

ECONOMIC AND MORAL ORGANIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN SOCIETY IN THE  
TANZİMAT PERIOD:  
SADIK RİFAT PAŞA'S *AHLÂK RİSALESİ*

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## ABSTRACT

There are many “ahlâk” treatises, which were used for educational purposes at the schools of the Tanzimat period (*sıbyan mektepleri*). These were mostly short booklets composed of advices for children with the assumption that youngsters were more apt to be trained. Sadık Rifat Paşa’s *Ahlâk Risalesi* was one of them. The treatise begins with the statement that the counsels within should be accepted as a father’s advice. The mature experiences and memories of the father are thus transferred in a simple way to the children.

Sadık Rifat Paşa was an official of the Tanzimat period. He wrote down his thoughts and experiences during his last years, as he did all through his life. *Ahlâk Risalesi* belongs to that period. The treatise illustrates the difference between good and evil, with the memories of Sadık Rifat Paşa as its background. This thesis tries to explore how the correlations were created between state and society, and what were the economic and moral values in Sadık Rifat Paşa’s societal project in his *Ahlâk Risalesi*.

## ÖZET

Tanzimat dönemi okullarında (*sıbyan mekteplerinde*) okutulan pek çok ahlak risalesi vardır. Küçükken daha kolay eğitilebilecek çocuklara daha çok nasihatler, öğütler halinde yazılmış kısa broşürlerdi bunlar. Sadık Rifat Paşa'nın *Ahlak Risalesi* de bunlardan bir tanesidir. Risalenin hemen başında yazılanların baba nasihatleri gibi kabul edilmesi gerektiği belirtilir. Böylece babanın deneyim ve hatıralarının olgun halleri çocuklara basitleştirilmiş bir biçimde aktarılmaya çalışılır.

Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Tanzimat dönemi bürokratlarından birisiydi. Hayatının her döneminde olduğu gibi son döneminde de gördüklerini ve düşündüklerini yazdı. *Ahlak Risalesi* bu son dönemin ürünüdür. Kısa öğütler halinde “iyi” ve “kötü” arasındaki farkı anlatırken metnin arka planında Paşa'nın başından geçenlerin de hikayesi bulunur. Bu tez Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın *Ahlâk Risalesi*'nde devletle toplum, iktisadi değerlerle ahlâki değerler arasındaki ilişkinin bir toplumsal proje olarak nasıl sunulduğunu araştırmaktadır.

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## INTRODUCTION

The term “Tanzimat” derives from a root meaning “order”; it carries an implication of reorganized or reformed institutions, of fundamental regulations; by usage it has become nearly the equivalent for “reform movement” in the years from the *Hatt-ı Şerif* to the constitution of 1876.

The Ottoman Empire entered upon the second and crucial phase of its mid-nineteenth century attempts at reorganization and westernization in a period known in Turkish history as the *Tanzimat*. During the succeeding two decades, when the Western powers were occupied with the wars attendant upon the creation of Italy and Germany as modern nation-states, and when tsarist Russia was healing her Crimean wounds and attempting far-reaching internal reform, events in Europe seemed to confirm the respite accorded the Ottomans. Ottoman efforts to reorganize and strengthen the empire by creating a genuine equality among all its subjects met many obstacles, among which the mentality evident in the prayer after the *Hatt-ı Hümayun* was not least in importance.

The fundamental problem confronting Ottoman statesmen was how to prevent their empire’s being weighed in the balance and found wanting, how to postpone the time when its days would be numbered. To preserve the Ottoman heritage, the Tanzimat statesmen crushed rebellion wherever they could, played off one great power against another when possible, and instituted measures of domestic reorganization.

Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, in that context, had a very significant role. He played his role not as a star; his generation rather prepared the stage for their successors. Sadık Rifat Paşa was a self educated Ottoman bureaucrat. His political and economical ideas developed alongside his career. Some reflections on his ideas were shaped and developed in his foreign

affairs career. As in the case of other colleagues, Sadık Rifat Paşa was also worried about the Ottoman Empire's situation in front of Western powers.

Chapter 1 describes the economical and political ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa. It also tries to explain the logic and concept of his booklet, *Ahlâk Risalesi*. Chapter 2 gives an inventory of the legacy of the counsel tradition in the Eastern and Western culture. In this chapter, there is a particular emphasis on moral education, pietist pedagogy and cameralist state intervention in Austria; we try to compare how the social and economical aspects were combined by state elites in 18<sup>th</sup> century Austria and 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire. In the conclusion, Sadık Rifat Paşa's ideas are discussed as part of an equation between morality, economics and transformation of the Ottoman state.

## TANZİMAT AND MEHMED SADİK RİFAT PAŞA

### Tanzimat

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the Ottoman Empire's contacts with Europe were increasing, relationships with Europe became a central point in the debates of Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals. Comparing the Ottoman Empire to the European states, Ottoman intellectuals started discussing the ways in which the Ottoman state would be able to measure up with European achievements of the time; thus, a major reorganization of state and society was put forth.

Naturally, defining the reasons that led to these reforms is not as simple as might be assumed at a first glance. Generally, it is assumed that the Ottoman state decided to proceed with these reforms because of the pressures coming from the Great Powers of the era; however, we should not forget that Ottoman society had its own internal dynamics. At the same time, we should keep in mind that accepting to modernize along Western lines was probably not an easy decision for the Ottoman bureaucrats. Thus, transforming the European ideas they borrowed so as to fit Ottoman needs and legitimizing the reforms to be realized was an important part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman bureaucrats' task.

In Turkish, the word *Tanzimat* means "regulations", and is used to refer to a period of Turkish history (1839-1878) during which a considerable number of Western-inspired political and social reforms were carried out in the Ottoman Empire. The institutional transformations that took place in the Ottoman Empire during the *Tanzimat* can only be understood in relation with the statesmen who designed and executed them. The experiences and ideas of these men played a major role in defining the scope and character of the reforms, as well as in their legitimization.

Davison emphasizes this condition with those words:

Reforms were undertaken to revitalize the empire and so to preserve it in a world increasingly ordered by European power and civilization. There was no aspect of Ottoman life that did not require change if this objective were to be attained. Advance was most obviously needed for military strength, to meet the challenge of Europe. But, to underpin this, economic progress was necessary; so also was improvement in the educational system, in the administration of justice, in the revamping of law to meet the needs of modern life, and in the organization and efficiency of public administration.<sup>1</sup>

Sadık Rifat Paşa was one of the important statesmen and intellectuals of the Tanzimat era. As in the thinking of all Tanzimat intellectuals, defining the reasons for the reforms and turning the Ottoman Empire into a modern state were of central importance for him. However, Sadık Rifat Paşa's views on state-society-economy relations were different than those of other Tanzimat intellectuals and statesmen.

The importance of Sadık Rifat Paşa and the way in which his ideas were shaped can be understood by taking a look at his biography. He was an ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna and president of the *Meclis-i Vala-i Ahkâm-i Adliye* for four times between 1845-1853. This council was the highest bureaucratic mechanism in the governing of the empire. The realization of the reforms was controlled by this council during the long period of the Tanzimat.

Sadık Rifat Paşa understood the state in quasi-liberal terms and described it as the apparatus of the Ottoman people. Putting more stress on the economic variable than most of his contemporaries, Sadık Rifat Paşa believed that the problem of state administration should be resolved starting from the field of economics, this being part of his proposal for creating a "science of governing" suitable to the Ottoman state. But, on the other hand, he feared the

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<sup>1</sup> Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 6.

reactions of the public opinion. This fear perhaps originated from the memories of the French Revolution of 1789<sup>2</sup> or the revolutionary agitation that shook almost all of the European continent in the 1830's<sup>3</sup>. We should keep in mind this fear and its origins in order to better understand the tones of the Sadık Rifat's words about rights and obligations.

Throughout this part of the work, after an examination of Sadık Rifat's biography, we will try to understand and locate his ideas in the context of 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman political thought. In an effort to understand the political and economical ideas of Sadık Rifat, we will also locate them in another context in the following part of the work: namely reinventing morality in the framework of a cameralist understanding of economy.

### The Biography of Sadık Rifat Paşa<sup>4</sup>

Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa was born in Istanbul in 1807. After having completed his primary education, which at the time "was still in the hands of the Islamic law [scholars], the *ulema*, he went on to receive special training at the Palace School (*Enderun*) and, having terminated his studies there, [he] was appointed as a clerk-trainee in the Bureau of the

<sup>2</sup> In Mardin's translation of Rifat Paşa's own words, "public opinion and the inclinations of the people are like an overflowing river, and there are two situations which are impossible to overcome, one of them being religious belief and the other public opinion. Since to oppose them is dangerous and difficult, in the case of uprisings and stirrings of public opinion, the state should act accordingly to the currents of nature". Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought, A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, Syracuse University Press, 2000. p. 187. Georges Lefebvre explains how the French Revolution was subsequently understood: "In the eighteenth century commerce, industry and finance occupied an increasingly important place in the national economy. It was the bourgeoisie that rescued the royal treasury in moments of crisis. From its ranks were recruited most members of the liberal professions and most public employees. It had developed a new ideology which the "philosophers" and "economists" of the time had simply put into definite form. ...*The Revolution of 1789 restored the harmony between fact and law*. This transformation spread in the nineteenth century throughout the west and then to the whole globe, and in this sense the ideas of 1789 toured the world." Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, trans. R. R. Palmer, Princeton University Press, 1970. p.2. (Italics in quotation are mine.)

<sup>3</sup> For the fear from revolution of the Tanzimat intellectuals and especially Ahmet Cevdet Paşa see Christoph K. Neumann, "Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın Tarihçiliğine Yansıyan Zihniyet Dünyası", *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar*, Haz. Hamdi Can Tuncer, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999. pp. 64-71.

<sup>4</sup> For biographical notes see Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-176; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları; "Sadık Rifat Paşa", Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, *Tarih Musahabeleri*, trans.: Enver Koray, Kül. ve Tur. Bak. Yay., 1985, p. 96-99. Bekir Günay, "Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa'nın Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri", unpublished M.A Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1992; "Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa" (by Sinan Kunalalp), *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, YKY., 1999. p. 182.

Imperial Treasury (*Hazine Odası*), on the strength of his father's earlier services as Head of the Military Accounting Bureau (*Masarifat Nazırı*). Upon the demand of his widowed mother, he was transferred from this employment in the imperial household to a bureau of the Porte and was apprenticed to the Bureau of the Grand Vizier (*Mektub-i Sadaret Odası*). There he soon attracted the attention of his superiors and was used as confidential clerk and *rapporteur* in a succession of crises such as the Greek Uprising, the Russian War of 1829, and the Egyptian Question. In this capacity he was able again to catch the eye of Pertev Paşa, who became his protector. In 1834 he was appointed Assistant to the Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs (*Amedi Vekili*)<sup>5</sup>. At the end of a conflict between the Grand Vizier (Pertev Paşa) and his successor (Akif Paşa), Sadık Rifat was transferred to Vienna as the ambassador of Ottoman Empire. This new post that he held between September 1837 and September 1840 was almost an exile. This duty was a chance for him to communicate with Prince Metternich. Sadık Rifat developed his ideas about Ottoman state formation and its necessities in this period. About this point, Şerif Mardin says:

Both extrinsic and intrinsic evidence indicate that Prince Metternich, then chancellor of the Austrian Empire, played an important role in helping Rifat Paşa to crystallize his conceptions of beneficial versus unadvisable or dangerous reform policies. ... The intrinsic evidence of Metternichian influences in Rifat's writings consists of the fundamentally conservative approach of Rifat to the reforming of the Ottoman Empire and his stressing of the measures aimed at securing "efficiency" rather than abstract "liberty," as well as his fear of "excessive" freedom.<sup>6</sup>

In 1840-1841, Sadık Rifat Paşa was an actor on the stage as intermediary in the Egyptian crisis. His duty was a special kind of secretary. After this mission, Sadık Rifat became *Hariciye Nazırı* (the minister for foreign affairs). During his later career, Sadık Rifat

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<sup>5</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

occupied positions in almost all of the governmental bodies created during the Tanzimat: Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Chairman of the Council of Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-ı Ahkâm-ı Adliye)<sup>7</sup>, Minister of Finances, and finally Assistant Chairman to the Council of the Tanzimat (Meclis-i Âli-i Tanzimat)<sup>8</sup>. His knowledge of the internal as well as the external affairs of the Ottoman State makes his comments a particularly valuable source for the study of this period.

### **The Economic Ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa**

As a matter of fact, when looking for the thread that unites the ideas of political thinkers of the early *Tanzimat*, such as Sadık Rifat Paşa, with the ideas of the Young Ottomans who became influential two decades after Sadık Rifat Paşa's time, the connecting link between these ideas is provided by the common admiration which members of both generations showed for the industry as well as industriousness of Europe. While discussing how the Ottoman state would acquire a powerful economic structure, Sadık Rifat Paşa shortly emphasizes the solution: "The prosperity of a country can be realized with a large population, agriculture, industry, capital, trade, and the labor and perseverance of the population."<sup>9</sup>

For Sadık Rifat Paşa, European progress was made possible thanks to "the freedom granted to education and industry." But Sadık Rifat Paşa separates public services and personal needs from each other:

<sup>7</sup> Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Meclis-i Vala-i Ahkam-ı Adliye*, TTK., 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 176; "Sadık Rifat Paşa", Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, *Tarih Musahabeleri*, trans.: Enver Koray, Kül. ve Tur. Bak. Yay., 1985, p. 96-99. ; "Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa" (by Sinan Kunalp), *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, YKY., 1999. p. 182.

<sup>9</sup> "...Mamuriyet-i mülk ve memleket kesret-i nüfus ve ziraat ve san'at ve sermaye ve ticaret ve ahalice sây ü gayret ile hâsıl olur". Ahmed Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması (Klasik Dönemden II. Abdülhamid'e)*, Der Yay., 1986. p. 221.

An individual has to favor education and industry/skills. An individual has to endeavor in the matter of agriculture, handicrafts and trade; he has to work in order to gain profit, to make a living, to accumulate capital, and he should not turn to be a burden for his state/country. He has to persevere in order to reap the benefits of his own skills.<sup>10</sup>

As a result of this freedom, new methods were constantly being developed in all fields of activity in the West. Similarly he believed that one of the characteristics of the West was that “the industrious and the inventive are shown respect and helped by the government.” The author then took up the rôle of the joint stock company and new developments in agriculture and transportation, stressing the point that “the state does not interfere with their interests.” The fact that free rein was being given the individual enterprise in Europe resulted according to him in “civil harmony.”<sup>11</sup>

Sadık Rifat Paşa reiterated the same thought in a different fashion by stating that the strength of the state was not measured by the amount of territory over which it had control but by the density of its population, the extent to which it was economically developed and the state of its treasury.

In any state, the majority of actions depend on money. The treasury of a state decreases or increases in accordance with the wealth of its population. In terms of fiscal revenues, the citizens are like sheep waiting to be milked. If the citizens are kept well, their milk becomes plentiful; if they are not fed well enough, their milk becomes scarce. Hence, rather than

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<sup>10</sup> “...Her türlü tahsil-i maarif ve sanayie insan himmet eylemelidir. Hususiyle ziraat ve sanat ve ticaret gibi şeyler ile kesb-ü kâr ve tayyüş ve istihsal-i sermaye ve servet etmek esbabına teşebbüs edib de umur-u tayyüşde bütün bütün devletine yüklenmemelidir. Ve kendi... sanatından istifadeye gayret etmelidir”. Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, “Avrupa Ahvaline Dair Risale”, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, Haz. Mehmet Kaplan-İnci Enginün-Birol Emil, İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yay., 1974. pp.27-30.

preventing the citizens from gaining wealth and riches, the state and the government have to assist them as much as possible.<sup>12</sup>

The objective conditions for the rise of such ideas as were set forth by Sadık Rifat Paşa existed in the situation in which the Ottoman Empire was placed. One did not need to travel outside of Turkey at the time to notice either the economic backwardness of the Empire or the fact that trade was an important activity for the state. In fact one of the problems that the statesmen of the *Tanzimat* had to solve was a problem connected with free trade: “Agriculture, trade and industry have to develop in the Ottoman state. ... In most of the states, the accumulation of wealth and property, and the increase in prosperity and comfort depends on these.”<sup>13</sup> Also:

It is obvious that, when a country's exports of its agricultural and industrial produce are high, and when its exports from foreign countries are low, the cash currency stays in this country, and the citizens derive strength from this situation. In countries with an opposite situation, the citizens suffer from poverty. Hence, attention should be paid so that exports in terms of agricultural and industrial produce were kept higher than imports.<sup>14</sup>

He further adds this about the Ottoman economical conjuncture at that time:

<sup>12</sup> “...Her devlette kaffe-i icraat akçeye dayanır. Hazine-i devletin kudreti ahalinin servetiyle mütenasiben artar veya eksilir. Hazine-i maliye indinde ahali sağmal koyun mesabesinde olup koyuna iyi bakıldığı halde sütü mebzûl ve beslenmediği takdirde sütü fena ve az olur. Binaenaleyh teb'anın kesb-i refah-u yesar etmesine göz dikmel şöyle dursun devlet ve hükümetçe elden geldiği merteye yardım edilmelidir”. Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*, p. 229. This view is clearly connected with understanding of justice, in other words, Sadık Rifat Paşa's approach has the soul of circle of equity.

<sup>13</sup> “...Umur-u ziraat ve ticaret ve sanatın memalik-i Devlet-i Âliyye'de dahi ilerlemesi meselesi... kaffe-i düvelin husûl-u servet ve mülk-ü tezayid refah ve rahatı bu hususlara münhasırdır”. Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>14</sup> “... Bir devletin mahsulat ve mamulat-ı mülkiyesinden ihracatı ziyade ve memalik-i ecnebiyeden ithalatı noksan olduğu halde nukûd-u mevcudesi memlekette kalub tab'a ve ahalisi zi kudret ve bunun aksi olan mahallerin ahalisi düçar-ı zaruret oldukları bedihiyattan bulunduğundan daima bil ikdam bu makbule-i mahsulat ve emtiadan ihracatın ziyade olmasına dikkat ve ihtimam olunması ehemdir”. Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

On the one hand, it looks difficult to have exports exceeding imports in the Ottoman lands. However, it is also possible to create a considerable production in the Ottoman lands. So, we should be careful to secure at least an equality and concordance between exports and imports.<sup>15</sup>

Just as European traders wanted to trade freely with all nations, they were eager to establish such a framework for their commercial relations with Turkey<sup>16</sup>. This led in turn to the demand, on their part, for such safety devices which facilitate commercial intercourse, like lay commercial courts.

In many ways Sadık Rifat Paşa's ideas on government suggest that they were the theoretical counterpart of Reşit Paşa's governmental reforms.<sup>17</sup> This is particularly obvious in Sadık Rifat Paşa's conception of law. According to Sadık Rifat Paşa it was imperative that greater importance be accorded to "rules and regulations" than to "personal factors" if a country wanted to survive and "prosper."<sup>18</sup> Not only was it necessary that such attention be paid to establish permanent laws but also care had to be taken that they were operative. Sadık Rifat Paşa added that laws had to be drafted through "consultation with eminent personalities", for if it was true that military decisions could be taken by a "single decision" the reverse was true about matters of state: "matters of state cannot be decided without *meşveret* (consultation)".<sup>19</sup>

Sadık Rifat Paşa stated that since revolutions were caused by the presence of great inequalities in societies, "care should be taken not to give rise to such inequalities, an idea which sheds considerable light on Reşit Paşa's attempt to create a new bureaucracy to take

<sup>15</sup> "... Devlet-i Âliyye memalikinin ihracatı ithalatına galib olması müşkil ise de Memalik-i Mahrusada dahi külliyyetli mahsulat vücuda gelmesi mümkün olduğundan hiç olmaz ise ihracatın ithalat ile muvazin ve müsavi olmasına be-gayret itina oluna". Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>16</sup> Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*; Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris, 1998, p.60-61, 66-67. Stanley Lane Poole, *Lord Startford Canning'in Türkiye Anıları*, çev. Can Yücel, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., 1998, Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>17</sup> Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, TTK., 1998.

<sup>18</sup> Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

over the governmental positions which had become the appendage of a *sui generis* privileged caste during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.”<sup>20</sup> Sadık Rifat Paşa emphatically stressed the fact that in reality “the general interest can be served only if the persons named members of the government and state employees are considered no more than servants of the state and the people”:<sup>21</sup>

If personal matters are revered more than the rule of religious law and the regulations of established customs in a country, it is not proper to reside in such a country. In a country worthy of living, owning property and goods, and engaging in transactions has to be guaranteed by law; the security of one's relations and activities with one's acquaintances has to be provided. If the regulations meant to provide the constant security of the citizenry are non-existent or cannot be implemented, there will be no comfort and peace in that country, and the ruler of such a place will never be confident, and never enjoy the peace of mind.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Political Ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa**

Consistent with the projects of reform presented to the Sultan up to that time, Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa began his argument with the statement that the source of the power of every state is justice.<sup>23</sup>

The link between the Ottoman-Islamic ideal of justice set in the *Ahlâk-i Alaî*, the Ottoman *Mirror for Princes*<sup>24</sup> and the thought of Sadık Rifat Paşa is made quite plain by Rifat

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> ”. Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, “İdâre-i Hükûmetin Bazı Kavâid-i Esâsiyyesini Mutazammın Risale”, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, p.37

<sup>22</sup> “... Bir memleketteki ahkâm-ı şer’iyye ve kavânin-i mevzû’a hüküm ve nizamından ziyade, şahsiyata itibar ve riayet olunur ise, ol mahalde temekkün etmek caiz değildir ve ol memleket ki vatan ittihaz olunmağa şâyandır, onda hukuk-ı tasarruf-ı emlâk ve emvâl ve muamelât ve dostlarıyla ihtilat ve ünsiyette emniyet-i kâmile mevcut ve mer’î olmak lazım gelir. Tebaa-i mevcûdenin emniyet-i dâimesini mütefekkil olan nizamât ma’dûm olur veyahut mer’iyü’l-icra olmaz ise, ol memlekette hiç bir vakitte rahat ve huzur ve hükümdarında dahi sebat ve itminan olamaz”. Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, “İdâre-i Hükûmetin Bazı Kavâid-i Esâsiyyesini Mutazammın Risale”, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, p.37.

