

A TANZİMAT INTELLECTUAL:  
SADIK RIFAT PAŞA'S ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

SERİYYE AKAN

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

2015

A TANZİMAT INTELLECTUAL:  
SADIK RIFAT PAŞA'S ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

Thesis submitted to the  
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

Seriyye Akan

Boğaziçi University

2015

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Seriyeye Akan, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature..........

Date .....08.09.2015.....

## ABSTRACT

A Tanzimat Intellectual:

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's Economic Thoughts

This thesis tries to analyze economic thoughts advocated by Sadık Rıfat Paşa, who occupied significant state positions in the first half of the nineteenth century and was accepted as one of the Tanzimat reformers. While his writings on economy represent a continuation of the classical era in terms of style, they demonstrate western originated thoughts in their content. He could also be accepted as the first person who proposed western inspired economic policies at governmental level in the nineteenth century. His economic thoughts and proposals are disorganized in his writings and they did not establish a theoretical basis; instead they rather seem to have been targeted at practical and efficient solutions for the contemporary economic problems. In this study we firstly reviewed Sadık Rıfat Paşa's political thoughts and then shortly described cameralist and liberal economic policies. Secondly, we touched on the basic characteristics of the Ottoman economic thinking before the nineteenth century and generally delineated Ottoman economic thought in the nineteenth century. Lastly, we tried to evaluate and contextualize Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts in its historical setting.

## ÖZET

Bir Tanzimat Entellektüeli:

Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın İktisadî Düşünceleri

Bu tez, ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısında yaşayıp, Osmanlı Devleti'nde üst düzey kademelerde görev yapmış olan ve Tanzimat döneminin reformcuları arasında kabul edilen Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın iktisadî düşüncelerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tarz itibariyle klâsik dönemin devamını simgeleyen yazıları içerik bakımından irdelendiğinde, Sadık Rıfat Paşa batılılaşan iktisadî düşünceyi ondokuzuncu yüzyılda Osmanlı devlet kademesinde ilk kez dile getiren kişi olarak kabul edilebilir. Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın iktisadî düşünceleri ve önerileri yazılarının içinde son derece düzensiz bir biçimde dağılmakta ve teorik bir temel inşa etmeye çalışmaktansa pratik ve verimli sonuçlara ulaşmayı amaçlamış görünmektedir. Bu çalışmada iktisadî anlamda temel olarak iki batılı kanaldan, kameralizm ve liberalizmden etkilenen Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın iktisadî düşünceleri incelenmeden önce kısaca siyasî görüşlerine değinilmiş, sonrasında kameralizm ve liberalizmin iktisadî boyutu kısaca açıklanmıştır. Ardından ondokuzuncu yüzyıl öncesindeki Osmanlı iktisadî düşüncesinin temel özelliklerinden bahsedilmiş ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıl Osmanlı iktisadî düşüncesi ana hatlarıyla resmedilmeye çalışılmıştır. Son olarak Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın iktisadî düşünceleri yaşadığı dönemdeki bağlam dikkate alınarak analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This humble study would not be written without helps of a number of scholars, friends and family members. First and foremost I am indebted to my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Meltem Toksöz for not only accepting my demand of her supervision for this thesis, but also for her patience and understanding she showed me in every context. Prof. Edhem Eldem has always been a source of inspiration with his scholarly enthusiasm. I am grateful to him not only for participating in my jury, but also for having introduced to us his own understanding of the “historian’s craft” in our graduate seminars. I am also thankful to Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Faruk Aysan who kindly accepted to serve as my committee member. But before it, he made economics more understandable to us by teaching the mentality behind the graphs which occupy economy textbooks. Dear Prof. Selçuk Esenbel kindly hosted me at her home, shared all her knowledge on her ancestor Sadık Rıfat Paşa, and allowed me to take photos of his portraits. I cannot find enough words to express my gratitude to her.

Prof. Arzu Öztürkmen, Prof. Nevra Necipoğlu, Assoc. Prof. Yücel Terzibaşoğlu and my dear friend Didar Akbulut made valuable comments and asked insightful questions after my presentation at the graduate workshop of the Department of History. An unforgettable memory of that day was the jokes of Assoc. Prof. Vangelis Kechriotis on the questions of my presentation. During the editing process of this thesis we all shared the profound sorrow over his sudden death. I had not a chance to participate in his courses, but since the day I set foot in the Department of History, he made my day with his warm smile whenever I was in a bad mood.

I am also thankful to Prof. Şevket Pamuk, Assoc. Prof. Yahya Madra, Assoc. Prof. Cengiz Kırılı, Mehmet Genç, Prof. Coşkun Çakır, Prof. Engin Akarlı and Prof. Akşin Somel who helped to this study directly or indirectly with their courses or advice. Prof. Benjamin Fortna kindly invited me to London, where I thus had a chance to conduct research in the libraries. The staff of Boğaziçi, İSAM and Atatürk Libraries in İstanbul as well as the Prime Ministry archive helped me a lot. Likewise the staff of British National archives, SOAS and British Libraries kindly supported my studies. I am thankful to all of them.

I am lucky to have wonderful friends who supported me at every stage of this thesis. Among them I particularly would like to mention Mehmet Akbulut for his endless and optimistic advices which always relieved me, Halef Cevrioğlu for his encouragement and technical support from correcting transcripts to offering English equivalances of some specific terms in Ottoman language and Hümeyra Bostan for checking some parts of my thesis. Semra, Ramiz, Yener, Berna, Şahika, Özgül, Ekin, Ahmed Tahir, Sinan, Deniz Özlem, Burcu and Damla always listened to my whinges whenever I faced any difficulty and encouraged me. I never forget their supports.

Family always comes last. My father Mehmet Zeki and my mother Zeynep bore my caprices throughout the writing of this thesis. Without their existence I would not even imagine to decide to pursue an acedemic career. My three sisters and brother, whose names are written on my heart also helped me a lot. Lastly, I cannot forget to mention our family friend Münire Abla's encouragement to continue my education while everybody, including myself, around me was really hopeless after having almost a decade long break. Needless to say, I am wholly responsible for all errors and emissions in this thesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Tanzimat.....	2
1.2 A short biography of Sadık Rıfat Paşa.....	4
1.3 Political ideas of Sadık Rıfat Paşa.....	7
1.4 A short remark on cameralism .....	12
1.5 A short remark on classical political economy.....	14
1.6 Concluding remarks.....	16
CHAPTER 2: OTTOMAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	18
2.1 Introduction.....	18
2.2 Ottoman economic thought before the nineteenth century.....	18
2.3 Ottoman economic thought in nineteenth century.....	27
2.4 Concluding remarks.....	51
CHAPTER 3: SADIK RIFAT PAŞA’S ECONOMIC THOUGHTS.....	53
3.1 Introduction.....	53
3.2 A short overview of the Ottoman economy in the nineteenth century.....	55
3.3 The Crystallisation of Sadık Rıfat Paşa’s economic thoughts.....	57
3.4 Cameralist influence on Sadık Rıfat Paşa’s economic thoughts.....	65
3.5 Liberal influence on Sadık Rıfat Paşa’s economic thoughts.....	77
3.6 Sadık Rıfat Paşa’s economic thoughts on finance.....	85
3.7 Concluding remarks.....	88
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION.....	93

APPENDIX A: THE CAREER PATH OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA.....	96
APPENDIX B: THE CONTENT OF <i>MÜNTEHABÂT-I ÂSÂR</i> .....	99
APPENDIX C: A PORTRAIT OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA WHICH WAS PAINTED IN VIENNA CIRCA 1838.....	101
APPENDIX D: AN <i>İRÂDE</i> (COMMAND GIVEN BY THE GRAND VIZIER) WHICH MENTIONS THE PUBLICATION OF <i>MÜNTEHEBÂT-I ÂSÂR</i> .....	102
APPENDIX E: A LETTER OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA WHICH WAS SENT TO REŞİD PAŞA.....	104
APPENDIX F: A LETTER OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA WHICH WAS SENT TO REŞİD PAŞA WHEN HE WAS THE AMBASSADOR TO VIENNA IN 1253 [1837/8].....	107
APPENDIX G: THE FIRST AND REFERRED PAGES OF URQUHART’S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G DATED 5 FEBRUARY 1835.....	111
REFERENCES.....	113

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The existence of Ottoman economic thought was a matter of debate for decades. After the first relatively small scale studies which were written by Fındıkoğlu, Berkes, Ortaylı and Mardin, the modernization of Ottoman economic thought was analyzed by Sayar almost three decades ago. His significant study still guides researchers of this field. In the last decade the interest on Ottoman economic thinking increased. We now have a good grasp of the general picture of the nineteenth century economic thought in the Ottoman Empire. However, there are indistinct areas in this picture. Studies which focus on the publications of economic thinking would help us to understand these blurred areas. In this sense it is beneficial to concentrate on individuals' works which include economic thoughts.

The economic thoughts advocated by Sadık Rıfat Paşa<sup>1</sup> are important since he was one of the reformers in the *Tanzimat* (regulations) era. In this thesis we aimed to analyze possible sources of his modernizing economic thoughts. It is significant to state here that, he was not an economist in a modern sense. His writings, either economic or not, signify a continuation of classical style thus we extract them from his pamphlets, political treaties or reports. We think the importance of his economic thoughts emerges from his non-referentiality to classical economic thinking in terms

---

<sup>1</sup> His full name was Mehmed Sâdık Rif'at Paşa as stated in the "Introduction" to his book *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr* (Selected Writings) which written by his son Raûf Paşa (d. 1883). Rıfat Paşa, *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 16 volumes (Istanbul: u.p., 1290), 2. We cannot see Raûf Paşa's name in the introduction. But an archival document states that Sadık Rıfat Paşa's some writings collected and published by his son Raûf Paşa. See Appendix D. Moreover Ali Fuad Türkgeldi states that the introduction was written by Raûf Paşa. See Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Maruf Simalar*, edited by Selçuk Akşin Somel and Mehmet Kalpaklı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 174. While primary sources mention him as Rif'at Paşa (Rif'at Bey before 1841), secondary sources generally name him as Sadık Rıfat Paşa. Please note that we used both of them in this study. For the full names of the sixteen volumes, or chapters, see Appendix B.

of content. Besides the dual imprints, cameralism and classical political economy made his economic thoughts more interesting. As one of the reformers of Tanzimat era, his economic thoughts and proposals reflect the contemporary problems of his time. This introductory chapter covers short remarks on Tanzimat, a biography of Sadık Rıfat Paşa, his political ideas, cameralism and classical political economy. The following chapter will describe the nineteenth century economic thought. The third chapter will analyze Sadık Rıfat Paşa's thoughts in the light of the second chapter. Finally, a short conclusion chapter will be the end of this study.

### 1.1 Tanzimat

The term Tanzimat which means “regulations,” is known as the name of the period between *Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayûn* (The Noble Edict of the Rose Garden) that was proclaimed in 3 November 1839 and the constitution of 1876 in Ottoman History. During this period, a remarkable number of Western-inspired political and social reforms were undertaken in the Ottoman Empire. Napoleonic Wars, Serbian Rebellion, wars with Russia, Wahhabi Uprising in Arabia, Greek War of Independence in 1821, and finally the Egyptian crisis were the components of the political situation before Tanzimat.<sup>2</sup> From the second Egyptian crisis onwards, Britain supported Ottoman Empire's continued existence as a bulwark against Russian expansionism what was regarded very dangerous in London.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Erik J. Zürcher. *Turkey: A Modern History* (London New York : I.B. Tauris, 1994), 51-56.

<sup>3</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey*, 50.

Reşid Paşa (1800-1858), leading reformer and Foreign Minister, had written the imperial edict, and read it to an assembly of Ottoman dignitaries, including both muslims and non-muslims, and foreign diplomats.<sup>4</sup> The essentials of the edict were indeed new and significant. It was a declaration of intent on the part of the Ottoman government, assuring to implement four basic reforms:

First, the establishment of guarantees for the life, honour and property of the sultan's subjects; second, an orderly system of taxation to replace the system of tax-farming; third, a system of conscription for the army; and fourth, equality before the law of all subjects, whatever their religion.<sup>5</sup>

It is certainly true that the declaration of the edict was in a specific time. It was coincided with the attempts to solve the Egyptian crisis and a diplomatic move in order to gain the support of the European powers.<sup>6</sup> Reşid Paşa and his internal supporters hoped that it would prevent or at least reduce the growth of nationalism and separatism among Christians, thus it would remove the intervention of Russia by invalidating its pretexts.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand the Islamic character of Tanzimat policies has been indicated during the last decades. For instance Darling interprets Tanzimat as both a Westernization and an Islamization of Ottoman politics; in addition, it also justified the reforms with the traditional formula for the state centralization: the connection

---

<sup>4</sup> Mümtaz'er Türköne. "Tanzimat Fermanı ve Mehmet Sadık Rıf'at Paşa," *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*. Volume 7, Ankara, (1999), 275; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey*, 51.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

between justice, popular prosperity and the strength of the state.<sup>8</sup> In short, Tanzimat's goals were the assurance of the human rights, and by this way to provide a convenient environment for actualizing the creativity of the subjects, especially for economic activities. Finally to establish a centralized state and a bureaucracy that operates with rational principles.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the shift of power from Sultan to *Bâb-ı Âlî* (The Sublime Porte) was the inevitable outcome of Tanzimat.

## 1.2 A short biography of Sadık Rıfat Paşa

Mehmed Sadık Rıfat Paşa was born in Istanbul on 25 Şabân 1222 [28 September 1807], a year before the enthronement of Mahmud II.<sup>10</sup> Following the primary education, he continued his education at *Enderûn* (the Palace School), after the completion of his studies there he was appointed as a *çerağ* (clerk-trainee) in the Bureau of *Hazine Odası* (the Imperial Treasury). Then in 1821/2 he was employed in *Mektub-i Sadâret Odası* (the Bureau of the Grand Vizier). Because of his capacity and talent he was used as personal and secret clerk rapporteur in a succession of

---

<sup>8</sup> Linda T. Darling. "Islamic Empires, the Ottoman Empire, and the Circle of Justice." In *Constitutional Politics in the Middle East, with Special Reference to Turkey, Irak, Iran, Afghanistan*. Edited by Said Amir Arjomand (Oxford: Hart, 2008), 23. For the views about the Islamic character of the Tanzimat see Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript", *Die Welt des Islams* 34 (1994): 173-203 and Frederic F. Anscombe, "Islam and the Age of Ottoman Reform" *Past and Present*, no. 208 (August 2010): 159-189.

<sup>9</sup> Türköne, *Tanzimat*, 282.

<sup>10</sup> Biographical information on Sadık Rıfat Paşa based on the introduction by Raûf Paşa, Rıfat Paşa's son, to Rıfat Paşa's *Müntehâbat-ı Âsâr* (Selected Writings), 2-6; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî Ünlüleri*, edited by Nuri Akbayar, volume V (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), 1396-1397; Abdurrahman Şeref, "Sadık Rıfat Paşa," in *Tarih Söyleşileri*, simplified by Mübeccel Nami Duru (İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1980), 94-108; Ali Fuad, "Rical-i Tanzimattan Rıfat Paşa," *TTEM* (September-October, 1929), I (NS), 1-11; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of the Young Ottoman Thought, Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (N.J: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 175-177; Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968), 215-216; Ali Akyıldız, "Sâdik Rıfat Paşa," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi XXXV* (İstanbul: İSAM, 2008), 400-1.

crises like the Greek War of Independence, the Russian War of 1829, and the Egyptian Question. During these posts he was admired by Pertev Paşa, who became his protector. In 1834 he was appointed as *Âmedi Vekili* (Assistant to the Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs). According to his son, Rauf Paşa's narrative<sup>11</sup>, the rivalry between Pertev and Akif Paşa conducted to his appointment to Vienna as the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in 1837. This duty helped him to shape his ideas at a young age. He wrote his most cited pamphlet, *Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle* (A Pamphlet on the Conditions of Europe), in Vienna.<sup>12</sup> Sadık Rıfat developed his ideas about reforms for Ottoman state formation and its essentials in this period. In his later years he mostly remained loyal to the framework that he formulated in *Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle*.

According to Mardin, the content of the pamphlet and Reşid Paşa's views, as expressed in Tanzimat Rescript are resemble each other because of their stand toward the reorganization of the empire which was all times quite close.<sup>13</sup> He then states that despite the European publicists labeled him "reactionary," he was just more cautious than Reşid in terms of reform policies but he was in the tradition of Turkish reform.<sup>14</sup> Mardin sees a paralellism between the actual reforms carried out in the empire in the first years of Tanzimat and *Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle*. Because the pamphlet and a series of letters which included proposals for governmental reforms were sent to Reşid when he was simultaneously ambassador in London and Minister for Foreign

---

<sup>11</sup> Rauf Paşa, "Introduction," 2-3.

<sup>12</sup> Rıfat Paşa, "III Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle" in *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*, (İstanbul: u.p., 1290): 2-12.

<sup>13</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 177.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Affairs in 1837, about a year and a half before the proclamation of *Gülhane Rescript*.<sup>15</sup> Rıfat was not present in Istanbul when Tanzimat Edict was proclaimed. After his return to Istanbul he was employed in nearly all institutions established during or just before Tanzimat with various titles: *Hariciye Nezareti Müsteşarlığı* (Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs), *Hariciye Nazırlığı* (the Minister for Foreign Affairs), *Meclis-i Vâlâ-i Ahkâm-ı Adliye Üyesi* (Assistant Chairman of the Council of Judicial Ordinances), *Meclis-i Vâlâ-i Ahkâm-ı Adliye Başkanı* (Chairman of the Council of Judicial Ordinances), *Maliye Nazırlığı* (Minister of Finances), and finally *Meclis-i Âli-i Tanzimat Üyesi* (Assistant Chairman to the Council of the Tanzimat Assembly).<sup>16</sup> Sadık Rıfat Paşa died in Istanbul on 16 Cemâziye'l-Âhir 1273 [11 February 1857].

Sadık Rıfat Paşa was a significant statesman and a prolific writer, who was a member of a generation that created the intellectual milieu in which Tanzimat reforms could flourish. During his career he wrote several treatises on various subjects which are closely related to the problems of the day. Sadık Rıfat Paşa's writings were published after his death by his son Rauf Bey (d. 1883). There are two basic editions of his book *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr* (Selected Writings).<sup>17</sup> First publication was in 1859.<sup>18</sup> It was again published in 1874/5.<sup>19</sup> Selected Writings consists of his

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> For the detailed dates of appointments, see Appendix A; English equivalents of the institutions are taken from Mardin, *Genesis*, 175-7.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, prepared by Abdullah Uçman (İstanbul: YKY, 2009), 118.

<sup>18</sup> Prime Ministry Ottoman archive (BOA) IDH 432/2863 28 Şevvâl 1275 [31.05.1859], see Appendix D

<sup>19</sup> Rıfat Paşa, *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 7 volumes (İstanbul: Dikran Karabetyan Matbaası, 1291; Tatyos Divitciyan Matbaası, 1291) cited in Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, "Rical-i Tanzimattan Rıfat Paşa," in *Maruf Simalar*, ed. S. A. Somel and M. Kalpaklı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 171.

*risâles* (pamphlets), *lâyihas* (reports), memories, letters and *Gülbin-i İnşâ*, a literary piece which he wrote in his earlier years.<sup>20</sup> Needless to say he described the major problems of the empire in the first half of the nineteenth century and explained his role as a statesman while the empire was dealing with them. One of his *risâles*, *Ahlâk Risâlesi* (A Pamphlet of Morals) was published in 1847, and used as a textbook in *sıbyan mektepleri* (primary schools) until 1876.<sup>21</sup> One can find different editions of *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr* at various libraries in Istanbul such as Boğaziçi University Library, Istanbul University Merkez Kütüphanesi and Hukuk Fakültesi Kütüphanesi, ISAM and Atatürk Kitaplığı.<sup>22</sup>

### 1.3 Political ideas of Sadık Rıfat Paşa

*Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir* Risâle is regarded both as a *sefaretnâme* (diplomatic report) and *seyahâtname* (travel book).<sup>23</sup> In this pamphlet he describes Europe's civilization

---

<sup>20</sup> Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır*, 122.

<sup>21</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 62.

<sup>22</sup> Please note that different editions may include different number of volumes. The edition we used covers sixteen volumes which can be seen in Appendix B.

<sup>23</sup> Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır*, 119.

by portraying its political mentality,<sup>24</sup> economic principles,<sup>25</sup> thoughts on war,<sup>26</sup> quality of education,<sup>27</sup> science and technique,<sup>28</sup> exhibitions<sup>29</sup> and leisure activities<sup>30</sup>. According to Tanpınar he was the first Ottoman who introduces the concept of *hürriyet* (liberty)<sup>31</sup> to Ottoman literature by using it in *Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle* and other pamphlets.<sup>32</sup> Its main novelty is the consideration of state reformation as a mentality problem and taking ‘human’ as the center of the system that he tried to create.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, Mardin thinks that his emphasis on liberty did not stem from an idea of abstract or excessive liberty; instead his proposal of liberty rather aims to create a convenient environment for economic activities of subjects.<sup>34</sup> Still, Paşa’s emphasis on the superiority of law is shared by both Mardin and Tanpınar. In Rıfat’s system superiority of law is established and arbitrary actions of governors are

---

<sup>24</sup> Rıfat Paşa, “*III Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle*,” 2-4.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>31</sup> Rıfat Paşa uses the expression “*hukûk-ı lâzime-i hürriyet*” in “*III Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle*,” 4. According to Mardin Paşa also was the first person who used the word *serbestiyet* (liberty), a Turkish neologism used instead of the French “*liberté*” Mardin, *Genesis*, 189. See also “*III Avrupa Ahvâline...*,” 5 for the usage of *serbestiyet*.

<sup>32</sup> Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır*, 120. Tanpınar also states that he doesn’t discuss whether this conception was in Islamic states or jurisprudence. But it was firstly introduced to Ottoman intellectual milieu by Sadık Rıfat Paşa when the country really needed it. Mardin goes further and claims that Rıfat Paşa believed that the superiority of law would solve the two main problems of the empire: the security of subjects and government officials. Mardin, *Genesis*, 181-2.

<sup>33</sup> Tanpınar, *XIX Asır*, 119.

<sup>34</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 187-8. Mardin enables this attitude as cameralism which Sadık Rıfat Paşa learnt it from Prince Metternich during his first duty in Vienna as an ambassador.

limited.<sup>35</sup> According to Rıfat Paşa (Bey at that time) Europe's current civilization depends on three pillars: high population, prosperity of the country, security and comfort.<sup>36</sup>

The basis of these necessary matters is the application of liberty as it requires.<sup>37</sup> In addition for him the postulates of the ordinances are three: the ease and the comfort of the subjects and the state; abundance of the treasury; and finally military strength.<sup>38</sup> While belonging to the traditional Turkish reforms, Rıfat Bey introduced novel conceptions and mentalities to this tradition. Thus he created a synthesis. His emphasis on the abundance of treasure comes from the classical Ottoman economic thinking and overlaps mercantilist idea of wealth at the first glance. His stress on military strength also corresponds to classical views but in the first page, he negates unnecessary wars and declares the superiority of diplomacy and negotiation.<sup>39</sup> But his first postulate, we think, signals a mentality shift from classical views. The word *istirahât*<sup>40</sup> reminds the notion of "happiness" and his

---

<sup>35</sup> "idâre-i emr-i hükümetde hukûk-ı millet ve kanûn-ı devlet üzere hareket idüp[...] hiç bir hükümdâr ve vükelâsı dahî ol kanûn-ı mer'îye mugayyir kavî-i hodî ve celb-i nef'î ve def'-i zararı zımnında bir güne hüküm ve idâre idemez" Rıfat Paşa, "III Avrupa Ahvâline...", 5.

<sup>36</sup> Rıfat Paşa, Ibid., 4.

<sup>37</sup> "hukûk-ı lâzime-i hürriyetin kemâ-yenbagi icrâsına merbut olduğundan" Rıfat Paşa, Ibid., 4.

<sup>38</sup> "nizamât-ı mevzû'anın asl-ı esası üç şey-i mühim üzerine müesses olarak biri istirahat-ı tebaa ve mülkiyye[,] ikincisi vefret-i hazîne ve üçüncüsü kuvve-i askeriyye olub" Rıfat Paşa, Ibid., 3.

<sup>39</sup> "dâhilen ve hâricen sebebli ve sebebsiz muharebe kapuları açılmak ya'ni bir fâ'ide-i melhûze için mahazîr-i adîde ihtiyar kılınmak [...] ve ba'zan vesâtıt-ı düveliyye ve tev'em-i seyf olan kuvve-i kalemiyye ile def' ve teskînine çalışılub", Rıfat Paşa, ibid, 3. In addition see "cemî ' zamanda sulh[,] harb üzere müreccah olub[,] husûsiyle i'mârât-ı mülkiyye ise musalaha-i mütemâdiyye ve istirahat-ı kâmile-i tebaa ile hâsıl olduğub", Rıfat Paşa, Ibid., 2.

<sup>40</sup> İstirahât: rest, reposing, taking or enjoying one's ease; make someone comfortable, take one's ease. James Redhouse. *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, (İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1994), 558.

emphasis on *akl* (reason)<sup>41</sup> and *ilerüleme*<sup>42</sup> (progress) includes a western content which probably originated from the Enlightenment.

On the other hand Rıfat Paşa makes references to religion in the beginning of *Zeyl-i Risâle-i Ahlâk* (An Addendum to the Pamphlet of Morals) which was written as advices to government officials.<sup>43</sup> Besides we see a continuation of the classical tradition through his understanding of the state mechanism: *dâire-i adalet* (circle of justice).<sup>44</sup> The concept shows itself in *İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasiyesini Mutazammın Risâle* (A Pamphlet on the Essential Canons of Governmentality) which is treated as a classical *siyasetnâme* (political advise) and had written a short time before the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict.<sup>45</sup>

The combined form, which is called state, is nothing but well functioning justice and conciliatory powers. The persistence of each state and government depends upon justice, and its downfall results from injustice and ill-doing. Justice is the essence of each state[...] Governments are formed for people.

---

41 “mukteza-yı ‘akla tatbikan” Rıfat Paşa, *ibid*, 6; “‘ulûm-ı nakliyyeden mâ’adâ ‘ulûm-ı ‘akliyyeden olan hikmet,” Rıfat Paşa, *Ibid.*, 8. Sadık Rıfat Paşa also emphasises the importance of reason: “her umûrda evvel emirde ihtimâlât-ı ‘akliyye mülâhâza ve tefekkür iderek,” Rıfat Paşa, “XV Zeyl-i Risâle-i Ahlâk,” in *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*, (İstanbul: u.p., 1290) 22; “mukteza-yı ‘aklı terk ile hevâ-yı nefse ittiba‘ iden kişi nedâmetten sâlim olmaz[.] ‘Akl nefse gâlip oldukça refah ve rahat vücûd-ı hâsıl olur [...] her şeyin bir mahâlli vardır[.] ‘aklın mahâlli ise nâs ile mecâlisidir,” 27 and “insanı hayra meyl ettirici üç şey vardır[.] Biri tab‘iat ve diğeri ülfet ve birisi dahi ‘akıldır,” “XV Zeyl-i Risâle...,” 38.

42 “ve bu vesîle ile derûn-ı memleketlerinde sene be sene sanâyi‘in ne mertebe ilerilediği anlaşılır,” “III Avrupa...,” 9 and “kuvvet ve şevketlerinin ilerülemesi” *Ibid.*, 4.

43 “Kişi [...] her şeyden ziyâde i‘tikâd-ı diniyye ve usûl-ı mezhebiyesine kemâliyle i‘timâd ve ri‘ayet ve muvazib etmelidir” “XV Zeyl-i Risâle-i...,” 2.

44 The circle of justice is expressed with these words: “It is justice that maintains peace in the world. The world is a garden and its fence is the state. The order of the state is religious law (sharia). There is no better guardian for religious law than authority. Authority cannot be maintained without an army. An army cannot be instituted without wealth. Wealth cannot be obtained except through the producing subjects. The subjects serve the just ruler obediently.” Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*. Edited by Mustafa Koç (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2007), 529 cited by Fatih Ermiş, *A History of Ottoman Economic Thought Developments before the Nineteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 69. For a review see Meltem Toksöz, “Book Review.” Review of A History of Ottoman Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century, *Boğaziçi Journal Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, Vol. 28, no. 1 (2014): 115-120.

45 Mümtaz’er Türköne, “Tanzimat Fermanı...,” 283.

People are not created for governments.<sup>46</sup>

Mardin claims that Rıfat Paşa used this classical-Ottoman circle of justice thinking in order to clothe his new ideas and aimed to make them more acceptable in the eyes of his audiences.<sup>47</sup> Since Mardin cannot reconcile these “new” (e.g. the superiority of law) and classical conceptions, he decides to interpret Paşa’s contradictory views. Mardin also implies that Rıfat Paşa’s views have a secular tone. He firstly claims that Tanzimat Edict has a secular approach,<sup>48</sup> and then sees commonalities between Rıfat’s writings and the Rescript.<sup>49</sup> And finally he asserts that Rıfat Paşa’s proposals aimed “to make sultan the source of law, respect fundamental statues of a lay<sup>50</sup> charter.” Somel on the other hand, argues that the apparent inconsistencies of the Tanzimat reformers, like Sadık Rıfat Paşa, might be located as harmonious structures in their world.<sup>51</sup> For instance Islam was a natural component of their mentality thus they did not see a controversy between Islam and modernization.<sup>52</sup> The three parameters which highlighted by Pamuk in order to analyze the longevity of the Ottoman Empire would help us in this case: flexibility, pragmatism and negotiation.<sup>53</sup> According to Pamuk Ottomans were flexible and

---

<sup>46</sup> Rıfat Paşa, “XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasiyesini Mutazammın Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Kaleme Aldığı Risâledir,” in *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa* (İstanbul: u.p., 1290), 42 with Fatih Ermiş’s translation Ibid., 124.

