له اولوب
ارسال اولنه فنی معلومک اولدق جناب دوستی ما کز و فنی طرفن کون اقضا ایدن مرخصلر نفیله کیملر
و محل مکالمه نلک تخصیصی طرف مجانه مره استعاره کیم سباق مکتوب و در مصحح فتنه و مرسل صوب
صفوق مصیر کیم فتنه و صولنر کیفیت معلومک اولدق بروجه محذور کونه مارکنر وسبه
ناکید صفوق و مولان اوله فنی بوارنیابور والدوم عین اتع الهی

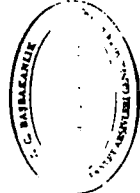
بنم سعادتلو مکرملو موزنلو فرزندانی که در مقام مقرر
 بودن از محله اراده شاهانه متعلق اولدنی و محله اردوی همایون کورنی
 اولان ابوکر رات اذینک نجه به ایچی نصب و در سعادته ارسال و یاخورد
 صوب نامورینه ارسال و نجه لویه جانب بظن سینه دن ترتیب و ابعاق
 لازم کلا هدایانک دفتری اخراج انسی و نجه ایچسی هر برنگ مقبول
 مصالحه سنده توسطی و یاخورد همان دولت علیه مقررین معینین نجه
 مکالمه ده بونسی ضمنده فرانجه ایچسی طرفدن باز یرون مکتوبک کتم ایچسی
 رابعره محمول اولدنی بودفعه وارد اولان تحریکات شیریلره دخی درج
 و بیان پورنش مرسوم هر برت دولتی طرفدن اورطه ایچی اولدق مامور
 اولدیفنه بناء موی الیه رات اذی دخی اورطه ایچی اولدق تعیین و خلع
 اباسا و لوب بوطرفدن اسنان سعادته ارسال اولسه اندن دخی صوب
 غریبی و قنه محتاج اولقدن ناشی نفوذ زماندن احداثا مالزمتی تنظیم
 برله اردوی همایون ابعاق اولمق اوزده مقصود ایچوب مطلوب اولدن
 دفتری شمنی اردوسن توقف اولدیفندن شمنی جانبیه علی العجله تاتار ایچ
 دفتر مذکور قبولدن اخراج و جانب دستور بلرینه ارسال اولمقدن
 شمیردک وصولی ملحوظ اولدیفندن بشفه مرسوم هر برنگ دخی مقبول
 مصالحه سنده توسطی مقبول طرفدن قبول اولمیه دخی ظاهرا اولدنی
 و مقررین اذینک مقررین بونسی دخی مناسب اولدنی چند روز مفید
 علی تفصیل صوب سعادته تحریکات ایچوب و مرسوم هر برت جانب
 نجه به ایچی نصب اولدق کندونک دخی زشتیدن اسنان سعادته
 ایچسی

برله اردوی هما یونین ابعاف اونیق اوزر د استصواب اونیق مطلوب اولون
دفتری شمنی اردوسن توقیف اولدیفندن شمنی جانیه علی العجله تا تاراج
دفتر مذکور قبول داندن اخراج و جانب دستور بلربنه ارسال اولمقدن
شمیه دك وصولی محفوظ اولدیفندن شفه مرسوم هر برتک دخی مقبول



مصالحه می نمایند توسطی مقبول طرفدن قبول اولمیه دخی ظاهرا و لدی
مرخصه اقدیلر معیلرین بونسی دخی مناسب اولدیجی چند دور مقیم
علی تفصیل صوبه عار دلربنه تحریر اونیق اولوب و مرسوم هر برتک جانب
نجه به ایچی نصب اولدوقن کندونک دخی زشتویدن اسانه سعادته
عزیمچون کیفیت اشعار اونیق مرخصه اقدیلرین دجا ابدیکه بنا
رابطه اقدیلرین نجه به ایچی نصب اولدیجی مرخصه اقدیلر طرفلرین مرسوم
هر برتک تحریر اونیق اولدیفنه بنا غالب مرسوم هر برتک بوندن صکره جه
زشتویدن حرکت و اسانه سعادته عزیمت ابدیکی طرفین ایچیلری
راس حدوده ملقات اتمک داب درین اولوب لکن مرسوم اولدیه
اولدیفندن بوتکلف بر طرف اولدیجی مرخصه اقدیلر افاده کندونک
موی ایبه داب اقدی دخی اولدیه ایچی اعتبار اولمقه همان ارمالی
اولدیجی و تصدیق اقضا این نامه هما یونلک دخی مقیمه ایچی
اولمقدیفندن د کاب هما یونلک تحریر اولور مروضه سله بالمقابله
رجا التبیح و وسیه نویه کوندرین نامه هما یونلک صورتی جانب عار
تسیر اونیق بر دخی الحاله هنر نجه نویه اولدیه ایچی اولور موی ایبه
رابطه اقدی بو طرفدن کوندری تصویب اونیق مدرسیه نامه هما یونلک

دخی بو طرفدن تصدیقینه ابدار اولندی و اقدی موی ایزه عاریت و
 وریسی مقضی اولون خیمه ساز او مقوله مالزیه اردوی هابون موزون
 و برملک اوزوه تصویب اولوب لکن قصور ویر بر جک مجوهرات HH 7345
 و اشیانک کوندر بون دفتر میهنجه و سعادتین اسی لازمه دن ایرک
 معلوم مشیر بلی بود لدرقه موی ایزه ایزه بر موجب دفتر کون نجه
 جاسارینه کوندر بر جک هدایانک و کون کندوب و برملک ایچون
 در سعادتین ارسالی اقضا ایدن مالزیه نلک بکون اول تدارک
 و زینه برله سربغا بو طرفه ارسالی اوقسی ایزه مبادوت پیور لکس
 سیاقین قاعده موزومه مخبر و فرستاده صوب سعادتین قلمشدر
 ان شاء الله تعالی لدی الوصول کتبت معلوم سعادتین بود لدرقه بر وجه
 حرکت هت بود لری مامولدر ۱۹۶۲



ایم سعادتین مکرملو موزونلر فرزند ایزه و ایزه سلطانم حریف لری
 الی ای و ایزه نایب لری نجه به کوندر بون ایلجیده و کوندر بر سنه سنه
 اسیانیه به مامور و اصف اقدی به ویر بون مجوهرات و اشیانک باسن
 نخرج ابع قطعه دفتر لری و بود رقه موی ایزه و ایزه اقدی و ایزه اقدی
 مجوهرات واق طاق لری بوسله ای شود رقیه بجانه مزه موضوعا ابع
 اولنقله منظور سعادتین بود لدرقه ذکر و اقل بوسله ده مطود مجوهرات
 واق طاق لری اندون هابون و خاصا خود دن عاریت و جیده
 اعطا اولنقره مامور اقضا بون طاق لری مکرملو ایزه ایزه ایزه
 ویر بون بر مقدار دخی اقدی موی ایزه تدارک ایزه لری معلوم
 بود لری ایچون اساق اولنوی

سجده

فون مرتبه تعلیمخانه سینه دار ترتیب اولیای نوبه نیک ترجمه سید



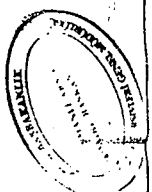
HH 9783
(1208)

اولیای دولت عتبه ابدی الذوامن جنود و عساکر ترتیب و تعلیمی نه درجه ده سواره واجبه الوعناون ابروکی آجینه الهام دنیای
ضرب مکاتیب حضرت اولیای تعلیم و ترویج و لغته بوباب الطناب و تفصیل حاصلی تحصیل قبضه اوله در نوبه نیک
اشبوا اهلک وجوده کونر سجون استحضاری لازم کلا و سائل و اسباب علمی طریق الاختصار بسط و ذکر کاره میادوت فلتو
اسباب مذکوره ابکی ماده دن عبارت نکر بری اود و با جانندن شمد بیک قدر کفایه و فحبال جلی و ابکیجی فون مرتبه به
مخصوصی بر تعلیمخانه ترتیبید حق عتبه نیک بر او و جزا ابر قوتیه و سینه اوله جن حالانک ایضا عنه بدل مقدون الملک
استخدام اوله جن او فحبالدن بشقه فون مرتبه نیک علمی و تعلیمی افاده و تعلیم متخلف و حق قدر کفایه معلول جلی و نوبه نیک
ابروکی بی اشتباه اولوب لغاله هذو ما نحن فیه بر تعلیم مادی و اوطله ناکر بوکا دار سیکلوه ابدرا و نوبه نیک

حیی محاربه ده قوت و مکت کون عساکره موقوف اولوب فن و صنعت و نظام اوفده حرکت اودن فی حاده جنگه و جداله سهولت
در کار و آثار غایت نمودار اولغله علوم و با ضیقه نیک اصوله رعایت فوا و عتبه بری سیدلر اوله کدیکی
والحاصل بر دولتی ادم اسباب قوتی فون مذکوره نیک تعلیم عبارت ابرکی تجربه کاران احوال عالم عدلین مسلم و احوال
اوروپا و ولندز و بوقوله تعلیمخانه لری نظامی غایت مرتبه و ملتزم اولغله ماکولوت و ملبوسات و سایر معونتری
و ولندی طرفین و بر لای اوده اوجر و دهر و لشریوز طلبیه به مخصوصی تعلیمخانه را ایجاد و پیدا و فون مذکوره به تحصیل بضاعت
ابرند امور حربیک و دمی مشایسن عداوتله ده اولیده و عظیم دقت و اعتنا اوله کدیکن ایلوم رتبه کماله و اصل اولشد
دولت عتبه ده دمی بوماده نیک تنظیمه کتره بعد اخری اراده عتبه تعلق بود بلو صد سابق رجوع محمد خلیل پاشا نیک
زمان صداتن و فی صرف کل همت او تشکیک دوام و استقامتی مستر اولماسی طلبه نیک عدم استعداد و قابلیت مرتبه یعنی
اولوب اعدان اولان تعلیمخانه نیک اصول نظامیه سینه اطرافلیجه دق اوله مدبختدن نشأت ایشل ابر فی ظاهر
فی اصل کافه علوم و فون نیک منشأ و مبدائی زیر سایه هما پاره حضرت لای اللهین آسوده ممالک فسیحه المسالک خافیه ده
و تخصیص آفد کزده و افغ تدابین و بداندزه موجود اوله کدیکی علوم آیه و عتبه نیک زیاده تحصیل ایلدی اودون بر اولو و عتبه
مخصوصی افضله اودوپا اهلای علوم فکیته و با ضیقه بی شیبوز سینه دن مجاوز اسبابنا اراضینه نشر آثار علی و دار ابرت
است واجب الحزم محمدیه دن اخذ ایشل ایلدی حتی حال و ر ساعتک اعلای ملل افرنجیه ده مجهول ابکی نایق هجر نیک بوز کس
سکزنه نشتن خلفای عباسیه دن هارون الرشید طرفدن شاهان نام فراخیه فرانسه عتبه اوله ده بر قطعه جابر
ساعت اوسال اوله بدن برون مذکوره نوعیه مایشل ابد کدی