<sup>23</sup> Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, “İdâre-i Hükûmetin Bazı Kavâid-i Esâsiyyesini Mutazammın Risale”, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, p. 35.

Paşa's use of the same configuration of political concepts and vocabulary as is to be found in the "Circle of Equity"<sup>25</sup>. Yet it is only in the advocacy of the general ideal of justice and the use of his terminology that Sadık Rifat Paşa's link with the past can be established. "When it came to the content of his suggestions that were at considerable variance with traditional Ottoman operative ideals. For one, Rifat Paşa's approach was quite direct; no circuitous ways were used to arrive at the conclusion of the need for justice. The phrase was used as an opening gambit. Sadık Rifat Paşa then went on to state that tyranny caused the destruction of states. The official attitude towards the disintegration of the Empire to that date, one which appeared in the Rescript of *Gülhane*<sup>26</sup>, was that the Ottoman Empire had declined because the

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<sup>24</sup> "To make these ideas more acceptable to his audience, Rifat Paşa clothed them in the garb of the classical Islamic-Ottoman 'circle of justice,' linking the well-being of the state with the prosperity and the contentment of its subjects. Although this conception was thereby made acceptable to a Turkish interlocutor, it would be an exaggeration to say that the idea of the prosperity of the subjects had heretofore constituted the core of Ottoman political theory. Sadık Rifat Paşa's formulation might not have been entirely new, but his emphasis on the dual concept of peace=prosperity definitely constituted an innovation." Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 180. The discourse on *fair and sufficient governing* is part of the traditional political philosophy; there exist a number of manuals on the art of governing relating to this discourse. This discourse was represented in the *East* and the *West* at same context but in different times, and offered an understanding of justice, defined the position of the ruler *vis a vis* other ruling groups and also presented discourses of legitimization and an understanding of economic activity. Consider this example from the 16th century: "...the *first* thing the reigning monarchs and kings of Alexander's majesty should mind is to gain the love of their subjects so that the weak, who have been committed to their charge by the Creator of all creatures, make them the beloved of their hearts. Now, if the kings lead a pious life, if they take care of the people who are their subjects, if they always mix and associate with philosophers and wise men and at all times avoid the company of blockheads, if they again and again study the teaching history, that is, the life stories of the kings of old, if they restrain as much as possible their own violence and aim at equity and justice, if fools and eunuchs and mutes and the courtiers, those kindlers of sedition and disintegration, do not take over the affairs of the State while there are perfect men available, men who are like coins of full weight, especially if they show great kindness and favour to the knowledgeable *ulemâ* and the learned men of penetrating judgement who are the pillars of the throne-hall of Faith and kingship, the firmly rooted legs of the structure of empire and nation, if they do not permit an increase of the burdens of duty that are incumbent on the victorious soldiers, the felicitous, self-assured army that is instrumental in conquering and defeating, in destroying and eradicating, and if they always protect the weak and the poor under their rule from the fire of poverty and destitution by means of their liberality and limitless patronage, they will tie the hearts to themselves in affection and will motivate people after the five ritual prayers to pray for the continuation of their might and glory." Andreas Tietze (Ed.), *Mustafa Âli's Counsel for Sultan's of 1581 (Nushatü's-Selatin)*, Vienna, 1979, p.41.

<sup>25</sup> The circle of equity is explained on those words: *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 orders the state/ There is no support for the Holy Law except through royal authority.* Cited by Fleischer from Kinalızade, *Ahlâk-i Alaî*. Cornell Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p.262 and also Şerif Mardin discusses the Islamic intellectual heritage with usage of similar sources. Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 94-106.

<sup>26</sup> Abu-Manneh mentions a number of characteristics that underlay the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century: "The first and perhaps the most important was to bring to an end the absolute rule of sultan and the arbitrary acts of his governors, and to enforce the rule of law, both shari'a (Muslim law) and the *kanun* (state law), which had suffered neglect in the preceding few generations. ...Indeed, the declaration in the *Gülhane* Rescript that the decline of the state had resulted from not observing the shari'a and *kanun* and that, henceforth,

word of God had not been heeded.”<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, to connect the fall of empires with tyranny was a characteristic idea of the enlightenment. Even more interesting was the fact that Sadık Rifat Paşa stated that empires declined because people were mishandled. According to Sadık Rifat Paşa, government was based “on the nature of humanity” and therefore having recourse to force in governmental matters would necessarily result in great losses. Thus a state could be ruled by military force but this very rule would cause its ruin: “Things that are contrary to human nature cannot be permanent and valid. Even if these may be valid for a given period of time, since they can be perpetuated only by the use of force, they lose their power and easily vanish.”<sup>28</sup>

In other words and in Sadık Rifat Paşa’s own summary of the argument, “something which is contrary to nature can never be good.”<sup>29</sup> Now this, of course, was the most arresting statement made by Sadık Rifat Paşa since he made no attempt to identify “nature” with the Islamic natural law or Sharia.

It is true that we find in Sadık Rifat Paşa constant references to the necessity of religious observance, to the religious basis of good government, but there is a definite secular trend which appears. A rather cynical approach to the relations between state and religion and certainly one which earlier statesmen would not have written or commit to paper, even though

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the life, honor, and property of all subjects would be guaranteed were not slogans, but fundamental principles to which the sultan and the Porte adhered throughout most of the Tanzimat period. ... A second characteristic of the Tanzimat was the gradual shift of the locus of power from the palace to the Porte, i.e., to the bureaucracy, in contrast to the situation under Sultan Mahmud II. This took place even though the sultan continued to exercise the prerogative of dismissing grand viziers and other ministers. This shift meant that the bureaucracy over time included in its ranks not only administrators and reformers but also statesmen and decisionmakers.” Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Sultan and the Bureaucracy: Anti-Tanzimat Concepts of Grand Vizier Mahmud Nedim Paşa”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aug. 1990), pp. 257-274.

<sup>27</sup> Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 180 and also see that “... Saltanat-ı seniyyemizin kuvvet ve meknet ve bilcümle teba’asının refâh ve ma’muriyyeti rütbe-i gayete vâsıl olmuşken, yüz elli sene vardır ki, gavâil-i müteâkibe ve esbâb-ı mütenevvi’ aya mebnî, ne Şer’i şerif’e ve ne kavânin-i münîfeye inkıyâd ve imtisâl olunmamak hasebiyle, evvelki kuvvet ve mamuriyyet bilakis za’af ve fakra mübeddel olmuş ve halbuki kavânin-i şer’iyye tahtında idâre olunmayan memâlikin pâydâr olamıyacağı vâzihâtan bulunmuş olup...”, “Tanzimat Fermanı”, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, p.1.

<sup>28</sup> “İnsan tabiatına aykırı olan şeyler daimi ve geçerli olamaz. Bir müddet için geçerli olsa bile zor kullanarak devam edeceğinden gücünü kaybedince çabucak yok olur.” Sadık Rifat Paşa, “Sadık Rifat Paşa’nın Devletlerin Genel Politikası Hakkındaki Görüşlerinden. Temel ve İç Politika (Siyaset-i Dahiliye ve Esasiye)”, Abdurrahman Şeref Efendi, *Tarih Musahabeleri...*, p. 109.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

they might have harbored such thoughts deep within them. Another indication of this secular trend is the idea of the rationality of the political process, which, though hesitantly and with fitting concessions to religious feeling, can be seen slowly to emerge. Thus when Sadık Rifat Paşa mentions laws he does not only refer to the Sharia but mentions side by side with it the “political laws” and “rational political regulations.” Another statement of Sadık Rifat Paşa is indicative again of a new approach to the problem of government. This is a phrase to the effect that “governments are created for the people and not the people for the government”<sup>30</sup>. Why did Sadık Rifat Paşa think that governments were created for the people? The answer he gives is this:

Generally speaking, the spiritual power of the popular mind often effectively defeats the concrete power of the states. The reason for this is that the mindset of our times and the current ideas are like an overflowing river. Two of the things that are impossible to destroy and isolate are belief and public opinion. Opposing these two is very hard and dangerous. Because if this, in a case where the public opinion is active and excited, the best for the states to do is to behave in accordance with the natural course of events.<sup>31</sup>

Two things are important about this argument. First its origin seems to have been Sadık Rifat Paşa’s fear of revolutions. Secondly in Sadık Rifat Paşa’s argument, ultimate reference to the people was not a moral necessity but a physical one, stemming from the very nature of man. This is a distinction which is of some help, for to state that the ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa show the influence of the Enlightenment is a statement which, by itself, does not

<sup>30</sup> “Hükümetler halk için mevzu olup, yoksa halk hükümetler için mahlûk değildir”. Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, “İdâre-i Hükümetin Bazı Kavâid-i Esâsiyyesini Mutazammın Risale”, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, p.37.

<sup>31</sup> “...Vakit ve halde ve mizac-ı halkta olan kuvve-i maneviyenin ekser zamanda kuvve-i cismaniyye- i düveliyeye galebe-i müessiresi görülmüştür. Çünkü mizac-ı asr ve efkâr-ı zamane cûş u hurûşa gelmiş bir nehre şebîhtir. Ve cihanda def ve izâlesi muhal olan ahvâlden biri, itikad ve diğeri efkâr-ı âmmedir. Bunlara muhalefet müte’assir ve vahim olmakla, efkâr-ı âmnenin galeyân ve heyecânında, devletlerin cereyan-ı tabiata göre davranmaları ensebdir”. Sadık Rifat Paşa, “İdâre-i Hükümetin Bazı Kavâid-...” , *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi I*, p.39.

explain much. It is much more interesting to find out that these ideas reflected the opinions of a particular section of the Enlightenment which was very influential at the end of the eighteenth century and did not lose its influence during the early part of the nineteenth century. These were the thinkers who conceived the human life in terms of the working of an invisible regulatory hand of nature, a conception which can be found among the physiocrats<sup>32</sup> and the utilitarians.<sup>33</sup>

If over-all characterization of Sadık Rifat Paşa's ideas is in order, no description fits these better than Herman Finer's remarks on cameralism: 'Jean Baptiste Colbert, comptroller of finances under Louis XIV, has given us the word *Colbertism*, the French equivalent of mercantilism in England and cameralism in Germany. In each case is meant the planning by the state of economic welfare and national strength, from the government's point of view, imposed on the people by law.'<sup>34</sup> Times had changed since Colbert's formulation, but the character of his policy still showed through Rifat Paşa's theories.<sup>35</sup>

### **A Short Remark on Cameralism**

The dual imprints of cameralism and liberalism in the writings of Sadık Rifat Paşa is a question worthy of exploring. The preferences made between these two ideological schools with differing political and economic projects are consequential in the structure of the resulting project. Obviously, the existence of the liberal choice as an alternative to resolve problems ravaging the Ottoman Empire is interesting from the perspective of political history.

<sup>32</sup> G. Sabine, *Yakınçağ Siyasal Düşünceler Tarihi*, Çev. Özer Ozankaya, Gündoğan Yay. 1991.

<sup>33</sup> "... criterion the English Classical Economists found in the principle of utility, the principle that the test of policy is to be its effect on human happiness. All action, all laws and institutions were to be judged by this test. If their consequences were such as promote more happiness (or eliminate more unhappiness) than was conceivable from other actions, laws or institutions, they were good; if not, then they were bad.", Lionel Robbins, *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy*, Macmillan Press, 1970. p.177.

<sup>34</sup> Herman Finer, *The Governments of European Powers*, New York, Henry Holt, 1956. pp. 283-284, cited by Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 187-188.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

This is the very reason why students of the subject are always thrilled by the “liberal” ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa. Their interest is partly motivated by the opportunity to investigate the cause of restrictions over the political liberties that kept constantly over the process of Ottoman and Turkish modernization. If liberalism was a genuine factor influencing Sadık Rifat then it would be a great step forward in finding historical supports to ancient problems. This is one of the rationales in searching the imprint of liberalism in Sadık Rifat’s articles. Another one is about backing a present political thesis related to the argument that by ignoring some suggestions from Tanzimat onwards the state tradition made possible its continuity through silencing such alternatives. In this part the a-historicity of such an argument will be refrained from dealing with. Discovering the imprint of liberalism in the elite circles of Tanzimat, regardless of its extent, is an important effort, to say the least. However, since we already dealt with these issues in the writings of Sadık Rifat we will refrain from going further. Cameralism, on the other hand, deserves much more emphasis in order to contextualize the ideas of Sadık Rifat in the arguments presented in this thesis.

Cameralism is the name given to the economic ideology\approach developed by Austrian and German economists at the beginning of the eighteenth century in order to seek appropriate economic policies for the mercantilist accumulation regime. In general it is based on a powerful ruler\administrative apparatus, a resourceful public finance and military prowess. In 1740, this legacy that was acquired from Vienna turned to be a part of the university curriculum in Bern. Around the same time its influence surpassed the limits of the economic domain, extending its impact over social issues. The rise of the United Kingdom to prominence through free trade and the accompanying enlargement of European financial markets overshadowed cameralism until 1820, yet after this date the needs for new markets felt by England and the new foreign trade policies that this need triggered made cameralism a viable alternative anew, in Europe. The protectionist policies that are resorted by the national

economies emerged after sixteenth century to provide for internal capital accumulation and the suitable fiscal policies to support this accumulation process triggered polemical arguments between liberalism and cameralism, though the need of liberalism to possess a minimum amount of accumulated capital in order to implement its policy preferences consisted their shared ground.

From the beginning, therefore, economic argument sought to identify appropriate policy for the governance of a state, and was consequently addressed to those with influence over the determination of policy, members of the monarch's court and of the monarch's administration. In some cases economic treatises were a form of extended job application, proffering advice and seeking preferment at Court on the basis of special skills in the creation of wealth – the archetypal economic consultant. The science of economics was in the seventeenth century closely linked to the science of alchemy; two variations on the theme of creating wealth. If the proffered economic advice seemed too roundabout a method, there always remained a more direct route through transmuting base metal into gold, doing without the laborious administrative effort required to generate increased revenues from field and workshop. Johann Joachim Becher for example published a *Politischer Discurs* in 1668 which offers a 'skeleton politicum', an analysis of the various elements of society, their respective contributions to the common good, and the virtues required of a ruler and his officials.<sup>36</sup>

The nineteenth century is marked by the protectionism of Austria and Germany while the United Kingdom that needed new markets preferred for liberal economics coupled with low tariffs, privileged opportunities of competition and unexploited resources. The Ottoman Empire was the ideal choice for both parties. It is suitable both for protectionists and liberals because of similar incentives. The Ottoman bureaucrats fall prey to the propaganda of these parties during their intercourse with their counterparts from these countries. Therefore, according to the supporters of these conflicting points of view and their heirs from the

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<sup>36</sup> Keith Tribe, "Economic Thought", <http://www.keele.ac.uk/depts/ec/web/wpapers/9907.pdf>, visiting date 16 April 2003.

following periods, their opponents in the Ottoman bureaucracy (this trend continued into the republican era) are sinful of opting for devastating policies paving the way for the demise of the country. However, the differences in the daily life are not so obvious even for the state elite. The socio-cultural behavioral patterns that mould their personality, their habits of thought and their relationship to the tradition that they are brought up turned to be decisive factors in their policy preferences. Sadık Rifat is no exception to this rule. He trusted that in order to pursue a specific and equilibrated fiscal policy a regulated economic understanding is necessary. Sadık Rifat firmly “believes” in the significance of practice. Indeed, as it will be mentioned later the unique supplement to the cited behavioral pattern is his experiences from his administrative duties and observations that he made during these duties. His insights on Austria were largely dependent upon his friendship with Metternich and their conversations about his observations rather than all-encompassing information on this country. His knowledge on the balance of power in Europe is nothing to do with the relative economic powers of the major European players; he can only perceive the political results of this balance and make inferences from them. His acquaintance with economic ideologies was restricted to his observations about their working. That is why he is mostly concerned with choosing the most effective prescription to cure the Ottoman fiscal system. The infrastructure and necessary regulations necessary to pursue these policies are beyond of his grasp so he did not bother about them. Therefore, rather than his liberalism or cameralism, his understanding of state is important in giving the orientation of his writings. That is why it is only normal when writing that Sadık Rifat Paşa did not feel the need to refer to any text but showed his attachment to a specific tradition transmitted orally or administratively, through specific emphases of his articles. It is in vain to look for ideological contradictions in texts authored by people who kept themselves distant from foreign influences except for searching resolutions for practical problems caused by modern times on traditional state apparatuses.

## Why is it Important to be a Cameralist?

Among the studies on Sadık Rifat Paşa the chapters in the books authored by Şerif Mardin<sup>37</sup> and Ahmet Güner Sayar<sup>38</sup> have been prominent until this day. Mardin, who undertook Sadık Rifat's point of view in substance, contextualized Paşa's thoughts within the socio-political and socio-cultural terms of that past era and exposed with its historical consequences. Sayar, on the other hand, is mostly interested in the originality of Paşa's insights inside the Ottoman tradition of economic philosophy<sup>39</sup>. Both studies are not only authoritative on the students of the field; they also constrain their scholarly freedom. That is the very reason why it is obligatory to evaluate Mardin's point in studying Sadık Rifat for our purpose here.

Şerif Mardin first dealt with this subject in a series of article published in the four consecutive issues of *Forum* in 1957, entitled "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manası"<sup>40</sup>. Half of the article is devoted to the assessment of the liberal content of Sadık Rifat's ideas. The article explicitly emphasized the liberal undertone of these ideas, an unfamiliar feature for the Ottoman elite. Sadık Rifat appeared the second time in the writings of Mardin approximately a year later. This time it was his doctoral dissertation presented to Stanford University.<sup>41</sup> In this dissertation the eclecticism of Sadık Rifat's political and economic ideas are evaluated in

<sup>37</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought, A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, Syracuse University Press, 2000 (first published in 1962).

<sup>38</sup> Ahmed Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması*, Der Yayınları, 1986.

<sup>39</sup> Sayar's study will not be weightily discussed here since the perspective of Mardin is the real issue for this work. However, it is necessary to underline a few points. In the chapters related to Sadık Rifat Sayar argues that it is possible to evaluate the economic views of Sadık Rifat Paşa in a similar vein to those of Reşid Paşa; he also adds that Sadık Rifat considers every possible means for the Ottoman fiscal structure, which is a completely understandable attitude for a reformist pragmatist Ottoman bureaucrat. According to Sayar, Sadık Rifat "is a well designed unison of the Western influence and the traditional economic thought". Sayar, *op. cit.*, p. 231. Also look for Sadık Rifat in Sayar's book pp. 217-235.

<sup>40</sup> Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Mânâsı", *Forum*, V. 8, n. 88, (15 November 1957), pp. 6-8; V.8, n. 89, (1 December 1957), pp. 13-15; V. 8, n. 90, (15 December 1957), pp. 13-15; V. 8, n. 91, (31 December 1957), pp. 12-13. This article series is published in Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset*, Makaleler I, İletişim Yay. 1994(a), pp. 288-312.

<sup>41</sup> Şerif Mardin, "The young Ottoman movement: a study in the evolution of Turkish political thought in the nineteenth century", Ph. D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1958.

a platform close to cameralism. The problem of the link of Sadık Rifat's ideas to the Islamic tradition of political thought is also appraised within the context of its perception of state and the approach to the state exposed in Sadık Rifat's writings. In the following period Mardin returned to Sadık Rifat in a report entitled "Türkiye'de İktisadî Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918)".<sup>42</sup> In this report the judgment of cameralism is repeated and his ideas of economics is definitely distinguished from liberalism. In *The Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought* (first published in 1962), the main book by Mardin written on the basis of his cited doctoral dissertation, the author evaluated Sadık Rifat differently than his first article on the subject. From this respect Mardin completed his discussion of Sadık Rifat in this book. After exposing these bibliographical notes, it is appropriate to go into the main discussion, which would contribute to surpass the mentioned authoritative constraint in this subject.

According to Mardin, Sadık Rifat possessed important qualities that separated him from his contemporaries. One of these is his broadmindedness in commenting on the relationship between state and society.<sup>43</sup> Naturally Sadık Rifat had his own contradictions and impasses. One the one hand he preaches that the states exist to serve people, on the other he sticks to the traditional Ottoman idea of sphere of justice and preaches obedience to just rule.<sup>44</sup> Or else, he cites the liberties and right that the people should enjoy and underlines the significance of education, yet remains silent on the design of the political regime that would bring about such rights and liberties. According to Paşa rights, regulations, science and reason will pave the way for the commercial freedom, which in its turn will enrich the imperial treasury.<sup>45</sup> While he chooses all of his illustration from the civilized nations, the focus is always on the parallelism among the social liberties, commercial success and the wealth. Paşa

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<sup>42</sup> Şerif Mardin, "Türkiye'de İktisadî Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918)", Türk İktisadî Gelişmesi Araştırma Projesi, SBF Maliye Enstitüsü, 1962. This project paper is published in Şerif Mardin, *Siyasal ve Sosyal Bilimler*, Makaleler 2, İletişim Yay., 1994, pp. 51-118.