<sup>47</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 181.

<sup>48</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 169.

<sup>49</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 177.

<sup>50</sup> Lay (adj) not ordained into or belonging to the clergy. Origin Middle English from old French lai. New Oxford American Dictionary, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>51</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel. “Osmanlılarda İslamiyet ve Modernleşme -Eğitim Tarihi Bakımından Kısa Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme-,” *Türkiye Günlüğü* 58 (November-December 1999): 117.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Şevket Pamuk, “Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35 (2004), 228.

pragmatic well before the nineteenth century reforms.<sup>54</sup> During the nineteenth century, the central bureaucracy reserved most of its pragmatism and flexibility for the defense of its traditional order of for the survival of the state.<sup>55</sup>

Consequently, in the light of this information, we may assume that Rıfat Paşa's apparent inconsistency firstly might not be a problem in his mentality and secondly introducing "new" approaches to the traditional political view was a kind of pragmatist and flexible attempt in order to ensure the survival of the state. Consciously or unconsciously he made a synthesis, or may be collage, but probably a meaningful integrity in his own eyes.<sup>56</sup>

#### 1.4 A short remark on Cameralism

Mardin asserts that Rıfat Paşa's over-all characterization of ideas cannot fit 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 state of economic welfare and national strength, from the government's point of view, imposed on the people by law.*<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>56</sup> "Umûr-ı i'tidal daima hayrû'l umûr olan evsat halidir." "XV Zeyl-i Risâle-i....," 14 that is to say, moderate matters are always middles which are good.

<sup>57</sup> Herman Finer, *The Governments of European Powers* (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), 283-4 cited by Şerif Mardin, *Genesis*, 188.

Indeed cameralism was a specific version of mercantilism, taught and practiced in German lands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>58</sup> The central emphasis of cameralism indicates the political and economic circumstances and problems of the German territories.<sup>59</sup> It was also regarded as a science and targeted to govern an autonomous territory efficiently and justly via financial procedures aimed to fill the state's treasury.<sup>60</sup> Economic policy, legislation, administration and public finance are its matters should be deal with.<sup>61</sup>

In the age of enlightened absolutism, German-Austrian cameralism, based on a natural-law philosophy, stressed the paternalistic character of the governments' centralized fiscal policy, a regulator for development which was to serve the general happiness of the subjects.<sup>62</sup>

The practical policy of cameralism focused on the development of a country which had been devastated and depopulated in the Thirty Years' War.<sup>63</sup> Under these unusual circumstances political and bureaucratic elites endeavored to reconstruct the economic structures of the country by an active population policy, the establishment of state manufactures and banks, the extension of infrastructure (canals, bridges, harbours and roads) and the promotion of modernization.<sup>64</sup> It strictly regulated the contemporary important agricultural sector, as well as trade and commerce.<sup>65</sup> Keith

---

<sup>58</sup> Reckenwald, H. C. "Cameralism" in *The New Palgrave A Dictionary of Economics*. Volume 1. Edited by John Eatwell et al. (London: The Macmillian, 1987), 313.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 314.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

Tribe announced the termination of cameralism took place by the 1820s which according to him, could be related to the expansion of Smithian ideals.<sup>66</sup>

### 1.5 A short remark on classical political economy

As Polanyi has argued, during the ancient times economic affairs were embedded in the other social activities. According to him, before the nineteenth century economy could be explained with the concepts of change, reciprocity and redistribution.<sup>67</sup> For this reason ancient thinkers, such as Aristotle, approached to economic matters with a holistic way.

Historians of economic thought accept the publication of Adam Smith (1723-1790)'s *magnum opus*, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) as the beginning of classical political economy which refers to an era from 1750 to 1870.<sup>68</sup> The gradual establishment of classical political economy in Europe provided the differentiation of the mentality in a Polanyi-esque sense. Smith's three main contributions to economy were division of labour, invisible hand and *laissez faire* principles. According to Smith the source of wealth is no longer the precious metals in treasury but a stock of income-producing, human and non-human capital, and as a flow of real income.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Keith Tribe. *Strategies of Economic Order German Economic Discourse, 1750-1950*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 25. For a discussion on the impact of Smithian views to cameralism see David F. Lindenfeld. *The Practical Imagination: The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 59.

<sup>67</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001).

<sup>68</sup> Denis P. O'Brien "Classical Economics" In *A Companion to the History of Economic Thought*. Edited by Warrwn J. Samuels et al. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 113.

<sup>69</sup> Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Volume II, edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1981), 678-9 cited by Charles Sackrey et al. *Introduction to Political Economy* (Boston: Economic Affairs Bureau, 2010), 28.

Political economy proposes two objects: to provide plentiful revenue for people and to supply the state with a revenue sufficient for public services. Thus it aims the enrichment of people and sovereign.<sup>70</sup> Adam Smith is also known for his opposition to mercantilist policies. He believes that growth was slow because of the oppressive interventions by the adverse mercantilist policies of the day.<sup>71</sup> For him they could be provided through free-market order. He points three features of this self-regulating system, or in today's words classical model:

1. Freedom: individuals have the right to produce and exchange products, labour and capital;
2. Competition: individuals have the right to compete in the production and exchange of goods and services;
3. Justice: according to the rules of society the actions of individuals must be just and honest.<sup>72</sup>

Jean-Baptiste Say (1767-1832) was a significant figure in the field of economics whose ideas flourished in a lifetime of political changes in France. He witnessed the French Revolution, the Reign of Terror, Bonaparte's Empire and the restoration of the monarchy. He has reputation because of introducing Adam Smith's views to France. His well-known work, his *Traité d'économie politique* was formulated as a shorter and more systematic presentation of economics than Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.<sup>73</sup> Say contended that peace is the source of the wealth of nations and wars are impoverishing even for the victor.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 428 cited by Sackrey, *Political Economy*, 28.

<sup>71</sup> Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*. Edited by R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein (Indianapolis Liberty Press/Liberty Classics, 1982), 331, 521 and *Wealth of Nations*, 643 cited by Sackrey, *Political Economy*, 32.

<sup>72</sup> Mark Skousen. *The Big Three in Economics: Adam Smith Karl Marks and John Maynard Keynes*. (New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 18.

<sup>73</sup> Thomas Sowell, "Say, Jean-Baptiste" in *The New Palgrave A Dictionary of Economics*, volume 4, edited by John Eatwell et al. London: The Macmillian Press, 1987), 249.

<sup>74</sup> Evelyn L. Forget, *The Social Economics of Jean-Baptiste Say Markets and virtue* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 17.

Nassau William Senior (1790-1864) was not only an important political economist in his time but also has a significant place for our study because of his journey to Istanbul and his connections to Ottoman governing elites in the autumn of 1857. Senior, like Say, was against applying the principles of political economy without the maximum care, a broad and comprehensive knowledge of the facts applying to any case in agenda.<sup>75</sup>

Pellegrino Rossi (1787-1848)'s *Cours d'économie politique* (1838–54) is regarded as a diluted Ricardianist plus a little Sayist.<sup>76</sup> We mention his name here because of his role in terms of the diffusion of the classical political economic ideas to Ottoman lands.

## 1.6 Concluding remarks

Sadık Rıfat Paşa was one of the statesmen among the reformers in his time. He is regarded as the one who had written the drafts of the Tanzimat Edict by some scholars. His approach to state mechanism and reform proposals demonstrate a novelty. But at the same time he continued some basic concepts of classical Ottoman tradition. This synthesis or collage is a matter of interest. After trying to give the structure of his political thoughts and basic reform proposals we shortly summarized some basic features of cameralism and classical political economy. While doing these, we selected the information which is convenient for our thesis. In the second

---

<sup>75</sup> N. De Marchi, "Senior, Nassau William" in *The New Palgrave A Dictionary of Economics*, volume 4, edited by John Eatwell, et al. (London: The Macmillian Press, 1987), 303-5.

<sup>76</sup> Joseph A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 486.

chapter we will describe the nineteenth century Ottoman economic thought. Before that we will shortly touch on classical economic thinking.

## CHAPTER 2

### OTTOMAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

#### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will make a very general description of the evolution of the Ottoman economic thought in the nineteenth century. The first section will give a short summary of Ottoman economic thought before the nineteenth century. Then in the following sub-sections we will try to portray a picture of the modernizing economic thought. The five sub-sections are like that: the beginnings, the way to economics as a western concept, first books on economics, diffusion and popularization of economic knowledge, then finally Hamidian era, liberalism versus protectionism. We will not aim to give all details, instead we tried to sketch a general framework to understand Sadık Rıfat Paşa's position in terms of economic thought.

#### 2.2 Ottoman economic thought before the nineteenth century

The Ottoman Empire (1299-1923) was a successful precedent of the multiple state traditions at the crossroads of the Orient and Occident.<sup>77</sup> Examination of the written works of the Ottoman thinkers and bureaucrats gives the impression that the

---

<sup>77</sup> Halil İncelik, "Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in Kutadgu Bilig," in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1993), 14-15.

Ottomans planned to establish a synthesis of Orient and Occident using the experiences of the all previous states and civilizations which they knew.<sup>78</sup>

The very essence of Ottoman economic thought could be searched for in the components of this particular synthesis. Aristotle was one of the basic sources of Ottoman classical economic thought, and the structure of the *ilm-i tedbir-i menzil* (Ottoman household economy) concept was adapted from Greek philosophy and combined with some Iranian traditions.<sup>79</sup> In general terms, Islam, Sufism, Byzantine, Abbasid, Seljuk, Iranian and Mongolian traditions had various impacts on Ottoman economic thought during classical era. According to Ermiş, even though Ottomans did not hesitate to absorb the features of the non-Islamic civilizations into this synthesis, the chief framework was constructed by the principles of Islam.<sup>80</sup> For him, Islam was not understood as a revolution in human history by Ottomans, but they regarded it as a continuity with the previous centuries.<sup>81</sup> Contrary to Ermiş's claims, it seems Ottomans did not always remain loyal to Islamic principles, at least on economic practices such as *narh* (price ceiling), *tağşiş* (debasement) and *müsadere* (confiscation).

During the classical period, economic life was regarded as a part of a greater whole which also covered the political and military domains. Because the 'economic' was embedded in the 'social'<sup>82</sup> "in Polanyi-esque terminology, a circular notion of social life that linked the fortunes of producers, middlemen and the military

---

<sup>78</sup> Ermiş, *Ottoman Economic Thought*, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*.

survived until the advent of modernity.”<sup>83</sup> In this context, economic matters were not regarded isolated from other aspects of social life. Separate analysis of the economic affairs is a modern undertaking and it is just one of the possible approaches to economic activities.<sup>84</sup>

The ideas about economic matters could be traced in political, social and religious writings in Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century. It is possible to find economic ideas in chronicles, *risâles* (pamphlets), *siyasetnâmes* (political treatises), *lâyihas* (reports), *sefaretnâmes* (the diplomatic reports) or *hatt-ı hümayuns* (imperial edicts).<sup>85</sup> While evaluating the economic thought of Ottomans before the nineteenth century, Polanyi’s substantive definition of economics could be a useful starting point.<sup>86</sup> Polanyi compares the formal and substantive definitions of economics. Formal definition of economics which still finds a place in textbooks emerged from the “logical character of the means-ends relationship, as in *economizing* or *economical*; from this meaning springs the scarcity definition *economic*.”<sup>87</sup> Formal meaning of economics had shaped gradually after the publication of *The Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith in 1776. So, economics is now considered as a science that analyzes the production and distribution activities of scarce resources among different areas of usages in order to serve the unlimited needs or wants of humans. And this definition can only contribute to understand the

---

<sup>83</sup> Eyüp Özveren, “Ottoman Economic Thought and Economic Policy in Transition: Rethinking the Nineteenth Century,” *Economic Thought and Policy in Less Developed Europe, The Nineteenth Century*. Edited by Michalis Psalidopoulos and Maria Eugénia Mata (London: Routledge, 2002), 129.

<sup>84</sup> Ermiş, *Ottoman Economic Thought*, 2.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Karl Polanyi, *Livelihood of Man*, edited by Harry W. Pearson (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 19; Ermiş, Ibid.

economic process in capitalistic or market societies.<sup>88</sup> It is possible to think that Ottomans' approach to economy can fit Polanyi's framework. Therefore, since they did not regard economy as a separate, theoretical "science" they did not leave individual writings on economy.

On the other hand, substantive meaning of economics originates from human beings' primary characteristic that they "cannot exist for any length of time without a physical environment that sustains them."<sup>89</sup> According to Polanyi the two definitions have nothing in common.<sup>90</sup> Besides, only the substantive meaning of "economic" has the ability to produce the concepts that are essential to the social sciences for an inquiry of all the empirical economies of the past and present.<sup>91</sup> This point may help us to criticize Sayar's stand toward Ottoman economic thought in pre-nineteenth century. Sayar seems to accept the formal definition of economics (with the terminology of Polanyi) absolute and try to find the rational economic knowledge that they should have produced.<sup>92</sup> According to Sayar the causes for this "problem" can be found in the relationship of religion and economy.<sup>93</sup> For Sayar the basic reason for their "failures" was that they were not able to produce capitalist

---

<sup>88</sup> Ayşe Buğra, *İktisatçılar ve İnsanlar: Bir Yöntem Çalışması* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 48.

<sup>89</sup> Polanyi, *Livelihood*, 19; Ermiş, *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Polanyi, *Ibid.*; Ermiş, *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Karl Polanyi, edited by Conrad M. Arensberg, Harry W. Pearson (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 244; Ermiş, *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>92</sup> "When the land regime acts together with confiscation and tax systems, the resulting panorama did not enable the creation of economic knowledge." Ahmed Güner Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması, Klasik Dönemden II. Abdülhamid'e* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2009), 75; with Ermiş's translation *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>93</sup> "It becomes clear why the Ottomans could not catch up and achieve rational economic life, and why they made no attempts to cultivate economic knowledge. To put it briefly, 'the cumbersome and awkward mentality' based on land [distribution, ownership, structure and production] was a combination brought about by accusal interaction of religion and economy." Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin*, 159; with Ermiş's translation *Ibid.* 9.

knowledge in their country.<sup>94</sup> For him Ottomans' inability to produce "rational" economic knowledge perhaps might be found in their fidelity to Aristotle's approach to economic matters.<sup>95</sup> Ermiş touches on Sayar's problematic approach and even thought did not put in exact words; he implied that Sayar adopted this approach from his mentor Sabri Ülgener.<sup>96</sup>

As it is mentioned, Aristotle's thoughts were influential before the nineteenth century in Ottoman lands. So it is beneficial to mention his stand in Western world and Ottoman Empire briefly. Aristotle (385 BC-322 BC) is one of the ancient thinkers whose ideas had a serious influence not only in Western world but also in Ottoman lands before modernization. Schumpeter (1883-1950), an eminent economist and political scientist, claims that Aristotle had not contributed to economy like he did to politics, and defined his effort as a failure.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand Polanyi criticizes his contemporaries' approach to Aristotle's writings on

---

<sup>94</sup> "To put it in exact words, we cannot observe a process of development of capitalism, neither in the classical economic system of the Ottomans, nor during the transition period leading up to the Tanzimat era. Why was the development of capitalism not able to start during these periods?" Sayar, *Ibid.*, 129; with Ermiş's translation, *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>95</sup> "The scholars (mederse) did not manage to give a new direction to economics, which was frozen within the narrow borders of the Aristotelian approach of household economy (ilm-i tedbir-i menzil)." Sayar, *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>96</sup> Sabri Ülgener adapted conceptual framework of German Historical to Ottoman economic mentality. Especially Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* was his inspiration. As Weber explained the emergence of capitalism within the framework of Protestant ethic, Ülgener took Tasavvuf (Sufizm) as an obstacle in front of the capitalist development in Ottoman lands before nineteenth century. Ermiş, *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>97</sup> "Aristotle's performance is quite different. It is not only that in his works Platonic glamour is conspicuous by its absence, and that instead we find (if such a thing may be said without offense of so great a figure) decorous, pedestrian, slightly mediocre, and more than slightly pompous common sense." Schumpeter, *Ibid.*, 54; "Aristotle not only distinguished value in use and value in exchange as clearly as did any later writer but he also perceived that the latter phenomenon derives somehow from the former. But in itself this is not only common sense but also commonplace, and further than this he did not advance. His failure to do so was made good by the later scholastics, who are entitled to the credit for having developed the theory of price which he himself cannot be said to have had [...] Preoccupation with the ethics of pricing, as the example of the later scholastics suffices to show, is precisely one of the strongest motives a man can possibly have for analyzing actual market mechanisms. Several passages show, as a matter of fact, that Aristotle tried to do so and failed." Schumpeter, *Ibid.*, 57; Karl Polanyi "Aristotle Discovers the Economy" In *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi*. Edited by George Dalton (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books Doubleday & Company, INC, 1968), 65, 94. Buğra, *Ibid.*, 46.

economic matters, including Schumpeter, by saying, “his teachings are judged inadequate by the leading spirits of the time to the point of irrelevance.”<sup>98</sup> He then states that “Aristotle’s influence on medieval city economy exerted through Thomas Aquinas was as great as later of Adam Smith and David Ricardo on the nineteenth century world economy. Naturally with the actual establishment of the market system and the subsequent rise of the classical schools, Aristotle’s doctrines on the subject went into eclipse.”<sup>99</sup> Like in the Western world, Aristotle’s prevalence in the Eastern world demonstrated a similar path. In the Islamic world, the writings of Aristotle were translated into Arabic, by philosophers such as Al-Kindi (801 BC-873 BC), Al-Farabi (872 BC-959 BC), Avicenna (980 BC-1037) and Averroes (1126-1198), Aristotelianism became a crucial part of early Islamic philosophy. We can examine Aristotle’s influence on economic thoughts in the classical era of Ottoman Empire through the *magnum opus* of Kınalızade Ali Çelebi (1510/11-1572), *Ahlâk-ı Alâî* (The Highest Morals). Kınalızade Ali Çelebi was a prominent thinker in his time and his more than twenty works had a significant impact on Ottomans’ world view in various aspects<sup>100</sup> until the late nineteenth century.<sup>101</sup> *Ahlâk-ı Alâî* is a book of morals which consists of three main chapters. The second chapter which includes the economic subjects, titled as *Risâle-i Ahlâk-ı Alâyi’den İlm-i Tedbirü’l Menzil Beyânındadır* (From the Pamphlet of the Highest Morals the Household Management). The expression “*Tedbir-i Menzil*” was the translation of the Greek

---

<sup>98</sup> Polanyi, “Aristotle Discovers...,” 65.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> For Kınalızade Ali Çelebi’s life and works see Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay, *Kınalızâde Ali Efendi ve Ahlâk-ı Alâî* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2005) and Mustafa Koç, “Giriş,” in Kınalızade Ali Çelebi. *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*. Edited by Mustafa Koç, 1-26 (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2007).

<sup>101</sup> For Kınalızade’s influence on Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi see Şerif Mardin, *Genesis*, 99, 180, 368.

word *oikonomia* (household management).<sup>102</sup> Since Aristotle discussed his thoughts on economic matters under the term of *oikonomia*, we can claim that his influence on Islamic world and Ottomans was not limited to philosophy or politics.<sup>103</sup>

Kınalızade Ali Çelebi takes the house as the smallest unit of economy. He firstly discusses why human beings need houses. He then tells the roles of father, mother and children. Servants occupy an important place in his analysis. He offers a paternalistic division of labour in household.<sup>104</sup>

Historians of economic thought generally accept the publication of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) as the emergence of modern economics as an independent field of scientific analysis. Surprisingly Smith's mentor Francis Hutcheson (1694-1747) whom he influenced by in terms of moral philosophy, discussed economy within the context of marriage, divorce, relationship between masters and servants in the third chapter of his book *An Inquiry of Moral Philosophy* (1742). As a follower of Polanyi, Moses Finley states that Hutcheson dealt with the subjects on economics like his contemporaries.<sup>105</sup> In conclusion, even in the eighteenth century the concept of economics could be evaluated in Polanyi-esque terminology in western world. In the light of this information it is not reasonable to search for a kind of "rational" economic knowledge that fits modern conceptions like Sayar did.

---

<sup>102</sup> Niyazi Berkes, "Ekonomik Tarih ile Teori İlişkileri Açısından Türkiye'de Ekonomik Düşünün Evrimi," in *Türkiye'de Üniversitelerde Okutulan İktisat Üzerine*, edited by Fikret Görün (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1972), 47.

<sup>103</sup> Ermiş, *Ottoman Economic Thought*, 81-4.

<sup>104</sup> Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, *Ahlak-ı Alâî*, 327.

<sup>105</sup> Ayşe Buğra, *İktisatçılar ve İnsanlar*, 45.

When it comes to classical era, Kafadar states that Ottoman bureaucrats were aware of internal and external economic challenges in the sixteenth century, even though they did not formulate their thoughts in modern economic terms.<sup>106</sup> Pamuk also asserts that Ottomans interested on economic matters in classical era. He also expresses that Ottomans were more interventionist to economy according to Islamic medieval states. Furthermore they often imposed and implemented laws or rules on economy which were contradictory to Islamic rules.<sup>107</sup>

Mehmet Genç formulated the basic pillars of pre-nineteenth century economic world view of Ottomans as provisionism, traditionalism and fiscalism.<sup>108</sup> Mehmet Genç clarifies his views on the dissolution of these three principles through the nineteenth century. For him traditionalism was the first concept that was discredited by Ottomans.<sup>109</sup> In 1859 this “idea was accepted as indefinite.”<sup>110</sup> Provisionism was started to dissolve gradually in the 1840s and after the 1860s it was wiped out slowly.<sup>111</sup> Finally fiscalism was started to loosen its rigidity and became flexible in the years mentioned above.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Cemal Kafadar, “When Coins Turned into Drops of Dew and Bankers Became Robbers of Shadows: The Boundaries of Ottoman Economic Imagination at the End of the Sixteenth Century” (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1986).; Deniz Taner Kılınçoğlu, “The Political Economy of Ottoman Modernity: Ottoman Economic Thought during the Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)” (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2012), 37.

<sup>107</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 55.

<sup>108</sup> Mehmet Genç, “Osmanlı İktisadi Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri,” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2012), 45-54.

<sup>109</sup> Mehmet Genç, “Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün Klasik Prensiplerindeki Değişmeler,” *Divan Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, 6 (1999/1): 5.

<sup>110</sup> Mehmet Genç, “Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı İktisadî,” 5.

<sup>111</sup> Mehmet Genç, *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>112</sup> Mehmet Genç, *Ibid.*, 7.

In short, Ottomans' conception of economy was not correspond with the one established by the publication of *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776. According to Polanyi before its publication, economy was not regarded as a separate discipline, but economic knowledge were embedded in other social relations. Taking this approach as a focal point, Ottomans' contribution to economy could be understood better. As stated by Ermiş, Ottomans created a synthesis of Western and Eastern legacies by adopting them in the sphere of Islam. Aristotle has a significant place in this synthesis, like he has in Western world. Aristotle's contribution to political science or philosophy is appreciated by all scholars. However, when it comes to economy, Schumpeter claims that he did not contribute to economy. Polanyi criticized Schumpeter's approach and explained Aristotle's stand toward economy in the framework that he established. We can see Aristotle's influence on the conception of economy via the magnum opus of Kınalızade's *Ahlâk-ı Alâ-y-i*. Since Kınalızade's work affected on Ottoman intellectuals until the nineteenth century, it is possible to think that the conception of economy in a Polanyi-esque sense had affected Ottomans, or at least was at stage until the time mentioned above. When it comes to pre-nineteenth century, Kafadar and Pamuk assert that Ottomans were aware of economy. Pamuk states that they pursued interventionist economic policies and made laws contrary to Islamic principles while regulating economic relations. As known Genç constructs the economic mentality of the classical era on three principles: traditionalism, provisionism and fiscalism. Genç's principles seem to help to understand Ottomans' conception of economy at least at state's level. As Genç explained, the existence of these principles gradually disappeared in the nineteenth century. In the last chapter we will discuss whether Sadık Rıfat's economic thoughts

correspond to those in classical era. Now we can move on the evaluation of Ottoman economic thought in the nineteenth century. Please note that we will not try to give all details but try to portray a general picture in order to contextualize Sadık Rıfat Paşa's thoughts on economy.

## 2.3 Ottoman economic thought in the nineteenth century

### 2.3.1 The beginnings (c.1789 - c.1838)

The transmission of western economic thought to Ottoman Empire was a long process. Several transmission channels were highlighted in order to evaluate the diffusion of these ideas:

1 The economic knowledge of the Ottoman merchants who worked in European countries.<sup>113</sup>

2 *Sefaretnâmes* (the diplomatic reports) which were written by Ottoman diplomats.<sup>114</sup>

Ottoman statesmen's ideas especially those who served outside of the Ottoman lands.<sup>115</sup>

3 *Islahat Lâyihaları* (reports for reforms) of the Ottoman statesmen.<sup>116</sup>

4 Foreign diplomats' studies and ideas who were appointed in Ottoman Empire.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat*, 171.

<sup>114</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>115</sup> Coşkun Çakır, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesi," in *Osmanlı Medeniyeti*, edited by Coşkun Çakır (İstanbul: Klâsik Yayınları, 2005), 92.

<sup>116</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>117</sup> Çakır, "Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesi," 92.

5 Newspapers and magazines.<sup>118</sup>

6 Original writings and translations/adaptations/rewritings.<sup>119</sup>

In the Ottoman Empire, economy or economics has commenced to include a Western content with Tanzimat era.<sup>120</sup> As might be expected, some texts were written to offer economic solutions about contemporary problems before this period. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Katip Çelebi (1609-1657) and Koçi Bey (d. c.1650), in the eighteenth century Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa (d. 1717) and various statesmen wrote *risâles* (pamphlets) about the degeneration of Ottoman Institutions.<sup>121</sup> From the early years of the seventeenth century it was emphasized that the underlying cause of the social and administrative problems were economic.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless it was also recommended that the solution is to return to the old laws and methods. Until the reign of Selim III old methods had implemented.

The reformist sultan Selim III (r. 1761-1876) demanded comprehensive reports from several statesmen about the contemporary problems of the Empire. The advices came into two categories: “those advocating a return to the practices of the golden age of the Ottoman Empire, and those embracing reform through the emulation of contemporary Europe.”<sup>123</sup> Some of these statesmen, for instance Süleyman Penah Efendi (1740-1785), Tatarcık Abdullah Molla and Mehmed Şerif

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Çakır, Ibid., 92.

<sup>120</sup> Çakır, Ibid., 89.

<sup>121</sup> Yaşar Zorlu, “Sadık Rıfat Paşa’nın Toplum ve Devlet Görüşü,” (M.A. Thesis, Sakarya University, 1997), 175-6.

<sup>122</sup> Şerif Mardin, “Türkiye’de İktisadî Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1938-1918),” in *Siyasal ve Sosyal Bilimler Makaleler* 2, edited by Mümtaz’er Türköne and Tuncay Önder (İstanbul: İletişim, 1990), 45; Sayar, Ibid., 167.

<sup>123</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 42; Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 44.

Efendi, laid stress on financial issues, and proposed a systematic and inclusive reform for the financial and administrative tools of the Ottoman state.<sup>124</sup> Another important statesman, Ebubekir Ratip Efendi (1750-1799) who was appointed as an ambassador to Vienna in 1791 by sultan Selim III, brought up the idea of “increasing the national product.”<sup>125</sup>

Sayar claims that, the several imperial decrees with an economic content which had issued by Selim III demonstrate an implicit liberal approach.<sup>126</sup> In order to confirm Sayar’s claims, we think, further researches should be conducted on these writings. But we can say that during the period between 1789 and 1838 *sefaretnâmes* and *lâyihâs* of the several statesmen played a significant role introducing economic ideas which were western oriented.

### 2.3.2 The way to economics as a western concept (c.1838-c.1850)

British diplomats David Urquhart (1805-1877), Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), Lord Ponsoby (1770-1855) and Lord Stratford Canning (1786-1880) had serious impacts on Ottoman statesman and intellectuals in Tanzimat Period to transmit liberal economic thoughts. On the other hand the newspapers, which had an impact on various statesmen and even the *Bâb-ı Âli* (the Sublime Port) had commenced to advocate liberal economic ideas starting from 1820s. In 1820s, *Le Spectateur Oriental* (then *Le Smyreen*), which was published in Smyrna (*İzmir*) incorporated

---

<sup>124</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>125</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>126</sup> Please note that Sayar makes a reference to Ahmet Cevdet Paşa’s *History* (volume VI p. 70) to support his argument see Sayar, *Ibid.*, 183. Kılınçoğlu states that Sayar’s interpretation conflicts with Quataert’s periodization that he defined the pre-1826 period as a protectionist era. Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 45.

many articles on economic issues. After Alexandre Blacque Bey (1792-1836)<sup>127</sup> purchased the newspaper it served as a channel of transmission for liberal economic ideas.<sup>128</sup> He played a more active and permanent role to transmit liberal thoughts to Ottoman Lands than Urquhart.<sup>129</sup> Koloğlu thinks that Urquhart was encouraged because of the campaigns of Blacque Bey.<sup>130</sup> Subsequently, Blacque Bey appointed to issue the French version of the first Ottoman newspaper, *Takvîm-i Vekâyî*, under the name *Le Moniteur Ottoman*.<sup>131</sup> *Takvîm-i Vekâyî* was the official newspaper of the state, and composed of the documents and declarations sent out by state. However the translation of it, *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, included an unofficial section which was later became as a venue for the Blacque-Urquhart version of economic liberalism.<sup>132</sup> With the sudden death of Blacque Bey in 1836, the stage was completely occupied by British diplomats.<sup>133</sup> David Urquhart was the most famous and influential one who served in the Ottoman Empire in the early 1830s. During this time he wrote a book on the economic conditions and political organization of Turkey, titled *Turkey and Its Resources*.<sup>134</sup> In this book and his articles in the *Le*

---

<sup>127</sup> Alexander Helvetius George was born in Paris and became a lawyer in Paris. He came to Izmir in 1824 and after this year worked as merchant and lawyer. According to Koloğlu he advocated Ottoman Empire's interests and died in Malta suddenly. While he was advocating liberal political ideas in Ottoman Empire he also criticized European states' positions towards Ottomans. Orhan Koloğlu "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Liberal Ekonominin Savunucusu: Blacque (Blak) Bey (1792-1836)," *Tarih ve Toplum*, volume 10, number 57 (1988): 15-19.