و عساکر مرتبه نظامی مادی و فی الاصل جنکک سلطان اودخان خان حفر نلر نیک زمان سلطانلر نه و بر لای کبکی واجبی
تقاضدن مایه ابرکی و فایع نویسان عالم و تواریخ شناسان احوال ادم عدلین غیر ضعی اولوب لکن مشایرین زمان
انار اخلا فیه عم رغبت و فی بوماهذا اودوپا و ولندز اصول حکمته طبیی اینه جاری اولو نظامانک منافعدن صرف انتقام عتبه
۱۱۰ ک. ۱۱۱. ۱۱۲. ۱۱۳. ۱۱۴. ۱۱۵. ۱۱۶. ۱۱۷. ۱۱۸. ۱۱۹. ۱۲۰. ۱۲۱. ۱۲۲. ۱۲۳. ۱۲۴. ۱۲۵. ۱۲۶. ۱۲۷. ۱۲۸. ۱۲۹. ۱۳۰. ۱۳۱. ۱۳۲. ۱۳۳. ۱۳۴. ۱۳۵. ۱۳۶. ۱۳۷. ۱۳۸. ۱۳۹. ۱۴۰. ۱۴۱. ۱۴۲. ۱۴۳. ۱۴۴. ۱۴۵. ۱۴۶. ۱۴۷. ۱۴۸. ۱۴۹. ۱۵۰. ۱۵۱. ۱۵۲. ۱۵۳. ۱۵۴. ۱۵۵. ۱۵۶. ۱۵۷. ۱۵۸. ۱۵۹. ۱۶۰. ۱۶۱. ۱۶۲. ۱۶۳. ۱۶۴. ۱۶۵. ۱۶۶. ۱۶۷. ۱۶۸. ۱۶۹. ۱۷۰. ۱۷۱. ۱۷۲. ۱۷۳. ۱۷۴. ۱۷۵. ۱۷۶. ۱۷۷. ۱۷۸. ۱۷۹. ۱۸۰. ۱۸۱. ۱۸۲. ۱۸۳. ۱۸۴. ۱۸۵. ۱۸۶. ۱۸۷. ۱۸۸. ۱۸۹. ۱۹۰. ۱۹۱. ۱۹۲. ۱۹۳. ۱۹۴. ۱۹۵. ۱۹۶. ۱۹۷. ۱۹۸. ۱۹۹. ۲۰۰. ۲۰۱. ۲۰۲. ۲۰۳. ۲۰۴. ۲۰۵. ۲۰۶. ۲۰۷. ۲۰۸. ۲۰۹. ۲۱۰. ۲۱۱. ۲۱۲. ۲۱۳. ۲۱۴. ۲۱۵. ۲۱۶. ۲۱۷. ۲۱۸. ۲۱۹. ۲۲۰. ۲۲۱. ۲۲۲. ۲۲۳. ۲۲۴. ۲۲۵. ۲۲۶. ۲۲۷. ۲۲۸. ۲۲۹. ۲۳۰. ۲۳۱. ۲۳۲. ۲۳۳. ۲۳۴. ۲۳۵. ۲۳۶. ۲۳۷. ۲۳۸. ۲۳۹. ۲۴۰. ۲۴۱. ۲۴۲. ۲۴۳. ۲۴۴. ۲۴۵. ۲۴۶. ۲۴۷. ۲۴۸. ۲۴۹. ۲۵۰. ۲۵۱. ۲۵۲. ۲۵۳. ۲۵۴. ۲۵۵. ۲۵۶. ۲۵۷. ۲۵۸. ۲۵۹. ۲۶۰. ۲۶۱. ۲۶۲. ۲۶۳. ۲۶۴. ۲۶۵. ۲۶۶. ۲۶۷. ۲۶۸. ۲۶۹. ۲۷۰. ۲۷۱. ۲۷۲. ۲۷۳. ۲۷۴. ۲۷۵. ۲۷۶. ۲۷۷. ۲۷۸. ۲۷۹. ۲۸۰. ۲۸۱. ۲۸۲. ۲۸۳. ۲۸۴. ۲۸۵. ۲۸۶. ۲۸۷. ۲۸۸. ۲۸۹. ۲۹۰. ۲۹۱. ۲۹۲. ۲۹۳. ۲۹۴. ۲۹۵. ۲۹۶. ۲۹۷. ۲۹۸. ۲۹۹. ۳۰۰. ۳۰۱. ۳۰۲. ۳۰۳. ۳۰۴. ۳۰۵. ۳۰۶. ۳۰۷. ۳۰۸. 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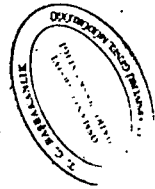


زمان صدور آن و صرف کل همت او مستحق دوم و سربس ...
 اولیوب احداث اولان تعلیمخانه اولی اصول نظامیه سنه اطرافلیجه دقت اولنه مدفنندن نشأت اینست و فی ظاهر دور
 فی اواصل کافه علوم و فنونله منشأ و مبدائی زیر سایه هما پاپا حضرت علی الهدی آسوده ممالک فسیحه المسالک خافانیه و
 و تخصصی آفد کزده واقع مداین و بداند موجود اوله کدی علوم آیه و عابیه نکه زیاده مجمل الهدی اوندون بر اوله و عربیه
 مخصوص اینده اوروپا اهلای علوم فلیکته و دبا ضربه بی شوز سنه دن بخا و اسپانیا اراخسته نشر انار عدل و دار ایت
 امت واجیه الحوت محدبه دن اخذ اینست و فیله حتی حال و ساعتک اعلا ملل فریخته ده مجهول اینک تاریخ هجری نیک بور کسان
 سکز سنه نشتن خلقای عتباتیه دن هارون الرشید طرفدن شایمان نام فراخجه قرانله هدیه اوله دن رفته جابر
 ساعت ارسال اولنه لیدن بروفق مذکوره نوعله مایشتن ابد کدی

و عساکر مرتبه نظامی مادی و فی اواصل جنتک سلطان اوردخان خان حضرت نیک زمان سلطانلر نه و برین کجی و اعی
 نظامندن شاخوز ابرکی و فایع نویسان عالم و تواریخ شناسان احوال امم عندلرین غیر خفی اولوب لکن متأخرین زمان
 انار اخلا فیه عدم رغبت و فی بومنا هذا اوروپا دوللر نه اصول حکمته طبیی اینه جاری اولو نظامانک منافعتن ضیانتدار عیبت
 ابد کدی بنه بناء صورت احوال هیئت اولکلرین شغلب اولشدر قالدیکه الناس علی بن ملوکهم مفاد غبه هر ملکی
 مسلک و شعاری اولی الامرله اراده لرینه توقف اولغله بوان مباس افزنده ملت بیضای عثمانیه نکه شهرت قدیمه لر قیدیر
 اوقته اوند ابدای امده مارالذکر تعالیم فنون خصوصنه صرف همت بوریلور اینه عهد قریبه معلوم معرفت و هم نظام و رابطه
 جنتیه کافه ام و ملکه فایق اوله جفی جای اشتباه دکلر محصل الکلام بوارده نکه حصولی فنون مرتبه به خصوص تعلیمخانه اولی
 احداثه منوط اولغله تعلیمخانه مذکوره نکه دوام و استقراری موجب بر رابطه قویه اینه تنظیمی سیر و لو اینه مصارف جسمه و بعضا
 مشاق و محنی عظیمه اختیاریه اوروپا جانتدن جلبی مطلوب اولو اویجا لدره فیما بعد احتیاج اولیه جفتدن قطع نظر نیجه فوایده لری
 درکار و با خصوص علی الذوام جانب لطف سینه به غیرت و صداقه مربوط و از استعداد کسبه لر فنون مذکوره به تحصیل مهارت ابرین
 دو نهای هما یون و عساکر نصرت نمون خدمت لرینه و فروع خافانیه نکه لستگی و فنی و نهای هما یونک انشائی طوب اعمالی و عسکری
 تعلیمی خصوص لرینه و الحاصل دوام و روشونت و فن ابرمده مدار اوله جو کافه امده مدار کتی و هجری لدره اولغله بورقده تعلیمخانه مذکوره
 احداثه و موجب دوامی اوله جو سببانی استحصالی اینه بر رابطه قویه اینه تنظیمی اراده علیه تعلیمی نظام ملل و دوللک عن قرب
 احیاسه فال خبر انما زاولنغین ان شاء الله تعالی هم کوه اندر حضرت شهنشاهی اینه بویه برا جنتیه کبر الفواید لری
 وجود کللی سیر اورد اینه زمان ایت عنوان جهان داری نخبه اعصار و ادوار و ایوم سرکار ده اولون و کلوی لطف سینه به
 الخائنه الزمان موجب بقای نام و شهرت اینه وسیله افتخار اینه جفی وارسته قید کانر

تعلیمخانه مذکوره در تنظیمی بر قاج ماده به محتاج اولغله زبرده بیکان برط و بیان اولو

اولو تعلیمخانه بر مناسب موقع احداث اولنه کاغذ خانه نکه ساحل بمبئی اختیار اولنسه هم آب و هوا جنتی و هم ایاب و ذهابه سهولت
 نفریجا اینه اهن اولدیفندن بشق حفظ الله تعالی علت و با طهری هکامنده فی الجمله ماسون و مصون اولغله و اطرافه واقع صور لری
 و معنی جسمیه مساحه و هندسه نکه عملیاتی و مستوف عسکریه تعلیماتی اجرا اولنه بیه کجی بربرار اولغله محل مرخوم اهن و احسن
 و بنای مذکور احتشالی اولیوب کار کرا لدر و درویش اورد پادون جلب اولنه جو معلم و اویجا لدره قدر کفایه طابدن افا مندر جوت
 بشقه بشقه اوله لرا نشا اولنه ثابتا اهل اسلار ک قوی بشق نفر و دروم طائفه سندن اون بشق نفر طبله جسمه سی اون بشق نفر
 کرمی بشق باشند اولی اوند و تعلیمخانه و تخصصی اولنه و بوندرن محلولی لدره بر لری خالی فایده بهر حال بشقه لری تعلیمی اولنه در مقدار
 زنی و نقصان قبول انجیه ثابتا تعلیمخانه مذکور در علم حساب و الجبر و مساحه و فن انشائی سفی و فن دویا و فلکیات و فن رسم
 و ترسیم عسکری و معماری و هندسه بشقه بشقه تعلیم ابدیه قالدیر مهندس لدره حال فی الجمله کتابنه آشنا اولنه لازمه دن اولدیر کرا لدر
 طبله بنین و اقویوب بازغه آشنا اولدیر لسان ترکی بی تعلیم چون بشق معطل و فی تخصصی ابدیه ممالک محروسه خافانیه بهر جور اولو