<sup>43</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

<sup>44</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

<sup>45</sup> "İdâre-i Hükûmetin Bazı Kavâid-i Esâsiyyesini Mutazammın Rifat Paşa Merhumun Kaleme Aldığı Risâle", *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Haz. Mehmet Kaplan, İnci Enginün ve Birol Emil, İ.Ü. Ed. Fak. Yay., 1974.

happily argued that this parallelism gave its essence to these mentioned civilizations. There exist also some moral notions that accompany these commercial values. For instance, obedience to just ruler is a necessity for all individuals because it is both compatible to the tradition and part of having a decent character. However, the consequences of the expectation for human amelioration, which is parallel to ethics, is absent in Paşa's writings as a result of his firm belief that being moral is not a human quality but an extension of human nature.<sup>46</sup> Human communities are modeled on this morality. This conceptualization makes any *telos* or philosophical necessity that secures the emphasis on morality redundant. Although it seems devoid of any philosophical connotation, Mardin points to the link in this emphasis to the Islamic tradition of political thought.<sup>47</sup> The understanding of justice and just rule that was modeled inside the discourse of this tradition seems to be emphasized for the sake of perpetuating the political power "without any unexpected disruption". For instance, it is interesting to note that Paşa accepts civilization as a sufficient measure when talking about freedom of enterprise or individual commercial freedoms while he refrains wishfully from commenting on notions such as political liberties. He is aware of the influence of the public sphere and the political liberties. He points to the danger of the "public opinion" that can trespass its boundaries and he warns his readers against the possible damages of such events. His suggested precaution against this powerful public opinion is just rule because he believes that the populace can be kept safe from "incitement and agitation" solely by ruling justly and demonstrating this justice.<sup>48</sup> If freeing commercial enterprises for the sake of enriching state treasury and providing the physical and financial security of the merchants are the ultimate constraints for the just rule then his perception of state and society becomes clear. In this point

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<sup>46</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

<sup>47</sup> For Islamic intellectual heritage look Mardin, *op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 81-106 and for Sadık Rifat's ideas look Mardin, *op. cit.*, 2000, pp. 169-195.

<sup>48</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 187. In Mardin's translation of Rifat Paşa's own words, "public opinion and the inclinations of the people are like an overflowing river, and there are two situations which are impossible to overcome, one of them being religious belief and the other public opinion. Since to oppose them is dangerous and difficult, in the case of uprisings and stirrings of public opinion, the state should act accordingly to the currents of nature".

we become aware of the reason why Mardin in his earlier article was so impressed. This is where Sadık Rifat approached most to the classical liberal thinkers on the subject of state intervention. Sadık Rifat argued for the protection of the individual commercial interests for the sake of the economic power of the state whereas the traditional Ottoman conception of economy is limited to the needs and finance of state and within this conception confiscations are rule rather than exception. His exceptional behavior on that matter is surely dependent on his experiences in Europe and on the contemporary conditions. Paşa comprehends the benefits of the free trade very well. He witnessed the working of this mechanism in the Dual Empire under Metternich. However, the contemporary Austrian economic policies are not that straightforward and restricted. The state elite that began to perceive the social life in more corporatist terms with the coming of seventeenth century, conceived the economic life as distinct parts, which had to support each other, and pressed wishfully for the enslavement of the economic sphere to the state. It is not surprising to see that cameralism is designed and depicted in its minute details by the Prussians, who in turn accepted and implemented it as a state policy. For the Austrians also the terms of the relationship of the social classes –the Prussian bourgeoisie to be exact- to the state must be dependent on the state authority. The state will not interfere in the accumulation of wealth by its subjects and will provide for their security but it can also demand commercial rights on the domains where it seems profitable to the state treasury to intervene.

Prior to Sadık Rifat another ambassador to Vienna, Ebubekir Ratib Efendi who was sent there in 1791, also showed interest in the working of the Austrian socio-economic life and its harmony. Actually, the consequence of this interest was what is demanded by his Sultan Selim III. On the subject of “increasing the national wealth through local means” the Dual Empire implementing cameralist policies was a good example. The commercial freedoms and the personal security including the security of the private property are cited

among the primary means to augment the “national wealth” in his reports. It seems that Sadık Rifat advices, which seem to be quite innovative, were among the suggestions presented to Selim III fifty years ago when this reformist Sultan sought resolutions to his problems.<sup>49</sup> Sadık Rifat whose relationship to Metternich was more than friendly seemed to be influenced more easily by the cameralist policies that were reinvigorated in Austria after 1820. However, Sadık Rifat did not restrict the audience for his counsels to his sultan but wrote a pamphlet paving the way for a larger discussion to take place around them. The maintenance of the physical security of the subjects and their right to private property is indispensable for Sadık Rifat like his predecessor Ratib Efendi. The importance attached to these concepts must be related to the Ottoman tradition of confiscations undermining the rationale behind the accumulation of wealth. A mercantilist regime is in constant need of the accumulation of wealth. It is perfectly understandable for the Ottoman statesmen to look for new financial sources to compensate for the losses created by the decreasing tax revenues and gains of military conquest, and to repay heavy debts ravaging the state treasury. The Austrian experience with mercantilism must seem as the perfect resolution to the elites of the era. These two points are only normal; what is striking is the unease felt in front of the demands of the entrepreneurs aimed at securing their commercial interests and rights. Indeed, within this tradition where the fairness and the justice of the ruler is conceived as the ultimate support for good government, it is only typical to overlook legal designs securing the rights of moneyed interests against the wishes of the ruler. The real issue must be about the change in these attitudes. This point is crucial in explaining the main features of *Ahlak Risalesi* as it was modeled on the political and economic ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa. Actually, this point is where Şerif Mardin thesis enters the scene: Sadık Rifat is aware of this uneasiness that entangles the Ottoman administrative system. A part of the problem is related to economics. According

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<sup>49</sup> For the information on Ratib Efendi see Sayar, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-178.

Paşa its resolution lies in cameralist economic policies that would be imported from Austria. The role of the government would remain intact yet it would be harmonized with the interests of the individual commercial enterprises so as to fill up the state treasury. The political problem, on the other hand, would be resolved by enlarging the scope of the individual rights and liberties, in a parallel development to economic novelties. Sadık Rifat Paşa constrained purposefully the social background of the political. He explicitly favors granting political regulations only when it is also profitable for the economic growth. Such regulations must always be dependent upon the needs of state, that is to say individuals must enjoy large commercial liberties whereas they must possess restricted political rights. This tendency is perfectly compatible to then existing Dual Empire. That is why cameralism was not defended solely as an economic system but also praised as a political regime. The instances of this appraisal are discernible in its presentation as a science around 1740<sup>50</sup> so as to establish chairs in universities. The domain of education illustrates the programmatic aspect of cameralism in Austria where in the primary education the pietist pedagogy is furthered.<sup>51</sup> Inside these policies the power of the tyrant, the amount of the state treasury and the military might of the army are the main issues. What we try to demonstrate is the fact that cameralist policies are not instants of superstructural regulations but work as a deeper social control mechanism that is built from the basic level of education. It is also argued that cameralism is compatible to the state schemes of the pre-modern era, rather than modern era. This is the reason why the Metternich inspired Austrian influence over Sadık Rifat that was defined as a simple relationship by Şerif Mardin is far more crucial. Although in different texts, Mardin represents the relationship between the tradition (Muslim/Ottoman state tradition) that Sadık Rifat claims to belong and his economic ideas in its minute details. However, it is inappropriate to evaluate

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<sup>50</sup> Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy: The Reformation of German Economic Discourse 1750-1840*, Cambridge: CUP, 1988. In this book especially the second part is elaborately descriptive about Cameralism as a "science".

<sup>51</sup> James Van Horn, Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria*, Cambridge: CUP, 1988.

his political ideas in a distinct category from his economic ideas since this inhibits to perceive the handicaps of both an Ottoman statesmen who contributes to the ideological basis of the *Tanzimat* movement, and the *Tanzimat* itself. This is the summary of the reason why we are involved in this lengthy attempt to build a connection between them.

## Conclusion

Sadık Rifat Paşa was a statesman and intellectual of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the *Tanzimat* era. He tried to use the traditional conception of justice of the Ottoman Empire as part of the transformation process of the state. This conception helped him define the problems, create the solutions and re-legitimize state authority. On the other hand, the economical changes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century created a new understanding of economy for some Ottoman intellectuals, including him.

As Polanyi has shown<sup>52</sup>, before the 19<sup>th</sup> century economy could be described with the notions of change, reciprocity and redistribution. Generally and since the development of capitalism, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, economy has been a constituted (instituted) process, according to Polanyi. Sadık Rifat Paşa's perspective is also interesting from this point of view. The understanding of the Ottoman Empire's economy by Sadık Rifat Paşa is constructed on a view which is changeable, substantial and clear. For that reason, he easily suggests developing the abilities of people through education, to produce raw materials for the domestic market and daily needs, to adopt modern cultivation methods and to discuss export-import trade rates and the value of money (*tağşiş*) in the same context.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Boston, 1951.

<sup>53</sup> "...Hüsnü idare ve emr-i ziraata ikdam olunduğu halde az vakitte pek çok mamuriyet husule geleceği zahir olup her mülk ve devletin mamuriyeti dahi eşya ve mahsulat ve imalattan dolayı ihracatı ithalatına galip olmasına mevkuף ve harabiyet dahi bunun aksi halinde olacağı malum ve maruf olduğundan, Devlet-i Aliyye'de dahi ihracat-ı eşyanın ziyade olmasına ve hiç olmazsa müsavi ve müvazi tutulmasına dikkat olunması esbab-ı ticaretin memalik-i mahruse ahali hakkında dahi teshil ve icrası ve eshab-ı ziraat ve sanayiinin tekessür ve tahsil-

This holistic approach should remind us of a simple process of capitalism: converting life to different kinds of economic vocabulary. This vocabulary or new understanding of economy is foreign to the classical Ottoman understanding of economy. Ottoman political economy consisted of the keeping up of three basic principles: *provisionism*, *fiscalism* and *traditionalism*.<sup>54</sup> *Provisionism* means caring for the sufficient provisioning of the Empire, *fiscalism* can be defined as controlling and keeping in balance the fiscal sources of the Empire and *traditionalism* can be described as an effort to protect the traditional equilibrium between *provisionism* and *fiscalism*.

Because of the changes in European economy that led to its flourishing, the classical economic policies of the Ottoman Empire went bankrupt and the Ottoman economy was forced to transform. For that reason, on the one hand Sadık Rifat Paşa suggests reorganizing the economy within the classical concept of Ottoman political economy. On the other hand, this reorganization of the classical political economy was only possible in one way: its complete transformation. 19<sup>th</sup> century economy –economy as a constituted process, as Polanyi has put it – created a double effect on the Ottoman economic understanding and also the Ottoman intellectuals: transformation of economic thought in general and, more precisely, the transformation of economic thought in the classical sense of protecting the absolute state power. Opting for the transformation of economic thought only, instead of protecting the absolute state power, and doing this within the conception of the circle of equity was the major difference of Sadık Rifat Paşa’s thinking from that of his contemporaries.

On the other hand, as a close associate of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, Rifat Paşa is considered one of the key figures in shaping the state policies of the early Tanzimat period. He advocated

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i umur-u nafia taşra meclislerinde müzakere olunarak iktizasına bakılması ve asgari bir fiyatta kalmak için meskukatın bir ayarda tutulmasına dikkat olunması ve refte refte esbab-ı sarf-ı telef def ile eşyayı lazimedede yalnız zerafete bakılmayıp kıymet-i maliyeye dayanmasına bakılması ve derun-u memalik-i şahanede çıkan bazı emtia ve eşyaya rağbet olunup istimali adet-i makbule suretine konulması... ve herhalde usul-u itidaliyye iltizam olduğu takdirce husul-u asayiş mülk ve devlet ve mamuriyet-i millete inayet-i İlahiyye ve tevkifat-ı samadaniyeye delaletle medar-ı külli olacağı ümid olunur.” Ahmed Güner Sayar, *op. cit.*, p.233.

<sup>54</sup> Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, Ötüken Yay., 2000. p. 43-99.

rational policies for the promotion of central power together with the legal protection of the basic civil rights of imperial subjects as well as the encouragement of trade, industry and education. However, he defended the concentration of political power in the hands of the Sublime Porte bureaucracy without encouraging popular participation. Rifat Paşa's view on public education paralleled this authoritarian-reformist attitude. While favoring the expansion of public education among the Ottoman subjects, Rifat Paşa also showed a degree of cautiousness concerning the political consequences of mass education. For him the general population should acquire only basic literacy. "He admired the Austrian schools in which the fundamentals of geography, physics, mineralogy, and zoology were being taught, but in the same breath he warned against a system of education aiming to impart to 'common people' ... certain detailed knowledge which is of no use to them and would result in license and lack of obedience".<sup>55</sup>

Sadık Rifat Paşa could see the economic sphere was the crucial side within this transformation process. The state's regulative role in economic field was being limited, providing the safety of the citizens was becoming a crucial element for financial fluency. The state would get wealthier as its citizens did. This understanding that was based on the classical liberal arguments was vague since it felt capitalism within its own territory only by way of the pressure of international balances. It had no way of capturing the capitalist mode, means and relations of production; moreover it was not aware of them. This understanding was limited with the agricultural capitalism as understood by the physiocrats or the economic condition that mercantilists based on commercial accumulation. It was only concerned with the income to be transferred to the state repository. This is where we should look to explain the vagueness or the patches within Sadık Rifat Paşa's economic views.

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<sup>55</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, pp. 187.

**RİSALE-İ AHLAK: A MEETING BETWEEN THE « MIRRORS FOR PRINCES »  
AND THE ART OF GOVERNING**

We had already seen the economic and political ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa and the rationale that these are built upon. Probably Sadık Rifat did not perceive any complexity in the relationship between the economic and the political sphere, although this complexity troubles us at present. Within the world that Sadık Rifat lived the political and the economic enjoyed distinct and well-defined domains of existence. As long as these two combined to form a harmony their working is perfectly efficient according to Paşa: The economic sphere must contribute to the enrichment of the state treasury; and the political sphere in its turn must implement the necessary regulations for the former sphere to work efficiently. However, in order to work effectively this harmonious unison needs a specific kind of society in which the populace complies with their responsibilities and in which the social accord prevails. Sadık Rifat exposed to some extent the necessary political conditions for the building and working of such an economic sphere. Now it is time to constitute the society accordingly. This process of social construction does not include a well-calculated matrix of conspiratorial acts, Sadık Rifat built his resolution in practice that is to say he relied on the method of trial and error. For the Ottoman state elite the sphere of justice is the essential legacy of Ottoman administrative tradition. According to this tradition compatible to pragmatic tendencies of the Ottoman rule, transmitted from the Islamic political thought, there is a circle of equity whose basis is completed by social acceptance of the notion of “justice”. What Sadık Rifat achieved is to give to this tradition a more pedagogical outlook. Moreover, he was also capable of using a more mundane version of the circle of equity similar to some of his predecessors in Islamic or Ottoman tradition of political thought.

Risale-i Ahlak, which was a typical work of the transformative phase of the *Tanzimat* era, is written in order to be taught in the primary schools by Sadık Rifat. This pamphlet is in a way attached to tradition of *nasihatname* yet this time its audience is not the rulers but the ruled (subjects) who are the potential administrators of the future society. The *Tanzimat* era enabled the ordinary subjects to attain public service therefore it is time to advice the future bureaucrats of new society. For that reason, as it will be evaluated below the appendix of the Risale-i Ahlak was directly written to preach to the Ottoman administrators. Now we can turn to the exposition of the Risale-i Ahlak and its relationship with the Islamic/Ottoman tradition of political philosophy.

### **Sadık Rifat Paşa's *Risale-i Ahlâk***

Sadık Rifat Paşa was a prominent bureaucrat and a prolific writer, who belonged to a generation that worked hard to create the ideal conditions of *Tanzimat* reforms. During and after his service as ambassador he wrote treatises on state mechanisms and the conditions in Europe. As a bureaucrat Rifat Paşa was not only interested in the state and reforms. He was also aware that the subjects of the empire (*halk*) a primary concern for him that should be seriously dealt. A different kind of concern for education can be found in Sadık Rifat Paşa's works – among them *Ahlak Risalesi*<sup>56</sup> was the most widely distributed. *Ahlak Risalesi* was

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<sup>56</sup> Somel says that the possible last date of its publication is 1306/1888-1889. Through printed in changing formats in different editions (page numbers varying between 23 and 37), the text itself was preserved in its original form. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, Brill, Leiden, 2001, p. 62, 125n. In this work, we had two different editions. First one (15 pages) is published in general collection of Rifat Paşa's works, Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa, *Muntehabat-ı Âsar*, 8 vols. Ed. Tatyos Dividciyan and Ali Bey (Paşa's son), İstanbul, 1290/1873-1293/1876. Second one (37 pages) is *From Ottoman Turkish to Ladino: The Case of Mehmet Sadık Rifat Paşa's Risâle-i Ahlâk and Judge Yehezkel Gabbay's Buen Dotrino*, Ed. Isaac Jerusalmi, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1990. Turkish translation is also valuable in Bekir Günay, "Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa'nın Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri", Unpublished M.A Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1992. Jerusalmi and Günay translations are compared and edited with the original text and used in here and appendix.

used as a textbook in primary schools (*sıbyan mektepleri*) between 1847 and 1876.<sup>57</sup> As Somel says,

the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* was probably the earliest government-backed textbook, written for traditional Quran schools as well as for government primary schools and was required in instruction between 1847 and 1876. Considering its wide distribution among numerous provincial Quran schools of the Balkan and western Anatolian provinces during the 1850s and 60s, the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* represented the dominant educational attitude of the *Tanzimat* period.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Somel notes that same period there were different kinds of textbooks in the Quran schools: "In 1847 and 1848 the *Birgivi Risâlesi*, the *İlmi Hâl Risâlesi* (Booklet for Catechism) and the *Tecvîd Risâlesi* (Booklet Concerning the Recitation of the Quran) sent to the Quran schools of İstanbul which as state-supplied schoolbooks distributed freely among poor children. The copies of the Rifat Paşa's *Ahlâk Risâlesi*, on the other hand, were to be sent to Quran schools as school-equipment (*temür baş*) to be read by the pupils only in schools." According to Somel, *Ahlâk Risâlesi* was "a clear indication concerning the educational ideology of the *tanzimat*-period constitutes the textbook."

<sup>58</sup> Somel, *op. cit.*, p.62. This probable since it is translated to Ladino in 1861 by Yehezkel Gabbay for the Jewish community and published with the title of *Buen Doctrino*. The discussions that surged among the Ottoman non-Muslim communities with beginning of the *Tanzimat* era and especially the attempts by the Jewish community at educational reform are worthy of investigation. Yet, since these attempts are not the subject of this thesis we will restrict us to highlight only some important points. The classical primary education of the Jewish community consisted of the religious teaching taught at Talmud Tora where children learned Hebrew alphabets, *tilavet* (religious reading) and the translation of The Old Testament to Ladino. The low quality of such an education coupled with material shortages triggered a search for reform especially among the wealthy and secular segments of the Jewish community. This search resulted in 1854 in the establishment of a secular school in which the European were taught in Hasköy under the sponsorship of Abraham Camondo. In spite of the objections raised by the traditionalists the school survived. Following the *Islahat Fermanı*, in 1856, the Rabbinate announced an all-encompassing educational reform. This reform is based on an increase foreign language courses at the expense of religious courses. The tension between the reformers and traditionalists though remained intact, and in 1862 the pro-reform *Journal Israelite* was excommunicated. Yehezkel Gabbay, a close friend of Sadık Rifat and the translator of the *Risale-i Ahlak*, was a director of this journal. His interest in the pamphlet is remarkable. Because "the traditional Jewish education is based on the reproduction of Jewish identity through the recitation of sacred texts" and since "this education does not aim neutrally to develop abilities, but rather to reproduce the ancient values and producing consent to them" the interest of Gabbay who opted for a secular education in *Risale-i Ahlak* is striking. His interest can either be the result of a clever method of demonstrating the possibility of decreasing the religious education while sticking to the letter of religion, or else it can be a wise strategy of undermining the traditionalist opposition with the aid of a respected statesman. Whatever its reason the translation of *Risale-i Ahlak* to Ladino and its timing is worthy of evaluation. By the way, Gabbay focused in his account on *Risale-i Ahlak* and its merits and significance of this work. See Aron Rodrigue, *Türkiye Yahudilerinin Batılılaşması*, trans.. İbrahim Yıldız, Ayraç Yay., 1997, p.61. For the Jewish community and educational reform movement in *Tanzimat* era, see Aron Rodrigue, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-75; Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Türkiye ve Balkan Yahudileri Tarihi*, trans..Ayşe Atasoy, İletişim Yay., 2001, pp.185-266; look for Yehezkel Gabbay, *From Ottoman Turkish to Ladino: The Case of Mehmet Sadık Rifat Paşa's Risâle-i Ahlâk and Judge Yehezkel Gabbay's Buen Doctrino*, Ed. Isaac Jerusalemi, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1990, pp. 4-59.

Ahlak Risalesi is particularly significant for the discussion at hand. One of the reasons is that it was above all used for educational purposes for such a long period. Used as a textbook in primary schools, risale is also worthy of interest for the worldview it represents. Zeyl-i Risale-i Ahlak, which was written later and conceived as a supplement to Ahlak Risalesi was also taken down in a similar method: Appealing to the state officials, Zeyl-i Risale-i Ahlak seems to endow the abstract figure of the official with a particular spirit concealed within the text. We should first of all examine the overall structure of Ahlak Risalesi.