<sup>128</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 189-190; Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>129</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 190; Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> Koloğlu, *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>131</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*; Kılınçoğlu *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> David Urquhart, *Turkey and Its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade, the State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, Its Revenue and National Possessions* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1833).

*Moniteur Ottoman*, he proposed that the Ottoman Empire should be a supplier of raw materials and an importer of industrial goods. This idea was based on the Ricardian theory of comparative advantage, and similar policies were advocated by the British policy-makers to all peripheral countries.<sup>135</sup> Urquhart's campaigns ensured a theoretical basis for economic liberalization of the Ottoman domestic market and mainly after the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Convention (Baltalimanı Treaty) was signed, his ideas were realized.<sup>136</sup> Sayar defines all these British diplomats as *mutavassitat* (middlemen or intermediaries) in the Ottoman Empire who introduced the idea of economic liberalism to Ottomans in the first instance.<sup>137</sup> We agree with Sayar in this sense, because after the industrial revolution, with the help of new techniques, England's economy grew rapidly. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, England started to find free-trade partners in order to access new markets. Ottoman Empire was one of its targets and England's growing interest on the empire led British diplomats to pursue a free trade policy in Ottoman lands.

William Churchill was another intermediary in the 1840s in the Ottoman Empire. He was a representative of some English merchants in Constantinople at that time. Churchill published a newspaper entitled *Ceride-i Havadis*, in which he

---

<sup>135</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Sayar, Ibid., 43. Urquhart's own words confirm Sayar's claims. In a letter that he wrote to The Duke of Wellington in 5 February 1835, he says, "The augmentation of the Commerce with England to a very great extent the emancipation of Turkey from all monopolies & the reduction of duties in England which without benefit to the revenue greatly diminish our consumption of Turkish produce the giving to England the right of interfering in the internal commercial system of Turkey - and the establishment of a uniform system of free trade which struck at the root of Mehemet ali's power. But these results are only obtained and could only be obtained under the conviction that it was the intention of the British Government to maintain the independence of Turkey a conviction nourished by the known opinion of his Majesty's ambassador[.]" (Underlines were made in the original text) TNA F.O. 78 Turkey H. Mandeville David Urquhart, 1835, page 43. See also Appendix G.

advocated liberal economic thoughts by the pen of Armenian writers.<sup>138</sup> According to Churchill Ottoman Empire was an agriculture based country which has very vast and fertile lands. If these lands cultivate effectively, the Empire would be a good importer of agricultural products. Since it has not enough levels of technical knowledge and qualified labour, financial institutions, market and infrastructure it needed to purchase industrial products from foreign countries. With these advices, Churchill must have thought that while the currency of English goods would increase in Ottoman lands, England could purchase raw material from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>139</sup> Three significant names should be mentioned while regarding their contribution to economic knowledge in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century: Sadık Rıfat Paşa (1807-1857), Ahmet Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895) and finally Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa (1822-1890). The basic commonality between these three names is the difficulty to connect any of their economic ideas to a systematic doctrine, either Islamic or Western. As a senior to Cevdet and Hayreddin, Sadık Rıfat Paşa's ideas affected them to some degree.<sup>140</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's opinions on economic matters resembles cameralism because of his consideration of wealth and state's position in order to promote industries. However his economic thoughts were seem influenced by liberal classical economy also. For instance he thinks subjects must play their roles for the

---

<sup>138</sup> Rifat Önsoy, "Tanzimat Döneminde İktisadi Düşüncenin Teşekkülü," *Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Dönemi Semineri 1985*. (Ankara: TTK, 1987), 92.

<sup>139</sup> Rifat Önsoy, "İktisadi Düşüncenin...", 92-3.

<sup>140</sup> Ahmed Güner Sayar, "Tunuslu Hayrettin Paşa'nın İktisadî Görüşlerine Dair Bir Not," *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 21-22 (October 1999, March 2000): 66; Ahmet Zeki İzgöer, *Müslüman, Osmanlı ve Modern Ahmet Cevdet Paşa* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2014), 132, 180, 181; Mardin, *Genesis*, 389.

development of the country.<sup>141</sup> But we cannot claim that he was a defender of such kind of economic doctrine or school. Instead, his thoughts are derived from his interpretation of the events and his professional experiences, especially he held in Vienna. We will analyze his economic thoughts deeply and comparatively in the last section of this chapter.

Ahmet Cevdet Paşa was a significant statesman (previously *ulemâ*), jurist, historian and sociologist. Some of his writings, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, *Tezâkir* and *Ma'ruzat* include his ideas on economic matters.<sup>142</sup> One of his contributions to Ottoman economic thought is that, he used the term *buhran* as an equivalent of crisis. By this way this concept was inclusive of the literature of economic thought in the late Ottoman period.<sup>143</sup> Ahmet Cevdet Paşa was aware of a new discipline that called economy has been formulated in Europe. Jean-Baptiste Say's *Catéchisme d'Economie Politique* was translated into Turkish by Şehak Abru Efendi, one of the Armenian translators of *The Translation Office* (Tercüme Odası).<sup>144</sup> The translation was examined in *The Council of Education* (Maarif Meclisi), in which one of members was Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, and then it was decided to publish in 1852 because of its potentiality to be beneficial for public.<sup>145</sup> Cameralism had impacts on

---

<sup>141</sup> Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat*, 210-11.

<sup>142</sup> Hamdi Genç and M. Erdem Özgür, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Politik İktisadî Düşüncenin Evrimine Kısa Bir Bakış," in *Osmanlı'da Bir Politik İktisad Kitabı Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye by Serandi Arşizen*. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011), xxii.

<sup>143</sup> Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*, xxiii; İzgöer, *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>144</sup> The Translation Office was established in 1832. It was a significant Ottoman governmental institution which served as a window to the outer world (especially Western) throughout its translations of numerous books on various subjects. Kılınçoğlu, *ibid.*, 49. For more information of the Translation Office see Mehmet Darakçıoğlu, "Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Language Divide, Employment of Translators, and the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2010) and Sezai Balcı, *Bâbıalî Tercüme Odası* (İstanbul: Libra Yayıncılık, 2003).

<sup>145</sup> BOA, İ.MVL 198/6166 cited by İzgöer, *Ibid.*, 56.

Ahmet Cevdet Paşa's thoughts also. He was against unnecessarily vast expenditures and saw the state as a rational enterprise. But his thoughts were different from cameralism in some ways because he was an advocator of free trade.<sup>146</sup> While he was completely against the *tağyir* (alteration) of coinage, he did not approve the loans. Furthermore he touches on taxation, and sometimes "the velocity of the circulation of money"<sup>147</sup> He thought that economic development should be achieved by state. Public improvements and infrastructure services had occupied much place according to his development model. However, according to Mardin, he was not able to comprehend the concept of development as a motivator and accelerator for a prosperity which covers all layers of society in a backward country like Ottoman Empire.<sup>148</sup> His writings on economic matters give one an impression that he was aware of classical economic theories, and he sometimes refers them. For instance he mentions the labour theory of value by emphasizing the most significant "wealth of nation" is the labour of people, not the precious metals in the state treasury.<sup>149</sup> Another important element of the classical political economy that he mentioned was "free market." According to him the notion of free market and the refusal of state intervention were not the inventions of modern European economic thought, but they were initially proposed by the early *mujtahids* (authorities on interpreting Islamic law) of Islam, based on the idea that only God's will can regulate market relations.<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>146</sup> Sabri Ülgener, *Makaleler*, ed. by Ahmed Güner Sayar (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2006), 140 cited by Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*, xxiv; İzgöer, *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>147</sup> Sabri Ülgener, "Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın Devlete ve İktisada Dair Düşünceleri", *İş Mecmuası* XIII (1947),13, 15-17 and 18-19 cited by Mardin, "Türkiye'de İktisadi Düşüncenin...", 67; Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>148</sup> Mardin, *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>149</sup> Ülgener, *Ibid.*, 20 cited by Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>150</sup> "narhı koyan ancak Allah'tır..." (the price is only set by God). Ülgener, *Ibid.*, 22 cited by Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 56.

According to Kılınçoğlu, Cevdet Paşa promotes Smithian economic principles by legitimizing them through Islamic sources, thereby providing an early example to the discussion on the tradition of “Islamic economics.”<sup>151</sup>

Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa was another good example in this context. On the one hand he was the writer of a political treatise titled *Kitāb Aqwām al-Masālik fī Ma'rifat Ahwāl al-Mamālik* (1867) in which he wrote the necessity of modernization and how to achieve it, on the other hand he was a statesman who implemented his thoughts in Tunisia.<sup>152</sup> According to Kılınçoğlu in his book he placed a noticeable emphasis on the notion of economic development in a capitalist sense.<sup>153</sup> Sayar, however, even if made a parallel comment on this book, also stresses that Hayreddin Paşa's activities that he accomplished in Tunisia was mercantilist policies. Moreover he praised Colbert in his book and his economic thoughts were similar to Sadık Rıfat Paşa's.<sup>154</sup> Sayar adds that the observations and analysis that he made on Sadık Rıfat's controversy in *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması* is valid for Hayreddin Paşa's economic thoughts also.<sup>155</sup>

### 2.3.3 First books on economics (the 1850s)

There is a controversy among historians whether which book was the first sample of economic thought. Until the 1850s, post-Smithian economic ideas were transferred to

---

<sup>151</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid.; Sayar “Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa'nın...,” 60.

<sup>153</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Sayar, “Tunuslu...,” 63.

<sup>155</sup> Sayar, “Tunuslu...,” 66.

the Ottoman Empire in a quite unmethodical way mostly through newspaper articles.<sup>156</sup> We can see first disordered influences of modern European economic thoughts in Sadık Rıfat Paşa and Ahmet Cevdet Paşa's writings. On the other hand, Ortaylı thinks that the first book, in fact manuscript, on modern economy could be dated not forward than 1833.<sup>157</sup> Ortaylı discovered the mentioned manuscript in the National Library of Austria, entitled *Tedbir-i Ūmran-ı Mülkî* (Administration of Public Prosperity) whose publication date and writer is unknown.<sup>158</sup> The writer, according to Ortaylı might be one of the translators of Bâb-ı Âlî, wrote the eighty-six pages manuscript in order to transmit the ideas which are found in French and English sources.<sup>159</sup> Even though the first pages of manuscript had some influences of mercantilism, the rest of it has affected from physiocracy, natural balance theorists, J. B. Say, Malthus and Ricardo.<sup>160</sup> Even if the writer has a naive structure and style, he approached the main subjects and concepts of economy in a clever way. Moreover he was aware of the fact that it was important to understand world's new economic mechanism and to take measures in order to compete in it.<sup>161</sup>

The second book on economics in Turkish was an adaptation by Serandi Arşizen (1809-1873) and Aleko Suco of a study by the Italian economist Pellegrino Rossi (1787-1848). The name of the book was *Tasarrufat-ı Mülkiye* (Political

---

<sup>156</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>157</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlılarda İlk Telif İktisat Elyazması," *Yapıt* (October 1983): 40.

<sup>158</sup> Ortaylı, *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>159</sup> Ortaylı, *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> Ortaylı, *Ibid.*, 40, 43.

<sup>161</sup> Ortaylı, *Ibid.*, 43.

Economy).<sup>162</sup> Arşizen was a physician and a former professor at the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliyye-i Şâhâne* (The Imperial School of Medicine), he utilized Rossi's work (probably the French translation of his *Curso de Economia Politica*, 1840) as a model for his book.<sup>163</sup> Arşizen wrote the book in French, then Aleko Suco, who was a translator at the Ottoman Translation Office, translated it into Turkish. Fındıkoğlu thinks that it is based on Arşizen's lectures at the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliyye-i Şâhâne*.<sup>164</sup> Even though there was not any record on the book indicating the publication date, Fındıkoğlu deduced that it must be published after Sehak Abru's translation (c. 1851) of J.-B. Say's *Catéchisme d'économie politique*.<sup>165</sup> Say's bestseller, *Catéchisme d'économie politique* (1815) became a classic compilation of Smithian political economy in the early nineteenth century. It was translated into various languages including Turkish by Sehak Abru. The book included the importance of the development of industry and transportation systems, free trade but also favoured some temporarily interventions in order to protect new emerging sectors, creation of an educated, healthy and happy population.<sup>166</sup> It is significant to note that Ottomans did not translate or adapted or re-write Adam Smith's magnum opus *The Wealth of Nations*. This preference explained by the

---

<sup>162</sup> Hamdi Genç and M. Erdem Özgür transliterated a version of the book into modern Turkish along with an introduction on the evolution of political economy in Ottoman Empire and some biographical notes about the author. Serandi Arşizen, *Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir Politik İktisat Kitabı* edited by Hamdi Genç and M. Erdem Özgür (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011).

<sup>163</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>164</sup> Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, "İktisadi Tefekkür Tarihimize Ait Yeni Bir Vesika," *Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler, IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1952), 340. Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 50. Fındıkoğlu discusses the chronology of the first book on economy in Ottoman Empire between the pages 340 and 346. Then he states that the study of Arşizen was first, Sehak Abru second and Mehmed Şerif third.

<sup>165</sup> Fındıkoğlu, "İktisadi Tefekkür...", 340-46; Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> Hamdi Genç and M. Erdem Özgür, "Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye ve Serandi Arşizen Hakkında" in *Osmanlı'da Bir Politik İktisad Kitabı Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye* by Serandi Arşizen. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011), 3-4.

cultural prevalence of French language and culture. For this reason classical political economy transmitted to Ottoman Empire not through the Smith-Ricardo line but via the Say-Rossi one.<sup>167</sup> In short, the English Classical paradigm was diffused into the Ottoman reading public through non-Muslim translators of the French works by Say and Rossi.<sup>168</sup> Kılınçoğlu sees the translator's methods very pragmatic and claims that this pragmatic style privileged in the Ottoman intellectual aura in the following decades.<sup>169</sup>

While these first books have been publishing in the empire, in the second half of nineteenth century, a classical political economist, Nassau William Senior (1790-1864) was visiting Ottoman Empire. On account of that, Senior's journals of his travels to Algeria, Egypt, Malta, Greece and Turkey (1855-58) provide a momentarily documented account of classical political economy's encounter with the Mediterranean world (The 'Near East' and 'Middle East') in the period of nineteenth century orientalism studied by Said (1979), Lewis (1982) and, Said and Lewis (1982). According to Dimand, Senior's account is unique but not typical of classical political economy.<sup>170</sup> Senior thinks that monopoly is common in Egypt and Turkey,

---

<sup>167</sup> Eyüp Özveren, "Ottoman Economic Thought and Economic Policy in Transition: Rethinking the Nineteenth Century," in *Economic Thought and Policy in Less Developed Europe, The Nineteenth Century*, edited by Michalis Psalidopoulos and Maria Eugénia Mata (London: Routledge, 2002), 137. Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat*, 294. Sayar discusses the Anglo-Saxon influence along with French impact on Ottoman economic thought, Ibid., 294-298.

<sup>168</sup> Özveren, Ibid., 136.

<sup>169</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 51.

<sup>170</sup> Robert W. Dimand, "Classical Political Economy and Orientalism Nassau Senior's Eastern Tours." In *Postcolonialism Meets Economics*, edited by Eiman O. Zein-Elabdin and S. Charusheela (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 75. At this point the author reminds John Stuart Mill's, another classical political economist, visits to Greece, Smyrna and Constantinople in 1855 and 1862. Unfortunately we do not have Mill's accounts about these journeys. "The two letters from Turkey were written just after Mill learned of his brother's death, and made no mention of Turkey. Dimand thinks that "the lack of observations of Turkish society by Mill to compare and contrast with those of Senior is regrettable in light of Mill's rejection of racial explanations of social and economic conditions and his defense of personal freedoms across racial and gender lines."

which is an obstacle to economic development. But he did not mention the prevalence of monopolies in western Europe in the mercantilist era. Comparably, when discussing the existence of slavery as an indication of what weakened Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, he did not indicate that Britain did not abolish the slave trade until 1807 or end slavery in its empire until 1834.<sup>171</sup> Similarly when he portrays the prohibition of taking interest as an obstacle for the commercial progress in Islamic countries, he did not refer to negative interpretation of usury in late medieval Europe and the condemnation of pure interest by Aristotle and Scripture. Apart from these Senior regarded bad government as an innate problem of the Orient.<sup>172</sup> In addition he noted the self-justifications of European and Ottoman governments. He encountered the Middle East as perceived by the European business and consular community there, since he could speak with them in English or French.<sup>173</sup>

In his journals he produced a view of an unchanging, exotic, corrupt Middle East. Besides, Middle Easterners are unable to rationally calculate and act upon their own best interests or to initiate cultural or economic progress.<sup>174</sup> Senior took his travels as an opportunity to recommend free trade. What was obvious in Senior's records is that Ottoman statesmen, even though his disdainful approach on some occasion, whom he talked with were familiarize with the theories of modern economics and the economic policies of leading European countries.<sup>175</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> Dimand, "Classical Political Economy and Orientalism," 86.

<sup>172</sup> Dimand, *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>175</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 52.

For instance his discussion with the Minister of Commerce [Hekim] İsmail Paşa (1807-60) is one of the good examples in which Hekim Paşa opposed Senior's liberal arguments on free trade with references to the protectionist foreign trade policies of France:<sup>176</sup>

‘As respects your import duties,’ I said, ‘you have nothing to learn. You are the best free traders in the world. I wish that you could give some lessons to France.’  
‘I cannot blame the French,’ he said. ‘If they let in your cottons their own will be ruined. The French manufacturer pays twice as much for his steam-engine as you do.’  
‘That,’ I said, ‘is because France prohibits English iron.’  
‘And he pays,’ said the Pasha, ‘three times as much for his coal.’  
‘That,’ I said, ‘is because France prohibits English coal.’  
‘Of course she does,’ replied the Pasha; ‘she must do so. Her own iron works and coal mines could not compete with yours.’ The nature of his political economy did not induce me to prolong the discussion.<sup>177</sup>

Another interesting conversation was that he had done with Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823-1891) who was an influential figure in Ottoman modernization. He discussed with Senior on the basic problems of the empire, including monopolies, inflation, lack of modern transportation systems, interest, trade and property law.<sup>178</sup> In one of these conversations Vefik Paşa stated that among the works on Turkey Slade's are the best and Urquhart's are the worst. According to Paşa Urquhart is an advocate not a critic.<sup>179</sup> From Senior's accounts of conversations, we comprehend that he was well-

---

<sup>176</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Nassau Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859), 108-9.

<sup>178</sup> Senior, Ibid., 17, 133-38.

<sup>179</sup> Senior, Ibid., 138.

informed in political economy so as to challenge some of Senior's dogmatically liberal opinions.<sup>180</sup>

#### 2.3.4 Diffusion and popularization of economic knowledge (c. 1860-76)

In this period Ottoman Empire had witnessed not only an increase in the quantity of publications on economics but also a transmission of economic knowledge to schools and universities.<sup>181</sup> In 1860 an English named Charles Wells wrote a book titled *İlm-i Tedbir-i Milk: "The science of the Administration of a State,"* or an Essay on Political Economy.<sup>182</sup> Wells claimed that his book was the first economy book ever written in Turkish.<sup>183</sup> Obviously it was not the first book on economics but it was a study of both economic history and thought, which was a follower of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.<sup>184</sup>

Throughout the 1860s, various intellectuals and statesmen such as İbrahim Şinasi (1826 - 1871), Münif Paşa (1830 - 1910), Mehmed Şerif Efendi, and Ohannes Efendi (1830 - 1912) wrote articles on a "new science" in different newspapers. These writings not only demonstrated the increasing interest to this "new science" but also signified a shift about the discussions whether agriculture or industry is

---

<sup>180</sup> Eyüp Özveren and Alp Yücel Kaya, "Adaptation as an Original Genre in the Ottoman Economic Thought of the Nineteenth Century", 1, [http://eet.pixel-online.org/files/research\\_papers/TR/Adaptation%20as%20an%20Original%20Genre%20in%20the%20Ottoman%20Economic%20Thought.pdf](http://eet.pixel-online.org/files/research_papers/TR/Adaptation%20as%20an%20Original%20Genre%20in%20the%20Ottoman%20Economic%20Thought.pdf) [last accessed on 10.06.2014]

<sup>181</sup> Rifat Önsoy, "Tanzimat Döneminde İktisadi Düşüncenin...", 95; Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 52.

<sup>182</sup> Charles Wells, *İlm Tedbiri Milk: "The Science of the Administration of A State," or An Essay on Political Economy, in Turkish: Being the First ever Written in that Language* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1860), v. Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 52.

<sup>183</sup> Niyazi Berkes, "Ekonomik Tarih ile Teori İlişkileri Açısından Türkiye'de Ekonomik Düşünün Evrimi," in *Türkiye'de Üniversitelerde Okutulan İktisat Üzerine*, edited by Fikret Görün.(Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1972), 333 cited by Rifat Önsoy, Ibid., 93.

<sup>184</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 53.

primary for Ottoman Empire. Among the names mentioned above, Mehmet Şerif Efendi, Münif Paşa and Ohannes Efendi later became political economy teachers at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (The Imperial School of Administration) and the *Mekteb-i Hukuk-ı Şâhâne* (The Imperial School of Law), later their lecture notes were published as textbooks.<sup>185</sup>

Mehmet Şerif Efendi who is the brother of Münif Paşa was the first economics lecturer in *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (School of Political Science for Civil Service).<sup>186</sup> Mehmed Şerif Efendi<sup>187</sup> did not use the concept *ilm-i tedbir-i menzil* but also stayed in a distance to the concept of *economy*. Instead he preferred the exact translation of *economy politic*, as *İdare-i Mülkiye*. But then he used the classical political economists' expression of "science des richesses des nations" as *İlm-i Emval-i Milliye*.<sup>188</sup> He is famous for defending industrialization for the first time in Ottoman Empire in an article.<sup>189</sup> In this article he neither a blind supporter of industrialization nor agriculture. Instead he argued that industry can advance sciences and technologies additionally to create wealth and prosperity.<sup>190</sup> Furthermore he

---

<sup>185</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 53-4. Mehmed Şerif, *İlm-i Emval-i Milliye* (İstanbul: Tab'hane-i Âmire Litoğrafya Destgâhı, H. 1279 [1863]); Sakızlı Ohannes, *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Dersaadet [İstanbul]: Mihran Matbaası, H. 1297 [1880]); Münif Pasha's lectures were edited and published by one of his students: Mahmud Es'ad. Münif Paşa, *İlm-i Servet*, edited by Mahmud Es'ad. (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Sanayi, H. 1302 [1885]).

<sup>186</sup> In fact Fındıkoğlu states that Macar Emin Efendi thought economy before him. But since we do not have any evidence about his teaching it would not be wrong to accept Mehmet Şerif as the first teacher in this discipline. Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, "Türk İktisadi Tefekkür Tarihi ve Mehmed Şerif," in *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 15-20 Kasım 1943, Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1948), 264.

<sup>187</sup> For a detailed information Mehmed Şerif Efendi's economic thoughts see: Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, "Türk İktisadi Tefekkür Tarihi ve Mehmed Şerif," 260-8 and Sayar *Ibid.*, 305-312.

<sup>188</sup> Fındıkoğlu, *Ibid.*, 264. Berkes, "Türkiye'de Ekonomik Düşünün Evrimi," 47.

<sup>189</sup> Mehmed Şerif Efendi, "Sanayi' ve Ziraatden Kangısının Hakkımızda Hayırlı Olduğuna Dairdir," *Tercüman-ı Ahval* 68 and 69 (1861).

<sup>190</sup> Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, *Türkiyede İktisat Tedrisatı Tarihçesi ve İktisat Fakültesi Teşkilâtı* (İstanbul: Akgün Matbaası, 1946), 42-3; Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Milli İktisat" 1908-1918* (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982), 167.

proposed that an advanced industry would foster agriculture by producing a growing demand for primary goods.<sup>191</sup> Consequently, according to him, it was not acceptable to focus on agriculture, even if one aimed the development of Ottoman agricultural sectors. Because a high development in agriculture necessitates industrialization also.

İbrahim Şinasi Bey was a pioneering author, journalist and translator. In fact he was sent to Europe to have an education on finance. But after his return he chose to write on other social sciences. Besides he regarded journalism as a social responsibility in order to enlighten people of his time.<sup>192</sup> Still he allocated some space to economic matters in his writings in *Tasvir-i Efkâr*.<sup>193</sup> According to Sayar, he clearly influenced by Sadık Rıfat Paşa and made impacts on Namık Kemal and Mehmed Şerif Efendi in terms of economic thought.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore he was the one who wrote a review about Mehmed Şerif's book, *İlm-i Emvâl-i Milliye* in *Tasvir-i Efkâr*.<sup>195</sup>

Münif Paşa was regarded as a follower of enlightenment values like İbrahim Şinasi.<sup>196</sup> He was a polyglot and had an education in Berlin.<sup>197</sup> He was appointed as *maarif nazırı* (minister for education) for three times, and he served at this post totally for eight years.<sup>198</sup> The concepts of *ulûm u fûnun* (social and natural sciences),

---

<sup>191</sup> Fındıkoğlu, "Türk İktisadi Tefekkür Tarihi ve Mehmed Şerif," 264-266; Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>192</sup> Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin*, 301.

<sup>193</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*

<sup>194</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 301-2.

<sup>195</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>196</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>197</sup> F. Samime İnceoğlu, "Tanzimat'ta Bir Düşünür ve Bürokrat: Münif Paşa ve İktisat Tasavvuru," *Divan İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 19 (2005/2), 235.

<sup>198</sup> Hamdi Genç and M. Erdem Özgür, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Politik İktisadî Düşüncenin Evrimine Kısa Bir Bakış," xxv.

education and industry occupied an important place in his writings for development<sup>199</sup> One can follow the evolution of his ideas on economy through the concepts from *ilm-i tedbir-i menzil* (household economy) to *ilm-i servet* (the science of wealth) in his writings in *Ceride-i Havadis*. However, he used the term *idare-i mülkiye* instead of political economy in his articles that were published on *Ceride-i Havadis* from 1860 to 1861.<sup>200</sup> He later stated that this term does not contain a political meaning but an economic one. According to him the science of political economy aims to provide people's wealth and comfort equally.<sup>201</sup> Münif Paşa was a sincere believer of liberal economy. His book *İlm-i Servet*, consists of his lectures that he gave in *Mekteb-i Mülkiye*.<sup>202</sup> In this book Münif Paşa firstly gives the two definitions of wealth: mercantilist and physiocratic. According to mercantilists, the source of wealth is the amount of precious metals like gold and silver. While explaining the second definition, he referred Quesnay's views in which he claims that the source of wealth is the amount of the fertile lands. Münif Paşa was against to these opinions so he gave his definition: "wealth is the total amount of every material which satisfy all needs of human beings."<sup>203</sup> For Münif Paşa, agriculture and industry were the components of wealth also. Humans can provide their material and non-material needs through three methods: agriculture and animal husbandry, industry, trade.<sup>204</sup> While Ottoman industry and trade could compete with European states, it

---

<sup>199</sup> İnceoğlu, "Münif Paşa ve İktisat Tasavvuru," 237; Genç and Özgür, *ibid.*, xxvi.

<sup>200</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 242; Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>202</sup> Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 248; Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*, xxviii.

<sup>204</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*

was backward in his time. The two reasons of this situation were the development of science and the transport systems in Europe. Besides Ottoman Empire's custom duties were encouraging import and discouraging export. He emphasized that free trade principles were convenient for Ottoman Empire. State should not intervene in economic life of people.<sup>205</sup> Free trade is required for a developed industry. According to him there are two handicaps in front of free trade: first is import duties, second is protectionism (*himâye-i sanayi*).<sup>206</sup> As an exceptional precaution, he was not against to protectionism for a short time at the beginning of industrialization (infant industry). But this sacrifice can be acceptable under two conditions. First it must be necessary for the benefit of country. Second, the people who are busy with those industries should promise to elevate their products' quality to compete with foreign products.<sup>207</sup> Consequently, economic policies those are based on competition are beneficial both producers and consumers. Competition encourages industrialists to work and produce abundant goods which have a good quality. In addition competition creates a market condition for a moderate market price (*hadd-i itidal*) which would prevent inflation.<sup>208</sup> The late 1860s and early 1870s signify an important phenomenon: the rise of the Young Ottomans in Ottoman political and intellectual life. This movement prepared by the voluntary exiles in Europe such as Ziya Paşa (1825-1880) and Namık Kemal (1840-1888). The Young Ottomans initiated an opposition movement against the Ottoman political and economic system

---

<sup>205</sup> “[...] halk kendi umurunu daha iyi bilirler. İdarece hiçbir tedbir yoktur ki, menfaat-i şahsiyeye yerine kaim olabilsün.” Adem Akın, *Münif Paşa ve Türk Kültür Tarihindeki Yeri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999), 49 cited by Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*, xxix.

<sup>206</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 253; Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*, xxix.