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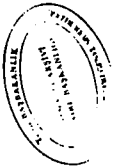
دولت عجبیه ایله معامله لری لایم کلد کیزن ترکی لسانی تعلیم ایچون اونوز فری طلیه به مخصوص مکمل ايجادیه اقتضا ابرن مصارفی اختیار
ایلد کیری کی حق عجبیه نکه دخی اکثر اور و با دولدی به کلی مناسبتی درکار اولدیغدن السنه افرنجیه بی وهیج دکل ایسه جمع اور و با به ثوابی
و شایسته مطالعه اوله صحتی و افرمولفات معینه سی جنبه سار السنه؛ نصاری نفوذی ظاهر اولون فرانسه لسانی کرن اهل اسلا
و کرن روم طائفه سنه تعلیم ایندرسه بوقوله لره هر دور خدمت دول عجبیه ده و تخصیصی لوزم المطالعه اولون بعضی کتب و آثار
ترجمه سنه مدار اوله جقدی ظاهر اطله لسان مذکور تعلیم ایچون تعلیم خانه ده بشقه جه معلم دخی تعلیم اوله
وابعا تعلیم خانه ده کافه؛ سواحل و بحار و ممالک و بلاد نکه بشقه بشقه ضربطه لری و بصله لرو سمل و قلاع و استحکامات متنوعه نمونه لری
لواظف هندسه و فنون مذکوره به دائر ترکی و فرانسه کتابلدی موجود اوله لوزم اطله به ساعت اول مازمه مذکوره بی ندرت
و مباحثه و محضره تعلیم خانه طاقری اقدی و قریبی تقدیم ایله فالدیکه اقلو طون و ارسطو و سقراط کبی فلسفه منتقدینلک
اخلاق و احکامیه ساطعه؛ علوم و فنون و تجارب کونا کون ایله و فن و فنون اثار جدیده استخراجیه و سترس اولوب مردود اولار
و کور و دهور و اعصار ایله دفته رفته مذاهب منتقدین اعدا اوله دن هر یک علی کانه اتصال و مولات عیدیه انشائیه سی به
ایلد کیرینه بنی بونلک دائر مشا قریبک اثار جدیده لری ترجمه اولسه هم تعلیم خانه ده تعلیم اوله من طلیه به هم تحصیل معارفیه
مورد موجود هوسکار و دین و حق عجبیه به خدشی کرمایه؛ افتخار عتایدن سار سنه لره انفع اوله صحتی بویله به بوقوله کتب
و رسالت و بعد از ترجمه هر برون بشر و انبش بوز نشقه بولنده ایچون طبع ایندر به خاصا سعادتنور بنی کتاب اقدی
تعلیم خانه نالک مدبر مطلق اولوب لکن کل بوم نظارت مخصوصه به نامور اوله دن اصحاب درایت و غیرت و ادب و صدق و استقامت
تعلیم اوله شویکه باش معلم و دردت نفر خلفا و لسان ترکی به مخصوصی و ج نفر معلم و فرانسه لسان ایچون و کبر اوج نفر معلم
ناظر موی ابراهیم زباده سنه اوله لر سادسا طلیه نکه در سربینه متعلق کافه؛ امور خصوصیاتی ناظر اقدی به طائفه؛
افرنجین باش معلم تعلیم اوله جو کسه با فدا کره تنظیم ابره لر سابعاً طلیه نکه انتخای خصوصی ناظر اقدینک بدستقل اوله
اطلعه اقدی موی ایله یو باده صدق نام موی لاکلوم ایله بدل کل دفت ایله طلیه نکه ضبط و ضبطی و در سربینه عدم مداومت
و با خود خلای رضا وضع هر کلد بنی مستحق ثادیب اولدک زبیه دفا و بدلی رئیس اقدی حضرتلرینه باله شیدان موی
ناظر اقدی موشیه اجرائیه مسؤولن فایدا صراح و زبیه اولباند و تعلیم قونه استعدادون بی بهره اولدن تعلیم ادون دفع و تعلیم
کد لک بعد از سیدان اقدی موی ابراهیم زبانه مسؤول اوله ناما طلیه نکه کل بوم و در سربینه مداومتی لوزم و اطله طالع
جوسی تعلیم خانه جمع اولوب بشر ساعت قدر علی التوا می معلمین بعد از استفاده کد و خا لرنه و با خود به تعلیم خانه ده هر بیری دخی مطالعه بوقوله
بالک جمعه و با زکون لری تعطیل در س اوله نامسا تعلیم خانه نکه زبینه سکرمه مرور و تفکر هر ای با طلیه طلیه نکه استفاده ایند کلد هر بوم
و فن و لسان نکه امتحان اوله فاعده دن اولوب بوم امتحانه اصحاب معارفن هر کسک تعلیم خانه به کلکله و صفت و بربیه لکن هم تحصیل معارفیه
مشغول اولده نایب؛ شوق و غیرت و هم متاع علم و هنر بوزمان میام خوانده نه درجه ده رایج افرنجیه حبه به اعلا زبانه و کت اوله
ارایه اراعه ایام امتحانه اولوب ایلیم حضرت ائمه دخی تعلیم خانه بی شرب بقدری ممکن اولوب بوا اثر جمیلک استفادیه سبب قوی و دخی
طلیه نکه تحصیل معارفیه کسبا متنازه ایندر سنه ده برکة زینب اوله جو بولک امتحانه قدر مهاده لرنه کوره کتاب و ضربطه اولون
هندسه بهاسا اوله ده عطیه لرا احسانه هت بور بولوب کیکرجه کسبه؛ شوق و غیرت اوله صحتی هو بدار عاشره تعلیم خانه خدمت
ایرنده بشر بوقت سنی معاشد زبیه لوزم اطله ناظر اقدی به بش بیک و باش معلمه اوج بیک لیبوز و دردت نفر خلفا به ایکشتر بیک بشر بوز غرض
اون بیک و انی نفر اسنه معلمینه بیکه اوج بوز غرضدن بری بیک سک بوز و انی نفر طلیه به ایکشتر بوز اون ایک بیک اوج نفر خدمت
بشوز معاشد دن بشر حطب و کور بهاسشوز و کاغد و کتب و رسم ایچون اولون مباحثه سنه بر بوز جمعا فرق بیک غرض تعلیم اولوب
ذکر اودان معاشد ناظر اقدی معرفتیه بر بوبینه نوز به تفصیل اوله شویکه ناظر موی ایله همراه خاضع اوج بیک اوجوز و اونوز اوج هر و ش
حواله بور بیه جن ممکن قیصی حق و عدل و نده هر بربیه بعد از عطا برون بقیصی سندی اختیار ایله احد عشره؛ تعلیم خانه نکه معارفی
حواله بور بیه جن ممکن قیصی حق و عدل و نده هر بربیه بعد از عطا برون بقیصی سندی اختیار ایله احد عشره؛ تعلیم خانه نکه معارفی
.....

H. H. 9943-A



برندس خانه ترتیبه بر مناسب محله برندس خانه انشا سته و اثر برندس سله عرض ابدی کی لویجه سی منظره هلا
حضرت جهانماری بیور لندده کاخند خانه ده اولر من دیو خط هلا یون شکر فزون شد فنانده صید و در شده
فوقی اور مسافه بید ده اولسه شاکر و انلاک اباب و ذها برنده مصارفه محتاج اولد فلرندن خبری
مستقی موجب اولد فینه بنار خمر اهشکر اولرید جلدی ظاهر اولوب ترب بر حده اولسه خطره کیمه
رض کیمه لری مد اوست ایتلری ملخص اولد فینه بجه قوسنه ترب سلطان حامی فاش سینه فنی
عاشر اند ملا عرسه قریضی اولرید ~~اولرید~~ اولرید سکی بر کاخنده اضراج اولدنت و از کار کیمه اولر
موجود اولدنه ماعدا احساسدن دیو انکار و ملوف اولرید انشا اولدندده رکنانخانه باقی انکون توف
ابده کی کس شه باشنده کار کیمه اولرید وخی امتحان اولرید ایسه هم برندس خانه و هم بجه خانه بر حده اولر
وهله اری ده بجه خانه انشا اولرید اوزده مناشرت اولرید صید و فی خطره کلون اگر بیو برام اولر
عبدیه لری فنانک ابد ایسه آخر کینه لره فروخت ایتن دن مقدم سانه سته مسافرت اریق انقضا ابدی
معلوم و قطری بیور لندده اسر وفان و وفو سالتو سلطان حضرت بیکدر

پایان



این کتاب در کتابخانه
مجلس شورای ملی
ثبت شده است
شماره ثبت ۱۲۰۶
تاریخ ثبت ۱۳۰۶

ترجمه کرامت الهی بر این کتاب قدس قدرند و حق تعالی
از شوقین اولاد و مخلصان از دل و جان و کلام سوال جا کرانه در جواب اولاد و حق تعالی که در بر جاک الهی ماده نه و از تقدیم
ملکانه لری فنان بر قطعه قارای بالونه هفت و نیم طرف از حق تعالی تعیین اولاد و ملک و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
البه بر حق تعالی که در هدیه لازم در سابق نه کنی بوی تحقیق و افاده افاق لازم نگردد الحکم الی بر حق تعالی که در هدیه لازم در سابق نه کنی بوی تحقیق و افاده افاق لازم نگردد الحکم الی بر حق تعالی که در هدیه لازم در سابق نه کنی بوی تحقیق و افاده افاق لازم نگردد الحکم الی
افضا اتمی بودای مکتوبی عهد افاق نه اولاد و دیو و غلامها بر لری تحقیق و افاده افاق لازم نگردد الحکم الی بر حق تعالی که در هدیه لازم در سابق نه کنی بوی تحقیق و افاده افاق لازم نگردد الحکم الی
طرفین بر بر نه الهی تحقیق الهی و بلکه حق زیاده و قدس مکتوبی تعیین اولاد و ملک و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
بر کلام از کون بر جاک الهی تحقیق الهی و بلکه حق زیاده و قدس مکتوبی تعیین اولاد و ملک و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
ایکس بر بر وادی سرحد کافنی معرفت و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
دوت اید و معلوم علی کار بر اشتیاق بود اولاد و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
جا بنشیند عصار اولاد و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
لکی و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
هوا بنشیند و کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
بر قطعه خانه باز فرای الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
در ج اید و کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
قالبیکه قائم و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
خاطر و کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
دشمنی اید و کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
مغایبه بر وجه بر کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
ربیب و خان هدا با ملک و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
دفعه ساره اولاد و کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی
الکابلیه اولاد و کون و شوقین و دوت عید الهی و از بر بر بیان تقدیم و کلام الهی