### Structure of the Text

Ahlak Risalesi opens with the statement that it is a work presented in the form of a fatherly advice. Sadik Rifat argues that there is no difference in general between humans and animals, that the difference lies in humans' capability of reasoning, having consciousness and communicating by language. The introduction continues with praise to the sultan who has pointed out to the significance of morality and who has made the work at hand possible by encouraging it. "Reverence" (*muhabbet beslemek*) and "loyalty and praying" (*sadakat ve hayır ile du'a etmek*) to the sultan<sup>59</sup>, are presented almost as requirements of morality. In the introduction, the need to be careful about one's conducts because of fear of God and "knowledge of the sciences which is *farz* (religious obligation) both by reason and by

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<sup>59</sup> About the existence of the Sultan in the text Isaac Jerusalmi's explanation is as follows: "[...] He also lavishes praise on the Sultan Abdülmecid without mentioning him by name for his encouragement in this project. The Sultan embodies the morals of the Prophet, as well as traditional values and humility. Being also well-versed in composition and rhetoric, the Sultan personally proofread the whole book from beginning to end, making valuable corrections and improvements. As the benevolent ruler of all his citizens, he favors the preparation of teaching materials geared at facilitating and improving the education of the masses. His actions and his daily prayers reflect his good intentions. He is refuge for those who, being engulfed in an endless ocean, thank him for his just rule which provides safety and security, a testimony to his royal attribute of friendship which has become notorious throughout the world. Stylistically this introduction is extremely flowery. In it, the author takes delight in displaying his through familiarity with the full range of Arabic and Persian idioms." *From Ottoman Turkish to Ladino: The Case of Mehmet Sadik Rifat Paşa's Risâle-i Ahlâk and Judge Yehezkel Gabbay's Buen Dotrino*, Ed. Isaac Jerusalmi, p. 4.

religion” (*dince ve akılca da farz olan ilim bilmek ve ilim tahsil etmek*) are emphasized in the same pages.<sup>60</sup>

Right after the introduction, the habits and behaviors that lie behind bad conducts are enumerated: lying (*gizb*), hypocrisy (*ikiyüzlülük*), gossip (*gıybet*), extravagancy (*ziyankârlık*), arrogance (*enâiyyet*), envy (*hased*), naughtiness (*haylazlık*), fraud (*hilekârlık*), greed (*arsızlık*), rudeness (*bedzebânlık*), theft (*sirkât*), indiscretion (*ağzıgevşeklik*), insult (*tahkir*), malice (*garaz*), rancor (*kin*) and selfishness (*nefsaniyet*). Then the good habits are enumerated: Loyalty (*sadakat*), faithfulness (*vefakârlık*), obedience (*ri'ayetkârlık*), contentment (*kana'at*), having good friends (*hüsn-i karîn*), steadfastness (*acele*), generosity (*sehâvet*), philanthropy (*mu'avenet*), health (*hıfz-ı sıhhat*), pleasantness (*ülfet ve ünsiyyet*), respect (*edeb ve hürmet*), brotherhood (*hukuk-ı uhuvvet*), honesty (*ıffet ve hamiyet*), respect for other's rights (*ri'ayet-ı hukuk-ı ülfet*). Having explained each in about a paragraph, Sadık Rifat says that he could have written longer but considering the impatience of children he decided to cut short.

## The Text

Sadık Rifat argues from the beginning of the pamphlet that morality is acquired only during childhood because children are more ready to be trained, just as the plants which are guided in a particular direction while growing. The introductory part of the pamphlet seems to be written for the adults who are going to instruct the children, rather than the children themselves, with the intention of explaining the motive behind it. On the matter of when and what children should be taught, Sadık Rifat points out that instead of spending time on

<sup>60</sup> “To be fearful of God and to abstain from evil actions, while doing good things, a binding obligation according to religion and reason (*dince ve akılca*), or the preservation of health (*hıfz-ı sıhhat-ı vücûd*) in order to serve God and the self, were examples for the justification by means of religion and reason. While generosity (*sahâvet*) was a prerequisite of humanity (*insâniyyetin şartındandır*), shamelessness and buffoonery (*arsızlık ve masharalık*) would be improper to the ‘purpose of humanness’ (*gâyet-i insane yakışmayan*). Rifat Paşa never used a purely religious justification, but mentioned religion always together with reason.” Somel, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

unworthy activities such as playing, one should use the time for more functional issues such as teaching morality. Before listing the “habits that should absolutely be acquired” (*bilinmesi elzem olan huyları*), he points out that acquiring these habits is *farz* by religion (and by reason at the same time). “Knowledge” (*ilim*) is what the ignorant man learns through education and ignorance is not learning the things which are “essential for qualifying as man” (*sıfat-ı insaniyete elzem<sup>61</sup> olan*). “The need for the acquisition of knowledge (*ilim*) in order not to become an ignorant, which would lead to disrespect, or the inappropriateness of lying (*kizb*) due to possibility of its discovery by other people and the shameful consequences, were justified by the notion of social control.”<sup>62</sup>

Sadik Rifat does not refer to concrete instances. He speaks of certain judgments instead. Therefore he uses the terms like “reason and religion” (*dince ve akılca*), “in terms of humanity and morality (*hem insaniyetçe ve hem edeb ve mürüvvetçe*)”, “not worthy of humanity” (*insaniyete yakışmayan*), “sign of the humanity (*insaniyet alâmetinden*)”, “humane manners (*âdet-i insaniyet*)”, “virtue of ethics (*ahlâk-ı hamideden*)” whose definitions depend on the definer and which embody social norms and cultural and historical implications as generalizing terms. These notions are positive and accurate definitions for him. While defining the good and bad habits with these notions, he uses simple explanations. Certain habits are also bad because they give way to bad attributes, such as lying and theft. Certain habits are defined within the framework of “always acting good” (*da’ima eyülük etmek*) which is considered as the universal right action, such as obedience (*ri’ayetkârlık*). “Honor/prestige” (*i’tibar*) is also an important means of definition for Paşa. Some habits also bring with themselves “honor”. In the introduction it is said that this treatise which the sultan “as promulgated, every action should be taken for the proper order of the schools and that children should acquired literacy in a beneficial way for themselves (*mekteblerin nizamı ve*

<sup>61</sup> Somel, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>62</sup> Bekir Günay, “Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa’nın Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri”, Unpublished M.A Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1992, pp. 255.

*çocukların mücerred kendülerine fa'idesi olsun deyü güzelce okuyub yazmaları için usulüne bakılmak üzere irade buyurdu[ğu]*”, is a *nimet* (gift) for which the sultan should be praised. To appreciate the sultan’s *nimets* (gift), to obey what he decides to be good for the subjects is “religious requirement (*vacib*).” It is not to be doubted that to be loyal to the sultan and pray to God for him will help increase their welfare, well-being, and prestige (*Sultan'a “muhabbet ve sadakat ve hayır ile du'a etmek feyzinin ve rızkının ve i'tibarının artırmasına sebep olacağından*”). Similarly, “education, having good humane manners and talent are also indicator ‘things’ that supply the respect” (*ilim ve kemal ü ma'arifet de itibar artırıcı şeydir*).

When categorizing the habits as good and bad, Paşa uses three justifying mechanisms. First is social control. Second, the emphasis on “goodness” is quite comprehensible, whereas the statement on the religious associations lying in the “religion and reason” remains implicit. Third, the concept of mature personality defined as “humanity”. The transitions between the three are not very clear. Each of them can be used as a reference or justifier for the other. Instead of explaining each *per se* and discussing its validity/reception, Paşa justifies them depending upon the others. If he were asked why theft is bad, Paşa would respond by saying that theft is forbidden in “religion” and it is anyway considered as bad by the majority of the people. The more intricate responses touching the issues such as social order, the balance of social life or the rights would never find any place in Paşa’s comments.

The language of the text appeals mostly to boys. As in the cases of shamelessness, buffoonery and obedience, the things that one who possesses a certain power must do, seem to be revealed rather to boys. But Somel points out that in a copy of the work which we do not have, Paşa argues that it is important to provide girls with moral education:

Probably toward the end of the 1840s, i.e. a decade before the foundation of the first female *rüşdiyye* school, he argued that the state should provide ‘good upbringing’ (*hüsn-i terbiyye*) for female children, since ‘personal maturity’ (*kemâlât*) was among the ‘honourable ornaments’ (*agar hilyât*) for girls. Rifat

Paşa in addition stressed that ‘the motherly embrace was indeed the earliest school for human beings’ (*ağuş-i mâder insânın en evvelki mektebi olmağla*). Therefore it would be a ‘great service for one’s nation and humanity’ (*milletine ve insâniyyete pek büyük hidmettir*) to raise mothers who would provide their children religious and moral education while suckling them.<sup>63</sup>

Zeyl-i Risale-i Ahlak, which is a supplement to Ahlak Risalesi, is a work where Sadık Rifat puts down his ideas on morality more clearly.<sup>64</sup> This text is written for the adults, mostly the officials. Paşa argues from the beginning of the text that it is only by acting in accordance with the laws of one’s religion or sect that one can act well, no matter what this religion or sect may be.<sup>65</sup> Here it is believed that religion (all religions) is indisputably the most clear, the truest and presumably the most useful guide for humanity (*insaniyet*). In the second paragraph, Paşa points out that: “anybody wants to be civil servant must have at least some specialties like patience, intelligence, honor, trust, forbearance, fairness, justice, dignity, precaution, constancy, fortitude, gentleness, sublimity, goodness, mercy, generosity and humanity since these are necessary requirements for being a great man (*dirayet, zekavet, iffet, emanet, sabır, adalet, insaf, vakar, temkin, sebat, metanet, halim, hamıyyet, kerem, merhamet, mürüvvet ve insaniyet gibi büyük adam olmaya işaret eden*)”.<sup>66</sup> In the lines that proceed, he warns the officials to “leave behind a good reputation when they gone; they must be aware of having honor, allowing from corruption, separating with evil and conspiracy, far from evil, avidity, arrogance, extravagance.”<sup>67</sup>

Sadık Rifat adds that there are four kinds of state office (art of governing): First is where the official, his cadres and deeds are all “good”. Second is where the official is “bad” whereas his deeds are “good”. Third is where the official is good whereas the deeds are bad.

<sup>63</sup> Somel, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>64</sup> Günay, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-282. In Günay’s thesis, almost all texts that embodies the *Müntehabat-ı Asâr* are available in Turkish. Zeyl-i Risale-i Ahlak is cited from the thesis. For different and shorter version of another translation, see *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Haz. Mehmet Kaplan, İnci Enginün ve Birol Emil, İ.Ü. Ed. Fak. Yay., 1974. pp. 45-53.

<sup>65</sup> Günay, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 257-267.

Finally, there is the kind where both the official and the deeds are bad. The worst is certainly the last one.<sup>68</sup> Right after these lines, Sadık Rifat points out that “the essence and the spirit of politics lies in knowing the contents of human societies and human hearts”<sup>69</sup> and that “one who does not know people, cannot be successful in politics”<sup>70</sup>. A good official must try to understand what’s going on around him, think about the events his society has been through, be prepared for the future by analyzing the current situation instead of enjoying his time. In short, Paşa’s advices for the officials in this supplement are based on how they should act on practical issues. Relying on his experience as state official, he seems to be more comfortable here and assumes that his words are going to be clearly understood by the readers. Rather than definitions of “good” and “evil”, in the overall spirit of the text one can see an approach as to which balances should be taken into account in official deeds in order to achieve success. As such, it indisputably belongs to the tradition of “mirrors for princes”. At that point we have to add something about education and ideology relation. As Parry says,

Whilst the mirrors for princes literature survived into the eighteenth century, particularly in Germany, it had to adapt to a more rationalized authority system in which even absolute monarchs had to work with educated bureaucrats and seek some new grounds of legitimating from their subjects. The virtuous circle had to be constructed in a society in which governance was coming into the hands of persons more of whom than in the past were strangers to one another. Such people required some instruction in how to fit in and how to gain the good opinion of others.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*: “... Erbab-ı politikadan olan zevat sevabık ahval-i tefekkür ve tahdir ile vukuat-ı hâliyeyi muhakeme veyahut ahval-i hazırayı tedkik ve mütalaa ederek ahval-i müstakbeleyi istidlal ve muvazene etmelidir”.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*: “Politikanın ruh ve esası tebâyi-i beşeriyye ve kalb-i insaniyenin müdakkikane mütalaaşı olup âmizce-I muhtelif-i insaniyeyi tanımayan adam hiçbir vakitte politika-şinas olamaz.

<sup>71</sup> Geraint Parry, “Citizenship and Education I, Political Education in a Tradition of Civility”, Paper for the 51<sup>st</sup> Political Studies Association Conference 10-12 April 2001, Manchester, United Kingdom. p. 5. This paper is available on <http://www.psa.ac.uk/cps/2001/Parry%20Geraint.pdf>. Visiting date of website 15 May 2003.

## From Nasihatnames to Risale-i Ahlâk

Here we must reemphasize the opening sentence of Risale-i Ahlak: “This booklet of morality is written as a father’s advice to the children”<sup>72</sup>. This perspective is well-suited to the cameralist point of view of Sadık Rifat since the cameralist economic understanding is based on a house holding system derived from Aristotle and the adjustment of the economic life accordingly. The state is one of the constituents of this household although unnamed it was obviously playing the role of father. In this point we have to return to the old state tradition of nasihatname and explain its essentials.

For the Ottoman state elite the sphere of justice is the essential legacy of Ottoman administrative tradition. According to this tradition compatible to pragmatic tendencies of the Ottoman rule, transmitted from the Islamic political thought, there is a circle of equity whose basis is completed by social acceptance of the notion of “justice”. What Sadık Rifat achieved is to give to this tradition a more pedagogical outlook. Moreover, he was also capable of using a more mundane version of the circle of equity similar to some of his predecessors in Islamic or Ottoman tradition of political thought.

Risale-i Ahlak, which was a typical work of the transformative phase of the Tanzimat era, is written in order to be taught in the primary schools by Sadık Rifat. This pamphlet is in a way attached to the tradition of *nasihatname* yet this time its audience is not the rulers but the ruled (subjects) who are the potential administrators of the future society. The Tanzimat era enabled the ordinary subjects to attain public service therefore it is time to advice the future bureaucrats of new society. For that reason, as it will be evaluated below, the appendix of the Risale-i Ahlak was directly written to preach to the Ottoman administrators. Now we can turn to the exposition of the Risale-i Ahlak and its relationship with the Islamic/Ottoman tradition of political philosophy.

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<sup>72</sup> “İşbu risale-i ahlakiyye sıbyana nasihat-i peder suretinde bir eserdir”.

## The Nasihatname Tradition in Islamic States

The conceptualization of state society relationships in Ottoman Empire, in a way, may be defined on the basis of historical tradition of Counsels and “The Mirrors for Princes”. This tradition offers a valuable and interesting background for the description of the essence of the social policy and the positioning of the public in the Ottoman administrators mind. On the other hand, the Mirrors for Princes tradition located itself in the conception of the abstraction of state. This way will enable us to understand the Islamic tradition of the Nasihatnames and its origins. Firstly, Gazali’s book will be presented and summarized, secondly Nizam-ul Mulk’s book will be portrayed, *Kabusname* will be the last case of the illustration of the Islamic tradition. The Western point of view in this respect will be presented through Bodin’s point of view on governmentality and discourse. In a sense, these few different legacies shaped the Ottoman *moral* historiography tradition that is originated from such history-setting books.

Obviously counsels for rulers can be authored only by statesmen or philosophers who enjoy the privilege to preach on what is good or bad to the monarchs to whom they are subjects. *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle is known as the first study of the genre of advising on virtue. In this book the definition of virtue is explained.<sup>73</sup> The virtues mentioned in the work of Aristotle inspired the emergence of a new discourse system legitimized on the religious vocabulary, throughout the Mediterranean sphere of influence via the Arabian and Persian literature and finally reaching the court literature:

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<sup>73</sup> Some characteristics can be cited as courage, moderation, open-handedness, munificence, greatness of soul, a nameless excellence related to honor, mildness, wisdom, intellectual accomplishment, self-control, friendship etc.

Furthermore all the court literatures served to propagate a pre-Islamic concept of the ruler and the empire. Interest in the secular aspects of Arabic literature, Persian adab, and Hellenistic philosophies and sciences signified the appropriation of a cultural heritage which could be used to legitimize Caliphal rule. They provided, in the Arabic case, an ethnic concept of political leadership; in the Persian case, a continuation of the heritage of ancient Middle Eastern kings; and in the Hellenistic case, a concept of the structure of the universe itself, in philosophic and scientific form, as the ultimate justification for imperial rule. The patronage of these several literatures implied ultimately that the Caliph, through a Muslim ruler, was legitimized in non-Islamic cultural terms going back to the heritage of the ancient Middle East.<sup>74</sup>

The books consisting of counsels for rulers, also known as Mirrors for Princes, which are composed of the synthesis of various legacies, political cultures and means of legitimization, form a distinctive and interesting genre of classical Arabic and Persian literature. What that exact reason, they show how complete was the synthesis achieved between the Arab-Islamic and Old Persian elements which were the main components of medieval Muslim civilization:

They make impartial use of examples attributed to Arab Caliphs and Sasanid kings, to Sufi saints and Persian sages; they Islamize Zoroastrian maxims such as 'religion and empire are brothers', and they assume rightly or wrongly a substantial identity and continuity between Sasanian and Islamic state institutions. The classical 'Mirrors', with their Perso-Islamic outlook, continued to be copied, and also imitated and translated, during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, and must have been read by Sultans and officials of those empires and have influenced their thought and action. Materials found in 'Mirrors' also passed into popular folklore; and having been used along with Sufi materials by Sa'di in his *Bustan* and *Gulistan*, they are still familiar to all who read or quote from those immortal works.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>75</sup> E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, Cambridge, 1958. p. 113

Not only the content, but also the form of the “Mirrors” reflects the convergence of Persian and Arab heritages and tastes. This legacy contributes also to the formation of a discourse tradition, which thoroughly comprises Islamic beliefs, the governmental practices and conflicts of the era of caliphate, as well as the delicacies of the art of governing:

Sasanian court literature must have consisted very largely of precepts or generalizations exemplified by aphorisms and anecdotes. The Traditions of Islam (*hadith*) are of similar character, arranged either according to source (*musnad*), i.e. under the name of a transmitter, or in the more widely used compilations according to subject (*musannaf*), i.e. in the form of rulings attested by sayings or actions ascribed to Muhammad or his Companions. Analogous forms are found in the literature concerning Sufi (mystic) saints; while elegant prose literature, *adab*, also often took the form of generalizations illustrated by anecdotes, aphorisms or verses.

The mixture of motives is apparent in subsequent *adab* literature, whether the subject be advice for rulers or other favourite themes such as friends, ascetics, *wazirs*, secretaries, horses, woman or moral qualities and their antitheses. The resultant literary products are sometimes edifying and often witty; but the confusion between ethico-religious and practical criteria, and the quest for rhetorical effect<sup>76</sup>, impedes rational consideration of subject-matter in such works. ‘Mirrors for Princes’ do not venture upon systematic treatment of the problems of government and of state and society. Authors of ‘Mirrors’, however, keep clear of both constitutional law and political theory, and simply take for granted the existence of an Islamic state in whatever form they themselves knew it.<sup>77</sup>

Better known and much more interesting are the “Mirrors” written in Persian during the period of Saljuq domination: namely the *Qabusnamah* composed in 375/1082 by Kay Ka’us ibn Iskandar<sup>78</sup>; the *Siyasatnamah* of Nizam al-Mulk<sup>79</sup> (408/1018-485/1092); and the

<sup>76</sup> E.I.J. Rosenthal, *op. cit.* pp. 113-223. Fourth chapter of his book generally summarizes of the power-state conception in Islamic political thought with theoretical framework in the Muslim philosophers works.

<sup>77</sup> H.D. Isaacs, “Introduction” in *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihat Al-Muluk)*, trans. F.R.C. Bagley, Oxford University Press, 1964. pp. x-xi.

<sup>78</sup> Kay Ka’us ibn Iskandar, *Qabusnamah*, ed. Eleazar Birbaum, Duxbury, Mass., Harvard University Printing Office, 198; *Kabusname*, İstanbul Maarif Matbaası, 1944. The latter edition of the *Qabusnamah* has this publisher’s note: “Keykâvus’un bu eseri, Mercimek Ahmet tarafından onbeşinci yüzyılın ilk yarısında Farsça aslından Türkçeye çevrilmiş ve Orhan Şaik Gökyay tarafından yeniden gözden geçirilerek neşrolunmuştur.”

*Kitab Nasihat al-Muluk* of Abu Hamid Muhammed al-Ghazali<sup>80</sup> (450/1058-505/1111). Maybe al-Dawani's book also should be added in that context.

The *Qabusnamah* is a book of counsel addressed by "the Ziyarid prince of Tabaristan to his son and heir Gilanshah."<sup>81</sup>

Proud of his illustrious ancestry, but impecunious and not very secure on his throne as vassal of the Saljuqs, Kay Ka'us was a realist; he was far from sure that his son would be able to retain the throne, and indeed Gilanshah did not reign long before the Saljuq Sultan Malikshah deposed him and put an end to the dynasty. Besides giving advice on statecraft, war, etiquette, domestic life, and sport, Kay Ka'us tells his son how to practice other professions to which he might have to turn, namely those of doctor of religion (*alim*), merchant, doctor of medicine, astrologer, poet, musician, courtier, secretary, farmer, craftsman, condottiere or *darvish*.<sup>82</sup>

Some points should be added in here. In *Qabusnama*, "the author significantly begins with theology, with God and his apostles, and only after inculcating piety and gratitude to the Creator does he proceed to the mundane duties of a prince. It is essential that the king should be God-fearing and his religion spotless. The next requirement is wisdom ("for wisdom is the king's prime minister") followed by justice and truthfulness. His practical advice about the king's vizier and other officers of state is born of experience and insight into human nature, especially of those in authority."<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Nizam al-Mulk, *The book of government or, Rules for kings: the Siyasat-nama or Siyar al-muluk of Nizam al-mulk*, translated from the Persian by Hubert Darke, Yale University Press, 1960.