<sup>207</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 254; Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*

<sup>208</sup> Genç and Özgür, *Ibid.*; Akın, *Ibid.*, 49.

that formulated during the Tanzimat era.<sup>209</sup> The economic thought of Young Ottomans flourished in the context of the rise of proto-nationalism.<sup>210</sup>

Young Ottomans criticized the lack of modern industry, unsuccessful economic measures that targeted to modernize the economy but instead caused even greater problems, like huge public debt, corruption, and the loss of economic independence.<sup>211</sup> Despite these criticisms Young Ottomans was not able to propose any economic strategy, only a kind of economic liberalism mixed with strong economic proto-nationalist tendencies.<sup>212</sup>

According to Toprak the first criticisms to the negative consequences of 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Convention highlighted by journalists such as Namık Kemal and Ziya Paşa in 1868.<sup>213</sup> Önsoy stated that after these criticisms, free trade policies were started to discussed among intellectuals and protectionist system was adopted gradually.<sup>214</sup>

As Şerif Mardin put it, the challenge of the Young Ottomans in the 1860s continued with the Young Turks (Jeune Turcs) after 1890s, “paved the way for Abdülhamid II’s rather technocratic and centralist modernization project, which prioritized education and economic development rather than political change.”<sup>215</sup>

---

<sup>209</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 61. For a detailed analysis of Young Ottomans see Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of The Young Ottoman Thought Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (N.J: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

<sup>210</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>211</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>213</sup> Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Milli İktisat*, 105; Mardin, “Türkiye’de İktisadi Düşüncenin...,” 69.

<sup>214</sup> Önsoy, *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>215</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 62. See also Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, 1895-1908* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 222.

As put by Zafer Toprak, “Intellectuals of the Tanzimat era were favored classical political economy[...] Liberal economy was the common point of the nineteenth century Ottoman economists.”<sup>216</sup> As noted before, Say-Rossi translations were the source of the classical political economy thought in 1850s. But from 1860s onwards Anglo-Saxon interpretations were assimilated in Empire.<sup>217</sup> The main reason of controversy among intellectuals was the discussion of agriculture versus industry.<sup>218</sup> While between 1840 and 1880 liberal economic thought was privileged, after the 1880s Ottoman intellectuals started to favour economic protectionism.<sup>219</sup> However, during the 1860s, Ottoman governing elites initiated, at least aimed, protectionist trade policies.<sup>220</sup> For instance according to 1838 Anglo-Ottoman convention while import duty was 5 %, export duty was 11 %. But in 1862 import duty was increased to 8 % and export duty was decided to decrease to 1 % gradually. By this way, Ottoman statesmen must have aimed to protect domestic market from foreign competition.<sup>221</sup> On the other hand this era witnessed the popularization and diffusion of the economic knowledge throughout educational institutions. Along with *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (School of Political Science for Civil Service), economic courses started to teach at *İstanbul Sanayi Mektebi* (The Industrial School of Constantinople) in 1868;

---

<sup>216</sup> Zafer Toprak, “İktisat Tarihi”, *Türkiye Tarihi -3- Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908*, in *Türkiye Tarihi -3- Osmanlı Devleti 1600 - 1908*, edited by Metin Kunt et al. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1988) 214-5 cited by İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>217</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>218</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 241-2.

<sup>219</sup> İnceoğlu, *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>220</sup> Rifat Önsoy, *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>221</sup> Rifat Önsoy, *Ibid.*, 95; Zafer Toprak, “Tanzimattan Sonra İktisadî Politika,” *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Volume III (1985), 669.

at *Kız Sanayi ' Mektebi* (The Industrial School for Girls') and *İdadîs* (High Schools) in 1870; at *Hukuk Mektebi* (The Imperial School of Law) in 1870.

### 2.3.5 Ottoman Economic Literature in the Hamidian Era (1876-1909)

After two decades long period of translations, relatively original economy books introduced during this era. The leading discussion was between those who were defenders of *laissez-faire* or protectionism. In the first decade of this period, the most important studies were written by Sakızlı Ohannes (1830 - 1912), Portakal Mikael (1841 - 1897) and Ahmed Mithat Efendi (1844 - 1912).<sup>222</sup>

The developer of Ottoman economic liberalism was an Armenian economist, Sakızlı Ohannes. His book titled *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Principles of the Science of the Wealth of Nations, 1880)<sup>223</sup> was a textbook which used in Mekteb-i Mülkiye. When this book was publicized, Ohannes was the “Professor of the Science of the Wealth of Nations” and the Professor of Public Administration at this institution. This book later on became the classic reference of economics for the Ottoman intellectuals, as well as for the graduate students of the time.<sup>224</sup> According to him protectionist policies are obstacles on the way of industrialization. Besides every trade barrier, including restrictions and tariffs, inaugurate an obstacle to economic development and modernization.<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 64.

<sup>223</sup> Sakızlı Ohannes, *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel* (Dersaadet: Mihran Matbaası, 1297). This book transcribed into latin alphabet recently, see Sakızlı Ohannes Efendi, *Osmanlı'da Modern İktisadın İzinde I Mebâdi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel*, edited by Filiz Dıġıroġlu et al (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2015).

<sup>224</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 70-1.

<sup>225</sup> Kılınçoğlu, Ibid., 72-3.

Ahmed Mithat Efendi published four short books on economics or economy-related issues: *Sevda-yı Sa'ý ü Amel* (The Passion for Effort and Labour, 1879), *Teşrik-i Mesa'î, Taksim-i Mesa'î* (Cooperation, Division of Labor, 1879), *Ekonomi Politik* (Political Economy, 1879), and *Hallül-'Ukad* (Untying the Knots, 1890)<sup>226</sup> In these publications he rejected *laissez-faire* policies which were thought universally valid, instead he proposed a protectionist Ottoman economics whose principles based on the historical and geographical conditions of the empire.<sup>227</sup> It seems Mithat inspired by List's ideas but Akyiğitzade Musa Bey will be the one who systematize protectionism in his two books. Georgeon thinks that Ahmed Mithat's economic ideas made impacts on Young Ottomans, particularly Namık Kemal, in order to advocate a kind of national economy in Ottoman lands.<sup>228</sup>

Mikael Portakal's *Usul-i Maliye* (Principles of Public Finance, 1889) was published as the textbook for the students of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye, where Mikael was the Professor of Public Finance.<sup>229</sup> Thus, when he wrote the book, he was also familiar with the Ottoman financial system as well as financial theory and policy in Europe.<sup>230</sup> Kılınçoğlu claims that even though the character of the book is clearly

---

<sup>226</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>227</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>228</sup> François Georgeon, "L'économie Politique Selon Ahmed Midhat." In *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 18-22 janvier 1985*, edited by Edhem Eldem (Istanbul-Paris: éditions ISIS, 1991), 477-9.

<sup>229</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>230</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*

liberal and he is accepted within the pioneers of liberalism,<sup>231</sup> Mikael Portakal does not openly recommend any general economic model for the empire.<sup>232</sup>

By the 1890s, a new generation of Ottoman economy writers divided into two camps: protectionists and liberals.<sup>233</sup> Musa Akyiğitzade (1865-1923) was a defender of protectionism. His first book on economy titled *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadegi-i Ticaret ve Usul-ı Himaye* (Economics or the Science of Wealth: Free Trade and the System of Protectionism, 1896) describes the policy of *laissez faire* and the system of protectionism and locates his side next to protectionism.<sup>234</sup> In this book he mentions his two inspirations: Frederic List (1789-1846) and Paul Cauwès (1843-1917).<sup>235</sup> As known, List was the inventor of infant industry concept and Cauwès introduced List's ideas to the French and European intellectual milieu.<sup>236</sup> Musa Akyiğitzade continued to explain his views on Ottoman protectionism in Ottoman context in his book entitled *İlm-i İktisad Veyahud İlm-i Servet* (The Science of Wealth or the Science of Economics, 1898) in a more systematic way.<sup>237</sup> Zafer Toprak states that the liberal economy was the influential doctrine when Akyiğitzade

---

<sup>231</sup> For instance Sayar, *Ibid.*, 230, 383, 386.

<sup>232</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>233</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>234</sup> Musa Akyiğitzade, *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadegi-i Ticaret ve Usul-ı Himaye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1314 [1896]).

<sup>235</sup> Musa Akyiğitzade, *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadegi-i Ticaret ve Usul-ı Himaye*, 22-25.

<sup>236</sup> Jacques Cheminade, "If France Had Followed Paul Cauwès World War I Could Have Been Avoided," *EIR Toward Eurasia* 19 (3 January 1992), 54.

<sup>237</sup> Musa Akyiğitzade, *İlm-i Servet veyahut İlm-i İktisat* (İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası, 1316 [1898]), 4, 61.

introduced his books and in The Second Constitutional Era the impact of liberal economy will be consolidated.<sup>238</sup>

The most famous campaigner of the liberal thought at the time Toprak mentions was Mehmed Cavid Bey (1875-1926). His most significant books on economics were a four volumes serie: *İlm-i İktisad* (The Science of Economics), published form 1897 to 1899.<sup>239</sup> He claimed that barriers for free trade will not be the cause of economic development.<sup>240</sup> He was appointed as the Minister for Finances in 1909 and in the Young Turk period (1908-18), he held this positions many times.<sup>241</sup> According to Çavdar, Cavid's knowledge on finance made him unique and in his book we can see the wide usage of the concept *iktisad* (economics) instead of *ilm-i servet* (the science of wealth).<sup>242</sup>

## 2.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we tried to give a summary of the evolution of economic thought in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Before it we touched the previous concept of economy by the help of Polanyi's conceptualization, embeddedness. After the reformation attempts run by Selim III, the modern economic knowledge,

---

<sup>238</sup> Zafer Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İktisat," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Volume III (1985), 636.

<sup>239</sup> Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>240</sup> Toprak, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İktisat," 637.

<sup>241</sup> Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, vol. 3 (Ankara: S:B:F., 1968-69), 683–85 cited by Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>242</sup> Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizmin Doğuşu* (İstanbul: Uygarlık Yayınları, 1982), 85; Süleyman Sudi was the first Ottoman who used the term *iktisad* (economics), Kılınçoğlu, *Ibid.*, 104 based on the claim of Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz, *Matbuat Hatıralarım*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, 1930-31): 9n1.

especially liberal ones started to penetrate to Ottoman lands. During the 1820s *laissez faire* concept was favouring in Ottoman journals. On the other hand, the British diplomats who served in Empire played a role as intermediaries to transfer Smithian theses. From 1838 to 1850 the conception of economy gained a western content gradually. The first separate books on economy, adaptations or rewritings, generally published in the 1850s. Between 1860 and 1876 diffusion and popularization of economic knowledge could be observed. Finally, Hamidian era (1876-1908) witnessed hot debates around free trade and protectionism.

## CHAPTER 3

### SADIK RIFAT PAŞA'S ECONOMIC THOUGHTS

#### 3.1 Introduction

The economic thought of Sadık Rıfat Paşa has been a matter of debate nearly for six decades. Şerif Mardin first approached this issue in a series of articles published in 1957, entitled *Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi* (The Meaning of Tanizmat Edict: A Novel Attempt of Explanation)<sup>243</sup> Mardin devoted more than a half of the article to Sadık Rıfat's political and economic thought. He claimed that Paşa's economic ideas were influenced by the classical political economic school and physiocrats.<sup>244</sup> Sadık Rıfat was a matter of analysis a year later, this time in Mardin's doctoral dissertation, where he discussed his political and economic thoughts in the perspective of cameralism.<sup>245</sup> In his *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*,<sup>246</sup> he not only separated his thoughts from liberalism but also from the Ottoman tradition. In the following years Mardin spared a space in a report titled *Türkiye'de İktisadî Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918)* (The Development of Economic Thought in

---

<sup>243</sup> *Forum*, V. 8, n. 88, (15 November 1957): 6-8; V. 8, n. 89, (1 December 1957): 13-15; V. 8, n. 90, (15 December 1957): 13-15; V. 8, n 91, (31 December 1957): 12-13. This article series published in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, edited by Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2011): 147-165.

<sup>244</sup> Mardin, "Tanzimat Fermanının...", 164-5.

<sup>245</sup> Şerif Mardin, "The Young Ottoman Movement: A Study in the Evolution of Turkish Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1958). Mardin's famous book *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* was based on this dissertation and firstly published in 1962.

<sup>246</sup> Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of The Young Ottoman Thought Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (N.J: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

Turkey (1838-1918))<sup>247</sup> Mardin continued his assesment on Sadık Rıfat Paşa that his economic thoughts were influenced by cameralism, German version of mercantilism.

Ahmed Güner Sayar was another scholar who placed a great importance on Sadık Rıfat's economic thoughts in his influential study, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması* (The Modernization of Ottoman Economic Thought).<sup>248</sup> After mentioning the changing ideas of Mardin on Sadık Rıfat's economic thoughts, the shift from classical political economy to cameralism, Sayar claimed that Paşa's approach to economic matters should be evaluated as a unification of cameralism, classical political economy and sometimes Islamic economic principles and Ottoman traditional view of economy but they mostly emerged from his experiences and observations on contemporary problems of the Empire.<sup>249</sup> Çakır is close to Sayar's evaluation. After stressing the influence of cameralism on his economic thoughts, he considers Rıfat Paşa's economic thinking as a kind of mild protectionism that he learnt from Prince Metternich while Paşa was in Vienna.<sup>250</sup> Graduate students also touched on this issue in their M.A. theses.<sup>251</sup> Ünüvar stated that dual imprints of cameralism and liberalism in the writings of

---

<sup>247</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 *Siyasal ve Sosyal Bilimler, Makaleler 2*, edited by Mümtaz'er Türköne and Tuncay Önder, 45-98 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1990).

<sup>248</sup> This study firstly published in 1986: Ahmed Güner Sayar. *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1986).

<sup>249</sup> Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin*, 211, 220-2.

<sup>250</sup> Çakır, *Ibid.*, 94-5.

<sup>251</sup> Bekir Günay stated that his economic thoughts were liberal, Bekir Günay, "Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri" (M.A. Thesis, İstanbul University, 1992), 75-7; Yaşar Zorlu summarized the previous assesments and described Paşa's economic thoughts, Yaşar Zorlu, "Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın Toplum ve Devlet Görüşü" (M.A. Thesis, Sakarya University, 1997), 175-188; Dilek Türkdemir spared a little space for his economic thoughts and just gave a brief summary of previous scholars writings. Dilek Türkdemir, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecince Önemli Bir Devlet Adamı Mehmed Sadık Rıfat Paşa" (M.A. thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2007), 57-60.

Sadık Rifat Paşa is a question worthy of exploring<sup>252</sup> and explained this dualism and non-referentiality to texts by his attachment to Ottoman tradition transmitted orally or administratively.<sup>253</sup> In this chapter we will evaluate his economic thoughts and try to locate his efforts in the context we described in the previous chapter which is the gradual transmission of the Western economic thought to Ottoman lands in the nineteenth century. Before starting we briefly give a summary of the economic conditions of Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

### 3.2 A short overview of the Ottoman economy in the nineteenth century

The long nineteenth century was a time of exceptional changes in Ottoman social, economic and political life. Despite territory losses, the Ottoman state structure not only survived but flourished, thanks to a mutual relationship between European political-economic interests and the needs and concerns of the Ottoman bureaucracy.<sup>254</sup> Global changes and European influence triggered a major restructuring of Ottoman institutions. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the commercialization of the Ottoman agriculture for international export was already under way.<sup>255</sup>

According to Quataert the abolition of Janissary corps in 1826 paved the way for the following evolution of Ottoman economic liberalism because they had played

---

<sup>252</sup> Kerem Ünüvar, "Economic and Moral Organization of the Ottoman Society in the Tanzimat Period: Sadık Rifat Paşa's Ahlâk Risalesi" (M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004), 15.

<sup>253</sup> Ünüvar, *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>254</sup> Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812–1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 761.

<sup>255</sup> Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," 762.

a crucial role in the Ottoman urban economy as artisans and guildsmen who were the most powerful and best-organized advocates of protectionism.<sup>256</sup> The famous Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1838 was the next step for economic liberalism, which was signed under pressure to gain British support for the struggle with Mehmed Ali and terminated state monopolies and eliminated many of the barriers in the way of European merchants.<sup>257</sup> After mentioning the debate about the actual impact of the treaty, Quataert states that the treaty was not a radical departure from existing economic policy, and that the treaty rather continued along the already established path of economic liberalism set in 1826.<sup>258</sup> While the main allegiance of the Ottoman policy to integration with the European economy still valid, a struggle between protectionists and free traders had emerged.<sup>259</sup>

While evaluating the economic developments of the nineteenth century Pamuk proposes a periodization which consists of four eras:

- I 1820-1853 International trade under English hegemony
- II 1854-1876 Dependency that increased because of foreign debt
- III 1880-1896 Recession and financial audit
- IV 1886-1913 Growth until World War I and competition among imperialists.<sup>260</sup>

Since Sadık Rıfat Paşa died in 1857, his economic proposals correspond with the first era that Pamuk stated. Despite Paşa's some ideas correlate with classical political economy, some of his ideas reflect the idea of protectionism.

---

<sup>256</sup> Quataert, *Ibid.*, 764.

<sup>257</sup> Quataert, *Ibid.*

<sup>258</sup> Quataert, *Ibid.*

<sup>259</sup> Quataert, *Ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme (1820-1913)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005), 152-9.

### 3.3 The Crystallisation of Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's ideas on economy first appeared in his *Avrupa Ahvâline Dair Risâle* (A Pamphlet on the Conditions of Europe) which was written during his first service as ambassador to Ottoman Empire in Vienna between October 1837 and October 1838.<sup>261</sup> He continued to express his ideas on economy until the last year of his life which covers the years from 1837 to 1856, about two decades. Nearly half of his book, *Müntehabât-ı Âsar* (Selected Writings) include his economic ideas. *Zeyl-i Risâle-i Ahlâk* (An Addendum to Pamphlet of Morals) includes Paşa's economic thoughts which must have written after 1847. Because Somel indicates that Sadık Rıfat Paşa's *Ahlâk Risâlesi* (A Pamphlet of Morals) was published in 1847, when he was alive.<sup>262</sup> Another chapter that covers Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic ideas is *İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasiyesini Mutazammın Risâle* (A Pamphlet on Essential

---

<sup>261</sup> For a brief evaluation of this pamphlet see Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Sâdık Rıfat Paşa ve Avrupa'nın Ahvâline Dâir Risâlesi," *Liberal Düşünce*, V. 3 (Summer 1996): 115-124.

<sup>262</sup> Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education*, 62.

Canons of Governmentality).<sup>263</sup> Apart from these, chapters XI, XII and XIII condensely include his economic proposals in forms of reports.<sup>264</sup>

Based on his observations and discussions in Vienna, Sadık Rıfat Paşa (at that time Rıfat Bey) seemed to crystallize his thoughts on different aspects of governing. Until his late years he continued to repeat the thoughts that he described in *Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle*. In his later writings he developed and detailed them by mentioning the contemporary problems of the Empire. We must indicate that this pamphlet did not directly comprise a writing style that discusses what must be done for reform, instead it has a descriptive style. But these descriptions from political mentality to fiscal policies will become the essences of his reform proposals in his later writings. In short, his description on fundamentals of European civilization will later become his reference points, at least for economic matters.

Even though Sadık Rıfat Paşa has a descriptive style in *Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle*, one can have an impression that he strongly admired the situation he witnessed there. It seems he portrays a perfect, well organized structure established on earth. But it is better to be sceptical. Even though the technical improvement or

---

<sup>263</sup> Mümtaz' er Türköne states that this pamphlet must have been written before the Tanzimat Edict because of its content and simple style of writing. According to him, in this classical sample of *siyasetnâme* (political treaty) Sadık Rıfat Paşa aimed to explain novel thoughts in an old style. In addition his audiences were young sultan Abdülmecid and the state dignitaries see Mümtaz' er Türköne, "Tanzimat Fermanı ve Sadık Rıfat Paşa," 283.

<sup>264</sup> The dates of the reports indicated by the publisher and some brief notes added to the headings where we can see the occupational position of Sadık Rıfat Paşa. Twenty four reports which include economic proposals in the chapters are listed above chronologically: XI, pp. 63-73, 25 Cemâziye'l-Âhir 1257 [14.08.1841]; XII, pp. 2-4, 22 Cemâziye'l-Âhir 1260 [09.07.1844]; XII, pp. 5-10, 20 Şa'bân 1261 [24.08.1845]; XII, pp. 17-19, 20 Zi'l-ka'de 1261 [20.11.1845]; XII, pp. 15-6, 15 Zi'l-hicce 1261 [15.12.1845]; XI, pp. 2-11, 29 Zi'l-hicce 1261 [29.12.1845]; XII, pp. 22-5, 22 Rebî'u'l-Evvel 1262 [20.03.1846]; XII, pp. 35-7, 19 Şevvâl 1262 [10.10.1846]; XII, pp. 26-30, 20 Zi'l-hicce 1262 [09.12.1846]; XII, pp. 37-41, 15 Muharrem 1263 [03.01.1847]; XII, pp. 66-7, 25 Muharrem 1264 [02.01.1848]; XI, pp. 25-6, 5 Rebî'u'l-Evvel 1264 [10.02.1848]; XI, pp. 26-8, 10 Rebî'u'l-Âhir 1264 [06.03.1848]; XII, pp. 54-8, 15 Receb 1264 [17.06.1848]; XII, pp. 68-70, 20 Rebî'u'l-Evvel 1265 [13.02.1849]; XI, pp. 11-6, 25 Rebî'u'l-Evvel 1266 [08.02.1850]; XII, pp. 74-5, 26 Şa'bân 1266 [06.07.1850]; XII, pp. 76-80, 15 Rebî'u'l-Evvel 1267 [18.01.1851]; XIII, pp. 2-9, 25 Safer 1272 [07.10.1852]; XIII, p. 10, 25 Muharrem 1272 [07.10.1855]; XIII, pp. 10-14, 22 Zi'l-ka'de 1272 [25.07.1856].

economic development was further than Ottoman Empire at that time, it is claimed that under the reign of Prince Metternich the economy was not shining except some improvements on railway systems and the production rise in traditional commodities like textiles, coal and iron.<sup>265</sup> It is also asserted that Sadık Rıfat Paşa witnessed the failure of Metternich's oppressive policies during his second appointment to Vienna between 1842 and 1843 as an ambassador.<sup>266</sup> We believe, it is more probable that Sadık Rıfat Paşa did not always choose to describe the economic situation of Vienna but sometimes explained what he wants to see in Ottoman Empire regarding the problems of the Empire at the time he lived.

In Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle, the first subject on economy that he touches on is taxation. He states that:

Official tax collectors do not behave the subjects unjustly. Taxes are imposed in accordance with the property and the land of the people. Besides these taxes are collected when subjects are ready to pay. Therefore people are not exposed to oppressions.<sup>267</sup>

According to Milne, taxation was one of the pressing problems during the 1830s and the 1840s in Austria.<sup>268</sup> The yield of taxation was quite inadequate for the needs of government thus there were not an efficient tax system.<sup>269</sup> In Ottoman empire it is claimed that *iltizam* (tax-farming) system was a cause of the poverty

---

<sup>265</sup> Andrew Milne, *Metternich* (London: University of London Press, 1975), 125.

<sup>266</sup> Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır*, 121.

<sup>267</sup> “Ve mürettebât-ı mîriyye için ahâlî ve teba‘aya me‘mûrîn ve sâ‘ire taraflarından zulüm ve taaddî vuku‘ bulmayarak her bir eshâb-ı emlâkın mülk ve arazîsine göre nizâmları vechiyle mektû‘ât alınur [...] Bunlar dahî usûl-i mevzû‘ası üzere vakt-i zamanıyla tahsîl olunub bu maddelerden ve sâ‘ir cihetlerden dolayı mezâlim ve taaddiyât bi’ttabii‘ olamaz[.]” Rıfat Paşa, “III Avrupa Ahvâline Dâir Risâle,” 9.

<sup>268</sup> Milne, *Metternich*, 126.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*

among subjects before the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839.<sup>270</sup> *İltizam* system was abolished in 1840 and a new system tried to established. According to it *muhasıl-ı emvâls* (state officials who collect taxes) were responsible to collect taxes in accordance to subjects' acquisitions.<sup>271</sup> It seems, Sadık Rıfat Paşa tried to formulate his thoughts on taxation by referring Europe.

Then mentions the usage of lands efficiently and people's efforts to make the lands fertile by saving the earnings for themselves:

They use most of the lands for agricultural and plowing purposes. People work and keep the acquisitions for themselves.<sup>272</sup>

These words could be interpreted as his desire for the people's contribution to agricultural and plowing activities. According to Paşa, as we understand, the freedom of saving among subjects is a significant motive for economic development.

He then moves to another subject. He mentions the significance of large population, the abundancy and cheapness of daily needs, tariff policies and international trade practices:

Because of the large population, most of the goods are expensive in Europe. But bread is of a good quality, abundant and cheap. In this sense they do not impose high customs for daily needs but they impose high tariffs to those goods like silk, tobacco and wine which are not essential for public and imported from foreign countries. And they try to keep the level of exports over imports in order to retain the cash currency of the country and try to limit importation as much as possible and they use the commodities

---

<sup>270</sup> Ahmet Cevat Eren, "Tanzimat," *İ.A.*, V. 11 (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, 1979), 720.

<sup>271</sup> Eren, "Tanzimat," 720.

<sup>272</sup> "Ve ekser arazîleri zira'at ve hırâset üzere ma'mûr ve kazançları kendülerine kalmak hasebiyle ahâlinin dahî sa'y ü gayretleri mevfürdur[.]" Rıfat Paşa, "III Avrupa Ahvâline....," 9.

which are produced in their countries.<sup>273</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's stress on large population and the benefits of higher exports can be associated with the features of cameralism. We will explain it in the following pages. Quataert states that before the 1830s, the population probably had declined in Ottoman Empire.<sup>274</sup> But after that because of a number of factors, significant increases had observed in population such as reduction of diseases, improvements in sanitation, security and an extensive migration of peoples into the empire.<sup>275</sup> Quataert asserts that increased population densities<sup>276</sup> later ensured a locomotive power for economic growth.<sup>277</sup> It seems, Sadık Rıfat Paşa convinced the positive effect of large population for economic development during his Vienna duty. As we stated earlier the years between 1820 and 1853 was defined as the dominance of international trade under English hegemony by Pamuk. In the light of this information Sadık Rıfat Paşa seems to advocate an adverse, a sense of protectionist, policy. He will remain loyal to this idea until his late years.<sup>278</sup>

---

<sup>273</sup> "Ve Avrupa[']da kesret-i nüfus cihetiyle ekser eşyâ bahalı iken nân-ı azîz sâ'irden has ve gayet ehvendir[.] Bu makule akvât-ı yevmiyye ve cümlelerin muhtâc olduğu eşyâdan ziyâde gümrük ve resm almazlar fakat harîr ve duhan ve hamr misüllü umûmiyyet üzere muhtâc olunmayan ve yekdiğerinin memleketinden gelen emtia ve sâ'ir bu makule eşyâdan külliyyetlü resm alurlar ve devlet ve milletin akçası âher mülke çıkmamak için imkân-ı mertebe ekser eşyâ-ı ma'mûle-i ecnebîyyenin birbirlerinin memâlikine duhûlü memnû' olarak ihrâcâtın ziyâde olması tedâbirine dikkat iderler ve derûn-ı mülkelerinde i'mâl olunan emti'aya kemâliyle i'tibâr idüb tebaaları dahî anı isti'mâl ider" Rıfat Paşa, *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>274</sup> Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," 777.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>276</sup> Please note that territorial loses also contributed the increase in population densities in Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. *Ibid.*

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>278</sup> "Husûl-ı ma'muriyet ve sahiha-i mülkiye için idhalat ve ihracat muvazene olunarak mahsûlât-ı araziyenin ân be ân tezayüdü çaresine ikdam ile ihracatın bu yüzden ziyade olmasına i'tina edilmesi" Rıfat Paşa "XIII Ba'zı Islahâta Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Lâyihaların Sûretleridir," 5.

He then continues with the importance of new techniques which are used in transportation and communication:

In order to facilitate commercial and industrial activities, they manufacture and utilize steam engines. With the help of these machines they have steam boats on seas and steam cars on lands which help to cover a distance of twelve hours in one hour. They utilize these vehicles for transportation and communication.<sup>279</sup>

Obviously Sadık Rıfat Paşa impressed the technical improvements which was succeeded at that time in Austria. Milne attracts our attention to the development of a railway system: “During 1830s and 1840s Austria began to develop a railway system which was over one thousand kilometres of track by 1848.”<sup>280</sup> According to Quataert the Ottoman Empire came late to the railroad age such that in 1850, not a single track had yet been constructed anywhere in the districts of Ottoman control.<sup>281</sup> Ottoman territories possessed about 7,500 kilometres of track after 1890, thirteen years later of Sadık Rıfat Paşa’s death, which was a modest level in comparison to Europe.<sup>282</sup>

According to Sadık Rıfat Paşa factories are indispensable but highly cost. In order to lighten government’s burden they use a system called action:

And a giant factory or railways or anything else which are beneficial for public affairs need high costs. Even such kind of things are not invested just by state but they use a method called action. According to this method, with the commitment of two respected bankers they collect money from people so they become stock holder of this action and year by year they take the interest/return which is calculated in accordance to their amount of

---

<sup>279</sup> “Ve teshîl-i umûr-ı ticâret ve sanâyi‘ zımında eşyâ kârhânelerinde buhar ile idâre ve i‘mâl olunur makineler icâd olunmuş olduğundan başka takrîb-i muhâbere ve teshîl-i turûk-ı seferiyye için denizde vapur gemileri ve karada vapur arabaları ihdâs ile mesela on on iki saatlik mesâfeyi bir saatda kat’ iderler[.]” Rıfat Paşa, “III Avrupa...,” 10.

<sup>280</sup> Milne, Metternich, 126.

<sup>281</sup> Quataert, “The Age of Reforms,” 804.