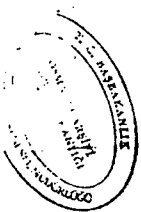
56

(1206)

مجلس شورای اسلامی
جمهوری اسلامی ایران

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحکماء هنده بچنه ابراطور بنده ارسال از نکلون نامه ها و نکل افغانا این صورتی ابدات اراغی بولک از نکل و افغانای اشعار و کلمات
و شی هفتوز وودونیکند ذکر اولان نامه نکل اودوی ابرون و ایشود و کابستجا بدین اصداری داده بیرون دیار بیهرون کرون اولاشک
دار اولون بخراب صفت قاتلها بیک شصیر گشت بچه بر سفیر یقین اولان و سنانندی اودطه ایچی اولوب ابراطور مشایره کوندی و
هیدر و کندی و بر پله جیاج مانر نه اودوی ها ابرونه کوندملک اودنه اولد یقینی نامه ها اولنک و خی اودوی ابروندون نصیر بی لای
اولنک نکل اصدار اولنک اودنه اولوب بر رطعه صورتی اراج وودو سعادند ارسال اولنقله اصفیا ایدو ایسه حضرتها ابروندون حضرتها
و کابستجا بیه دیوانه انون خنده قید اولنک و نکل و صلیک اندوز خیر ایدر سالنک ذکر نامه ها ابرونک
صورتی
نظمه



نخستین نسخه از کتابی که در این
استفاده شده و در این کتاب
تاریخ و نام نویسنده

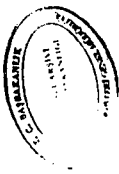
تاریخ
(1206)

H. H. 10018

مادشام

شوقو کرامتو مهانبو قدرند ولی نعمتم اقدم
اورده ایلجلک ایلله نجه به مامور راتب اخی قولدن امور نامورده سنه دار بود فقه تجیزان وارد ایلجله خصوصه
عقبه: علل ایلجله عرض اولدی موملی ایلله معلوم هاینلری سورلیغی اوزره خاص اهور خزنه سدن وارندن هاینلری
عاریت و بربر جلیک اشیا ایشانه قیاسا و رتبه سنه کوره بالذکره ترتیب و چند روز مقیم طرفه سید اوشک
اسبو تجیزاتی آنلرک و صولدن مقدم بارلش تجیزاتر قالدی موملی ایلله اولانی سیم و جادش طاقی و دربردی
بولک ایلجله کوره در اورده ایلجله اولرته اسباب حسنت اقضا اتمامک کرک و هم مومالیه بولرک اکثری
مقدم ایلجله ایل مسعود و نجه و ندرینه کیدن بعضی حزمه مقوله سدن بعضی ایشانی اولرغی سبابه تجیزاتر منظم اولمغله
اولمغله لر بربر کیدی ایللی نه رتبه ده در بر خوش بیکری اشکار اولمغله ماعدا لوازم احتشامدن بریزی و هم ایلجله
دریدون خواجه افرسندن تنظیم ایشانی اولمغله بربر اولمغله بهر رتبه مجموع لازمی ترارک ایلجله مومالیه راتب ایلجله
قولری و کاتباتی اوده جلیجه ایلجه به محتاج اولمغله ناشی خواجه افرسندن ماعدا عیال طریقه القرض ضررکانه: عامه دن
خوش اعطاسی استعانه بهر رتبه مجبور اولمغله اقضا ایلر مومالیه خواجه اولمغله دریدون ایلجه بیکری کسب ایلجله
اوتور کسب ایلرکی معلوم هاینلری اولمغله استقراض استعانه مساعد: علیه: جها نایندی اوزانی سورلیغی
تجیزه ایلرک کسب و نجه ضررکانه: عامه لرزن قرضاً و بولک لازم کله حکم و اولانی: سیم ماده سی و نجه اوده
ایلجله خزنه: هاینلری و برلش اولمغله عیال طریقه سیم اولانی استعانی سیدی موملی ایلله اقضاسی و هم تجیز
و اشعار اولمغله معلوم شاهانلری بربر اولمغله استقراض ماده سنه بهر رتبه اراده: شاهانلر سورلیغی قرمان
شوقو کرامتو مهانبو قدرند ولی نعمتم اقدم مادشام خدیو





HH 10335 (1206)

موفقا باشما سببه شئی و در بر ایجابی باشد نه طریقه نامور و میکان درین هابریزه
را با نشئی و قوی طایفه برهنه امور نامورده سنه و از سر و در این مجریه نامورده
۷۸۹۷

بسیه کبر و فخر بیم شده اند و در آن حدیث کبر و فخر مردم را می درودند
 مطهره نگاه داشته اند و از آنجا که فخر و کبر از صفات بزرگوارانه
 حکماست کبر از آنجا که بزرگ است

۱۰۰۰
کریکاتان دین، خدای صومرا، اوجوب، بهرورد، کین، تنگی، مخماری، بکن
اطوزده ایامه، موم، کریکاتان، کویکات، لزی، ریکا، اولفنه، مریل، ایلد، ایسه، موم

انفقا سکر کرده هیه بزینجا
مطالب بیادون بگریدم افت
از راهز سر راهی هیه
بجز براهه صفی و امانه

والله اعلم
بما كان
في
القلوب
والنوايا
والله اعلم
بما كان
في
القلوب
والنوايا
والله اعلم
بما كان
في
القلوب
والنوايا

دولت دردمان کس دردت عجب الجملیه زادین دولت باج پیر و
 و بنابر دولت متب تسخیری رهضا فی ازل درسته اولون بجهن رشت دله
 الجملی ناباره کله عاون اولونه مدینه سله نوباردن هریره شفا درنه کوره هیه
 دولت دردم اولونست ماعدا باش بکله انجمنی درونجی و کلامه غره
 رسائر مازشال دولت صلیتیه واقبا شدن ناباره کفده فی اقصا سته
 متفر رسائر مازشال دولت صلیتیه واقبا شدن ناباره کفده فی اقصا سته
 کله بجز دولت دردم دردمه ده ایزن تحقید آیتن اولون

[illegible]

مهر خندان زلفی و کعبه دگر که چون صدی
باز درون عمارت تو سست نه میخیزد
سایه کین زلفش در کعبه خیزد
بجز آنکه از رخسار تو زلفش خیزد

وایسته ارلینه باز کندی
مهر، محراب برکن

بیزه نهم سلطانله اسمانه کین ایشاقی، طایفه قریه سندن کین
طایفه داندوز هارون قریه سندن بنیاده محراب قریه سندن
برکنی محراب قریه سندن برکنی محراب قریه سندن
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دیلک وزیر ایلیمه
مرا تارار وارقیه هلمایا دیلک افغانا عظیمه
ایلمانه عمار دایره انوری تارکله احتیاج مس ایلیم

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بادشاهم

HH 13347

برای تظلم و اعتراض
و درخواست
در مقام
دادگاه

شکایت کردار میباید قوتدار و ملایمت اقم

HH 13347 (1206)

بخدمت بزرگوار و محترم ابدی تغییر از ابراطورک و فانی و لایق برینه قعود ابدی که خبری ماه شعبان که اول برکت
گرفته و داد اولی مدو سبب به تغییرات سابقه سنه قطع اولی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها و نقلات
برای تطبیق بودیم بعد از تغییرات ترتیب و تنظیم اولی استعلا ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
قبلاً تغییرات براساس خانه اجاره ای و اولی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
برای و اولی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
و اجاره خانه ترتیب اولی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
تغییرات مذکور و قطعی کردن و اعتبار به تغییرات و اولی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
در یکی شام ابدی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
اینکین عیب های درینه و بعضی اولی که در روز تغییرات و اجاره خانه ها ابدی که نیاز و ضرورتی قوتدار به علم اولی که سابقه
میباشد قوتدار و ملایمت اقم بادشاهم در مقام

بارنامہ

و اعلم ان
 شهادی طوری است که هر کس که
 او زره بگوید که من
 و اعلم ان

[illegible]



بادشاه

HH 13396 (1207)

Handwritten notes in Persian script, including 'کتابخانه' (Library) and 'مجله' (Journal).

شکوه کرامتو مهتابو قدرتو و نامتم اتم
جانب سلطنت سته دره سفارتله نچر دولته کیدوب بوزن اوجم عودن ایدن راتبا قدری قولرینه بالجهله معلوماتی قلمه اوجم تقدیم
استان سعادته درودی انا سنده اگرچه تنبیه و تفهیم اوجم قدری مویله بندر لری در عینیه درودون صکره برمن
خسته لک کچر دیکدن معلوماتی ضبط ایندی اوراقی جمع و ترتیب اوزده تمیخ و تلفیق مقرر اولوب تقدیم اوجم تقدیر
حضور شاهانه لریه عرض اولم مدیفدن کیمدرده سوال شاهانه لری صدورینه باز خصوص زبور گزار اقدی مویله استعجال
وسب تاخیری کلمه فی خسته اولوب یازی باز مغه قدرتی اولمینی و تمیدلده بر مقدار احتیاج اولمغه معلوماتی جمع و تنبیه
اوزده اولمینی خاکبای خسروانه لریه عرض و اشعار و متن اولمغه معلوم هایدلر بر الحاقه هذه قدری مویله تقدیم اوجم
معلوماتی جمع و تقدیم اینکله بجهه سرائه بعض کسان بعضی ابدیکی حوادث و اخباری مشتمل بر قطعه و نموده و نسک نظام و ترتیب
و مصارف عکریه مشتمله بر قطعه و کتد و نسک نه کوه غنیمت و نچر عودت و بجهه نه صورتله اقامت ابدیکه در سفارتخانه
سکندره اکی قطعه تقریر کاغذی معروض عتبه علیای داورانه قدری اکی قطعه کاغذیه مسطور اولم سفارتخانه
سکندره مضطرب تقریری قابل توسیع اولمغه اقدی مویله بنی لک کرانی و کزن نظام عکریه مسطور رساله اولم
و ماده مجاده نفیس و تزیین اوجم بوزن صکره تقدیم اوجم اطلعن ناشی سوال و استعجال شاهانه لریه امتثال اولم بودم محمد
و معلوم هایدلری بیرلجه ایچون اجمالیسنی بوجهم کاغذیه تحریر و تقدیم اتمین اولمینی و بوی مجله اولمده تقدیم اوجم تقدیر
تقدیم اینکده عرض اولم زلفی محاط علم عالیبدی بر لوقه امر و فرمان سکوتلو کرامتو مهتابو قدرتو و نامتم اتم بادشاه
خفیه کدر