<sup>80</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. pp.182-196. And also look Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, pp.38-43; Isaacs, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxviii.

<sup>81</sup> "Notes for translation", Kay Ka'us ibn Iskandar, *Qabusnamah*, ed. Eleazar Birnbaum, p. x.

<sup>82</sup> The author illustrates also some notes on material life and its relation with virtue ethics. "No other work gives so vivid a picture of life as it was lived in the heyday of medieval Islamic civilization. Interspersed through the book are sayings and anecdotes, mostly of Muslim but partly of Sasanian origin, and verses of the author's own composition. He recommends strict observance of Islam (except as regards wine drinking) and upholds lofty ethical principles, always bearing in mind the limitations imposed by need and expediency." Look "Notes for translation", Kay Ka'us ibn Iskandar, *Qabusnamah*, ed. Eleazar Birnbaum, p. xvii.

<sup>83</sup> Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Rosenthal also cites some clear fragments from the text. For example, "... the king... must realize that the welfare of his kingdom lies in the effectiveness of his authority. If there is effective authority, ruin overwhelms the state, and the effective authority cannot be maintained except by strict control.

The *Siyasatnamah* is equally realistic and valuable as a historical document, even though the bulk of the text consists of Muslim and Sasanian anecdotes and sayings. "Nizam al-Mulk, the illustrious wazir of the Saljuqs, had had quarter of a century's experience of office when he composed or directed the composition of the work in response to a demand by Malikshah for a report on the shortcomings of the Saljuq empire."<sup>84</sup> The book consists of his suggestions for reform, with or without anecdotes and aphorisms to illustrate them. Some of these suggestions follow:

the line of traditional maxims, but others are more specific and detailed. Nizam al-Mulk complains of dishonesty and extortion by tax-collectors, *qadis*, and military holders of estates granted by the Sultan in fief. In order to detect such abuses, and also in order to detect heresy, he calls for the re-establishment of a state intelligence service and for the regular holding of royal audiences; both were traditional Sasanian and Muslim practices, but the Sultan Alp Arslan had renounced the former on the ground that spying was unchivalrous, and the latter had evidently fallen into neglect."<sup>85</sup> The *Siyasatnamah* shows that the aims of Nizam al-Mulk's statesmanship were to promote justice, orthodox religion, and the stability and prosperity of the empire.<sup>86</sup>

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... The welfare of the people must be as carefully guarded by him as that of the bodyguard, for the king resembles the sun in that he cannot shine upon one man and not upon another... it is through the people that the country is made prosperous, for the revenues are earned by the people, who remain settled and prosperous if given what is rightfully theirs. Therefore let there be no place in your heart for extortion; the dynasty of kings who recognize rights endures long and becomes old, but the dynasty of extortionists swiftly perishes, because fair treatment means prosperity and extortion means a depopulated land... The sages say that the well-spring of thriving conditions and of gladness in the world is a just king, while the source of desolation and misery is a king who is an oppressor." Cited by Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>84</sup> Nizam al-Mulk, *The book of government : or, Rules for kings : the Siyasat-nama or Siyar al-muluk of Nizam al-mulk*, translated from the Persian by Hubert Darke, Yale University Press, 1960, p. xi.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>86</sup> Kai Ka'us says: "Urge your master (the King), therefore, to be well-disposed towards the bodyguard and the people; the king's continuance is dependent on his forces, and the prosperity of the countryside on the peasantry. Make it your constant endeavour to improve cultivation and to govern well; for, understand this truth: good government is secured by armed troops, armed troops are maintained with gold, gold is acquired through cultivation, and cultivation sustained through payment of what is due to the peasantry, by just dealing and fairness. Be just and equitable therefore. Yet even if you are incorruptible and without any taint of dishonesty, stand in awe of your master, there being no one who has greater need than a vizier to fear his master." Cited by Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 80. We will see later the similarity of this logic with the Kinalizade's justice conception.

Also, "he regards these aims as altogether mutually compatible, but does not conceal his fear that the 'evil eye' may have fallen on the Saljuq régime and that its days may be numbered."<sup>87</sup>

Different in character and purpose is the book of counsel for kings of al-Ghazali, by general consent the most important religious thinker of medieval Islam<sup>88</sup>. The work consists of two parts, of which the first is theological, setting forth and explaining, as do no other books of this kind, what are the beliefs which

a pious Muslim ruler ought to hold and the religious principles on which he ought to act.<sup>89</sup> The second part contains a 'Mirror for Princes', with further chapters on *wazirs*, secretaries, magnanimity in kings, aphorisms of the sages, intelligence, and women.<sup>90</sup> The content of the second part is predominantly ethical and often reflects the Sufi attitude to life of which Ghazali was such an eloquent exponent; but there are also passages of purely practical interest, and passages whose main point appears to be their literary effect. In form the work follows accustomed lines, with precepts enunciated by Ghazali and exemplifying anecdotes and aphorisms. No less than other writers of 'Mirrors', the theologian Ghazali views Muslim civilization as a Perso-Islamic synthesis. In *Nasihah al-Muluk* he has brought together a treasure-store of Sasanian and Muslim stories and sayings, many of which are not found in earlier 'Mirrors'. It is unfortunate that this great thinker, who was also a profound scholar of philosophy and highly trained lawyer, should have said nothing here about the nature of the Islamic state or the role of the Caliphate or the Batinite menace; he had, however, written on the two latter subjects in an earlier work, and as already mentioned it was not customary to bring law or philosophy into 'Mirrors for Princes.'<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>88</sup> *Ghazali's book of counsel for kings : (Nasihah al-muluk)* / Translated by F.R.C Bagley from the Persian text edited by Jalal Huma'i and the Bodelian Arabic text edited by H.D. Isaacs, with introd., notes, and biographical index, p. xxi; E.I.J. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>89</sup> For useful descriptive notes see *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihah Al-Muluk)*, pp. 1-44.

<sup>90</sup> That issue is discussed in *op. cit.*, pp. 45-173.

<sup>91</sup> *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings (Nasihah Al-Muluk)*, p. 41.

These “Mirrors” were mostly written by men of affairs and of letters who had learnt in the school of experience. They are eager to advise rulers and their ministers, present and future, how best to conduct the affairs of state. The ruler is the center of interest and the principal figure of the political scene. His own interest and that of the state are identical in actual fact if not in theory. The great stress lay on “justice and equity in conformity with the tenets of Islam must not mislead us into overlooking a strong element of expediency which, in certain circumstances, condones political murder ‘in the interests of the state’”.<sup>92</sup> Justice and equity are not conceived as absolute moral values and demands, but rather as politically useful and necessary in the interests of state and ruler.

### A Note on Bodin

In Western tradition, as Bodin’s perspective shows, there is a similarity with the Islamic view and the mirrors for princes tradition. By the way the *Six Books of the Commonwealth*<sup>93</sup> marks the transition from specifically medieval to specifically modern ways of political thinking. Bodin’s book is all the more interesting because the transition is not perfectly accomplished.

However, in Book I<sup>94</sup>, “every state, he says, ought to undertake the moral discipline of its citizens, such as was exercised in pagan Rome by the censors. In the modern state he regarded it as the function of priests and ministers of religion. The Church has a duty and a place within the state.”<sup>95</sup> It is clear that when he included true religion in that total good which it is the state's purpose to promote, he did not only mean that “the prince should free the

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<sup>92</sup> Mardin, *op. cit.*, 1958, p.

<sup>93</sup> Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, Abridged and translated by M. J. TOOLEY, Basil Blackwell Oxford, 1955, pp. 1-40. [http://www.constitution.org/bodin/bodin\\_.htm](http://www.constitution.org/bodin/bodin_.htm), visiting date 16 Şubat 2004. Tooley discusses Bodin ideas with his biographical sketch.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

practice of one's beliefs from legal restrictions"<sup>96</sup>. He also meant that "the clergy have a necessary function in the disciplining of the citizen. They are not however responsible for this discipline. It is a duty incumbent on the sovereign to use such opportunities. [...] His hesitation arose from the fact that he saw the state in the first place as the possible, and only possible, instrument of the good life on earth. He also saw that to be this it must be an effective power. Thinking of what the state might be, he gave it by definition a moral purpose."<sup>97</sup>

This treatment of the theme of justice, therefore, does not really bring the argument back to the state considered as the instrument of the good life. It is true that justice here means right order in the commonwealth, but "it is the right order that preserves it as a type, rather than any embodiment of universal moral principles. As he said, 'states must live before they can live well', and the discussion of the causes of revolution made it clear that they do not find it so easy to live."<sup>98</sup> The whole work ends on this note, how may their survival be assured.<sup>99</sup>

### **The Ottoman *Nasihatname* Tradition**

By the time the Ottoman Empire attained its classical form in the sixteenth century, "advice to rulers had long been an established theme of polite letters in the Islamic world. Ottoman treatises on statecraft, however, took on a distinctive character which set them apart

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> When we are the point to discuss Ottoman *nasihatname* tradition, Bodin's conception of Aristotle should be added in here. Bodin started by reducing Aristotle's six types to three, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy because, as he saw, if the existence of a sovereign power is the mark of a state, this is a matter of fact, and provides no criterion for distinguishing good and bad states. All that can be distinguished in fact is the location of sovereign power. With his eye on the actualities of the situation, he defined aristocracy not as the rule of the few, but the rule of a minority group, and democracy not as the rule of the many, but the rule of a majority of the whole body. That which is absolute cannot be divided. An absolute power must be unique or it is no power at all. Bodin, *Ibid.*, Book II, Chapter 1.

from their generic predecessors.”<sup>100</sup> Born in the sixteenth century, Ottoman *nasihatname* flourished “in the hands of such authors as Koçi Beg, Katib Çelebi, Naima, and other intellectuals who sought at once to analyze the causes of what they apparently perceived as a decline of the imperial system, and to prescribe remedies for the ills of the state.”<sup>101</sup> Aksan underlines the some special properties of the *nasihatnames* to show their originality as,

despite variations in style and organization, exemplars of the ‘literature of reform’ share certain characteristics. Where earlier advice literature used aphorism and didactic tales of ancient kings, the *nasihatname* cites current examples of institutional failure, injustice, and social disruption. As a literary genre the *nasihatname* became the preserve of bureaucrats and administrators, men of some education who were involved with the daily functioning of government, and therefore knowledgeable about and committed to the Ottoman tradition of rule.<sup>102</sup>

Advice to the sultans and governors tradition was an effective way to convey the commitment to the idea of good government and a just ruler in Ottoman Empire as in the Islamic and Persian Empires. A well known example for the Ottoman Empire was Kınalızade’s *Ahlak-ı Ala’i* of 1564. According to the “circle of equity” Kınalızade describes – which by the 17<sup>th</sup> century had become one of the recurrent motifs of Ottoman political theory – each of the four classes of society (the military, the religious/intellectuals, the merchant and the peasant) had its own place and was dependent upon the justice of the sultan for its well-being.<sup>103</sup> With his words:

*Justice is the source of the world / The world is a vineyard, its walls, the state / The state is regulated by the şariat / The şariat cannot take effect without the presence of land / Land cannot be seized without soldiers / Soldiers cannot be enlisted if there is no property / Property is accumulated by the subjects /*

<sup>100</sup> Virginia H. Aksan “Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 25, 1993, p. 53-54.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>103</sup> *Adldir mucib-i salâh-ı cihan/ Cihan bir bağıdır divarı devlet/ Devletin nâzımı şeriatdir/ Şeriata olamaz hiç haris illâ melik/ Melik zapt eylemez illâ leşker/ Leşkeri cem idemez illâ mal/ Malı cem eyleyen raiyyetdir/ Raiyyeti kul ider padişah-ı âleme adl.* (Kınalızade, *Ahlak-ı Ala’i*, Book III cited by Fleischer, 1996; 272).

The *subjects* pledge obedience [textually “are made slaves”] to the world ruler whenever reigns *justice*.<sup>104</sup>

The ruler derives his authority from the Islamic shari’a and the Ottoman *kanun*. A pleasing harmony and careful delineation of the functions of each member of society was often mentioned in this advice literature though it rarely fit Ottoman political reality.

By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an Ottoman literary vision of political harmony had developed based on justice, piety and adherence to the shari’a and *kanun*.<sup>105</sup> The harmony of that state depended on an “ever-victorious army” and “the expanding frontier,” two obligations of the ruler to fulfill as the basis for the prosperity of “religion and state” (*din-ü devlet*).<sup>106</sup> “The two works of the 16<sup>th</sup> century most often cited are Grand Vizier Lutfi Paşa’s *Asafname* and Mustafa Ali’s *Nushat üs-Selatin*.<sup>107</sup> For Mustafa Ali, ‘the honor of empire and nation (*mülk-ü millet*) suffers from both ends and the basis of structure of Faith and Fatherland (*din-ü devlet*) resembles a castle built on ice’”.<sup>108</sup>

Akhisari (d.1616), another advice author, made some observations that would be echoed in the following centuries:

“In his *Usul ül-Hikem fi Nizam ül-Alem* (Philosophical Principles Concerning the Order of the World), he outlined four causes for the disorder in the empire: unsuitable leaders who neglected justice; a

<sup>104</sup> Şerif Mardin, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 100. Fleischer’s translation and the order of his translation is more different than Mardin: “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 orders the state / There is no support for the Holy Law except through royal authority.” Cornell Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p.262.

<sup>105</sup> According to Fodor, by 1683 “the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire was an irreversible process which numbered among its many causes the inadequate appraisal of crisis and reform, and the incapability of spiritual, or, to put it in modern terms, ‘ideological’ revival.” Pal Fodor, “State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in the 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 40 (1986): 217-240, cited by Virginia H. Aksan “Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 25 (1993): 53-69. Aksan also notes that Fodor prefers the term “mirrors for princes” for his discussion of that kind of literature, they have been called “political tracts, memoranda, socio-political treatises, reform proposals or advice literature”.

<sup>106</sup> Cornell Fleischer, “Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and ‘Ibn Haldunism’ in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Letters”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, XVIII, 3-4 (1983), pp.198-203; Aksan, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>107</sup> Aksan, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

disregard for the opinion of the ulema; a breakdown of army discipline and training, corruption, covetousness, and the reign of women. Akhisari recommendations to the sultan stressed the necessity of properly arming and training the Janissaries and linked the defeats of the recent long war against the Austrians (1593-1606) to an ignorance of the new firearms in use by the enemy and to a disregard for the religious norms. He ended with a long plea concerning the benefits of peace, supporting his arguments with examples from the Qur'an and the hadith.<sup>109</sup>

Aksan also emphasizes that these works reflect “an anxiety in administrative circles over the welfare of the empire before the political and fiscal crises of the 17<sup>th</sup> century prompted further expressions of concern”.

For the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman state elites, there was a problem which constituted on the military and agrarian breakdown of the empire. “The best known of the advice authors of that period was Koçi Bey.” His famous *Risale* of Koçi Bey, written about 1630, concerns itself little with theory but offers numerous definite suggestions for reform of the empire. “Corruption was rampant, and respect for the shari’a and *kanun* had diminished. The sultan’s authority had been affected by the influence of palace favorites, the bartering of offices, the breakdown of the *timar* land distribution system, and the losses in tax revenue”.<sup>110</sup> While continuing his description of state “situation”, Koçi Bey noted some anecdotes that he thought significant in his context:

Of the janissaries, he said, ‘In the past, when the army of Islam was small and pure, pious and firm, wherever it turned, by the will of God, victory appeared and the majesty of Islam advanced’. The remedy for Koçi Bey lay in the restoration of the purity of all classes, the elimination of bribery and corruption, and adherence to the shari’a, which ‘was the basis of order of sovereignty and nation (*mülk-ü millet*) and the reason for the strength of religion and state (*din-ü devlet*).’<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

Mustafa Âli's *Counsel for Sultans* (Nushat üs-selâtin) of 1581-86 is the methodological prototype for the later Ottoman literature of reform. "In this work Âli directly addressed the regnant Sultan Murad III, whom he sought to convince that most problems facing the Empire could be solved if the ruler would only take seriously his responsibilities as a defender of religion and state."<sup>112</sup> Fleischer clearly signifies that Âli's descriptions and advices for solution of bankruptcy probability of the *devlet* with analytical perspective: "In order to point out the pernicious results of royal insouciance, Âli drew on his personal experiences as a secretary-scribe and financial officer to provide specific and contemporary examples of corruption, inefficiency, and abuse of privilege. For Âli, justice was the keystone of Ottoman political and religious legitimacy. He measured the dynastic commitment to justice in terms of adherence to both the universal holy law and the regional tradition embodied in Ottoman dynastic law, *kanun*. The implicit message of the Counsel was that neglect of either would not only ruin the state, but also destroy the legitimacy of the dynasty."<sup>113</sup> According to Fleischer, Mustafa Ali's *Nushat üs-Selatin* originates from two types of "advice literature" with which he was familiar:

The first of these was the Persian 'mirror for princes', of which the *Asafname* of Lütfi Paşa (d. 1564) might be said to represent an Ottoman adaptation. The second was 'ethics' (*ahlak*) literature, the Islamicized version of Platonic and Aristotelian political philosophy which was given its classical Ottoman form by Kınalızade Ali Çelebi (d. 1572) in his *Ahlak-ı Ala'i*. To an extent Ali combined the two approaches in his person as well as in his writing. He was a bureaucrat with the administrator's eye for the practical. He was also a *medrese* graduate, fully trained for a career in one of the religious professions, and had studied informally with Kınalızade. He was therefore well versed in the theory and moral dimensions of government. The fusion of the two perspectives, together with the troubled state of empire, certainly helped to mold the Counsel. Nevertheless, the leap from the theoretical and politely

<sup>112</sup> Cornell Fleischer, "Cultural Origins of The *Nasihatname*", in *IIIrd Congress On The Social And Economic History of Turkey*, Ed. Heath W. Lowry and Ralph S. Hattox, Isis Press, 1990. p. 67.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 67-68; Andreas Tietze, (ed.) (1979) *Mustafa Âli's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*, Vienna, Cornell Fleischer, *Tarihçi Mustafa Âli*, trans.. Ayla Ortaç, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., pp. 98-108.

detached mode in which the classical 'mirrors' and 'ethics' works address matters of state, to Ali's unflinching detailing of current problems and abuses, is a considerable one.<sup>114</sup>

*Nushatü's-Selatin* was written in 1581. The book consists of a preface, *Muqaddime*, three chapters, a supplement and an appendix. Mustafa Ali wrote about the responsibility of kings for acts of their appointed officers, the principles of government, innovations contrary to law and tradition, "the harm done to the Empire by undue acts, and finally which the author defends himself against accusations of bias and expresses his confidence in the Sultan's understanding"<sup>115</sup>.

His book is an example of the counsel tradition (*Nasihatname*) in Ottoman Empire.<sup>116</sup>

...the *first* thing the reigning monarchs and kings of Alexander's majesty should mind is to gain the love of their subjects so that the weak, who have been committed to their charge by the Creator of all creatures, make them the beloved of their hearts. Now, if the kings lead a pious life, if they take care of the people who are their subjects, if they always mix and associate with philosophers and wise men and at all times avoid the company of blockheads, if they again and again study the teaching history, that is, the life stories of the kings of old, if they restrain as much as possible their own violence and aim at equity and justice, if fools and eunuchs and mutes and the courtiers, those kindlers of sedition and disintegration, do not take over the affairs of the State while there are perfect men available, men who are like coins of full weight, especially if they show great kindness and favor to the knowledgeable *ulemâ* and the learned men of penetrating judgment who are the pillars of the throne-hall of Faith and kingship, the firmly rooted legs of the structure of empire and nation, if they do not permit an increase of the burdens of duty that are incumbent on the victorious soldiers, the felicitous, self-assured army that is instrumental in conquering and defeating, in destroying and eradicating, and if they always protect the weak and the poor under their rule from the fire of poverty and destitution by means of their

<sup>114</sup> Cornell Fleischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>115</sup> Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>116</sup> Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Fleischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

liberality and limitless patronage, they will tie the hearts to themselves in affection and will motivate people after the five ritual prayers to pray for the continuation of their might and glory.<sup>117</sup>

Another example of *nasihatname* tradition in the Ottoman Empire may be given as Sarı Mehmed Paşa's *Ottoman Statecraft* (*Nasa'ih ül-Vüzera vel-Ümera* or *Kitab-i Güldeste*). In fact, this little work provides the opportunity for learning what was regarded as right and wrong, good policy and or bad, "by an honorable and conscientious servant of the Ottoman government during the early years of the eighteenth century"<sup>118</sup>:

It enables us to view through the eyes of one who knew its every detail the vast administrative system of Ottoman Empire, and to view it from a critical point of view. As *defterdar* or treasurer Mehmed Paşa had been in close and long continued contact with the financial side of the administration and therefore had ample opportunity to observe its many defects. As a member of the Imperial Divan, or Privy Council, he had been in a position to become familiar with the work of every branch of the administration, for the Divan was the court of final settlement for all the manifold business of government. Out of his many years of experience the author has drawn conclusions which indicate clearly what he saw fit to criticize."<sup>119</sup>

The *Nasa'ih ül-Vüzera vel-Ümera* is divided into nine chapters and a prefatory exordium. Mehmed Paşa compared conditions in his own day with those of nearly two centuries before. Basic motive of that comparison was "decline" of the Ottoman Empire, again. His topics of concern are familiar:

bribery and corruption, the importance of the office of *defterdar*, and the need for a balanced budget; the swollen corps of the Janissaries; the condition of the peasantry; protection of the frontier; the collapse of morality and the resulting corruption; and finally the condition of military fiefs. Sarı

<sup>117</sup> Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>118</sup> Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Ottoman Statecraft*..., ed. and trans. W. L. Wright, pp. 119-120.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* and see also Aksan, *op. cit.*, p.55.