<sup>282</sup> Quataert, “The Age of Reforms,” 804-5.

stock and the state do not intervene in this business.<sup>283</sup>

Quataert states that European machine manufacturing methods commenced after 1826 and continued into the 1830s.<sup>284</sup> Three factories were established and two of them converted to steam which were all state founded projects aimed at transferring European technology.<sup>285</sup> Other state factories, under the sponsored program of industrialization, spread between early 1840s and 1850s.<sup>286</sup> Some of them failed but some of them outlived the empire.<sup>287</sup> Milne asserts that industrialization in Austria in Metternich's time was not good.<sup>288</sup> What is important in Sadık Rıfat Paşa's assesment is his emphasis on the system called action which, according to him, would lighten the burden of the state and be a motor for economic development.

Lastly, Rıfat Bey focuses on monetary policies:

Since they never change the monetary value, inflation is rarely observed.<sup>289</sup> A paper named banknote (paper-money) is circulated among people to facilitate transactions. Backing of these banknotes are kept in their places (banks) and whenever people want to change their banknotes to silver coins they can do. The backing of the banknotes which are circulated among people are stocked in state treasury. Supposing that all people stop to use paper-money and

---

<sup>283</sup> “[V]e bir cesîm fabrika veyahud demür yolları ve sâ’ir umûr-ı mülkiyyece enfâ olub da mesarifât-ı külliyyeye muhtâc olacak şe’yeri dahî asıl devletın hazînesine tahmîl itmeyüb aksiyon dedikleri usûl üzere meselâ bir iki mu‘teber sarraf taahhüdüyle eshâm-ı müştereke olarak ahaliden akça alub hissedâr iderek icâd idüb hissedârlarına sene be sene menâfi-i hissesine göre fâ‘iz edâ olunur ve devlet tarafından menâfie müdahale olunmaz [.]” Rıfat Paşa, *Ibid.*

<sup>284</sup> Quataert, *Ibid.*, 899.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> Milne uses one of the Metternich's statement written in 1840. Metternich complains about the inferiority of Austrian economy both in terms of commerce and industry in comparison to industrial movement in Germany. Milne, *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>289</sup> “[V]e meskûkât-ı düveliyeleri vezn ve âyârda her ne ise kat‘a tagayyür itmeyüb bu cihetle tefâvüt-i es’âr ve eşyâ nâdir vukû‘ bulur[.]” Rıfat Paşa, *ibid.*, 11.

want silver coins they can change them, the state cannot keep and spend these backings.<sup>290</sup>

We are again exposed to the same question: These were really his witnessings or financial situation that he want to see in the Empire? We do not have much information on fiscal policies in Vienna at that time. But Milne states that government finance had pressing problems during the 1830s and 1840s. Probably Sadık Rıfat Paşa learnt some notions of finance in Vienna and in this pamphlet he described what he wants to see in Ottoman Empire.

In short he touches on seven main issues in this pamphlet: First, a just tax system; second, the protection of domestic markets from foreign goods, therefore exports should be kept higher than imports; third, the efficient use of lands; fourth, the importance of agriculture and industry; fifth, subjects' efforts to contribute economic development, sixth, state's role on the realization of the previous purpose: the state should not intervene in people's economic activities; seventh, the importance of modern techniques.

In the following years Sadık Rıfat Paşa repeated almost the same issues in his other writings that we portrayed above. But in some instances he developed and detailed his ideas on economic matters in accordance with his experiences during his service to the Empire and his observations on the empire's contemporary economic problems. The discussion of the fruit of these efforts can be found in the sixteenth chapter of his book. We will examine these views and try to find out in what ways he

---

<sup>290</sup> “[V]e bir bankonot ta‘bîr olunan bir nev‘i akça makâmında kâğıd dahî teshîlü‘ül-muamelât âyâdî-i nâsda tedavül ider ise de karşuluğu mevcûd ve müddehâr olduğundan her ne vakit mahalline gidülüb değıştirilmek ya‘ni kâğıd virilüb gümüş akça alınmak murâd olursa derhal kâğıd alınub sim akça te‘diyyesinde kat‘a tereddüd olunmaz ve elde mütedavül olan bunca kise akçaların kâğıda mukabil hazîne-i mahsûsasında nukûd-ı mevcûda mudahhar olub farazâ cümle kâğıd eshâbı terk idüb de sim isteseler kâmilten te‘diye olunub üç ayda tekmîlen ardı alınması muayyen ve meşrut olarak hazır şu kadar bu kadar mevcûd akça var deyü hiç devlet tarafından ahz ve sarfına cevâz göstermezler[.]” Rıfat Paşa, *Ibid.*, 11.

might have formed them. The content of his economic thoughts clearly show a separation from classical economic thinking. For instance he does not favour debasement as a monetary tool, he thinks that confiscation system is not beneficial for economic prosperity, and he desires higher export rates. In addition, his stresses on economic productivity among subjects may be regarded as a separation from Ottoman classical thinking. He generally references Europe as a continent that grasped economic development. The political and economic reforms would make the Ottoman Empire strong and one of the leading European countries. Since he did not reference any texts or writers, we expect that his biography and the economic context of his time would guide us in order to find his inspirations.

### 3.4 Cameralist influence on Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts

Şerif Mardin first saw the influence of cameralist ideas on his thoughts. He states that:

both extrinsic and intrinsic evidences indicates that Prince Metternich, than the chancellor of the Austrian Empire, played an important to role to crystallize his conceptions of beneficial versus unadvisable reform policies.<sup>291</sup> The extrinsic evidence of Austrian influences on Rıfat's political ideas consists of a number of messages exchanges between Metternich and his representative at the Porte, Baron Strumer<sup>292</sup>[...] The intrinsic evidence of Metternichian influences in Rıfat's writings consists of the fundamentally conservative approach of Rıfat to the reforming of Ottoman Empire.<sup>293</sup>

---

<sup>291</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 178.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 179.

Mardin then makes an over-all characterization of Sadık Rıfat Paşa's ideas in order and connect them to cameralism, the German equivalent of mercantilism which "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>294</sup> Indeed some aspects of Rıfat Paşa's economic ideas seem to be influenced by cameralism. We will try to find out them.

One link between the cameralist economic policy and Sadık Rıfat's economic thinking is the stress on large population. In the west until the Malthusian obsessions of the nineteenth century, the policy of increasing of the population was put in practice by mercantilists. The purpose was to provide a plentiful labour supply to satisfy the expansion needs of the emerging industries.<sup>295</sup> Cameralists were often supporters of high populations, whereas they did not establish any model that formulated the influence of population growth upon cameralist purposes. Probably, the cameralist writers straightforwardly have an empirical faith that an increasing population would be more beneficial in their lands, especially in terms of the circumstances that acquired at that time all over the cameralist regions.<sup>296</sup>

Rıfat Paşa also views a large population necessary for a developed economy:

The power of state/country cannot be realized with the largeness of its territory. The prosperity of a country can be realized with its large population. The prosperity of a country cannot be realized if it is underpopulated. The prosperity of a country can be realized with the help of the large population's agricultural activities and the permission

---

<sup>294</sup> Herman Finer, *The Governments of European Powers* (New York: Henry Holt, 1956), 283-4 cited by Mardin, *Genesis*, 188.

<sup>295</sup> E. Screpanti and S. Zamagni, *An Outline of the History of Economic Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 36.

<sup>296</sup> Richard E. Wagner, "The Cameralists: Fertile Sources for a New Science of Public Finance." In, *Handbook For The History Of Economic Thought*, ed. by Juergen G. Backhaus (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 141.

for the foreigners to have properties and make the country their homelands.<sup>297</sup>

The term *tavattun* (a settling in a place) is important in this context. It seems Sadık Rıfat Paşa evaluates foreigners' economic activities in the Ottoman lands with a permission to settle in the country as one of the components of economic development. As known, in 1856 a code was introduced which give a right to foreigners to purchase properties in Ottoman lands.

The fundamental principle of cameralism shows itself in the writings of Sadık Rıfat Paşa as follows:

In a country, if the exportation of crops and manufactured goods exceed importations and the population remain in the country, prosperity can be observed there. Otherwise it will be devastated[...] The ease and abundancy of a state depends on security and the good governing. By this way the population increase; as long as the population increases the country prosper.<sup>298</sup>

When we consider that the economic policies of the Ottoman Empire from the 1820s to the 1860s were liberal in terms of international trade, his aim to protect domestic markets become more important. As known, 1838 Anglo-Ottoman

---

<sup>297</sup> “Bir devletin kudret ve mikneti mutasarrıf olduğu arazinin vüs‘atı ile kıyas olunmayub mülkünün ma‘muriyeti ve teb‘aa-ı mevcudasının kesret ü vefreti ile i‘tibar olunur[.] Bir mülkte kesret üzere ahali mevcut olmadıkça matlub vecihle ma‘mur olamaz, kesret-i nüfus mahsulâtın teksiri ve derûn-ı memâlikde ecnebilerin şurût-ı lâzıma ile istimplâk ve tavattun etmelerine ruhsat i‘tası ile hâsıl olur[.] Serbesti-i tasarruf-ı emlâk ve emvâl ve muhafaza-i hukuk maddelerine ri‘ayet ve dikkat olunması dahi tezayüd-i nüfusa ve ma‘muriyet-i beldeye bâdîdir.” Rıfat Paşa “XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasîyesini Mutazammın Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Kaleme Aldığı Risâledir,” 44.

<sup>298</sup> “Bir mülkte mahsulât ve sanayi‘in ihracatı idhalata galib olarak nüfus-ı mevcude harice çıkmadığı halde evvel mülk ma‘mur olur eğer kazıye ber‘aks olur ise harablığa yüz tutar[.] Muntazam olan devletlerin ihtiyaten mevki-i mülküne göre bir senelik zahirini hıfz ve idhar eylemesi elzemdir[.] Bir devletin nümûv ü feyz ve tezayüd ü sa‘adeti emniyet ve umur-ı siyasiyeye kemâliyle ri‘ayet ve dikkat sayesinde vücuda gelür ve ân be ân nüfus-ı mevcudesi teksir eder ve nüfus teksir eyledikçe ma‘muriyet-i mülkiyesi dahi evvel derecede kesb-i terakki eder,” XVI, 44. Rıfat Paşa proposed similar ideas in 1839 also: “Bir devletin mahsulât ve mamulât-ı mülkiyesinden ihracatı ziyade ve memâlik-i ecnebiyeden ithalatı noksan olduğu hâlde nukud-ı mevcudesi memlekette kalub tebaa‘ ve ahali zi-kudret ve bunun aksi olan mahallerin ahalişi düçâr-ı zaruret oldukları bedihiyyattan bulunduğundan da‘ima b’il-ikdam bu makule-i mahsulât ve emtiadan ihracatın ziyade olmasına dikkat ve ihtimam olunması ehemdir,” Rıfat Paşa, “XI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Bi’ddefaat Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyasetinde ve Muahharen Meclis-i Tanzimat Âzalığında Bulunduğu Vakitlerde Kaleme Almış Bulunduğu Mazbatalardan Ba‘zılarının Sûretleridir,” 46.

Convention was signed and similar treaties, with France and other European countries were followed the first treaty. The 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Convention had accelerated the diffusion of the liberal economic thoughts to Ottoman Empire. Some of the articles of the treaty was about the monopolistic trade policy (e.g. specific limitations and additional duties) of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>299</sup> Before the treaty the state can forbid the exportation of specific raw materials and foodstuffs in some cases, and in order to create additional incomes the state can impose extraordinary tariffs for international trade.<sup>300</sup> The treaty changed these rules and gave privileges to foreign traders.<sup>301</sup> So it seems that Sadık Rıfat Paşa was for a protectionist policy in terms of international trade from the beginning.

On the other hand this idea is one of the evidences that his economic thoughts were different from classical Ottoman thinking. During the classical times an opposite trade policy was implemented in Ottoman lands. As Genç put, one of the pillars of the Ottoman economic thinking in classical era was provisionism. According to provisionism principle the state aims to satisfy the needs of the domestic market in the first hand and tried to implement an adverse international trade policy, which was based on higher imports over exports, in terms of cameralist notions.

Even though Paşa was convinced of the advantage of this trade policy he nonetheless believed that it could not be implemented in the Ottoman Empire in his time:

---

<sup>299</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 97.

<sup>300</sup> Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık*, 98.

<sup>301</sup> Pamuk, *Ibid.*

Even though it looks difficult to have exports exceeding imports in the Ottoman Empire, it is also possible to generate a vast amount of production even in the Well-Protected Domains. So, we must be careful to make sure of at least an equivalence and concordance between exports and imports.<sup>302</sup>

Another important stress is on the balance of income and expenditures.

Indeed in the 1850s, foreign debts and direct investments comprised of another dimension in the process of integration to world capitalism.<sup>303</sup> He warns that an imbalance would cause an increase in taxes which would cause an economic devastation. He then explains that a government should help to flourish a positive ambience for economic activities. This approach seems to resemble cameralism because of his consideration of wealth and the state's position in order to promote the economic activities of the subjects. Mardin claimed that Rıfat Paşa's focus of the measures aimed at securing "efficiency" rather than abstract "liberty."<sup>304</sup>

Mardin seems partially right for this comment because according to Tribe, cameralist policies do not always aim liberty for economic activities of the people. To the contrary, freedom of commerce is not unlimited but constrained by social duties, and commercial liberty is distinguished from unconfined independence and the freedom of arbitrary action.<sup>305</sup> On the other hand Rıfat Paşa was not just an advocate of the economic activities of the subjects, muslims and non-muslims; but

---

<sup>302</sup> "Devlet-i Âliyye memalikinin ihracatı ithalatına galib olması müşkil ise de Memalik-i Mahrusada dahi külliyyetli mahsulât vücuda gelmesi mümkün olduğundan hiç olmaz ise ihracatın ithalat ile muvazin ve müsavi olmasına be-gayret itina oluna." Rıfat Paşa "XI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Bi'ddefaat...." 46.

<sup>303</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme (1820-1913)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005), 154.

<sup>304</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 179.

<sup>305</sup> Keith Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order German Economic Discourse, 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 23.

also favoured the economic activities of foreigners and encouraged foreign direct investments.<sup>306</sup> Therefore his stress on freedom of economic activities is more likely to have been influenced by classical political economy. As known, Adam Smith, the founder of classical political economy, put a special emphasis on the rights of individuals to pursue economic activities such as to produce and exchange products, in the context of freedom.<sup>307</sup>

Rıfat Paşa continues to give his ideas on economic freedom as necessary for economic prosperity. *Munatazam* (well organized) is a significant term in here. According to Mardin Sadık Rıfat Paşa knew that in the Ottoman Empire one of the essential evils was the insecurity of the subjects.<sup>308</sup> For him laws needed to be introduced in order to establish order. Mardin claims that, in the eyes of Rıfat Paşa, one solution, the superiority of “rules and regulations” over the “personal factors” would solve the problems of the Empire.<sup>309</sup> Mardin’s interpretation seems correct. It is true that Sadık Rıfat Paşa, himself was complaining about sultan Mahmud II’s oppressive treatments to statesmen around him.<sup>310</sup> In the following quotation Rıfat Paşa connects the prosperity to a secure environment. Besides he emphasises that a

---

<sup>306</sup> “Tevsi’i esbâb-ı ticaret ve teksir-i hıref ve zana’at için dâhil memâlikte şerâit-i mukteziye tahtında olarak bazı ‘ecnebi kumpanyaların teşkiline mezuniyet verilmesi[.]” Rıfat Paşa, “XIII Ba’zı Islahâta Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Lâyihaların Süretleridir,” 5. From a report dated 1852.

<sup>307</sup> Mark Skousen, *The Big Three in Economics: Adam Smith Karl Marks and John Maynard Keynes* (New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), 18.

<sup>308</sup> Mardin, *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>309</sup> Mardin, *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>310</sup> Ali Fuad Türkgeldi states that Rıfat Paşa wrote a short biography of Sultan Mahmud II and criticized his style of policy and governing in *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr*: “hengâm-ı Saltanatları’nda ekseriya umûr-ı Devlet-i Enderun ve Bîrûn ricalinden ve kâh vüzera-yı îzâmından bazı isimleri ma’lûm olan zatlara bütün bütün tefviz ü tekvil ve mamafih onlara dahi kanaat ve emniyet buyurmayıp hilâf-gîrleri tarizâtıyla kuvve-i itibariyelerini tenzil misillü halât-ı mütenevvi’anın zuhuru ve bunların ise ihtilaf-ı meslek ü meşrep ve belki mugayeret-i mizaç ü minhâçları ile birinin hengâm-ı nüfuzunda yapılan şeyler diğerinin zaman-ı ikbaline imha ve onun taban tabana ziddi icra ile kesret-i tebeddülât ve vefret-i tahavvülât ve ‘ale-l-‘amyâ mahv ü ispat ile bir şey lâyıkiyla ikmal olunmayıp[...].” *Maruf Simalar*, ed. by Selçuk Akşin Somel and Mehmet Kalpaklı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), 182.

government should take the necessary measures to create a convenient environment for subjects to pursue economic activities:

In the well organized countries which have a secure environment for the public, agricultural products and industry prosper day by day. Freedom of private property and economic activities motivate subjects to acquire wealth, these are the principles of agriculture and industry. For this reason rulers should introduce laws for liberty of private property and make sure that subjects can trade and obtain profits from commerce, agriculture, industry and crafts. If anything novel is invented in a country, concessions should be made for inventors.<sup>311</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa then moves on a different issue. He thinks that in the state of imbalance of income and expenditures, the result would be the heavy burden of taxes on subjects. Paşa makes a positive correlation between economic efficiency and the prosperity of state. According to Mardin he was the first Ottoman who focused on an economy which depends on productive efficiency not the spoils of war.<sup>312</sup>

Good governing depends on the balace of income and expenditures. If expenditures exceed the revenues either a weakness would be emerged or high amount of taxes would be imposed which would pave the way for oppression. At the end, it was experienced that a dilapidated country and a miserable government would emerge. A reason for prosperity is that a secure

---

<sup>311</sup> “Emniyeti-i âmme-yi mütekeffil olan muntazam devletlerde mahsulât-ı araziye ve sanâî’ye günden güne tezayüd ve teksir eder[.] Ve hukuk-ı tasarruf mülk ü emvalin serbestiyesi herkese tahsil-i mal ve servet etmeğe bâdî-i şevk ve rağbet olur[.] Zira’at [57] ve ticaretin rükni emniyet-i kâmile-i umumiyenin muhafaza olunması maddesidir[.] Bunun için hükümdarân ma’adalet ünvanın hukuk-ı tasarruf mülkiyeti kemâliyle te’min ve ta’yin etmesi ve teb’asına mal ü mülkünü diledikleri gibi alub satmaları ve mu’amelat-ı ticaret ve san’at ve zira’at vesa’ir güne şeyler ile kesb-i kâr ve menfa’at etmeleri hususlarında tamamiyle ruhsat ve serbestiyet vermesi[.] Ve derun-ı memleketde yeniden bir şey icad olunur ise ihdas ve ihtirâ’ edenlere imtiyazat-ı münasebe i’ta etmesi umur-ı mühimme-i mülkiyedendir.” Rıfat Paşa, “XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasiyesini Mutazammın Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Kaleme Aldığı Risâledir,” 57-8.

<sup>312</sup> Mardin, “Türkiye’de İktisadî Düşüncenin...,” 56.

environment for those who have capital. If they cannot find such an environment perhaps prosperity could not be observed in that country.<sup>313</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa puts emphasis on the tax system several times from 1837 to 1856. He was complaining about the mistreatment of the tax collectors. Sadık Rıfat's proposals about tax system seem parallel to cameralist principals. According to cameralist notions, a tax should be imposed in proportion to property and should not be arbitrary; it should be convenient to pay and economical to administer; a tax should never be detrimental to a taxpayer or to diminish a taxpayer's capital to pay the tax; a tax must not damage the welfare of taxpayers and not contravene their civil liberties.<sup>314</sup> Needless to say an efficient tax system is regarded vital for a state from ancient times onwards. What is interesting in Rıfat Paşa's ideas is the reference to Europe.

When it comes to collecting taxes, tax-payers' state of endurance should be taken into consideration and the amount of taxes should be determined according to it. [...] Taxes should be limited to a moderate level. State officials should treat subjects justly while they collect taxes. During the construction of buildings or novel roads, people should not be forced to work for them. Instead those who want to work should be employed.<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>313</sup> “Her devletin hüsn-i idaresi varidat ve masarifatının lâıyıkıyla muvazin olmasına menuttur[.] Masarifatı varidat-ı muayyenesinden ziyade olur ise gide gide ya ızaa’-ı kuvvet ve miknete veyahud mülk-i teb’asına ziyade tarh-ı vergi ile zulm-ı ta’addiye bais olarak bilâhara harab-ı mülke ve izmihlâl-ı hükümete bâdî olacağı mücerrebâtandır[.] Erbâb-ı servetin emniyet-i tame bularak nukud ve sermayelerini kullanmaları mülk ü milletin kesb-i ma’uriyet etmesine sebebdır[.] Ehl-i servet emniyet bulamayubda sermayelerinden müstefid olamıyarak yalnız hıfz ve iddihar ederler ise fai’de-i ‘umûmiye hâsıl olamaz ve belki öyle mahallerde ma’uriyet-i mülkiye bile husule gelemez” Rıfat Paşa, “XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin...,” 4.

<sup>314</sup> Wagner, “The Cameralists...,” 13.

<sup>315</sup> “Tahsil-i vergi emrinde daima ahali-i mevcudenin tahammül-i hâli mülâhaza olunarak âna göre tarh ü tevzi’ olunmasına [58] dikkat olunmak pek muktezidir ve ahalden ba’zı musa’be-i duçar olanları olduğu hâlde bi’t-tahkik vergileri muvakkaten tevkif ve kendüleri kesb-i liyakat ve iktidar edinceye kadar tahfif olunmalı ve her hâlde vergi ve tekâlif maddesinde hadd-i itidali tecavüz etmemeli me’murin-i devlet her bâr ve hususiyle hengâm-ı zaruret ve ihtiyaclarında ahali haklarında hakkaniyet ve insaf ve mürüvvet ve merhamet üzere muamele etmelidirler[.] Fai’de-i umûmiye için yapılacak ba’zı ebniye ve tesviye olunacak yollarda kullanılacak ‘amelenin istihdamında mu’amele-i ‘anife ve cebriye vuku’ gönürölmeyerek kendü rıza ve hoşnudları istihsalıyla istihdamlarına dikkat eylemelidirler” Rıfat Paşa, “XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin...,” 58-9.

The last expressions of the previous quotation are interesting. As we stated above, Türköne believes that this pamphlet was written before the proclamation of Tanzimat and Paşa's audiences were the young sultan Abdülmecid and state dignitaries. It is also known that the *angarya* (forced labour) which was a reason for complaints among muslim and non-muslim subjects of the Empire was abolished with Tanzimat.<sup>316</sup> Probably Sadık Rıfat Paşa tried to express subjects' complaints to sultan and high bureaucrats.

We tried to trace the cameralist influence on Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts. Mardin chose to evaluate Paşa's political and economic thoughts in the context of cameralism. We admit that Rıfat Paşa's some ideas might flourish in Vienna before 1840, perhaps under the influence of Prince Metternich. But it would be fallacious to claim that he established all of his economic ideas within the framework of cameralism. Tribe's interpretation on the decline of cameralism would help us in this regard:

Cameralism had entered terminal decline by the first decade of the nineteenth century. They were facing heavy criticism from a competing system of political and economic theory; and by the 1820s Cameralism had disappeared in all but name. This chronology is conventionally attributed to the impact of Smithian doctrines.<sup>317</sup>

So, were the imprints of liberal economic thought in Rıfat Paşa's writings the Smithian doctrines that were embedded in a cameralist discourse while Rıfat Paşa was in Vienna for the first time? It is difficult to answer this question but we can try to say something about the impact of Metternich on Sadık Rıfat Paşa. Ortaylı

---

<sup>316</sup> Eren, "Tanzimat," 721.

<sup>317</sup> Tribe, *Strategies of Economic Order*, 25.

expresses that Metternich's policy of protecting the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire was attractive for Ottoman statesmen. The reason of strong relationships of Metternich with the Tanzimat diplomats was the consequence of this policy. In this sense Metternich's ideas and suggestions might be acceptable for Sadık Rıfat Bey.<sup>318</sup> Ortaylı states that Tanzimat bureaucrats, including Rıfat Bey, were not share Metternich's conservative ideology instead, they were pragmatists and were not attach to an ideology.<sup>319</sup> Rıfat Bey's some sentences in a letter that he sent to Reşid Paşa when he was in Vienna seem to confirm Ortaylı's views to some degree. The context is the 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Convention. When the treaty was signed Rıfat Bey was in Vienna. He says his best wishes for the treaty and repeats Metternich's comments on it. According to Sadık Rıfat, Metternich's comments are contradictory because he does not want a good relationship between England and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>320</sup> So it seems it is not a convenient way to evaluate Sadık Rıfat Paşa's thoughts in the cameralist context. Probably most of his novel thoughts had flourished in Vienna during his first service as an ambassador. But, we think, this does not proof to place all of his ideas in a cameralist discourse.

---

<sup>318</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Tanzimat Bürokratları ve Metternich," in *Prof Fehmi Yavuz'a Armağan* (Ankara: A.Ü. S.B.F. ve Basın-Yayın Yüksekokulu Basımevi, 1983), 363.

<sup>319</sup> Ortaylı, "Tanzimat Bürokratları," 366.

<sup>320</sup> "İngiltereli ile 'akd olunan mu'âhede-i ticaretden dolayı Prens Metternih[']in ifade-i vâkı'a âhiresinde revîş kelâmı etraflıca anlaşılmaq için sûret-i tafsilîyesi dahî iş'âr olunmasını âmir bu def'a hâme-i pîyrây-ı ta'zîm olan cevâbnâme-i sâmilîleri me'al-i 'âlisî ma'lûm-ı 'acizânem olub mu'âhede-i mezkûrenin faide-i mülkiye ve nizamiyesinde şübhe olmadığı misillü prens mûmâileyhin bu bâbda olan ifadesinde dahî vâkı'a tefavüt ve mübâbeyenet derkâr ve nezd-i hakâyık vefd-i asfânelerinde beyâna hâcet olmadığı üzere bunlar politika me'muru olduklarından kullandıkları usûl ve lisânda vakt ü hâl politikasına ve icâb-ı maslahatlarına ittibâ' edegeldiklerine ve zâten ve usûlen politika-i şimâliyenin ilerülemesi tervîcinde bulduklarına nazaran bu vâdilerde her ne söyleseler garaz-ı mahsûsalarından 'ibâret olduğu âşikâr olmağla [...]" Rıfat Paşa, "VI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Elli Üç Tarihi Evâhîrinde Viyana[']ya Büyükelçi Tayin Olunduğu Esnada Hariciye Nazırı Bulunan Reşid Paşa Merhûma Yazmış Olduğu Muharrerâttan İntihâb Olunan Bazı Mekâtibdir," 11. This letter was sent to Reşid Paşa in the last days of 1253[1837/8] (1253 evahiri), see Appendix F.

One may ask whether Sadık Rıfat was influenced by List's protectionist ideas. According to Tribe after the diminishing of Cameralism in the 1820s a significantly different doctrine had surfaced: *Nationalökonomie* (National economy).<sup>321</sup> The development of the *Nationalökonomie* in the first half of the nineteenth century owed its theoretical basis to the rupture with cameralistic traditions that created the space in which a new *Nationalökonomie* could become established.<sup>322</sup> The theoretical founder of National economy was German economist List. He highlighted his ideas when Great Britain was expanding its *laissez faire* doctrine to all over the world. He systematized his doctrine in *Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie* which published in 1841. The first English translation was published in the United States as, *The National System of Political Economy*<sup>323</sup> in 1856.<sup>324</sup> The fundamental idea of List's theory will be seen to have been the free import of agricultural products and raw materials combined with an effective but not excessive protection (by means of customs duties) of native manufacturing industry against foreign competition.<sup>325</sup>

His ideas differ,

on the one hand from the unconditionally free import system of one-sided free trade adopted by England, and on the other from the system now apparently approved by Prince Bismarck, of imposing protective duties on the import of food and raw materials as well as on that of manufactured goods.<sup>326</sup>

---

<sup>321</sup> Tribe, *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>322</sup> Tribe, *Ibid.*

<sup>323</sup> Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & co, 1856).

<sup>324</sup> Tribe, *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>325</sup> Sampson S. Llyod, "Translator's Preface to First Edition," in *The National System of Political Economy* by Friedrich List (London: Longmans, Green & co, 1909), 7-8.

<sup>326</sup> Llyod, "Translator's Preface," 8.

Therefore he, in fact, advocated relatively moderate protectionist policies. Although the corner-stone of List's system is nationalism, his ultimate ideal is universal free trade, and according to him, under the present conditions of the day (predominant manufacturing commercial and naval power, the England of his day) if universal free trade was adopted, it would simply serve to powerful nations and in the end development of the other nations would lose with the rest of the whole world.<sup>327</sup> List's famous thesis, that of infant industry, flourished on this basis.

Were there similarities between List's doctrine and Sadık Rıfat's protectionist proposals? In this sense the answer seems negative. Sadık Rıfat's emphasis on protecting domestic markets through a high level of exports did not change throughout his life. In a report that he submitted in 1852 he repeated his ideas on this issue.<sup>328</sup> But on the other hand his emphasis on the importance of both agriculture and manufacture resembles to List at first glance. List states that the most important co-operation of productive powers in material production, is that of agriculture and manufacture and both depend mutually upon one another.<sup>329</sup> Rıfat Paşa also mentions agriculture and industry (and trade) together in every context. For List, commerce is merely the medium of exchange between the agricultural and the manufacturing power, and between their separate branches.<sup>330</sup> We think Rıfat Paşa's focus on agriculture, industry and commerce in the same context was emerged from his

---

<sup>327</sup> J. Shield Nicholson, "Introductory Essay," in *The National System of Political Economy* by Friedrich List (London: Longmans, Green & co, 1909), 17.