HH 14138 (1206)

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ولایات نواح

نحوه بودیم حال آنکه در بر دین و حکومت و کلام و اجتناب رعایای و بحارستان ملک محمود نذر نذر بودیم
عسکر و خدمت کردن و جنگیده اسیر و قتل و لایقیدن صد و سی و یک نفر و بود در رعایای و اسیر و کویلیز
خواب و خفته و زانووف وادی بلور و اطمینان و سی و یک نفر و بود در رعایای و اسیر و کویلیز
نیز بود در کارزار وادی و بود در رعایای و اسیر و کویلیز و اما ظاهر و سی و یک نفر و بود در رعایای
استوار و عزم قدرتی بود و بود در رعایای و اسیر و کویلیز و اما ظاهر و سی و یک نفر و بود در رعایای
استوار و عزم قدرتی بود و بود در رعایای و اسیر و کویلیز و اما ظاهر و سی و یک نفر و بود در رعایای
و هر حال و کردار و اطوار و زنده صرف اذعان و بدینگونه گذر و نمایان و لغله نری تعلیم و اسرار و
که صورتی که با نری ظاهر و نشان اگر ظاهر و بدینگونه است و بر بسیاری و نری انفاق جلب و بدینگونه
نقشه و نور و شعله و از این اتمال است و بود و بدینگونه احوال و کفایت نری و از نری و نری و نری و نری
او و نام و صورتی که بدینگونه بر سر و نشسته از نری و نری و نری و نری و نری و نری و نری و نری
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بشخص اولور شطرنجی اراده ایتمک استرلر و خودمخده احوال و کیفیات دینیه دائر و درینم تقویر سه
اولنا مع صورتی تحصیله بر سر رشته ارادر زیر آنچه و بچارل کافه حقایق و وقایق و کیفیات
و عساکرینه و نظامیه و ایراد املیه و اداره ممالکینه و بام تلالیه بعون الله تعالی تحصیل و قوف
و اطلاع اولمشدر بوجیدن غایت قوکردن احتراز ایدرلر شوکت کواکملو قدرتلر عظمتلر و بی غیر
سلطان سلیم افندرن نظام ملک و مملکت و انتظام امور دولت و طریقت و اهتمام و هدرلو
شجاعت و اقدامی و حال مستندارای صدارت عظمی و دولتو غنائیلر یوسف باشا افندرن دخی
بویا بده زیاده تفتیه نامی و غیر و جیسوز و نظام عسکر و ملت دقت و صرف حقیقتله مشهور
بهادر و دلیر و زبرد و دیو هر خصوصه سعی مالو کلوی اور و پا ده و با خصوص بوطرفه مذکور
اولمغله قوکردن عودمخده هر خصوصینه و قوف اعتماد لری جسیله بغایت اندیشه ایدوب بیاعت
اول غودنی و در سعادت و تفریه اعتبار اولما مع صورت دینیه بر سر رشته تحصیل ایدرلر بصورت
قول دینه زیاده اعتبار و عزم ایدرلر نکم درونی اولیوب جناب رب العزتک فضل و کرم و غنائیلر
و حفظ و حمایت و وقایق و اولیای نعم افندیلرک نظر عاطفت و رافت و حسره و حتی ایلله موفق
اولدیم طور حکیمان و حکمت عاقلانه بهیندر کندی رسوم تشریفاندره میان ده جوق نزاع
اولدی و لکم فضل حق و کرم فیاض مطلق ایلله دین مبین و شرع مبینک شان و شرف و خیر
و دولت علیه ابدتک عنوان و عظمتی کما هو حقیقه ابر اولمشدر ایچ جوق بولیتیه
و جوق تدبیر دلیدر ایلله شمدین دخی هر خصوصه دقت اولمغله جناب ذوالفضل العظیم
توفیق جسیمنی بر عدا حقو کرم ایدری و ایچم طورک و وفای سبیلله ایشلر بایک کوزک
اولدی شمدین صکره شان دولتک ابراسی و حقوق دیانتک ایفای اولیای نعم افندیلرک
هفته موقوفدر بوطرفه نامه هایون کلمسی بقدر در صاقوب تکرار قوکردن بدیکه نامه
هایون و تبریک نامه اقتضا ایتمایه و بیا دله توقیف همان طرف بدیکه نامه دولتو غنائیلر و عظم
افندیلرک و مزاحمدن بر مکتوب عالی و پرچ قاونچ دخی بر مکتوب صدر عظمی اولور سه
دخی خوش اولور مصحفی شود جمله درکم بوندن اقدم نخج دولتله اورته ایلچیلک ایلله
استان خلافت عنوان جها نایندن تعلیم و ارسال اولدان ایلچیلر فلک اعانم ما موریت
و نامه هایونی محنته تسلیم ایلله ادای سفارت ایدوب بوطرفه لزومی اولمغله کندی توقیف
ایدریبوب بوطرفه اعاده ایلکمز دیو یازلسون و قوکره یاز دیون ارنامه اولیای جمیده
دخی مقدمه دولت علیه ابد مدت طرفدن اورته ایلچیلک ایچم و چه خزانم نخج دولتله ارسال
اولمشیدلک تسلیمه ما مور اولدیغک نامه هایونی محنته ابلاغ ایدوب اعانم سفارت
و ادای خدمت و ایفای ما موریت ایلدیگی معلوم اولما مغله اولمغله اقامتک اقتضا
ایتمیوب بوطرفه بعضی خداتده لزوم و اقتضا کز اولمغله باش و یکله دخی طرفزد
مکتوب یازلشدر تسلیم و افاده ایدوب بر ساعت اول اولمغله حرکت و عودت و در سواره
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دیو ادعا ایدرلر و لکم تواریخ ال عثمان نزد جا کیده برابرجه استصحاب اولمغله نظر
و تقلیب اوراق اولمغله اکام از قید بولوردم زهار و زهار نامه هایون کوندر لیسون
و هم زال مجاره تاج کیمک کیده جکدر و انذن و انفقوره ایچم طور لغت کیده جکدر بشو
و اگر نامه هایون کوندر لیش و بولم جقتش ایچم دخی تا اار کوندر یوب اعاده بیور سه
و نامه هایونی الوب مکتوب کوندره سر قوکره مکتوب کلدیگی دخی دولت طرفدن بکا
زبان کلدی کیدرم دیوب قاونچ ایلل ملاقات و عودت ایدرم جبر ایدرلر و هم قران
دخی کندی مصحفنده و مجاره و و انفقوره کیده جکدر اولمغله برشی دخی فم اولمغله قان
و هم تشریفات و ملاقات خصوصی اولیوب شان دین و دولت سنائی بر حالت و کیفیت ایدرلر
مقر کیده کیدن موضوعه دخی بود قایق اشارت اولمشدر زیر جوق جقتش و دقت ایدرلر

ایچم و چه خزانم نخج دولتله ارسال
اولمشیدلک تسلیمه ما مور اولدیغک نامه هایونی محنته ابلاغ ایدوب اعانم سفارت
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مقدمه بر خصوصی تفصیل حسارت اید مدکم و طراویکه زبانی اعلان و توضیح قبله مدغم
 برادر و یار و ندری بر غریب کیفیت رک هر طرفه جاسوسلری وارر ایما طور لیبولده و فوت اولدنده
 کنده فیلنوت سنده جیقان دفتده اطرافه اولون جاسوسلرینه درت بیلک تب اجم مصروف ایندی
 تحیر اولغشدر بر بدجه خبراندی ۹ ایدرم کچه تفصیل اوزره یاره عرض حال اقا
 بویرون قوش اوغز نیلیم کوی دلا رایم بر طرفن بر ادم کوندر لسه بشیوز غوش مصارف
 محتاجدر و هادام ابله تحیرات کوندرلر زیر ایلر و یه یاذرلر بوضو صلد ما موراد ملری و ادر
 شبهه ایندکلی و قتلده کیدن ادمی کیف ایدرلر و او یقوا و یوندر و در و در و در و در و در
 ایدوب اشتباهلری اولدنی زمانده هر حال تحیرات بقارر بناد علیه ادم کنده عجیبانه یازدی
 دیو شبهه ایدوب دغی زیاده اهتمام ایدرلر شدی وقت بولوب یوندر صبه اشارت ایدم
 بوندن صکره غیرت و عنایت اقدمدر همان باش و کیله و فقط برنج قادیج کافدر برنج
 قولده دیو استخر عودت بندکانه م ایچون بر مکتوب اصفی و قولده دغی بر ارم نامه صدرلری
 و اقدیلرلر مکتوب عالی و عنایتنامه ساییلری کافدر لکمه ایچنده سنلک هر حال محانه
 بر طرفه و صوللک لوزم کلمه بعضی خدما نده استخدا ملک اقتضا اینتدر لفظی اولدنی کج
 قولر بر طرفه ایاق بصیار و بی شاه الله تعالی رب التوفیق عنایتی و اقدیلرلر همتی
 ابله عودت و ممدویت و سلو متله رجعت ایدرم خاکهای اولیای نغمه رومالده هر
 خصوص و دقایق اطرافله عوض و بیان اولور بر نلایلم بر طرفه برایش کورلر و رجعت
 اولر همان مصالحه دن اولون انفعاللری حبیلله عظمت و تجر و کبر و تحوت صورتنی کورلری
 اظهار و یعنی نرم هر خصوصه قوت و قدر تمز و ادر بر نرم عجزدن صلح ایتدن شیطنی
 اشعار ایتلک استرر ملککنده بولندیق عهدنامه قانون دول اوزره جواب صورتلری
 اولسه بر خیانت ایدرلر و شر آثارلر صکره اقدیلرلر اشاعنده نچیز و تصدیع اولور
 قوی یلده و تملک بر خدمتمه تعین اولندی ایندغی تلویث ایدی اولسون دیو قوللرلک
 بر طرفه کلدرده فردی فهم ایدوب خواب راحت ترک ایتددر الله عشقنه و رسول الله عشقنه
 شونیزمه مساعده و همت و عنایت و رحمت ایلده و هم مکاتیب اولیای نغمی قوللرلر ادم ایل
 کلسون مقدمه جوقدارم صالح بنده لری در سعادت کوندر طیشی نیه افکاره ادر سال
 بیورلسون یا خود عاقل و رشید بر ما قار ایلدی اولور بوضه بر مناسب ادم ایلدی اولور
 عقیف و معتد بر ادم ایل کلسون زیر بولده کلون ادمی اضلال و اغفال و اشتغال ایدوب تحیرات
 بقارر بولرک بوباید اهتمامی بیلک زیاده در اوفانه همایون کوندر طیبیلک خوش و ضایع
 احقره اب اغاده اولسون مقدمه ایما بر قبیلله در سعادت کیدن مروضه ناعده بر حضور