Mehmed's prescription for the reform of Ottoman society was dependent on the balance of just rule and a full treasury: 'The basis of the ruler's system is the man of consequence, and the raising of troops requires paying ready money by the Treasury, and the prosperity of the country comes through its healthy condition, and the flourishing of the country comes through granting of justice and the punishment of oppressors.'<sup>120</sup>

For this part of the work we should point that a combining European tradition concerning of the state and its subjects. At that point İnalçık says, "by eliminating all local feudal lords and employing only their personal retainers as public servants, Ottoman sultans created a near perfect absolutist monarchy. Sixteenth-century theoreticians of absolutism in Europe, notably Jean Bodin, believed that the Ottoman polity represented an ideal political system"<sup>121</sup>. It is very interesting point of view because Bodin and Mustafa Âli used closely same arguments about governing the state. On the other hand, Jean Bodin's perspective was not different than Mustafa Âli's. Bodin says:

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> İnalçık, "Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi Sultanî Hukuk ve Fatih'in Kanunları", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi*, Eren Yay. p.20. Property relations, rights of property of the emperor on the lands and its using procedure, tax collecting and the whole economic-social relations in Ottoman Empire need legal orientation and legitimization like the other empires. The Sultans and the bureaucrats tried to legitimize it in Islamic law tradition and sultanic 'civil' law. İnalçık's uses some arguments as did in Islamic law tradition, Turco-Mongol or Turco-Iranian (Sasanian) state tradition for explaining Ottoman legal order in his perspective. Explaining the daily life legal procedure, İnalçık has a clear position and point of view (İnalçık, 1988). But generalizing the legal order or justification the legitimization process in Ottoman Empire, we may see that İnalçık loses the focus about mechanism of justice and its nature Halil İnalçık, "Kutadgu Bilig 'de Türk ve İran Siyaset, Nazariye ve Gelenekleri", *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk ve Adalet* içinde, Eren Yay., 2000; "Türk Devletlerinde Devlet Kanunu Geleneği", *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk ve Adalet* içinde, Eren Yay., 2000; "Şer'i'at ve Kanun, Din ve Devlet", *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk ve Adalet* içinde, Eren Yay., 2000; "Şikayet Hakkı: 'Arz-i Hâl ve Arz-i Mahzar'lar", *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk ve Adalet* içinde, Eren Yay., 2000; "Adaletnameler", *Osmanlı'da Devlet, Hukuk ve Adalet* içinde, Eren Yay., 2000; *Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, Phoenix, 1973; *An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire Volume One: 1300-1600*, Cambridge University Press, 1994; "Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi Sultanî Hukuk ve Fatih'in Kanunları", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi*, Eren Yay., 1996; "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481)", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren Yay., 1998; "Decision Making in the Ottoman State", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren Yay., 1998; "Islamization of Ottoman Laws on Land and Land Taxation", *Essays in Ottoman History*, Eren Yay., 1992; "The Meaning of Legacy: The Ottoman Case", *Imperial Legacy* (ed. L. Carl Brown), Columbia University Press., 1996; *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, TTK, 1987; "State and Ideology under Suleyman I", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, 1987, Bloomington. He begins to refer to general Islamic law tradition –that we may understand this referring because of the state nature- or Turco-Mongol, Turco-Sasanian (Persian) state tradition. State tradition term is an abstraction to understand and explain the Ottoman legal order but it *cannot* emphasize the conceptualization of justice, its explaining, its mechanism and its discourse (or it *can* emphasize whole mechanism of justice in ideological perspective).

The most common cause of the change of Commonwealths is, that when the posterity of princes failing, the great men fall out among themselves, and so take up arms for the government of the state: or for the too great poverty of the greater part of the subjects, and the excessive riches of some few: or for the unequal division of estates and honours, or for ambition and the great desire some have to command, or for the revenge of injuries, or for the cruelty and oppression of Tyrants, or for the fear that some have to be punished for their deserts, or for the changing of laws or of religion, or for the desire of some at full to enjoy their pleasures, or for the casting out of them which with their excessive and beastly pleasures pollute and defile the place of majesty and honour.<sup>122</sup>

Bodin draws between the state and the form of government. The state can assume only one of three forms –monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic- depending on whether sovereignty is vested in one, some or all of the citizens. On the basis of this distinction Bodin is able to insist both on the indivisibility of sovereignty and also on the desirability of a system of government which allows subordinate institutions a real measure of autonomy, and in which the active participation of the governed is an essential ingredient.<sup>123</sup>

As Parker put it “inextricably bound up with the scope of sovereign power is the problem of the nature, quality and purpose of political authority as conceived by Bodin. His concept of justice had a significant role for that. ‘Where justice was banished, there is no longer lawful government and no commonweal’”.<sup>124</sup> This typical sentence that similar as his contemporaries of Bodin was fixed the role of state in the age of art of governing. But the political spirit of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was eager the “state” to challenge this type of presumptions. Any kind of project was successful that not to join exact transformation of the state as a science.

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<sup>122</sup> D. Parker, “Law, Society and the State in the Thought of Jean Bodin”, *History of Political Thought*, Vol. II, No.2, Summer, 1981. pp. 265-266.

<sup>123</sup> Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

In this section of our thesis, the discussion centered on the structure of *Risale-i Ahlak*, the similarity of its thoughts and advises to Islamic and Ottoman *nasihatnames*, and finally the meaning of this similarity. While the Islamic and Ottoman traditions of *nasihatname* define the discursive structure of the work, the concept of virtue, seen as a social need by Sadık Rifat, was developed in Austria by cameralist thinkers since the 1740s, subsequently supported by the state and becoming popularized. We emphasized, albeit briefly, the meaning of virtue in the context of this pietist pedagogy. In this sense, *Risale-i Ahlak* is situated in between a particular discourse and an economic-political project. While this discourse worked to ensure the legitimacy of the ruling strata, this economic-political project instrumentalized morality on behalf of the ruling strata (We can see this project as dependent on the passage from the “art of governing” to the “science of governing,” a process which started at the eighteenth century and culminated in the nineteenth). It is not surprising to see ruling elites making use of virtue in order to obtain political power and to preserve it. But the really interesting point emerges when we turn to the question of the (non)-transformation of economic structures in the two empires. Especially in the nineteenth century, the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, trying to instigate a capitalist economy (often unsuccessfully), adopted policies based on the strength of the state treasury and the army, due to their own particular imperial visions. In this process, morality, starting with primary school education, became an instrument in order to enhance the allegiance of the subjects. However, in Great Britain for instance, morality became an instrument for the poorer classes; these classes created their political culture in part thanks to their notion of morality.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> In his impressive work *The Making of the English Working Class*, E. P. Thompson, from the very beginning, emphasizes the word “working” at the title. He talks about the process in which a class makes itself step by step through its experiences. Thompson points at a state of consciousness which, not existing initially, is formed with the accumulation of these experiences. One of the most important of these is reading John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, a book popular in England for a very long period. The popularity of the book was due to the smoothness of the narration, the realism of its descriptions. The characters in the book, although allegorically named after abstract virtues and evils, reflected real life situations in their actions. For this reason, even if the plot was based on a pilgrimage, it was possible to see the book as a series of adventures taking place in real life. For masses of people left out not only in terms of economic relations but in terms of culture (in the sense

The discursive and instrumental use of morality is important for our purpose here. Significantly enough, Sadık Rıfat Paşa, as a result of his economic and political ideas –i.e. as a result of his notion of state- was thinking of morality as an instrument to be used in the “education” of the subjects, to the advantage of the ruling elites. However, we also have to emphasize that Sadık Rıfat Paşa didn’t have a comprehensive political project. What he tried to do in a casual way –his endeavours to restore the *devlet-i ali-* culminate, before our eyes, in the portrait of an authoritarian-reformist Tanzimat personality.

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Raymond Williams uses the concept) as well, going back to old traditions did not pacify them but, instead, pushed them to reiterate the subversive essence of these traditions in the light of new questions.

## CONCLUSION

While we are exploring the “mirror for princes” tradition and the structural transformation of the educational system by the effect of the cameralist view in Austria, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman society was forced and shaped in line with the “modern” necessities. According to the Ottoman statesmen’ point of view, the economic/rational needs for transformation of the state concerned the responsible and educated subjects. Sadık Rifat Paşa wrote his *Ahlâk Risalesi* for children who were future subjects, bureaucrats or governors. Rifat Paşa never used a purely religious justification, but mentioned religion always together with reason. In this way reason could be defined, according to Paşa’s opinion, as a constituted matter on the shoulder of the moral. This twofold usage of religion and reason suggested a natural harmony or inseparability between these categories. The category of humanity, which Rifat Paşa often applied, was not understood as a transcendental ideal, but somehow mainly as a function related to prevalent social values, where the final attitude of social environment, i.e. social control, was important.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> The good order of the society depended upon appropriate regulation; “society did not, could not, regulate itself, ~~for without~~ <sup>without</sup> supervision the diverse interests and activities of individual subjects would simply hinder realization of the common good. It was the work of ‘police’ (*la police, Polizei*) facilitated this dense mesh of rules governing an ever-growing range of activities, seeking to forestall, rather than to punish, infringement. Rather, like today’s municipal by-laws governing the hours when one might play music, or where one might cycle, this regulation of social life developed in local contexts did not take the form of prescriptive central legislation as it is suggested by the use of the term ‘mercantilism’. Nor, did it impede the autonomous organization of the economic life, since it constituted economic life, securing to the subject, for example, a sufficient supply of bread, and also regulating the hours of market trading, or the carriage of goods”. Keith Tribe, *Governing Economy: The Reformation of German Economic Discourse 1750-1840*, Cambridge: CUP. 1988, especially Chapter 2. By the way the tendency in commentaries on Hegel’s political thought is to point to the very general nature of the meaning of the term (police) for him, namely that he uses the term to refer to more than a predominantly uniformed institution for the prevention and detection of crimes, and to then pass this off as simply referring to ‘public authority’. According to Neocleous “This is an approach facilitated by the nature of some translations of Hegel’s work. Knox, for example, in the first English translation of the *Philosophy of Right*, tells us that ‘*Polizei* ... has a wider sense than that conveyed by “police” in English’ and thus ‘in what follows it is generally translated “public authority”’. Likewise the translators of the recent English edition of Hegel’s lectures of 1817-8 claim that “Hegel uses the word *Polizei* to denote what we would call “the public authority” or government regulation of industry and commerce.” Mark Neocleous, “Policing the System of Needs: Hegel, Political Economy, and the Police of the Market”, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1998, p.44.

The reader would not be encouraged, by this *Ahlâk Risâlesi*, to act as an independent individual, being responsible for himself by means of his critical reason, since his positive identity as an individual would be only a function of the attitude of the social environment. This authoritarian attitude mixed religious arguments with traditional ones (the “mirror” tradition is the most important examples in that context). The notion of the responsibility of the human being for his own life, in a rational sense, was represented in the *Ahlâk Risâlesi* not only at a minimum level but also in sufficient mixture.

Economical ideas of Sadık Rifat Paşa had the same imprints as leitmotiv. The sphere of the economy would be reorganized and designed by the state. Sadık Rifat Paşa transferred this right wing approach of the 19th century from Austria to the Ottoman Empire. Metternich’s effects were generally known for this period. As shown in the third chapter of this thesis, cameralism was also an apparatus to create social harmony and control for the Prussian state elites. As an ideology or reference system, cameralism had much more. The educational sphere was to be shaped with very strong social control and influenced pietist pedagogy. For Sadık Rifat Paşa, there was no need to enlightened individuals, but educated subjects.

Many philosophers believe that morality consists of following precisely defined rules of conduct, such as “don't kill,” or “don't steal.” “Presumably, I must learn these rules, and then make sure each of my actions live up to them. Virtue theorists, however, place less emphasis on learning rules, and instead stress the importance of developing *good habits of character*, such as benevolence. Once I've acquired the virtue of benevolence, for example, I will then habitually act in a benevolent manner.”<sup>127</sup> Historically, virtue theory is one of the oldest normative traditions in Western philosophy, having its roots in ancient Greek civilization. “Plato emphasized four virtues in particular, which were later called *cardinal*

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<sup>127</sup> Dwaine Martin and the others, “Ethics”, [http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body\\_index.html](http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body_index.html) visiting time is 13 April 2004.

*virtues*: wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. Other important virtues are fortitude, generosity, self-respect, good temper, and sincerity. In addition to advocating good habits of character, virtue theorists hold that we should avoid acquiring bad character traits, or *vices*, such as cowardice, insensibility, injustice, and vanity.”<sup>128</sup> Virtue theory emphasizes moral education since virtuous character traits are developed in one's youth. Adults, therefore, are responsible for instilling virtues in the young.

Aristotle argued that virtues are good habits that we acquire, which regulate our emotions:

For example, in response to my natural feelings of fear, I should develop the virtue of courage, which allows me to be firm when facing danger. Analyzing 11 specific virtues, Aristotle argued that most virtues fall at a mean between more extreme character traits. With courage, for example, if I do not have enough courage, I develop the disposition of cowardice, which is a vice. If I have too much courage I develop the disposition of rashness, which is also a vice. According to Aristotle, it is not an easy task to find the perfect mean between extreme character traits. In fact, we need assistance from our reason to do this. After Aristotle, medieval theologians supplemented Greek lists of virtues with three Christian ones, or *theological virtues*: faith, hope, and charity.”<sup>129</sup>

The ethics based on virtue theories persisted throughout the Middle Ages; scholars continued their interests until the coming of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the rising alternative moral theories came to dominate the scene. “In the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century a new shift occurred. Scholars came to believe that more recent approaches are misguided for focusing too profoundly on rules and actions, instead of dealing with virtuous character professions. Therefore, the modern ethical theories and theorists rediscovered virtue theory.”<sup>130</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre

<sup>128</sup> Dwaine Martin and the others, “Ethics”, [http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body\\_index.html](http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body_index.html) visiting time is 13 April 2004.

<sup>129</sup> Dwaine Martin and the others, “Ethics”, [http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body\\_index.html](http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body_index.html) visiting time is 13 April 2004.

<sup>130</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *Erdem Peşinde, Ahlak Teorisi Üzerine Bir Çalışma*, çev. Muttalip Özcan, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2001, p. 138. Also see especially p. 14-19, 25-70, 85-165.

argued for the fundamental role of virtues in moral theory and maintained that virtues are grounded in and emerge from within social traditions.<sup>131</sup> By MacIntyre's account,

at least three different concepts of morality, what he calls virtue, emerge when the history of ethics is investigated. The first concept of virtue comes from Homer's Heroic Age. Here, it is a quality that centers on a man's or woman's social role. To be virtuous in the world of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is to know and be able to discharge one's duty according to the social role he or she inhabits. The hallmark virtues here would be physical courage, fidelity, loyalty, friend-ship, and cunning. It should be noted that the roles spoken of are those of the privileged classes, since little is said in the Homeric poems about the lower classes, or women, for that matter. For Aristotle, the New Testament prophets, and Thomas Aquinas, virtue is what enables a person to set about achieving a particular human end. Virtue here is a means to an end, defined by these men as those qualities that enable a person to achieve happiness or blessedness. Agreeableness, obedience, and friendship are three of the virtues prized by them, but in the context of a unique political state.<sup>132</sup>

On the other hand Aristotle's *Politics* had outlined two forms of human association: the *oikos* and the *polis*. The first of these, the household, was for the satisfaction of private daily needs; the second, the domain of political association, structured public life.

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<sup>131</sup> "Virtue Ethics is teleological: It has a definite aim and that aim is to be a virtuous person; hence the *moral life* is one that develops a vision and then strives to attain that vision. It is an ethic of personal growth and development." MacIntyre, *ibid*, p. 88. For the virtue, Adam Smith was really interested with its effect: "... his previous work *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* which reveals a careful complementary philosophy of *virtue* and morality. Smith's position therein develops from elements of Greek ideals and pays special respect to Aristotle's recommendation of the pursuit of the golden mean. Smith insists that a balance is required among three subsets of *virtue*: Prudence, Justice and Benevolence. Of the three, it is in the description of the first, Prudence, where self-love receives judicious recognition. Prudence, Smith tells us, is concerned with the achievement of the necessary conditions for preservation. Certainly man does not live by bread alone; but neither does he live by "Benevolence" alone. The head of a household who, in order to benefit his immediate dependents, spends his limited income by purchasing in the cheapest market and avoiding the dearest, is doing his *moral duty*. It amounts to acting in accordance with socially approved self-love, where "self" is interpreted to embrace the interests of the whole family. Showing self-love here is indeed acting virtuously. Prudence, however, provides a necessary but not a sufficient condition for full *virtue*. The same is true of the second *virtue*, the pursuit of Justice, which means respect for man-made laws. The remaining requirement is the third *virtue*, "Benevolence" or Beneficence, which implies feeling much for others and restraining our selfish motivations. Without its free exercise, Smith insists, is not complete. So while Prudence is the strongest motive of human behavior, Beneficence is the highest. 'To restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent, affections constitutes the perfection of human nature...'" Edwin G. West, "Economic Progress, Morality and Civic Virtue: The Legacy of Adam Smith", paper at presented WEA meeting, July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1994.

<sup>132</sup> Dwaine Martin and the others, "Ethics", [http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body\\_index.html](http://www.london-oratory.org/philosophy/body_index.html) visiting time is 13 April 2004. See McIntyre, *op. cit*, pp. 154-283.

Aristotle, responding to Plato's argument that the art and technique of government was everywhere the same, presented in his *Politics* a typology of variant ways in which public life could be structured. In contrast to the conceivable variability of political organization, there was only one model for the household, whose head ruled over its members like a monarch over his subjects, securing the proper employment and maintenance of property and persons.

“Since Aristotle had also argued in his *Nicomachean Ethics* that the virtuous man set no store by wealth, the principles governing the management of the household concerned the preservation of its assets, not their increase. A well-ordered household was therefore one in which members and objects of moveable and immoveable property were maintained in their proper place; it was no part of the aims of the virtuous household head to purposefully increase the size of the household, nor the property which belonged to the household. Trade and finance certainly existed, but this occurred outside the household, in a public domain in which the private dictates of virtue and prudence were inapplicable. Merchants engaged in trade and money-getting were subordinated to the principles of government, not to the regularities of an impersonal ‘market’. The assignation of household economy to the private domain, and politics to the public domain, also implied that the foundation of the economy was the daily work carried out in field and olive grove. Such work subsisted the household, and was in addition repeated in a definite cycle each year, such that agricultural labor might be conceived as the material foundation of human existence while sharing in its natural rhythms. This basic conception could also be extended to non-agricultural labor directed to the manufacture of tools, clothing and other necessities. Trade and finance were however quite distinct pursuits; no matter how important each might be for individual merchants or moneylenders, they had no direct relation to the production of material goods, nor did the pattern and rhythm of their activity invite comparison with those of the natural world. A productive population was one in which agricultural and industrial labor predominated, other activities being treated as of minor significance in the creation of wealth and welfare.”<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Keith Tribe, *ibid.*, pp. 24-25. It must also be remembered that a *motto* of Physiocrats was “...‘without property, no liberty; without liberty, no security’. This principle was explicitly linked by the Physiocrats to support for freedom of trade in grain, arguing that this would stimulate domestic producers, bringing with

It is much more difficult than it seems at first sight to translate the word “ahlâk” into English. The word constitutes both an actual and an ideal unity. While acting as a marker of social culture, it also refers to Islamic beliefs, practices and behavioral rules. The word “ahlâk” conjures up both “ethics” and “morality”. It brings together deeds (behaviors) with the ideal and the rational.

This problem was not yet there for the 19th century Ottoman official. Unlike today, the ethical concern in behaviors and thought was not being enforced by the state, professional organizations or the media – especially not with such consistency. It would be hyperbolic to argue that a public upon which such enforcement would be this influential existed at that time. On the discursive level, “ahlâk” was used more frequently and acted more functionally. That “ahlâk” referred with an Aristotelian simplicity to a “good way of life.” This can be summed up as the virtue of acting “good” vis-à-vis a defined “evil.” Theft, for example, was evil, as were fraud, gossip and vanity. Avoiding these acts was amount to acting good and this was sufficient to provide social “order”.

There are many “ahlâk” treatises, which were used for educational purposes at the schools of the Tanzimat period (*sıbyan mektepleri*). These were mostly short booklets composed of advices for children with the assumption that youngsters were more apt to be trained. Sadık Rifat Paşa’s *Ahlâk Risalesi* was one of them. The treatise opens with the demand that what is said should be accepted as a father’s advice. The mature experiences and memories of the father are thus transferred in a simple way to the children.

*Ahlâk Risalesi* constitutes a major part of this thesis, if not all of it. It would be useful to point out shortly to the reason for this. Sadık Rifat Paşa was an official of the Tanzimat

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it also the prospect of importing luxury products in exchange for the products of French agriculture, increasing the disposable net product (and hence tax revenue) while at the same time limiting the activities of the sterile class, and in this manner preserving the balance between the classes which the *Tableau* was designed to express.” Elizabeth Geneovese-Fox, *Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, Ithaca, 1976, p. 250 and also see pp. 246-275.

period. He was an autodidact and he made his career through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by way of master-apprentice relation. He became friends with Metternich during his service in Vienna as ambassador, and he witnessed the plans and practices that paved the way for Metternichian Europe. He had been in other cities and regions too. He wrote down his thoughts and experiences in his last years, as he did all through his life. *Ahlâk Risalesi* belongs to that period. The treatise illustrates the difference between good and evil, with the memories of Sadık Paşa as its background.