<sup>328</sup> "Husûl-ı ma'muriyet-i sahiha-i mülkiye için idhalat ve ihracat muvazene olunarak mahsulât-ı araziye'nin ân be ân tezayüd çaresine ikdam ile ihracatın bu yüzden ziyade olmasına i'tina edilmesi[.]" Rıfat Paşa, "XIII Ba'zı İslahâta Dâir," 5.

<sup>329</sup> Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy* (London: Longmans, Green & co, 1909), 151.

<sup>330</sup> List, *The National System of Political Economy*, 152.

pragmatic and cameralistic notions that he learnt in his duty in Vienna, not from List.

As we stated in the second chapter, Ottoman intellectual sphere met List's ideas via Musa Akyiğitzade's writings during late nineteenth century.<sup>331</sup>

### 3.5 Liberal influence on Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts

Rıfat Paşa sees the significance of individuals who should play their roles for economic development.

An individual has to favour education and industry/craft. Especially he should spend his time with agriculture, industry and commerce to gain profit, to make a living, to make a capital. And he should not to be a burden for his state.<sup>332</sup>

But in order to encourage individuals to become economic agents the state should take the necessary measures:

A state should take the measures to increase the internal and external trade activities, benefits of production/manufacture and grasping wealth.<sup>333</sup>

---

<sup>331</sup> Musa Akyiğitzade, *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadegi-i Ticaret ve Usul-ı Himaye* (İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1314), 22-5; Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye'de Liberalizm 1860-1990* (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 1992), 135-7.

<sup>332</sup> "Her türlü tahsil-i maarif ve sanayi'e insan himmet eylemelidir[.] Hususiyle zira'at ve san'at ve ticaret gibi şeyler ile kesb-i kâr ve taayyüş ve istihsâl-i sermaye ve servet etmek esbabına teşebbüs edib de umûr-ı taayyüşde bütün bütün devletine yüklenmemelidir[.] Ve kendü hüner ve san'atından istifadeye gayret etmelidir." Rıfat Paşa, "XV Zeyl-i Risâle-i Ahlâk," 17.

<sup>333</sup> "Teb'a-i mevcudenin memalik-i dahiliyye ve hariciyye ile teksir-i ticaret ve istihsal menafî' ve servet eylemelerine dair olan teslihât ve tedâbir ve tertibatın istikmâli maddesine i'tina ve ihtimam oluna[.]" Rıfat Paşa, "XV Zeyl-i...", 36.

For instance governments should not intervene in subjects' economic activities. To the contrary they should provide a basis for their freedom of entrepreneurship:

Whoever it is, his wealth should not be means of imputation and detriment, as long as his capacity led the state should not be an obstacle of the manifesting of power. Those who are wealthy and have heirs, the state should not confiscate their assets.<sup>334</sup> If it is contrary to someone's will, his properties(house, farm) should not be impounded.<sup>335</sup>

Sadık Rıfat shows his pragmatic approach when the matter is sustaining economic progress. He pays attention to inviting specialists from Europe for economic purposes.

For the continual works and the progress of agriculture, it is a requisite to invite specialists from Europe to invent those things which do not exist in the Well-Protected Domains. Crafts and industries should be encouraged by utilizing present/domestic manufactures/goods.<sup>336</sup>

According to Sadık Rıfat Paşa the condition of prosperity is a good governing as well as efficient economic activities. The state should encourage subjects to engage with economic activities. Besides debasement should no longer be used as a monetary tool. Domestic goods should be consumed. The state should take mesasures

---

<sup>334</sup> "Her kim olur ise olsun kendüye servet ve sâ mânâ mucîb-i töhmet ve vesile-i mazarrat olmayıb[,] kudretinin erdiği mikdar esbâb-ı miknet izharına taraf-ı devletten müdahale ve bundan dolayı muaheze olunmaya[.] Ve o makule ehl-i servetten intikal edenlerin vârisleri olduğu hâlde emvâline taraf-ı devletten müdahale ve müsadere olunmaya[.]” Rıfat Paşa “XI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Bi'ddefaat...,” 58.

<sup>335</sup> “Kendüsünün rızası olunmadıkça hâne ve sahilhâne ve emlâkin ve çiftlikâtı kimse tarafından cebren ahz olunmaya[.]” Rıfat Paşa, “XI Ibid.,” 58.

<sup>336</sup> “İkdamat-ı mütemudiya ile emr-i zira'atin ilerütilmesi ve Avrupa[']dan ba'zı üstatlar celbile Memalik-i Mahrusede hasıl olmayan emtia ve eşyanın icadı ve'l-hâletühaza mevcut ve ma'mul olan şeylere i'tibar olunarak hiref ve sanayi'in tezayüd edilmesi” Rıfat Paşa “XI Ibid.,” 45. He again stresses the necessity of higher exports in page 46.

to facilitate commercial activities and people can discuss economic affairs in local courts.<sup>337</sup>

Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts which are related to classical political economy find places in the quotations below:

Even if there are extensive buildings and huge factories in European countries they were built through a long time span step by step. Besides most of them were not funded by the state treasury but by a cooperation called action. Subjects and commercials contribute to this cooperation in accordance with their wealths. For this reason if this method were to be adopted in the Ottoman Empire, the state would not spend money on constructing buildings until its economic power reached a considerable level. Therefore, the state should give licence to subjects and perhaps should encourage them to improve cities.<sup>338</sup>

---

<sup>337</sup> "Hüsn-i idare ve emr-i zira'ata ikdam olunduğu hâlde az vakitte pek çok ma'muriyet husûle geleceği zahir olup her mülk ve devletin ma'muriyeti dahi eşya ve mahsûlat ve i'malattan dolayı ihracaatı idhalatına galip olmasına mevkuף ve harabiyet dahi bunun aksi hâlde olacağı ma'lûm ve ma'ruf olduğundan Devlet-i Âliyye[']de dahi ihracat-ı eşyanın ziyade olmasına ve hiç olmazsa müsavi ve muvazin tutulmasına dikkat olunması esbâb-ı ticaretin memalik-i mahruse ahâlisi hakkında dahi teshil ve icrası ve eshâb-ı zira'at ve sanayi'in tekessür ve teshil-i umûr-ı nafîa ve taşra meclislerinde müzakere olunarak iktizasına bakılması ve eşya ve es'ar bir fiyatta kalmak için meskukatın bir ayarda durmasına dikkat olunması ve refte refte esbâb-ı sarf ü telef def' ile eşyayı lazimede yalnız zerafete bakılmayıp kıymet-i maliyeye ve dayanmasına bakılması ve derun-ı memalik-i şahanede çıkan ba'zı emtia' ve eşyaya rağbet olunup isti'mali adet-i makbule suretine konulması ve bu misüllü sa'ir hatra gelen şeyler usûl-ı ittihaz olunarak icra kılındığı[.] Ve herhâlde usûl-ı itidaliyede iltizam olunduğu takdirce husul-ı asayiş mülk ve devlet ve ma'muriyet-i millete inayet-i ilahiyye ve tevkifat-ı samadaniyye delâlete medâr-ı küllî olacağı ümid olunur." Rıfat Paşa, "XI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmum Bi'ddefaat...", 69. A translation can be like that: "Because of a good governing and efficient agricultural activities a good level of prosperity could be obtain. Every state's prosperity depends on the high level of exports over imports thanks to the agricultural and industrial production. If not, the country would be devastated. So in Ottoman lands this fact should be taken into consideration, if it is not possible at least, export and import levels should be kept equal. Commercial activities should be facilitated, the development of agriculture and industries should be discussed in local communities/courts. In order to keep the prices at a minimum level, debasement should not be implemented[...]. The goods which produced in Ottoman lands should be demanded[...]. As long as a moderate method is adopted, hopefully, order and prosperity of nation and the state, and the help of God would be gained."

<sup>338</sup> "Vâkı'a Avrupa devletlerinin memâlikinde ebniye-i cesime ve büyük fabrikalar mevcut ise de müddet-i medide zarfında refte refte vücûde gelmiş şeyler olduğundan başka[.] ekserisi devlet hazinesinden yapılmış şeyler olmayıp aksiyon denilen eshâm-ı müştereke ile zi-kudret teb'a ve tüccar hisseleriyle icad olunmuş ve olmakta olduğuna nazaran Devlet-i Âliyye[']nin kudret-i maliyesi mertebe-i kemâle gelinceye kadar pek icab etmedikçe tecdidat ve ta'mirât-ı ebniye-i miriyeye beyhûde sarf-ı nukud olmayıp ve fakat 'imâr-ı şehîr için eshâb-ı kudretten hâne ve sahilhâne ve fabrika ve sa'ire gibi ebniye inşası dahi teb'aya çok görülmeyip diledikleri vüs'at ve ziynette kârgir ve ahşap ve her ne guna şey yaptırmak isterlerse inşasına ruhsat i'ta ve belki teşvikât-ı lâzime ifâ oluna." Rıfat Paşa, "XI Ibid.," 42.

As seen he stresses on the contribution of the subjects' actions in order to lighten the burden of the state in terms of economic affairs. And do not forget to remind the state's role which is to prepare a convenient environment for subjects to pursue their economic activities.

How can we contextualize these thoughts among the evaluation of the Ottoman economic thought in the nineteenth century? We tried to describe the diffusion of the classical political economy to Ottoman lands in the previous chapter. Basically there were three channels: newspapers, British diplomat's lobbies, and finally separate books or pamphlets on economy. We also stated that the Translation Office played a significant role among the transmission of classical political economy doctrines. We will now try to find out whether Sadık Rıfat Paşa's life had intersected the three channels that we mentioned.

British diplomats David Urquhart (1805-1877), Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), Lord Ponsoby (1770-1855) and Lord Stratford Canning (1786-1880) had serious impacts on Ottoman statesmen in the Tanzimat Period. Sayar defines these diplomats as middlemen/intermediaries because of their efforts to introduce classical political economy principles. We mentioned Urquhart's efforts in Ottoman Empire in the previous chapter. Now we will try to find out whether he had an impact on Sadık Rıfat Paşa. During our research we could not find any evidence that he personally met Sadık Rıfat Paşa. Besides Urquhart's memories do not give any clue that he met Rıfat Paşa.<sup>339</sup> We know that Lord Stratford Canning met Sadık Rıfat

---

<sup>339</sup> David Urquhart, *The Spirit of the East : Illustrated in a Journal of Travels through Roumeli during an Eventful Period*, 2 volumes (London : H. Colburn, 1838). These two volumes include his memoirs from 1827 to 1831 in Greece. Even though he intended to write his observations that took place in Constantinople he could not realize it, see Ibid. volume 2, 443.

Paşa when he was the Minister for Foreign Affairs.<sup>340</sup> But these memoirs do not give a clue as to whether they discussed about economic matters. Similarly Lord Ponsoby defended British interests as an ambassador at Istanbul from 1832 to 1841. We have concrete evidence that he met him when Rıfat Paşa was the Minister for Foreign Affairs.<sup>341</sup> Apart from these, Lord Palmerston was might be regarded the most important one among these diplomats. He had a reputation of defending the Ottoman Empire's interests from 1830 onwards, as part of the of the fundamental objects of his foreign policy. He believed in the rejuvenation of the Ottoman Empire (as he said Turkey).<sup>342</sup> In a letter that he wrote to Ponsoby in 1833, Palmerston summarizes his observations on the economic situation of the Ottoman Empire:

Is it hopeless to get them to put their finances into better condition? If, instead of granting out monopolies which ruin commerce, they would find their revenues greatly improved. If, instead of sending pashas to eat up the provinces they govern, and then be sequezed in turn by the Sultan, they would pay their Gov't [sic] officers and not allow them to plunder, the security which such a system would afford the population would be a wonderful stimulus to industry and production.<sup>343</sup>

---

<sup>340</sup> According to memoirs of Canning, Rıfat Paşa was trying to enhance the standard of living of the Christian subjects. Stanley Lane Poole, *Lord Straford Canning'in Türkiye Anıları*, translated by Can Yücel (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 121.

<sup>341</sup> "In May, 1841, the reis effendi Rifaat Pasha privately informed Ponsoby that he wished a clause guaranteeing the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire..." Ponsoby to Palmerston, "Seperate and confidential," May 20, 1841 Public Record Office MSS, F.O. 78/433. cited by Frederic Stanley Rodkey, "Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830-41: Part II, 1839-41." *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jun., 1930), 218. Apart from this, an archival document (BOA-HAT 1240/48124) dated 1255[1839] indicates that Rıfat Paşa (at that time Bey) knew Palmerston, see Appendix E.

<sup>342</sup> In fact he came to this idea after the the moment of hesitation in British policy for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire had passed during the late 1833. Frederick Stanley Rodkey, "Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830-41." *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Dec., 1929), 572-3.

<sup>343</sup> Instructions of Palmerston to Ponsoby, December 6, 1833, quoted by Sir Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston: Britain, the Liberal Movement and the Eastern Question* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1951), 540, note I. cited by Mardin, *Genesis*, 181-2.

The lack of security described by Palmerston was shared by Rıfat Paşa, Reşid Paşa and Prince Metternich.<sup>344</sup> Regardless of whoever first diagnosed this problem, we know that this was one of the most significant problems that the subject populations of the day faced. Rıfat also focused on this issue insistently. According to Sayar, Palmerston was different from the British diplomats mentioned above. Even though he was an advocate of *laissez faire* economy, his reform proposals for the Ottoman Empire before the Tanzimat era placed him in a different situation.<sup>345</sup> Because his proposals gave a leading role to government to start and implement economic reforms such as establishing a national economy. Obviously Rıfat's encouragement of consuming domestic products did not derived from List's theory. For that reason Palmerston's effect was much more discernible, at least for this issue. In this sense Palmerston's influence on Rıfat's ideas seems more than Urquhart's. At this stage we can question Rıfat Paşa's opinions about 1838 Anglo-Ottoman Convention. When the treaty was signed he was in Vienna, in a letter he sent to Reşid Paşa he mentioned this issue. After stating Prince Metternich's comments on the treaty, he made his point clearly. According to Rıfat Paşa in order to understand Prince Metternich's critical comments on the treaty, he needs more information. He has not any doubts that the treaty would be beneficial for the Emire. Metternich's critical and sometimes inconsistent comments must be originated from his bad intentions. Even though the abolishment of *yed-i vahid* (monopoly) system on international trade aims to spoil Mehmed Ali's economic strenght, Metternich stated that it is indeterminate to implement articles of the treaty in Egypt. The reason of his

---

<sup>344</sup> Mardin, *Genesis*, 181-2.

<sup>345</sup> Sayar, *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin*, 211.

language originated from his reluctance to see the Empire's prosperity and its good relations with England.<sup>346</sup> So it seems, Sadık Rıfat Paşa, at least theoretically, is not against free trade.

Another channel for the diffusion of the classical political economy was the Translation Office. Indeed this office had become a school for Ottoman elites. The library of the Office was an important source for those who benefited from it.<sup>347</sup> The first books on economy were translated, adopted or rewritten by the clergies/translators of the Office. Therefore the significance of the Office is undeniable. Then the question is whether Sadık Rıfat Paşa had a relationship with the Office and its employees or did he ever use the library? Placing the Office within the Ottoman administration may help us. The Foreign Ministry of the Sublime Porte employed well-educated officials of the *Amedî Kalemi* who trained themselves in the Translation Office from the Tanzimat era on.<sup>348</sup> The bureaucrats of these bureaus became the interlocutors of the foreign relations by advancing their experience in the Ottoman embassies after completing their education in the Translation Office.<sup>349</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Translation Office became a

---

<sup>346</sup> “[...] mu‘ahede-i mezkûrenin fa‘ide-i mülkiye ve nizamiyesinde şüphe olmadığı misillü prens mumailihin bu bâbda olan ifadesinde dahi vâkı‘a tefavüt ve mübâyenet derkâr[...] bu vadilerde her ne söyleseler garaz-ı mahsusalarından ‘ibaret olduğu âşikâr olmağla[...] yed-i vâhid usûlünün refi‘ ve imhâsından asl-ı matlub-ı ‘âlî hatt-ı Mısriyye[’]de icrâsıyla Mehmed Ali[’]nin hâsılât-ı nakdiyesinin kesr ü tenkisi fa‘ide-i mahsusası dimek olur ise de [...] bunların bu vechle lisan kullanmaları Devlet-i Aliyye[’]nin i‘mâr-ı mülk ü milletini mücib olacak halâtın icrâsını ve levâyh-i hâle göre iç yüzünde hakikaten İngilterelu ile Devlet-i Âliyye politikasının hoşça gitmesini istemediklerinden neş‘et etmekte ise de Rabbimiz te‘ala hazretleri[...]” Rıfat Paşa “VI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Elli Üç Tarihi Evâhirinde...,” 11. Necdet Kurdakul also quoted a simplified version of this letter, but he mistakenly states that the letter was sent to Nuri Bey; see Necdet Kurdakul, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ticaret Antlaşmaları ve Kapitülasyonlar* (İstanbul: Döler Neşriyat, 1981), 11.

<sup>347</sup> Sezai Balcı, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara University, 2006), 130.

<sup>348</sup> Berna Kamay, “Public Diplomacy and The Translation Office (Tercüme Odası) in The Ottoman Empire (1839-1876)” (M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2012), 51.

<sup>349</sup> Bernard A. Lalor, “Promotion Patterns of Ottoman Bureaucratic Statesmen from the Lâle Devri until the Tanzimat,” *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi I*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1972), 92; Kamay, *Ibid.*, 51.

subdivision of the Foreign Ministry.<sup>350</sup> We know that Sadık Rıfat trained in *Amedi Kalemî* and continued as an ambassador. Therefore we can assume a link between him and the Office. However Rıfat differed from the office members because of a reason. He did not know any Western languages.<sup>351</sup> Sayar also claimed that he was one of the Ottoman elites who was trained in the Office.<sup>352</sup> Was his illiteracy of Western languages an obstacle for him? It probably was. But since he was not a man of theory but practice, reading in a foreign language might not have been important for him. During the diffusion of the liberal economic ideas, Rıfat seems to grasp whichever was beneficial to heal the problems of the day. Clearly, he was influenced by such notions such as minimal state, free entrepreneurship, a secure environment for the economic activities of the subjects, the importance of foreign direct investments. But we cannot see theoretical discussions in his writings, instead he offers direct and practical solutions to enhance the economic situation of the Empire.

---

<sup>350</sup> Mehmet Darakçıoğlu, “Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Language Divide, Employment of Translators, and the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2010), 109.

<sup>351</sup> Türkgeldi, *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>352</sup> Sayar, *Ibid.*, 291.

### 3.6 Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts on finance

Sadık Rıfat Paşa gives an impression that he was the one of the intellectuals who focused on financial issues intensely among his contemporaries. Apart from his three pamphlets mentioned above, he concentrated on this issue in his seven reports.<sup>353</sup>

Eldem states that the Ottoman monetary system of the nineteenth century is a complex one and a number of problems were the characteristics of the system:

Frequent debasements and recurrent state interventions, a great permeability to foreign coins, a rather flexible circulation, chronic shortages of coinage, wide fluctuations in both foreign and domestic exchange rates and noted absence of a coherent monetary policy seem to indicate that the Ottoman monetary reality displayed, at least until the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the major characteristics of premodern monetary system.<sup>354</sup>

Especially after the monetary reform of 1844, much homogeneity and stability were witnessed in the nineteenth century along modern lines.<sup>355</sup> From the reign of Mahmud II to the end of the First World War (1785-1914), in the Ottoman monetary system every type of currency of the day (metallic, paper money, banknotes) utilized, every possible standard experimented (silver monometalic, bimetallic, 'limping' bimetallic, gold monometalic) and at least three monetary reforms implemented.<sup>356</sup>

According to Eldem behind a curtain of reform and stability, Ottoman monetary

---

<sup>353</sup> XII, pp. 2-4 dated 09.07.1844; XII, pp. 22-25 dated 20.03.1846; XII, pp. 35-7 dated 10.10.1846; XII, pp. 74-5 dated 06.07.1850; XIII, pp. 2-9 dated 07.10.1852; XIII, p. 10 dated 07.10.1855; XIII, pp. 10-14 dated 25.07.1856.

<sup>354</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Chaos and Half Measures: The Ottoman Monetary 'System' of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Economic Development of Southeastern Europe in the 19th Century*, edited by Edhem Eldem et al. (Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2011), 251.

<sup>355</sup> Eldem, "Chaos and Half Measures," 251.

<sup>356</sup> Eldem, *Ibid.*, 252.

system of the nineteenth century was prevailed by chaos and an inability - or unwillingness - to realize fully some of the reforms that might have increased its efficiency.<sup>357</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's proposals on the financial system of the Empire are strongly connected to the contemporary problems of Ottoman monetary system. It is not surprising that he insistingly criticized debasement policies of the day. During his life time, in the last decades of Sultan Mahmud II from 1808 to 1834, Ottoman government made extensive use of debasements.<sup>358</sup> Naturally, the consequences of debasement of the currency was the sharp fall in its exchange rate and the rapid rise in general price level.<sup>359</sup> For this reason he was against debasement in every context: The benefits of the correction of the standards of the money are beyond definitions. The achievement is based on the discontinuation of the debased coins.<sup>360</sup>

According to Eldem 1844 monetary reform aimed to bring quality, bimetallism and stability but did not really bring any radical change.<sup>361</sup> Among the chaos and confusion, in 1840 the Ottoman government had taken the decision to issue a paper money, *kaimes* (interest-bearing treasury notes).<sup>362</sup> In 1851 the Ottoman government issued excessive amount of paper money that would later cause a

---

<sup>357</sup> Ibid.

<sup>358</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 193.

<sup>359</sup> Pamuk, Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> "Tashîh-i 'ayâr-ı sikke maddesi ne derece menâfi' mütenevvi'a-i mülkiyeyi mucib olmuş olduğu ta'riften müstağnidir[.] Bunun ikmâl-i muhsinâtı dahi şu elde olan meskûkat-ı mağşuşenin kaldırılmasına menût olduğu bedihîdir" Rıfat Paşa "XII Tanzîm-i Umûr-ı Devlete ve Ba'zı Islahât[']ja Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Memuriyet-i Mütenevvia'da Bulunduğu O Ânda Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Ba'zı Lâyihâ ve Mazbataların Sûretleridir," 22.

<sup>361</sup> Eldem, Ibid., 264.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

debasement effect in domestic markets.<sup>363</sup> Rıfat Paşa tries to attract attention to the negative implements of this experiment.<sup>364</sup> In addition he believed the necessity of a bank:

In order to the prosper the country the abundancy of cash money is required. Since it is impossible to provide cash money, most of the countries stock the money in a place called bank[...] By this way the method of commerce and prosperity could be adopted. The Ottoman Empire can adopt this system. For instance if six kind of papers, like 20, 50, 100, 200, and 1000 piastres are issued and circulated even in local areas[...] At the end of two years everybody would replace the old 5 and 20 coins with the cash currency<sup>365</sup>

Eldem asserts that the Islahat Fermanı (Reform Decree of 1856) was different from the Tanzimat, since it introduced novel dimentions that had been ignored or neglected previously such as financial reform:<sup>366</sup>

[...] institutions such as banks will be established in order to correct the coinega system of My Sublime State and to give credit to its financial affairs, and appropriate facilities

---

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>364</sup> “Bu illet nukud ve sikke ve evrâk-ı nakdiyye hakkında cereyan eden mu‘amelât-ı meşhûdeden neş’et etmektedir[.] Şöyle ki bir taraftan meskukat-ı mağşuşnin sikke-i hasene-i hâlısa ve nukud-ı sa’ire-i sahihaya kıymet ve ayar itibariyle mukabil olamaması ve evrâk-ı nakdiyenin ziyade kesreti ve sûret-i tedavülünün yalnız Dersaadet[’]e munhasır olması” Rıfat Paşa, “XIII Ba‘zı Islahâta Dâir,” 11 and “şöyle ki hiçbir devlet ve hükümet yoktur ki pay-ı taht hükümetinde başka ve taşra memâlikinde başka sikke tedavül etsün[.] Böyle emsâli olmayan usûl-ı idarenin ihtilâl ve müşkülâtı olmamak kâbil değildir[.]” Rıfat Paşa, Ibid., 12.

<sup>365</sup> “Kâffe-i mülk-i devletin ma‘mur olması nukudun kesretine muhtac olarak halbuki öyle kilitlü meskukatın tedarik ve ihzarı her yerde müte‘essir olduğundan ekser devletlerde nukud-ı mevcûde bank ta‘bir olunan yerde tevkif ile ‘itibarât-ı sahihe verilerek ânın iki katı olarak evrâk-ı nakdiye icad olunmuş ve bu san‘at ile usûl-ı ticaret ve ma‘muriyetin yolu bulunmuş olduğundan Devlet-i Âliyye dahi meselâ beş-altı yüzbin keselik faizsiz evrâk-ı nakdiyye tanzim ve icâd eylese ve ahz-ü i‘tada kolaylık olmak için meselâ 20 ve 50 ve 100 ve 250 ve 500 ve 1000 kuruşluk olarak beş altı nev‘i fiyatlı kâğıtlar tanzim olursa ve taşralarda dahi tedavülüne ruhsat verilmesi lâzım geleceği cihetle evrâk-ı nakdiyenin dahi sahtesi bulunmamak için bu nev‘i kâğıtların usûl-ı imalinde fiyatını mübeyyen damgalar dahi vaz‘ ettirilse ve iki sene müddet-i muayyene tahsisıyla herkes yedindeki bulunan eski beşlik ve ufak yirmiliği Dersaadet[’]te banka tarafına götürüp teslim ile yerine evrâk-ı nakdiye verileceği ilân kılınsa ve evrâk-ı nakdiyeye karşılık basılacak bankın sermayesi tedarik ve ihzar olunmak için dahi bir sarraftan hazineye maliyeden masarîfât vaka‘ için verilecek akçe nakden verilmeyip evrak-ı cedide-i nakdiyeden verilerek bu cihetle varîdat-ı devlet-i Âliyye[’]den terkîm eden nukud-ı mağşuşe darbhâne-i âmirede sikke-i cedide kat‘ olunarak [...]” Rıfat Paşa, “XII Tanzîm-i Umûr-ı Devlete...,” 23-4.

<sup>366</sup> Edhem Eldem, “Ottoman Financial Integration with Europe: Foreign Loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt,” *European Review*, Volume 13, Issue 03 (July 2005): 433.

should be achieved so that those resources be allocated that are necessary to all matters constituting the source of the material wealth of My Well-Protected Domains.<sup>367</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's writings on financial issues demonstrate that he was aware of the basic problems of the system and tried to draw attentions of the governing elites of the day. We cannot know whether his proposals played a role in introducing the financial issues to the Islahat Decree but it is obvious that he made an effort to keep the financial issues on the agenda.

### 3.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we tried to analyze the possible inspirations of Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts. In terms of content, he is one of the representatives who introduced westernizing economic thought to Ottoman lands. Dual imprints of cameralism and liberal approach could be seen among his economic writings. We evaluated possible sources that he might have benefited.

The relationship of his economic thoughts along the framework of classical tradition of Ottomans could be indicated in two dimensions: form and content. In terms of form and style, Sadık Rıfat Paşa reflects a continuation since he did not spare a separate book, pamphlet or a special writing with a heading of economy related title. As we stated in the second chapter, before the nineteenth century economy related writings could be found in *risâles* (pamphlets), *siyasetnâmes* (political treatises), *lâyihas* (reports) and *sefaretnâmes* (the diplomatic reports).

---

<sup>367</sup> Islahata dair taraf-ı Vekâlet-i mutlakaya hitaben balası hatt-ı hümayun ile müveşşeh şerefsadır olan ferman-ı âlinin suretidir, *Düstur*, 1 (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire): 415-6 cited by Eldem, *Ibid.*, 433.

Indeed Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economy related writings are embedded in such kinds of writings. However when it comes to content, we can declare that his writings signifies a separation from the classical understanding of economy from the previous centuries. For instance, he did not formulated his economic thoughts along the lines of *ilm-i tedbir-i menzil* (household economy). On the other hand we see that he did not consider the previous economic practices efficient and always proposed the abolishment of these tools such as *müsadere* (confiscation) and *debasement* (tağşiş). Besides he offers an international trade mechanism (exports>imports), which is contrary to one prevailed during classical times of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, his non-referentiality to any name or doctrine could be considered as a traditional aspect.

Was he a pionner of the westernizing economic thoughts in the Ottoman lands? As we stated in the second chapter, Sayar claims that during the reign of Selim III (r.1789-1807), some *lâyihas* included economic offers which have a liberal approach and Ebubekir Ratib Efendi (d. 1799) introduced the importance of the national production to the sultan. In addition, as we indicated in the second section of this chapter, Quataert thinks that a liberal sense of economy established in 1826, after the destruction of Janissary corps. So, if we assume that this information is true, the diffusion of westernizing economic thoughts had already on its way before Rıfat Paşa started to introduce them to the Ottoman Empire. In short, we think, Sadık Rıfat Paşa might not be a precursor of western originated economic thought in Ottoman Empire. But it seems he was the first one who tried to express his economic thoughts and proposals as a bureaucrat and expected to realize them in the nineteenth century. Since we could not know the decision making process of the formulation of the

Tanzimat and Islahat Decrees, we cannot claim that he was one of the responsables of the creating process of these edicts. Still some commonalities are remarkable: imposing taxes in accordance to subjects' economic power,<sup>368</sup> freedom for muslim and non-muslim subjects' economic activities,<sup>369</sup> and finally his opposition to confiscation system.<sup>370</sup> In addition, there are some commonalities between his financial proposals and Islahât Decree.<sup>371</sup>

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts were nourished from different sources. It is not possible to attach him to a systematic doctrine. Perhaps for that reason, it is claimed that a number of Ottoman intellectual from different perspectives, influenced by his economic thoughts to some degree. Amongst them we can mention Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, Tunuslu Hayrettin Paşa, Şinasi, Münif Paşa, Namık Kemal Bey, Ziya Paşa and Ahmed Mithat Efendi.<sup>372</sup> Commonalities between Rıfat Paşa and Ahmet Cevdet Paşa are worth to mention. For instance his ideas on international trade and the encouragement of consuming domestic goods,<sup>373</sup> the need of a bank,<sup>374</sup> the

---

<sup>368</sup> "hiçbir vakitte semere-i nâfıası görülmeyen iltizamât-ı usûl-ı muzırrası [...] gadir ve zulümden ibâret olmasıyla bâdezin âhâli-i memâlikten her ferdin emlak ve kudretine göre bir vergi-i münâsib t'ayin olunarak kimseden ziyâde şey alınamaması" "Tanzimat Fermânı," in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2011), 14.