بیرزون خوش اوچیز بیلیم کوی دلازانه برطرفون برادرم کوندرسه بشپوز خوش بصره
 بختاچور و هادرم ایله خیرات کوندرن زیر ایلوم یازدر موضو صله مامور ادملی وادور
 شبهه ایندکلی وقلده کیدن ادمی کیف ایدرر وایقو اویندوردر ودرلودرلو وسیله
 ایدوب اشتباهلی اولدینی زمانده هر حال خیراته بقارر بناؤ علم ادمی کندی عیجانه نازدی
 دیو شبهه ایدوب دخی زیاده اهتمام ایدرر شدی وقت بولوب بوقدرجه اشارت ایدم
 بوندن مکود غیرت و عنایت اقدردرر هان باش وکیل و فقط برج قادیجی کادر برنج
 قولرده دویم استخر جودت بندکانه هم ایچون بر مکوف اصفی و قویکزه دخی بر آرمانه خدای
 و اخذیلرزل مکتوب عالی و عنایتانه سامیله کایندر لکم ایچنده سنلک هر حال عیجانه
 بوظرفه و صولک لوزم کلمه بعضی خدایانه استخدا ملک اقتضا ایتدر لفظی اولدینی کوی
 قویک بوظرفه ایاق بصیر و این شاه انعامی رب النورک عنایتی و اخذیلرزل عیجانه
 ایله عودت و مودویت و سلامتله رجعت ایدرم خاکهای اولیای نغایه رومالده هر
 خضرص و رقایط ارا فیلده عوض و بیان اولور بوظرفه برایش کورن و رجعت
 اولر هان مصالحه دن اولون انفعالی حسیله عظمت و تجر و بکیر و خوت صورتی
 اظهار و یعنی بزم خصوصه قوت و قدرتمز وادور بزم مجوزون صلح ایتدرن شکلی
 اشیا را یتلک استرر مملکتلرزه بولندیق عهدنامه قانون دول اوزره جواب صورملری
 اولسه برخیا نیت ایدرر و شتر اتارر صکره اخذیلرزا شاخنده تعجیز و تصدیق اولور
 قوی یلده دولتی بر خدمت تعظیم اولندی ایندغی تلویث ایتدی اولسون دیو قولرزل
 بوظرفه کلدکده فردی فی فهم ایدوب خواب راحتی ترک ایتدیمدر الله عشقته و رسول الله عشقته
 شونیا زمه مساعده و صحت و عنایت و رحمت ایلدیم و صحت مکاتیب اولیای نغی قولرزل ادم ایل
 کلسون مقدما جوقدارم صالچ بندره لری در سعادت کوندریشی بیه افکله ارسال
 بیورلسون یا خود حاقل و رشید بر تاقار ایلدی اولور یوص بر متاسی ایلدی اولور
 عقیق و معتمد بر ادم ایل کلسون زیر بولده کلون ادمی اضلال و اغفال و اشتغال ایدوب خیراته
 بقارر بولدرک بر بایده اهتمامی بلن زیاده در ایتدیم ایتدیم هایدن کوندرملی بلن خوش و
 اکر بولم جیش ایله اعاده اولسون مقدما ایما طریقه در سعادت کیدن موصفا عده و جوق
 تلویح و اشارت اولمیشی ایله اخذیلرزل حکمتی نقص ایتدیمدر ایضا و تفصیل ایتدیمدر
 خیراته واقفا اولور صکره ایش ایلور تصدیق و تعجیز اولور سر دیور اردوی هایدن
 استانه سعادت و صولتی رمضان شریف ایچنده اشدیم کله جلی ایش کش و کرمش
 معتبر ارا جیفدر دولت علیه طرفدن ایلی اولنره بر لیلی بولوب دانما خیرات اکسل
 اولما لور زیر اهود دولتی طرفدن اون بش کونه برکزه دولن طرفدن خیرات طلب
 بعضی سرانر و کافیه و قایم افاده اولور زیر ابوظرفه استانه علیه ایچون درلودر ارا حیف
 نشر اولوب خواب راحتی منسلب ایدرر خاکهای دولتیله جوده سا اولدوره تفصیل ایدرم
 بویل خصوصه دولتی مسیلتلرک حلالیده یور زیر بولمدرک نظامی و دولت علیه
 سرایه و رقم رسم کورک یعنی و بعضی امور دولته نظام خبر عکس ایتدیمدر دخی بازشر
 ایدرر کوی طوطی اوزره نشر ایدم شادیدر رسم فردن اوتور بیلیم کیم کوی تخم ایتدیر
 دوات علیه بشقه اولدر و ایقابط اولدی ابرادنه و ایشلرینه نظام ویره یور دیو و تخم
 باشا دیلر و انیزه کورک بولدرک خصوصه و کورک سمور و قاق و سائر انواع کورک ایچون
 جوق قویج و حماقت نقل و ایما ایدرر مسقو و دشمنلک ایلک مالزی کورک حمله ایچون اولور
 کوندرر اعانت ایدرر دیو قولر و فراقتا سنه کوره شان دولته لایق جواب ویرردم
 شیدر بولسا نظر ایدرر بخت شادیدر و بعضی درلودر معنا ویردی بوندن صکره و خیر
 نظام ویرر دیورر ایتدیم هایدن جیش ایله باش وکیل باز بوج مکتوبه قالد جلی بیلیم
 مجاره و خرافقه کیده جکی معلوم اولوب ایچون بوظرفه لزومی و لعله بر ساعت
 اول اعاده ایچون دیو و قویکزه دخی بومضمونه بر رملتو راصقی و ارمانه عالی کاسه
 بوندن هیچ برشی فهم ایتدرر و ایتدیم هایدن اعاده اولر دخی باش بوقدر رسم ویرر
 نامه استانه و ایلی ایل مبادمی اولور بخت بیلیم اولور ایتدیمدر ملاحظه و رای بیورر



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فوتون تعلقه و ستردی شتابنده اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ملکنت کلیدی و ستردی شتابنده اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
اصول حکومتی تطبیق اندر دیرلر ثانیاً ساویریا قریلی ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
وزارت ایل اقبال بنده کائنات جبال شاهده اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
الحاق بله اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
وقته ساویریا قریلی ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
عساکرک شتخی اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
عین طریق مطابقت ایلدیر رابعاً مقدماتیم بایا ایلدیر الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
جمهوریه الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
بازاری ماسی یعنی اراضی منصفه بقید اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
منصفه اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ناقص صورتی استقامتیم بایا ایلدیر الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
وزارت مالکته الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
اصول ارباب و وزیریه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
مصادره ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
چهره سی عصب اندر کون صکه مقاسمه قرار ویروب هه حال ایسه خواجه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
نظم احباب ارباب ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
نقادون و نقاد کسدری کی بیجه شکر بید ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ایلیک عوقای و قیلد اتحاد ایلدیر الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
جمهوریت صورتیه تحویل ارباب اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
منصفان طریق استوکار به کون ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
هه مقابله سن بیکون معاملیه نظر قضی مغایر حقانیت اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ویریدی عظمی واده و هیانک دفعه سحر بهال ایتمی ایلدیر الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
نظامنه تطبیق بله رضای حقیرانه نسب ارباب الهیایه اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
شاهه اینکلرنه دفعه صائل اسبابنه بقیه اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
سرعتمی حبیه کرکی تارکری کوره مرکزله بقیه اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
وزله و اغراض فاسده لری قریب اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
فاسده لری جمیع دولی هج ورج ایتمک اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
جرنقود و اموال ایلدیر الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
دول کسلی محض ایتمک مدد ایلدیر الحاقه ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
حقنه دفعی اجرای مقاسمه ایتمک صرف اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ایلیک صکه دول ساره محضه مخاطره اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
کی وزارت جمهوریه دفعی اندر و اطراف حاکم اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
حاکم دفعی خصایر بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
اصول نژاده اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
مصلحتینه دفعی اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ارائن طوریه ایستقامت اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
دول بمراده ایستقامت اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
خاصه بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
ایلیک دفعی بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
قرار ویروبه سیرازه انقاده کسدری کلون اولون بجه حاجت ماکندن ساویریا ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده
وزارت مالکته ایالتی بیج وراج قلعه محاربه اساسده

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قالی انشیه عام و دو دمان صافی افاده اندر این کوره صلی و قدر لیس
قدی کنی بر ساعت اول صفر قدر صفا در زیر پاره اوله و بیطافا کله دایر
سرا ما و بنده بر هر روز پنج کوزه رطل و آب و کوزه صند بر استیاده و چون کوزه
تغیر بود را بر این شش کوزه و شش پهره و در هر کوزه شش درل و صفتی و فانی
و شان و شرکت و دلی ابرام سعی و دلی همان یوز و زنی آغله بر ساعت اول
شور و زدن عودت ایوب و خایا بلینه ملاقات ایوب حتی و زوز و اما و سراره
کسیب المراج و رفتند افاده ایدر هر شش کوزه و بنده استاب و نوله اولور
لکم و ملینه مساعده ده فانی و بدیر و لیس تمام صفا و واضع المرح
و قضا

نظر من زیاد روا ایدرم و در قلوب خندانان خند بر رخسار بازدم از آن رخسار و در

و آنچه در جمعیت ایران ظهور اشتغال نامی نوری و هاترین برادر و راهبانه حنفی و
 هزارون شعر و ترانه بر وجهه تدبیر و درگاه مقتصدان بجهت مصلحت مکار و در سانس ترنیر
 اختراع بیرون و اولیون بجهت ایند بر بر طرف اول بعضی نری نشرا بله بهم الناس
 بجهت ارباب و مضطرب سامعه اینه بجهت فساد القادر خلایق و نامایله اودوا
 ده و این بجهت بجهت بجهت است و این انتقوح و قتل اشتغال بودا معنی بحالدر