Why did Paşa take the issue of “ahlâk” so seriously, even to the extent of writing a textbook? The question raises a difficulty since there is no simple and clear answer for that. First of all, Sadık Rifat Paşa was aware of the transformation, which the state had gone and would have to go through. He felt that this further transformation could not be enacted by merely formal arrangements, that a structural and coherent change was needed. But that was all: He just felt so. The Ottoman Empire was not on the active side within the 19th century international system, which at the time was going through structural dislocations. Although it was affected directly by these dislocations, the empire had no initiative to control this transformation. So-called economic field was being structured according to the requirements of an entirely different mode of production, legal system was being adjusted in a manner so as to absorb the super-structural functions of that mode of production, social relations were going through a transformation. To capture and respond in due course to those transformations without fully experiencing them in its territory was extremely difficult. It was crucial to understand what was going on first. As far as Sadık Rifat Paşa could see, the economic sphere was the crucial side within this transformation process. State’s regulative role in economic field was being limited, providing the safety of the citizens was becoming a crucial element for financial fluency. The state would get wealthier as its citizens did. This understanding that was based on the classical liberal arguments was vague since it felt

capitalism within its own territory only by way of the pressure of international balances. It had no way of capturing the capitalist mode, means and relations of production; moreover it was not aware of them. This understanding was limited with the agricultural capitalism as understood by the physiocrats or the economic condition that mercantilists based on commercial accumulation. It was only concerned with the income to be transferred to the state repository. This is where we should look to explain the vagueness or the patches within Sadık Rifat Paşa's economic views. The regulations that Paşa demanded for the economic and social welfare of the subjects required a modern state mechanism, and civic and political rights. It meant that the state had to be politically open to control, had to recognize class distinctions and enact due legal regulations. But Paşa did not have any idea, rather any expectations whatsoever, as to what political pressures he should impose upon the state. It would not be hyperbolic to say that Paşa's views were limited with the financial ease of commerce and the input thereby to be transferred to state repository. While all of these were "at work" the society had to be shaped in such a manner so as to appreciate this new opportunity (Tanzimat and the assurance of earning money). For the society to appreciate the new condition, its members had to feel that the opportunities they were endowed with were worth appreciation. Hence, Paşa turned to the Ottoman tradition of "Mirror for Princes" mediated by Islamic and Persian traditions, or exploited it for his own purposes.

The Ottoman tradition of *nasihatname* emerged after the so-called "Golden Age," in the period named differently by various schools of history. *Nasihatnames* were written in order to compare that period with previous ones, to compare the abilities of the sultans with the previous ones, to present a reminder to the rulers of the time in the easiest possible way. The first one of *nasihatnames* was written by Kınalızade: *Ahlak-i Alai*. The easy-to-grasp structure of the work, its listing of advises through a general representation of a human being, and the presentation of simple arguments as supreme human qualities were the reasons behind

the lasting impact of the work. The notion of state in the work, based on the circular relationship of justice, state, sharia, army, property, and sultan, was an attempt to create solidarity between these interdependent elements, in order to prevent a possible conflict between them. Sadık Rıfat's (it is to be reminded that he is a member of the ruling elite) invitation for a new type of capital accumulation, the role he attributes to the state in this regard, his expectations from merchants and industrialists, his hopes for the adaptation of the society to this new system similarly create a circular argument. Sadık Rıfat too presumes the existence of elements obliged to support each other. His argument is contextualized within the traditional concepts of state and justice, rather than an organic political philosophy. Hence, we can say that he too expresses a wish for the classical state structure, i.e. for a Golden Age. However, as distinct from his predecessors, Sadık Rıfat had the opportunity to reach a wider audience, composed of primary school students, and also state employees (his appendix to the work was directed to them). Moreover, when we consider that *Risale-i Ahlak* remained in circulation for a long time, we can deduce that the mentality of Sadık Rıfat had a certain impact for quite a length of time.

The counsels written mostly for the statesman, or the power holders, were also concerned about the "good way of life". A good way of life for a ruler meant a just rule, providing the welfare of the people and the sustenance of the state. Certainly, there were occasional comments on how the ruler should take alcohol or how he should treat women without violating the principle of "good way of life". Sadık Rıfat Paşa was writing for the children, or the people of the future, revealing the behavioral rules, which would lead them to a "good way of life". The society could have a "good way of life" if its people behaved good, respectful and moral. If the children learnt these rules while young, they could adopt them as their worldview and live accordingly; hence a moral society that appreciated the regulations

the state endowed it with. For one of the major advices of *Ahlâk Risalesi* is adherence, to display benevolence accordingly.

We can see an example of this kind of intervention in Austria during 1720s. There, too, economy was regarded as a means that could be controlled by the state, which would contribute to wealth. The state, while enacting a regulation relatively close to Tanzimat regulations, appealed to an overt cameralism and pietistic pedagogy in the economic sphere. In Austria, too, the chief goal of the state was to raise a moral generation by way of pietistic pedagogy in primary schools.

It would be too easy to argue that Sadık Rifat Paşa had witnessed these during his service as ambassador in Vienna and simply imitated them. It would be more rational to argue instead that the Austrian and the Ottoman empires were still not industrial in the 19th century. They were engaged with capitalism mostly through the state. It was the officials who could have understood this relation with capitalism and done whatever it takes to respond accordingly. The qualitative difference that emerged between the imperial forces of Britain and France and the empires of Austria and the Ottomans determined the reaction of both empires towards capitalist restoration through the 19th century. Both empires were faced with the imperative to adjust to the capitalist world system (which meant to choose between defending itself and getting fewer damages). It is still not clear enough how the bureaucratic cadres of the two empires perceived this imperative. We can only draw certain conclusions based on regional precautions. This argument does not deny that there were regulations aimed at adjustment to the capitalist world system. It is only argued that it should be questioned whether or not these precautions were carried out consciously. The question pointed out by the example of Sadık Rifat Paşa is as to what extent he regarded morality (*ahlâk*) in relation to economy and politics. It is clear that Sadık Rifat Paşa did not have the chance to assess his position from a distance and to act accordingly. He relied on a synchronization, which was

consistent in its own terms: 1- A political and economic regulation that assured safe earning for the people. 2- Subjects who would remain loyal to the state in return. “Ahlâk” would constitute the fundamental aspect of this relationship and secure its continuity. Sadık Rifat Paşa preferred educated subjects rather than enlightened individuals. After all, the enlightened individual was not an issue at all for Paşa – be it good or bad.

Sadık Rifat Paşa was concerned instead to make comprehensible the transformation within the empire, to provide a snapshot so to speak. If we take into account the techniques he had, pointing out to the vagueness of his picture will be of the same logic as saying that Hawking is a bad dancer.

**APPENDIX**

## RİSALE-İ AHLÂK

İşbu risâle-i ahlâkiyye sıbyana nasihat-i peder suretinde bir eserdir.

Ma'lum ola ki insan ile sa'ir hayvanın fark olunması, bilmediğini öğrenmek ve eyü huy ile çirkin ve kötü huyu bilmek ve güzel huy tahsil edüb, kötü huyları terk etmektir. Zira sa'ir hayvânlar dahi insan gibi yer içer ve yatar kalkar, böyle yaradılışda ikisi birdür. İmdi insânın sa'ir hayvanlardan ayrılıp bilinmesi 'aklı edip fikir etmesi ve nutku ve lisanı olup söylemesiyledir. İşbu nutk dahi 'ilm dedikleri ya'ni mutlaka bilmediği şeyleri bilenlerden öğrenüp bilmek ve kitabından okuyup bellemek ile olur ve kemâl-i insaniyyet dahi ancak güzel huyluluk ile hasıl olabilir. Bu cihetle çocuklar siyah ve beyazı fark etmeğe başladıkları vakitlerde eyü ve kötü anlamağa sa'y ü gayret etmek ve başlamak pek lâzımlı şeydir. Çünkü çocukluk yaş ağaç gibidir, taze yaş ağaç her ne kadar eğri olsa dahi doğrultması kolay ve âsândır. İşte bunun gibi insanın dahi küçüklüğünde terbiye kabul etmesi kolay olur, lâkin büyüyüb ve hususiyle çirkin ve uygunsuz huylara alıştıktan sonra artık anı eyle kötü ahlâktan ayırub yola getürmek haylice güç olur. Ve'l-hâsıl kişiye gençlik zamanı kıymeti bilinmez ve teşekkürü kabil olmaz bir 'inayet ve vakt-i fırsat olduğundan ahmak olmayub da azıcık akli ermeğe başlayan çocuklar vakitlerini yalnız oyun oynamak vesâ'ir fa'idesiz şeylere meşgul olmak ile beyhude geçürmiyerek lütf-u Hakkile büyüdüğü zaman kendüsünün küçüklüğünden berü ve beraber büyüdüğü akran ve akribâsı yanlarında kadr ve i'tibarı olmak ve şu adamın evlâdı ne güzel çıkdı ve kemal ü hüner ve ma'rifet ü hüsn-ü ahlâk peyda eyledi deyü bilen ve kendüsünü işiden medh ü tahsin etmek için herkes yanında beğenilen şeyleri anlayup ve huylarını ona uydurmağa çalışub gayret etmeli ve bunun aksi olup ya'ni herkesin

arasında vah yazık şu çocuğun babası ve ecdadı ne şekil eyüler eyüsü adamlar iken evladı olacak filan hayırsız çıkdı babası hakkında bunca gayret ü himmet ve i'tibar etmiş iken kendüsü hiç eyülüğe çalışmayup ve eyülük yoluna gitmeyüp böyle hayırsız ve alçak oldu deyü Hakk-ı te'âlâ esirgesün herkesin kendüsünü ayblıyacağı yola gitmemelidir. İşte bunun için bi'l-cümle çocuklara ve belki bilmeyen büyüklere dahi eyü ve kötüyü layıkıyla güzelce öğretmek ve bildirmek ziyadesiyle lâzımdır. Cenab-ı hakk cümlemizin veliyy-i ni'meti olan şevketlû padişahımız efendimiz hazretlerine pek çok vakit tükenmez ömürler ihsan buyursun ve sâye-i merhametini her sınıf teb'ası hakkında eksik etmesün, âmin. Büyüklerimiz haklarında olan bunca 'inâyet-i şahanelerinin edâ-yı şükründe cümlemiz 'âciz olduğumuz halde sıbyan haklarında dahi himmet-i 'âliyye ve şefkat-ı seniyye-i mülûkâneleri şayan buyurulduğundan mekteblerin nizamı ve çocukların mücerred kendülerine fa'idesi olsun deyü güzelce okuyub yazmaları için usulüne bakılmak üzere irade buyurdular. İşte bu dahi büyük ve çok teşekkür edecek ni'metdir herkes padişahımız efendimizi pek büyük bilüb teb'ası hakkında ne murad-ı merahim, nihâd-ı şahaneleri olur ise ona imtisâl ve itâ'at etmek vacibdir. Kişi padişahına muhabbet ve sadâkat ve hayır ile du'a etmek feyzinin ve rızkının ve i'tibarının artırmasına sebep olacağında asla şüphe yokdur.

Bundan sonra bilinmesi elzem olan huyların beyanına başlayalım cümlemizi ve bu cihanı yokdan var edüp yaradan ancak Allahü 'azîmü's-şândır yediğimiz ve içdiğimiz ni'metleri ihsan eden hâlikimiz olmağla gece ve gündüz zât-ı pâkine 'ubûdiyyet ve ni'metlerine şükür etmek ve ondan korkub kötü işleri işlememek ve da'ima eyülük etmek üzerimize dince ve akılca farzdır, ve dahi insana her şeyden ziyade lazım olan ilimdir ve ilim dediğimiz bilmediği şeyi öğrenüb tahsil etmektir ve cehalet dedikleri dahi sıfat-ı insaniyete elzem olan şeyleri bilmemekdir. İşte bu pek çirkin olan ve akran ve emsali arasında i'tibarını giderüb ve da'ima sahibini utandıran ve mezmûm eden şey olmağla böyle herkes arasında

utanmamak ve ayıblanmamak için vaktini beyhude geçürmeyüb halka ben okumuşum siz cahilsiniz demek için olmayarak belki halka öğretmekle hayırım olur niyetiyle okuyub yazmağa ve hüner ve ma'rifet tahsil etmeğe sa'y ü gayret etmelidir zira 'ilim ve kemal ü ma'rifet her yerde sahibine hürmet etdirici ve cehalet ise daima utandırıcı ve hacâlet verici şeydir.

Kişi babasına ve anasına ve hoca ve üstadına hürmet ve ri'âyet etmek dahi pek lazımdır ve berhudârlik alâmetidir. Eğer bunlara hakaret etmek ve asılsız yere darılmak veya hürmet etmeyüb kendüstüne fa'idesi olacak sözlerine inâd ile kendü heva ve hevesine gitmek isterse hayır alâmeti değildir öyle çocuk feyziyâb olamaz ve dünya ve ahiretde hüsn-i hâl bulamaz. Bu cihetlerle bunlara daima hürmet edüb ve can sıkacak ve hevasına uymayacak şeyler söyler ise de mahzan evlâd ü şâkirdlerinin eyülükleri için olacağından hiç tarılmayub sözlerini dinlemeli hele hocanın hakkı ana ve baba hakkından ziyâdedir. Zira adamı kâmil eden hocadır eğer babası oğluna hoca dahi olmuş ise artık hakkı iki kat olur. İşte bunları bilüb ancak gösterecekleri doğru yola gitmelidir.

### *Gizb*

yani yalan söylemek dahi pek kötü ve mezzum huy olduğundan dince ve akılca ondan ictinâb etmek lazımdır. Zira yalan söylemek ile bu âlemde pek çok uygunsuz şeyler olmuşdur ve da'ima olmaktadır ve pek 'ayıb şeydir. Buna mübtelâ olan çok vakitlerde yalanı meydana çıkup kendüsü utanur ve rezil olur ve halk-ı âlem yanında namusu ve i'tibarı gider. Bunun için çocuklar asla dilini yalan söylemeğe alışdırmayub da'ima sözü doğru söyleyerek kimseyi aldatmak sevdasında olmamalı ve bir kere yalancılık ile adı çıkdıktan sonra doğru söyleyecek olsa dahi kimse inanmaz ve bu cihetle çok mazarratını görür ve dahi nemmâmlık ki kovculuk denilen şeydir bu da yani yalancılık gibi ve belki daha ziyade gayet çirkin bir sıfatdır. Şöyleki

mesela bir adam uygunsuzluklara da'ir diđer adam hakkında birşey söylese veyahud yapsa derhal anı evvel adama ya söz veya tezkere ve mektub veyahut göz ve kaş ve işaret ve'l-hasıl bir takrib ile yetiřdirüb senin hakkında falan şöyle böyle söyledi ve yaptı deyü ana yaranmak veyahud diđerine garaz için veya kötü huyu iktizasınca söylemektir.

### *İkiyüzlülük*

Ve ikiyüzlülük yani bir birlerine dargın veyahud dargın olmayan iki kimse arasında girüb her birine bir türlü söz söyleyerek dargınlıklarını artırıcı ve muhabbetlerini giderici şeydir. Bu dahi pek çirkin ve mazmûm huydur ki buna nifak denilür. İşte böyle şeyler etmemeli ve böyle yola gitmemelidir zira bu huy iki adamı birbiriyle bozuřdurmaya ve nice nice uygunsuzluklara sebep olur ve bu sıfat kendüsünde bulunan adam herkes yanında mazmûm ve menfûr olur.

### *Gıybet*

Bu dahi dince ve akılca insâniyyet hakkına yakışmayan şeydir. Yani bir kimsenin arkasından yüzüne söylenilmeyecek yani güceneceđi lakırdıyı söylemektir. Çünkü bu söylediđin lakırdı elbette o adamın zımnına da'ir olacađından kendüsü işitmese bile mürüvvet ve insaniyete göre kiři ihvanı hakkında böyle kötülüđu etmek layık ve ca'iz deđildir ve eđer işidirse vaktiyle o dahi kendüsüne intikam etmek ve onun acısını çıkarmak isteyeceđinden böyle şeylerden sakınmak ve dilini esirgemek lâzımdır.

### *Ziyankârlık*

Ziyankârlık bu dahi herkes hakkında zararlı huy olduđundan mesela anasının ve babasının ve karındařının vesa'ir řunun bunun işe yarar şeylerine kurmak, yırtmak, atmak yakmak gibi uygunsuzluklar kendüsünü insafsızlıđa ve yaramazlıđa alıřdırıcı çirkin şeyler

oldğundan hele çocuklar bunlardan uzak olub işlememeli ve akranı olan çocuklar ve büyükler hakkında daima eyülük etmeğe gayret etmelidir.

### *Enâiyyet*

Enâiyyet yani benlik ve kendüyü beğenmek ve sâirinden kendisünü yukarı tutmak ve husûsen bilmediği şeylerde bilgiçlik ile ola pek kötü huydur eğer kendüsü hüner ve ma'rifetde ve zenginlikde vesâir şeylerde başkalarından sahihen daha â'lâ ise de tevazu' etmek yani kendüsünü aşağı tutmak lazımdır ve eyü huydur ve çok kere böyle kendüyü aşağı tutub tevazu' edenler pek büyük adamlar olmuşlardır ve kibir edüb kendüyü büyük tutanlar hor ve hakîr olmuşlardır. Onun için kibir etmeyüb herkese güler yüz ve tatlı söz göstermelidir.

### *Hased*

Hased yani halkda bulunan rütbe ve esvâb vesa'ir güzel ve canının istediği şeyler görüb kıskanmak ve çekememek ve onun elinden gitmesini istemektir ve bu dahi kötü huyların büyüğünden birisidir ve insanın vücuduna pek zararı olan bir maraz gibidir işte bundan ziyadesiyle sakınmak lazımdır. Zira hased etmekle istemediği adamın elindeki şey gidüb kendüsünün eline girmez ve hased etmenin bir fa'idesi görülmez insana göre layık olan kendüsünün gayrisinde görüb arzu eylediği şeyleri viren Cenâb-ı Vâhibden kendü hakkında dahi ihsan buyrulmasını sebeblerine yapışub niyâz etmektedir.

### *Haylazlık*

Haylazlık bu dahi çocuklara hiç elvermeyecek ve câhil kalmasına sebep olacak şeydir. Mesela mektebe gitmemek ve yazı yazmamak ve dersine çalışmayub şunun bununla münasebetsiz sözler ve şeyler ve oyun ve seyir ile vakit geçirmekdir. İşte böyle şeyler çocukların tamam-ı tahsil-i hüner edecek 'aziz ve kıymetlü vaktini zâyi' ve telef etmeye ve

nihayetinde vah zamanım beyhude gitmiş ve kendime yaracak bir hüner ve san'at öğrenememişim diyerek pek çok pişman olmağa sebep olacağından çocuklar için aranacak şey olmağla tamam-ı tahsil-i hüner etmeğe yarayan ve bir dahi gerüye gelmesi mümkün olmayan vakt-i sabâvetini hayırsız ve fa'idesiz oyunlar ve tenbellikler ile geçürmeyüb her türlü ilimleri okuyub yazmağa çalışmalı ve her gün mektebe gitmeğe çalışmalı.

### *Hilekârlık*

Hilekârlık yani anasını ve babasını ve hocasını vesâir kimesneleri türlü türlü yalanlar ve dolaylı sözler ile aldatmağa ve mücerred okuyub yazmaktan kurtulmak vesâir dediğini yapmak için bir takım sözler söylemek ve işler yapmak gayet çirkin ve kötü ve sonra hilesi meydana çıkup akranı beyninde rezil ü rüsvay ve nihayet zararı başkasına olmayub ancak kendüye dokunacağı bî-iştibâh olacağından böyle şeylerden çekinmeli ve herkesle doğruluk ile geçinmelidir.

### *Arsızlık ve masharalık*

Arsızlık ve masharalık etmek dahi akli eren çocuklara pek kötü şeylerdir mesela şunu bunu güldüreyim diyerek türlü kıyafetlere girmek ve hokkabaz gibi şeyler yapub söylemek ve ondan bundan şey istemek ve utanacak şeylerde utanmayub diline gelen hezeyan sözleri söylemek ve eliyle vesâir a'zasıyla ayb olan şeyleri eşelemek gayet insana yakışmayan ve herkes yanında mazmûm olan şey olacağından eğer böyle şeylerle bir çocuğun adı çıkar ise hiçkimse yanında kadr ü i'tibarı kalmaz ve kimse kendüsünü sevmez bunun için her bir çocuk tahsil-i edeb edüp öyle ârsızlık ve masharalık etmemeğe dikkat etmelidir.

### *Bedzebânlık*

Bedzebanlık dahi gayetle lisanını sakınacak şeydir yani ona buna ve akranı olan çocuklara kötü söz söylemek ve söğmek çirkin ve günah olduğundan bir kimseye hiç böyle çirkin söz söylemekden ve söğüb saymaktan gayet hazer etmeli ve kimseyi çirkin mu'ameleler ile incitmemelidir ve onunla bununla boş yere atışmak ve döğüşmek ve mektebe gelüp giderken sokaklarda şunun bunun arkasından taş atmak veyahud söz atmak gibi şeyler layıksız ve ayıb ve muhataralı olduğundan çocuklar usluca oturub ve edebiyile gezüb böyle yaramazlıklarda bulunmamalıdır.

### *Sirkat*

Sirkat yani hırsızlık; bu dahi dince ve akılca en büyük kötü huylardan ve Hüdâ etmesün buna alışan her kişinin akibeti türlü rezâlet ve nedâmete sebep olacağından başka günah ve haramdır ve buna cesaret edenler ceza kanunu üzere küreğe konur ve pranka ve hapishanelerde kalur ve çürür ve bu hırsızlık öyle bir kötü şeydir ki, dikkat ile şartınca tahakkuk eder ise cezası daha ağır olacağı kat'îdir bu cihetle velev bir küçük şey olsun yani on dirhem gümüş değmez nesne olursa dahi ve'l-hâsıl bir pare değmezsede hiç bir kimsenin bir şeyini kendüsünün haberi olmaksızın alıb ve çalıb satmamalı ve kimseye dahi vermemelidir.