<sup>369</sup> "hiç kimse tarafından diğerinin irz ve nâmûsuna tasallut vuku' bulmamak ve herkes emvâl ve emvâl ve emlakine kemâl-i serbestiyetle mâlik ve mutasarrıf olarak ânâ bir taraftan müdâhale olunmamak" Ibid., 15.

<sup>370</sup> "ânın malını müsâdere ile vereseşi hukûk-ı ırsîyelerinden mahrûm kılınmamak ve tebaayı saltanat-ı seniyyemizden olan ehl-i islâm ve milel-i sâ'ire bu müsâ'dât-ı şâhânemize bilâ-istisnâ mazhar olmak üzere" Ibid.

<sup>371</sup> "Devlet-i Aliyyemin tashîh-i usûl-i sikke ile umûr-ı mâlîyyesine itibâr verecek banka misillü şeyler yapıp memâlik-i mahrûsa-i şâhânemin menbâ-i serveti mâddîyyesi olan husûsâta iktizâ eden sermâyelerin ta'yîniyle ve mahsûlât-ı memâlik-i şâhânemin nakli için icab eden turûk ve cedâvilin küşâdiyle ve emr-i zira't ve ticâretin tevessüüne ha'il olan esbâbın men'iyelâhî teshîlât-ı sahihanın icrâ olunması ve bunun için maarif ve ulûm ve sermâye-i Avrupa'da istifâdeye bakılması" "Islahât Fermânı," in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2011), 24-5.

<sup>372</sup> Sayar, Ibid., 393.

<sup>373</sup> İzgöer, Ibid., 131-2.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid., 134.

negative consequences of confiscation system,<sup>375</sup> the acceptance of agriculture, trade and industry as sources of prosperity,<sup>376</sup> and emphasis on a just taxation<sup>377</sup> were the ideas that they were agreed on. Since they breathed the air of the early and middle nineteenth century, the problems of their time must have prompted them to emphasis on similar thoughts. But the other names that we briefly explained in the second chapter, stand from protectionism to liberalism. Sadık Rıfat Paşa's various views seem to allow to see resemblances between him and Tunuslu Hayrettin Paşa, Şinasi, Münif Paşa, Namık Kemal Bey, Ziya Paşa and Ahmed Mithat Efendi. Further studies which will focus on these figures' economic thoughts would enlight the connections between them and Sadık Rıfat Paşa.

As we explained above it is difficult to connect Rıfat Paşa's ideas to a systematical doctrine or school. Sayar stated that he made inconsistent analyses and detections on Sadık Rıfat's economic thoughts,<sup>378</sup> which imply that he finds his thoughts inconsistent. We think Sadık Rıfat Paşa was not inconsistent in his world. Instead he stucked on the basic economic thoughts that he created in 1838 and developed them until the last years of his life. A report that he presented in 1852 includes a large summary of his economic thoughts in fifty articles.<sup>379</sup> The reason for the inconsistency lies trying to fit him to a systematic school. We think becoming one of the advocaters of a theoretical school was not his concern. He did not try to

---

<sup>375</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid., 181.

<sup>378</sup> Sayar, "Tunusulu...", 66.

<sup>379</sup> Rıfat Paşa, "XIII Ba'zı İslahâta Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Lâyihaların Süretleridir," in *Müntehabât-ı Asâr* (İstanbul: u.p., 1290): 2-8. This report is dated as 25 Safer [1]269 [08.12.1852].

establish a theory on economy. Instead he pragmatically searched for a solution for the practical problems at the time.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

Sadık Rıfat Paşa's economic thoughts may be regarded as one of the earlier examples of the modernizing economic thoughts in Ottoman lands in the first half of the nineteenth century. The content of his economic writings demonstrates a separation from the previous paradigm in a Polanyi-esk sense. As known, Polanyi states that during the pre-capitalist times economic affairs were embedded in the other social activities. Sadık Rıfat Paşa's difference stems firstly from his emphasis on economic matters more than his contemporaries. Secondly his proposals include a new mentality in the context of Ottoman classical economic thinking. For instance his insistence on the advantage of high export rates shows a separation from Ottoman classical economic thought and practice. Secondly his view on the state's encouragement of subjects to involve economic activities intensively- a sense of liberalism- point to a separation from classical paradigm. Another difference is the ideas on confiscation system: he advised the abolition of the system repeatedly. Lastly, his opposition to debasement and giving the importance to financial matters show the last feature which can be regarded as a difference from the classical times.

It is difficult to connect his economic thoughts to a systematic doctrine. In some ways he proposes protectionist policies but sometimes advises liberal economic practices. He adopted his basic economic theories from cameralism when he was the ambassador to Vienna between 1837 to 1838. Until his late years he remained faithful to the basic thoughts that he had firstly expressed in Vienna. His economic ideas which were associated with cameralism developed while in Vienna.

He derived these “new” ideas from the long discussions with Prince Metternich,<sup>380</sup> and his observations. But he then developed certain ideas that aimed at fostering the environment for subjects to pursue economic activities, and thus lightening the burden of the government. His thoughts that can be linked with liberalism also firstly appeared in Vienna but he continued to enhance them. This fact must be related to the contemporary intellectual environment of the Empire and the economic problems of the day. As we mentioned earlier classical economic thought started to diffuse Ottoman lands through three channels: lobbies of British diplomats who served in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, newspapers and finally publications on classical economy. This political and intellectual aura must have affected on Sadık Rıfat’s thoughts. It is hard to find a sense of theory in Sadık Rıfat’s writings on economy. Rather, he was a man of practice, and he truly believed that if his proposals were implemented, they would save the Empire from the negative economic conditions.

Were his proposals parallel to his contemporaries who wrote about economy? Rıfat Paşa’s writings on economy have some commonalities with those of Tunuslu Hayreddin and Ahmet Cevdet Paşa. It is known that Rıfat was senior to these names and his thoughts affected them to some degree. This also can be explained by the term *zeitgeist*, the spirit of the time. Mardin argued that the source of his economic and politic mentality was cameralism. On the other hand, Sayar discussed that his thoughts stemmed from both cameralism and classical political economy which he found controversial. Because, it seems, Sayar finds difficult to reconcile Paşa’s “different” ideas thus he tries to fit him in a specific economic school. We think,

---

<sup>380</sup> Çakır, Ibid., 95.

Sadık Rıfat did not care about to be an advocate of a specific school. In this sense, one of the concepts of Pamuk that he highlighted while explaining the possible causes of the Ottoman Empire's longevity would help us understand his intention: pragmatism. We think being a cameralist or liberal was not important for Rıfat Paşa. His aim was to find out what reforms which would ensure the survival of the state. Accordingly, it is not fruitful to try to recoinile his thoughts and fit them to a systematic doctrine.

## APPENDIX A

### THE CAREER PATH OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA

(25 Şa‘bân 1222 [28.10.1807] - 16 Cemâziye’l-Âhir 1273 [11.02.1857])

Appointments	Dates
Clerk-trainee in the Bureau of the Grand Vizier (Sadaret Mektubî Odasında Çerağ)	1237 [1821/2]
Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the rank of <i>hâcegân</i> (Hâcegânlık rütbesiyle Amedî Halifesi)	1243 [1827/8]
The Third and Inferior Department of Pious Foundation Registers (Küçük Evkaf Muhasebecisi)	15 Şa‘bân 1249 [28.12.1833]
Assistant to the Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Amedî Vekili)	Safer 1250 [June 1834]
Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Asaleten Amedî)	Şa‘bân 1252 [November 1836]
Legation to Vienna (Viyana Ortaelçisi)	Cemâziye’l-Âhir 1253 [September 1837]
Ambassador to Vienna with the rank of Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Müsteşarlığı payesiyle Viyana Büyükelçiliği)	Cemâziye’l-Evvel 1253 [October 1837] - Şevvâl 1255 [December 1839]
Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nezareti Müsteşarlığı)	Şa‘bân 1255 [October 1839]
Undersecretary for the Grand Vizier in Egypt (Mısır’a Sadaret Müsteşarı Olarak Gönderilmesi)	Cemâziye’l-Ahir 1256 [Ağustos 1840]
Minister for Foreign Affairs with the Rank of Vizier (Vezir rütbesiyle Hariciye Nazırı)	6 Safer 1257 [30.03.1841]- 8 Zi’l-ka‘de 1257 [22.12.1841]
Inspector of the Rumelia Province (Rumeli Eyaleti Müfettişi)	Cemâziye’l-Ahir 1258 [July 1842]

Assistant Chairman to the Council of the Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye Üyesi)	Şa‘bân 1258 [September 1842]
Ambassador to Vienna (Viyana Büyükelçiliği)	2 Ramazan 1258 [07.10.1842]
Minister for Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nazırı)	8 Rebî‘ul-Âhir 1259 [08.05.1843]- 21 Şevvâl 1260 [03.11.1844]
Assistant Chairman to the Council of the Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye Üyesi)	Zi‘l-ka‘de/Zi‘l-hicce 1260 [December 1844]
Chairman to the Council of the Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye Başkanı)	14 Şa‘bân 1261 [18.08.1845]
Minister of Finances (Maliye Nazırı)	23 Rebî‘u‘l-Evvel 1264 [28.02.1848]
Minister for Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nazırı)	18 Cemâziye‘l-Evvel 1264 [22.04.1848]
Chairman to the Council of the Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye Başkanı)	13 Ramazan 1264 [13.08.1848]- 2 Cemâziye‘l-Âhir 1265 [25.04.1849]
Assistant Chairman of the Councils of the Great Assembly (Mecâlis-i Âliye Üyesi)	Rebî‘ul-Evvel 1266 [January/ February 1850]
Minister for Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nazırı)	25 Cemâziye‘l-Âhir 1269 [05.04.1853]
Chairman to the Council of the Judicial Ordinances (Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye Başkanı)	6 Şa‘bân 1269 [15.05.1853]- 23 Cemâziye‘l-Âhir 1270 [23.03.1854]
Assistant Chairman to the Council of the Tanzimat Assembly (Meclis-i Âli-i Tanzimat Üyesi)	15 Muharrem 1271 [08.10.1854]
Alternate Chairman to the Council of the Tanzimat Assembly (Meclis-i Âli-i Tanzimat’a vekâleten başkan)	Zi‘l-ka‘de/Zi‘l-hicce 1272 [August 1856]

Sources:

Mehmed Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmanî Ünlüleri. Edited by Nuri Akbayar. Volume V (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), 1396-1397.

Mardin, Şerif. *The Genesis of The Young Ottoman Thought Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (N.J: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 175-7.

Rıfat Paşa, "Introduction by Raûf Paşa" in *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 16 volumes (İstanbul: u.p., 1290), 2-6.

Dilek Türkdemir, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecince Önemli Bir Devlet Adamı Mehmed Sadık Rıfat Paşa" (M.A. thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2007), 133-4.

## APPENDIX B

### THE CONTENT OF *MÜNTEHABÂT-I ÂSÂR*

I Rusya Muharebesi Tarihi pp. 8-42.

II Gülbin-i İnşâ pp. 44-77.

III Rıf'at Paşa Merhûmun Viyana[']daki İbtidâki Sefâretinde Avrupa[']nın Ahvâline Dâir Yazdığı Risâledir pp. 2-12.

IV İtalya Seyahatnâmesi pp. 14-30

V Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Vekâleten ve Asaleten Amedî Bulunduğu O Ânda Kaleme Aldığı Âsârdan Bulunabilen Bazı Maruzattır pp. 32-74.

VI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Elli Üç Tarihi Evâhirinde Viyana[']ya Büyükelçi Tayin Olunduğu Esnada Hariciye Nazırı Bulunan Reşid Paşa Merhûma Yazmış Olduğu Muharrerâttan İntihâb Olunan Bazı Mekâtibdir pp. 2-79.

VII Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Viyana[']dan İbtidâki Sefaretinden Bâb-ı Âliye Yazdığı Mekâtiblerin Bazısının Sûretleridir pp. 2-51.

VIII Mısır Meselesi Hakkında Devlet-i 'Aliyye ile Düvel-i Fehimâ Beyninde 'Akd Olunan Muahede-i İttifakiye Ahkâmı İktizasınca Karar-ı Kübrâ Olan Tekâlifi Mısır Vâlisi Müteveffa Mehmed Ali Paşa[']ya Tebliğ Etmek Memuriyetiyle Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Elli Altı Tarihinde Hariciye Müsteşarı İken İskenderiye Cânibinde Azimetinde Bâb-ı Âli'ye Gönderdiği Mekâtibin Sûretidir pp. 2-54.

IX Tanzimat- Hayriyye[']ye Dâir Memâlik-i Mahruse'ye Gönderilen Fermân-ı Aliyye[']nin Sûretidir Rıfat Paşa Merhûm Hariciye Müsteşarlığında Kaleme Almıştır pp. 2-98.

X Rıfat Paşa[']nın Londra Sefiri Ali Paşa[']ya[,] İran Sefiri Muhtar Paşa[']ya[,] Mısır Valisi[']ne Gönderdiği Tahrirât[,] Mabeyn-i Hümâyun[']a Arz Tezkiresi pp. 2-78.

XI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Bi'ddefaat Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyasetinde ve Muahharen Meclis-i Tanzimat Âzalığında Bulunduğu Vakitlerde Kaleme Almış Bulunduğu Mazbatalardan Ba'zılarının Sûretleridir pp. 2-77.

XII Tanzîm-i Umûr-ı Devlete ve Ba'zı Islahât[']a Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Memuriyet-i Mütenevvia'da Bulunduğu O Ânda Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Ba'zı Lâyiha ve Mazbataların Sûretleridir pp. 2-80.

XIII Ba'zı Islahâta Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Lâyhaların Sûretleridir pp. 2-55.

XIV Risâle-i Ahlâk pp. 58-72.

XV Zeyl-i Risâle-i Ahlâk pp. 2-38.

XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasiyesini Mutazammın Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Kaleme Aldığı Risâledir pp. 42-64.

Source:

Rıfat Paşa, *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 16 volumes (İstanbul: u.p.), 1290.

APPENDIX C

A PORTRAIT OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA WHICH WAS PAINTED IN VIENNA

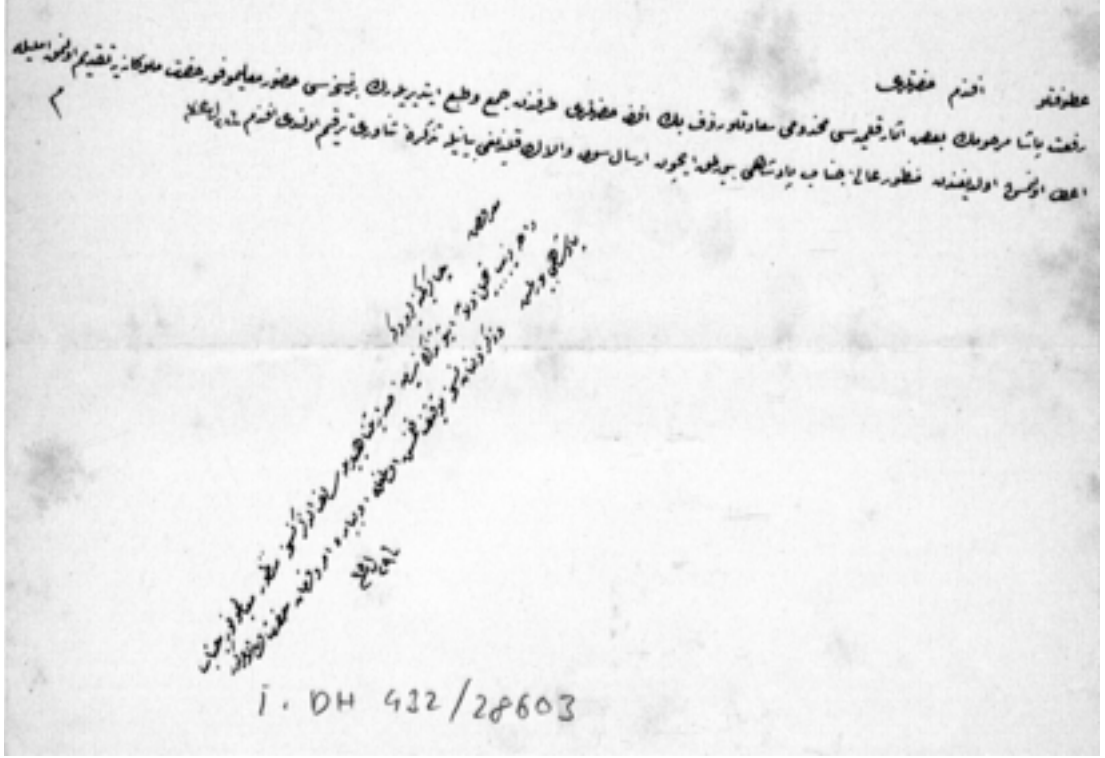
CIRCA 1838



Courtesy of Prof. Selçuk Esenbel.

APPENDIX D

AN *İRÂDE* (COMMAND GIVEN BY THE GRAND VIZIER) WHICH  
MENTIONS THE PUBLICATION OF *MÜNTEHABÂT-I ÂSÂR* [p. 6]



BOA İ.DH 432/28603

Atûfetlü Efendim Hazretleri

Rıf'at Paşa merhûmun ba'zı âsâr-ı kalemiyesi mahdumu sa'adetlü Raûf Bey Efendi hazretleri tarafından cem' ve tab' ettirilerek birincisi huzûr-ı me'ali-vüfur-ı hazret-i mülûkâneye takdîm olunmak emeliyle i'tâ olunmuş olduğundan manzûr-ı âli-i cenâb-ı pâdişahî buyurulmak için irsal sûy-i vâlâları kılındığı beyânıyla tezkire-i senaveri terkîm olundu efendim

Fî 28 Şevvâl sene [12]75 [31.05.1859]

Ma'rûz-ı çâker-i kemîneleridir ki

Râha zîb-i tebcil olân işbu tezkire-i samiye-i sadâretpenahileriyle salifüz'z-zikr  
nüsha manzur-ı me'ali-vifür-ı cenâb-ı pâdişâhi buyurulmuş ve zikr olunan nüsha  
tevkîf kılınmış olunmağla ol bâbda emr-i fermân hazret-i men lehu'l emrindir  
fî 29 Şevvâl [12]75 [01.06.1859]

APPENDIX E

A LETTER OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA WHICH WAS SENT TO REŞİD PAŞA [p. 81]

دبانه سفیری سعادت تلو رفعت بلك افندی طرفین بودند. در وادایز قلمه تحریر آنک علیه هر دو  
بویکه پیش مترنج صبا بلك سواد سنده بولند و واقعه اولاده افاده سنه دوکی کونن لوزر منه در سعادت کتبات اوزره مخصوص قوبر  
کلیج اولوب نورد بالمرستونک مصر سلسله داز در سعادت باز دینی تحریر آنک مانی دهن اوسنریا اولونک افاده سنک عینی اولدین  
و کین روسیه ایچر اطوری طرفین دهن محمد علی پاشا طرفه مخصوص خبریات و تهریزات کتبخ ابرو کین بیات ایله دول قیجه ناک قرار  
وانفا قاری دولت علیه ناک بقایله ملکی بولمک سربده دولت علیه ناک شاه ونوس عالی سیده برابر بوضو صلاک بر صده نوبسی صهورنی  
اولدین غیرت اولمقی ایچر اعتماد اولمقی هتی کین مصر جانجه کوندر بلان عالک افندی ایله در سعادت مقیم دول قیجه بیلدی  
طرفین اسکندریه اولان قونساوسله باز یلده مکتوبلرک حکم دهن کوندر طامندره طولدی استو مصر سلسله سی یا نکرجه تویک  
مرد اولدین اسندلال اولنوب هالبرک بوماده مکتوب اولنانه صورتی اولدین غیرت و غایت نزاکت کسب اولدین ایسی مصر  
اولمقی ایچر رابطة قوبر ایله نظم انقسی الزم اولوب دولت علیه حقیقت دول قیجه طرفین هریت و غیرت اولمقی ایچر هاب  
سلطنت سنده دهن اعتبار بولمسی شکستی هر طرفینی موجب اولدور اوسنریا دولتی بده دولت علیه ناک حقیقی دوست و بقا هله  
اولدین مکرز دهن اخطارات لازمی ایچر ایچر ایچر نیتله دول قیجه ناک و علی الخصوص اوسنریا دولتی قرار و حقیقی نیتی ایچر  
شفاها تقیم ایچر صحت شکی کمال اور و بانک بولمق اولان امور بولمق سنه دوقونی در سعادت معاونتی هرجه دولت  
موسو هوساری در سعادت مانور اوروب برینه مخصوص بومادره راز تعلیمات اعجاز ایله استورک اعتماد نام رسمی کتورماک  
مانوریتی شایع سیده در سعادت کونر بولمق دیو بیانه دینه اولکنی افاده لری و جمله شوماده ناک دول قیجه ایله سولشیلوب اکاکوس  
نویز اولمقی کتار در میان اوروب بومادر ناک هفایعه و دقایق نزهت ایلدین بالاطراف روشنا اولدین سلا بونلرک بوجه  
افادات مکرر لری دهن برمدنبرو امور بولمق ناک ادا سی دول قیجه نازدن مصالح مشترک حکمتی طومنی قضیه سنه نشات  
ایچرک اولدین رونما اولمق و ایچر قوبری بولمق هیتجه بولمقله اسوعریفه عیازنم ایچر تقیم قلمنج ابروکی

BOA HAT 1240/48124

Viyana Sefiri sa'detlü Rıf'at Bey Efendi tarafından bu def'a vürûd iden bir kıt'a

tahriratın hallidir Fî 22 Ca sene [12]55 [02.09.1839]

Bu gece Prens Metternih cenablarının suvaresinde bulunarak vaki‘ olan ifadesinde dünkü gün Londra[’]dan Dersa‘dete gitmek üzere mahsûs kuryer gelmiş olub Lord Palmerston[’]un Mısır meselesine dair Dersa‘adet[’]e yazdığı tahriratının me‘ali dahi Avusturya devletinin ifadesinin aynı olduğunu ve geçende Rusya İmparatoru tarafından dahi Mehmed Ali Paşa tarafından mahsûs tenbihât ve tehdidât gitmiş idüğünü beyan ile düvel-i fehimânın karar ve ittifakları Devlet-i ‘Aliyye[’]nin bekasıyla mülki bulunmaksızın Devlet-i ‘Aliyye[’]nin şân ve namus-ı âlîsiyle beraber bu hususun bir hüsn-i tesviyesi sûreti olduğundan gayret olunmakta ise de i‘timad olunmayıb hatta geçende Mısır cânibine gönderilen ‘Âkif efendi ile Dersa‘dette mukîm düvel-i fehimâ elçileri tarafından İskenderiye[’]de olan konsoloslara yazılan mektubların sonradan gönderilmesinden dolayı işbu Mısır meselesi yalnızca bitirülmek murâd olduğu istidlâl olunub hâlbuki bu madde mütala‘ olunan suretde olmadığından ve gayet nezaket kesb eylediğinden âtisi muzırr olmamak için rabıta-yı kaviyye ile tanzîm olunması elzem olub Devlet-i ‘Aliyye hakkında düvel-i fehimâ tarafından hürmet gayret olunmakta ise de cânib-i saltanat-ı seniyyeden i‘tibar buyurulmaması şikeste-i hatırlarını mûcib oluyor Avusturya devleti ise Devlet-i ‘Aliyye[’]nin hakiki dost ve beka-ı hâhı olduğundan mükerreren dahi ihtârât-ı lâzimeyi icrâ etmek niyetiyle düvel-i fehimanın ve ‘ale’l-husus Avusturya devletinin karar ve hakiki niyetini lâyıkıyla şifâhen tefhim etmek zımnında şimdiki hâlde Avrupa[’]nın bu bâbda olan umûr-ı politikasına vukûfu ve Dersa‘adet[’]e ma‘lûmatı cihetiyle devlet tercümanı Mösyö Hosari Dersa‘adet[’]e me’mur edip yedine mahsus bu maddelere dâir ta‘limât i‘tâ ile [sic] i‘timâdnâme-i resmiyesini götürmek me’muriyeti şâyi‘asıyla Dersa‘adet[’]e göndereceğim deyû beyân ve yine evvelki ifadeleri vechiyle şu maddenin düvel-i fehima ile söyleşilub

âna göre tesviye olunmasını tekrar ve dermeyân edüb bu maddenin hakâyık ve dekayıkı nezd-i ‘âlilerinde bi’l- etraf rûşenâ olduğu misüllü bunların böyle ifâdât-ı mükerrereleri dahi bir müddetten berü umûr-ı politikanın idaresi düvel-i fehima nezdinde mesâlih-i müştereke hakkında tutulması kaziyyesinden neş’et etmekte olduğu rev-nüma olmağla ve İngiltere kuryeri bu gün çıkacak bulunmakla işbu ‘arîza-i ‘acizânem anınla takdîm kılınmış idüğü

APPENDIX F

A LETTER OF SADIK RIFAT PAŞA WHICH WAS SENT TO REŞİD PAŞA

WHEN HE WAS THE AMBASSADOR TO VIENNA IN 1253[1837/8] [p.74 & 83]

انكلتره لو ايله عقد اولنان معاهده تجارتن طولاني پرنس مزينخك  
افاده واقعه اخيره سنده روش كلامى اطرافليجه اكلا شلق  
ايچون صورت تفصيليه سي دخي اشعار اولنسنى امر بود فعه هامه  
پيراي تعظيم اولان جوابنامه ساميلارى مال عاليه سي معلوم  
عاجزانه م اولوب معاهده مذكوره نك فائده ملكيه ونظاميه سنده  
شبهه اولديغى مثلاً پرنس موى اليهك بويابده اولان افاده سنده دخي  
واقعات فوت ومباينت دركار و نزد حقايق وقد اصفانه زنده  
بيانه حاجت اولديغى اوزره بونلر پوليقيقه مأمورى اولدقلرندن قولاندقلرى  
اصول واسانده وقت وحال پوليقيقه سنه وايچاب مصلحتلرينه اتباع  
ايدكلكلرينه وذاتاً واصولاً پوليقيقه شماليه نك ايلرولسي تر و بچنده  
بولندقلرينه نظراً بوواديلرده هر نه سويلسهلر غرض مخصوصلرندن  
عبارت اولديغى اشكار اولغله خصوص مذكوره دأر اولان افاده واقعه سنده  
يدواحد اصولنك رفع و انحاسندن اصل مطلوب عالي حطه مصرية ده  
اجراسيله محمد علي نك حاصلات نقديه سنك كسرو تنقيصى فائده مخصوصه سي  
ديك اوليور ايسهده معاهده مذكوره احكامنك او اطرفده اجراسي  
زعمجه مجهول ايدوسكنى بيان ايتمش اولديغى و طبق اشعار عالي  
منعمانه لرى و جهله بونلر بوجهله لسان قولاندقلرى دولت عليه نك  
اعمار ملك و ملتنى موجب اوله جق حالانك اجراسنى ولوايح حاله كوره  
ايچ بوزنده حقيقتنه انكلتره لو ايله دولت عليه پوليقيقه سنك خوشجه  
كتمسنى استمدكلرندن نشأت ايتكده ايسهده ريمز تعالى حضرتلرى  
ولى نعمت عالم ولى نعمتمز شو كتمأب افندمز حضرتلرينه

تو کفر و غم و اقبال احسان بیورسون سبابه حضرت شاهانه ده اثر هم  
علیه ولی النعمیلریله بلطفه تعالی دوات علیه نیک هر درلو مناقع حالیه  
واتیه سی حاصل و واقع و بومقوله بولتیقه دولیه ده جریان ایتمکده اولان

اصول اغراضیه بی تدابیر حکیمانه اصفانه لری دافع اوله جفی درکار اولغله  
فریضه ذمت عاجزانه م اولدیغی اوزره دعای بقای عمر و عافیت و هر حالده  
حسن موفقیت ولی النعمیلری یاد و تکرار قلنیش ایدوی و بومقوله اشعارات  
مسموعات قیلندن اوله رقی خاک پای دولت لرینه یازلمقده اولدیغی مثلاً  
بوندن بویله دخی بر مقتضای مأموریت و عبودیت و قوعات و حوادثه  
دائر مسموعات کترانه م طرف والای اصفانه لرینه بیان و تحریر قلنه جفی  
محاط علم عالمشمول منعمانه لری بیورلدقده هر حالده حق عاجزانه مدده توجهات  
سنید و عاطفت علیه اصفانه لری بیدریغ و شایان بیورلق باینده امر و فرمان  
واطف و احسان اقدمز کدر