ایچا لورل وفاق انلارل تخیله نسمه اولملا شکرک سوج اولملا مقدره دئی
انلارل ای واردر یوسو، قش ایرلر حاولا اولان قزال دئی برلر قوتدن هیره
وصیه ده، یکم ارضه سوج اولانلار بولانلارل سرورایتیلر وکیمیه اولردی
سور، قش ایغیرله هکیمت قش طاری اولدی

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ولایتها بنده خوازا در انتظار

دولت علیه ترانه نمی لوندی نتی صفوت د کدر هر طور واداری حضورت لری اشعار ایدر اگر چه
قولرینه اکر ام و توقیر و احرام لری الله تعالی بلور که اسلو فرمه اولما مشدر انجی زبور زان قولر
اکرمی اللهم عنایتی و افندیلر زان حسن همتی ایله جلب قلوب بادی اولون اطوار حکمایه و عوالم
هوشیارانیه کالار عیادت و غناء قلب و علو جناب و عدم ارتکاب دقایق و طریقت
املری مجبور ایشدر والله العظیم بالله الکریم سرکارده اولک لریک دعوائی یشقه در دولت علیه
بر دخی داورانه فر شمدی صلح اولدی ذوق و صفایه مشغول اولور ز عساکر رنه و فرنه رنه و رعایا
و قضای و قرارنه نظام و رفیر زاده زر و مهم و مراد ایشدر و ایشقه ایدخی قدر لری یوقدر
کجی و سپاهی مملکتی احاطه ایشدر نظام لری تغییر و تبدل و اخرو نظامه تحویل ایشکره د کدر اعتقاد
اولور

سابقا اسوع ترجمانی مرادجه معلوم و تکرار فرماییده اولون ایشدول سیدیه بار سدن قایق
شمدی بجه اقامت ایشکره ایکی کوندر بر کوه طوب کیم و کوندر زده کوریشور علم الله تعالی دولت
علیه نلک بر مرینه غیرتند و در کم یزدن زیاده و یسم کلاومده کاذب اولم نمی لوندی بو اعتقادینه
دعا کند و ایله معارضه و مناقشه ده در دولت علیه حقیقه باید بقی تاریخی ایکی حدی
طبع اولمقله قولرینه هدیه و بر مشدر دولت علیه حقیقه تاریخ زبور ده اولون مدح و ثنای
محمدری ترجمانی سیدیه صابق و غیرتکش دولت علیه نلک بنده اولمقله و جبهه شتی
ایله اذعان اولمشدر انک واسطه سیده جوق شتی نصیح اولمقله در بعضی کتب ایدر
و نظام محالک و عساکره و اشراف و قواعد نصیح اولور بوطر ده زیاده ایشمه بار ایشدر

و مقدایکیم ما شا صدارنده قضا زده اولون صراف قمانده و هودی دخی تربسته ده ساکن
اولوم اوغلی مخصوص بجه کوندر مکله کول نمی محالکی و کول بر دسیا و انظره و فلک
طفر نلک احوالنه واقف و هودون و دشوکی بیلوب هرایشلک ستمنه و تحقیقنه عارف
اولمقله هر قدر دولت طرفدن مکرر اولمشدر اید دخی بر خصوصیه کندی قصور رنه عمل ایله
بر مرینه دولت علیه نلک غیرت و صداقتده در کم و کستان سربت اولوب هر کس سیدکی
سویلمکه محذور اولمقله نلک دولت علیه طرفنه مناسب و بیان صحیحی ایدر ایله معارضه
و از ام نموده در اوره سی یوزم دکل انجی قولر نلک بلی جوق ایشمه بار ایشدر
مرادجه ایله قمانده نلک اوغلی یوردنلک قولرینه ایدر لری صداقت و خدمتک حکافانه
بر دلویم قدرتم یوقدر مکر افندیلر زان عنایت لری اولم

تغیر و تبدیلی سے پہلے
موجود ہو گا یا نہیں؟
نہایت اہم اور دلچسپ موضوع ہے

شکرانہ کرمانو مہابتو قدرتلو ولی نعمتہم اذہم
 ذہب ناظری و سقالت ابوبکر ذات اذی قدرتلو تقدیم ابوبکر تقریری مفہومندہ دیکھی و زشتوی و کبیر
 اسکہ زینہ مربوط اولاد اون عدد و قضاار ذخیرہ یثانی و سبب اولغہ ذکر اظان و قضاارون ابوبکر
 بیک کبکہ ذخیرہ ترتیب و علی الحساب ابوبکر غرضی تیسر و مہابتو تمیز و اقضا ایدن او امر تریفہ
 نصیر اولغہی تحریر ابوبکر ذاتی ناظر مویالیہ ایہہ بالمشکرہ اقتضائی تنظیم ایلان اوزرہ دفتر دار اذہم
 قدرتلو حوالہ اولغہ ذکر اظان قضاارون بیکہ سی استانیولہ بیکہ بہ مقدار با اولوب کون سنہ
 اولغہ ذہب خطہ نک بیکہ سی کمان لطفان بارہ یہ الذب صانیور کین راجیکہ مہابتو سنہ ارادہ علیہ
 تقاضا ایدن خطہ نک ترخیزہ حسن نظام اولغہ غرضی ہم خطہ نک پہلہ زیادہ یہ حقیق و ہم رعایا غرض
 صورتی کون ایدوکی تحقیق اولغہ مطلوب اولغہ اولغہ خطہ حال و محمد زینہ کورہ ذکر اظان
 اون عدد قضاار توزیع و تقسیم و بیکہ سنہ بیکہ سی بیکہ بارہ قیات تقریری ایہہ نقد اقہ زری برارہ
 و تبیین ایہہ جمع و تبیین اولغہ مہابتو ابرارہ نقد و ازہ اولغہ مہابتو کورہ اسما علی غایت
 تبیین و اولغہ مہابتو وضع ایدر سعادہ ارسال ایلان اوزرہ تنظیم و بیکہ سی تنظیم استصواب و سقالت و قدر
 علی حساب و بیکہ سی غرضی قائمہ سی و ہر قضاار مہابتو اولغہ سی خطہ نک مقدار و قیاتی و قدر
 اقضا ایدن او امر تریفہ سنہ اصداری لازم کچھ مویالیہ دفتر دار اذی قدرتلو اظان بیکہ ذخیرہ مذکورہ
 بیکہ سی بیکہ بارہ اولغہ اشتراسی ہر قدر حد اعتدال قریبایہ دخی مہابتو حکمہ اولوب مہابتو
 باخط ہایون ممنوع و کچھ سنہ امین غایت ابوبکر ذخیرہ اولغہ سابق و بیکہ سی اولغہ مذکورہ
 اشتراسی تنظیم و تقریر ابوبکر کورہ مویالیہ دفتر دار اذی قدرتلو حدالہ ناظر مویالیہ ایہہ
 ذی اندازہ مہابتو اولغہ سی خطہ نک بیکہ سی اولغہ بارہ اشترا و اقہ زری بدون نقصان ہر کس
 اعطا اولغہ و سقالت ایہہ فقیر عدد نظم اولغہ و خراجہ و مصارفانہ مدار بیکہ مہابتو بیکہ
 غرضی و سقالت ایہہ بروجہ بیکہ سی اعطا اولغہ و ذخیرہ مذکورہ بیکہ مہابتو بیکہ
 ایلان اوزرہ قوجی بیکہ سی اولغہ حاجی محمد غا قدرتلو اولغہ ایہہ الفقی اولغہ نک مہابتو
 نصب اولغہی و مویالیہ مہابتو بیکہ سی قائمہ و اقضا ایدن او امر تریفہ سنہ اصداری تقریری و قدر
 اولون دیکہ تقریر ایہہ انجمن اولغہ منظور ہایونری بودری بیکہ سی اوراق مذکورہ حضور ہایونری
 عرض اولغہی معلوم ہایونری بودری بیکہ سی بودری بیکہ سی ہر قدر خدوا و ازہ مہابتو ہر قدر
 شکرانہ کرمانو مہابتو قدرتلو ولی نعمتہم اذہم یاد ساقم حضرت بیکہ

پادشاه

تیمور لنگ

HH 57362 (1205)

شکر کرد کرامتد مهابتد قدرند ولی نعمت اقدم
سفارتله نمجه کیم جله رات اقدی قولدن بوردغه نادر ابدن مجراره اظهار شان و سکده دولت بجه ابدن
ایچله قیاس ايله عیله العابه وافرشی مطلوب ابرر اقدی: موی ابلهک مطول ابدن شیلدون اکثری شود قده
موی اشدن اولغله شری آملر کدره لرشی اولغی اکرچه اقضا سنه کوره طرفه اشعار اولغله حقیر
مقیم عارت و جه طرفه کدریدون اشیاده مجهر فغان طرفی اکی معجون حقیر بر طرف ايله معجون
دخی ضم الرشی مروضه اولغی بودغه بر معجون حقیر فغان طرفی و بر عدد دخی کورجی تیرکش اوزون همایند
قرینه سندن و مقیم اکل اولسان دن طاقم اب رقتدن ساعد ابله بودغه بر طاقم دخی سیم اب
طافیه اهدر قرینه سندن افراز و اقدی: موی ابله ارسال الرشی اظهار شان سلف سینه ابدن نوزم کیم کورجی
مهرزده استیای مذکوره دن بر عدد مجهر معجون حقیر و بر عدد فغان طرفی و بر عدد دخی تیرکش اوزون همایند
قرینه سندن اعطاسی قرینه کندی اغا قولدنه بر طاقم سیم اب رقتدن و طافیه اهدر قرینه سندن اعطاسی قرینه
اول اغا نجه لینه تنیه شاه لینه توفیق ابدن معلوم شاه لری بر لوق فرمان سوتد کرامتد مهابتد قدرند
ولی نعمت اقدم پادشاهم صفیرتد

تجاران خلیج قسطنطنیه دن میایم ایدوب انبار عامه به وردکلی حظه و مستامند انان
حظه ایچون علی الحساب بود فعه دخی التمش بیلن غرض اعطاسی باینده اروزمان دوقلو
غضایلو افندم سلطانم حضرتلر شکر

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تجاران خلیج قسطنطنیه
دن میایم ایدوب انبار عامه
به وردکلی حظه و مستامند انان