### *Ağzıgevşeklik*

Ağzıgevşeklik yani gizli bir şey gördüğü veyahud işitdiği vakit onu saklamayıb herkese söyleyüb bildirmek muzır ve çirkin şey olduğundan kişi böyle şeylere kendüsünü alırdırmamalıdır. Zira bu huyda olduğu bilindiği vakit kimse anın yanında bir dahi gizli birşey söylemez ve sâirine söylerken bile o geldü deyü lâkırdıyı keserek kendüsünün i'tibarına

dokunur ve böyle adama hiçbir yerde emniyet olunmaz ve asla kadr ü i'tibarı kalmayıb kimseden yüz bulamaz.

### *Tahkir*

Tahkir ve dahi büyük ve küçüğünü beğenmeyecek surette tahkir etmek hem insaniyetçe ve hem edeb ve mürüvvetçe hiçbir vakitte bir şahıs hakkında layık ve ca'iz olmayacak şey olduğundan velev kendünden aşağı olsun ve fakir ve 'âciz bulunsun hiçbir kimse hakkında hakaret etmek ve zevke almak ve istihza eylemek gibi şeylerden uzak durub sakınmalıdır ve daima kendü ırz u edebiyile oturmalıdır.

### *Garaz ve Kin ve Nefsaniyet*

Garaz ve kin ve nefsanîyet dahi huyların kötüsünden olub yani bir kimse kendü hakkında canının sakladığı veyahud zarar gördüğü birşey itse onu unutmayub eline bir fırsat geçdiği halde ondan intikam etmek veyahud o adamın ona hiç bir kötülüğü vâki' olmamış iken mutlaka kendüsünün fa'idesini gözederek evvel bî-günâh hakkında gadr ve kötülük etmek gibi insaniyete yakışmayan ve sahibini kötü adamdır dediren şeyler olmağla bunlardan sakınub böyle kötülük yerine elinden gelen eyülüğü etmelidir.

### *Sadâkat*

Sadâkat kişi işinde ve sözünde doğru olmak, insanca pek güzel ve hayırlu huyların biri olduğundan ve bu huy sahibini her yerde ber-hûdar etdiğinden sadâkat ve istikameti yani her yerde sözünü ve özünü doğru etmekliğı adet etmeğe çalışmalıdır.

### *Vefakârlık*

Vefakârlık yani va'd edüb üzerine aldığı şeyi yapmak sıfatı dahi mürüvvet ve insaniyet alâmetidir. Kişi dostunu ve ehibba ve akrabasını unutmamak ve elinden gelebildiği kadar eyülük etmek ve gayretkeşlik eylemek lazımdır. İmdi bu sıfatlar kendüsünde bulunan zatlar herkes 'indinde makbul ve mu'teber olacağından böyle doğru ehibba ve akrabasını unutmayan ve vefadâr olanlar her yerde memdûh olur bunun için bu güzel huylara alışub vefadâr ve mürüvvetkâr olmağa sa'y etmelidir.

### *Ri'âyetkârlık*

Ri'âyetkârlık bu dahi insaniyetine göre eyü huylardandır. Kişi kendüsünden büyük olan ve hüner ve ma'arifeti bulunan zatlara hürmet ve ta'zim etmek ve kendüsünden aşağı olanlara dahi hakaret nazariyle bakmamak insaniyet alâmetinden olmağla herkes hakkında ri'âyet ve güzel mu'amele edüp eyü nam kazanmalıdır Akraba ve ehibbâyı muhabbet ile onlara eyülük niyetinde olduğunun üzerine gerek onlar hakkında ve gerek herkes haklarında daima ulüvv-ı himmet sahibi olmak yani herkesin ikbal ve i'tibarını ve refah ve rahatını garazsızca hasbî istemek ve kendüye layık görmediği şeyi sa'irlerine yapmamak ve yaptırmamak makbûl ve mu'teber olan huylardan olup böyle olan adam büyükçe tarikinde feyz ve i'tibar bulacağından kişi herkes hakkında eyülük isteyici ve muhabbet edüp eyülük edici olmalıdır.

### *Kana'at*

Kana'at denilen şey dahi sâhibine rahat ve i'tibar verici güzel sıfatdır. Yani yiyecek ve içecek ve giyecek vesâir bu misillü şeylerde daha ziyadesine bakmayub Cenab-ı Hakk'ın verdiği ni'metlere razı ve müteşekkir ve olmaktır. Kana'at ehli olan adam dünyada çok

zahmet çekmeyüb ve çok kazanmak derdine düşmeyüb aziz olan ömrünü asayiş ve rahat ile geçirür bu cihetle bulunduğu hale kâni' olup açgözlülük etmiyerek, olur olmaz şeyler için halkı ta'ciz etmekden sakınmalıdır. Lakin âli himmetli olup hayırlı şeylerde kendüsüne ve halka faidesi olmasıçün çalışub çabalamalı ve okuyub yazub hüner ve san'at ve ticaret ve menfa'at tahsil etmenin esbâbına teşebbüs etmelidir ve esbâba yapışmak dahi vâcibü ta'âlâ hazretlerinin bir hikmetidir.

### *Hüsn-i Karîn*

Hüsn-i karîn yani daima eyü kimselerle düşüp kalkub kötü ve uygunsuz adamlarla görüşmekden hazer etmeli, çünkü kişi daima görüşdüğü ve mukârini olan adamın huyu ile huyulanmak insanın tabi'atındadır. Eğer böyle kötü adamlarla söz söyleşüp ve gezüb yürüdüğü vakit gid gide kendüsü dahi kötülüğe alışub yoldan ve başdan çıkmasına sebep olur.

### *Acele*

Acele dince ve akılca acelesi lâzım olan şeylerden başka herşeyde acele etmek ve 'inâd dediklerine hak olmayan yerde dayanub durmak huyudur ve kendüden büyüğünün ve hocanın ve üstadın sözlerini ve nasihatlerini dinlemeyüb hemen canının istediği ve olur olmaz hatırına geleni yapmak ve tez tabi'iyatlı olmak ve dargınlık huyları eyü işler olmadığından böyle şeylerde bulunmayub ve hele şu dargınlık ve gasb şöyle bir çirkin huydur ki, artınca insanın akılını örterde taşa ve toprağa ve akli olmayan hayvanlara söğür ve darılır; insana böyle bir hal gelür ise geldiği yerden savuşmalıdır ki, gazab dahi savuşa ve insana lâzım olan gazablı olmayup hâlim ve selîm olup huysuzluk etmiyerek herkesle karındaş gibi geçinmelidir.

*Nezâfet*

Nezâfet yani temizlik dince ve akılca i'tibar edecek huydur ve her dürlü necâsetden temzilenmek elzendir ve paklık memduh ve hüsn-i tabî'ata delâlet eden sıfat olup pislik bunun aksinedir bir adamın esvabı eski olmak 'ayb değildir, ama pis olmak 'ayıbdır üstü başı ağzı burnu temiz olan adamı herkes gördüğünden ondan hoşlanacağı misillü pis ve murdar olan şahsı gördüklerinde ve yanlarına geldikde istikrâh edüp tiksindirler onun için çocuklar temizliğe alışmalıdır. Yüzünü gözünü yıkayub pak etmek ve ağzı burnu akmamak ve üstünü başını çamurdan ve tozdan vesâir pisliklerden daima sakınarak kirletmeyüb pak tutmak ve temiz taharet etmek herkese lâzımdır ve yemek yediği vakit elini ve ağzını güzel yıkayub üstünü başına sürmemeli ve bu veçhile üzerinde kat'en kehle vesâir nesne bulunmamasına dikkat etmelidir ve pislikden ba'zı ilacı güç hastalıklar dahi hâsıl ve peyda olacağından bundan gayetle sakınub daima temizliğe sa'y ü gayret eylemelidir.

*Sehâvet*

Sehâvet ve cömerdlik eyü huyların en âlâsı ve kendüye ve halka yarayan ahlâk-ı memdûhenin pek bâlâsıdır. Yani kendüde olan şeylerden layık olduğu vech üzere imtinâ etmiyerek gönül hoşluğuyla layık olanlara vermektir.

*Buhl*

Buhl, bahillik ve hasislik sehâvetin zıddıdır ki, elinde ve yanında olan şeyden iktiza eden kimselere mürüvvetçe ve zaruretçe yaramamaktır ve bu dahi pek kötü şeyden Cenâb-ı Hakk'ın ihsan buyurduğu her dürlü ni'metlerden hakk yoluna ta'yin olunduğu üzere ve mürüvvetçe sâir ihvanına dahi isrâf olmayarak verüb ikram etmek; insaniyetin şeraitindedir. Mesela varlığa göre akçe ve atıyye ve ihsan ve hediye ve it'am ve sâdık dostlarına muhabbet yönünden ziyafet vesâir cihetler ile birbirlerine hürmet etmek adet-i insaniyet ve şart-ı

muhabbet ve meveddet ve herkes yanında memdûh ve makbûl olacak ve hüsn-ü senâ ve du'a tahsil edecek bir keyfiyet olmağla insan kendüyü buna alışdırmalıdır. Eğer çocuklukda insan ikrâm edecek şey bulmaz ve çocukların malda tasarrufu ca'iz olmaz denilür ise çünkü sahâvet denilen şey çoğa nisbet ile olmayub ancak tabî'at ve mürüvvet demek olarak azdan dahi olmuş velev bir almanın bir kere bile olsun yarısını yanındakine vermek onun dahi istek ve arzusunu mümkün olduğu merite def etmek insaniyetden ma'dûd olmağla işte çocuklar dahi mektebde vesâir mahallerde kudretine göre akranı hakkında böyle anasının ve babasının izni olacak ve kendüsüne verdikleri harclıktan vesâirinden cömerd olarak hüsn-ü mu'amele sahibi olmalıdır.

### *Mu 'âvenet*

Mu'avenet ve şefkat bu dahi eyü ahlâkdandır yani sâirine yardım etmek ve acıyıp merhamet etmek mesela bir adamın bir güc maslahatı olub da ondan yardım istediği halde işinin iktizasına göre ve sa'y mikdarınca ona eliyle ve diliyle ve parasıyla ve'l-hasil mümkün olabildiği merite i'ane ve yardım etmek dince ve akılcı eyü şeydir. Eğer sen böyle eder isen birgün sen dahi bir işin düşdüğü vakit sana da yardım eden bulunur ve bahillik edüb kimseye mürüvvet ve mu'avenet etmez isen bir darlık gününde senin dahi işine yardım ve i'aneci bulunmaz. Böyle olduğu için akranın olan çocuklardan birisi mesela düşecek olsa yanında bulunduğun halde onu düşmemek için tutmak veyahud bir müşkil işi olduğu ve yardım istediği halde ona i'ane etmek levâzım-ı insaniyetden ma'dûddur. Böyle şeylerde dahi kudretine, bildiği merite sa'y ü gayret eylemelidir.

### *Hıfz-ı Sıhhat*

Hıfz-ı sıhhat-ı vücud etmenin esbabını gözetmek dahi herkese elzemdir. Bu cihanda her ni'metden ziyade vücud sağlığı gibi teşekkür olunacak ni'met yoktur. Zira bir adamın

vücudu Hak ta'âlâ etmesin sıhhatde olmasa tanrı ta'âlâya layıkıyla kulluk edemez ve hiçbir şeyin kendüye fa'idesi olamaz ve bir işini göremez onuniçün kişi kendüstünü mümkün mertebe hastalığa sebep olacak şeylerden muhafaza etmek ve sakınmak lazımdır işte buna dikkat edüb de sonra kendüstünü Cenab-ı Hakk'ın hıfzına havale etmelidir. Hastalığa sebep olan şeyler pekçok ise de onları belleyüb sakınmak ve hasta olduğu halde ilaç ve devasını öğrenüb def etmek ve etdirmek ilm-i tıb denilen hekimlik fenni iktizâsından olmağla bu mahalde onun uzun uzun beyan ve tahrir olunması bu risâlenin esasına nazaran mükün olamaz ise de çocuklar için tenbihi lâzım gelen şeylerden birazı zikr ve işaret olunmak dahi faideden hâli değildir. Ekseri illetlerin ve hastalıkların mahalli mide ve şifaya bâ'is olan büyük deva himyedir ve bunların ma'nası ise insanın yiyüb içdüğü şeyleri hazmedeceği yani yemek insanın vücudunda tekrar pişüb tabh olunur. İşte evvel pişecek yere lugatda mi'de derler eğer mi'denin tahammülünden ziyade bir adam yemek veyahud olur olmaz yemeği birbiri üzerine hazmolmadan sık sık ekl eder ve çok yemiş yer ve su içer ise elbette mi'desi bozulur ve ondan Cenab-ı Hakk hıfz etsün türlü türlü hastalıklar zuhûr eder hususan çocukların mi'desi büyükler gibi kuvvetli olmadığından çabuk bozulur onun için büyükler ve hususan çocuklar 'âfiyet ve sağlıklarına muzır olacak suretde pekçok yemek yemekden ve her dürlü ziyade meyva ve yemiş ve hususiyle olmamış ham yemişlerden sakınıb ziyade yememeli ve bir de oyun oynayarak vesâir cihetle koşub ve yorulub ve terleyüb sonra soğuk su içmek ve karnı aç iken dondurma yemek ve soyunub soğuk almak ve yaz günlerinde pek sıcaklarda güneşlerde gezmek mizacsızlığa sebep olacak şeyler olduğundan akli eren ve kendüye acıyıp hasta olmağı istemeyen büyükler ve çocuklar bunlardan pek sakınmalıdır.

### *Ülfet ve Ünsiyyet*

Ülfet ve ünsiyyet yani kişi birbiriyle görüşüb ve konuşdukda güler yüzlü ve tatlı dillü olarak kalb incidici ve hatıra dokunucu sözlerden ve çirkin mu'ameleden sakınmalıdır. Vaki'a

dargın çehreli durmak ve lakırdı söyler iken başına urur gibi söylemek münasib değildir. Bunlar insana kendüyü beğenmekden ve kibir etmekden gelir, ancak âdâb-ı ülfete yakışan şudur ki, kişi lakırdı söylediği vakitte birbiri arkası sıra pek sık ve çabuk söylememeli ve dinleyeni usandıracak suretde pek ağır dahi söyleyüp sözü uzatmamalı işiden anlayacak veçhile telaşsızca hiddetlenmeyerek dâne dâne güler yüz ile söyleyüp meramını ifade etmeli lâkin şu şartla ki münasebetsiz kakhahalar ile ve zevzeklik ve yavaşlık suretiyle halkı güldireceğim deyü bir takım masharalıklar etmemeli.

### *Edeb ve Hürmet*

Edeb ve hürmet bunlar dahi küçük ve büyük cümle insana pek elzem olan sıfattır. Hele çocukların küçüklüklerinden alışacak eyü huydur yani kişi kendüsünden büyüğüne daima ta'zîm ve hürmet edüb bir büyük adam yanına gittikde önünü kavuşdurarak girmek ve elini öpmek ve otur der ise şart-ı âdâb üzere teşekkür ederek oturmak ve lakırdı sürer ise söylemek söyler iken nazikâne ve kâmilâne söylemek ve ayağını uzatmamak ve eliyle ağzıyla burnuyla oynamamak gibi şeyler olmağla el-hâsıl çocuklukdan edeb-i tahsiline sa'y edüb hakk ta'âlâ kötü gözden ve nazardan saklasun şu çocuk kamilâne duruşuna ve oturuşuna ve söyleşine bakınca büyük adam gibidir deyü herkesin kendü hakkında teveccüh ve medh etmesini tahsil etmeğe çalışmalıdır.

### *Hukuk-ı Uhuvvet*

Hukuk-ı uhuvvet bu dahi âdemiyyetçe ri'âyet olunacak ahlâk-ı hamidedendir. Yani kişi karındaşıma ve karındaşı gibi görüşüb ve sevdiği akranına hulûs ve muhabbet göstermedilir. Bu cihetle karındaşı ve akrabası hakkında birinin bir eyiliği olduğu halde kıskanmayıb gûya kendüye olmuş gibi hoşnud ve mesrûr olmalı, kezâ ki onlar hakkında bir can sıkacak ve keder edecek vakı'a olduğu suretde aynıyle kendüye olmuş misillü te'essüf

etmeli karşuluğunda eyulükler etmeğe elden geldiği kadar sa'y etmek insanı ve pek a'lâ huydur.

### *İffet ve Hamiyet*

İffet ve hamiyet bu sıfatlar dahi sıfat-ı hamideden olarak herkese ve hususuyla gençlere ve çocuklara pek elzem olan şeydir. Yani kişi nefsini ve ırz ve namusunu dince ve akılca nazar-ı hakk ve halk yanında utandıracak ve hakk ta'âlâ saklasın kendüsünü rezîl ü rüsvay-ı âlem edecek dürlü dürlü ayıb olan şeylerden muhafaza etmektir. İşte bu büyük ve küçük ve rütbeli ve rütbesiz herkese vâcib olan ahkâm dandır zira bir adamda edeb ve iffet ve gaye-i ırz ve namus olmadıkça velev kendüsü pek büyük devlet ü ikbâl sahibi olsa bile âlemin yanında ve nâs nazarında hiç kadr ve i'tibârı olmayarak bayağı mezmûm ve alçak olur. Onun için kişi da'ima zâtını sakınıb iffet ehli olmak ve namus-ı azîzini canı gibi hıfz ü vekâye etmelidir.

### *Ri'âyet-i Hukuk-ı Ülfet*

Ri'âyet-i hukuk-ı ülfet bu dahi ademiyyetin şart-ı a'zamıdır yani iki zat beyninde bunca vakit ülfet ve muhabbet hâsıl olarak birbirlerine eyulükleri vuku' buldukda ona hürmet edüp olur olmaz şey ile onu unutmamalıdır. Vakı'a eyulük etmek gibi bu cihan-ı fanide güzel nam olacak ve kötülük eylemek gibi belasını bilecek şey yoktur Hukuk-ı insaniyeti ve hususiyle ülfet ve muhabbeti sebkât eden adamı herşerde unutmamalı ve kazâen bazı şeyden dolayı birbirleriyle bozuşub beyinlerinde infi'âli mucib olacak şey vaki' olsa bile def'aten bunca hukuku unudub onu terk eylemek olmayacağından mu'amele-i afv ile öyle infi'âlden geçmelidir. Hususiyle eyulük gördüğün zatı büyüdüğün vakit hatırını gözedüb ona hüsn-i mükafât etmeğe çalışmalıdır. Yani iki ahbâb bir biriyle bozuşduğu vakit onları barışdırmağa sa'y etmek pek güzel huydur. El-hâsıl bu tafsilatdan anlaşıldığına göre insana lazım olacak

eyü huylar ile huylanmak ve çirkin huylardan hazer etmektir. Bu dahi ancak eyüyü ve kötüyü fark etmek ile hâsıl olur. Buna dahi ilim ve kemâl tarikiyle vâsıl olunur vakı'a insanda dikkat olursa iki kuvvet-i fi'iliyye vardır ki medâr-ı idâre-i âlemdir. Biri kuvve-i müfekkire yani akıl ve tedbirdir ve birisi dahi kuvve-i fi'iliyye ve ameliyye ki san'atdır evvelkisi zihin ve mülâhaza ve ikincisi el ve alet vasıtasıyla olabilir. Bunların ikisinin dahi icra ve icâdı akla mevlefdür. Akıl ise işlenmemiş bir cevher-i elmas gibidir. Lâkin elmasın i'tibarı ve parlak ve şeffaf olması ancak işlenmesiyle olduğu gibi aklın terbiyesi dahi ilimdir ve ulûm ve fûnun kemali ise tecrübedir hâsılı yalnız akıl ile dahi iş bitmeyüb ilm ü tecrübeye kişi muhtacdır ilm ü tecrübesi olmayan âkıl karanlık ve zulmatda mumsuz gezen adam gibidir İlm ü tecrübe şem'-i şu'ledâr inan andı olmasıyla aydınlık olmaksızın zulümatda gezüb yürümek isteyen adam düşebileceğinden kişi umurunda hata da bulunmamak için yalnız aklına uyub ilm ü tecrübe levazımının tahsiline i'tina etmelidir ve bu ma'lumat letafiyet ile ahlâk-ı memdûha hâsıl eylemelidir. Zira hüsn-i ahlâk sahibi olan zât-ı sa'âdet-i hâle mazhar olduğu gibi bed-ahlâk ve garazkâr olan eşhas dahi nazar-ı erbâb-ı kemâl ve cümle yanında muhakkirdir. Hele eşref-i mahlukdan insan ilm ü kemâlata sa'y etmek elzemdir. Lâkin bed-ahlâk olur ise velev pek çok fazileti bile bine memduh olamaz ve ahlâkını güzel huylar ile tehzib etmedikçe felah bulamaz. Ahlâk-ı memdûha ve mazmûmaya dair daha pek çok yazacak nesa'ih var ise de uzun uzun yazılmak çocukların mizacına göre defaten tabi'atlerine ağır gelerek kesel vereceğinden ve bundan böyle sâye-i i'nâyet-vâye-i hazret-i şahanede nice kütüb-i ahlâkiye okuyarak tekmil-i kemâlat-ı insaniye edecekleri bû-iştibâh olduğundan şimdilik bu kadarcık ile iktifa olundu. Heman cenab-ı Hakk veli-ni'metimiz veli ni'met-i cihân-ı şevket-me'âb efendimize tükenmez ömr-i ihsan buyursun ve sâye-i ni'met ve merhamet-i seniyye-i şâhânelerini üzerlerimizde ber-devâm etsün âmin.

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