İngilterelü ile ‘akd olunan mu‘âhede-i ticaretden dolayı Prens Metternih[?]in ifade-i vâkı‘a âhiresinde revîş kelâmı etraflıca anlaşılmaq içün sûret-i tafsilîyesi dahî iş‘âr olunmasını âmir bu def‘a hâme-i pîyrây-ı ta‘zîm olan cevâbnâme-i sâmileri me‘al-i ‘âlisi ma‘lûm-ı ‘acizânem olub mu‘âhede-i mezkûrenin faide-i mülkiye ve nizamiyesinde şübhe olmadığı misillü prens mûmâileyhin bu bâbda olan ifdesinde dahî vâkı‘a tefavüt ve mübâbeyenet derkâr ve nezd-i hakâyık vefd-i asfânelerinde beyâna hâcet olmadığı üzere bunlar politika me‘muru olduklarından kullandıkları usûl ve lisânda vakt ü hâl politikasına ve icâb-ı maslahatlarına ittibâ‘ edgeldiklerine ve zâten ve usûlen politika-i şimâliyenin ilerülemesi tervîcinde bulduklarına nazaran bu vâdilerde her ne söylemeler garaz-ı mahsûsalarından ‘ibâret olduğu âşikâr

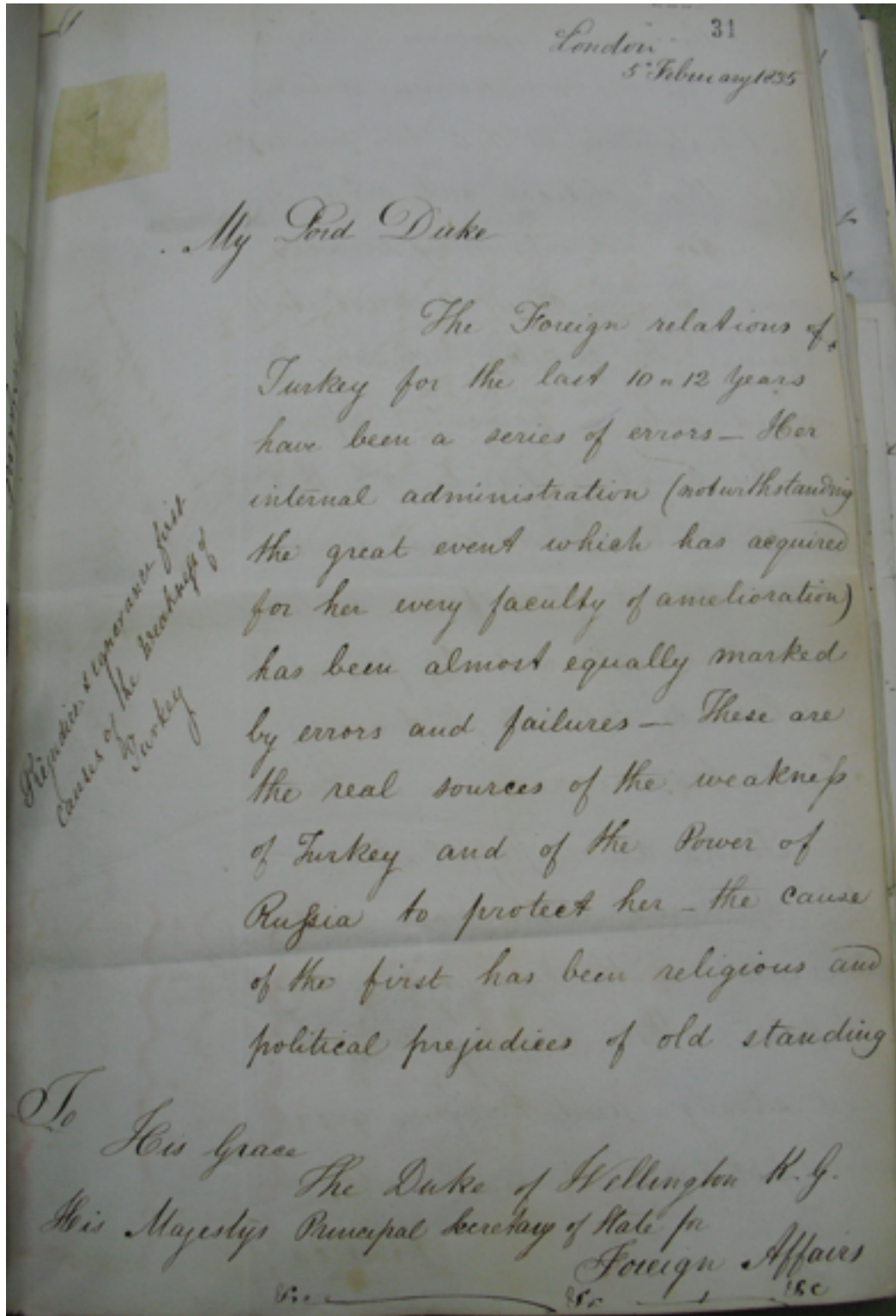
olmağla husûs-ı mezkûre dâir olan ifâde-i vâkı‘asında yed-i vâhid usûlunun ref‘i ve imhâsından asl-ı matlûb-ı ‘âlî hatt-ı Mısriyye[’]de icrâsıyla Mehmed ‘Ali[’]nin hâsılât-ı nakdiyesinni kesr ü tenkîsi fa‘ide-i mahsûsası dimek olur ise de mu‘âhede-i mezkûre ahkâmının ol tarafda icrâsı zu‘munca mechûl idüğünü beyân etmiş olduğu tabak-ı işâr-ı ‘âlî-i mün‘imâneleri vechle bunların bu vechle lisân kullanmaları Devlet-i ‘Aliyye[’]nin ‘imâr-ı mülk ü milletini mûcib olacak hâlâtın icrâsını ve levâyh-i hâle göre iç yüzünde hakîkaten İngilterelü ile Devlet-i ‘Aliyye politikasının hoşça gitmesini istemediklerinden neş’et etmekte ise de Rabbimiz te‘âla hazretleri velîni‘met-i ‘âlem velînimetimiz şevketme’ab efendimiz hazretlerine tükenmez ömr ü ikbâl ihsân buyursun sâye-i hazret-i şâhânedede [sic] himem-i ‘aliyye-i velîyi’l-ni‘amîleriyle bi’l-lufte-i te‘âlî Devlet-i ‘Aliyye[’]nin her dürlü menâkı‘-ı hâliye ve atiyesi hâsıl ve vâkı‘ ve makûle politika-i düveliyyede cereyân etmekte olan [12] usûl-ı ağrâziyeyi tedâbîr-i hükmiyâne-i asafâneleri dâfi‘ olacağı derkâr olmağla farîza-i zimmet ‘acizânem olduğu üzere du‘a-ı beka-ı ‘ömr ve ‘afiyet ve her hâlde hüsn ü muvaffakiyet velîyyü’l-ni‘amları yâd ve tekrar kılınmış idüğü bu makule iş‘ârât-ı mesmû‘ât kabilinden olarak hâk-ı pây-ı devletlerine yazılmakta olduğu misüllü bundan böyle dahî bir muktezây-ı me’muriyet ve ‘ubudiyet vukû‘ât ve havâdisâta dâir mesmû‘ât-ı kemterânem taraf-ı vâlây-ı âsafânelerine beyân ve tahrîr kılınacağı muhât-ı ‘ilm-i ‘âlemşumûl mün‘imâneleri buyuruldukda her hâlde hakk-ı ‘âcizânemde tevcihât-ı seniyye ve ‘âtîfet-i ‘aliyye-i asafâneleri bi-dirîğ ve şâyân buyurulmak bâbında emr ü fermân ve lutf u ihsân efendimizindir[.]

Source:

Rıfat Paşa, “VI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Elli Üç Tarihi Evâhirinde Viyana[']ya  
Büyükelçi Tayin Olunduğu Esnada Hariciye Nazırı Bulunan Reşid Paşa  
Merhûma Yazmış Olduğu Muharrerâttan İntihâb Olunan Bazı Mekâtibdir” in  
*Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 16 volumes (Istanbul: u.p. 1290), 11-2.

APPENDIX G

THE FIRST AND REFERRED PAGES OF URQUHART'S LETTER TO THE  
DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G DATED 5 FEBRUARY 1835 [p. 31]



consumption of Turkish produce the  
giving to England the right of interfering  
in the internal commercial system of  
Turkey — and the establishment of a  
uniform system of free trade which  
struck at the root of Mehmet Ali's  
Power —

But these results are only  
obtained and could only be obtained  
under the conviction that it was the  
intention of the British Government  
to maintain the independence of Turkey  
a conviction nourished by the known  
opinions of His Majesty's Ambassador by  
the presence of the Fleet at Voula  
and latterly by Lord Ponsonby's notes  
on the subject of the Treaty of the 8<sup>th</sup>  
of July and by the answer of His  
Majesty's Government to Mehmet Ali  
circumstances which all coincided to  
raise the hopes and secure the

Cause which have of late  
supported the independence of  
the Turks

Source:

British National Archives FO 78/266 1835 Turkey Mandeville David Urquhart -  
Foreign Various, pages 31 and 43.

## REFERENCES

### A - Primary and Contemporary Sources

#### a - Unpublished Primary Sources

a.1 - Prime Ministry Archives in İstanbul (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri - BOA)

İ.MVL. 198/6166

İ.DH. 432/2863

HAT 1240/48124

a.2 - The National Archives in London (TNA)

F.O. (Foreign Office) 78/266 1835 TURKEY H. Mandeville David Urquhart -  
Foreign Various.

Public Record Office MSS, F.O. 78/433

#### b - Published Primary Sources

Akyiğitzade, Musa. *İktisad yahud İlm-i Servet: Azadegi-i Ticaret ve Usul-ı Himaye*.  
İstanbul: Karabet Matbaası, 1314 [1896].

\_\_\_\_\_. *İlm-i Servet veyahut İlm-i İktisat*, İstanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye Matbaası,  
1316 [1898].

Çelebi, Kınalızade Ali. *Ahlâk-ı Alâî*. Edited by Mustafa Koç. İstanbul: Klasik  
Yayımları, 2007.

List, Friedrich. *The National System of Political Economy*. Philadelphia: J.B.  
Lippincott & co, 1856.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The National System of Political Economy*. London: Longmans, Green  
& co, 1909.

Llyod, Sampson S. "Translator's Preface to First Edition." In *The National System of  
Political Economy* by Friedrich List, 7-8. London: Longmans, Green & co,  
1909.

Mehmed Şerif. *İlm-i Emval-i Milliye*. İstanbul: Tab'hane-i Âmire Litoğrafya  
Destgâhı, 1279[1862/3].

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Sanayi‘ ve Ziraatden Kangısının Hakkımızda Hayırlı Olduđuna Dairdir.” *Tercüman-ı Ahval* 68 and 69 (1861).
- Münif Paşa. *İlm-i Servet*. Edited by Mahmud Es‘ad. İstanbul: Mekteb-i Sanayi, 1302 [1884/5].
- Nicholson, J. Shield. “Introductory Essay.” In *The National System of Political Economy* by Friedrich List, 9-19. London: Longmans, Green & co, 1909.
- Poole, Stanley Lane. *Lord Straford Canning‘in Türkiye Anıları*. Translated by Can Yücel. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.
- Raûf Paşa. “Introduction.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 16 volumes. 2-6. İstanbul: u.p., 1290 [1873/4].
- Rıfat Paşa. *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 16 volumes, İstanbul: undefined publisher, 1290 [1873/4].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 7 volumes. İstanbul: Dikran Karabetyan Matbaası, 1291 [1874/5].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*. 7 volumes. İstanbul: Tatyos Divitciyan Matbaası, 1291 [1874/5].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “III Rıf‘at Paşa Merhûmun Viyana[‘]daki İbtidâki Sefâretinde Avrupa[‘]nın Ahvâline Dâir Yazdığı Risâledir.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 2-12. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “VI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Elli Üç Tarihi Evâhirinde Viyana[‘]ya Büyükelçi Tayin Olunduđu Esnada Hariciye Nazırı Bulunan Reşid Paşa Merhûma Yazmış Olduđu Muharrerâtın İntihâb Olunan Bazı Mekâtibdir.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 2-79. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “XI Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Bi‘ ddefaat Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyasetinde ve Muahharen Meclis-i Tanzimat Âzalıđında Bulunduđu Vakitlerde Kaleme Almış Bulunduđu Mazbatalardan Ba‘zılarının Sûretleridir.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 2-77. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “XII Tanzîm-i Umûr-ı Devlete ve Ba‘zı İslahât[‘]da Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Memuriyet-i Mütenevvia‘da Bulunduđu O Ânda Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduđu Ba‘zı Lâyiha ve Mazbataların Sûretleridir.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 2-80. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.

\_\_\_\_\_. “XIII Ba‘zı İslahâta Dâir Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Ara Sıra Kaleme Alub Takdîm Etmiş Olduğu Lâyihaların Sûretleridir.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 2-55. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.

\_\_\_\_\_. “XV Zeyl-i Risâle-i Ahlâk.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 2-38. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.

\_\_\_\_\_. “XVI İdâre-i Hükümetin Kavâid-i Esasiyesini Mutazammın Rıfat Paşa Merhûmun Kaleme Aldığı Risâledir.” In *Müntehabât-ı Âsâr-ı Rıfat Paşa*, 42-64. 16 volumes, İstanbul: u.p., 1290.

Rodkey, Frederick Stanley. “Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830-41.” *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Dec., 1929): 570-593.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Lord Palmerston and the Rejuvenation of Turkey, 1830-41: Part II, 1839-41.” *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jun., 1930): 193-225.

Sakızlı Ohannes, *Mebadi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel*. Dersaadet: Mihran Matbaası, 1297 [1879/80].

\_\_\_\_\_. *Osmanlı'da Modern İktisadın İzinde 1 Mebâdi-i İlm-i Servet-i Milel*. Edited by Filiz Dıġıroġlu, Hamdi Genç and M. Erdem Özgür. İstanbul: Dergâh, 2015.

Senior, Nassau W. *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859.

Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Volume II. Edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner. Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1981. (First published in 1776).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Lectures on Jurisprudence*. Edited by R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein, Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1982. (First published in 1763).

Urquhart, David. *Turkey and Its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade, the State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, Its Revenue and National Possessions*. London: Saunders and Otley, 1833.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Spirit of the East : Illustrated in a Journal of Travels through Roumeli during an Eventful Period*, 2 volumes. London : H. Colburn, 1838.

Wells, Charles. *İlm Tedbiri Milk: "The Science of the Administration of A State," or An Essay on Political Economy, in Turkish: Being the First ever Written in that Language*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1860.

## B - Secondary Sources

### a - M.A. Theses and Ph.D. Dissertations

Balcı, Sezai. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara University, 2006.

Darakçıoğlu, Mehmet. "Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Language Divide, Employment of Translators, and the Translation Bureau in the Ottoman Empire." Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2010.

Günay, Bekir, "Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri." M.A. Thesis, İstanbul University, 1992.

Kafadar, Cemal. "When Coins Turned into Drops of Dew and Bankers Became Robbers of Shadows: The Boundaries of Ottoman Economic Imagination at the End of the Sixteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1986.

Kamay, Berna. "Public Diplomacy and The Translation Office (Tercüme Odası) in The Ottoman Empire (1839-1876)." M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2012.

Kılınçoğlu, Deniz Taner. "The Political Economy of Ottoman Modernity: Ottoman Economic Thought during the Reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)." PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2012.

Mardin, Şerif. “The Young Ottoman Movement: A Study in the Evolution of Turkish Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century.” Ph. D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1958.

Türkdemir, Dilek. “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Yeniden Yapılanma Sürecince Önemli Bir Devlet Adamı Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa.” M.A. thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2007.

Ünüvar, Kerem. “Economic and Moral Organization of the Ottoman Society in the Tanzimat Period: Sadık Rifat Paşa’s Ahlâk Risalesi.” M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004.

Zorlu, Yaşar. “Sadık Rifat Paşa’nın Toplum ve Devlet Görüşü.” M.A. Thesis, Sakarya University, 1997.

b - Books, Book Chapters, Articles and Reviews

Abu-Manneh, Butrus. “The Islamic Roots of the Gülhane Rescript,” *Die Welt des Islams* 34 (1994): 173-203.

Akın, Adem. *Münif Paşa ve Türk Kültür Tarihindeki Yeri*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999.

Anscombe, Frederic F. “Islam and the Age of Ottoman Reform” *Past and Present*, no. 208 (August 2010): 159-189.

Balcı, Sezai *Bâbüali Tercüme Odası*. İstanbul: Libra Yayıncılık, 2003.

Berkes, Niyazi. “Ekonomik Tarih ile Teori İlişkileri Açısından Türkiye’de Ekonomik Düşünün Evrimi.” In *Türkiye’de Üniversitelerde Okutulan İktisat Üzerine*. Edited by Fikret Görün, 39–55. Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1972.

Buğra, Ayşe. *İktisatçılar ve İnsanlar: Bir Yöntem Çalışması*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995.

Cheminade, Jacques. "If France Had Followed Paul Cauwès World War I Could Have Been Avoided," *EIR Toward Eurasia* 19 (3 January 1992): 53-5.

Çakır, Coşkun. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesi" In *Osmanlı Medeniyeti*, edited by Coşkun Çakır, 87-103. İstanbul: Klâsik Yayınları, 2005.

Çankaya, Ali. *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*: 8 vols. Ankara: S.B.F., 1968–69.

Çavdar, Tevfik. *Türkiye'de Liberalizm*. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 1992.

Darling, Linda T. "Islamic Empires, the Ottoman Empire, and the Circle of Justice." In *Constitutional Politics in the Middle East, with Special Reference to Turkey, Irak, Iran, Afghanistan*. Edited by Said Amir Arjomand, 11-32. Oxford: Hart, 2008.

Dimand, Robert W. "Classical Political Economy and Orientalism Nassau Senior's Eastern Tours." In *Postcolonialism Meets Economics*, Edited by Eiman O. Zein-Elabdin and S. Charusheela, 73-90. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Eldem, Edhem. "Ottoman Financial Integration with Europe: Foreign Loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman Public Debt." *European Review*, Volume 13, Issue 03 (July 2005): 431-445.

Eldem, Edhem. "Chaos and Half Measures: The Ottoman Monetary 'System' of the Nineteenth Century." In *The Economic Development of Southeastern Europe in the 19th Century*. Edited by Edhem Eldem and Socrates Petmezas, 251-305. Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2011.

Ermış, Fatih. *A History of Ottoman Economic Thought Developments Before the Nineteenth Century*. London and New York: Routledge, 2014.

Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. *Türkiyede İktisat Tedrisatı Tarihçesi ve İktisat Fakültesi Teşkilâtı*. İstanbul: Akgün Matbaası, 1946.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Türk İktisadi Tefekkür Tarihi ve Mehmed Şerif,” in *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 15-20 Kasım 1943, Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*. 260-268. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1948.

\_\_\_\_\_. “İktisadi Tefekkür Tarihimize Ait Yeni Bir Vesika,” *Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi. 340-346. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1952.

Finer, Herman. *The Governments of European Powers*. New York: Henry Holt, 1956.

Forget, Evelyn L. *The Social Economics of Jean-Baptiste Say Markets and virtue*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

Genç, Mehmet. “Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün Klasik Prensiplerindeki Değişmeler.” *Divan Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, 6 (1999/1): 1-8.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2012. (First published in 2000).

Genç, Hamdi and M. Erdem Özgür. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Politik İktisadî Düşüncenin Evrimine Kısa Bir Bakış.” In *Osmanlı 'da Bir Politik İktisad Kitabı Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye* by Serandi Arşizen. pp. ix-xlvi. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye ve Serandi Arşizen Hakkında” in *Osmanlı 'da Bir Politik İktisad Kitabı Tasarrufât-ı Mülkiye* by Serandi Arşizen. 1-4. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2011.

Georgeon, François. “L'économie Politique Selon Ahmed Midhat.” In *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 18-22 janvier 1985*. Edited by Edhem Eldem, 461-479. İstanbul-Paris: éditions ISIS, 1991.

Hanioglu, Şükrü. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

İnalcık, Halil. "Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in Kutadgu Bilig" In *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*. 1-18. Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1993.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ottoman Economic Mind and the Aspects of Ottoman Economy," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*. Edited by M. A. Cook. 207-18. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

İnalcık, Halil and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (ed). "İslahât Fermânı." In *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 17-25. Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tanzimat Fermânı." In *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 11-16. Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2011.

İnceoğlu, F. Samime. "Tanzimat'ta Bir Düşünür ve Bürokrat: Münif Paşa ve İktisat Tasavvuru." *Divan İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 19 (2005/2): 231-264.

İzgöer, Ahmet Zeki. *Müslüman, Osmanlı ve Modern Ahmet Cevdet Paşa*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2014.

Koloğlu, Orhan. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Liberal Ekonominin Savunucusu: Blacque (Blak) Bey (1792-1836)." *Tarih ve Toplum*, volume 10, number 57 (1988): 15-19.

Kurdakul, Necdet. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ticaret Antlaşmaları ve Kapitülasyonlar*. İstanbul: Döler Neşriyat, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. "19. Yüzyılda İktisat Kitapları", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 75 (1990): 57-60.

Lalor, Bernard A. "Promotion Patterns of Ottoman Bureaucratic Statesmen from the Lâle Devri until the Tanzimat." *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi I*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1972.

Lindenfeld, David F. *The Practical Imagination: The German Sciences of State in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Mardin, Şerif. "Türkiye'de İktisadî Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918)." In *Siyasal ve Sosyal Bilimler Makaleler 2*. Edited by Mümtaz'er Türköne and Tuncay Önder. 45-98. İstanbul: İletişim, 1990. (First published in 1962).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi." *Forum*, Volume 8, n. 88 (15 November 1957): 6-8.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi." *Forum*, Volume 8, n. 89 (1 December 1957): 13-15.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi." *Forum*, Volume 8, n. 90 (15 December 1957): 13-15.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi." *Forum*, Volume 8, n. 91 (31 December 1957): 12-13.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Türkiye'de İktisadî Düşüncenin Gelişmesi (1838-1918)*. Türk İktisadî Gelişmesi Araştırma Projesi, SBF Maliye Enstitüsü, 1962.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Genesis of The Young Ottoman Thought Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. N.J: Syracuse University Press, 2000. (First published in 1962).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Manâsı: Yeni Bir İzah Denemesi." In *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, edited by Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, 147-165. Türkiye İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 2011.

Milne, Andrew. Metternich. London: University of London Press, 1975.

O'Brien, Denis P. "Classical Economics" In *A Companion To The History Of Economic Thought*. Edited by Warrwn J. Samuels, Jeff E. Biddle and John B. Davis, 112-129. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Okday, Ayşe Sıdıka. *Kınalızâde Ali Efendi ve Ahlâk-ı Alâî*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2005.

Ortaylı, İlber. “Osmanlılarda İlk Telif İktisat Elyazması.” *Yapıt* (October 1983): 37-44.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Tanzimat Bürokratları ve Metternich.” In Prof Fehmi Yavuz’a Armağan, 361- 367. Ankara: A.Ü. S.B.F. ve Basın-Yayın Yüksekokulu Basımevi, 1983.

Önsoy, Rifat. “Tanzimat Döneminde İktisadi Düşüncenin Teşekkülü.” *Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Dönemi Semineri 1985*. 91-96. Ankara: TTK, 1987.

Özveren, Eyüp. “Ottoman Economic Thought and Economic Policy in Transition: Rethinking the Nineteenth Century.” In *Economic Thought and Policy in Less Developed Europe, The Nineteenth Century*. Edited by Michalis Psalidopoulos and Maria Eugénia Mata. 129-144. London: Routledge, 2002.

Özveren, Eyüp and Alp Yücel Kaya. “Adaptation as an Original Genre in the Ottoman Economic Thought of the Nineteenth Century,” Available [online] [http://eet.pixel-online.org/files/research\\_papers/TR/Adaptation%20as%20an%20Original%20Genre%20in%20the%20Ottoman%20Economic%20Thought.pdf](http://eet.pixel-online.org/files/research_papers/TR/Adaptation%20as%20an%20Original%20Genre%20in%20the%20Ottoman%20Economic%20Thought.pdf) [Last accessed on 10 June 2014]

Pamuk, Şevket. *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35 (2004): 225-47.

Pamuk, Şevket. *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme (1820-1913)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005. (First published in 1984).

Pamuk, Şevket. *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014.

Polanyi, Karl. *The Livelihood of Man*. Edited by Harry W. Pearson. New York: Academic Press, 1977.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Aristotle Discovers the Economy” In *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi*. Edited by George Dalton, 65–94. Garden Cite, NY: Anchor Books Doubleday & Company, INC, 1968.

\_\_\_\_\_. “The Economy as Instituted Process” In *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Karl Polanyi. Edited by Conrad M. Arensberg, Harry W. Pearson, 243-270. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001. (First published in 1944).

Quataert, Donald. “The Age of Reforms, 1812–1914.” In *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*. Edited by Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, 761–943. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Sackrey, Charles, Geoffrey Schneider and Janet Knoedler. *Introduction to Political Economy*. Boston: Economic Affairs Bureau, 2010.

Sayar, Ahmed Güner. *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1986. (First publication).

\_\_\_\_\_. *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması, Klasik Dönemden II. Abdülhamid’e*. İstanbul: Ötüken, 2009. (Fourth publication).

\_\_\_\_\_. “Tunuslu Hayrettin Paşa’nın İktisadî Görüşlerine Dair Bir Not.” *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 21-22 (October 1999, March 2000): 60-67.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. *History of Economic Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Screpanti, E. and S. Zamagni. *An Outline of the History of Economic Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet. “Sâdık Rıfat Paşa ve Avrupa’nın Ahvâline Dâir Risâlesi.” *Liberal Düşünce*, V. 3 (Summer 1996): 115-124.

Skousen, Mark. *The Big Three in Economics: Adam Smith, Karl Marks and John Maynard Keynes*. New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2007.

Somel, Selçuk Akşin. "Osmanlılarda İslamiyet ve Modernleşme -Eğitim Tarihi Bakımından Kısa Bir Yeniden Değerlendirme-," *Türkiye Günlüğü* 58 (November-December 1999): 116-122.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Süreyya, Mehmed. *Sicill-i Osmanî Ünlüleri*. Volume V. Edited by Nuri Akbayan. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996.

Şeref, Abdurrahman. *Tarih Söyleşileri*. Simplified by Mübeccel Nami Duru. İstanbul: Sucuoğlu Matbaası, 1980.

Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. Prepared by Abdullah Uçman. İstanbul: YKY, 2009. (First published in 1949).

Toksöz, Meltem. "Book Review." Review of A History of Ottoman Economic Thought before the Nineteenth Century, *Boğaziçi Journal Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, Vol. 28, no. 1 (2014): 115-120.

Toprak, Zafer. *Türkiye'de "Milli İktisat" 1908-1918*. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. "İktisat Tarihi." In *Türkiye Tarihi -3- Osmanlı Devleti 1600 - 1908*. Edited by Metin Kunt, Sina Akşin, Ayla Ödekan, Zafer Toprak and Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, 189-246. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1988.

Tribe, Keith. *Strategies of Economic Order German Economic Discourse, 1750-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Tokgöz, Ahmet İhsan. *Matbuat Hatıralarım: 1888-1923*. 2 vols. İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, 1930-31.

Türkgeldi, Ali Fuad. "Rical-i Tanzimattan Rifat Paşa," *TTEM* (September-October, 1929), I (NS), 1-11.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Maruf Simalar*. Edited by Selçuk Akşin Somel and Mehmet Kalpaklı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013.

Unat, Faik Reşit. *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968.

Ülgener, Sabri. "Ahmet Cevdet Paşa'nın Devlete ve İktisada Dair Düşünceleri", *İş Mecmuası* XIII, (1947): 5-23.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Makaleler*. Edited by Ahmed Güner Sayar. İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2006.

Wagner, Richard E. "The Cameralists: Fertile Sources for a New Science of Public Finance." In, *Handbook For The History Of Economic Thought*. Edited by Juergen G. Backhaus (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012): 135-57. [Available online] <http://mason.gmu.edu/~rwagner/cameralist.pdf> [Last accessed on 27 January 2014]

Webster, Sir Charles. *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston: Britain, the Liberal Movement and the Eastern Question*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1951.

Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London New York : I.B. Tauris, 1994.

#### c - Reference Works

Akyıldız, Ali. "Sâdık Rifat Paşa", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXV (İstanbul: İSAM, 2008): 400-1.

De Marchi, N. "Senior, Nassau William" in *The New Palgrave A Dictionary of Economics*. Volume 4. Edited by John Eatwell, Murray Milgate and Peter Newman. 303-5. London: The Macmillian Press, 1987.

Eren, Ahmet Cevat. "Tanzimat," *İ.A.*, V. 11, 709-765. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, 1979.

Reckenwald, H. C. “Cameralism” in *The New Palgrave A Dictionary of Economics*. Volume 1. Edited by John Eatwell, Murray Milgate and Peter Newman. 313-4. London: The Macmillian Press, 1987.

Sowell, Thomas. “Say, Jean-Baptiste” in *The New Palgrave A Dictionary of Economics*. Volume 4. Edited by John Eatwell, Murray Milgate and Peter Newman. 434-4. London: The Macmillian Press, 1987.

Şemseddin Sami. *Kâmus-ı Türkî*. İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2004.

Redhouse, James. *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1994. (First published in 1890).

Toprak, Zafer. “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde İktisat”, in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Volume III (1985): 635-640.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Tanzimattan Sonra İktisadî Politika”, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Volume III (1985): 668-671.

Türköne, Mümtaz'er. “Tanzimat Fermanı ve Mehmet Sadık Rıf'at Paşa”, *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*. Volume 7, Ankara, (1999): 275-287.

Tarih Çevirme Kılavuzu. Available [online] <http://193.255.138.2/takvim.asp>  
[Last accessed on 7 September 2015]