عمر بنی برورده
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حاج محمد علی

غرفه کتبی
مکتبہ
نقشبندی
مکتبہ
نقشبندی

زینسار کتبی و قبان تجاری نزدیکی که احضار ایله افلاق و بغدادی مرتب حنط و ارزند استانه سعادته نقلی مخصوصی تجار
ایله مذاکره و استفسار اولمغله هرکس نوبتیه مایعات میری نقله راضی و خدمات خاقانیه بی نوبتی کلدکره ادایه دقت
و اینه ذمتی اولمغله بری اولوب لکن اوتون برو تجارت سفینه لی طونه سوا حلی اسکله رنن اوج سوا تملری مقور و نادرا
زیاده سی بیله میسر و الحقل اسکله رنن بعضی سندن اوج و بعضی سندن درت سفر و دخی زیاده سی جز و قوعده جلوه کرایکن
بکنه الله تعالی بوسنه مبارکه ده بعضی سندن بو وقت دکن سفینه سی بر سفر بیله ایدر میوب الحاله هذه ابرائیل و قلاص اسکله رنن
بعضی سندن سفینه لی ایکی ماه و بعضی سندن اوج ماهدن برو و دخی زیاده مکت و اقامت اوزره اولمغله درکار و مصارف بسیار
و منافع و کارزار اولمغله اشکار و محصول جدیدن صکره طونه دن اکثر یا بر سفون زیاده اولمغله حنی برادر اولمغله مخصوص اولمغله
سفاین تجار استیجار اولمغله میری ذخایری نقله مأمور اولون سفینه صاحب لی کذوب مخصوص تجارت و کارندن دور و میری
ذخیره کنور میانر کندی بخا رنن بیله سرور اولمغله بناه حال قلاص و ابرائیلده یوز ایللی قطع دن بخا و ز صیف و کیر سفاین
اولمغله بش بیلک کبله حدودی تحتل سفینه ی بیلک کبله و اوج بیلک کبله سفینه ی بش و الیوز کبله و اون بیلک کبله سفینه ی
ایکی بیلک کبله و دخی زیاده جه تخمیل ایدر دکن بو قیاس اوزره هر بیلک سفینه اینه توزیع اولمغله رنن تخمیل و نقل و تسبیل
اولمغله ببعنا الله تعالی هم تجار قولری کندی بخا رنن قالمی جقلری و هم میری ذخیره دخی بو وجهل سفاینه توزیع اولمغله
خدمات میری ادا اولمغله جفی ظاهر و عیان و کچن سندن اوج ایلها رنن دخی قلاص و ابرائیلده اولون ذخایر میری دخی بو صورت ایله
استانه سعادته نقل اولمغله نزد اولمغله غایان اولمغله افلاق و بغدادی تر تباتدن ابرائیل و قلاص بوسنه تنزیل اولمغله
حنط و ارزند دخی بو وجهله ابرائیل و قلاص اسکله رنن موجود اولون سفینه رنن تخمیل کوره توزیع و تخمیل اولمغله رنن استانه عیلم
انبار عماره ی نقل و تسبیل اولمغله چون امر عالی اصدار یوز لسون بورد دخی انده اولون شرکا و یاز بیلرزه اورت مکتوبی بخیر
و تسبیل ایدر دزد بو عهد رنن انهار و بر قطع طرفلر دن اورت مکتوبی یازوب طرف جا کرانه مه اعطا ایلدکن صکره بالاده ذکر
اولمغله اوزره ایچلرزه بعضی سندن اوج درت ماهدن برو سفینه رنن قلاص و ابرائیلده مکت ایدوب حمله تخمیل ایدر مدیکدن
افلاق و بغدادی حمله تدارکنه انتظار ایله مصارف کثیره ی ابلو درکار و اخذ یلر دن مرجعینه احتیاج غرا اشکار اولمغله رنن
فقط بوسنه و بوسفرده طونه ی مخصوص اولمغله اوزره قلاص و ابرائیلدن نقل ایدر جکیر میری حنط و ارزند بیلک کبله رنن
ایکیشرا و جبارده ضمنه مساعده علی ری درکار یوز بلور ایس بیری ایدر و حقیرده لطف و مرجعینه ابرائیلدر رنن بوسنه
ایتمایله واقعا بوسنه مبارکه ده کون طونه و کون الحقل طرفلر دن بخا رنن کار و تجارتلرزه بر مال اولمغله شایان رحمت
اولمغله رنن بوناه اگر اسکله لر و اگر سندن لر نونمغله قناتنه سربت ایتامک و اقبال و درکار اولمغله اوزره فقط
بوسنه و بوسفرده نونمغله قنات سابقم اوزره اون باره اوزرینه ایکی باره ضمی تسمیل مصلحت اولمغله ملاحظه بیلک کبله رنن
و عد اولمغله ابرائیل و قلاص اسکله رنن اولون میری ذخایری بو وجهل سفاینه توزیع اولمغله رنن نقل اولمغله اوزره توزیع کانه مه
امر عالی اصدار و بخا رنن اورت مکتوبلر ابرائیل و قلاصده اولون ذخیره بیلرزه تسبیل اولمغله میری ذخایر و بیلر
نظام اوزره توارده باشد مغلله برندن صکره ابرائیل و قلاصدن کله جلی میری ذخیره رنن فقط بوسنه و بوسفرده و بوسکره
مخصوص اولمغله و سندن اینه و سندن رنن اقبال و قیاس و درکار اولمغله شرطلر بیلک کبله استانبول سی رحما الحاله اولمغله
باره دن حساب اولمغله اوزره موقوفات قد و بوجهرل ذخیره سرای سندن اچم اعطاسی موافق رأی سایلری ایس اردو زمان
نه لور حضرتلر تکرر

حکومتی
عزیز قلم
نعمت

ذخیره ناظر و شش نالغ دفتر داری اذی بده لرینک بک عابدریه تقدیم ایدکی تقریری مفهومی بوزن اوقراف و بقدان
مرتب اولی ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرینه تنزیل افغان خطه وارزنک مستانه سعادته نقلی خصوصیتی ناظر موی ایله تجارتیه
لری المذکره هرکس بوسکه مبیعات میری نقلیه واسطی و خلوات مهرا بی نوبتی کدکده ادا یه دقت واجبه اذی اولی بک
اوت دهره تجارت سفینه لری طونه سواحلی مصلحه لرینک اوج سفرا بیدی مقرر و نادرا زیاده بیه سیرایی حکم الله تعالی
بوسنه مبارکده بعضی لرینک بوقته دن سفینه بفرستیه این صوبه الحاله هذه ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرینه بعضی لرینک
سفینه لری ایکی ماه و بعضی اوج ماه دهره مکن و اقامت اوزده اولی درکار و مصادق لری بسیار و منافع و کار لر
اولی درکار و اولی مصلحه اوج سفرا بیدی تجارت اولی مری ذفاری نقلیه نامور اولی سفینه مصلحه کدکده
مخصوص تجارت و کارنن دور میری ذخیره کتور میانلر کندی تجارت لریه مسرور اولی سفینه بنا سواصل طونه ده یوزالی
قطعه دن مجاوز صغیر و کبیر سفاین موجود اولی نقلیه نامور بلی بک کله عوله بی نقل سفینه بی بک کله و اوج بک کدکده
سفینه بی بک و الیوز کله و اوج بک کله لک سفینه بی ایکی بک کله و دخی زیاده جه تخمین ایدرین هر لرینک سفینه لرینه
توزیع و تخمین و نقل و تسبیل انحراف بسانه الله تعالی هم تجارت کندی تجارتون قالیق و هم میری ذخیره نلک دخی
بودجه سفاینه توزیع ایله نقلی آسان اولی مصلحه ظاهر و عیان و کجی سفینه اوبهارنزه دخی قدوس و ابراشده اولی
ذخائر میری بوصف ایله مستانه سعادته جب اولی مصلحه بودجه دخی ابراش و قدوس مصلحه لرینه موجود اولی تجارتیه
سفینه لرینه ذخائر میری و تخمین کوره توزیع و تخمین اولی مستانه علیه ابارعاه بر نقل و تسبیل اولی مصلحه ابراش
اولی انها و ایچ لرینه بعضی لرینک اوج دخی ماه دهره سفینه لری قدوس و ابراشده مکن ایلی عوله تخمین این مرکزین معارف
کدکده ایدرین سبیل فقط بوسنه و بوزده طونه مخصوص اولی اوزده قدوس و ابراشده نقل این جلک لری میری خطه
وارزنک بریکله سنه و بریلو کلک نولدریه ایکنز اوج باره سفینه مصادره اولی مستانه ایدرین بوسنه تجارت کار
در تجارت لریه برمالک اولی شایان رحمت اولی نولدریه بنا افر مصلحه لری نولدری فنانته سزیت ایتمام و اتمام اولی
اوزده فقط بوسنه و بوزده بریکله سنه و بریلو کلک اوزیده ایکی یاره ضمنی تسبیل مصلحت اولی مصلحه سبیل
ابریش و قدوس مصلحه لرینه اولی میری ذخائر بی بودجه سفاینه توزیع اولی درق نقل اولی اوزده ابراش اصد
و ابراش و قدوسه اولی ذخیره مصلحتیه شیار اولی مصلحه و ذخائر میری نوزده بک کله یعنی بیان بله دخی حالهم بریک
استانلوی اوج ایکنز یاره بی حله اولی اوزده موقوفه قید و ذخیره سرمای سنک اوجه اعطای خصوصیتی تقریر و انرا
ایتمکله واقعا بوسنه مبارکده تجارت سفاینی موی و آف طونه سواصلده مکن و اقامت لری سبیل مصادره کدکده ایدرین
ظاهر اولی مصلحه مینا بعد افر مصلحه لری و بریلو کلک نولدریه اتمام اولی و سنه آتی به سزیت ایتمام و شش دن
ابارعاه تسلیم اوج اوزیده بی نولدری اخذ ایدرین دوسا کدکده اولی مصلحه اولی اوج و مطالبه ایتمام سزیت
فقط بوزده در سعادته نقل و ترسانه ابراش و تسبیل ایدرین ذخائر هر یکله سنه افری موی لرینک تقریری
موجود برجه اعانه ایکنز یاره ضمنی ایله اوج ایکنز یاره بی حله و اولی مصلحه اعطای اولی اوزده موقوفه قید ایله
تظلم خصوصیتی نزد فرد خدیوان لرین دخی استصواب و مستحسان بیلدیر اوزدرین حضور سادو سلطان حضرت بک